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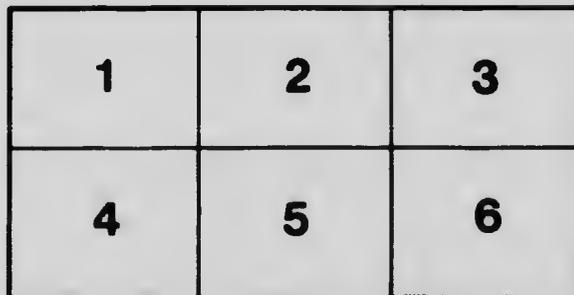
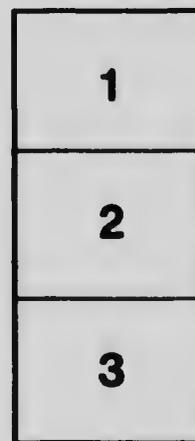
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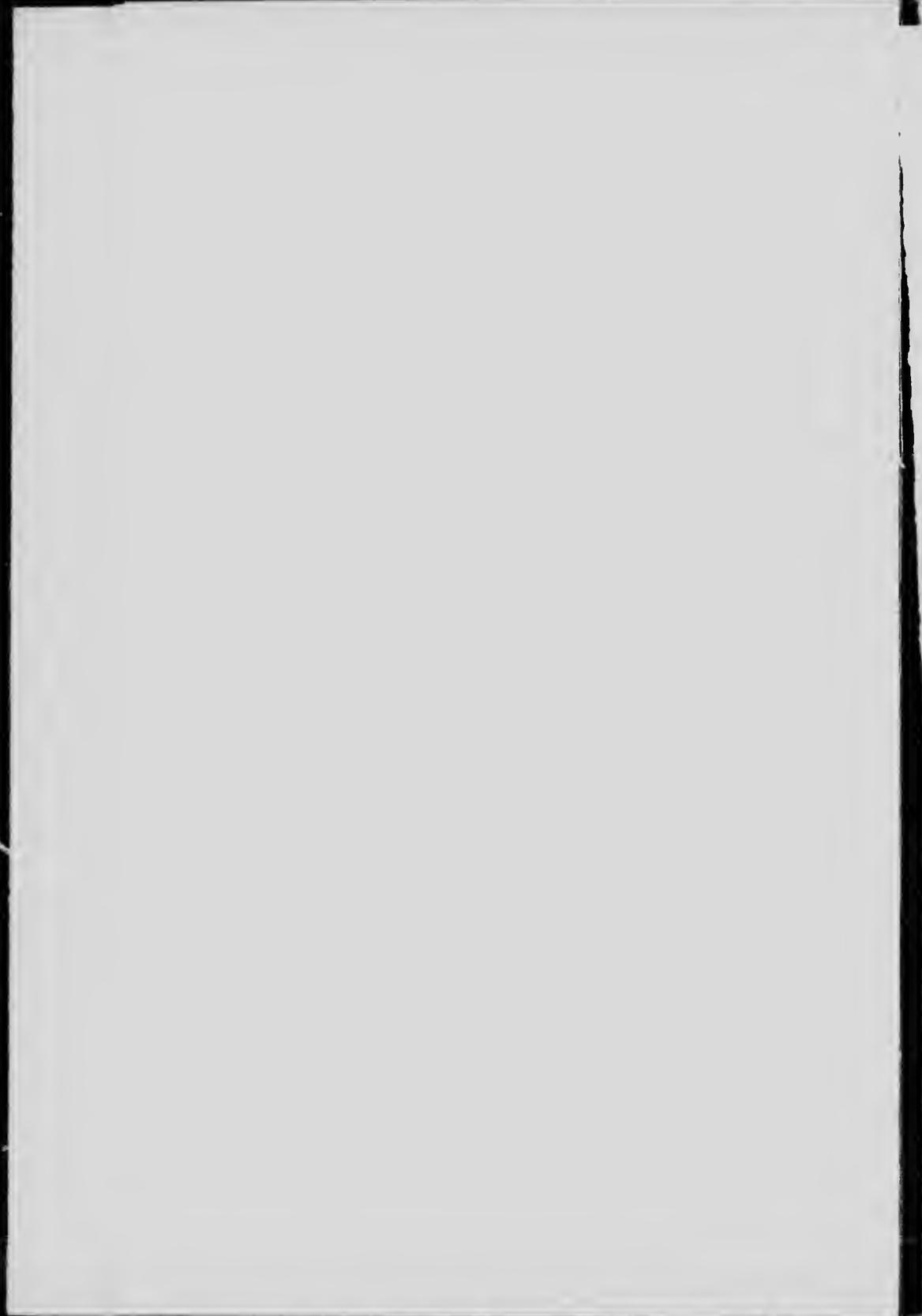
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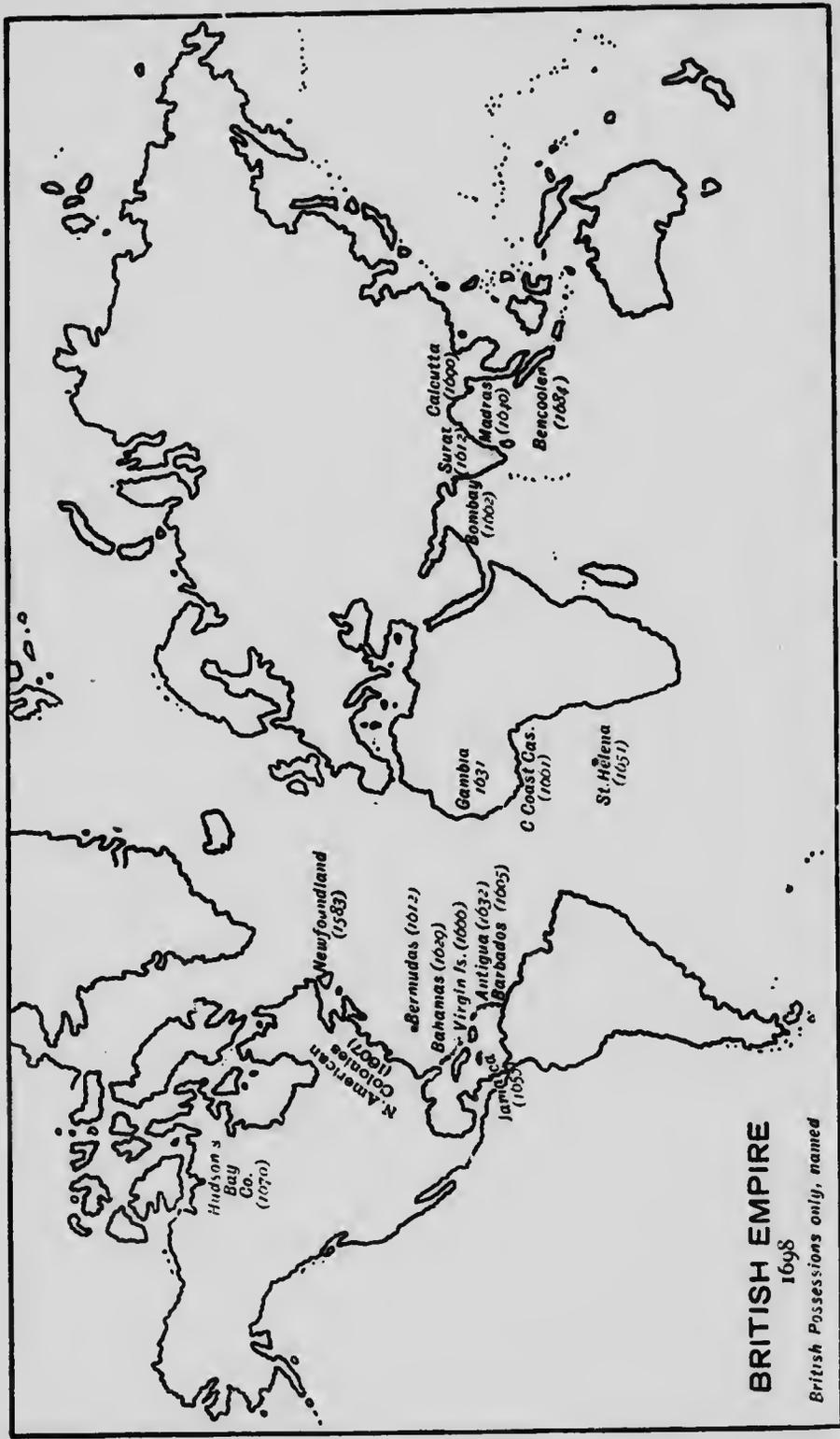
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ELIZABETH LEE

AUTHOR OF "A SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE," ETC.

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true.

King John.

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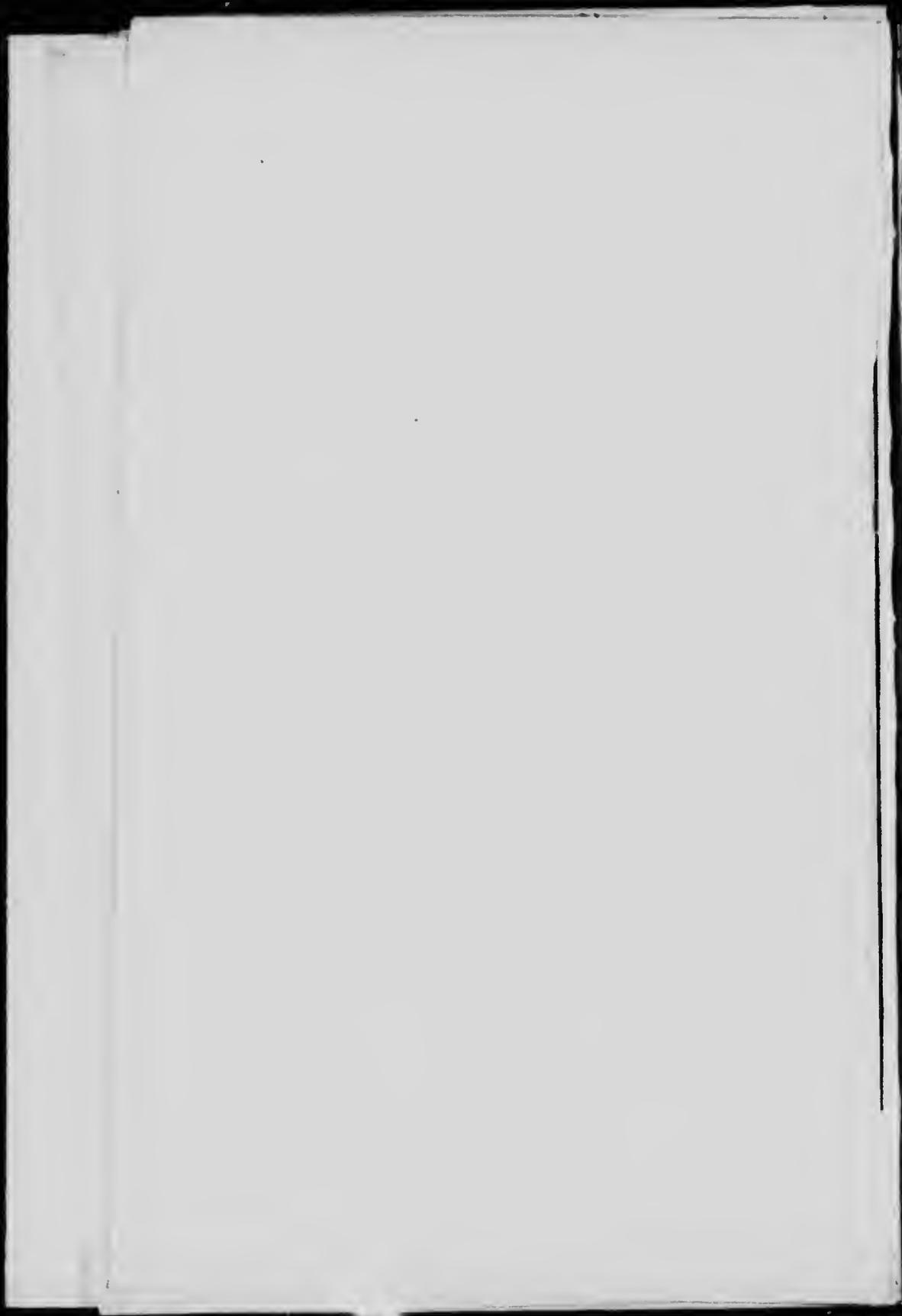
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PREFATORY NOTE

IN a work such as this, going over so extended a ground, it would be impossible for the editor to mention all the sources of information to which she is indebted. But she wishes to record here how very much the book owes to the suggestions, judgment, and taste of Mr. Laurie Magnus, M.A., and her appreciation of his valuable assistance during its preparation.

She has also to thank Lady Betty Balfour and Messrs. Longmans & Co., for kindly permitting her to use a passage from "The History of Lord Clifton's Indian Administration, 1876-1880;" Mr. R. Bosworth Smith and Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., for a similar favour in regard to "The Life of Lord Lawrence;" and Mr. John Murray for the free use of several of his copyright books.



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From Mr. A. W. Jose's "Growth of the Empire."

INTRODUCTION

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HERE is always an intimate connection between a country's history and its literature. If by a strange combination of circumstances we were compelled to choose between the historical records of our country and the writings of our poets, dramatists, novelists, essayists, and critics, we should perhaps prove our wisdom by relinquishing the first alternative. But such a contingency is most unlikely, and we may doubtless reckon on being able to the end of time to illustrate the work of the professional historians by the productions of those who may perhaps be called the unconscious historians of a nation's life and progress. Where can we learn better the likeness of mediæval England than in the poems of Langland and Chaucer, of mediæval Italy than in the great epic of Dante? Who reveals the secret of England's greatness under Elizabeth more clearly than Spenser and Shakespeare? And is not our knowledge of the days of Anne and the first Georges largely based on the writings of Pope, Addison, and Swift?

It is generally admitted that the most striking

feature in the history of Great Britain is its vast colonial expansion. That expansion is still, and has been for some three centuries, so unique and important a factor in our national life that it has necessarily left its mark on our literature. An attempt is made in this volume, we believe for the first time, to bring together from the writings of our great authors some passages which may serve as a first-hand and contemporary commentary on the growth of Greater Britain.

An historical treatise on the expansion of England, even were it within the powers of the author, is beyond the scope of this introduction. But it will perhaps render the main contents of the volume more useful if we trace rapidly, and very generally, the story of the English colonies, in so far as is necessary for the right understanding and appreciation of the selected literary passages.

The invention of the mariner's compass made possible for Columbus to discover America, and the success of his voyage roused that living spirit of adventure in men's hearts which was so special a characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Out of it grew a desire to colonize, to form plantations, as the settlements were called in the days of Elizabeth and James I. A British colony is a totally different thing from a Greek or Roman colony. Great Britain has never practised nor encouraged what has been called the "natural colonization" of the Greeks and Romans. A colony is in every case a settlement made in a foreign land. Greek colonies, however, were never governed by the mother country; they somewhat

sembled what gardeners call a *layer*, that is, a portion of the parent tree with stem, twigs, and leaves embedded in fresh soil, where it is severed after it has taken root. The ties between Greece and her colonies were purely ties of sentiment based on similarity of race and religion. The Roman colony took the form of a military settlement in territory subject to the mother country. A British colony has been defined as "a community politically dependent, in some shape or form, the majority of whose members belong by birth or origin to the mother country, such persons having no intention to return to the mother country."

If the beginnings of our empire across the seas is connected with the love of adventure, it is as closely connected with the love of the sea characteristic of an island and maritime people. The sea is indeed the most important factor in the making and keeping of greater Britain, for without command of the sea, our colonial supremacy would be impossible. England's sea-power may be said to have begun with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. But some ten years earlier the superior strength of the English navy seems to have been recognized by foreign nations. In William Harrison's description of England prefaced to the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577), we read "that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing" no ships in the world were to be compared with the English in the common opinion of foreigners. From the time of Alfred, English kings recognized the necessity of protecting the coasts by means of "ships royal," that is, ships provided at the cost of the nation. But it was

not until the time of Henry VIII. that the navy was looked upon as a distinct service. Even so, very much was left to private enterprise. The ships that crushed the power of Philip II., and that explored the northern and western seas, did not all, by any means, belong to the Crown. Many of them were built, equipped or chartered at the expense of private owners like Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh. Charles Kingsley, whose romance of "Westward Ho!" may be profitably read in this connection, went so far as to say that England owed her commerce, her colonies, her very existence, to the public spirit of such men.

Sir Humphry Gilbert seems to have been the first Englishman to form any practical scheme of colonization; and it is to be noted that he was influenced by exactly the same reasons as his successors. He dreamed of gaining wealth, of extending the trade of England, of finding some place in which needy persons who were a burden to the community might settle down. The only practical result of his efforts was, that in 1583 he took possession of Newfoundland in the name of the Queen. He perished on the voyage home.

Sir Walter Raleigh had an interest in that voyage. He, too, cherished the idea of settling a colony in America, and he equipped an expedition at his own cost, which we may regard as the first serious attempt to found a Greater England beyond the seas. A portion of the mainland was taken possession of, and called Virginia, in honour of the Queen. Although Raleigh was not successful in founding a permanent colony, yet his name is of the very greatest importance in the history

of English colonization. According to one of his biographers, "he was a pioneer in a multitude of paths which have converged at length in the greatness of Britain. In the history of Britain at large there are not many greater names than his. In the history of British America there are none. His Virginian enterprise had failed; but his perseverance in it had so broadcast the seeds of eventual success. Raleigh is the virtual founder of Virginia and of what has grown thereout." Indeed, we may almost say that he trained the men who first colonized America.

The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, in 1608, by the Virginia Company, a body founded in 1606 for carrying out schemes of colonization in a practical fashion. The motives that led men to look favourably on such schemes are not far to seek. There was the desire for wealth. There were the stimulus to trade, and the improvement of the trader's position, derived from the working of mines and the sale of the various natural commodities found in the new countries. Next, communication with settled colonies would render imperative an increase in the power, importance, and numerical strength of the navy, and thus the nation's prestige would be enlarged. Settled colonies, moreover, would provide a means of dealing with the surplus population of England; they would allow for the expansion of the empire of England, and would offer opportunities for spreading the true evangel. But these early colonies were not a success. It is not necessary to discuss here the causes of failure; they are perhaps

to be sought in the eager desire of the government at home to make as much money as possible out of the products of the colonies, and in the fact that the greater number of the colonists were men who had hardly succeeded in their careers at home.

By 1620 a new element, and one of permanent strength, that was to form the real basis of England's first colonial empire, had entered into the scheme of things. A band of men and women who departed from the practices of religion in the Established Church of England, removed in 1608 to Leyden, in Holland, in order to pursue there unmolested the severely Puritan form of religion that seemed to them the only right one. A town life did not suit them, and in 1620 they determined to seek their fortunes in a new land across the sea. They had at first thought of Virginia, but realizing that a colony of traders was unlikely to have much sympathy with their religious aspirations, these Separatists, as they came to be called, decided to plant a colony of their own. Accordingly, in September, 1620, a small company, known as the Pilgrim Fathers, and consisting of about a hundred and twenty men, women, and children, set sail for the New World from Southampton in the *Mayflower*. After a stormy and adventurous voyage, they landed at Cape Cod in November, and proceeded to found the important colony of Massachusetts in New England. Felicia Hemans wrote, in her stanzas on their landing—

“Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod,
They have left unstained what there they found,
Freedom to worship God.”

The colonists who had started with such aspirations had many difficulties to contend with, many hardships to endure; but perseverance, and the firm belief that they were furthering the glory of God and the honour of their country, brought them triumphantly through.

Under Charles I. England's colonies consisted of Virginia, New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Bermuda Isles. They were considered chiefly as places where dissenters from the Established Church might find a refuge, and as a means of increasing the shipping and trade interests of England. But England had now to learn the meaning of rivalry and opposition. The Dutch and the French were also seeking to plant colonies in America, and the beginning of the struggle between France and England for the supremacy in America may be placed at this period. The most satisfactory incident in our colonial history under Charles I. was the settlement of Barbadoes in the West Indies. The place had been occupied by the English in Elizabeth's reign. Possessing a good harbour and a fertile soil, it soon became a prosperous colony. We may deduce the growing importance of the colonies in the eyes of the mother country from the fact that it was considered necessary to inform them officially of the change of government consequent on the execution of Charles I. It was further evident from the Navigation Ordinance of 1651, and the Navigation Act of 1661, that England meant to keep a firm hold on her colonies, and to use them for the extension of her shipping and for the increase of her trade. Those statutes enacted that no English or colonial goods should be imported into

England or any of her colonies except by English ships. Cromwell had great imperial ideas, and did much to lay the foundations of our Empire by raising the naval and military standing of England, and by employing the naval and military forces of the mother country to extend the territory of the colonies. But the only notable events in our colonial history under Cromwell were the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, and the reorganization of the East India Company in 1657.

Under Charles II. the significance of the colonies rose still higher. Lord Clarendon has recorded how he endeavoured "to bring his Majesty to have a great esteem for his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them." The Navigation Act was renewed in 1661, and its scope somewhat enlarged. Certain articles of commerce were forbidden to be shipped to any place except England and her colonies. Moreover, we owe to Charles II. the incorporation of the first body of men whose duty it was to look after colonial business. That body was formed of a Committee of the Privy Council and was named the Council appointed for Foreign Plantations. The instructions issued by the king to the members were full and clear: the Council was to inform itself of the government of each colony, its complaints, wants, abundance, growths, and commodities; of every ship trading there and its lading, so that "a more steady judgment and balance may be made for the better ordering and disposing of trade and of the proceed and improvements of the plantations." Its members were also required to apply themselves to all prudential means to render those

dominions useful to England, and England helpful to them, and to take measures for the propagation of the Gospel. Many men distinguished in letters were engaged in our colonial administration. John Evelyn, the diarist, Edmund Waller, the poet, were members of the Council, and John Locke, the philosopher, was its secretary from 1673 until its dissolution in 1675. Locke assisted Shaftesbury, on whom Clarendon's mantle fell so far as the colonies were concerned, to found in 1663 the colony of Carolina, so called after the king.

Pennsylvania was founded in 1681 by William Penn the Quaker. Here again it was religious persecution that drove Englishmen across the seas. Penn proved a wise and far-sighted governor, and the colony flourished. Macaulay praises him highly as the founder of a colony who did not in his dealings with a savage people abuse the strength derived from civilization; and as a law-giver who, in an age of persecution, made religious liberty the corner-stone of a polity. In the following year New York was conquered from the Dutch.

James II. was perhaps the first Englishman to understand that a Greater Britain can only exist if the mother country holds command of the seas. In 1686 he appointed a special commission to inquire into the defects of the navy. The service was put on a much more efficient footing, and although it turned against the man who had done so much for it when he had most need of it, it is only just to note that we owe it to James II. that England, after the Revolution, began steadily to gain the sea-power of the world. At the accession of William and Mary the expansion of England

had become conspicuous enough to attract the attention of foreign nations. If England desired to keep her colonies, which she then valued chiefly as a means of extending her commerce, she had to have at command ships to carry the merchandise, and ships for the defence of those fraught with a valuable cargo. Captain Mahan declares that in 1713, the year of the signing of the Peace of Utrecht, "England was the sea-power, without any second," and that she held it "alone, unshared by friend, and unchecked by foe."

Still, a little more than fifty years after that time England suffered the one grave check to her expansion that history has so far to record—the loss of her American colonies. The story has been fully and admirably told by Mr. Lecky in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century." We cannot here enter in detail into the causes of that momentous event; some of them are described in the extracts from contemporaries to be found in the body of the book. But two facts that were undoubtedly instrumental in preparing the way for the final separation may be briefly noticed. The original Charters granted to the American colonies secured to them almost absolute self-government. The founders of those colonies were in most cases men who had left their native country in order to escape persecution, and who bequeathed to their descendants the legacy of an independent spirit. Thus the inhabitants of our American colonies were thoroughly well prepared to form, should the occasion arise, a self-governing nation. But England permitted her colonists no sort of commercial independence. All commercial legislation was

directed to force the colonies to trade only with England, and they were forbidden to manufacture for themselves any article manufactured in Great Britain, for fear of relaxing the bond which held them to the mother country. Herein lay the chief cause of the ultimate breach.

Greater Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century would have presented no great figure without her American possessions. They consisted of the thirteen states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. A word must be said about the last, which was established in 1732 by James Edward Oglethorpe, as a refuge for debtors. Oglethorpe regarded colonization as a remedy for the economic ills of a country. The colony of Georgia was founded on strictly philanthropic lines, and emigrants were assisted to go there by the government, in order to relieve the distress in England. Those immigrants were mainly persons who had failed to pay their way at home, a class unlikely to succeed in life anywhere, and it is not surprising that the colony did not flourish. As long as Oglethorpe, a man born with a gift for ruling, remained its governor, things went fairly well; he built Savannah and established friendly relations with the natives. But once his personality was removed a change for the worse set in. "Georgia," says a writer in 1735, "which was intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. Notwithstanding the place has been settled

nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family which can subsist without further assistance." In 1753 it passed over to the Crown.

Meantime, the English had to reckon with the French colonists in America, and unfortunately the variety of government and of opinion that prevailed in our colonies there made any joint action difficult, and caused the advantage to lean to the side of the French. For that reason a congress was summoned in 1754, at which a scheme for military defence to be common to all the states was drawn up, subject to the approval of the British Parliament. In 1756 war with France broke out. Its main result for England was the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe, an episode in history that ensured the conquest of Canada. By the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, France relinquished all claim to Canada, Nova Scotia, and the St. Lawrence islands.

The British government now decided that a permanent army must be kept in America, and that the colonies must help to pay for it. These resented the obligation, and it must be remembered that the idea underlying their objection was thoroughly English, an idea that had prevailed from the time of the Great Charter, and that has had so vast an effect in moulding our national destinies—the idea that there can be no taxation without representation. As the American colonies were not represented in the English Parliament, it followed as the night the day that they could not legally be taxed by the will of that body. A congress was summoned at Philadelphia to deliberate on the matter,

at which the States determined to separate themselves for ever from the mother country. On July 4, 1776, was issued the famous Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. "These united colonies," it ran, "are, and ought to be, free and independent States; they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." A war ensued, which was continued until 1783, when, by the Treaty of Versailles, the independence of the United States of America became an acknowledged fact. That event has sometimes been termed the most shameful in our history. The Earl of Rosebery said lately that if the elder Pitt, when he became First Minister, had not left the House of Commons, representatives from America might have been introduced into the Imperial Parliament, the thirteen American colonies might have been preserved to the British Crown, and not only would our Empire thus have been incalculably greater, but it is possible that the seat of Empire might have been transferred to the other side of the Atlantic. But this political "might-have-been" is a conjectural business at the best, and is not particularly profitable. For our purposes it is enough to note that America owes her origin and her foundations of national success to her English blood, which is stronger to-day to unite the two peoples than are the waters of the Atlantic to divide them.

Canada, and certain other territories north of the United States, still remained in the possession of England. The government of Canada presented many

difficulties, resulting chiefly from the fact that it was inhabited by two races, the French and the English. About 1850, under the governorship of Lord Elgin, the wisdom of allowing the colonists that measure of independence necessary for social and political development began to be recognized. Lord Elgin saw that it was possible to do this, and at the same time to maintain undiminished the supremacy of British institutions on the soil of North America, even in the face of the republican United States. In that way the minds both of Canadians and Englishmen were gradually prepared for the British North America Act of 1867, which made provision for the confederation of States, including Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Rupertsland, and a portion of the North-West Territory* known as the Dominion of Canada. The Dominion was to be ruled by a governor appointed by the Crown, and the Constitution was to follow that of England, so far as the different conditions allowed. Speaking of the future of Canada in 1872, the Marquis of Dufferin said :—

“Few people in this country have any notion how blessed by nature is the Canadian soil. The beauty, majesty, and material importance of the gulf of the St. Lawrence is indeed the theme of every traveller, while the stupendous chain of lakes to which it is an outlet is well known to afford a system of inland navigation such as is to be found in no other part of the habitable globe. The inexhaustible harvest of its seas

* The remainder of the North-West Territory is divided into eight provisional districts and one Territory. Newfoundland has so far preferred to remain outside the federation.

annually gathered by its hardy maritime population, the innumerable treasures of its forests, are known to all; but what is not so generally understood is that beyond the present inhabited regions of the country—beyond the towns, the lakes, the woods—there stretches out an enormous breadth of rich alluvial soil, comprising an area of thousands of square miles, so level, so fertile, so ripe for cultivation, so profusely watered and intersected by enormous navigable rivers, with so exceptionally mild a climate, as to be destined at no distant time to be occupied by millions of our prosperous fellow-subjects, and to become a central granary for the adjoining continents. Such a scene as this may well fire the most sluggish imagination, nor can there be conceived a greater privilege than to be permitted to watch over the development of an industry and civilization fraught with such universal advantage to the human race. In fact, it may be doubted whether the inhabitants of the dominion themselves are as yet fully awake to the magnificent destiny in store for them, or have altogether realized the promise of their young and hardy nationality. Like a virgin goddess in a primæval world, Canada still walks in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and by the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty as mirrored on their surface, and scarcely recks as yet of the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of nations."

India is not a colony in the strict sense of the word, although it forms part of the British Empire. As we have seen, colonization meant a gradual displacement

of the native races by English settlers, who became, to all intents and purposes, the inhabitants of the land. But in India not only did we in no way supplant or displace the native races, but without their co-operation we should never have been able to govern the country. There is, too, another very important difference between India and the rest of Greater Britain. The larger number of Englishmen who go to India are military and civil officials, who are not permitted by law to acquire property in land, who regard India as only a temporary home, and who are always looking forward to the time when they shall return to their native land. The traders and merchants are as a general rule permanently established there, but they, too, seldom possess a large amount of landed property, and thus it happens that for the most part the natives are the landlords and agricultural labourers. Englishmen who migrate to Australia, Africa, or North America, however, look to founding there a permanent home. They remain there for the term of their natural lives; there they are buried, and their descendants, so to speak, become the natives.

Edmund Burke * has told the story of our Empire in India from the granting of the first Charter to the East India Company in 1600, up to the time of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, so well and clearly that it is unnecessary to repeat the narrative here. In 1657 Cromwell reconstructed the East India Company on the broader basis that eventually enabled the factories to grow into settlements, and finally into

* Cf. pp. 83-85.

the British Empire of India.* France held at one time important possessions in India. About the middle of the eighteenth century it seemed as if she would gain the supremacy and hold it unchecked for evermore; nor should we forget that it was France who discovered the weakness of the native Indian armies against disciplined European troops, and the facility with which that discipline could be imparted to natives in the European service. At the darkest hour, when it seemed impossible to stand against the conquering power of France, "an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune." That obscure youth was Robert Clive.† To Clive we owe the renown of English arms in India, the political ascendancy of England in India, and the first introduction of a wise and uncorrupt administration. Warren Hastings ruled India from 1772 to 1785, and, through his wisdom and ability, greatly extended the British power and influence. He taught the native races with whom he came in contact the salutary lessons both of love and fear. Through him the dual control of native ruler and English ruler (something like the dual control by France and England that existed at one time in Egypt) was abolished, to the incalculable benefit of good government. He also organized a system of administration of justice, the basis of which still prevails.

* It is interesting to note that the years 1657, 1757, and 1857 were notable dates in the history of India. The battle of Plassey in 1757 secured British supremacy in India, and the mutiny of 1857 brought about the abolition of the East India Company, and the establishment of the system of government by which India has since been ruled.

† Cf. pp. 85-92.

All this work had to be done on his own responsibility, without the advice of competent counsellors such as our Governor-Generals now command. Speaking of what he had accomplished in India, he said: "The valour of others acquired, I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominion you hold there. Every division of official business which now exists in Bengal is of my formation."

Pitt's India Bill of 1784 introduced several important changes into the government. It enacted that the East India Company should be assisted politically by a Board of Control in England, which took a great part in the appointment of persons to the chief governorships of India. But notwithstanding these changes, the power of the Company was paramount until 1858. It had its own army, navy, and civil service. With its aid the various governors who ruled India annexed by conquest or treaty more and more of the Indian Peninsula.

About 1836 statesmen had seen that the Russian advance in Asia endangered our Indian frontier, and made it imperative for us to gain the friendship of, and make an alliance with, the Ameer of Afghanistan, whose territory lay between India and the Russian provinces of Central Asia. But the Ameer of that period preferred the Russian alliance. A disastrous war ensued, that had, however, little practical effect on the situation. The most important expansion on the eastern side was the annexation of Lower Burmah in 1852.*

By the Indian Mutiny, which broke out in 1857, our tenure of India was for a time placed in the greatest

* Upper Burmah was annexed in 1886.

peril. The Sepoy army had become discontented by the promulgation of an order making it legal for native troops to be sent across the dreaded "black water" of the ocean. The introduction of the Enfield rifle, the cartridges of which were greased, or so the Sepoys obstinately declared, with the fat of the cow, an animal sacred to the Hindoos, or with that of the pig, an animal abhorred by the Mohammedans, tended to disturb them still further. Nothing is harder to fight than deeply rooted superstition, and the Mutiny, founded on that basis, spread with great force and rapidity, till in May, 1857, Delhi was in the hands of the rebels. We cannot here relate the brave deeds of our countrymen and country women in that time of trial. Our readers may consult two books which appeared a few years ago, the one a personal record by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, K.G., entitled "Forty-one Years in India," and the other, "On the Face of the Waters," by Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, a work of fiction hardly less realistic than the reminiscences of the man of action. It has been well said that to have been in India during the Mutiny was enough to stamp a man or woman with heroism. Despite the horrors of bloodshed and treachery, despite all difficulties and perils, and not, alas! without the sacrifice of the lives of some of our greatest Indian soldiers and civilians, the extreme danger was crushed between May and November. Our great poet wisely said that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil," and the outcome of the Mutiny has certainly been the more efficient government of India and the increase of her prosperity. It set a term to the powers of the

East India Company, and the new India Bill of 1853 inaugurated the system of government under which India has since been ruled with a success that grows by experience. The government was transferred from the Company to the Crown, acting through a Secretary of State for India, advised by an Indian Council of experts. India itself was to be ruled by a Viceroy, under whose control were all the provinces of India.* In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, and "Empress Day" is kept in India as one of the great holidays of the year. The sceptre of the King-Emperor, Edward VII., extends over two hundred and a half millions of persons in India, and in some ways the good administration and material prosperity of our Indian Empire are the most hopeful signs that the British genius for government is still young and vigorous. The Englishman in India, as in Egypt, has evolved order out of the most incongruous elements. To make use of the words of a great living statesman, "He accepts the system with all its faults, sets to work quietly, in his sensible, plodding way, to do the best he can under untoward circumstances," and does so with eminent success.

The rise of our colonies in Australia† and Africa‡ is so fully told in the extracts dealing respectively with those countries in the body of the book that it is not necessary to add much to those narratives here.

* These consist now of Madras, Bengal, Bombay, North-West Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, Burmah, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, Borneo, Labuan, and Sarawak.

† Cf. pp. 109-136.

‡ Cf. pp. 136-182.

The first Englishman who visited Australia was William Dampier. He sailed along the west and north-west coasts in 1688 and 1699 respectively. Captain Cook explored the east coast (now Victoria) in 1770 and took possession of it in the name of Great Britain. But it was not until after the loss of the American colonies that Englishmen began to turn their attention to the possibilities of Australia, and even then it was only to make there a penal settlement for convicts. In 1788 the English Government decreed that convicts should be transported to Botany Bay, and a colony consisting of about 750 of them was established at Port Jackson (now Sydney). With them came also as settlers a certain number of soldiers and government officials. The objects of the convict settlement were: (1) to rid the mother-country of the intolerable nuisance arising from the daily increasing accumulation of criminals in her gaols; (2) to afford a suitable place for the safe custody and punishment of these criminals, as well as for their ultimate and progressive reformation; (3) to form a British colony out of such material as the reformed criminals might gradually supply to the government, in addition to the families of free emigrants who might be induced to settle in the country. This method would scarcely seem likely to have any large measure of success; and there were, it is true, many serious drawbacks and grave evils. In the history of the Australian colonies, the period has been called the "convict epoch," and the horrors of the transportation system are perhaps most forcibly depicted in a powerful novel, "For the Term of his Natural Life," by Marcus Clarke,

who was himself an Australian. The details he gives are terrible, not to say gruesome in the extreme, but there is unfortunately little doubt that he is describing what actually happened. Transportation as a system of punishment is now recognized as useless, but it must be remembered that in 1788 the penal code was much more severe than it is at present, and very many of the persons transported were by no means vicious; after a longer or shorter period they would be assigned as servants to the free settlers and might ultimately gain their full freedom. Thus, despite every likelihood to the contrary, there grew up in Australia "a new and splendid country, a grand centre of civilization." As the colony prospered, and grew larger by the efforts of the various explorers, the free settlers became more and more opposed to the Transportation system, and in 1867 it came to an end for ever.

After 1813, the colony entered on its second phase, the period that has been aptly named the "pastoral epoch." The fertile pasture-land beyond the Blue Mountains was opened up, sheep were brought in from the Cape, sheep-farming became the great industry of the colony, and the squatter was soon a familiar figure. This period in the history of the Australian colonies, the period particularly of the foundation of New South Wales, is well painted in the novels of Henry Kingsley (brother of the more celebrated Charles Kingsley), entitled "Geoffrey Hamlyn," and "The Hillyars and the Burtons."

At the suggestion of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a more systematic plan of colonization was tried after 1830.

He advocated the sale of the land, and the application of the money thus acquired to assisting the right kind of immigrants. But the accidental discovery of gold in Victoria did more than any number of plans and theories to further the progress of the Australian colonies. It brought a new class of labour into the country, and raised the standard of living. It attracted persons of enterprise and intelligence, who engaged either in mining operations or in the keeping of stores for the sale of every description of goods likely to be required by the mining population.

The colonization of Australia has, on the whole, had few difficulties to contend with, few, at least, of the political difficulties that have arisen in our other colonies. The colonists have been nearly all of one race ; except in New Zealand, there has been little opposition from natives ; trade has never been taxed for the benefit of England ; the climate is good and the soil fertile. Step by step progress in the direction of self-government has been made by the seven colonies, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. In February, 1890, a conference of representatives from each colony was held at Melbourne, when the wisdom of federal government and of the union of the Australian colonies under the Crown was clearly demonstrated. It was agreed that a Governor-General should be appointed by the Crown, that there should be free trade between all federated colonies, and that the federal forces should be under one commander. As soon as the plan was agreed to by three colonies, the Imperial parliament was

to be asked to establish it. This was accomplished in 1900, and the dawn of the twentieth century sees the beginning of a great Australian Federation, free and self-governing in every essential, yet full of a wider and sounder Imperial patriotism than ever before, recognizing the Empire as one great whole, every part of which may and must help the rest, proud of its origin, of the part it plays in the development of the great Anglo-Saxon race, and proudest of all of being a part of that race. It has been said of the future of the Australian colonies:—

“With a people to whom war is scarcely more than a name, with a land in which no one with health and honesty need want, with boundless opportunities for enterprise, with a health-giving and inspiring climate, with traditions of a great mother-land as proud of her children across the sea as they of her, Australasia can look with sure and steadfast hope into the unknown future.”

The history of British expansion in Africa is a subject full of difficulties. It would seem that the Anglo-Saxon race is gradually dominating that continent from north to south, from east to west, and that the railway from Cairo to the Cape, so long regarded as the chimera of an ambitious man's fancy, is in a fair way to be realized at no very distant date. The larger part of the exploration of the interior of the continent has been due to Englishmen like Mungo Park and David Livingstone and their successors. Central Africa, and especially the great equatorial lake system, has been gradually opened out to commerce, and traders have made their way

along the courses of the great rivers, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi. We govern Egypt in the north, Cape Colony, Natal, the Vaal and Orange River Colonies, Basutoland and Rhodesia in the south, besides holding the protectorate of Bechuanaland. In the west our colonies include Gambia, the Gold Coast Colony, Sierra Leone, Lagos, Northern and Southern Nigeria. In the east and centre we hold protectorates over Somaliland, Uganda, Witu, Zanzibar, and the territories known as the East African and the British Central African protectorates.

There is a touch of romance, amid much that is grim and sad, in Great Britain's relations with Egypt. It is a joining of hands by one of the oldest civilizations with one of the newest, to the benefit of both in different kinds. The Egypt of modern history was a Turkish province, and the Khedive (viceroy) of Egypt was the vassal of the Sultan of Turkey. But the Turk is notorious for bad government, and the harsh fate of the ancient territories of the Nile induced France and England, the two European states most interested in Egypt, to intervene. The Suez Canal was the work of a French engineer, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps. The Khedive fully approved of the enterprise, and attempted improvements on his own account, the cost of which he defrayed by laying very heavy taxes on the peasants. Even so, he became involved in pecuniary difficulties, and was very glad to sell his shares in the Suez Canal to England. England thus gained a certain control over the water-way, a matter of vast importance to her, since it had naturally become the high road to India.

Despite the fact that the Khedive's difficulties were not removed, he grew impatient of foreign control, and tried to shake it off. His efforts failed; he was deposed in 1879, and although his son virtually ruled in his stead, the country came under the dual control of France and England. In 1882 a national Egyptian party was formed for the purpose of ousting European intervention and authority. France left England to face the situation alone, and since then Great Britain has been the real ruler of Egypt. But there were many difficulties to be overcome before Egypt could profit by the change of masters. A religious rising in the Soudan, led by a fanatical prophet called the Mahdi, gave the English much trouble, aggravated here, as elsewhere and at other times, by the lack of a consistent policy in the home government. It caused the defeat and death of General Hicks in 1883, the fall of Khartoum, and the tragic end of General Gordon, one of England's greatest soldiers and heroes, in 1885. Gordon had been appointed governor of the equatorial provinces of Central Africa in 1873, and in 1877 Governor-General of the Soudan. He succeeded in greatly improving the means of communication and in suppressing the slave trade, and his administration had a good effect on the local chiefs. In 1884 he was sent to crush the rebellion of the Mahdi, with instructions to evacuate the Soudan, and leave an organized government behind. He kept the foe at bay for ten months. Relief came too late, however, and he fell in the attack on Khartoum, January 26, 1885. "This earth," as Tennyson declared, "has never borne a nobler man" than Gordon, who

wrote to his sister barely six weeks before his death, "I have done the best for the honour of my country. Good-bye." The disaster was retrieved by Lord Kitchener at the battle of Omdurman in September, 1898, and Gordon's statue and Memorial College mark the scene of his lonely fate.

Neither Turkish nor French rule had brought prosperity to Egypt, but the British policy of reconstruction is repairing the confidence of the natives and the credit of the Khedive, and may be trusted to effect lasting good. The irrigation system that has done so much to promote agriculture, the transformation of the fellahen into useful members of society in the capacity of labourers, artisans, soldiers, and police, and the general material improvement of their condition are due to England alone. There is no more fascinating problem than that of the irrigation of a land like Egypt, where no rain falls to fertilize the ground. The engineer, Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, to whose skill and energy, combined with the efficient and ungrudging support of all his co-workers, the present successful system is due, humorously styled himself the head of the "rain" department. The work of that department—the artificial supply of water to a whole country—has revolutionized the agricultural condition of Egypt and saved its inhabitants from ruin. Another boon was the abolition of their forced labour under the *Corvée* system, by which the fellah could be dragged from his home and compelled to assist in the execution of public works. Sir Alfred Milner summed up the task of England in Egypt when he said, in 1892: "Alike by the nature of our interests, by the nature of

our power, and by certain special qualities in our national character, we seem marked out for the discharge of this particular duty. Our interests in Egypt are absolutely identical with those of the Egyptian people. We are their principal customers, and they also are very important customers of Great Britain. . . . And if Egyptian prosperity is a British interest, so is Egyptian independence. We have no desire to possess ourselves of Egypt, but we have every reason to prevent any rival power from so possessing itself. And there is no sure, no creditable manner of providing permanently against such a contingency except to build up a system of government so stable as to leave no excuse for future foreign intervention."

Cape Colony, to travel south, was originally settled by the Dutch, who merely regarded it, however, as a place of call in case of need for the trading ships of the various nations. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company established a station there, so that sailors and traders might be sure of finding supplies ready to hand on their voyages. By the Peace of Paris (1814) Cape Colony became the property of Great Britain. Since then her possessions in South Africa have largely increased, and she has found the ruling of that part of her Empire an exceedingly difficult task. Expensive wars have been compulsory, and a large number of problems, many of which are not yet solved, have had to be considered. The British policy, it must be confessed, has been vacillating and hesitating—conditions that do not make for good government. Despite many pretences of friendship, the Dutch settlers, known as the

Boers, have always been hostile towards the English—the major portion of the immigrant population; and their treatment of the native races has left much to be desired. Our difficulties, too, have been materially increased by the attitude of the native races, who have but slowly begun to recognize our good intentions towards them. In 1835 the Boers “trekked,” as they call it, north and east, but they were followed by the British, who annexed Natal in 1843, and British Kaffraria in 1865. Similar struggles have been going on ever since, and the whole question has been vastly complicated by the discovery of the diamond and gold mines. The Boers could count occasional successes in arms, but showed a singular incapacity for wise and just government in their South African Republic, which the British annexed in 1871, and restored in 1881. The long and troublesome negotiations and discussions, interrupted and embittered by desultory fighting, led at last to the Third Boer War of 1899–1901, in which the Boers of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State have finally lost their independence. There is little doubt that only a firm, settled government is needed to make South Africa one of the most prosperous parts of the British Empire, and it is hoped that the ultimate settlement of the various South African provinces under a confederation owing suzerainty to England may speedily be accomplished.

Before quitting the historical side of our subject, and turning to its literary and philosophical aspects, let us reiterate most emphatically that without command of the sea we could not preserve intact our Colonial

Empire. As we stated in the beginning, our colonial possessions have been won by our sea-power, and can only be retained by it. That the extension and strengthening of this sea-power has been and still must be the basis of England's colonial policy is well brought out by Captain Mahan in the following passage :—

“The road to India—in the days of Clive a distant and perilous voyage, on which she had not a stopping-place of her own—was reinforced, as opportunity offered, by the acquisition of St. Helena, of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Mauritius. When steam made the Red Sea and Mediterranean route practicable, England acquired Aden, and yet later has established herself at Socotra. Malta had already fallen into her hands during the wars of the French Revolution ; and her commanding position, as the corner stone upon which the coalitions against Napoleon rested, enabled her to claim it at the Peace of 1815. Being but a short thousand miles from Gibraltar, the circles of military command exercised by these two places intersect. The present day has seen the stretch from Malta to the Isthmus of Suez, formerly without a station, guarded by the cession to her of Cyprus. Egypt, despite the jealousy of France, has passed under English control. . . . [Her sea-power] made her rich, and in turn protected the trade by which she had her wealth. . . . Her power was everywhere that her ships could reach, and there was none to dispute the sea to her. . . . [She was the one nation that] used the sea in peace to earn its wealth, and ruled it in war by the extent of its navy, by the number of its subjects

who lived on the sea or by the sea, and by its numerous bases of operations scattered over the globe."

The most casual reading of the extracts that follow will readily show the unity of view that prevails in them, from Francis Bacon to the Earl of Beaconsfield. The key-note of that view is struck by Bacon in the wise essay that stands at their head. His remarks on the advantages of colonization, and on the right and wrong ways of dealing with plantations, are re-echoed through a period of more than two hundred years, and many of the problems put forward by Bacon are not yet solved. He pointed out the wrong and foolishness of expecting to derive profit in the first years of planting a new colony,* the short-sightedness of using "the scum of the people and wicked, condemned men" as colonists; the evil consequences of digging for mineral wealth; the necessity of giving undivided control to one fit governor, who should be a nobleman or gentleman rather than a merchant who looks ever to immediate gain. Savages, he contends, must be used justly and graciously, and their favour is not to be won by helping them to invade our enemies. He concludes with the sage remark that, a plantation once made, "it is the sinfullest thing in the world" to forsake it. Most of the troubles that our Colonial Empire has brought upon us have been caused by the violation of one or other of those principles. Early explorers, planters, and colonial governors, like

* If it took fifty years to make anything of New Zealand, a country with every natural advantage, how much longer, then, must it be before a country like Rhodesia, which lacks every natural advantage, can be made profitable to the promoters of the colony?

Captain John Smith, Edward Winslow, Robert Cushman and Sir George Peckham, write much in the vein of Bacon regarding the reasons for planting colonies, the qualities necessary for a colonist, and the things harmful to colonization. Sir Humphry Gilbert discourses of the advantages of a north-west passage; and many explorers since his time have sacrificed their lives in the quest. Sir Walter Raleigh dilates on the wonders of the gold mines of Guiana, little dreaming of the untold wealth that was to accrue to future generations of his countrymen from the mines of Australia and South Africa. Michael Drayton, the most distinguished of the Elizabethan group of patriotic poets, devotes a spirited poem to the Virginian voyage. Andrew Marvell, the friend of Milton, makes the Bermuda emigrants the subject of his verse. Very soon the colonies begin to hold a more prominent place in the political world of England. Lord Clarendon was perhaps the first to demonstrate their political importance. Evelyn records in his diary the doings of what was practically our first Colonial Office, while Bishop Berkeley about 1725 prophecies with remarkable insight:—

Westward the course of Empire takes her way ;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day :
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Adam Smith, whom we may almost call the founder of the science of political economy, treats at length in his "Wealth of Nations" of the question of the economic value of colonies. Burke and Pitt are eloquent in their despair at the prospect of losing America, and we learn

from Gibbon's familiar letters what went on in the House of Commons during the anxious time of the breach with America. Travellers and settlers in Australia relate their adventures and their impressions of the new country that was to take the place of the lost colonies of America, and Mungo Park and David Livingstone tell the story of their explorations in Africa. Wordsworth, Southey, and De Quincey reflect in their prose and poetry the growing influence of the expansion of the Empire on the minds of thoughtful men, who were inspired by a true and high patriotism, combining the spirit of the philosopher with that of the man hopeful of the future of his country. Thomas Carlyle, in his downright, straightforward fashion, goes to the root of things, pointing out with relentless vigour errors in our colonial policy, and giving emphatic utterance to his panacea for most human evils—the discovery of great men fitted for great tasks. And the series is closed by the Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield, than whom perhaps no single man has done more to aid the growth and acceptance of the Imperial idea among the English people.

From a purely literary point of view these extracts would serve as a lesson in the development of English prose from John Smith's Elizabethan manner, which, though plainer, is curiously akin to that of Lyly and Sidney, through the unadorned phrases of Adam Smith and the stately periods of Burke, whose prose possessed a variety and a richness unknown to any of his literary ancestors, and whose speeches on America are perhaps the finest examples of it, to the

rugged individuality of Carlyle, and the clear yet impassioned utterances of the Earl of Beaconsfield. The extracts here given in no way exhaust the subject; in any selection of the sort it must always be a case of other men, other minds. Neither have the passages here set down been chosen from the standpoint of literary excellence or charm, although many of them are not deficient in those qualities. The idea in the editor's mind has been that the extracts should, as far as possible, tell the story of the Growth of Greater Britain, and in doing so should preserve some soul of internal unity.

Sir John Seeley defined the Empire as "an enlargement of the English State, not simply of English nationality." We have travelled far towards that enlargement since the last years of Elizabeth, when England had no possessions outside Europe, when Scotland was still a separate kingdom, and when the English only formed a colony in Ireland. During the establishment of our Colonial Empire our hand at one time or another has been against every nation, Spain, Holland, France. Our wars with France in the eighteenth century were nothing more nor less than a long duel for colonial supremacy in the world at large, in which we came off victorious. The common idea that a colony is regarded and prized by a commercial country only as a source of wealth from the increased markets for trade, and as a means for the employment of surplus labour, must not be too literally interpreted. The desire for national expansion that exists in the heart of nearly every Englishman is of more worthy descent.

It has been said that cultivated minds have a natural wish to spread the special type of civilization which they enjoy, and it is this larger and more thoughtful view of the growth of Greater Britain that the example of England should impress upon her neighbours. She should teach them to recognize an all-impelling power for good that drives the common aspiration of the Anglo-Saxon race to found and support a great Empire beyond the seas, so that the world might come to see in the British Empire the demonstration of a great scientific truth, in the survival of the race whose natural aptitude best fits it to carry on and maintain the best form of human government.

The political connection of England with her colonies will doubtless take more and more the form of a federal union like that of the Dominion of Canada and of Australia. Recent troubles in South Africa have amply proved that instead of separating the different parts of the Empire, such federative policy only serves to draw it more closely together, to weld it into one great whole. We cannot do better than close these imperfect remarks on a great subject with the following words of Lord Dufferin, in which he draws the picture of the future of Great and Greater Britain. "Increased facilities of intercourse, the multiplicity of enduring domestic ties which have been created by, and are maintained between, thousands and thousands of families at home and their emigrant relations abroad; the proximity between England and her most distant settlement, effected by constantly improving means of transit, have unified and compacted the colonial system, and, as a

consequence, instead of concentrating his attention upon his home-farm alone, John Bull is learning every day to appreciate more keenly the splendour and importance of his Imperial estates. I have always believed in our colonial future ; and my official experience has confirmed my conviction that if England would only be true to herself, and to those she has sent forth to establish the language, the law, the liberties, the manfulness, the domestic peace of Britain over the world's surface ; if she will but countenance and encourage them in maintaining their birthright as her sons ; if she will only treat them in an affectionate and sympathetic spirit : this famous Empire of ours, which is constantly asserting itself with accumulating vigour in either hemisphere, and in every clime, will find the associated realms which compose it daily growing more disposed to recognize their unity, to take a pride in their common origin and antecedents, to draw more closely together the bonds which bind them to each other and to the mother-country, to oppose in calamity and danger a still more solid front to every foe, and to preserve sacred and intact in every quarter of the globe, with an ever-deepening conviction of their superiority, the principles of that well-balanced monarchical constitution which the past experience and the current experiments of mankind prove to be best fitted to secure well-ordered persons, liberty and true parliamentary government."

BRITAIN OVER THE SEA

PART I

OF PLANTATIONS

BY FRANCIS BACON

PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children, but now it is old it begets fewer, for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil—that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others; for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods, for you must make account to lose twenty years' profit, and expect your recompense in the end; for the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no farther. It is a shameful and

unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant, and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation, for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country, to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand, as chestnuts, walnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like, and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are which grow speedily and within the year, as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radishes, artichokes of Jerusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat, barley, and oats, they ask too much labour, but with peas and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oatmeal, flour, meal, and the like in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts or birds take chiefly such as are less subject to diseases and multiply fastest, as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town, that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common

stock, and to be laid in and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion, besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private purpose. Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation, so it be not as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business, as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit; soap-ashes, likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much underground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one assisted with some counsel, and let them have commission to exercise martial laws with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness as they have God always and His service before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen than merchants, for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom till the plantation be of

strength, and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people by sending too fast company after company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably ; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations that they have built along the sea and rivers in marsh and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless, and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss. And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as men, that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfulest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness, for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.—
Essays. 1625.

REASONS FOR PLANTING COLONIES

BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, OF VIRGINIA

WHO can desire more content, that hath small means or but only his merit to advance his fortune, than to tread and plant that ground he hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue and magnanimity, what to such a mind can be more pleasant than planting and building a foundation for his posterity, got from the rude earth, by God's blessing and his own industry, without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in religion, what can he do less hurtful to any, or more agreeable to God, than to seek to convert those poor savages to know Christ and humanity, whose labours with discretion will triple requite thy charge and pains? What so truly suits with honour and honesty as the discovering things unknown, erecting towns, peopling countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue, and gain to our native mother-country a kingdom to attend her; find employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to do: so far from wronging any, as to cause posterity to remember thee, and remembering thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise?

And you, fathers, that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably covetous, or so wilfully ignorant, or so negligently careless, as that you will rather maintain your children in idle wantonness, till they grow your masters, or become so basely unkind, as they wish nothing but your deaths, so that both sorts grow dissolute,

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and although you would wish them anywhere to escape the gallows, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pounds a year, you would grudge to give half so much in adventure with them, to obtain an estate which, in a small time, but with a little assistance of your providence, might be better than your own. But if an angel should tell you that any place yet unknown can afford such fortunes, you would not believe him, no more than Columbus was believed there was any such land as is now the well-known, abounding America, much less such large regions as are yet unknown, as well in America as in Africa, and Asia, and Terra Incognita, where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed), more suiting their qualities than begging from their prince's generous disposition the labours of his subjects, the very marrow of his maintenance. I fear not want of company sufficient, were it but known what I know of those countries, and by the proof of that wealth I hope yearly to return, if God please to bless me from such accidents as are beyond my power in reason to prevent. For I am not so simple to think that ever any other motive than wealth will ever erect there a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humour at home, to stay in New England to effect my purposes.

And lest any should think the soil might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour and diligence, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure that take much more pains in England to enjoy it than I should do here in New England to

gain wealth sufficient ; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content ; for our pleasure here is still gains, in England charges and loss. Here nature and liberty afford us that freely which in England we want, or it costeth us dearly. What pleasure can be more than (being tired with any occasion ashore in planting vines, fruits, or herbs, in contriving their own grounds to the pleasure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ships, and other works, etc.) to recreate themselves before their own doors, in their own boats upon the sea, where man, woman, and child, with a small hook and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent fish at their pleasures? If a man work but three days in seven, he may get more than he can spend, unless he will be excessive. Now that cooper, carter, mason, gardener, tailor, smith, sailor, or what else, may they not make this a pretty recreation, though they fish but an hour in a day, to take more than they eat in a week? or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choice ; yet sell it, or change it with the fishermen or merchants, for anything they want. And what sport doth yield a more pleasing content, and less hurt or charge, than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea? wherein the most curious may find pleasure, profit, and content.

Thus, though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoever may in other matters do as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a commonwealth, and each in their several functions, as their labours in

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their qualities may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutual use of all.

For gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them than ranging daily those unknown parts, using fowling and fishing for hunting and hawking? and yet you shall see the wild hawks give you some pleasure, in seeing them stoop (six or seven after one another) an hour or two together, at the skulls of fish in the fair harbours, as those ashore at a fowl, and never trouble nor torment yourselves with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running and crying, "See you not a hawk?" For hunting, also, the woods, lakes, and rivers afford not only chase sufficient for any that delights in that kind of toil or pleasure, but such beasts to hunt that, besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompense thy daily labour, with a captain's pay.

For labourers, if those that sow hemp, rape, turnips, parsnips, carrots, cabbage, and such like, give twenty, thirty, forty, fifty shillings yearly for an acre of ground, and meat, drink, and wages to use it, and yet grow rich; when better or at least as good ground may be had, and cost nothing but labour, it seems strange to me any such should there grow poor.

My purpose is not to persuade children from their parents, men from their wives, nor servants from their masters: only such as with free consent may be spared: but that each parish or village, in city or country, that will but apparel their fatherless children, of thirteen or fourteen years of age, or young married people that

have small wealth to live on, here by their labour may live exceeding well: provided always that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, means to defend them, and meet provisions for them, for any place may be overlain; and it is most necessary to have a fortress (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as carpenters, masons, fishers, fowlers, gardeners, husbandmen, sawyers, smiths, spinsters, tailors, weavers, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twenty, or as there is occasion, for apprentices. The masters by this may quickly grow rich; these may learn their trades themselves, to do the like, to a general and an incredible benefit for king and country, master and servant.

But to conclude, Adam and Eve did first begin this innocent work, to plant the earth to remain to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry. Noah and his family began again the second plantation; and their seed, as it still increased, hath still planted new countries, and one country another; and so the world to that estate it is. But not without much hazard, travel, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthy fathers and their memorable offspring not been more diligent for us now in these ages than we are to plant that yet unplanted, for the after livers; had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ, and His apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the Gospel and the will of God than we, even we ourselves had at this present been as savage and as miserable as the most barbarous savage yet uncivilized. And what have ever been the works of the greatest princes of the

earth, but planting of countries and civilizing barbarous and inhuman nations to civility and humanity? whose eternal actions fill our histories.—*The Description of New England.* 1616.

ADVANTAGES OF COLONISATION

BY SIR GEORGE PECKHAM

IT is very evident that planting shall in time right amply enlarge her Majesty's territories and dominions, and prove very profitable and beneficial generally to the whole realm. It is very certain that the greatest jewel of this realm, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in martial matter or manner, is the multitude of ships, masters, and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royal navy of her Majesty, which, by reason of this voyage, shall have both increase and maintenance. And it is well known that in sundry places of this realm, ships have been built and set forth of late days, for the trade of fishing only. Yet, notwithstanding, the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realm four months, if there were none else brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our Englishmen do not go so far westerly as the especial fishing places do lie, both for plenty and greatness of fish, is that they have no succour and known safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or near thereabouts, whereas they now fish but for two

months in the year, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their coming find such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there): which shall increase the number of our ships and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing only; but much more in regard of the sundry merchandises and commodities which are there found and had in great abundance.

To what end need I endeavour myself by arguments to prove that by this voyage our navy and navigation shall be enlarged, when as there needeth none other reasor than the manifest and late example of the near neighbours to this realm, the kings of Spain and Portugal, who since the first discovery of the Indies, have not only mightily enlarged their dominions, greatly enriched themselves and their subjects, but have also by just account trebled the number of their ships, masters, and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance.

Besides this, it will prove a general benefit unto our country, that through this occasion not only a great number of men which do now live idly at home, and are burdenous, chargeable, and unprofitable to this realm, shall hereby be set to work, but also children of twelve or fourteen years of age, or under, may be kept from idleness in making of a thousand kinds of trifling things which will be good merchandise for that country. And, moreover, our idle women (which the realm may well spare) shall also be employed in plucking, drying, and sorting

of feathers ; in pulling, beating, and working of hemp ; in gathering of cotton, and divers things right necessary for dyeing. All which things are to be found in those countries most plentifully. And the men may employ themselves in dragging for pearl, working for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the whale for train oil and making casks to put the same in ; besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring ; drying, salting, and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like work, meet for those persons that are no men of art or science. . . .

Now to the end it may appear that this voyage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of ourselves and our country (as generally other trades and journeys be), it shall fall out in proof that the savages shall hereby have just cause to bless the hour when this enterprize was undertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, from the highway of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry to sincere Christianity, from the devil to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yield us (were they many more), that they should but receive this only benefit of Christianity they were more than fully recompensed.

Now, therefore, for proof that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the aid of the

prince's power and purse, I say and affirm that God hath provided such means for the furtherance of this enterprise as do stand us in stead of great treasure ; for first by reason that it hath pleased God of His great goodness of long time to hold His merciful hand over this realm, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter and by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God, He knoweth) which live in such penury and want as they could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one year for meat, drink, and apparel only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates, which is a matter in such like journeys of no small charge to the prince. Moreover, things in the like journeys of greatest price and cost, as victuals (whereof there is great plenty to be had in that country without money) and powder, great artillery, or corslets, are not needful in so plentiful and chargeable manner as the show of such a journey may present ; for a small quantity of all these, to furnish the fort only, will suffice until such times as divers commodities may be found out in those parts which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. . . .

Then shall her Majesty's dominions be enlarged, her Highness' ancient titles justly confirmed, all odious idleness from this our realm utterly banished, divers decayed towns repaired, and many poor and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloody, tyrannical neighbours, the diabolical

custom of sacrificing human creatures abolished.—
Hakluyt, *Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries*.
1599.

DRAWBACKS TO COLONISATION

BY EDWARD WINSLOW

INDEED, three things are the overthrow and bane, as I may term it, of plantations.

1. The vain expectations of instant profit which, far too commonly, take a principal seat in the heart and affections.

2. Ambition in their governors and commanders, seeking only to make themselves great, and slaves of all them under them, to maintain a transitory, base honour in themselves.

3. The carelessness of those that send over reinforcements of men unto them; not caring how they be qualified.

But, rather, if there be any too desirous of gain, let them be entreated to moderate their affections, and to consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be grown; advising all men that, as they tender their own welfare, so to make choice of such to manage and govern their affairs as are approved; not to be seekers of themselves, but of the common good of all for whom they are employed; and beseeching such as have the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of plantations, to be truly careful in sending such as may further, and not hinder, so good an action.

There is no godly, honest man but will be helpful in this kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation ; which doctrine of manners ought first to be preached, by giving a good example to the poor, savage heathens amongst whom they live. Not that we altogether, or principally, propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken ; but the glory of God, and the honour of our country, in the enlarging of his Majesty's dominions. I will not again speak of the abundance of wild fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish, which might encourage many to go in their persons. Only I advise all such beforehand to consider that as they hear of countries that abound with the good creatures of God, so means must be used for the taking of every one in his kind ; and therefore not only to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtain the same. Otherwise, as he that walketh London streets, though he be in the midst of plenty, yet if he want means, is not the better, but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth but cannot enjoy, so also there, if thou want skill and other necessaries thereunto belonging, thou mayest see that thou wantest and thy heart desirest, yet never be the better for the same. Therefore, if thou see thine own insufficiency of thyself, then join to some others, where thou mayest in some measure enjoy the same, otherwise assure thyself thou art better where thou art !

Some there be that, thinking altogether of their present wants that they suffer here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion, plunge themselves

into a deeper sea of misery. As, for example, it may be here that rent and firing are so chargeable as, without great difficulty, a man cannot accomplish the same, never considering that, as he shall have no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he have it; and, peradventure, may with more ease pay for his fuel here than cut and fetch it home (if he hath not cattle to draw it) there, though there is no scarcity, but rather too great plenty of it.—*Good News from England.* 1624.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A NORTH-WEST
PASSAGE TO CATHAY AND THE EAST
INDIES

BY SIR HUMPHRY GILBERT

By the north-west we may safely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince living, Christian or heathen, it being out of all their trades.

Also the Queen's Majesty's dominions are nearer the North-West Passage than any other great princes that might pass that way, and both in their going and return they must of necessity succour themselves and their ships upon some part of the same if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no prince's navy of the world is able to encounter the Queen's Majesty's navy as it is at this present; and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffic ensuing upon this discovery, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintain great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessary to declare what commodities would grow thereby if all these things were as we have heretofore presupposed and thought them to be, which next adjoining are briefly declared.

It were the only way for our princes to possess the wealth of all the east parts (as they term them) of the world, which is infinite; as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the Great in the time of his conquest of India and the east parts of the world, alleged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great advancement to our country, wonderful enriching to our prince, and unspeakable commodities to all the inhabitants of Europe.

For, through the shortness of the voyage, we should be able to sell all manner of merchandise brought from thence far more cheaply than either the Portuguese or Spaniard doth or may do; and further, share with the Portuguese in the east and the Spaniard in the west by trading to any part of America through Mare del Sur, where they can no manner of way offend us.

Also we sailed to divers marvellous rich countries, both civil and others, out of both their jurisdictions, trades, and traffics, where there is to be found great abundance of gold, silver, precious stones, cloth of gold, silks, all manner of spices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandise of an inestimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portuguese, through the length of their journeys, cannot well attain unto.

Also we might inhabit some part of those countries and employ there such needy people of our country who otherwise would trouble the commonwealth, and through

want here at home are enforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are daily consumed with the gallows.

Moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places have a yearly return, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada or some other part, whereas it shall seem best for the shortening of the voyage.

Beside the exporting of our country commodities, which the Indians, etc., much esteem, as appeareth in Esther, where the pomp is expressed of the great King of India, Ahasuerus, who matched the coloured clothes wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled with gold and silver, as part of his greatest treasure, not mentioning velvets, silks, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, or such like, being in those countries most plentiful, whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would have the cloths of this our country, so that there would be found a far better vent for them by this means than yet this realm ever had; and that without depending either upon France, Spain, Flanders, Portugal, Hamborough, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

Also here we shall increase both our ships and mariners without burdening of the State; and also have occasion to set poor men's children to learn handicrafts, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteem; by reason whereof there should be none occasion to have our country cumbered with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this

our discovery without injury done to any Christian prince by crossing them in any of their used trades, whereby they might take any just occasion of offence.

Thus have I briefly showed you some part of the grounds of my opinion, trusting that you will no longer judge me fantastic in this matter, seeing I have conceived no hope of this voyage, but am persuaded thereunto by the best cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certain experiences.

Also this discovery hath been divers times heretofore by others both proposed, attempted, and performed, so that the right way may now be easily found out in short time, and that with little jeopardy and less expenses.

For America is discovered so far towards the north as Cape Frido, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Greenland next adjoining is known to stand but at 72 degrees, so that we have but 10 degrees to sail north and south to put the world out of doubt hereof; and it is likely that the King of Spain and the King of Portugal would not have sat out all this while, but that they are sure to possess to themselves all that trade they now use, and fear to deal in this discovery lest the Queen's Majesty, having so good opportunity, and finding the commodity which thereby might ensue to the commonwealth, would cut them off and enjoy the whole traffic to herself, and thereby the Spaniards and Portuguese, with their great charges, should beat the bush and other men catch the birds; which thing they foreseeing, have commanded that no pilot of theirs, upon pain of death,

should seek to discover to the north-west, or plat out in any sea-card any through passage that way by the north-west.—Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. 1598-1600.

THE GOLD MINES OF GUIANA

BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH

I SENT Captain Whiddon, W. Connocke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the riverside. When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in these parts, about twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman, but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches,

the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand, easy to march on either for horse or foot ; the deer crossing in every path ; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree, with a thousand several tunes ; cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation perching on the river side ; the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to pick up promised either gold or silver by its complexion. We had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard, or harder, and besides, the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stone that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them ; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glistered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of marquesite withal from Trinidad, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same ; yet some of these stones I showed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who told me that it was El Madre del Oro, and that the mine was further in the ground. But it shall be found a weak policy in me either to betray myself or my country with imaginations, neither am I so far in love

with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill-savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon and our chirurgeon, Nicholas Millechap, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires; what they may prove I know not. I showed them to some of the Orinococoni, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamond wise. Whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know, but I hope the best; sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought.

THE SAME, *continued*

For mine own part (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships), I thought it very evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many objections. But it would have been in my opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprise, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted; for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand, and that both sought but to sack

and spoil them. But as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion, is not known unto those of the empire; and it is likely that if her Majesty undertake the enterprise, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted; and, therefore, till I had known her Majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns, although they might have been very profitable, than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby.

I after asked the manner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of stone; he told me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not severed from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, and in pieces as big as small stones, and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they used a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran, and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent two sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to show the manner of them than for the value: for I did not in any sort make my desire for gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them

many more pieces of gold than I received of the new money of twenty shillings, with her Majesty's picture, to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron, to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines; but we saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call *El Madre del Oro*, which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the white spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more than will I speak of.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above 2,000 miles east and west, and 800 miles south and north; and of these, the most either rich in gold or in other merchandises. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself instead of pence with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance, shall find there more rich and beautiful

cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizzaro in Peru; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far extended beams of the Spanish nation.

The West Indies were first offered her Majesty's grandfather by Columbus, a stranger in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and, besides, it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This empire is made known to her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received to abuse her Highness, either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to her Majesty's love and obedience, and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged, and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may in this enterprise employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year I doubt not but to see in London a Contratation house of more receipt for Guiana than there is now in Seville for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small army afoot in Guiana, marching towards Manoa, the chief city of Inga, he would yield her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly as should both

defend all enemies abroad and defray all expenses at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of 3000 or 4000 soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations; for he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea, how his own great-uncles Guascar and Atibalipa, sons to Guanacapa, Emperor of Peru, were (while they contended for the empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years, and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I further remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I pretest before the Majesty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in Peru (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience), in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshowed the loss of the said empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with those few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so her Majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same. For whatsoever prince shall possess it shall be greatest, and if the king of Spain enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall

confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions.—*The Discovery of Guiana.* 1596.

ELIZABETH AND THE EMPIRE OF THE SEAS

BY EDMUND SPENSER

BOLD men, presuming life for gain, to sell,
Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wand'ring
streams

Seek ways unknown, ways leading down to hell.

For as we stood there, waiting on the strand,
Behold! a huge great vessel to us came,

Dancing upon the waters back to land,
As if it scorned the danger of the same;

Yet was it but a wooden frame and frail,
Glued together with some subtle matter.

Yet had it arms, and wings, and head, and tail,
And life to move itself upon the water.

Strange thing; how bold and swift the monster was
That neither car'd for wind, nor hail, nor rain,

Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did pass
So proudly that she made them roar again.

The same aboard us gently did receive,
And without harm us far away did bear,

So far that land, our mother, us did leave,
And nought but sea and heaven to us appear.

Then heartless quite, and full of inward fear,
The shepherd I besought to me to tell

Under what sky, or in what world we were,
In which I saw no living people dwell.

Who, me recomforting all that he might,
Told me that that same was the regiment
Of a great shepherdess, that Cynthia hight,
His liege, his lady, and his life's regent.

"If then," quoth I, "a shepherdess she be,
Where be the flocks and herds which she doth keep?
And where may I the hills and pastures see,
On which she useth for to feed her sheep?"

"These be the hills," quoth he, "the surges high,
On which fair Cynthia her herds doth feed :

Her herds be thousand fishes with their fry,
Which in the bosom of the billows breed.

Of them the shepherd which hath charge in chief,
Is Triton, blowing loud his wreathéd horn.

At sound whereof they all for their relief
Wend to and fro at evening and at morn.

Those be the shepherds which my Cynthia serve
At sea, beside a thousand more at land :
For land and sea my Cynthia doth deserve
To have in her commandement at hand."

Colin Clout's Come Home Again. 1595.

THE ENGLISH NAVY IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

BY WILLIAM HARRISON

THE navy of England may be divided into three sorts,
of which the one serveth for the wars, the other for

burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their living for getting fishing on the sea. How many of the first order are maintained within the realm, it passeth my cunning to express; yet since it may be parted into the navy royal and common fleet, I think good to speak of those that belong unto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certain and well known to very many. Certainly there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the Queen's Majesty of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries, and either stave them in or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of any foreign barks so conveniently made, to brook so well one sea as another lying upon the shore in any part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is daily confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours.—*Holinshed's Chronicle* (Preface, "A Description of England"). 1577.

REASONS AND CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING
THE RIGHTFULNESS OF REMOVING OUT
OF ENGLAND INTO THE PARTS OF
AMERICA.

BY ROBERT CUSHMAN

1. *What persons may hence remove.*

SOME men there are who, of necessity, must here live ; as being tied to duties, either to church, commonwealth, household, kindred, etc. But others, and that many, who do no good in none of those callings, nor can do none, as being not able, or not in favour, or as wanting opportunity, and living as outcasts, nobodies, eyesores ; eating but for themselves ; teaching but themselves ; and doing good to none, either in soul or body ; and so pass over days, years, and months ; yea, so live and so die.

2. *Why they should so remove.*

Now, such should lift up their eyes and see whether there be not some other place and country to which they may go, to do good, and have use towards others of that knowledge, wisdom, humanity, reason, strength, skill, faculty, etc., which God hath given them for the service of others, and His own glory.

But some will say, "What right have I to go and live in the heathen's country?"

Letting pass the ancient discoveries, contracts, and agreements which our Englishmen have long since made in those parts, together with the acknowledgment

of the histories and chronicles of other nations ; who acknowledge the land of America, from Cape de Florida unto the Gulf of St. Lawrence—which is south and north 300 leagues and upwards, and east and west further than hath yet been discovered—belongs to the king of England. Yet, letting that pass, lest I be thought to meddle further than it concerns me, or further than I have discerning, I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight, and practice, since I have laboured in these affairs.

And first, seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means for us to take to convert them ; and the means cannot be used unless we go to them, or they come to us. To us they cannot come : our land is full. To them we may go : their land is empty.

This, then, is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live, morally right. Their land is spacious and void, and there are few ; and they do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes and wild beasts. They are not industrious, neither have art, science, skill, or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoils, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering. . . .

It being then, first, a vast and empty chaos ; secondly, acknowledged the right of our Sovereign King ; thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of divers of his loving subjects ; I see not who can doubt and call in question the righteousness of inhabiting or dwelling there ; but that it may be as lawful for such as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to live

there as well as here. Yea, and as the enterprise is weighty and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Sovereign, but chiefly to display the efficacy and power of the Gospel, both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking under it, before the faces of these poor, blind infidels. . .

The straitness is such, as each man is fair to pluck his means, as it were, out of his neighbour's throat. There is such pressing and oppressing, in town and country, about farms, trades, traffic, etc., so as a man can hardly set up a trade but he shall pull down two of his neighbours.

The towns abound with young artisans, and the hospitals are full of the ancient ones. The country is replenished with new farmers, and the almhouses are filled with old labourers. Many there are who get their living with bearing burdens; but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies. Multitudes get their means of life with prating, and so do numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits upon men always through intemperance, ill husbandry, indiscretion, etc., as some think; but even the most wise, sober, and discreet men go often to the wall when they have done their best. . . . Let us not thus oppress, straiten, and afflict one another; but seeing there is a spacious land, the way to which is through the sea, we will end this difference in a day.—
A Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England. 1622.

DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA, AND REASONS
FOR ITS COLONIZATION

BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

THE mildness of the air, the fertility of the soil, the situation of the rivers, are so propitious to the nature and use of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and man's sustenance. Under that latitude or climate, here will live any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, etc., as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, isles, and shoals are full of safe harbours for ships of war or merchandise, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing.

The bay and rivers have much merchandable fish, and places fit for salt, coals, building of ships, making of iron.

Muscovia and Polonia do yearly receive many thousands, for pitch, tar, soap-ashes, resin, flax, cordage, sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, furs, glass, and such like; also Swethland for iron and copper. France in like manner for wine, canvas, and salt; Spain as much for iron, steel, figs, raisins, and sacks. Italy, with silks and velvets, consumes our chief commodities. Holland maintains itself by fishing and trading at our own doors. All these temporize with other for necessities; but all as uncertain as peace or wars; besides the charge, travel, and danger in transporting them, by seas, land, storms, and pirates. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all these flourishing kingdoms for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those

are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour? So, then, here is a place, a nurse for soldiers, a practice for mariners, a trade for merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a business (most acceptable to God) to bring such poor infidels to the true knowledge of God and His Holy Gospel.—*A Map of Virginia with a Description of the Country, etc.* 1612.

HOW POCAHONTAS, THE SAVAGE GIRL, SAVED CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S LIFE

THE savages having drawn from George Cassen whither Captain Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity, they followed him with three hundred bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who in divisions searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fireside; those they shot full of arrows and slew. Then finding the captain, as is said, that used the savage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slain, and divers others so galled) all the rest would not come near him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched, more than his way, he slipped up to the middle in an oozy creek and his savage with him; yet durst they not come to him till being near dead with cold he threw away his arms. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his men were slain. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs.

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco, where was Powhatan their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at him as he had been a monster ; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire, upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe made of rarowcun skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side the house two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red ; many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, but every one with something ; and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At his entrance before the king all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appainatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted them after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan ; then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his to save him from death ; whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her, bells, beads, and copper ; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselves.—

Ibid.

TO THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE

BY MICHAEL DRAYTON

YOU brave heroic minds
Worthy your country's name,
That honour still pursue ;
Go and subdue,
Whilst loitering hinds
Lurk here at home with shame.

Britons, you stay too long :
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale,
Swell your stretched sail,
With vows as strong
As the winds that blow you.

Your course securely steer
West and by south forth keep,
Rocks, leeshores nor shoals
When Eolus scowls
You need not fear,
So absolute the deep.

And cheerfully at sea,
Success you still entice
To get the pearl and gold
And ours to hold
Virginia,
Earth's only paradise.

Where nature hath in store
Fowl, venison, and fish,
And the fruitfull'st soil
Without your toil
Three harvests more,
All greater than your wish.
And the ambitious vine
Crowns with his purple mass,
The cedar reaching high
To kiss the sky,
The cypress, pine,
And useful sassafras.
To whom the golden age
Still nature's laws doth give,
Nor other cares attend
But them to defend
From winter's rage,
That long there doth not live.
When as the luscious smell
Of that delicious land
Above the sea that flows
The clear wind throws
Your hearts to swell
Approaching the dear strand.
In kenning of the shore
(Thanks to God first given),
O you the happiest men,
Be frolic then ;
Let cannons roar,
Frighting the wide heaven.

And in regions far,
Such heroes bring ye forth,
As those from whom we came ;
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our north.

And as there plenty grows
Of laurel everywhere,—
Apollo's sacred tree,—
You it may see
A poet's brows
To crown that may sing there.

Thy voyages attend,
Industrious Hackluit,
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seek fame,
And much commend
To after times thy wit.

1605.

A PLAIN DESCRIPTION OF THE BERMUDAS

FOR the islands of the Bermudas, as every man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were never inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and enchanted place, affording nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather, which made every navigator and mariner to avoid them, as Scylla and Charybdis, or as they would shun the

devil himself; and no man was ever heard to make for the place, but as against their wills, they have by storms and dangerousness of the rocks, lying seven leagues into the sea, suffered shipwreck, yet did we find there the air so temperate, and the country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preservation of man's life. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this island is, that whereas it hath been, and is still accounted the most dangerous, unfortunate, and most forlorn place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land.

And whercas it is reported that the land of Bermudas, with the islands about it (which are many, at the least a hundred), are enchanted and kept with evil and wicked spirits; it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we have brought no wicked spirits with us, or that there come none after us, for we found none there so ill as ourselves, and never saw any evil or hurtful thing in the land all the time; no, nor any noisome thing or hurtful, more than a poor fly, which tarries not above two or three months.

The climate I hold to be very good and agreeable with our constitutions of England, and for the victual very wholesome and good; your airs in England are far more subject to diseases than these islands are.

Our enchanted island, which is kept, as some say, with spirits, will wrong no friend nor foe, but yield all men their expectations.

We are here together far remote from our native soil of England, and yet are indeed the natural subjects of our most royal and gracious King James of England.

We do solemnly promise evermore to continue the loyal subjects of our said sovereign king, his heirs and successors, and never to revolt from him, or them, unto any other whatsoever, but evermore to acknowledge his supreme government.—Peter Force, *Tracts*. 1844.

SONG OF THE EMIGRANTS IN BERMUDA

BY ANDREW MARVELL

WHERE the remot Bermudas ride
In the ocean's bosom unespied,
From a small boat that row'd along
The listening winds received this song :
" What should we do but sing His praise
That led us through the watery maze
Where He the huge sea-monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs,
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own ?
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storms, and prelate's rage :
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels everything,
And sends the fowls to us in care
On daily visits through the air.
He hangs in shades the orange bright
Like golden lamps in a green night,
And does in the pomegranates close
Jewels more rich than Ormus shows :
He makes the figs our mouths to meet

And throws the melons at our feet ;
 But apples plants of such a price,
 No tree could ever bear them twice.
 With cedars chosen by His hand
 From Lebanon He stores the land ;
 And makes the hollow seas that roar
 Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
 He cast (of which we rather boast)
 The Gospel's pearl upon our coast ;
 And in these rocks for us did frame
 A temple where to sound His name.
 Oh ! let our voice His praise exalt
 Till it arrive at Heaven's vault,
 Which thence (perhaps) rebounding may
 Echo beyond the Mexique bay !"

Thus sung they in the English boat
 An holy and a cheerful note :
 And all the way, to guide their chime,
 With falling oars they kept the time.

1681.

IDEAL OF PURITAN ENGLAND

BY JOHN MILTON

LORDS and Commons of England, consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors ; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit ; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion

house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth than there be pens and heads there, sitting by the studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation: others as fast treading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance.—*Arcopagitica*. 1644.

THE COLONIES UNDER CROMWELL

BY THE EARL OF CLARENDON

ALL the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke; and, indeed, without any other damage or inconvenience than the having citizens and inferior persons put to govern them, instead of gentlemen who had been

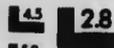
entrusted by the king in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the Crown not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed, and settled a Government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war, and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from further prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years in that plantation) they were more willing to live in subjection to that Government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions, which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for. Nor was any other alteration there, than the removing of the Lord Willoughby of Parham (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being governor there by the king's commission) and putting an inferior, mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia, which was the most ancient plantation, and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir William Berkeley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen and others thither as to a place of security, which he could defend



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

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against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estates they had been able to preserve ; with which the honest governor—for no man meant better—was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas ! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves—all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building ports, or any places of retreat—that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the Parliament than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkeley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation, which was a better subsistence than he could have found anywhere else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience.— *History of the Rebellion in England.* 1704-7.

THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN PLANTATIONS

BY JOHN EVELYN

February, 28, 1671.—The treasurer acquainted me that his Majesty was graciously pleased to nominate me one of the Council of Foreign Plantations, and give me a salary of £500 per annum to encourage me.

May 26, 1671.—[The Council] was to advise and counsel his Majesty, to the best of our abilities, for the well-governing of his foreign plantations. The first thing we did was to settle the form of a circular letter to the Governors of all his Majesty's plantations and territories in the West Indies and islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government ; but what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which, appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them ; for the condition of that colony was such that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation. His Majesty, therefore, commended this affair more expressly. We therefore thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition. Some of our council were for sending them

a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that colony, were utterly against.

June 6, 1671.—I went to council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate; but at length it was concluded that if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown.—*Diary.* 1671.

GEORGIA: A COLONY FOUNDED ON PHILANTHROPIC LINES

IN America there are fertile lands sufficient to subsist all the useless poor in England and distressed Protestants in Europe; yet thousands starve for want of mere sustenance. The distance makes it difficult to get thither. The same want that renders men useless here prevents their paying their passage; and if others pay it for 'em, they become servants, or rather slaves, for years to those who have defrayed the expense. Therefore, money for passage is necessary, but is not the only want; for if people were set down in America, and the land before them, they must cut down trees, build houses, fortify towns, dig and sow the land before they

can get in a harvest; and till then they must be provided with food, and kept together, that they may be assistant to each other for their natural support and protection.

Some Regulations from the Charter granted to Oglethorpe by George II.

His Majesty having taken into his consideration the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want, and having a princely regard to the great danger the Southern frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, hath, out of his fatherly compassion towards his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of *the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*. They are empowered to collect benefactions, and lay them out in clothing, arming, sending over, and supporting colonies of the poor, whether subjects or foreigners, in Georgia. And his Majesty further grants all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, unto the Trustees, in trust for the poor, and for the better support of the colony. At the desire of the gentlemen, there are clauses in the charter restraining them and their successors from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit whatsoever, by or from this undertaking, and also from receiving any grant of lands within the said district, to themselves, or in trust for them. There are further clauses granting to the Trustees proper powers

for establishing and governing the colony, and liberty of conscience to all who shall settle there.

The Trustees intend to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner, so as to form a well-regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charge of their passage to Georgia, give them necessaries, cattle, land, and subsistence, till such time as they can build their houses, and clear some of their land.

By such a colony, many families, who would otherwise starve, will be provided for, and made masters of houses and lands; the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burthen will be relieved; numbers of manufacturers will be here employed for supplying them with clothes, working-tools, and other necessaries.

The colony of Georgia lying about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras, it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufacturers, which she is obliged to purchase from southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British colonies on the continent of America safe from Indian and other enemies.

All human affairs are so subject to chance that therein is no answering for events; yet, from reason and the nature of things, it may be concluded that the riches

and also the number of the inhabitants in Great Britain will be increased by importing at a cheap rate from this new colony the materials requisite for carrying on in Britain several manufactures. For our manufacturers will be encouraged to marry and multiply, when they find themselves in circumstances to provide for their families, which must necessarily be the happy effect of the increase and cheapness of our materials of those manufactures which at present we purchase with our money from foreign countries, at dear rates; and also many people will find employment here, on account of such further demands by the people of this colony, for those manufactures which are made for the produce of our own country; and, as has been justly observed, the people will always abound where there is full employment for them.

The Trustees, in their general meetings, will consider of the most prudent methods for effectually establishing a regular colony; and that it may be done is demonstrable. Under what difficulties was Virginia planted?—the coast and climate then unknown; the Indians numerous, and at enmity with the first planters, who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it is grown a mighty province, and the revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon the goods that they send yearly home. Within this fifty years, Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now; and in these few years, by the wise economy of William Penn, and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

This new colony is more likely to succeed than either of the former were, since Carolina abounds with provisions, the climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the seasons and nature of cultivating the soil. There are but few Indian families within 400 miles; and those, in perfect amity with the English. Port Royal (the station of his Majesty's ships) is within 30, and Charlestown (a great mart) is within 120 miles. If the colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea, from Port Royal, or the Bahamas; and the militia of South Carolina is ready to support it by land.—Peter Force, *Tracts*. 1835.

ON THE PROSPECT OF PLANTING ARTS AND
LEARNING IN AMERICA

BY BISHOP BERKELEY

THE Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame :

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true :

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools :

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay ;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes her way ;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day :
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

1725 (?).

CAUSES OF THE PROSPERITY OF NEW COLONIES

BY ADAM SMITH

THE colony of a civilized nation which takes possession either of a waste country or of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to the new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society.

The colonists carry out with them a knowledge of agriculture and of other useful arts, superior to what can grow up of its own accord in the course of many centuries among savage and barbarous nations. They carry out with them, too, the habit of subordination, some notion of the regular government which takes place in their own country, of the system of laws which

supports it, and of a regular administration of justice ; and they naturally establish something of the same kind in the new settlement. But among savage and barbarous nations, the natural progress of law and government is still slower than the natural progress of arts, after law and government have been so far established as is necessary for their protection. Every colonist gets more land than he can possibly cultivate. He has no rent, and scarce any taxes to pay. No landlord shares with him in his produce, and the share of the sovereign is commonly but a trifle. He has every motive to render as great as possible a produce, which is thus to be almost entirely his own. But his land is commonly so extensive, that with all his own industry, and with all the industry of other people whom he can get to employ, he can seldom make it produce the tenth part of what it is capable of producing. He is eager, therefore, to collect labourers from all quarters, and to reward them with the most liberal wages. But those liberal wages, joined to the plenty and cheapness of land, soon make those labourers leave him, in order to become landlords themselves, and to reward, with equal liberality, other labourers, who soon leave them for the same reason that they left their first master. The high wages of labour encourage population. The cheapness and plenty of good land encourage improvement, and enable the proprietor to pay those high wages. What encourages the progress of population and improvement, encourages that of real wealth and greatness.

There are no colonies of which the progress has been more rapid than that of the English in North America.

Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies. The political institutions of the English colonies have been more favourable to the improvement and cultivation of this land than those of the other three nations.

First, the engrossing of uncultivated land, though it has by no means been prevented altogether, has been more restrained in the English colonies than in any other. The colony law which imposes upon every proprietor the obligation of improving and cultivating, within a limited time, a certain proportion of his lands, and which, in case of failure, declares those neglected lands grantable to any other person, though it has not, perhaps, been very strictly executed, has, however, had some effect.

Secondly, in all the English colonies the tenure of the lands facilitates alienation, and the grantee of any extensive tract of land generally finds it for his interest to alienate, as fast as he can, the greater part of it, reserving only a small quit-rent. The engrossing of uncultivated land is the greatest obstruction to its improvement. The labour of the English colonists, therefore, being more employed in the improvement and cultivation of land, is likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, than that of any of the other three nations, which, by the engrossing of land, is more or less diverted towards other employments.

Thirdly, the labour of the English colonists is not only likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, but, in consequence of the moderation of their

taxes, a greater proportion of this produce belongs to themselves, which they may store up and employ in putting into motion a still greater quantity of labour. The English colonists have never yet contributed anything towards the support of its civil government. They themselves, on the contrary, have hitherto been defended almost entirely at the expense of the mother-country. But the expense of fleets and armies is out of all proportion greater than the necessary expense of civil government. The expense of their own civil government has always been very moderate.

Fourthly, in the disposal of their surplus produce, or of what is over and above their own consumption, the English colonies have been more favoured, and have been allowed a more extensive market, than those of any other European nations. Under so liberal a policy, the colonies are enabled both to sell their own produce and to buy the goods of Europe at a reasonable price. In the exportation of their own surplus produce, too, it is only with regard to certain commodities that the colonies of Great Britain are confined to the market of the mother-country.

To increase the shipping and naval power of Great Britain by the extension of the fisheries of our colonies, is an object which the legislature seems to have had almost constantly in view. Those fisheries, upon this account, have had all the encouragement which freedom can give them, and they have flourished accordingly.

The most perfect freedom of trade is permitted between the British colonies of America and the West Indies. These colonies are now become so populous

and thriving, that each of them finds in some of the others a great and extensive market for every part of its produce.

The liberality of England, however, towards the trade of her colonies has been confined chiefly to what concerns the market for their produce, either in its rude state, or in what may be called the very first stage of manufacture. The more advanced or more refined manufactures, even of the colony produce, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain choose to reserve to themselves, and have prevailed upon the legislature to prevent their establishment in the colonies, sometimes by high duties, and sometimes by absolute prohibitions.

To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind. Unjust, however, as such prohibitions may be, they have not hitherto been very hurtful to the colonies. In their present state of improvement, those prohibitions, perhaps without cramping their industry, or restraining it from any employment to which it would have gone of its own accord, are only impertinent badges of slavery imposed upon them, without any sufficient reason, by the groundless jealousy of the merchants and manufacturers of the mother-country. In a more advanced state they might be really oppressive and insupportable.

Of the greater part of the regulations concerning the colony trade, the merchants who carry it on, it must be

observed, have been the principal advisers. We must not wonder, therefore, if, in the greater part of them, their interest has been more considered than either that of the colonies or that of the mother-country. But though the policy of Great Britain with regard to the trade of her colonies has been dictated by the same mercantile spirit as that of other nations, it has, however, upon the whole, been less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of them.

THE SAME—*continued*

IN everything except their foreign trade, the liberty of the English colonists to manage their own affairs their own way is complete. It is in every respect equal to that of their fellow-citizens at home, and is secured in the same manner, by an assembly of the representatives of the people, who claim the sole right of imposing taxes for the support of the colony government.

It is in the progress of the North American colonies that the superiority of the English policy chiefly appears. Yet the government of England contributed scarce anything towards effectuating their establishment. The adventures were all at the private risk and expense of the adventurers. The English Puritans, restrained at home, fled for freedom to America, and established there the four governments of New England. The English Catholics, treated with much greater injustice, established that of Maryland, the Quakers that of Pennsylvania. Thus, upon these different occasions it was not the

wisdom and policy, but the disorder and injustice of the government which peopled an uncultivated America.

In one way, and in one way only, did the policy of England contribute to the first establishment, or the present grandeur of the colonies of America. It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great action, and of laying the foundation of so great an empire. The colonies owe to this policy the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders; and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns the government, owe to it scarce anything else.

To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be, adopted by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride, of every nation, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, they are always contrary to the private interest of the governing part of it, who would thereby be deprived of the disposal of many places of trust and profit, of many opportunities of acquiring wealth and distinction, which the possession of the most turbulent, and, to the great

body of the people, the most unprofitable province seldom fails to afford. The most visionary enthusiasts would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure, with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be immediately freed from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies, but might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually ensure to her a free trade, more advantageous to the great body of the people, though less so to the merchants, than the monopoly which she at present enjoys. By thus parting good friends, the natural affection of the colonies to the mother-country, which perhaps our late dissensions have well nigh extinguished, would quickly revive. It might dispose them not only to respect for whole centuries together that treaty of commerce which they had concluded with us at parting, but to favour us in war as well as in trade, and, instead of turbulent and factious subjects, to become our most faithful, affectionate, and generous allies; and the same sort of parental affection on the one side, and filial respect on the other, might revive between Great Britain and her colonies which used to subsist between those of Ancient Greece and the mother-city from which they descended.—*Wealth of Nations*. 1776.

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

BY EDMUND BURKE

PERMIT me, then, to lead your attention very far back ; back to the Act of Navigation—the corner-stone of the policy of this country with regard to its colonies. That policy was from the beginning purely commercial ; and the commercial system was wholly restrictive. It was the system of a monopoly. No trade was let loose from that constraint, but merely to enable the colonists to dispose of what, in the course of your trade, you could not take ; or to enable them to dispose of such articles as we forced upon them, and for which, without some degree of liberty, they could not pay. Hence all your specific and detailed enumerations ; hence the innumerable checks and counter-checks ; hence that infinite variety of paper chains by which you bind together this complicated system of the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no less than twenty-nine Acts of Parliament, from the year 1600 to the unfortunate period of 1764.

In all those Acts the system of commerce is established, as that from whence alone you proposed to make the colonies contribute (I mean directly, and by the operation of your superintending legislative power) to the Empire.

They who are friends to the schemes of American revenue say that the commercial restraint is full as hard a law for America to live under. I think so too. I think it, if uncompensated, to be a condition of as

rigorous servitude as men can be subject to. But America bore it from the fundamental Act of Navigation until 1764. Why? Because men do bear the inevitable constitution of their original nature with all its infirmities. The Act of Navigation attended the colonies from their infancy, grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. They were confirmed in obedience to it, even more by usage than by law. They scarcely had remembered a time when they were not subject to such restraint. Besides, they were indemnified for it by a pecuniary compensation. Their monopolist happened to be one of the richest men in the world. By his immense capital, primarily employed not for their benefit but his own, they were enabled to proceed with their fisheries, their agriculture, their ship-building (and their trade too, within the limits) in such a manner as got far the start of the slow, languid operations of unassisted nature. This capital was a hot-bed to them. Nothing in the history of mankind is like their progress. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the colonies of yesterday; than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago not so much sent as thrown out, on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse.

All this was done by England, whilst England pursued trade, and forgot revenue. You not only acquired

commerce, but you actually created the very objects of trade in America ; and by that creation you raised the trade of this kingdom at least fourfold. America had the compensation of your capital, which made her bear her servitude. She had another compensation which you are now going to take away from her. She had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns. She had the image of the British Constitution. She had the substance. She was taxed by her own representatives. She chose most of her own magistrates. She paid them all. She had, in effect, the sole disposal of her own internal government. This whole state of commercial servitude and civil liberty, taken together, is certainly not perfect freedom ; but, comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, it was a happy and a liberal condition.—*Speech on American Taxation.* 1774.

THE IMPERIAL CAPACITY OF PARLIAMENT

BY EDMUND BURKE

I LOOK, I say, on the Imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the colonists ought to enjoy under these rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities ; one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power. The other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *Imperial*

character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any. As all these provincial legislatures are only co-ordinate with each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her; else they can neither preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance. It is necessary to coerce the negligent, to restrain the violent, and to aid the weak and deficient, by the over-ruling plenitude of her power. She is never to intrude into the place of the others whilst they are equal to the common ends of their institution. But in order to enable Parliament to answer all these ends of provident and beneficent superintendence, her powers must be boundless. The gentlemen who think the powers of Parliament limited, may please themselves to talk of requisitions. But suppose the requisitions are not obeyed? What! Shall there be no reserved power in the empire to supply a deficiency which may weaken, divide, and dissipate the whole? We are engaged in war; the Secretary of State calls upon the colonies to contribute; some would do it—I think most would cheerfully furnish whatever is demanded. One or two, suppose, hang back, and, easing themselves, let the stress of the draft lie on the others; surely it is proper that some authority might legally say, "Tax yourselves for the common supply, or Parliament will do it for you." This backwardness was, as I am told, actually the case of Pennsylvania for some short time towards the beginning of the last war, owing to some internal dissensions in the colony. But whether the fact were so or otherwise,

the case is equally to be provided for by a competent sovereign power. But then this ought to be no ordinary power, nor ever used in the first instance. This is what I meant when I have said at various times that I consider the power of taxing in Parliament as an instrument of Empire, and not as a means of supply.

Such, sir, is my idea of the constitution of the British Empire, as distinguished from the constitution of Britain ; and on these grounds I think subordination and liberty may be sufficiently reconciled through the whole ; whether to serve a refining speculatist, or a factious demagogue, I know not ; but enough surely for the ease and happiness of man.

Sir, whilst we held this happy course, we drew more from the colonies than all the impotent violence of despotism ever could extort from them.—*Ibid.*

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES

BY EDMUND BURKE

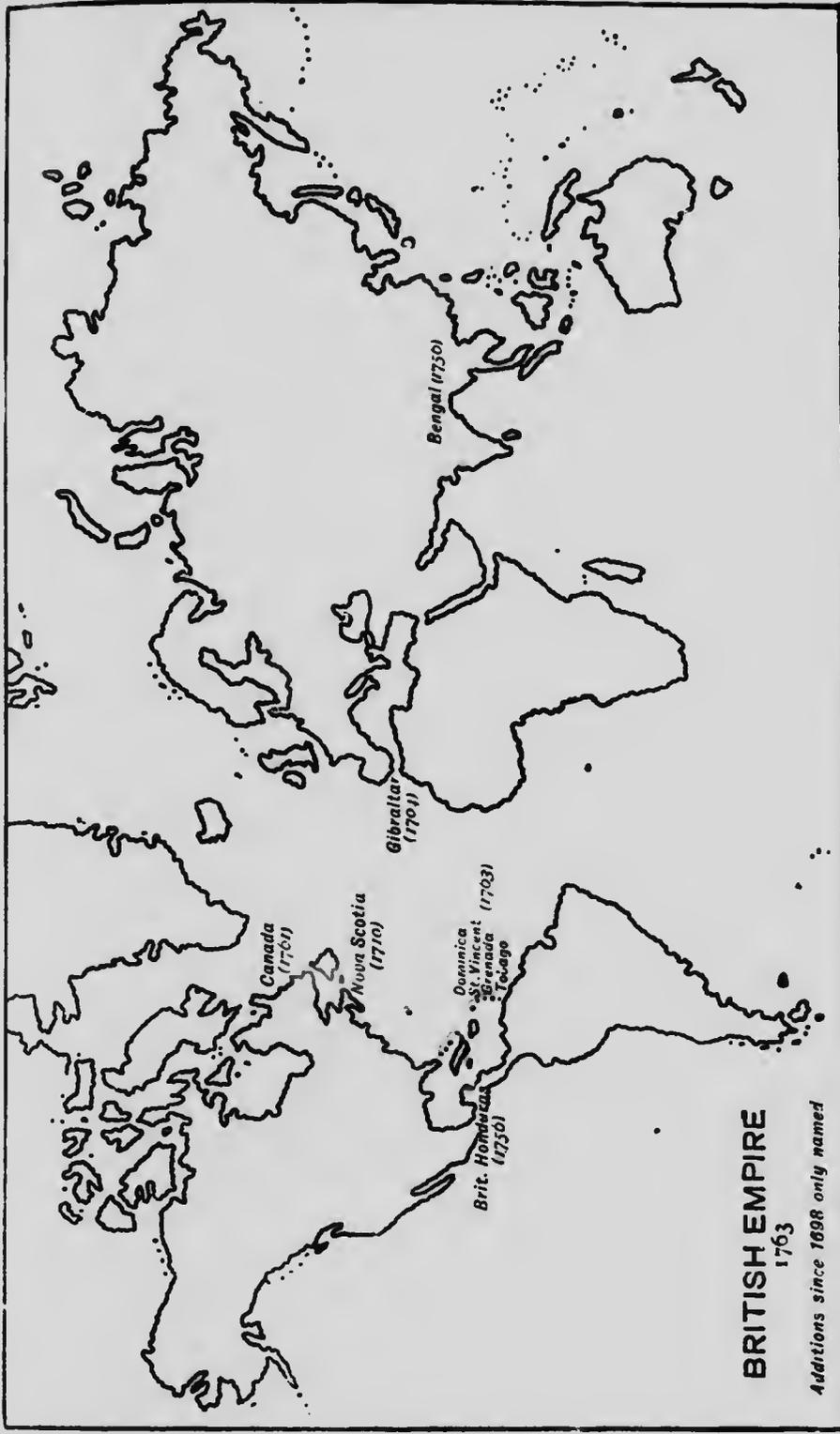
IN this character of the American a love of freedom is the predominating feature, which marks and distinguishes the whole ; and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies, probably, than in any other people

on earth ; and this from a great variety of powerful causes which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant, and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object ; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened that the great contests for freedom in this country were, from the earliest times, chiefly upon the question of taxing . . . [Englishmen] took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that in all monarchies the people must, in effect, themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty can subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing.

The colonies complain that they have not the characteristic mark and seal of British freedom. They complain that they are taxed in a Parliament in which they are not represented. If you mean to satisfy them

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BRITISH EMPIRE
1763
Additions since 1698 only named

at all, you must satisfy them with regard to this complaint. . . .

My idea, therefore, is *to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution*; and, by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.—*Speech on Conciliation with America.* 1775.

THE REAL LINK BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES

BY EDMUND BURKE

THE hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonists always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government might be one thing, and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation—the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the

chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English Constitution which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine, then, that it is the Land Tax Act which raises your revenue; that it is the

annual vote in the Committee of Supply which gives you your army ; or that it is the Mutiny Bill which inspires it with bravery and discipline ? No ! surely no ! It is the love of the people ; it is their attachment to their Government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution which gives you your army and navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us ; a sort of people who think nothing exists except what is gross and material ; and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of Empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and yet great empires and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our station, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our situation and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda !* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By advert- ing to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive, and the only

honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.—*Ibid.*

WHY THE AMERICAN COLONIES SHOULD NOT BE TAXED

BY WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

IT is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the Constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . . When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty, the property

of your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. . . .

The Commons of America, represented in their several Assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in everything, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

I am no courtier of America—I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

If the difference between external and internal taxes is not understood, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

It is asked, When were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know when were they made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office: I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good; I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rated at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years' purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can bring a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation! I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population in the northern colonies, and the emigration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. . . .

In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution along with her. Is this your boasted

peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole House of Bourbon is united against you? . . . The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them :

*Be to her faults a little blind ;
Be to her virtues very kind.*

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately* ; that the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever, that we may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.—*Speech against the Taxation of the American Colonies. 1766.*

THE BREACH WITH AMERICA

BY EDWARD GIBBON

December 20, 1774.—I have engaged myself to visit the widow the first week in January; ten days from that date will lead me to the meeting of Parliament, an awful meeting indeed! You will receive with this the resolutions of the American Congress.

January 31, 1775.—We are plunging every day deeper into the great business of America; and I have hitherto been a zealous, though silent, friend to the cause of Government, which, *in this instance*, I think the cause of England.

February 8, 1775.—We voted an address (304 to 105) of lives and fortunes, declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of 10,000 men at Boston; three generals—Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I am more and more convinced that with firmness all may go well.

February 25, 1775.—We go on with regard to America if we can be said to go on; for on last Monday a conciliatory motion of allowing the colonies to tax themselves was introduced by Lord North, in the midst of lives and fortunes, war and famine.

May 15, 1775.—Returned this moment from an American debate. A Remonstrance and Representation from the Assembly of New York, presented and

feebly introduced by Burke, but most forcibly supported by Fox. They disapprove of the violence of their neighbours, acknowledge the necessity of some dependence on Parliament with regard to commercial restraints, and express some affection and moderation; but they claim internal taxation, state many grievances, and formally object to the Declaratory Act.

May 30, 1775.—You will probably see in the papers, the Boston Gazette Extraordinary. I shall, therefore, mention a few circumstances which I have from Governor Hutchinson.

The Gazette is the only account arrived. As soon as the business was over, the Provincial Congress despatched a vessel with the news for the good people of England. The vessel was taken up to sail instantly, at considerable loss and expense, as she went without any lading but her ballast. No other letters were allowed to be put on board, nor did the crew know their destination till they were on the banks of Newfoundland. The master is a man of character and moderation, and from his mouth the following particulars have been drawn.

It cannot fairly be called a defeat of the king's troops; since they marched to Concord, destroyed or brought away the stores, and then returned back. They were so much fatigued with their day's work (they had marched above thirty miles), that they encamped in the evening at some distance from Boston without being attacked in the night. It can hardly be called an engagement, there never was any large body of provincials. Our troops during the march and retreat were chiefly harassed by flying parties from behind the stone walls

along the road, and by many shots from the windows as they passed through the villages. It was then they were guilty of setting fire to some of those hostile houses. Ensign Gould had been sent with only twelve men to repair a wooden bridge for the retreat ; he was attacked by the Saints with a minister at their head, who killed two men and took the Ensign with the others prisoners. The next day the country rose. When the master came away he says that Boston was invested by a camp of about fifteen hundred tents. They have cannon. Their general is a Colonel Ward, a member of the late Council, and who served with credit in the last war. His outposts are advanced so near the town that they can talk to those of General Gage.

June 17, 1775.—I have not courage to write about America. We talk familiarly of civil war, dissolutions of Parliament, impeachments, and Lord Chatham. The boldest tremble, the most vigorous talk of peace. And yet no more than sixty-five rank and file have been killed. Governor Hutchinson assures me that Gage has plenty of provisions fresh and salted, flour, fish, vegetables, etc. ; *hopes* he is not in danger of being forced.

August 1, 1775.—We have nothing new from America. But I can venture to assure you that administration is now as unanimous and decided as the occasion requires. Something will be done this year ; but in the spring the force of the country will be exerted to the utmost. Scotch Highlanders, Irish Papists, Hanoverians, Canadians, Indians, etc., will all in various shapes be employed.

October 14, 1775.—We are not quite easy about

Canada ; and even if it should be safe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourselves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people on the back settlements . . . The same lawless spirit and impatience of government which has infected our colonies is set forth among the Canadian peasants, over whom, since the Conquest, the *noblesse* have lost much of their ancient influence.

October 31, 1775.—We have a warm Parliament, but an indolent Cabinet. The conquest of America is a great work. Every part of that continent is either lost or useless.

January 3, 1776.—I say nothing of public affairs. Never did they wear a more melancholy aspect. We much fear that Quebec will not hold out the winter.

The provincials have everywhere displayed courage and abilities worthy of a better cause, and those of my ministerial friends who are the best acquainted with the state of America, are the least sanguine in their hopes of success for next year.

March 5, 1777.—America affords nothing very satisfactory. Charles Fox is now at my elbow, declaiming on the impossibility of keeping America, since a victorious army has been unable to maintain any extent of posts in the single province of Jersey.

August 11, 1777.—What a wretched piece of work do we seem to be making of it in America ! The greatest force which any European power ever ventured to transport into that continent is not strong enough even to attack the enemy ; the naval strength of Great Britain is not sufficient to prevent the Americans (they have

almost lost the appellation of Rebels) from receiving every assistance that they wanted, and in the meantime you are obliged to call out the militia to defend your own coasts against their privateers.

December 4, 1777.—Dreadful news indeed. You will see them partly in the papers, and we have not yet any particulars. An English army of nearly 10,000 men laid down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of being sent to England and of never serving against America. They had fought bravely, and were three days without eating. A general cry for peace.

December 16, 1777.—I jumped at once from a sick chair into the warmest debates which I ever remember in my short parliamentary life. They have constantly been fed by our miserable news from America, and the session after the holidays will be taken up by the committees on the state of the nations, inquiries into the conduct of ministers and generals, etc., which will at least serve to increase the public ferment. What will be the resolutions of our governors I know not, but I shall scarcely give my consent to exhaust still further the finest country in the world in the prosecution of a war from whence no reasonable man entertains any hopes of success. It is better to be humbled than ruined.—Compiled from *Private Letters, 1753-1794*. Ed. Prothero. 1897.

THE EVE OF THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC

(SEPTEMBER 12, 1759)

BY GEORGE BANCROFT

THE day and night of the twelfth were employed in preparations. The autumn evening was bright ; and the General, under the clear starlight, visited his stations, to make his final inspection and utter his last words of encouragement. As he passed from ship to ship, he spoke to those in the boat with him of the poet Gray, and the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." "I," said he, "would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow ;" and, while the oars struck the river as it rippled in the silence of the night air under the flowing tide, he repeated :—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave
Await alike the inevitable hour :—
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

History of the United States. 1834-1874.

THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC

(SEPT. 13, 1759)

BY CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

BEFORE daybreak this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery ; and the light troops were

fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond; we had in this debarkation thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about 1600 men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries which they had posted along the summit of the heights galled us a little and picked off several men* and some officers, before our Light Infantry got up to dislodge them. This grand enterprise was conducted and executed with great good order and discretion; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity; the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that could be conceived, being almost a perpendicular of an incredible height.

About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts, and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty,—until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their officers. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some

* In the boat where I was, one man was killed; one seaman, with four soldiers, were slightly, and two mortally wounded.

disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose. Hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and th' bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sunshine; the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's River, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's Gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks. At the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice, where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of—General James Wolfe, who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg. . . .

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory,

was carried off, wounded, to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down. Being asked if he would have a surgeon, he replied, "It is needless; it is all over with me." One of them cried out, "They run; see how they run." "Who runs?" demanded our hero, with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep. The officer answered, "The enemy, sir. Egad! they give way everywhere." Thereupon the General rejoined, "Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then turning on one side, he added, "Now God be praised, I will die in peace;" and thus expired.

. . . The Sieur de Montcalm died late last night; when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and, being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, "he was glad of it." His Excellency then demanded, "whether he could survive it long, and how long?" He was told, "About a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less." "So much the better," rejoined this eminent warrior; "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."—*An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America. 1757-1760.*

ENGLAND'S HEROES

BY SIR WALTER SCOTT

To mute and to material things
New life revolving summer brings ;
The genial call dead Nature hears,
And in her glory reappears.
But oh ! my country's wintry state
What second spring shall renovate ?
What powerful call shall bid arise
The buried warlike and the wise ;
The mind that thought for Britain's weal,
The hand that grasp'd the victor steel ?
The vernal sun new life bestows
Even on the meanest flower that blows ;
But vainly, vainly may he shine
Where glory weeps o'er NELSON'S shrine ;
And vainly pierce the solemn gloom,
That shrouds, O PITT, thy hallowed tomb !

Deep grav'd in every British heart,
O never let those names depart !
While faith and civil peace was dear,
Grace this cold marble with a tear.
He, who preserved them, PITT, lies here !

Nor yet suppress the generous sigh,
Because his rival slumbers nigh ;
Nor be thy *requiescat* dumb,
Lest it be said o'er Fox's tomb.
Here, where the end of earthly things

Lays heroes, patriots, bards, and kings ;
Where stiff the hand, and still the tongue,
Of those who fought, and spoke, and sung ;
If ever from an English heart,
O, *here* let prejudice depart,
For ne'er held marble in its trust
Of two such wondrous men the dust.

With more than mortal powers endow'd,
How high they soar'd above the crowd !
Till through the British world were known
The names of Pitt and Fox alone.
Genius, and taste, and talent gone,
For ever tomb'd beneath the stone,
Where—taming thought to human pride!—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Speak not for those a separate doom,
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb ;
But search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like again ?

Marmion. 1808.

PART II

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY EDMUND BURKE

THE East India Company had its origin about the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, a period of projects, when all sorts of commercial adventures, companies, and monopolies were in fashion. At that time the Company was constituted with extensive powers for increasing the commerce and the honour of this country; because increasing its commerce, without increasing its honour and reputation, would have been thought at that time, and will be thought now, a bad bargain for the country. The powers of the Company were, under that charter, merely commercial. By degrees, as the theatre of operation was distant, as its intercourse was with many great, some barbarous, and all of them armed nations, nations in which not only the sovereign, but the subjects, were armed, it was found necessary to enlarge their powers. The first power they obtained was a power of naval discipline in their ships—a power which has been since dropped; the next was a power of law martial; the next was a power of civil, and, to a degree, of criminal jurisdiction, within their own factories, upon

their own people and their own servants ; the next was (and here was a stride indeed) the power of peace and war. Those high and almost incommunicable prerogatives of sovereignty, which were hardly ever known before to be parted with to any subjects, and which in several States were not wholly intrusted to the prince or head of the commonwealth himself, were given to the East India Company. That Company acquired those powers about the end of the reign of Charles II., and they were afterwards more fully, as well as more legally given by Parliament after the Revolution. From this time the East India Company was no longer merely a mercantile company, formed for the extension of the British commerce ; it more nearly resembled a delegation of the whole power and sovereignty of this kingdom sent into the East. From that time the Company ought to be considered as a subordinate sovereign power, that is, sovereign with regard to the objects that it touched ; subordinate with regard to the power from whence its great trust was derived. The constitution of the Company began in commerce and ended in empire.

The Company had, in its early times, established factories in certain places, which factories by degrees grew to the name of Presidencies and Council, in proportion as the power and influence of the Company increased, and as the political began first to struggle with, and at length to predominate over the mercantile. In this form it continued till the year 1773, when the legislature broke in, for proper reasons urging them to it, upon that order of the service, and appointed to the superior department persons who had no title to that

place under the ordinary usage of the service.—*Speech at the Trial of Warren Hastings. 1788.*

CLIVE AT ARCOT

BY EARL STANHOPE

DURING the petty hostilities between the English and French traders in India—when the merchants' clerks were almost compelled in self-defence to turn soldiers—the name of Ensign or Lieutenant Clive is often, and always honourably mentioned; and during the intervals of these hostilities he returned to his ledgers and accounts. But on the emergency produced by the successes of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoly, and the departure of Major Lawrence, he accepted a captain's commission, and bade adieu to trade. With no military education, with so little military experience, this young man of twenty-five shone forth, not only, as might have been foreseen, a most courageous, but a most skilful and accomplished commander—a commander, as Lord Chatham once exclaimed, "whose resolution would charm the King of Prussia, and whose presence of mind has astonished the Indies." At this crisis he discerned that, although it was not possible to afford relief to Trichinopoly, a diversion might still be effected by a well-timed surprise of Arcot, thus compelling Chunda Sahib to send a large detachment from his army. The heads of the Presidency, on whom he strenuously urged his views, not only approved the design, but accepted

the offer of his own services for its execution. Accordingly, in August, 1751, Captain Clive marched from Madras at the head of only three hundred Sepoys and two hundred Europeans. Scanty as seems this force, it could only be formed by reducing the garrison at Fort St. David to a hundred, and the garrison of Madras to fifty men; and of the eight officers under Clive, six had never before been in action, and four were merchants' clerks, who, incited by his example, took up the sword to follow him.

A few days' march brought the little band within ten miles of Arcot, and within sight of the outposts of the garrison. There a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, through which, however, Clive undauntedly pushed forward. Slight as seems this incident, it became attended with important results, for the garrison, apprised by their outposts of the behaviour of the English, were seized with a superstitious panic, as though their opponents were in league with the heavens, and they fled precipitately, not only from the city, but from the citadel. Thus Clive, without having struck a blow, marched through the streets amidst a concourse of a hundred thousand spectators, and took quiet possession of the citadel or fort. In that stronghold the Arcot merchants had for security deposited effects to the value of £50,000, which Clive punctually restored to the owners; and this politic act of honesty conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest.

Clive, learning that the fugitive garrison had been reinforced, and had taken post in the neighbourhood,

made several sallies against them; in the last he surprised them at night, and scattered or put them to the sword. But his principal business was to prepare against the siege which he expected, by collecting provisions and strengthening the works of the fort. As he had foretold, his appearance at Arcot effected a diversion at Trichinopoly. Chunda Sahib immediately detached 4000 men from his army, who were joined by 2000 natives from Vellore, by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and by the remains of the fugitive garrison. Altogether, the force thus directed against Arcot exceeded 10,000 men, and was commanded by Rajah Sahib, a son of Chunda Sahib. The fort in which the English were now besieged was, notwithstanding some hasty repairs, in great measure ruinous, with the parapet low and slightly built, with several of the towers decayed, with the ditch in some parts fordable, in others dry, and in some choked up with fallen rubbish. But Clive undauntedly maintained, day after day, such feeble bulwarks against such overwhelming numbers. Nor did he neglect, amidst other more substantial means of defence, to play upon the fears and fancies of his superstitious enemies. Thus he raised on the top of his highest tower an enormous piece of ordnance, which he had found in the fort, and which, according to popular tradition, had been sent from Delhi in the reign of Aurungzebe dragged along by a thousand yoke of oxen. This cannon was useless for any real practical effect, but, being discharged once a day with great form and ceremony, it struck, as we are told, no small alarm into Rajah Sahib and his principal officers.

After several weeks' siege, however, the besiegers, scanty and ill-served as was their artillery, had succeeded in making more than one practicable breach in the walls. Some succour to the garrison was attempted from Madras, but in vain. Another resource, however, remained to Clive. He found means to despatch a messenger through the enemy's lines to Morari Row, a Mahratta chieftain, who had received a subsidy to assist Mahommed Ali, and who lay encamped with 6000 men on the hills of Mysore. Hitherto, notwithstanding his subsidy, he had kept aloof from the contest. But the news how bravely Arcot was defended fixed his wavering mind. "I never thought till now," said he, "that the English could fight. Since they can, I will help them." And accordingly he sent down a detachment of his troops from the hills.

Rajah Sahib, when he learnt that the Mahrattas were approaching, perceived that he had no time to lose. He sent a flag of truce to the garrison, promising a large sum of money if Clive would surrender, and denouncing instant death if Clive awaited a storm; but he found his offers and his threats received with equal disdain. Exasperated with the scornful answer, he made every preparation for a desperate attack on the morrow. It was the 14th of November, the fiftieth day of the siege, and the anniversary of the festival in commemoration of that martyr of early Islam, Hosein, when, according to the creed of the Mahometans of India, any one who falls in battle against unbelievers is wafted at once into the highest region of Paradise. But not solely trusting to the enthusiasm of the day, Rajah Sahib had

recourse, moreover, to the excitement of bang, an intoxicating drug, with which he plentifully supplied his soldiers. Before daybreak they came on every side, rushing furiously up to the assault. Besides the breaches which they expected to storm, they had hopes to break open the gates by urging forward several elephants with plates of iron fixed to their foreheads ; but the huge animals, galled by the English musketry, as of yore by the Roman javelins, soon turned, and trampled down the multitudes around them. Opposite one of the breaches, where the water of the ditch was deepest, another party of the enemy had launched a raft with seventy men upon it, and began to cross. In this emergency Clive, observing that his gunners fired with bad aim, took himself the management of one of the field-pieces with so much effect that in three or four discharges he had upset the raft and drowned the men. Throughout the day his valour and his skill were equally conspicuous, and every assault of his opponents was repulsed with heavy loss. In the first part of the night their fire was renewed, but at two in the morning it ceased, and at the return of daylight it appeared that they had raised the siege, and were already out of sight, leaving four hundred men dead upon the ground, with all their ammunition and artillery.—*History of England.* 1836-54.

THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

BY LORD MACAULAY

CLIVE was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate ; and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river, over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first, and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting ; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put everything to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for the morrow.

The matter was passed ; and at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep ; he

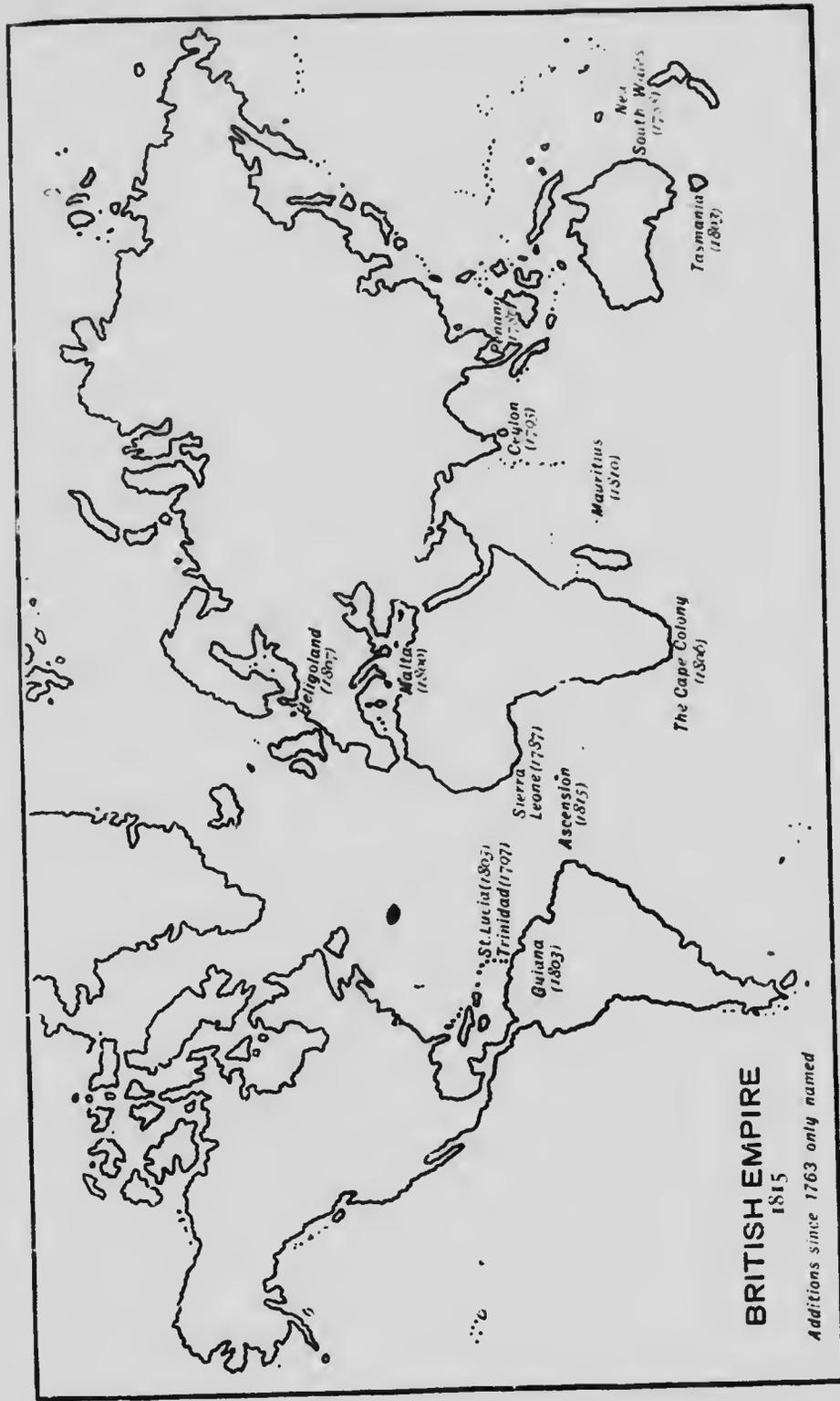
heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings of the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English; and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade, in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in

Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain, but their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed, and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain. Henceforth the political ascendancy of the English in India was assured. Clive's name stands high on the roll of conquerors.—*Essay on Clive.* 1840.

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THE INDIAN MUTINY

BY R. BOSWORTH SMITH

I *The Brewing of the Storm*

TRUE enough it was that there had been symptoms of something brewing, of something, as the saying is, "in the air," which had appeared with the beginning of the new year in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and had, by this time, been observed at Umballa, a thousand miles away on the edge of the Himalayas and within the limits of John Lawrence's own province. There had been those mysterious "chupatties," pancakes of flour and water, which meant no one quite knew what, and had passed on, no one quite knew how, from village to village, and from district to district throughout the North-West Provinces. There were placards proclaiming the *Jehad*, or Holy War, in the name of God and of the Prophet, which had been nailed to the Jumna Musjid in Delhi, under the very noses of the British authorities. There had been weird prophecies which passing from mouth to mouth, and losing nothing in the process, told of coming disaster to the Feringhis. There had been incendiary fires, blazing forth with ominous frequency in the cantonments, which were only outward and visible signs of other and fiercer fires which were smouldering and struggling within the Sepoys' hearts. Finally, there was the substitution of the Enfield rifle for the Brown Bess, and of the lubricated for the ordinary cartridge, which, whether by our fate or by our fault, had brought to a head all those

vague and unreasoning fears which the extinction of native dynasties and the annexation of native states, the ousting of talukdars and the resumption of jagheers, the introduction of "fire-carriages" and of "lightning-posts,"—in short, every step in the "moral and material progress" of India, had, each and all, some more, some less, some here, some there, contributed to awaken in the breasts of our pampered and ignorant and suspicious Sepoys.

The cartridges served out to them, lubricated, as they thought, with the fat of the cow, the sacred animal of the Hindus, and of the pig, the unclean animal of the Mahomedans, were at once a cause and a symptom of the fast-spreading panic; for they furnished one more, and, as it seemed, a crowning proof of the blow which Government was insidiously preparing to strike at the most sacred feelings and institutions of both sections of the community. Panic is always blind. It grows by what it feeds on, by the operations of the medicines which are administered to check its growth no less than by its natural food. Proclamations and apologies and concessions, if they tended momentarily to allay the symptoms of the rising terror, only served, ultimately, to increase its strength. To demonstrate, as one kind-hearted general after another attempted to do to his bewildered troops, the absurdity of their fears, was only to give one proof the more of their reality; and so from Dumdum and Barrackpore, in the neighbourhood of the capital of India, the smouldering mischief spread to Agra, the capital of the North-Western Provinces; to Meerut, the largest military

station in Hindustan, and the strongest in European troops of all arms; to Delhi, the capital of the Mogul, where his effete representative was dozing away the last hours of his reign and of his life; and so on, to Umballa, one of the chief depôts for "instruction in musketry"—in the fatal art, that is, which, if it helped the Sepoys to kill their enemies, must needs first, they thought, ruin those who practised it both in body and soul.

What booteth it that warnings, punishments, modifications, explanations, and denials followed one after another in rapid and bewildering succession? What booteth it that the 19th Native Infantry regiment, which had mutinied at Berhampore in February, was disbanded; that the fanatic "Pandy" of the 34th Native Infantry, who had made a murderous assault on an English officer at Barrackpore, was hanged; and that the seven companies who had been silent and passive, if not sympathising spectators of his deed, were disbanded also? What booteth it that the obnoxious grease had been analysed and found to be harmless; that it was, henceforward, to be mixed by the Sepoys themselves from ingredients which they themselves should be at liberty to choose; that they were bidden to tear off, and no longer to bite off the end of the cartridge—to touch, that is, and no longer to taste, the unclean thing? "Touch not, taste not, handle not!" was still the cry of the poor panic-stricken Sepoy. The accursed thing which the Government had been driven to remove from them in one shape, it was determined, they thought, in their blind unreasoning terror, to force back on them in

another. If they were no longer obliged to touch the greased cartridge with their hands, the very flour which they were eating had been mixed, as they believed, by their insidious enemies with the bone-dust of the same forbidden animals! They would henceforth be looked upon—in fact, they were already looked upon by their more fortunate comrades, who had not been thought worthy of the honour of handling the Enfield rifle—as “outcasts,” with all that that most horrible of names implied in this and in the other world.

John Lawrence left Sealkote and passed on to Rawalpindi. He was on the point of starting thence for Murri, when, on May 12, came the fateful telegram from Delhi, which electrified the Punjab and altered his summer destination. “The Sepoys,” it ran, “have come in from Meerut, and are burning everything. Mr. Todd is dead, and, we hear, several Europeans. We must shut up.” In other words, the Indian Mutiny had broken out, and Delhi, the seat of the Mogul and the historic capital of India, was in the hands of the mutineers.—*Life of Lord Lawrence.* 1883.

THE SAME—*continued*

2. *The Capture of Delhi*

THE part of the wall selected for our attack was that which faced the Ridge, and which, extending from the river Jumna to the Lahore Gate, formed a third part of the whole circumference. It included the Moree, the Kashmere and the Water Bastions, each of which contained from ten to fourteen heavy guns; each was, in

great part, our own handiwork; and each, during the last two months, had poured forth a storm of shot and shell upon their original constructors, without the intermission of a single day.

Outside the wall ran a ditch twenty-five feet wide and sixteen feet deep, which might well form the common grave of any force attempting to cross it before the parapets and bastions above should have been swept clear of its defenders.

The besiegers of a strongly fortified place ought, it has been laid down on high authority, to outnumber the besieged in the proportion of three to one. At Delhi this proportion was reversed, or more than reversed. The besieged army numbered at least 40,000 men; the besiegers, now that the last man had come from the Punjab, only 11,000. And of these, not more than 3300 were Europeans, while the Jummoo contingent, 2000 strong, had only just arrived in camp, and was regarded with suspicion and dislike by some of the authorities. Our heavy guns were only 54 in number, while those in Delhi amounted to 300. Of artillerymen we had only 580, and many even of these belonged to the Horse Artillery, and had to be called off from their proper duties to work in the batteries; while, to eke out their scanty numbers, it was found necessary to call for volunteers from the Lancers and the Carabineers, men who had never handled a gun before, and had to take their first lessons in artillery practice exposed to constant fire from the enemy. A hard apprenticeship, but eagerly embraced and nobly discharged!

Such was the general outlook of the siege when the

last man and the last gun from the Punjab arrived upon the ground. What wonder if the General on whom the responsibility really rested had misgivings, even to the last moment, as to the wisdom of the steps into which he had been persuaded by the eagerness of the Engineers? and what wonder that he needed to be reminded by those who were not hampered by any such overmastering burden, that India had been won and held in defiance of all the laws of war, and that Delhi need not be the one exception to the rule?

It was on the evening of September 7 that the ground was broken. On that night, under the personal direction of Alexander Taylor, the first battery was run up seven hundred yards from the Moree Bastion. Animated and inspired by his presence, the men worked for their lives—for they knew what the day would bring forth. But in spite of all their efforts, the first streak of light found the battery armed with only one gun, upon which, and upon each of its fellows as, one after the other, they were brought into position, there rained down a pitiless fire from the opposing bastion. At last the battery was complete, and then the masonry of the fortifications of the city began to fly. It was a new and strange sensation. The time of patient waiting, of repelling attacks which were incessantly renewed, of Cadmean victories over a foe who seemed to possess unlimited powers of recovery and boundless recruiting-grounds, was a thing of the past, and the time for reprisals had arrived.

During the five days and nights which followed, three other batteries were constructed under the same or even greater difficulties. One of them was only one hundred

and sixty yards from the Water Bastion, and the heavy guns had to be dragged up to it through the open, under a crushing fire of musketry ; "a feat of arms," says Sir Henry Norman, "almost unparalleled in war."

On the 12th all four batteries were able, for the first time, to play at once upon the walls of the city ; and the first discharge of their concentrated fire must have made the most sanguine among the Mutineers feel that the game of mutiny had been all but played out. Fifty-four guns and mortars belched forth havoc on the doomed city ; and ringing cheers arose from our men as the smoke of each salvo cleared away and showed the formidable bastions crumbling into ruins, and whole yards of the parapets torn away by the bursting shells, while the defenders were driven to seek shelter, if indeed they cared to find it, far into the interior of the city. Not for one moment during the next forty-eight hours did the whistling of bullets and the roar of artillery cease. The worn-out gunners—their places, meanwhile, being filled by volunteers—would sometimes throw themselves down to snatch a few moments of hurried, but profound, sleep beneath their very guns, and then, springing to their feet again, would pound away with redoubled vigour. The coolness and the courage of the old Sikh artillerymen, who had been picked out by Sir John Lawrence in person, and of the despised Muzbi Sikhs, whom he had also sent down to Delhi, were as conspicuous as that of the Europeans themselves. And the passive endurance of the water-carriers and native servants, who, amidst the hatreds of colour and of race, which the fierce conflict had engendered, had not always

received the best of treatment at their masters' hands and who were now expected to wait on those same masters amidst storms of shot and shell, was, perhaps, more wonderful than either.

The enemy, though they had been driven down from the parapets, and though many of their guns on the bastions had been dismounted, still fought on with the courage of despair. They ran out light guns which enfiladed our batteries. They filled the water-courses and gardens in front of the city with sharp-shooters, who picked off our gunners at their work; and riddled the mantelets with bullet-holes. They even, on one occasion, attempted to attack us in the rear. And they began, when it was all too late, to raise a rampart behind the breaches, which would soon have made the place impregnable.

On the night of the 13th it seemed that the bombardment had pretty well done its work; and four young Engineer officers, creeping down through the gardens, amongst and behind the enemy's skirmishers, descended into the ditch, examined the breaches, and returned, with the report that they were difficult but practicable. The knowledge of what was going on behind the breaches led the General and his council of war to decide that the enterprise should be attempted while "practicable" it still remained. And forthwith the thrilling order, which had been so long and so eagerly expected, and which was to be the message of death to so many of the most eager of the expectants, flew from man to man throughout the camp: "The assault at three o'clock this morning." It was the "witching hour," but not of "*still* midnight." The

plans had all been laid beforehand, and the three hours of suspense and preparation which remained passed away slowly enough.

Long before the hour struck our men were at Ludlow Castle, the appointed rendezvous, which, curiously enough, happened many years before to have been the residence of John Lawrence. The assaulting columns were four in number. The first, it had been arranged, was to storm the main breach of the Kashmere Bastion; the second, the Water Bastion; the third, when the Kashmere Gate should have been blown in by a small party, each man of whom carried his life and a powder-bag in his hand, was to enter by the opening; while the fourth column, to the extreme right, was first to attempt to dislodge the Mutineers who were encamped in large numbers and in a strong position in the suburb of Kissingunge, and then to force an entrance by the Lahore Gate.

To Nicholson fell, as of right, the post of honour. He had been sent down by Sir John Lawrence, with orders "to take Delhi;" and Delhi the whole army was willing that he, and no one else, should take. He was therefore to head the first column in person, as well as to direct the general operations of the assault. "Our batteries," says an eye-witness, "redoubled their roar, while the columns were taking up their respective positions, throwing shells to drive the enemy away as far as possible from the breaches. The morning was just breaking; the thunder of our artillery was at its loudest, when, all at once, it hushed. Every one could hear his heart beat."

The Rifles now ran forward as skirmishers, to cover the advance of the assaulting columns ; and the men, who had been lying on the ground to save their lives till they should be called for, sprang to their feet, and, with "a cry of exultation," began to move on rapidly for the walls. Beneath a storm of bullets from the besieged, who knew well that their hour had come, each of the first three columns did its work manfully and with success. They crossed the glacis with all speed, and left it behind them, dotted with writhing men ; they leaped down into the ditch, and in it dead and dying soon lay thickly piled together. But the ladders were planted against the scarp, and in a few minutes the difficulties and dangers of the escalade were over. Nicholson, resolved to be the first in danger as in dignity, was amongst the foremost of his column to mount the breach. The second column, at the Water Bastion, forced its way in about the same time ; and the third marched, almost unopposed, through the Kashmere gateway, which had been blown down by the small exploding party, but at the cost of the lives of almost all concerned. Soon the whole line of the ramparts which faced the Ridge and had defied us for three weary months, was in our hands. The British flag was once more run up upon the Cabul Gate ; and the bugle-call of the various regiments gave a breathing space, in which men might congratulate each other on the victory, might count up the survivors, and might calculate and grieve over the number of the dead. A ghastly tribute had, of course, been paid to the formidable nature of the defences and the unquestioned gallantry of the defenders.

The fourth column, under Major Reid, supported by the newly arrived Kashmere contingent under Richard Lawrence, had been less successful. With his faithful Goorkhas, Reid had held Hindu Rao's house—the post of honour and of danger, and the key to our whole position—throughout the siege, and had withstood some twenty-six attacks. But a too difficult—I would rather say an impossible—task had now been assigned to him. He was wounded early in the day, and his column was unable to dislodge the enemy, and so to approach the Lahore Gate. That important point was still held in force by the foe; and the fire of their artillery, directed at the Cabul Gate, threatened to make our hard-won position there untenable. Nicholson and Jones had just met each other, flushed with success, at the heads of their respective columns; and Nicholson, seeing that there was still good work to be done, determined to be the doer of it. He called for volunteers, and they appeared. But the one street by which they could approach the Lahore Gate was, like many streets in Eastern towns, so narrow that six men could hardly walk abreast along it. It had been barricaded by the watchful enemy. It was swept, from the other end, by a gun loaded with grape, and the windows and flat roofs of the houses on either side of it bristled with riflemen. What wonder if, from death in such manifold and such insidious forms, even the stoutest hearts shrank? Nicholson saw how things stood, and, knowing that if his force hesitated they were lost, sprang to the front, and, waving his sword over his head, as if he were a simple captain, called aloud upon his men to follow him. Had he been

servicing in the ranks in the open field, his noble stature would have marked him out as a target for the enemy's sharpshooters, and now his commanding presence and gestures, as he strode forward alone between the muzzles of an unseen foe, made escape impossible. There was death in every window and on every housetop; and the "brute bullet" which did the deed was but one of many which must have found its way to that noble heart before he could have crossed swords with the foe. He fell mortally wounded, and with him, young as he was, and little known to fame as he had been, till the extremity of the peril brought him to the front and revealed him in his Titanic mould of heart and limb, there fell the man who, perhaps, of all the heroes of the Mutiny—the Lawrence brothers alone excepted—India could, at that juncture, least afford to lose. He begged that he might be left lying on the ground till Delhi was ours. But this could not be, and he was borne off by his followers to his old quarters on the Ridge.

The long autumn day was over, and we were in Delhi. By Sunday, the 20th September, the whole of the city—in large part already a city of the dead—was at our mercy.—*Ibid.*

THE EMPRESS OF INDIA

BY LADY BETTY BALFOUR

WHEN the administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the sovereign, it seemed in the eyes of her Indian subjects and feudatories that the

impersonal power of an administrative abstraction had been replaced by the direct personal authority of a human being. This was a change thoroughly congenial to all their traditional sentiments; but without some appropriate title the Queen of England was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself. The only Indian word corresponding to the English Queen—namely, *Malika*—was one commonly bestowed on the wife of an Indian prince, and therefore entirely inapplicable to the true position of the British Sovereign in India. The title of Empress or *Pádsháh* could only adequately represent her relations with the states and kingdoms of India, and was, moreover, a title familiar to the natives of the country, and an impressive and significant one in their eyes.

Embarrassments inseparable from the want of some appropriate title had long been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian administrations, and were brought, as it were, to a crisis by various circumstances incidental to the Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875-76, and by a recommendation on the part of Lord Northbrook's Government, that it would be in accordance with fact, with the language of political documents, and with that in ordinary use, to speak of Her Majesty as the Sovereign of India—that is to say, the paramount power over all, including Native States.

It was accordingly announced, in the Speech from the Throne in the session of 1876, that whereas when the direct government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the sovereign, her Majesty deemed that

moment a fitting one for supplying the omission, and of giving thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable sentiments which she had always entertained towards the princes and people of India.

It was, moreover, decided that the new title should be announced at a great assemblage on the historic plain near Delhi, on January 1, 1877—in the presence of the heads of every government in India; of 1200 of the noble band of civil servants; of 14,000 splendidly equipped and disciplined British and native troops, of seventy-seven of the ruling chiefs and princes of India, representing territories as large as Great Britain, France, and Germany combined, and of three hundred native noblemen and gentlemen besides. Altogether 68,000 were invited, and did actually reside in Delhi and its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the assemblage.

Three large pavilions had been specially erected for the occasion, at some distance outside, and overlooking an extensive plain to the north of the city of Delhi. The largest of these pavilions, which was semicircular in form, about 800 feet long, facing the Vice-regal throne, was occupied by the governor of Madras and Bombay, the ruling chiefs present at Delhi, with their principal attendants, and the various high officers of Government, all of whom were seated in such a manner that the native chiefs were intermingled with the high officials. The two other pavilions, erected to the rear, right and left, of the Viceroy's pavilion, were occupied by a large concourse of spectators, including the Governor-general of the Portuguese settlements in India, the Khan

of Delat, the foreign envoys and consuls, and European and native noblemen and gentlemen from all parts of India. The British troops, European and native, were drawn up in a vast circle in the plain around.

The Viceroy arrived at the place of assemblage a little after noon, and was received with a royal salute from the troops assembled. On arriving at the grand entrance the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Lytton and the members of his personal staff, alighted from his carriage, and, preceded by his staff, advanced in procession to the dais.

His Excellency, wearing the collar, badge, and robes of the Star of India, was received by the whole assembly standing, the massed bands drew up close by playing the National Anthem, until he had taken his seat on the dais. The proclamation formally declaring Her Majesty the Queen to be Empress of India was then read in English by the chief herald, and afterwards in Urdu by the Foreign Secretary. At its conclusion 101 salvos of artillery, intermingled with *feux de joie* from the assembled troops, were fired; the Royal standard was hoisted, and the bands again played the National Anthem. After a brief pause the Viceroy then rose and addressed the assemblage. At the close of his address he read aloud the telegraphic message which the Queen-Empress had that day sent in her Royal and Imperial name.

At the conclusion of this address the whole assembly spontaneously rose and joined the troops in giving repeated cheers. Many of the chiefs present attempted to offer their congratulations, but were unable to make

themselves heard. The Maharaja Sindiah was the first to rise. He said, "Shah-in-Shah Pádsháh (Monarch of Monarchs), may God bless you! The princes of India bless you, and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain stedfast for ever!"

Commenting upon this spontaneous speech, Lord Lytton writes to her Majesty, "His words have a very special significance, which is recognised throughout India, though it is not apparent in the translation of them, and cannot be adequately rendered in English. The word used by Sindiah to express your Majesty's position in reference to himself and brother princes is a word which the princes of India have hitherto been careful to avoid using; for it signifies, in the original, the power of issuing absolute orders which must be obeyed. Coming, therefore, from the lips of Sindiah, on such an occasion, as the spokesman of all the native princes then and there assembled, it permanently and publicly fixes your Majesty's suzerain, and more than suzerain power in India beyond all possibility of future question."

In the opinion of the best judges in India, after some years' experience, the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress has had political results of far-reaching importance. The supremacy of the British Government had, of course, been long admitted as a practical fact by all the native states of India, but in many cases their chiefs gave themselves, when opportunity offered and it seemed safe to do so, the airs of independent powers. Treaties, made, perhaps, nearly a hundred years before and still in force, might be quoted to show that the

native prince, although not so strong, was equal in dignity and rightful position to the Viceroy. The Nizam, the Gaekwar, and the Viceroy had all the same salutes, than which, to native imaginations, there could be nothing more significant. The twenty-one guns ceased, after the Delhi Assembly, to be a sign of equality with the representative of the Sovereign. There can, indeed, be no doubt of the fact, now universally acknowledged in India, that the proclamation of the paramount superiority of the British Crown was an act of political wisdom and foresight, which has not only strengthened our position throughout the vast territories of India proper, but has had no small effect also beyond the frontier of the Indian Empire.—*The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880: compiled from Letters and Official Papers.* 1899.

A DESCRIPTION OF AUSTRALIA

BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER

1687-88.—New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low, even land, with sandy banks against the sea; only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay. The land is of a dry, sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells: yet producing divers sorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big . . . There was pretty long grass growing under the

trees, but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries . . . The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world, and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes.

1699.—The land is of an indifferent height so that it may be seen nine or ten leagues off. It appears at a distance very even; but as you come nigher you find there are many gentle risings, though none steep nor high. 'Tis all a steep shore against the open sea, but in this bay or sound we were now in, the land is low by the seaside, producing a sort of samphire, which bears a white flower. Farther in, the mould is reddish, a sort of sand, producing some grass plants, and shrubs. The grass grows in great tufts, as big as a bushel, here and there a tuft being intermixed with much heath, much of the kind we have growing on our commons in England. Of trees or shrubs here are divers sorts, but none above ten feet high; their bodies about three feet about, and five or six feet high before you come to the branches, which are bushy, and composed of small twigs, there spreading abroad, though thick-set and full of leaves, which were mostly long and narrow. The colour of the leaves was on one side whitish, and on the other green; and the bark of the trees was generally of the same colour with the leaves, of a pale green.

THE DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA

BY CARL LUMHOLTZ

AUSTRALIA was the last continent discovered by the European, a fact easily explained by its situation. In the age of the great discoveries, navigators were seeking a way to India, and whether they chose to go by the way of the Cape of Good Hope or by the Straits of Magellan, in either case the route was far to the north of Australia. The navigators also seem to have kept as far to the north as possible. Still, a very long time cannot have passed ere sailors came in sight of the Australian coast. Strange to say, it is not known with certainty who was the first discoverer of this great continent.

The first Australian discoveries of which we have perfectly trustworthy accounts were not made before the beginning of the seventeenth century. We first come across the Dutch, who during their war of independence attempted to conquer the rich colonies of their enemies—the Spanish and the Portuguese. In connection with this we obtain the following reliable dates: in 1601 the Portuguese De Eridia landed on the north-west coast from the west; in 1606 the Spaniard Torres passed from the east through the straits named after him; and subsequently a Dutch ship called *Duyfhen* sailed along the coast toward Cape York. From this time the Dutch carry on nearly all the explorations. In 1627 Peter Nuyts entered the great Australian bay

from the west. In 1642 Tasman gained the south point of that country, which he called Van Diemen's Land. It is not easy now to decide whether his reasons for regarding the latter as the southern point of a large continent were based on old theories or on more recent observations.

The English, the nation which was destined to control the development of Australia, did not make their appearance before 1688, when the freebooter Dampier explored the west coast. This happened one hundred years before the first colonies were planted in 1788.

It was a long time before anybody made any decided effort to take possession of the country, and for this delay there were many reasons. The power of the Spanish was exhausted, and so was that of Portugal, while the victorious Dutch were fully occupied with their new rich provinces. To this must be added that all descriptions of Australia represented the continent as barren and without water to drink, and its natives as poor and savage. Nor did the coasts that had been seen present any very inviting aspect. There are but few harbours on the west and south coasts, and on the north-east side are dangerous coral reefs. The wrong side of Australia had been seen, and it was absurd to prefer this country to the Spice Islands or America.

It is interesting to note that it was a scientific expedition which first led to the colonization of the country. In 1768 Captain Cook carried an astronomer and one or two other scientists to Tahiti to observe the transit

of Venus, and to make some other researches on their home voyage. This was the beginning of the present phase of scientific expeditions. In 1770 he touched Australia at Botany Bay, and made a chart of the coast to the north as far as Torres Straits, the importance of which he was the first to point out.

At this time England was greatly puzzled as to what it should do with all such criminals as it had heretofore sent to America. The declaration of independence on the part of the United States had put an end to the transportation of criminals to that country, and the favourable report made by Cook in regard to Botany Bay led Sydney to make up his mind to try Australia. The first transportation was made in 1788, but the colony was soon moved to the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson, where the city of Sydney was gradually built up.

The opening up of the continent was continued with this solitary colony as the base of exploration. Flinders and Bass commenced their expeditions in the year 1795 in a small open boat to both sides of the coast. In 1797 Bass called attention to the strait between Tasmania and the continent, and the next year he circumnavigated the island with Flinders. At the expense of the Government Flinders made charts of a large part of the coast of Australia, and this coast survey was continued from time to time almost to the present day.

How difficult it must have been to penetrate the Blue Mountains separating Sydney from the plains in the interior is evident from the fact that men like Bass attempted it in vain. It took twenty-five years to

advance the first fifty miles, and thus to find a way between the steep rocks to the open country beyond. The first passage was effected in 1813, and from that time the explorations have progressed rapidly. Oxley, Cunningham, Mitchell, Sturt, and others explored the whole country along the rivers toward Victoria.

From Adelaide, settled about the same time, a series of attempts were begun in 1839 to penetrate the country from the south to the north. Heroic efforts were made in this direction by Eyre, who afterwards suffered untold hardships in travelling 1200 miles along the coast to King George's Sound. O'Hara Burke and Wills were the first to reach the north coast in 1861, but both perished from hunger on their way back. The following year McDouall Stuart, after having made two abortive attempts, succeeded in getting through, and from that time onwards the route was open. In 1872 a telegraph line was laid, amid great difficulties, across the whole continent. It followed Stuart's route, and this enterprise became the basis of a series of explorations all the way to the west coast, and thus the main features of the geography of Australia have become established.

Most of these expeditions into the interior have been undertaken amid the greatest privations, such as a constant lack of water and terrible heat, even up to 127° F., so that it has at times been necessary to bury one's self in the ground in order to endure it. Add to this the almost impassable spinifex-scrubs, the salt lakes, the sand-storms, etc., and we can form some idea of what the explorer had to suffer. The bright sunlight

destroyed Sturt's eyes, and many a life has been lost in the conflict with these similar impediments. But a large territory has been opened to civilization by these martyrs.—*Among Cannibals*, 1889.

THE SETTLEMENT OF AUSTRALIA

BY CARL LUMHOLTZ

ON January 26, 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip landed at Sydney with his first company of prisoners, and in a solemn manner took possession of a whole continent in the name of the inhabitants of a small island on the opposite side of the globe. The ruling power of the British nation got an opportunity of expanding, and a new world was added to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The beginning was made by about 1000 deported criminals, about one-fourth part of these being women. One hundred years later, the population of the Australian colonies, leaving New Zealand out of consideration, was nearly 3,000,000. The first means of subsistence had to be produced by agriculture, but as few of the new settlers had any knowledge of this art, there was much suffering in the beginning, and in order to escape death from starvation, the domestic animals which had been brought had to be slaughtered. One hundred years later Australia contained 80,000,000 sheep and almost 8,000,000 head of cattle, and it sent annually to the mother-country beef, mutton, wool, tallow, wheat,

and metals to the value of about £40,000,000 sterling. A most remarkable progress!

The story of the early days of the colonies is chiefly a history of the deportation of criminals. The first colony received, from 1788 until the importation was stopped in 1839 by the energetic protest of the "free immigrants," in all 60,000 criminals. The next colony of criminals was Tasmania, or, as the island was then called, Van Diemen's Land (1803). The deportation of criminals to the latter place ceased in 1854, when 68,000 prisoners had been sent there.

The last colony to which convicts were regularly deported was West Australia, founded in 1839. In 1849 this colony sent a petition to the Government asking for criminals to be sent thither, in order to promote the development of the colony. Under pressure from the other colonies, which finally on their own account resisted by force the landing of such immigrants, West Australia had to abandon this traffic in 1868, having then received about 10,000.

Thus it will be seen that this transportation introduced great numbers of people to Australia, and at the same time the voluntary immigration kept increasing. Two of the present colonies were not started as convict settlements. There was an attempt to send convicts to Melbourne in 1803, but the plan was soon abandoned, and the colony of Port Phillip, as Victoria was then called, was founded in 1834 by free citizens from Tasmania. South Australia was colonized directly by an English company, who received the land for nothing, on condition that they should encourage immigration. In

1841 this settlement contained 23,000 inhabitants, chiefly freemen.

The growth of the colonies depended on the development of trade and industries. In the beginning all labour was confined to agriculture, and but little progress was made, till during the first decades of this century MacArthur advocated the raising of sheep with great energy, and after a passage through the Blue Mountains had been found by Macquarie, a new impetus was given to the development of Australia.—*Ibid.*

THE SHEEP-FARMING INDUSTRY IN QUEENSLAND

BY CARL LUMHOLTZ

ONE can scarcely imagine a more characteristic picture of Australian bush-life than the sight of a wool-waggon approaching from the distance. Eighteen or twenty strong oxen in the scorching heat, their tongues far out of their mouths, laboriously drag a heavy waggon loaded with bales of wool. By the side of the caravan walks the driver, sunburnt and dusty, with his long whip in his hand. Under an awning on the top of the load, which is as high as a house, the driver's family have their quarters, and a few sheep and goats follow behind.

Such a carrier makes his living by transporting wool from stations in the far west to the coast, and also by bringing back supplies. Thus he spends his life on the

road from one year's end to another. He is himself the owner of both oxen and waggon. If he has several of such teams and also a wife, she usually drives one, plying her whip as dextrously as any man.

Finally we meet the great flocks of sheep from Minnie Downs, proof that we are now near this station, our goal. The month I spent here gave me an excellent knowledge of station-life. The raising of cattle and sheep, the most important industry of Australia, has more or less influence on all kinds of business in that country. In the older colonies the cattle and sheep farmers are also the owners of the land where their herds and flocks graze, but in the larger part of Queensland the pastures are rented from the Government. These great cattle and sheep farmers are called squatters, and they are the aristocracy of Australia. If the squatter is a sheep-farmer, he not unfrequently has 200,000 sheep upon his station, while the cattle-farmer often owns 15,000 head. He does not hesitate to pay as high as £2000 for a fine bull, or as high as £600 for a ram of choice pedigree.

A station resembles a little village. Besides the main building, which is the residence of the squatter or his superintendent, there are a number of shanties for the workmen, a butcher's shop, a store-house for wool, and a shop where most of the necessaries of life may be bought. A garden of vegetables may usually be found down by the water, for there is always a creek or a water-hole near every station. The garden is generally managed by skilful Chinamen, who are, it is true, hated by all colonists (every Chinaman must pay £30 for

permission to settle in Queensland), but at the same time are recognized as the most able gardeners. The secret of their art is chiefly the untiring attention they give to the plants, watering them early and late in sunshine and even in rain.

The stock-yard is an enclosure indispensable to every station. The cattle are driven into it when they are to be captured, but it is usually occupied by the horses, which are lodged there every morning, so that the stockman may select his own animal. Most of the work on a station is done on horseback, and one can hardly conceive of an Australian unable to ride.

There is of course much work to be done on a station having such extensive pasturage. The sheep cause the most trouble. The transportation of the wool to the coast is very expensive, and often costs more than the freight from the coast to England. And yet sheep-raising may often give a profit of as much as thirty per cent. The cattle are sent alive to the cities to be slaughtered. Milk is scarcely used at all in the bush. On a station containing about 10,000 head not more than three or four cows may be milked, as the cattle are half wild and have to be tamed for milking purposes. The chief stress is laid on the beef. What, then, becomes of this immense quantity of beef? The greater part is eaten in Australia, where the consumption is enormous. More recently establishments have been built, in which the beef is either canned or frozen for export. Besides, considerable quantities are used for the production of tallow. In the neighbourhood of Rockhampton there is an establishment where the

carcasses of about 100,000 cattle and sheep are annually boiled down and converted into tallow.

In Australia, wherever there are good pastures to be found, the land is quickly taken up for the feeding of large droves of cattle and flocks of sheep. First, the cattle consume the coarse grass, then the sheep are turned into the pastures. Distance is a matter of no consequence. It may require months to bring the stock up to the new station, but no place is so far away that there is any hesitation about forming a station there, provided the pasturage is good.—*Ibid.*

NEW ZEALAND FARMS

BY MRS. ROWAN

WE drove on to the farm of Mr. H.'s son-in-law : 600 acres of splendid grass land. The farm owners had had recourse to a cruel way of clearing it. It was originally all covered with ferns, six and seven feet high ; cattle were turned into it in the spring, when they lived on the young shoots as they came up. In time the constant nibbling destroyed the plants, and the poor animals were left to starve, eating at last even the roots. The grass soon grew after it was sown, but the cattle lay dead in every direction. It was less costly to improve the land in this way than by other means.

The last of the harvesting was finished as we got back ; and I went to watch the long rows of cows being milked. There are six young men here learning farming ; they are all Englishmen and do the whole of

the work, rising at five, when they have tea and something to eat, then breakfast at eight, lunch very often in the fields, and dinner at seven. They seem a very happy household. The farm is 1000 acres in extent, carrying 1000 sheep, 200 head of cattle, and 30 horses. The work is mixed—dairying, pastoral, and agricultural—100 acres being kept under the plough for turnips, oats, carrots, and other crops.

Shearing was just over, and they had shorn 100,000 sheep; but station life is always a busy one, and each day there is something new. This day the lambs were getting their dose of oil and turpentine. Their mouths were held open and it was squirted down their throats with a small syringe—a most ingenious way of giving physic. They didn't seem to mind the operation, it was so quickly over; and they went off without even a shake of the head; 7800 were dosed that day. Then we drove on to the big substantial wool-shed, where a few stragglers were being shorn—here, as on most of the large stations, the Wolseley shears are used; one shearer's record with them, which was written up here, had been 250 sheep in a day. Passing along the road, we watched the reaping and binding machines at work. Clover had been sown with the oats, and instead of the bare stubble the paddock was thick and green with it. . . . The station, with its many outhouses, looked like a small village.

Next day we went to see the sheep being dipped. They swam and ducked them in a deep trough of arsenic and water, 10,000 going through in one day. Drafting, too, was going on, and all hands were very busy. The

frozen meat trade, too, is taking such strides that the squatters' hearts ought to be jubilant with such a promising future.—*A Flower Hunter in Queensland and New Zealand.* 1898.

NEW ZEALAND SCENERY

BY MRS. ROWAN

WHAT a land of loveliness it was! Such magnificent birch trees, and such ferns! Hundreds of feet below, the Buller, with its bluish-green water, deep, wide, and swift, rushed, sometimes between sandy banks, then forced an entrance through giant rocks. The road wound round and round each headland, and we went spinning along the narrow track with the high wooded cliffs above and the ever-changing scene in front.

From the Otira Hotel, where we lunched, our ascent commenced. The zigzag road is cut out of the solid rock. The Otira river runs below, and our voices were drowned in the deep, hoarse roar of its waters as they fell over and dashed round great masses of broken rock. The perpendicular cliffs towered above us, some thickly clothed with vegetation, and beyond them again others hid their bare peaks in the clouds. The Rolleston glacier lay to our right, with the sun glistening on the ice. As we mounted higher, the scene became grander as other peaks came into view, and the valley lay behind us 7000 feet below them. I have seen much beautiful scenery, but familiarity deepens my awe of Nature at her grandest.

After Arthur's Pass was gained, the others all took their seats in the coach again, and away we bowled down the other side. The character of the country now changed; the forest disappeared, and only here and there were patches of manuka scrub and the so-called birch. After passing the "Devil's Punchbowl" waterfall, the endless perspective of the wide river-bed of the Waimakariri opened for miles in front of us. It was a clear, cold sunset, and the mountains stood out black against the silver sky.

We said good-bye here to the last of the trees, and the mountains ran down to the broad river-beds, with their steep slopes covered with rock and grass; gaunt-looking and desolate. I held on extra tight at some of the narrow passes down the inclines, for there was always a spice of danger in it, and one felt a sort of wondering excitement in picturing what the next sharp corner might bring. Now we went along the gorges, then up again on to the hills. We passed a small lake with reflections so clear and distinct that it was only the image turned upside down, and farther on again the road skirted round Lake Lyndon, with numbers of Paradise ducks and a pair of swans swimming about with the greatest unconcern; on the hill-sides giant rocks lay tossed about all round us. Once over Porter's Pass we gradually descended again; every rugged outline looked intensely clear against the vividly blue sky, and the wonderful shades of browns, yellows, sepias, and greys made up a picture more like Arabia or Egypt than this southern island. On the level bits of grass lands sheep were lazily browsing and we passed two station

homesteads close to the road. Then down we went on to the great Canterbury plains, looking just like a flat map with its marked-out fields. And how tame they looked after the wild scenery that we had passed through, with nothing but long belts of thick plantations of blue gums to break the monotony—and, I suppose, the wind, which must sweep with great force here, for every haystack was knocked out of shape.

Every variety of scenery and natural beauty is found in this Southern Cross world, from bold rocky island-studded coast-lines to rolling hills and level plains ; from towering heights of active volcano to a wonder-land of silica terraces and undying fires of a hot-lake region, unreal and weird in their plutonic grandeur ; from inaccessible glacier peaks of eternal ice and snow, where avalanches wake the echoes of a hundred valleys, to the fathomless depths of land-locked fiords, where virgin forests guard the shores with such garlands as only nature could weave ; from wind-swept gorge and rocky precipice to the great cold lakes ; along the shores of golden reaches to fierce broad rivers, to ideal summer haunts where, among wildernesses of ferns and mosses, sunshine steals in and goes to sleep ; and, in the words of the Scripture, " A land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees, and pomegranates ; a land of olives and honey."—*Ibid.*

THE IMPORTANCE TO ENGLAND OF THE
COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND

BY SIR ROBERT PEEL

I WILLINGLY admit that the interests of that colony are recommended to us by many considerations. I look at the extent of that colony, at its line of coast, at the quantity of land in it capable of cultivation and improvement; I look, above all, at its position, and the new importance which it has acquired by the events which have been passing in the Pacific, and by the opening of the trade with China . . . There appears every probability, as far as we can form a judgment, that that colony, if its interests are duly regarded, and its welfare fostered, is destined to occupy a most important station in the world. I agree that its relation to this country is most important. Surveying the unoccupied portion of the globe, I know of no part of that globe more calculated to afford a profitable field for employment to the superabundant population of this country.

Now, with respect to the future government of this colony, I must say that, looking at the distance at which it is removed from the seat of government at home, and considering the great difficulty of issuing orders for its government in this country, I am, for one, strongly inclined to think that a representative government will be suited for the condition of the people of that colony . . . I cannot see what assignable interest

you can have, except in the commercial and social prosperity of that colony. The only possible ground of connection that can exist will depend upon its being profitable. It is impossible that at the distance at which we are, this country can seek any advantage in its connection with New Zealand except reciprocal interest; and, above all, the local prosperity of the colony.—*Speech on the New Zealand Government Bill.* 1845.

A BUSH FIRE

BY MRS. ROWAN

TOWARDS night the heat became unbearable, and a dull, lurid glare lit up the horizon. Away in the distance came a low, continuous sound like the roar of rushing wind, and a dense pillar of smoke curled upwards with a dull yellow glare. Below, some terrified cattle rushed aimlessly forward, and sure-footed kangaroos bounded away, ten feet each spring, the horses whinnied and stamped in the yards, and the air was filled with the shrill cries of cockatoos as they wheeled and swayed backwards and forwards in floating clouds in the blackening sky. Now with fearful rapidity came the menacing sound of crashing and crackling of timbers, and, leaping and blazing, the flames shot forward, sending blinding showers of drift and fragments of leaves across the road, the only bar now between us and a horrible death. The first scream of the blast rushed upwards, the flames leaping at their prey, and wave upon wave rolled onward. Below the fiery tongues

hissing, toppling, and hurling over each other as they spluttered, gripped, twisted, and grasped the tree-trunks, then defiantly hurled a fiery stream to the resinous leaves of the foliage above.

And now a fresh horror seized us ; the panting flames had leapt the gap and crossed the road. A huge tree that was burnt through at its base now tottered and fell with a crashing sound, scattering a sea of burning fragments, whose quick tongues clutched with relentless grasp the dry tufts of grass and the light saplings round the fenced-in yard. The smoke grew denser each moment. With sinews and muscles strained to their utmost, and with hands grimy and scorched, we wrestled and struggled in frantic efforts, beating and stamping it out. How the reds and the yellows struggled for mastery. The whole force of the fire was upon us, and we fought for dear lives' sake. Our throats were dry and swollen as we gasped for breath, a legion of devils was on us ; for a moment we seemed to wrestle with the powers of hell.

In the thickened smoke a man's figure staggered for a moment and fell with the cry, "O God, we are undone!" Indeed, his words seemed too terribly true, and would have been so had not the wind been suddenly met by a stronger one from the south, which forced the fire backward. It was a wonderful deliverance, and a wonderful sight when the flaring torches that lit the heavens turned and swept on for miles until spent on a distant lagoon. The atmosphere was choking with the dust of charred embers, our swollen eyes pricked and smarted, our skins were scorched and our clothes burnt

into countless holes, and when the morning light came what a scene of blackened desolation lay smoking and smouldering before us!—*A Flower Hunter in Queensland and New Zealand.* 1898.

QUEENSLAND SCENERY

BY MRS. ROWAN

THE coast-line was fringed with cocoa-nut trees. In front of us was a species of india-rubber, a large tree with dense green foliage and a long plum-coloured fruit which the natives cut into strips and dry, and from which they make a splendid crimson dye. Beside it was a flame tree, one blaze of scarlet blossoms. Beyond that again stands a tree with the whole trunk and branches clothed with masses of white flowers. Out of the hot, moist ground I could almost fancy I saw the plants grow, all nature seemed to revel in the exquisite beauty that she unfolded in never-ending blooms of brightest hues and vivid contrasts. Dusky figures of women were busily going to and fro, under the bright green foliage, carrying water in yellow and brown gourds on their heads. With backs as straight as arrows, the men, waist-deep in water, were hauling their fishing-nets. There are days in our lives that we never forget, and I think that this was one of them. Perhaps it was that I felt so well, and so much alive, and that the world was a beautiful one. Every bird was singing, the air was full of scent and sound, a distant hum of bees was overhead, and butterflies danced in the sunlight.

The air was heavy with the echoes of a hundred songs. Every tree has its various inhabitant, every plant and flower its insect. One generation goes, another comes, nature is never still, and each season brings its own fresh world with it. We scrambled back to camp over the cliffs, toppling over stones and sliding over slippery grass. On the way we picked some papaw apples, and under the shade of a large eugenia tree we sat down cross-legged and made a feast off them and bananas.

The sun was just setting as we came back, and through the hazy vista of palm trees we could see the dusky figures of the natives moving to and fro in the flickering light of the fires, which burnished up the tall stems of the bamboos like shafts of molten metal, and in golden threads crept through and outlined the drooping fronds of palms and the thatched roofs.—*Ibid.*

A KANGAROO HUNT

BY MRS. ROWAN

WE went by train the night before to Mr. ——'s station, and we were a goodly muster as we drew up at the stockyard at eleven that bright morning, with just touch enough of frost in the air to redden our cheeks and our noses. There was plenty of muscle and go in the horses; each man was on his finest jumper, each lady on hers. After hand-shakes and greetings as much as our fretting horses would allow, we were off and away, ambling, trotting, cantering, spreading, and driving, as we bore to the left, then on to the fern and over the brow of the hill, where soon, with a shrill chorus, the dogs spoke to

a find ; we halted for a second as five or six kangaroos scattered in front of us, turning in a dazed way from right to left, as they dodged in such close quarters among us that with the butt-end of his whip a horseman knocked one over, then the hounds bend and falter, doubling back and landing another with a scrimmage on his back on the ground ; now up the hill and away like the wind the rest go, clearing yards at a bound ; through the thick fern we steeplechase over logs, squeezing, dodging, crashing in and out of the gums, then "for'ard" on the wide sweep of the valley to a bit of galloping ground, where, with desperate speed, "long, limber, and grey," the hounds in full cry flash past ; the kangaroos, leaping ten yards at a stretch, disappear ; with the sun and wind in our faces, with wild halloas from every side, and a chorus of "hold ups," we swish through a swamp ; a fallen branch and a stumble, and Paddy is on his nose, but before we have time to dismount, both rider and pony are up again, and away now, with snap and crash, cheating falls, we dodge through a network of saplings and flying logs. Neck to neck the horses rattle their hoofs through the fern, a yelping sound, a cracking of whips, then a mass of draggled fur and the last two six-footers clear the fence and make for the edge of the swamp ;—a crashing and a splitting of timber, a critical moment, some meet their fate on the ground ; with bold hearts, strong muscles, and luck, others are over ; but I can't look where, clasp- ing, gripping, and tearing at the dogs with his strong hind legs, one kangaroo stands at bay in the water, fighting tooth and nail for life.— *ibid.*

THE GOLD-FIELDS OF AUSTRALIA

BY CARL LUMHOLTZ

IN the midst of the development of sheep-raising and agriculture a third factor, gold, was added, which gave Australia an immense advantage, even though it at the same time interfered with the above-mentioned industries.

The year 1851 marks an epoch in the history of Australia. It was literally the beginning of a golden age for the continent, for in that year the great gold mines of Victoria were discovered.

It had long been believed that gold must be found in Australia; among the deported criminals there were all sorts of reports about finds said to have been made in the Blue Mountains; but the Government paid no attention to these strange rumours, and the result was that the matter was not properly investigated.

But in 1851 the greatest excitement was created when the Government purchased from a Californian gold digger, for a large sum of money, some rich gold fields which he had discovered in the Blue Mountains. When the Government by this step had given its public sanction to the question, the colony became wild with excitement. The most extravagant reports concerning the immense wealth of the gold fields were circulated, and were accepted as gospel truth. From all quarters people assembled to the new fountains of wealth, where they expected to find the pure gold in such quantities

that it was only necessary to stoop down and fill their pockets with the precious ore. The disappointment when they arrived in the promised land and learned from experience that there was need of months—nay, of years—of hard and persistent labour to attain the wealth they were seeking, was as great as the expectation which had previously been formed. The larger part of the army of adventurers who had flocked together to the gold mines to secure all of a sudden a wealth which they had neither the strength nor the endurance to acquire under ordinary circumstances, returned discouraged to Sydney, after having spent a month in idleness in the gold fields. In their wrath on account of the deception, as they called it, they nearly took the life of the Californian who had discovered the fields.

A number of gold diggers, however, gradually congregated in the Blue Mountains from the various colonies. When the work proved to be very profitable the rush was so great that one of the earlier colonies, the little Victoria, which had recently been founded, was on the point of being nearly deserted. To prevent the colony from perishing altogether, the leading men in Melbourne offered a large reward to any person who succeeded in discovering gold in Victoria. Before long, specimens of gold were found on the Yarra river, a few miles from Melbourne; in the course of a short time the famous gold mines of Ballarat and Bendigo were discovered.

At first gold was found in Ballarat in the usual manner—that is, in the bed of a river; but this was soon exhausted. A thick layer of clay was struck

below the sand, and the work was abandoned in order to search for new fields. Fortunately one of the gold diggers, who had made up his mind to stay some time longer, got the idea of working through the clay, and by so doing he reached enormous quantities of gold in the old bed of the river. For centuries the streams had carried gold down from the mountains and deposited it here in "pockets" in the bed of the river. A single "pocket" of this kind would sometimes contain thousands of pounds' worth of gold. Within a month Ballarat became the richest gold field in the whole world.

The gold fever grew into a perfect rage. Melbourne was almost deserted. People of every class and from every part of the world left their work, their situations, and their homes to seek their fortunes. In Melbourne policemen left their posts of duty, officials threw up their offices, and sailors deserted their ships.

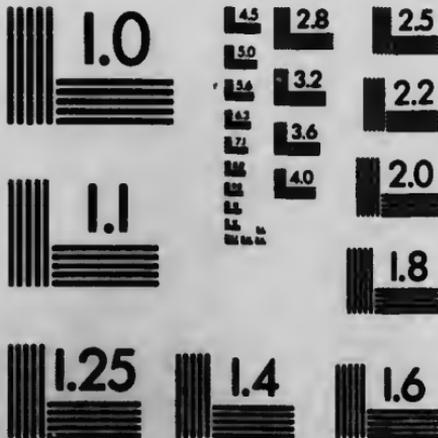
In spite of the fact that everybody rushed to the gold mines, thus preventing a normal development of the country, Australia got full compensation in the new impetus given to immigration. The year after the discovery of gold more than 100,000 immigrants arrived in Victoria. Thus the population was doubled in a single year, and during the following five years it increased fivefold. While in 1830 there were less than 4000 inhabitants, in 1860 their number had increased to 1,300,000. The quantity of gold found was also sufficiently large to explain this increase of population. During the next ten years £100,000,000 were produced in Victoria alone.

Digging for gold was gradually reduced to systematic



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methods. The work by degrees became a link in that mining industry which embraced copper, coal, and tin. Copper and coal were discovered in Australia long before gold—as was also tin, which in its importance to the colonies may in time equal the others.

It is a great mistake to suppose that digging gold is easy work. As everybody knows, "nuggets of gold" are scarce. Most of the gold is found as fine grains, and requires great labour to separate it from the gravel. This is the so-called alluvial gold. Gold in quartz has to be worked by mining and by costly crushing machines, in the construction of which a fortune must be spent before any pure ore can be secured. Most of the gold is now produced in the latter manner in Australia.

A whole gold-bearing mountain was discovered in 1884—Mount Morgan, which at present is the richest gold bed in the whole world, and has made Queensland the first gold-producing colony of Australia. It is also a remarkable fact that the gold here appears in an entirely new form. Mount Morgan, which is about 300 feet high, has been produced in the tertiary period by a hot spring, which may have resembled the geysers of Iceland or the hot springs of Yellowstone Park. It is formed of siliceous sinter, with some limonite and clayey substances, and the gold is distributed throughout the rocky mass. This discovery has made the owners immensely rich; the value of some of the original shares exceeding one and a half million pounds. One of my friends who bought a share for £1000 has now made out of this an income of more than £2000 a year. By

boring it has been demonstrated that the gold increases in quantity with the depth, so that there seems to be no end of this fabulous wealth. No wonder that it has attracted the attention of speculators in every part of the world.

In 1889 the weekly output of ore was 1500 tons. The average yield is six ounces per ton, and accordingly £36,000 of pure gold is produced per week.

This great find of gold is interesting, both from a theoretical and from a practical point of view. It shows that gold-bearing siliceous sinter can be the result of volcanic agencies, and that there is a hope that gold may yet be found in formations that have hitherto been regarded as worthless.

The continent is, upon the whole, pastoral and agricultural. The nature of the country has given its industries their peculiar character. The raising of sheep requires immense pastures, and agriculture assumes wide dimensions on the new and fertile soil. The result is that local centres are created with great difficulty in the midst of this industry spread over so large a domain. The points of colonization first chosen thus obtain a great advantage and monopolize the trade. They become centres of knowledge and of pleasure, and they absorb all that stream of immigrants who are not suited to agriculture and do not acquire land but settle wherever they can earn a bare living. The fact that a population of less than 3,000,000 scattered over an immense territory has two cities, Melbourne and Sydney, of nearly 400,000 inhabitants each, and that one-third of the population of Australia lives in five of

the largest cities, is unique, and is explained by what has been stated above.

The history of the colonization reveals a community which still possesses the vigour of youth, and whose culture is wholly European, and these results, wonderful as they are, have been achieved in two generations. In the whole history of man's development a more sudden revolution is not known than that which happened in Australia during this century. The motto of the Australians is, "Advance, Australia!"—*Among Cannibals*. 1889.

AFRICAN EXPLORATION

BY MUNGO PARK

SOON after my return from the East Indies in 1793, having learned that the noblemen and gentlemen associated for the purpose of prosecuting discoveries in the interior of Africa were desirous of engaging a person to explore that continent, by the way of the Gambia river, I took occasion, through means of the President of the Royal Society, to whom I had the honour to be known, of offering myself for that service. I had been informed that a gentleman of the name of Houghton, a captain in the army, and formerly fort-major at Goree, had already sailed to the Gambia, under the direction of the Association, and that there was reason to apprehend he had fallen a sacrifice to the climate, or perished in some contest with the natives. But this intelligence instead of deterring me from my purpose, animated me

to persist in the offer of my services with the greater solicitude. I had a passionate desire to examine into the productions of a country so little known, and to become experimentally acquainted with the mode of life and character of the natives. I knew that I was able to bear fatigue, and I relied on my youth and the strength of my constitution to preserve me from the effects of the climate. The salary which the committee allowed was sufficiently large, and I made no stipulation for future reward. If I should perish in my journey, I was willing that my hopes and expectations should perish with me; and if I should succeed in rendering the geography of Africa more familiar to my countrymen, and in opening to their ambition and industry new sources of wealth and new channels of commerce, I knew that I was in the hands of men of honour, who would not fail to bestow that remuneration which my services should appear to them to merit. The committee of the Association having made such inquiries as they thought necessary, declared themselves satisfied with the qualifications that I possessed, and accepted me for the service; and, with that liberality which on all occasions distinguishes their conduct, gave me every encouragement which it was in their power to grant, or which I could with propriety ask.

My instructions were very plain and concise. I was directed, on my arrival in Africa, "to pass on to the river Niger, either by way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient; that I should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river; that I should use my

utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa ; and that I should be afterwards at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as, under all the then existing circumstances of my situation and prospects, should appear to me to be most advisable."

The earliest European establishment on this celebrated river was a factory of the Portuguese, and to this must be ascribed the introduction of the numerous words of that language which are still in use among the negroes. The Dutch, French, and English afterwards successively possessed themselves of settlements on the coast ; but the trade of the Gambia became, and continued for many years, a sort of monopoly in the hands of the English. In the travels of Francis Moore is preserved an account of the Royal African Company's establishments in this river in the year 1730 ; at which time James's factory alone consisted of a governor, deputy-governor, and two other principal officers ; eight factors, thirteen writers, twenty inferior attendants and tradesmen ; a company of soldiers, and thirty-two servants ; besides sloops, shallops, and boats, with their crews ; and there were no less than eight subordinate factories in other parts of the river.

The trade with Europe, by being afterwards laid open, was annihilated. The share which the subjects of England at this time hold in it supports not more than two or three annual ships ; and I am informed that the gross value of British exports is under £20,000. The French and Danes still maintain a small share, and

the Americans have lately sent a few vessels to the Gambia by way of experiment.

The commodities exported to the Gambia from Europe consist chiefly of firearms and ammunition, iron-ware, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cotton caps, a small quantity of broadcloth, and a few articles of the manufacture of Manchester; a small assortment of India goods, with some glass beads, amber, and other trifles, for which are taken in exchange slaves, gold dust, ivory, beeswax, and hides. *Travels in the Interior of Africa.* 1799.

DISCOVERY OF THE NIGER

BY MUNGO PARK

AS we approached the town I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king; and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called out, *Geo affili!* ("See the water!") and looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission—the long-sought-for, majestic Niger, glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.

The circumstance of the Niger's flowing towards the east, and its collateral points, did not, however, excite my surprise, for, although I had left Europe in great hesitation on this subject, and rather believed that it ran in the contrary direction, I had made such frequent inquiries during my progress concerning this river, and received from the negroes of different nations such clear and decisive assurances that its general course was *towards the rising sun*, as scarce left any doubt on my mind, and more especially as I knew that Major Houghton had collected similar information in the same manner.

I waited more than ten days without having an opportunity of crossing the river, during which time the people who had crossed carried information to Mansong, the king, that a white man was waiting for a passage, and was coming to see him. He immediately sent over one of his chief men, who informed me that the king could not possibly see me until he knew what had brought me into his country; and that I must not presume to cross the river without the king's permission. He therefore advised me to lodge at a distant village, to which he pointed, for the night, and said that in the morning he would give me further instructions how to conduct myself. This was very discouraging. However, as there was no remedy, I set off for the village, where I found, to my great mortification, that no person would admit me into his house. I was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable— for the wind rose,

and there was great appearance of a heavy rain—and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up a tree and resting amongst the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally

translated, were these: "The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. *Chorus*—Let us pity the white man, no mother has he," etc., etc. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat—the only recompense I could make her.—*Ibid.*

GOLD IN AFRICA

BY MUNGO PARK

THOSE valuable commodities, gold and ivory, have probably been found in Africa from the first ages of the world. They are reckoned among its most important productions in the earliest records of its history.

It has been observed that gold is seldom or never discovered except in *mountainous* and *barren* countries—nature, it is said, thus making amends in one way for her penuriousness in the other. This, however, is not wholly true. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding, a country which is indeed hilly, but cannot properly be called *mountainous*, much less *barren*. It is also found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo (particularly about Boori), another hilly, but by no means an unfertile, country. It is remarkable

that in the place last mentioned (Boori), which is situated about four days' journey to the south-west of Kamalia, the salt market is often supplied at the same time with rock-salt from the Great Desert and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same. And the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north or negroes from the west, are invited thither by the same motives—that of bartering their salt for gold.

The gold of Manding, so far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in small grains nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea, scattered through a large body of sand or clay, and in this state it is called by the Mandingoes *sanoo munko* (gold powder). It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the situation of the ground, that most of it has originally been washed down by repeated torrents from the neighbouring hills. The manner in which it is collected is as follows:—

About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the mansa or chief of the town appoints a day to begin *sanoo koo* (gold washing), and the women are summoned to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. A hoe or spade for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose.

The washing of the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold dust; but in most

places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that unless the stream takes some new course the gold is found but in small quantities.

The most certain and profitable mode of working is practised in the height of the dry season, by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which has previously been discovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with small spades or corn-hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the negroes dig through the different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until they come to a stratum containing gold, or until they are obstructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand for the women to wash; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women, who are accustomed from their infancy to a similar operation in separating the husks of corn from the meal.—*Ibid.*

IVORY IN AFRICA

BY MUNGO PARK

HAVING now related the substance of what occurs to my recollection concerning the African mode of obtaining gold from the earth, I proceed to the next article of which I proposed to treat—namely, ivory.

Nothing creates a greater surprise among the negroes on the sea-coast than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth, it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what use it is applied. Although they are shown knives with ivory handles, combs and toys of the same material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured was originally parts of a tooth, they are not satisfied. They suspect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe to purposes of far greater importance, the true nature of which is studiously concealed from them, lest the price of ivory should be enhanced. They cannot, they say, easily persuade themselves that ships would be built and voyages undertaken to procure an article which had no other value than that of furnishing handles to knives, etc., when pieces of wood would answer the purpose equally well.

Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, and the greater part of the ivory which is sold on the Gambia and Senegal rivers is brought from the interior country. The lands towards the coast are too swampy and too much intersected with creeks and rivers for so bulky an animal as the elephant to travel through without being discovered; and when once the natives discern the marks of his feet in the earth, the whole village is up in arms. The thoughts of feasting on his flesh, making sandals of his hide, and selling the teeth to the Europeans, inspire every one with courage, and the animal seldom escapes from his pursuers.

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the

woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country, where the soil is shallow. These bushes he easily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are in general more tender and juicy than the hard, woody branches or the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal in this practice frequently cause them to break short. At Kamalia I saw two teeth, one a very large one, which were found in the woods, and which were evidently broken off in this manner. Indeed, it is difficult otherwise to account for such a large proportion of broken ivory as is daily offered for sale at the different factories, for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unless he dashes himself over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

There are certain seasons of the year when the elephants collect into large herds, and traverse the country in quest of food or water; and as all that part of the country to the north of the Niger is destitute of rivers, whenever the pools in the woods are dried up the elephants approach towards the banks of that river. Here they continue until the commencement of the rainy season, in the months of June or July, and during this time they are much hunted by such of the Bamarrans as have gunpowder to spare. The elephant-hunters seldom go out singly—a party of four or five join together, and having each furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a

leather bag sufficient for five or six days' provision, they enter the most unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care everything that can lead to the discovery of the elephants. In this pursuit, notwithstanding the bulk of the animal, very great nicety of observation is required. The broken branches, the scattered dung of the animal, and the marks of his feet are carefully inspected; and many of the hunters have, by long experience and attentive observation, become so expert in their search that as soon as they observe the foot-marks of an elephant they will tell almost to a certainty at what time it passed and at what distance it will be found.

When they discover a herd of elephants, they follow them at a distance, until they perceive some one stray from the rest and come into such a situation as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongst the long grass, until they have got near enough to be sure of their aim. They then discharge all their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces among the grass; the wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and seeing nobody near him, he becomes quite furious and runs about the bushes, until by fatigue and loss of blood he has exhausted himself, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing a second time at him, by which he is generally brought to the ground.

The skin is now taken off, and extended on the ground with pegs to dry; and such parts of the flesh as are most esteemed are cut up into thin slices, and

dried in the sun, to serve for provisions on some future occasion. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet which the hunters always carry along with them, not only for that purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain honey; for though they carry with them only five or six days' provisions, they will remain in the woods for months if they are successful, and support themselves upon the flesh of such elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

The ivory thus collected is seldom brought down to the coast by the hunters themselves. They dispose of it to the itinerant merchants who come annually from the coast with arms and ammunition to purchase this valuable commodity. Some of these merchants will collect ivory in the course of one season sufficient to load four or five asses.

It cannot admit of a doubt that all the rich and valuable productions both of the East and West Indies might easily be naturalized and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture—and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation—without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature should remain in its present savage and neglected state.—*Ibid.*

DISCOVERY OF LAKE NGAMI

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

WE started for the unknown region on the 1st of June, 1849. Passing through a range of tree-covered hills to Shokuane, formerly the residence of the Bakwains, we soon after entered on the high road to the Bamangwato which lies mainly in the bed of an ancient river or wady that must formerly have flowed north to south. The adjacent country is perfectly flat. The soil is sandy, and there are here and there indications that at spots which now afford no water there were formerly wells and cattle-stations. The land is covered with open forest, bush, and abundance of grass. The trees are mostly a kind of acacia called "Monáto," which appears a little to the south of this region, and is common as far as Angola.

All around Serotli the country is perfectly flat, and composed of soft white sand. There is a peculiar glare of bright sunlight from a cloudless sky over the entire scene; and one clump of trees and bushes, with open spaces between, looks so exactly like another, that if you leave the wells, and walk a quarter of a mile in any direction, it is difficult to return.

At last we came to the Zouga, and found it to be a river running to the north-east. A village of Bakurutse lay on the opposite bank, and the people informed us that the stream came out of Ngami. The news gladdened all our hearts. We had the Zouga at our feet, and

by following it we should at last reach the broad water.

While ascending the beautifully-wooded river, we arrived at a large stream flowing into it. This was the Tamunak'le. I inquired whence it came. "Oh, from a country full of rivers—so many no one can tell their number—and full of large trees!" This was a confirmation of what I had heard from the Bakwains, that the country beyond was not "the large sandy plateau" of the philosophers. The notion that there might be a highway, capable of being traversed by boats, to an unexplored and populous region, grew from that time stronger and stronger in my mind; and when we actually came to the lake this idea was so predominant that the actual discovery seemed of little importance. It was on the 1st of August that we reached the north-east end of the Ngami; and for the first time this fine sheet of water was beheld by Europeans. The direction of the lake seemed to be N.N.E. and S.S.W. by compass. The southern portion is said to bend round to the west, and to receive the Teoughe from the north at its north-west extremity. We could detect no horizon where we stood; nor could we form any idea of its extent except from the reports of the people, who professed to go round it in three days, which, at the rate of twenty-five miles a day, would make it seventy-five miles in circumference. It is shallow, and can never be of much value as a commercial highway. In the months preceding the annual supply of water from the north, it is with difficulty the cattle can approach to drink through the boggy, reedy banks. These are low on all sides. On

the west there is a space devoid of trees, which shows that the waters have retired thence at no very ancient date—another proof of the desiccation that has been going on throughout the country. We were informed by the Bayeiye, who live on the lake, that, when the annual inundation begins, not only trees of great size, but antelopes are swept down by its rushing waters. The trees are gradually driven by the winds to the opposite side, and become embedded in mud. The water of the lake is fresh when full, but brackish when low.—*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. 1857.

THE ZAMBESI EXPEDITION OF 1858-64

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

THE main object of this Zambesi Expedition, as our instructions from His Majesty's Government explicitly stated, was to extend the knowledge already attained of the geography and mineral and agricultural resources of Eastern and Central Africa—to improve our acquaintance with the inhabitants, and to endeavour to engage them to apply themselves to industrial pursuits and to the cultivation of their land, with a view to the production of raw material to be exported to England in return for British manufactures; and it was hoped that, by encouraging the natives to occupy themselves in the development of the resources of the country, a considerable advance might be made towards the extinction of the slave-trade, as they would not be long in discovering

that the former would eventually be a more certain source of profit than the latter. The Expedition was sent in accordance with the settled policy of the English Government ; and the Earl of Clarendon, being then at the head of the Foreign Office, the Mission was organized under his immediate care. When a change of Government ensued, we experienced the same generous countenance and sympathy from the Earl of Malmesbury, as we had previously received from Lord Clarendon ; and, on the accession of Earl Russell to the high office he has so long filled, we were always favoured with equally ready attention and the same prompt assistance. Thus the conviction was produced that our work embodied the principles, not of any one party, but of the hearts of the statesmen and of the people of England generally. The Expedition owes great obligations to the Lords of the Admiralty for their unvarying readiness to render us every assistance in their power.—*A Popular Account of Dr. Livingstone's Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries.* 1865.

THE VICTORIA FALLS OF THE ZAMBESI RIVER

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

WE landed at the head of Garden Island, which is situated near the middle of the river and on the lip of the Falls. On reaching that lip, and peering over the giddy height, the wondrous and unique character of the magnificent cascade at once burst upon us.

It is rather a hopeless task to endeavour to convey an idea of it in words, since, as was remarked on the spot, an accomplished painter, even by a number of views, could impart a faint impression of the glorious scene. The probable mode of its formation may perhaps help to the conception of its peculiar shape. Niagara has been formed by a wearing back of the rock over which the river falls ; and during a long course of ages, it has gradually receded, and left a broad, deep, and pretty straight trough in front. It goes on wearing back daily, and may yet discharge the lakes from which its river—the St. Lawrence—flows. But the Victoria Falls have been formed by a crack right across the river, in the hard, black, basaltic rock which there formed the bed of the Zambesi. The lips of the crack are still quite sharp, save about three feet of the edge over which the river rolls. The walls go sheer down from the lips without any projecting crag, or symptoms of stratification or dislocation. When the mighty rift occurred, no change of level took place in the two parts of the bed of the river thus rent asunder, consequently, in coming down the river to Garden Island, the water suddenly disappears, and we see the opposite side of the cleft, with grass and trees growing where once the river ran, on the same level as that part of its bed on which we sail. The first crack is, in length, a few yards more than the breadth of the Zambesi, which by measurement we found to be a little over 1860 yards, but this number we resolved to retain as indicating the year in which the Fall was for the first time carefully examined. The main stream here runs nearly north and south, and the

cleft across it is nearly east and west. The depth of the rift was measured by lowering a line, to the end of which a few bullets and a foot of white cotton cloth were tied. One of us lay with his head over a projecting crag, and watched the descending calico, till, after his companions had paid out 310 feet, the weight rested on a sloping projection, probably 50 feet from the water below, the actual bottom being still farther down. The white cloth now appeared the size of a crown-piece. On measuring the width of this deep cleft by sextant, it was found at Garden Island, its narrowest part, to be eighty yards, and at its broadest somewhat more. Into this chasm, of twice the depth of Niagara-fall, the river, a full mile wide, rolls with a deafening roar; and this is Mosi-oa-tunya or the Victoria Falls.

Looking from Garden Island, down to the bottom of the abyss, nearly half a mile of water, which has fallen over that portion of the Falls to the right, or west of our point of view, is seen collected in a narrow channel twenty or thirty yards wide, and flowing at exactly right angles to its previous course, to our left; while the other half, or that which fell over the eastern portion of the Falls, is seen in the left of the narrow channel below, coming towards our right. Both waters unite midway, in a fearful boiling whirlpool, and find an outlet by a crack situated at right angles to the fissure of the Falls. This outlet is about 1170 yards from the western end of the chasm, and some 600 from its eastern end; the whirlpool is at its commencement. The Zambesi, now apparently not more than twenty or thirty yards wide, rushes and surges south, through the narrow

escape-channel for 130 yards ; then enters a second chasm somewhat deeper, and nearly parallel with the first. Abandoning the bottom of the eastern half of this second chasm to the growth of large trees, it turns sharply off to the west, and forms a promontory, with the escape-channel at its point, of 1170 yards long, and 416 yards broad at the base. After reaching this base, the river runs abruptly round the head of another promontory, and flows away to the east, in a third chasm ; then glides round a third promontory, much narrower than the rest, and away back to the west, in a fourth chasm ; and we could see in the distance that it appeared to round still another promontory, and bend once more in another chasm towards the east. In this gigantic, zigzag, yet narrow trough, the rocks are all so sharply cut and angular, that the idea at once arises that the hard basaltic trap must have been riven into its present shape by a force acting from beneath, and that this probably took place when the ancient inland seas were let out by similar fissures nearer the ocean.

Charles Livingstone had seen Niagara, and gave Mosi-*oa-tunya* the palm, though now at the end of a drought, and the river at its very lowest. Many feel a disappointment on first seeing the great American Falls, but *Mosi-*oa-tunya** is so strange, it must ever cause wonder. In the amount of water, Niagara probably excels, though not during the months when the *Zambesi* is in flood. The vast body of water, separating in the comet-like forms described, necessarily encloses in its descent a large volume of air, which, forced into the cleft, to an unknown depth, rebounds, and rushes up loaded with

vapour to form the three or even six columns, as if of steam, visible at the Batoka village Moachemba, twenty-one miles distant. On attaining a height of 200, or at most 300 feet from the level of the river above the cascade, this vapour becomes condensed into a perpetual shower of fine rain. Much of the spray, rising to the west of Garden Island, falls on the grove of evergreen trees opposite; and from their leaves, heavy drops are for ever falling, to form sundry little rills, which, in running down the steep face of rock, are blown off and turned back, or licked off their perpendicular bed, up into the column from which they have just descended.

The ancient Botaka chieftains used Kazeruka, now Garden Island, and Boaruka, the island farther west, also on the lip of the Falls, as sacred spots for worshipping the Deity. It is no wonder that under the cloudy columns, and near the brilliant rainbows, with the ceaseless roar of the cataract, with the perpetual flow, as if pouring forth from the hand of the Almighty, their souls should be filled with reverential awe. It inspired wonder in the native mind throughout the interior. Among the first questions asked by Sebituané of Mr. Oswell and Dr. Livingstone, in 1851, was, "Have you any smoke soundings in your country," and "what causes the smoke to rise for ever so high out of water?" In that year its fame was heard 200 miles off, and it was approached within two days; but it was seen by no European till 1855, when Dr. Livingstone visited it on his way to the East Coast.—*Ibid.*

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE NYASSA

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

OUR path followed the Shiré above the cataracts, which is now a broad, deep river, with but little current. It expands in one place into a lakelet, called Pamalombé, full of fine fish, and ten or twelve miles long by five or six in breadth. Its banks are low, and a dense wall of papyrus encircles it. On its western shore rises a range of hills running north. On reaching the village of the chief Muana-Moesi, and about a day's march distant from Nyassa, we were told that no lake had ever been heard of there; that the River Shiré stretched on as we saw it now to a distance of "two months," and then came out from between perpendicular rocks, which towered almost to the skies. Our men looked blank at this piece of news, and said, "Let us go back to the ship; it is of no use trying to find the lake." "We shall go and see those wonderful rocks at any rate," said the Doctor. "And when you see them," replied Masakasa, "you will just want to see something else. But there *is* a lake," rejoined Masakasa, "for all their denying it, for it is down in a book." Masakasa, having unbounded faith in whatever was in a book, went and scolded the natives for telling him an untruth. "There is a lake," said he, "for how could the white men know about it in a book if it did not exist?" They then admitted that there was a lake a few miles off.

We discovered Lake Nyassa a little before noon of

the 16th September, 1859. Its southern end is in $14^{\circ} 25'$ S. lat., and $35^{\circ} 30'$ E. long. At this point the valley is about twelve miles wide. There are hills on both sides of the lake, but the haze from burning grass prevented us at the time from seeing far. A long time after our return from Nyassa, we received a letter from Captain R. B. Oldfield, R.N., then commanding H.M.S. *Lyra*, with the information that Dr. Roscher, an enterprising German who unfortunately lost his life in his zeal for exploration, had also reached the lake, but on the 19th November following our discovery; and on his arrival had been informed by the natives that a party of white men were at the southern extremity. On comparing dates (16th September and 19th November) we were about two months before Dr. Roscher.

It is not known where Dr. Roscher first saw its waters, as the exact position of Nusseewa on the borders of the lake, where he lived some time, is unknown. He was three days north-east of Nusseewa, and on the Arab road back to the usual crossing-place of the Rovuma, when he was murdered. The murderers were seized by one of the chiefs, sent to Zanzibar, and executed. He is said to have kept his discoveries to himself, with the intention of publishing in Europe the whole at once, in a splendid book of travels.

Our stay at the lake was necessarily short. We had found that the best plan for allaying any suspicions that might arise in the minds of a people accustomed only to slave-traders, was to pay a hasty visit, and then leave for a while, and allow the conviction to form among the people that, though our course of action was

so different from that of others, we were not dangerous, but rather disposed to be friendly. We had also a party at the vessel, and any indiscretion on our part might have proved fatal to the character of the Expedition.

The trade of Cazembé and Katanga's country, and of other parts of the interior, crosses Nyassa and the Shiré, on its way to the Arab port, Kilwa, and the Portuguese ports of Iboe and Mozambique. At present, slaves, ivory, malachite, and copper ornaments, are the only articles of commerce. According to information collected by Colonel Rigby at Zanzibar, and from other sources, nearly all the slaves shipped from the above-mentioned ports come from the Nyassa district. By means of a small steamer, purchasing the ivory of the lake and river above the cataracts, which together have a shore-line of at least 600 miles, the slave-trade in this quarter would be rendered unprofitable—for it is only by the ivory being carried by the slaves, that the latter do not eat up all the profits of a trip. An influence would be exerted over an enormous area of country, for the Mazitu about the north end of the lake will not allow slave-traders to pass round that way through their country. They would be most efficient allies to the English, and might themselves be benefited by more intercourse. As things are now, the native traders in ivory and malachite have to submit to heavy exactions; and if we could give them the same prices which they at present get after carrying their merchandise 300 miles beyond this to the coast, it might induce them to return without going farther. It is only by cutting off the supplies in the interior that we can

crush the slave-trade on the coast. The plan proposed would stop the slave-trade from the Zambesi on one side and Kilwa on the other ; and would leave, beyond this tract, only the Portuguese port of Inhambane on the south, and a portion of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominion on the north, for our cruisers to look after. The lake people grow abundance of cotton for their own consumption, and can sell it for a penny a pound or even less. Water-carriage exists by the Shiré and Zambesi all the way to England, with the single exception of a portage of about thirty-five miles past the Murchison Cataracts, along which a road of less than forty miles could be made at a trifling expense ; and it seems feasible that legitimate and thriving trade might, in a short time, take the place of the present unlawful traffic.

Colonel Rigby, Captains Wilson, Oldfield, and Chapman, and all the most intelligent officers on the coast, were unanimous in the belief, that one vessel on the lake would have decidedly more influence, and do more good in suppressing the slave-trade, than half a dozen men-of-war on the ocean. By judicious operations, therefore, on a small scale inland, little expense would be incurred, and the English slave-trade policy on the East would have the same fair chance of success, as on the West Coast.—*Ibid.*

ENCOUNTER WITH LIONS

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

THE Bakátla of the village Mabotsa were troubled by lions, which leaped into the cattle-pens by night and destroyed their cows. They even attacked the herds in open day. This was so unusual an occurrence that the people believed themselves bewitched—"given," as they said, "into the power of the lions by a neighbouring tribe." They went once to attack the animals, but, being rather cowardly in comparison with the Bechuanas in general, they returned without slaying any. It is well known that if one in a troop of lions is killed the remainder leave that part of the country. The next time, therefore, the herds were attacked, I went with the people to encourage them to rid themselves of the annoyance by destroying one of the marauders. We found the animals on a small hill covered with trees. The men formed round it in a circle, and gradually closed up as they advanced. Being below on the plain with a native schoolmaster named Mebálwe, I saw one of the lions sitting on a piece of rock within the ring. Mebálwe fired at him, and the ball hit the rock on which the animal was sitting. He bit at the spot struck, as a dog does at a stick or stone thrown at him; and then leaping away, broke through the circle and escaped unhurt. If the Bakátla had acted according to the custom of the country, they would have speared him in his attempt to get out, but they were afraid to attack

him. When the circle was re-formed, we saw two other lions in it ; but dared not fire lest we should shoot some of the people. The beasts burst through the line, and, as it was evident the men could not be prevailed on to face their foes, we bent our footsteps towards the village. In going round the end of the hill I saw a lion sitting on a piece of rock, about thirty yards off, with a bush in front of him. I took a good aim at him through the bush, and fired both barrels into it. The men called out, "He is shot, he is shot!" Others cried, "He has been shot by another man too; let us go to him!" I saw the lion's tail erected in anger, and, turning to the people, said, "Stop a little till I load again." When in the act of ramming down the bullets I heard a shout, and, looking half round, I saw the lion in the act of springing upon me. He caught me by the shoulder, and we both came to the ground together. Growling horribly, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first grip of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror, though I was quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe; they see the operation, but do not feel the knife. This placidity is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and if so, is a merciful provision of the Creator for lessening the pain of death. As he had one paw on the back of my head, I turned round to relieve myself of the weight, and saw his eyes directed to Mebálwe, who was aiming at him from a distance of

ten or fifteen yards. His gun, which was a flint one, missed fire in both barrels. The animal immediately left me to attack him, and bit his thigh. Another man, whose life I had saved after he had been tossed by a buffalo, attempted to spear the lion, upon which he turned from Mebálwe and seized this fresh foe by the shoulder. At that moment the bullets the beast had received took effect, and he fell down dead. The whole was the work of a few moments, and must have been his paroxysm of dying rage.—*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* 1857.

A LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

River Shiré, 1st June, 1859.—We have been down to the mouth of the river Zambesi in expectation of meeting a man-of-war with salt provisions, but, none appearing on the day appointed, we conclude that the Admiral has not received my letters in time to send her. We have no post-office here, so we buried a bottle containing a letter on an island in the entrance to Kongone harbour. This we told the Admiral we should do in case of not meeting a cruiser, and whoever comes will search for our bottle and see another appointment for 30th of July. This goes with despatches by way of Quilimane, and I hope some day to get from you a letter by the same route. We have got no news from home since we left Liverpool, and we long now to hear how all goes on in Europe and in India. I am now on

my way to Tette, but we ran up the Shiré some forty miles to buy rice for our company. Uncle Charles is there. He has had some fever, but is better. We left him there about two months ago, and Dr. Kirk and I, with some fifteen Makololo, ascended this river one hundred miles in the *Ma-Robert*, then left the vessel and proceeded beyond that on foot till we had discovered a magnificent lake called Shirwa (pronounced Shurwah). It was very grand, for we could not see the end of it, though some way up a mountain; and all around it are mountains much higher than any you see in Scotland. One mountain stands in the lake, and people live on it. Another, called Zomba, is more than six thousand feet high, and people live on it too, for we could see their gardens on its top, which is larger than from Glasgow to Hamilton, or about from fifteen to eighteen miles. The country is quite a highland region, and many people live in it. Most of them were afraid of us. The women ran into their huts and shut the doors. The children screamed in terror, and even the hens would fly away and leave their chickens. I suppose you would be frightened too if you saw strange creatures, say a lot of Trundlemen, like those on the Isle of Man pennies, come whirling up the street. No one was impudent to us except some slave-traders, but they became civil as soon as they learned we were English and not Portuguese. We saw the sticks they employ for training any one whom they have just bought. When the slaves are considered tame they are allowed to go in chains.

I am working in the hope that in the course of time this horrid system may cease. All the country we

travelled through is capable of growing cotton and sugar, and the people now cultivate a good deal. They would grow much more if they could only sell it. At present we in England are the mainstay of slavery in America, and elsewhere by buying slave-grown produce. Here there are hundreds of miles of land lying waste, and so rich that the grass towers far over one's head in walking. You cannot see where the narrow path ends, the grass is so tall, and overhangs them so. If our countrymen were here they would soon render slave-buying unprofitable. Perhaps God may honour us to open up the way for this. My heart is sore when I think of so many of our countrymen in poverty and misery, while they might be doing so much good to themselves and others where our Heavenly Father has so abundantly provided fruitful hills and fertile valleys. If our people were out here they would not need to cultivate little snatches by the side of railways as they do.—*Blaikie. The Personal Life of Dr. Livingstone.* 1880.

THE BOERS IN 1852

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

OUR route to the north lay near the centre of the cone-shaped mass of land which constitutes the promontory of the Cape. If we suppose this cone to be divided into three zones of longitudinal bands, we find each presenting distinct peculiarities of climate, physical appearance, and population. The eastern zone is often furnished with mountains, well wooded with ever-green succulent

trees, on which neither fire nor droughts can have the smallest effect. Its seaboard gorges are clad with gigantic timber, and is comparatively well watered with streams and rivers. The supply of rain is considerable, and the inhabitants (Caffres or Zulus) are tall, muscular, and well made; shrewd, energetic, and brave; and altogether merit the character given them by military authorities, of being "magnificent savages." Their splendid physical development and form of skull show that, but for the black skin and woolly hair, they would take rank among the foremost Europeans.

The next division, which embraces the centre of the continent, consists for the most part of extensive, slightly undulating plains. There are few springs, and still fewer streams. Rain is far from abundant, and droughts may be expected every few years. Without artificial irrigation no European grain can be raised, and the inhabitants (Bechuanas) are inferior to the Caffres in physical development.

The western division is still more level than the middle, being rugged only near the coast. It includes the great plain of the Kalahari Desert.

The probable reason why so little rain falls on this extensive tract is that the prevailing winds of most of the interior are easterly, and the water taken up by the atmosphere from the Indian Ocean is deposited on the eastern hilly slope. It is a familiar law of science that the greater the temperature of the air the more moisture it will hold in an invisible form. When the drifting atmosphere arrives at the Kalahari, and comes in contact with the hot currents from the Desert, its

capacity for retaining what remains of humidity is increased. Thus the vapour can never be condensed into raindrops. That the Kalahari should nevertheless be clothed with vegetation may be explained by the geological formation of the country. A rim of ancient rocks surrounds a great central valley. Though vast areas have been distorted that but little trace of this formation appears externally, it is highly probable that the basin-shape prevails over large districts; and as the strata on the slopes, where most of the rain falls, dip in towards the centre, the water trickles along beneath the surface till it reaches the Kalahari plains.

The route we followed at this time ran along the middle, or skirted the western zone, until we reached the latitude of Lake Ngami, where a totally different country begins. We passed through districts inhabited by the descendants of Dutch and French refugees who had fled from religious persecution. Those living near the capital differ but little from the middle classes in English counties, and are distinguished by public spirit and general intelligence; while those situated far from the centres of civilization are less informed, but are a body of frugal, industrious, and hospitable peasantry. A most efficient system of public instruction was established by Governor Sir George Napier, on a plan drawn up in a great measure by Sir John Herschel. The system had to contend with less sectarian rancour than elsewhere. Until quite recently indeed, that spirit, except in mild form, was unknown.

Population among the Boers increases rapidly; they marry soon, and continue to have children late. Orphans

are never allowed to remain long destitute ; and instances are frequent in which a tender-hearted farmer has adopted a fatherless child, and when it came of age has portioned it as his own. Two centuries of the South African climate have not had much effect upon the physical condition of the Boers. They are a shade darker, or rather ruddier, than ordinary whites, and are never cadaverous-looking, as descendants of Europeans are said to be elsewhere.

The farms of the Boers usually consist of a small patch of cultivated land in the midst of some miles of pasturage. They are thus less an agricultural than a pastoral people. Each farm must have its fountain ; and where no supply of water exists the lands are unsaleable. An acre in England is generally worth more than a square mile in Africa ; but the value of colonial farms increases year by year, and they are capable of vast improvement. If dams and tanks were formed, greater fruitfulness would certainly follow.

As cattle and sheep farmers the colonists are very successful. Larger quantities of wool are produced every year. But this pastoral system requires a rapid extension of ground, and the farmers are gradually spreading to the north. The movement proves prejudicial to the country behind, by drawing off the labour which would otherwise be directed to the improvement of the territory already occupied. Encroachment upon the interior actually diminishes cultivation, for less land is put under the plough than was before subjected to the native hoe. The Basutos and Zulus, or Caffres of Natal, undersell our farmers wherever they have a fair field and no favour.

THE SAME—*continued*

THE parts of the colony through which we passed were of sterile aspect ; and as the present winter had been preceded by a severe drought, many farmers had lost two-thirds of their stock. The landscape was uninviting ; the hills, destitute of trees, were of a dark-brown colour, and the scanty vegetation on the plains made me feel that they were more deserving of the name of Desert than the Kalahari. The soil is said to have been originally covered with a coating of grass, which has disappeared with the antelopes which fed upon it.

Before we reached the Orange river we saw the last portion of a migration of springbucks. They come from the great Kalahari Desert, and, when first they cross the colonial boundary, are said to exceed forty thousand in number. I cannot venture on an estimate, for they spread over a vast expanse of country, and make a quivering motion as they graze, and toss their graceful horns. They live chiefly on grass ; and as they come from the north about the time when grass most abounds, it cannot be want of food that prompts the movement. Nor is it want of water, for this antelope is one of the most abstemious in that respect. The cause of the migration would seem to be their preference for places where they can watch the approach of a foe. When oxen are taken into a country of high grass, their sense of danger is increased by the power of concealment which the cover affords, and they will often start off in terror at the ill-defined outlines of each other. The springbuck possesses this feeling in a : intense degree, and, being

eminently gregarious, gets uneasy as the grass of the Kalahari grows tall. The vegetation being scantier in the more arid south, the herds turn in that direction. As they advance and increase in numbers, the pasturage gets so scarce, that in order to subsist they are at last obliged to cross the Orange river, and become the pest of the sheep-farmer in a country which contains little of their favourite food. If they light on a field of wheat in their way, an army of locusts could not make a cleaner sweep of the whole. They have never been seen returning. Many perish from want, and the rest become scattered over the colony. Notwithstanding their constant destruction by firearms, they will probably continue long to hold their place. The Bakalahari take advantage of the love of a springbuck for an uninterrupted view, and burn off large patches of grass, both to attract the game by the fresh herbage which springs up, and to form bare spots for them to range over.

On crossing the Orange river we come into the independent territory inhabited by Griquas and Bechuanas. By Griquas is meant any mixed race sprung from natives and Europeans. These are of Dutch extraction, through associates with Hottentots and Bushwomen. Half-castes of the first generation consider themselves superior to those of the second, and all possess in some degree the characteristics of both parents. They were governed for many years by an elected chief named Waterboer, who proved a most efficient guard of our north-west boundary. He drove back a formidable force of marauding Mantatees that threatened to invade the colony, and, except for his firm and brave rule, there

is every probability that the north-west would have given the colonists as much trouble as the eastern frontier. Large numbers among the original Griquas had as little scruple about robbing farmers of cattle as the Caffres, but, on his election to the chieftainship, he declared *that no marauding should be allowed*. Some of his principal men disregarded the injunction, and plundered certain villages of Corannas. He seized six of the ringleaders, summoned his council, and tried, condemned, and publicly executed them all. This produced an insurrection, and the insurgents twice attacked his capital, Griqua Town. He defeated both attempts, and during his long reign of thirty years no plundering expedition ever issued from his territory.

Ten years after he was firmly established in power, he entered into a treaty with the Colonial Government ; and, during the twenty years which followed, not a single charge was ever brought against either him or his people. Sir George Cathcart not only abrogated the treaty with the Griquas, but prohibited their purchasing gunpowder for their own defence. An exception was made in favour of the Transvaal Boers and Caffres, our avowed enemies, while the Bechuanas and Griquas, our constant allies, are debarred from obtaining a single ounce. Such an error could not have been committed by a man of local knowledge and experience, and such instances of confounding friend and foe, under the idea of promoting colonial interests, will probably lead the Cape community to assert the right of choosing their own governors.—*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. 1857.

THE MEETING OF LIVINGSTONE AND
STANLEY

BY DAVID LIVINGSTONE

October 23, 1871.—At dawn, off and go to Ujiji. Welcomed by all the Arabs, particularly by Moenyegheré. I was now reduced to a skeleton, but the market being held daily, and all kinds of native food brought to it, I hoped that food and rest would soon restore me, but in the evening my people came and told me that Shereef had sold all my goods, and Moenyegheré confirmed it by saying, "We protested, but he did not leave a single yard of calico out of 3000, nor a string of beads out of 700 lb." This was distressing. I had made up my mind, if I could not get people at Ujiji, to wait till men should come from the coast, but to wait in beggary was what I never contemplated, and I now felt miserable. Shereef was evidently a moral idiot, for he came without shame to shake hands with me, and when I refused, assumed an air of displeasure, as having been badly treated; and afterwards came with his "Balghere," good-luck salutation, twice a day, and on leaving said, "I am going to pray," till I told him that were I an Arab, his hand and both ears would be cut off for thieving, as he knew, and I wanted no salutations from him. In my distress it was annoying to see Shereef's slaves passing from the market with all the good things that my goods had bought.

24th October.—My property had been sold to Shereef's

friends at merely nominal prices. Syed bin Majid, a good man, proposed that they should be returned, and the ivory be taken from Shereef; but they would not restore stolen property, though they knew it to be stolen. Christians would have acted differently, even those of the lowest classes. I felt in my destitution as if I were the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves; but I could not hope for Priest, Levite, or good Samaritan to come by on either side, but one morning Syed bin Najid said to me, "Now, this is the first time we have been alone together; I have no goods, but I have ivory; let me, I pray you, sell some ivory, and give the goods to you." This was encouraging; but I said, "Not yet, but by-and-bye." I had still a few barter goods left, which I had taken the precaution to deposit with Mohamad bin Saleh before going to Manyema, in case of returning in extreme need. But when my spirits were at their lowest ebb, the good Samaritan was close at hand, for one morning Susi came running at the top of his speed and gasped out, "An Englishman! I see him!" and off he darted to meet him. The American flag at the head of a caravan told of the nationality of the stranger. Bales of goods, baths of tin, huge kettles, cooking pots, tents, etc., made me think "This must be a luxurious traveller, and not one at his wits' end like me." (28th October.) It was Henry Morton Stanley, the travelling correspondent of the *New York Herald*, sent by James Gordon Bennett, junior, at an expense of more than £4000, to obtain accurate information about Dr. Livingstone if living, and if dead to bring home my bones. The news he had to

tell to one who had been two full years without any tidings from Europe made my whole frame thrill. The terrible fate that had befallen France, the telegraphic cables successfully laid in the Atlantic, the election of General Grant, the death of good Lord Clarendon—my constant friend, the proof that her Majesty's Government had not forgotten me in voting £1000 for supplies, and many other points of interest, revived emotions that had lain dormant in Manyuema. Appetite returned, and instead of the spare, tasteless, two meals a day, I ate four times daily, and in a week began to feel strong. I am not of a demonstrative turn; as cold, indeed, as we islanders are usually reputed to be, but this disinterested kindness of Mr. Bennett, so nobly carried into effect by Mr. Stanley, was simply overwhelming. I really do feel extremely grateful, and at the same time I am a little ashamed at not being more worthy of the generosity. Mr. Stanley has done his part with untiring energy; good judgment in the teeth of very serious obstacles. His helpmates turned out depraved blackguards, who, by their excesses at Zanzibar and elsewhere, had ruined their constitutions, and prepared their systems to be fit provender for the grave. They had used up their strength by wickedness, and were of next to no service, but rather downdrafts and unbearable drags to progress.—*Last Journals of Livingstone.* 1880.

THE WORK OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE

BY W. G. BLAIKIE

LIVINGSTONE traversed twenty-nine thousand miles in Africa, and added to the known part of the globe about a million square miles. He discovered Lakes Ngami, Shirwa, Nyassa, Moero, and Bangweolo; the Upper Zambesi, and many other rivers; made known the wonderful Victoria Falls, also the high ridges flanking the depressed basin of the central plateau; he was the first European to pass along the whole length of Lake Tanganyika, and to give it its true orientation; he traversed, in much pain and sorrow, the vast watershed near Lake Bangweolo; through no fault of his own just missed the information that would have set at rest all his surmises about the sources of the Nile. His discoveries were never mere happy guesses or vague descriptions from the accounts of natives; each spot was determined with the utmost precision. He strove after an accurate notion of the form and structure of the continent; investigated its geology, hydrography, botany, and geology. In science he was neither amateur nor dilettante, but a careful, patient, laborious worker.

A rapid glance at the progress of events during the few years that have elapsed since the death of Livingstone will show best what influence he wielded after his death. Whether we consider the steps that have been taken to suppress the slave-trade; the progress of commercial undertakings; the successful journeys of

explorers, stimulated from his example, who have gone from shore to shore; or the new enterprises of the various missionary bodies carried out by agents with somewhat of Livingstone's spirit, we shall see what a wonderful revolution he effected—how entirely he changed the prospects of Africa.

Through Livingstone's work a new light has burst on the commercial world as to the capabilities of Africa in a trading point of view. There seems, indeed, no reason why Africa should not furnish most of the products which at present we derive from India. As a market for our manufacturers it is capable, even with a moderate amount of civilization, of becoming one of our most extensive customers. The voice that proclaimed these things in 1857 was the voice of one crying in the wilderness; but it is now repeated in a thousand echoes.

In stimulating African exploration the influence of Livingstone was very decided. He was the first of the galaxy of modern African travellers.

A foreigner has remarked that, "in the nineteenth century, the white has made a man out of the black; in the twentieth century Europe will make a world out of Africa." When that world is made, and generation after generation of intelligent Africans look back on its beginnings, as England looks back to the days of King Alfred, Ireland of St. Patrick, Scotland of St. Columba, or the United States of George Washington, the name that will be encircled by them with brightest honour is that of David Livingstone.—*The Personal Life of David Livingstone.* 1880.

OUR POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
1814-1876

BY JOHN MARTINEAU

DURING the French War at the beginning of the century, when Holland for a time ceased to be an independent nation and became a province of France, the settlement of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope had, after a brief resistance, surrendered to a British force and come under British rule. It was intended to be a temporary arrangement, till Holland recovered her independence, but so well pleased were the Cape Dutchmen with the change, and so valuable was the station as a half-way resting-place to India, that at the peace of 1814 the colony was, with general consent, made over permanently to England.

The settlers enjoyed much more liberty as a British, than they had had as a Dutch, colony. Holland, which in Europe posed as a champion of liberty, had treated them in a spirit of selfish and narrow despotism. They had been prohibited from trading on their own account, and compelled to sell their produce to the Company at a fixed price, and in the minutest details of administration had been subject to the caprice of the Government of the Hague. Early in the history of the colony this treatment had driven the less submissive and more adventurous spirits to set the example of "trekking," or wandering out of reach of all authority into the interior, and living a life removed from contact with civilization.

But the bulk of the settlers had submitted to the severe discipline, were modest in their requirements and ambition, and established a tradition of contentment with the simple necessities of life, so easily obtained in that climate. The Puritan faith which they brought with them from Holland had been confirmed and intensified by the arrival, in 1687, of a body of French Huguenot refugees expelled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These immigrants, prohibited from using their native French language, had been absorbed into the population and were the progenitors of many of the leading families of the colony.

After the colony came under the British Government, some small grievances arose on ecclesiastical questions, but no serious breach of harmony occurred between governors and governed till after the passing of the Negro Emancipation Act of 1834. The white people were then suddenly called upon by the British Government to free the native slaves whom they were employing in the cultivation of their land. The compensation given them was inadequate, its payment was so badly arranged and distributed that only a small proportion of it reached the right persons, and many well-to-do farmers were impoverished or ruined. The recent English settlers, then comparatively few in number, who had brought English ideas with them, could look upon slave-emancipation from the same point of view as their fellow-countrymen at home; but it was otherwise with the old Dutch colonists. Isolated from external influences, they had preserved almost unaltered the Puritanism of the seventeenth century. The native

African race were, in their estimation, Canaanites, whom they, as the chosen people, might go forth, the Bible in one hand and an ox-whip or rifle in the other, to extirpate, or to employ as hewers of wood and drawers of water, with as little compunction as Cromwell or Ireton felt when they caused Irishmen and "Malig-nants" to be slaughtered, or shipped by thousands as slaves to the Barbadoes, or as the Pilgrim Fathers when they slew the redskins of the West. And from that day to this the Act of Emancipation has been looked upon by a large section of the Dutch population as a wrong done to them for which there was no justification.

Opinions may differ as to the degree of harshness with which the natives have been habitually treated by the Boers. But the theory of the two independent Dutch Republics, as expressed in their constitutional law, or "Grondvet," has been and is that no native can under any circumstances be admitted to the privileges of either Church or State. The inhabitants, of whatever origin, of the colonies where English law prevails have, on the contrary, sought to admit the Kaffir to both. The natives themselves have not failed to appreciate the difference between the two theories, and have become restless and uneasy whenever the establishment of Dutch rule seemed probable or possible.

It used to be maintained that British subjects could not divest themselves of their allegiance, could not unite to form an independent State. To enforce this principle, and to put a stop to an independent war which was being waged between the trekking Boers and the Zulus, officials and soldiers were sent by Sir

George Napier, the Cape Governor (1838), to Natal. And when the Boers trekked again from Natal to the Orange State, Sir Harry Smith followed them, fought the battle of Boomplatz (August, 1848), and shed British soldiers' blood to establish British sovereignty there. Three years later (1851) a despatch from Lord Grey to Sir Harry Smith declared all this to have been a mistake; that blood had been shed vainly; and all that had been done was reversed. No extension, however small, of her Majesty's dominions in South Africa was henceforward to be sanctioned.

"The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River territory" [it runs] "must be a settled point of our policy. You will distinctly understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterwards occur between different tribes and communities which will be left in a state of independence beyond the colonial boundary, are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference."

And so Sir Harry Smith was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart, who succeeded him, concluded (January 17, 1852) "the Sand River Convention" with the Boers, by which the Transvaal was made an independent State, and the British Government undertook to abstain from all interference with native tribes bordering on it. Two years later (1854), the government of the Orange Free State was handed over to a Convention of Boers by Sir George Clerk, on behalf of England.

But the native difficulty could not be thus got rid of. Sir George Grey, who became Governor in 1854, was not long in perceiving and pointing out that the policy

of disintegration was a serious impediment to the peace, progress, and civilization of the country, and that the undisputed authority of a single paramount civilized power capable of enforcing fixed principles of conduct towards the natives was essential to peace and tranquillity. The Orange Free State had by their troubles with the natives been made to feel this, and in December, 1858, had by a resolution of the Raad proposed reunion, by federation or otherwise, with the Cape Colony. Sir George Grey did all he could to promote it, and at first the Home Government was disposed to support him. But eventually the Colonial Secretary, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, announced that on consideration he had decided against it; the proposal fell to the ground, and a golden opportunity was lost.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the rule laid down by Lord Grey, it was found necessary to intervene between the Orange River Boers and the Basutos. The latter, twice rescued by Sir George Grey's mediation, were afterwards, and after suffering much loss, saved by Sir Philip Wodehouse's good offices from annihilation, and were located (1868) on territory assigned to them by the Cape Colony. The Griquas also had a territory given to them in what became East Griqualand. And at Kimberley, when the discovery of the diamond-fields (1870) attracted a multitude of people to the edge of the Orange Free State, where there was pending a boundary-dispute with a native chief, British police and troops had to occupy the town to save it from disorder; the boundary-dispute was settled by the payment of £90,000 to the Orange Free State, and the territory of

West Griqualand was added (October 27, 1871) to the British Empire.

Lord Carnarvon became Colonial Minister in 1874. The success of confederation in Canada was an encouragement to him to try a similar scheme in South Africa, and to abandon in favour of confederation the policy of disintegration initiated twenty years before.

There were few South Africans who did not recognize that federation of some kind was an end to be desired. It was obvious that half a dozen contiguous territories, under distinct Governments, with different customs duties, different systems of law, different credit in the money market, and different policy towards the natives, could not progress in the same way as if there were unity of action, which would provide even justice, unrestricted commerce, and the opening up of the country by roads, railways, and telegraphs, and which would secure peace on the frontier. But the conflicting interests and antagonisms were so many and so great as to raise almost insuperable difficulties.—*Life of Sir Bartle Frere*. 1895.

THE COLONIZING GENIUS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

BY THOMAS DE QUINCEY

IF, as at some great memorial review of armies, the colonizing nations since 1500 were now by name called up, France would answer not at all; Portugal and Holland would stand apart with dejected eyes—dimly

revealing the legend of *Fuit Ilium*; Spain would be seen sitting in the distance, and, like Judæa on the Roman coins, weeping under her palm-tree in the vast regions of the Drellana; whilst the British race would be heard upon every wind, coming on with mighty hurrahs, full of power and tumult, as some "Hailstone Chorus," and crying aloud to the five hundred millions of Burmah, China, Japan, and the infinite islands, to make ready their paths before them.

Are not the advantages of these islanders which carry them thus potently ahead products of British energy? Those twenty-five thousands of ships, whose graceful shadows darken the blue waters in every climate—did they build themselves? That myriad of acres, laid out in the watery cities of docks—are they sown by the rain as the fungus or the daisy? Britain has advantages at this stage of the race, but at starting we were all equal. In such contests the power constitutes the title; the man that has the ability to go ahead is the man entitled to go ahead; and the nation that can win the place of leader is the nation that ought to do so.

This colonizing genius of the British people appears upon a grand scale in Australia, Canada, and, as we may remind the else forgetful world, in the United States of America; which States are our children, prosper by our blood, and have ascended to an overshadowing altitude from an infancy tended by ourselves.—*Ceylon.*

1843.

ENGLAND AND LIBERTY

BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

IT is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous Stream in bogs and sands
Should perish ; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible Knights of old :
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake ; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

1802.

A PLEA FOR CONSOLIDATION OF EMPIRE

BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

THERE is a case in which a people may be benefited by
resignation or forfeiture of their rights as a separate
independent State ; I mean, where—of two contiguous
or neighbouring countries, both included by nature
under one conspicuously defined limit—the weaker is

united with, or absorbed into, the more powerful ; and one and the same government is extended over both. This, with due patience and foresight, may (for the most part) be amicably effected, without the intervention of conquest ; but—even should a violent course have been resorted to, and have proved successful—the result will be matter of congratulation rather than of regret, if the countries have been incorporated with an equitable participation of natural advantages and civil privileges. Who does not rejoice that former partitions have disappeared—and that England, Scotland, and Wales are under one legislative and executive authority, and that Ireland (would that she had been more justly dealt with!) follows the same destiny? The large and numerous fiefs, which interfered injuriously with the grand demarcation assigned by nature to France, have long since been united and consolidated. The several independent sovereignties of Italy (a country the boundary of which is still more expressly traced out by nature ; and which has had no less the further definition and cement of country which language prepares) have yet this good to aim at : and it will be a happy day for Europe when the natives of Italy and the natives of Germany (whose duty is in like manner indicated to them) shall each dissolve the pernicious barriers which divide them, and form themselves into a mighty people.—*The Convention of Cintra.* 1809.

THE DANGERS OF MATERIAL PROGRESS

BY WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

IN many parts of Europe (and especially in our own country) men have been pressing forward for some time in a path which has betrayed by its fruitfulness; furnishing them constant employment for picking up things about their feet, when thoughts were perishing in their minds. While Mechanic arts, Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce, and all those products of knowledge which are confined to gross, definite, and tangible objects, have, with the aid of experimental philosophy, been every day putting on more brilliant colours, the splendour of the imagination has been fading. Sensibility, which was formerly a generous nursling of rude nature, has been chased from its ancient range in the wide domain of patriotism and religion, with the weapons of derision, by a shadow calling itself good sense.

The progress of those arts also, by furnishing such attractive stores of outward accommodation, has misled the higher orders of society in their more disinterested exertions for the service of the lower. Animal comforts have been rejoiced over, as if they were the end of being. A neater and more fertile garden; a greener field; implements and utensils more apt; a dwelling more commodious and better furnished;—let these be attained, say the actively benevolent, and we are sure not only of being on the right road, but of having

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successfully terminated our journey. Now, a country may advance for some time in this course with apparent profit ; these accommodations, by zealous encouragement, may be attained, and still the peasant or artisan, their master, be a slave in mind,—a slave rendered even more abject by the very tenure under which these possessions are held ; and, if they veil from us this fact or reconcile us to it, they are worse than worthless. The springs of emotion may be relaxed or destroyed within him, he may have little thought of the past, and less interest in the future. The great end and difficulty of life, for men of all classes, and especially difficult for those who live by manual labour, is a union of peace with innocent and laudable animation. Not by bread alone is the life of man sustained ; not by raiment alone is he warmed ; but by the genial and vernal inmate of the breast, which at once pushes forth and cherishes ; by self-support and self-sufficing endeavours ; by anticipations, apprehensions, and active remembrances ; by elasticity under insult, and firm resistance to injury ; by joy and by love ; by pride which his imagination gathers in from afar ; by patience, because life wants not promises ; by admiration ; by gratitude which—debasing him not where his fellow-being is its object—habitually expands itself, for his elevation, in complacency towards its Creator. Now, to the existence of these blessings national independence is indispensable ; and many of them it will itself produce and maintain.

Love and admiration must push themselves out toward some quarter : otherwise the moral man is killed. Collaterally they advance with great vigour to a certain

extent—and they are checked ; in that direction, limits hard to pass are perpetually encountered ; but upwards and downwards to ancestry and to posterity, they meet with gladsome help and no obstacles ; the tract is interminable. Perdition to the tyrant who would wantonly cut off an independent nation from its inheritance in past ages ; turning the tombs and burial-places of the forefathers into dreaded objects of sorrow or of shame and reproach for the children ! Look upon Scotland and Wales : though, by the union of these with England under the same Government (which was effected without conquest in one instance), ferocious and desolating wars, and more injurious intrigues, and sapping and disgraceful corruptions, have been prevented ; and tranquillity, security, and prosperity, and a thousand interchanges of amity, not otherwise attainable, have followed ; yet the flashing eye and the agitated voice and all the tender recollections with which the names of Prince Llewellyn and William Wallace are to this day pronounced by the fireside and on the public road attest that these substantial blessings have not been purchased without the relinquishment of something most salutary to the moral nature of man, else the remembrances would not cleave so faithfully to their abiding-place in the human heart.

It is to the worldlings of our own country, and to those who think without carrying their thoughts far enough, that I address myself. Let them know there is no true wisdom without imagination, no genuine sense ; that the man who in this age feels no regret for the ruined honour of other nations must be poor in

sympathy for the honour of his own country ; and that if he is wanting here towards that which circumscribes the whole, he neither has nor can have a social regard for the lesser communities which country includes. Contract the circle, and bring him to his family : such a man cannot protect *that* with dignified love. Reduce his thoughts to his own person : he may defend himself —what *he* deems his honour ; but it is the *action* of a brave man from the impulse of the brute, or the motive of a coward.—*Ibid.*

ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES

BY ROBERT SOUTHEY

MANY a tall vessel in her harbours lay,
About to spread its canvas to the breeze,
Bound upon happy errand to convey
The adventurous colonist beyond the seas,
Toward those distant lands where Britain blest
With her redundant life the East and West.

The landscape changes ; a region next was seen,
Where sable swans on rivers yet unfound,
Glided through broad savannahs ever green ;
Innumerable flocks and herds were feeding round,
And scatter'd farms appear'd and hamlets fair,
And rising towns which made another Britain there.

Then thick as stars which stud the moonless sky,
Green islands in a peaceful sea were seen ;

Darken'd no more with blind idolatry,
 Nor cursed with hideous usages obscene,
 But heal'd of leprous crimes, from butchering strife
 Deliver'd, and reclaim'd to moral life.

The light those happy islanders enjoy'd,
 Good messengers from Britain had convey'd
 (Where might such bounty, wiselier, be employ'd?)
 One people with their teachers they were made,
 Their arts, their language, and their faith the same,
 And blest in all, for all they blest the British name.

Then rose a different land, where loftiest trees
 High o'er the grove their fan-like foliage rear ;
 Where spicy bowers upon the passing breeze
 Diffuse their precious fragrance far and near ;
 And yet untaught to bend their massive knee,
 Wisest of brutes, the elephants roam free.

Ministrant there to health and public good,
 The busy axe was heard on every side,
 Opening new channels, that the noxious wood
 With wind and sunshine might be purified,
 And that wise government, the general friend,
 Might everywhere its eye and arm extend.

Again the picture changed ; those isles I saw
 With every crime thro' three long centuries curst,
 While unrelenting Avarice gave the law ;
 Scene of the injured Indians' sufferings first,
 Then doom'd, for Europe's lasting shame, to see
 The wider-wasting guilt of slavery.

That foulest blot had been at length effaced ;
Slavery was gone, and all the power it gave,
Whereby so long our nature was debased,
Baleful alike to master and to slave.
O lovely isles ! ye were indeed a sight
To fill the spirit with intense delight.

The Poet's Pilgrimage to Waterloo. 1816.

ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

BY GEORGE BORROW

THOSE were stirring times. The dreadful struggle which so long convulsed Europe, and in which England bore so prominent a part, was then at its hottest ; we were at war, and determination and enthusiasm shone in every face ; man, woman, and child were eager to fight the Frank. Oh ! those were days of power, gallant days, bustling days, worth the bravest days of chivalry, at least ; tall battalions of native warriors were marching through the land ; there was the glitter of the bayonet, and the gleam of the sabre ; the shrill squeak of the fife, and loud rattling of the drum were heard in the streets of country towns, and the loyal shouts of the inhabitants greeted the soldiery on their arrival, or cheered them at their departure. And now let us leave the upland and descend to the sea-board ; there is a sight for you upon the billows ! A dozen men-of-war are gliding majestically out of port, their

long buntings streaming from the top-gallant masts, calling on the Frenchman to come forth from his bights and bays ; and what looms upon us yonder from the fog-bank in the east ? A gallant frigate towing behind her the long, low hull of a crippled privateer, which but three short days ago had left Dieppe to skim the sea, and whose crew of ferocious hearts are now cursing their imprudence in an English hold. Stirring times those, for they were days of gallantry and enthusiasm.—
Lavengro. 1851.

THE IDEAL COLONIAL GOVERNOR

BY THOMAS CARLYLE

CONTRIVE to send out a new kind of Governors to the colonies. This will be the mainspring of the business ; without this the business will not go at all. An experienced, wise, and British man, to represent the Imperial interest ; he, with such a speaking or silent collective wisdom as he can gather round him in the colony, will evidently be the condition of all good between the mother-country and it. If you can find such a man, your point is gained ; if you cannot, lost. By him and his collective wisdom all manner of *true* relations, mutual interests and duties such as they do exist in fact between mother-country and colony, can be gradually developed into practical methods and results ; and all manner of true and noble successes and veracities in the way of governing, be won. Choose well your Governor—not from this or that poor section

of the aristocracy, military, naval, or red-tapist ; where-
ever there are born kings of men, you had better seek
them out, and breed them to this work. All sections of
the British population will be open to you ; and, on the
whole, you must succeed in finding a man *fit*. And
having found him, I would farther recommend you to
keep him some time ! It would be a great improve-
ment to end this present *nomadism* of Colonial Governors.
Give your Governor due power ; and let him know
withal that he is wedded to his enterprise, and having
once well learned it, shall continue with it, who, you
mean, shall fairly gird himself to his enterprise, and fail
with it, and conquer with it, and, as it were, live and die
with it ; he will have much to learn ; and having once
learned it, will stay, and turn his knowledge to account.

From this kind of Governor, were you once in the
way of finding him with moderate certainty, from him
and his collective wisdom all good whatsoever might
be anticipated. Britain and her colonies might find
that they had true relations to each other ; that the
Imperial mother and her constitutionally obedient
daughters was a blessed God's-fact destined to fill half
the world with its fruits one day.—*Latter Day Pamphlets*.
1850.

RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES IN 1850

BY THOMAS CARLYLE

CONSTITUTIONS for the colonies are now on the anvil ; the discontented colonies are all to be cured of their miseries by constitutions. One thing strikes a remote spectator in these colonial questions—the singular placidity with which the British statesman at this time is prepared to surrender whatsoever interest Britain, as foundress of those establishments, might pretend to have in the decision. “ If you want to go from us, go ; we by no means want you to stay ; you cost us money yearly, which is scarce ; desperate quantities of trouble too : why not go, if you wish it ? ” Such is the humour of the British statesman at this time.

And yet an instinct teaches all men that colonies are worth something to a country ; that if, under the present Colonial Office, they are a vexation to us and themselves, some other Colonial Office can and must be contrived that shall render them a blessing ; and that the remedy will be to contrive such a Colonial Office, or method of administration, and by no means to cut the colonies loose. Colonies are not to be picked off the street, every day, not a colony of them but has been bought dear, well purchased by the toil and blood of those we have the honour to be sons of ; and we cannot afford to cut them away because the present management requires money. The present management will

indeed require to be cut away ;—but as for the colonies, we purpose, through Heaven's blessing, to retain them a while yet ! Shame on us for unworthy sons of brave fathers if we do not. Brave fathers, by valiant blood and sweat, purchased for us, from the bounty of Heaven, rich possessions in all zones, and we, wretched imbeciles, cannot do the function of administering them ! And because the accounts do not stand well in the ledger, our remedy is, not to take shame on ourselves, and repent in sackcloth and ashes, and amend our beggarly imbecilities, but to fling the business overboard, and declare the business itself to be bad.

Is there no value, then, in human things, but what can write itself down in the cash-ledger ? All men know that to men and nations there are invaluable values which cannot be sold for money at all. Britain has other tasks appointed her in God's universe than the making of money.

This poor nation, painfully dark about said tasks and the way of doing them, means to keep its colonies nevertheless, as things which somehow or other must have a value, were it better seen into. They are portions of the general earth, where the children of Britain now dwell ; where the gods have so far sanctioned their endeavour as to say that they have a right to dwell. England will not readily admit that her own children are worth nothing but to be flung out of doors ! England looking on her colonies can say : "Here are lands and seas, spice-lands, corn-lands, timber-lands, overarched by zodiacs and stars, clasped by many-surrounding seas ; wide spaces of the Maker's

building, fit for the cradle yet of mighty nations and their sciences and their heroism. Fertile continents, still inhabited by wild beasts, are mine, into which all the distressed populations of Europe might pour themselves, and make at once an Old World, or a New World human. By the eternal fiat of the gods, this must yet one day be ; this, by all the divine silences that rule this universe, silent to fools, eloquent and awful to the hearts of the wise, is incessantly, at this moment, and at all moments, commanded to begin to be unspeakable deliverance ; and new destiny of thousandfold expanded manfulness for all men, dawns out of the future here. To me has fallen the godlike task of initiating all that.”
—*Ibid.*

THE NECESSITY FOR THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

BY THOMAS CARLYLE

WHY should there not be an “ Emigration Service ” and Secretary, with adjuncts, with funds, forces, idle navy-ships, and ever-increasing apparatus ; in fine, an *effective system* of emigration, so that every honest, willing workman who found England too strait, the “ organization of Labour ” not yet sufficiently advanced, might find likewise a bridge built to carry him into new western lands, there to “ organize ” with more elbow-room some labour for himself ; there to be a real blessing, raising new corn for us, purchasing new webs and hatches from us, leaving us at least in peace, instead of staying here

to be a Physical-Force Chartist, unblessed and no blessing? Is it not scandalous to consider that a Prime Minister could raise within the year, as I have seen it done, a hundred and twenty millions sterling to shoot the French, and we are stopt short for want of the hundredth part of that to keep the English living? . . .

A free bridge for emigrants; why, we should then be on a par with America itself, the most favoured of all lands that have no government; and we should have, besides, so many traditions and mementos of priceless things which America has cast away. We could proceed deliberately to "organize Labour," not doomed to perish unless we effected it within year and day; every willing worker that proved superfluous finding a bridge ready for him. This verily will have to be done; the time is big with this. Our little isle is grown too narrow for us, but the world is wide enough yet for another six thousand years. England's sure markets will be among new colonies of Englishmen in all quarters of the globe. All men trade with all men, when mutually convenient, and are even bound to do it by the Maker of men. Our friends of China, who guiltily refused to trade, in these circumstances—had we not to argue with them, in cannon-shot at last, and convince them that they ought to trade! "Hostile tariffs" will arise to shut us out, and then again will fall, to let us in; but the sons of England, speakers of the English language, were it nothing more, will in all times have the ineradicable predisposition to trade with England. Mycale was the *pan-Ionian*, rendezvous of all the Tribes

of Ion, for all Greece: why should not London long continue the *All-Saxon-home* rendezvous of all the "children of the Harz-Rock," arriving, in select samples, from the Antipodes and elsewhere, by steam and other wise, to the "season" here! What a future; wide as the world if we have the heart and heroism for it, which, by Heaven's blessing, we shall.

"Keep not standing, fixed and rooted,
Briskly venture, briskly roam;
Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,
And stout heart are still at home.

In what land the sun does visit,
Brisk are we, whate'er betide:
To give space for wandering is it
That the world was made so wide." *

Fourteen hundred years ago, it was by a considerable "Emigration Service," never doubt it, by much enlistment, discussion, and apparatus, that we ourselves arrived in this remarkable island.—*Past and Present*. 1843.

THE CAUSES OF ENGLAND'S GREATNESS

BY THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

I HAVE always felt that with the limited population of this United Kingdom, compared with the great Imperial position which it occupies with reference to other nations,

* Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister*.

it is not only our duty, but it is an absolute necessity, that we should study to make every man the most effective being that education can possibly constitute him. In the old wars there used to be a story that one Englishman could beat three members of some other nation, but I think if we want to maintain our power we ought to make one Englishman equal really in the business of life to three other men that any other nation can furnish. I do not see how otherwise, with our limited population, we can fulfil the great destiny that I believe waits us, and the great position we occupy.

When I remember the elements and interests of these British Isles, so vast, so various, and so complicated ; when I even call to recollection the difference of race which, however blended, leaves significant characteristics ; when I recollect that the great majority of the population of the United Kingdom rise every day and depend for their subsistence, for their daily subsistence, on their daily labour ; when I recollect the delicate marvel of our credit—more wonderful, in my opinion, than our accumulated capital—the constant collision between those ancient institutions that give permanence to the State, and the requirements of the new populations that arise, and which they do not completely or adequately meet ; when I remember that it is upon the common sense, the prudence, and the courage of the community thus circumstanced that depends the fate of uncounted millions in Asian provinces, and that around the globe there is a circle of domestic settlements that watch us for example and inspiration ; when I know that not a

sun rises upon a British Minister that does not bring him care, and often inexpressible anxiety—some unexpected war, a disturbed or discontented colony, a pestilence, a famine, a mutiny, a collapse of credit, a declining trade, a decaying revenue, perhaps some insensate and fantastic conspiracy—I declare I often wonder where is the strength of thought and the fund of feeling that are adequate to cope with such colossal circumstances. But when I withdraw from the pressure of individual interests, and take a larger and deeper view of human affairs, I recognize that in this country, whatever may have been the tumult and the turmoil of now many generations, there have ever been three master influences that have at all times guided and controlled all other powers and passions. And these are Industry, Liberty, and Religion. So long as this sacred combination influences the destiny of this country it will not die. History will recognize its life, not record its decline and fall. It will say: This is a great and understanding people, and it is from such materials we make the magnificence of nations and establish the splendour of terrestrial thrones.—*Speech delivered at Edinburgh, 1867.*

I am not unaware that the relations of England to Europe have undergone a vast change during the century that has just elapsed. The relations of England to Europe are not the same as they were in the days of Lord Chatham or Frederick the Great. The Queen of England has become the sovereign of the most powerful of the States. On the other side of the globe there are establishments belonging to her, teeming

with wealth and population, which will, in due time, exercise their influence over the distribution of power. The old establishments of this country, now the United States of America, throw their lengthening shades over the Atlantic, which mix with European waters. These are vast and novel elements in the distribution of power. I acknowledge that the policy of England with respect to Europe should be a policy of reserve, but proud reserve; and in answer to those statesmen—those mistaken statesmen who have intimated the decay of the power of England and the decline of its resources, I express here my confident conviction that there never was a moment in our history when the power of England was so great, and her resources so vast and inexhaustible.

And yet, gentlemen, it is not merely our fleets and armies, our powerful artillery, our accumulated capital, and our unlimited credit, on which I so much depend, as upon that unbroken spirit of her people, which, I believe, was never prouder of the Imperial country to which they belong.—*Speech delivered at Manchester. 1872.*

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE

BY THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

GENTLEMEN, there is another and second great object of the Tory party. If the first is to maintain the institutions of the country, the second is, in my opinion, to uphold the Empire of England. If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism—forty years ago—you will find that there has been no

effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire of England.

And, gentlemen, of all its efforts, this is the one which was the nearest to success. Statesmen of the most distinguished ability, the most organized and efficient means, have been employed in this endeavour. It has been proved to all of us that we have lost money by our colonies. It has been shown with precise, with mathematical demonstration, that there never was a jewel in the crown of England, that was so truly costly as the possession of India. How often has it been suggested that we should at once emancipate ourselves from this incubus! Well, that result was nearly accomplished. When those subtle views were adopted by the country, under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the colonies, I confess that I myself thought that the tie was broken. Not that I for one object to self-government. I cannot conceive how our distant colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government, in my opinion, when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the sovereign as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the colonies should be defended, and by which, if necessary, this

country should call for aid from the colonies themselves. It ought, further, to have been accompanied by the institution of some representative council in the metropolis, which would have brought the colonies into constant and continuous relations with the Home Government. All this, however, was omitted, because those who advised that policy—and I believe their convictions were sincere—looked upon the colonies of England, looked even upon our connection with India, as a burden upon this country, viewing everything in a financial aspect, and totally passing by those moral and political considerations which make nations great, and by the influence of which alone men are distinguished from animals.

Well, what has been the result of this attempt during the reign of Liberalism for the disintegration of the Empire? It has entirely failed. But how has it failed? Through the sympathy of the colonies with the mother-country. They have decided that the Empire shall not be destroyed, and in my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land.

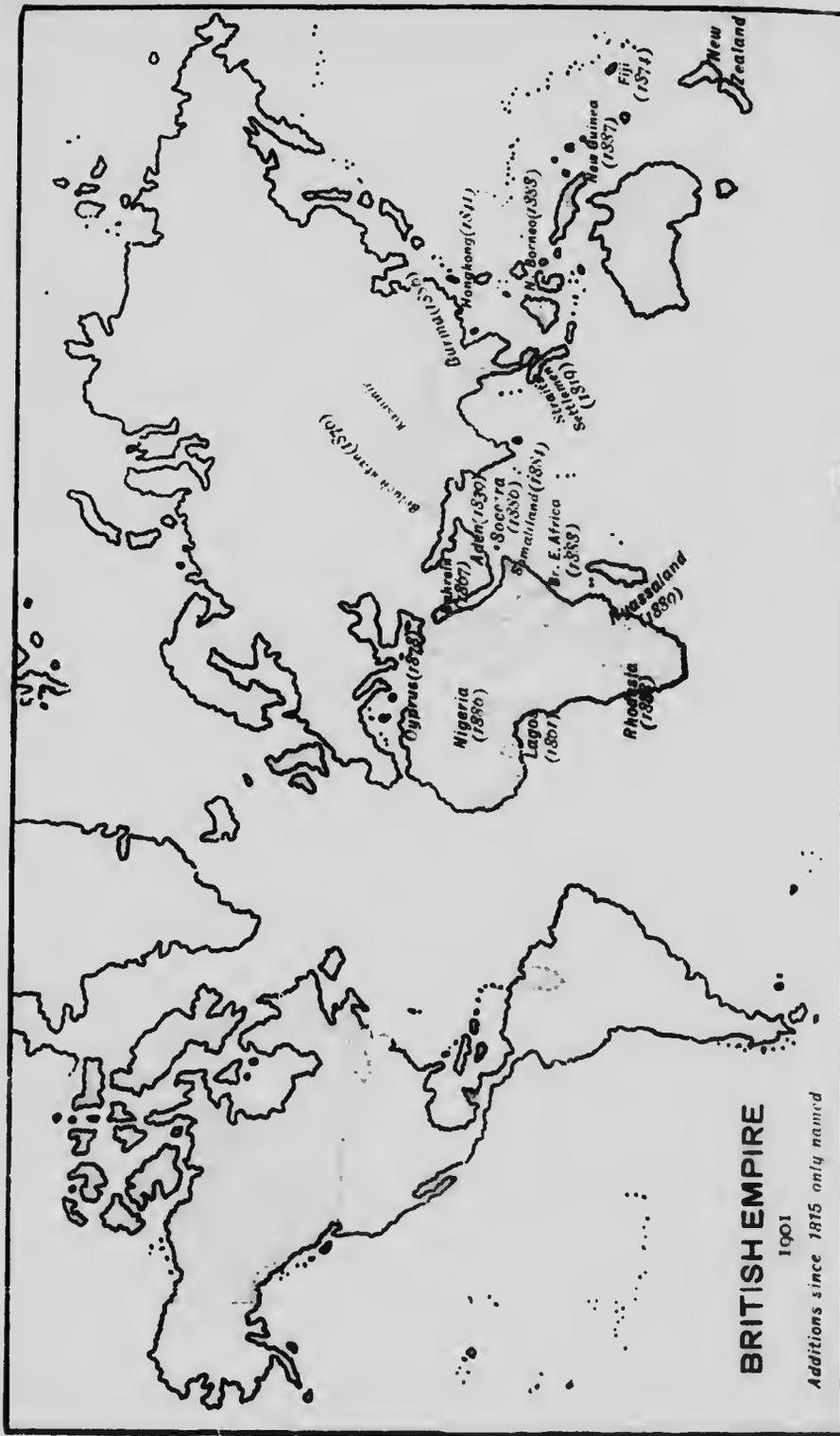
When you return to your homes, when you return to your counties and to your cities, you must tell to all those whom you can influence that the time is at hand, that, at least, it cannot be far distant, when England will have to decide between national and cosmopolitan

principles. The issue is not a mean one. It is whether you will be content to be a comfortable England, modelled and moulded upon continental principles, and meeting in due course an inevitable fate, or whether you will be a great country; an Imperial country; a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain not merely the esteem of their countrymen, but command the respect of the world.—*Speech delivered at the Crystal Palace.* 1872.

I have ever considered that her Majesty's Government, of whatever party formed, are the trustees of the British Empire. The Empire was formed by the enterprise and energy of your ancestors, my Lords; and it is one of a very peculiar character. I know no example of it, either in ancient or modern history. No Cæsar or Charlemagne ever presided over a dominion so peculiar. Its flag floats on many waters; it has provinces in every zone; they are inhabited by persons of different laws, manners, customs. Some of these are bound to us by ties of liberty, fully conscious that without their connection with the metropolis they have no security for public freedom and self-government; others are bound to us by flesh and blood and by material as well as moral considerations. There are millions who are bound to us by our military sway, and they bow to that sway because they know that they are indebted to it for order and justice. All these communities agree in recognizing the commanding spirit of these Islands that has formed and fashioned in such a manner so great a portion of the globe. My Lords, that Empire is no

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mean heritage, but it is not a heritage that can only be enjoyed; it must be maintained, and it can only be maintained by the same qualities that created it—by courage, by discipline, by patience, by determination and by a reverence for public law and respect for national rights.—*Speech delivered in the House of Lords.* 1878.

PRAYER FOR ENGLAND'S WELFARE

BY LORD TENNYSON

A people's voice! we are a people yet.
 Tho' all men else their nobler dreams forget,
 Confused by brainless mobs and lawless Powers;
 Thank Him who isled us here, and roughly set
 His Briton in blown seas and storming showers,
 We have a voice, with which to pay the debt
 Of boundless love and reverence and regret
 To those great men who fought, and kept it ours.
 And keep it ours, O God, from brute control;
 O Statesmen, guard us, guard the eye, the soul
 Of Europe, keep our noble England whole,
 And save the one true seed of freedom sown
 Betwixt a people and their ancient throne,
 That sober freedom out of which there springs
 Our loyal passion for our temperate kings;
 For, saving that, ye help to save mankind
 Till public wrong be crumbled into dust,
 And drill the raw world for the march of mind.

Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.

1852.

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NOTES

Page 1.—Francis Bacon (1561–1626), statesman and author, was the first to write in English literary prose on inductive philosophy and the right method of advancing science. He introduced into our literature a new form of prose—the essay. He held high offices in the State, culminating in that of Lord Chancellor, 1618–1621. The essay on Plantations first appeared in the third edition of the *Essays*, published in 1625.

Page 1.—**Plantations.** Literally the place planted, land brought under cultivation. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century English it meant a planting with people or settlers, hence a colony.

Page 2.—**Certain.** Fixed.

Page 3.—**As it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.** Tobacco was found to be the most profitable crop in Virginia, and complaints were made that it was cultivated to the exclusion of other products.

Page 3.—**Bay-salt.** Salt obtained from sea-water by evaporation in shallow pits or basins by the heat of the sun.

Page 3.—**Growing.** Vegetable.

Page 3.—**Soap-ashes.** Ashes containing lye or potash, and hence useful in making soap.

Page 3.—**Useth to make.** Usually makes.

Page 3.—**Present.** Immediate. Cf. "A very present help in time of trouble."

Page 4.—**Discommodities.** Inconveniences.

Page 4.—**Jingles.** Jingles, rattles.

Page 4.—**Destitute.** Abandon.

Page 4.—**Commiserable persons.** Persons to be commiserated or pitied.

Page 5.—**Captain John Smith (1580–1631),** after serving as a soldier in France and Hungary, and going through various strange adventures, joined in 1605 an expedition to colonize Virginia. He was

elected President of the colony in 1608. He died in London. His works (reprinted by Arber, 1884) give a full account of his travels and adventures. His English style, it will be noted, compares favourably with that of any of the prose writers of his time.

Page 6.—**Columbus** (1447-1506), the discoverer of the New World, was born at Genoa. He conceived the design of reaching India by sailing westward, and in 1492, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, reached the islands since known as the West Indies. In a third voyage (1498) he reached the mainland of South America.

Page 6.—**Terra Incognita**. Literally the Unknown Land; now Australasia.

Page 9.—**Overlain**. Too fully occupied, over-populated.

Page 10.—**Sir George Peckham** (d. 1608), merchant adventurer, took part in the colonization schemes of Sir Humphry Gilbert, and published in 1583 "A true Report of the late Discoveries and Possessions taken of the Newfoundlands."

Page 12.—**Husbandry**. A term applied to the various branches of agriculture.

Page 14.—**Edward Winslow** (1595-1655), Governor of the colony of New England, was one of the pilgrims who sailed in the *Mayflower*, and in 1624 was appointed Governor of the settlers at Plymouth.

Page 15.—**His Majesty**. James I.

Page 16.—**Cathay**. China or Tartary.

Page 16.—**Sir Humphry Gilbert** (1439-1583), navigator. His "Discourse on a North-West Passage to India" was published in 1576. His first expedition (1578-1579) was not a success, but he undertook a second in 1583, when he reached the shores of America, and annexed Newfoundland. His ship went down on the homeward voyage.

Page 16.—**North-West Passage**. A route for ships going from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the way of the north of America. The ice-bound seas of the high northern latitudes are too difficult to navigate to allow of such a route ever becoming of permanent or practical use.

Page 17.—**Alexander the Great** conquered India in 326 B.C.

Page 17.—**Quintus Curtius** wrote a history of the deeds of Alexander the Great about 41-54 A.D. The text is imperfect, and the work has little value as history.

Page 18.—**Staple**. A settled market or emporium.

Page 18.—**Sierra Nevada.** The name of mountain ranges both in North and South America. The words mean "snowy range."

Page 18.—**Esther, Ahasuerus.** Cf. the Book of Esther, i. 1-7.

Page 18.—**Hamborough.** Hamburg, on the Elbe, the largest of the three free Hanseatic cities in Germany, and the fourth most important commercial centre in Europe.

Page 18.—**Emden,** a commercial town in the German province of Hanover, was from 1595 to 1744 a free Imperial town under the protection of Holland.

Page 19.—**Cosmographer.** One who describes the universe, including the heavens and the earth.

Page 20.—**Flat out.** Plan.

Page 20.—**Sea-card.** A paper on which the points of the compass are marked, or, more probably here, a chart of the sea.

Page 20.—**Guiana.** The region lying between the Orinoco and the Amazon in South America.

Page 20.—**Sir Walter Raleigh** (1552-1618) took a leading part in the Spanish wars, and was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth. On the accession of James I. he was arrested for treason, and condemned to death. He was reprieved, however, and kept a prisoner in the Tower for twelve years. During that time he wrote his "History of the World." He asked to be allowed to proceed to South America in quest of a gold mine he knew of. His desire was granted, on his promise not to attack the Spaniards. He was not able to keep his word, and was beheaded in 1618, on the old charge of treason. The voyage to Guiana took place in 1595, and he published his account of it the next year.

Page 20.—**There appeared some ten or twelve overfalls . . . for a smoke that had risen over some great town.** Cf. Livingstone's description of the Zambesi Falls, p. 156.

Page 21.—**Trinidad.** One of the British West India Islands. It was discovered by Columbus in 1498, and belonged successively to the Spaniards, Dutch, and French. It fell into the hands of the British in 1797, and they were confirmed in its possession in 1802.

Page 21.—**Caracas.** The capital of Venezuela, a province situated in the north of South America.

Page 22.—**Bristol diamond.** Brilliant crystals of colourless quartz found in St. Vincent's Rock, Clifton, near Bristol.

Page 22.—**Her Majesty.** Queen Elizabeth.

Page 22.—**As good cheap, as cheap.** Formerly, the longer expression was always used.

Page 23.—**The Lake of Manoa** was in the fabulous region of El

Dorado (the Golden Land) imagined to exist in America by its Spanish conquerors.

Page 25.—**Cortes** (1485-1547), the conqueror of Mexico, in the reign of its last Emperor, Montezuma, was a Spaniard. The conquest took from 1518 to 1522, in which year Cortez was appointed Governor and Captain-General of New Spain, as the Spaniards called Mexico.

Page 25.—**Pizarro** (1478-1541), the conqueror of Peru, was also a native of Spain. His chief expedition lasted from 1531-1533. He was murdered at Lima by conspirators.

Page 25.—**The West Indies . . . by Columbus.** Columbus (cf. note to p. 6) applied to Henry VII., Elizabeth's grandfather, to patronise his expedition to reach India by sailing westward.

Page 25.—**Contratation House.** An office where contracts could be made.

Page 25.—**Inga** or **Inca.** The title of the native sovereigns of Peru.

Page 26.—**Inglatierra.** England.

Page 27.—**Edmund Spenser** (1552-1599). His fame as a poet rests on his great allegorical poem, the "Faery Queen," published 1590-1596. In the poem "Colin Clout's come Home again," which has been well called "an exquisite diary," Spenser gives a delightful account of his visit to England (he was living in Ireland) in 1591, and seizes the opportunity to praise Elizabeth and sing the glories of her empire.

Page 27.—**Bold men . . . leading down to hell.** A reference to the discoverers and explorers of the time.

Page 27.—**Thorough.** Through. Cf. "Thoroughfare."

Page 28.—**Regiment.** Realm or rule.

Page 28.—**Hight.** Was called.

Page 28.—**Cynthia.** A fanciful name for the queen.

Page 28.—**Triton.** Properly the son of Neptune, represented as a fish with a human head. It is he who is supposed to make the roaring of the ocean by blowing through his shell. Here the name stands for Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral of England.

Page 28.—**William Harrison** (1534-1593) was one of the Elizabethan historians. His "Description of England" was printed as a preface to the first edition of Holinshed's "Chronicle," 1577.

Page 29.—**Burdon.** Freight.

Page 29.—**Cunning.** Cleverness.

Page 29.—**Queen's Majesty of England.** Elizabeth.

Page 29.—**Present.** Present time.

Page 29.—**Let.** Hesitate.

Page 30.—**Robert Cushman** (1580-1625), one of the Plymouth pilgrims, published in 1621 a pamphlet on "Emigration to America." He was chiefly employed in managing the business of the colonists in Europe.

Page 30.—**Here.** In England.

Page 31.—**Cape de Florida.** The peninsula of Florida in North America.

Page 31.—**Virginia.** The earliest English colony in North America. Cf. Introduction, pp. xiv.-xv.

Page 33.—**Muscovia.** Russia.

Page 33.—**Polonia.** Poland.

Page 33.—**Swethland.** Sweden.

Page 34.—**Pocahontas** (1595-1617) was the daughter of the Indian Chief Powhatan. In 1613 she was brought a prisoner to Jamestown, where she embraced Christianity, and in 1614 married an Englishman, Master John Rolfe. She accompanied her husband to England in 1616, but died the next year just as they started on the return voyage to Virginia. She left one son, and several Virginian families claim descent from her.

Page 35.—**Barowoun.** The raccoon, an animal peculiar to the United States. Its fur resembles that of the beaver.

Page 36.—**Michael Drayton** (1563-1631) belonged to a group of Elizabethan poets known as the "patriotic" poets, who gloried in England's greatness and in her queen. They wrote poems in praise of their country or related the history of their land in verse. Drayton's most considerable poem is "Polyolbion," a poetical description of England, published between 1612 and 1622. His stirring "Ballad of Agincourt" takes rank among the finest of our war-songs.

Page 36.—**Hinds.** Peasants, agricultural labourers (A.-S. *hina*, a farmer.)

Page 36.—**Eolus.** The god of the winds in Roman mythology.

Page 37.—**Sassafras.** A tree or shrub of the natural order of the Lauraceae, found in North America from Canada to Florida. The bark of the root is used for medicinal purposes. The wood or bark infused makes an agreeable beverage once sold in the streets of London under the name of *Saloop*.

Page 37.—**Kenning of.** Recognizing.

Page 38.—**Hackluit** (generally written Hakluyt) (1552-1616), geographer, collected materials for describing the voyages of English discoverers and explorers. His book first appeared in

1589, but the best edition (in 3 volumes) was published in 1598-1600, and is entitled "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea, or over Land to the most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any Time during 1500 Years." Froude calls it "The prose epic of the modern English nation."

Page 38.—**Soylla and Charybdis.** Two rocks between Italy and Sicily. In trying to avoid the one, ships were often wrecked on the other rock.

Page 39.—**Sustentation.** Sustenance.

Page 39.—**And whereas it is reported, etc. Our enohanted island, etc.** It will be remembered that the scene of Shakespeare's "Tempest" is "the still-vexed Bermoothes." The dramatist doubtless owed much to the early descriptions of the Bermudas, one of which is here quoted.

Page 40.—**Andrew Marvell** (1621-1678), Puritan poet, became the friend of Milton and his assistant in the secretaryship for foreign tongues to the Government of the Commonwealth. He wrote delightful lyrics, but his finest poem is the "Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland."

Page 41.—**Apples.** Pine-apples.

Page 41.—**John Milton** (1608-1674), the author of our great English epic, "Paradise Lost," spent twenty years of his life in defending the Parliamentary party with his pen. The "Areopagitica," a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing, is, in a literary sense, the most important of Milton's prose works. It breathes throughout an intense love of liberty and truth.

Page 42.—**Convincement.** Conviction.

Page 42.—**Long-abused.** Long deceived.

Page 42.—**Lord Clarendon.** Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608-1674), a strong royalist, was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Charles I., and after his execution followed the fortunes of Charles II. He took a leading part in the extension of our colonial territories, and in establishing a system of colonial administration. He joined the Council for Foreign Plantations in 1660, and was generally tolerant in his dealings with the colonies.

Page 43.—**Barbadoes** is the most easterly of the West India islands. It was first colonized by the English in 1625. Cf. Introduction, p. xvii.

Page 43.—**Lord Willoughby of Parham** (1613?-1666) went to Barbadoes in 1650 as Governor for Charles II. In 1652 the

island acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parliament, and Willoughby returned to England. At the Restoration he was again appointed Governor of Barbadoes. He pursued a vigorous and arbitrary policy, in which he was supported by Clarendon. He was drowned in the expedition sent to take St. Kitts from the Dutch.

Page 43.—**Sir William Berkeley** (*d.* 1677) was Governor of Virginia from 1641-1652, and again from 1660-1677. He was described by a contemporary as "pious and exemplary, sober in his conversation, prudent and just in peace, diligent and valiant in war."

Page 44.—**The King's restoration.** The restoration of the Stuart line under Charles II., 1660.

Page 45.—**John Evelyn** (1620-1706). His diary, which was not printed until 1818-1819, covers the years 1641-1706, and throws much light on public affairs.

Page 45.—**Council of Foreign Plantations.** This, the germ of the Colonial Office of the present day, was the designation of the first body of men entrusted with the administration of colonial affairs. It was really a committee of the Privy Council (Cf. Introduction, pp. xviii.-xix). In 1672 it was united to the Council for Trade as the Council of Trade and Plantations. It was repressed in 1677 and its functions transferred to the Privy Council. Reconstituted in 1695, it existed till 1782. Then colonial business was transacted by the Board of Trade or the Secretary of State for War, and it is only since 1854 that there has been a special Secretary of State for the Colonies and a Colonial Office.

Page 45.—**But what we most insisted on, etc.** It is instructive to note that more than a hundred years before the loss of our American colonies, they were showing signs of an independent spirit, and that the "Colonial Office" of that day advised conciliatory methods.

Page 46.—**Jamaica** is the most important of the West India islands belonging to Great Britain. It was discovered by Columbus in 1494, taken possession of by the Spaniards in 1509, and conquered by the English in 1655.

Page 46.—**General James Edward Oglethorpe** (1696-1785) obtained a grant of land in America from George II. in 1732, and named it Georgia, in honour of the king. Among those who went out with him to the colony were the two Wesleys. He returned to England for good in 1743. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxi.-xxii.

Page 47.—**To grant a charter for incorporating, etc.** The work of incorporation has been and still is often undertaken by an association

of private individuals assisted by the Government. This is what is known as a chartered company. The members, as a rule, are more anxious to promote lucrative trade than good government.

Page 49.—**Pennsylvania.** Cf. Introduction, p. xix.

Page 49.—**William Penn** (1644-1718), founder of Pennsylvania, early became a Quaker, and underwent several terms of imprisonment for preaching his faith. In 1681 he obtained a grant of land in America from the Crown in order to establish a home for his co-religionists. He governed his colony wisely and well until 1701.

Page 49.—**Fine a city.** Philadelphia.

Page 50.—**The Bahamas.** A chain of British West India islands. They were probably the earliest discovery of Columbus. In 1629 they were occupied by the English, and after various vicissitudes in the wars were finally secured to Great Britain at the peace of Versailles, 1783.

Page 50.—**Bishop Berkeley** (1685-1753), philosopher, formed a plan for Christianizing America, and actually spent three years at Rhode Island in preparation for the work, which was to be carried on by a college situated in the Bermudas. The exact date of composition of the poem quoted is not known.

Page 51.—**Adam Smith** (1723-1790) was the first to write a systematic work on political economy. It is entitled "An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," and was published in 1776. In spite of errors that were corrected later by Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, it remains the greatest work in the English language on the subject. Its most striking feature is perhaps its doctrine of free trade, which Smith was the first to urge, and which ultimately triumphed in this country.

Page 57.—**To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up, etc.** Note the unanimity of opinion on that subject. Cf. the passages by Bacon, Burke, Chatham, and Beaconsfield.

Page 59.—**Edmund Burke** (1729-1797), political writer, published in 1770 his pamphlet "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," in which he endeavoured to point out the right way of acting in a time of crisis. He composed three pieces on the American War: "American Taxation," 1774; "Conciliation with America," 1775; and "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol," 1777. Mr. John Morley ranks these as the highest of Burke's literary achievements. Burke sympathized with the action of the American colonists, and blamed the manner in which the English Government dealt with them. There is little doubt that he framed Fox's India Bill, and infected

Fox with his own enthusiasm on India's wrongs. It was due to Burke's eloquence and tenacity of purpose that the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings took place.

Page 59.—**Act of Navigation.** Cf. Introduction, pp. xvii.—xviii.

Page 59.—**The unfortunate period of 1764.** The year in which the Act imposing customs duties on the American colonies was passed.

Page 60.—**Their monopolist.** *I.e.* Great Britain.

Page 62.—**We are engaged in war, etc.** It is well to compare the way in which our colonies voluntarily came forward to the help of their mother-country in the South African War.

Page 63.—**Chicane.** An artful trick, cheating.

Page 66.—**Affidavits.** A sworn statement in writing.

Page 66.—**Sufferances.** The sufferance-wharf was a wharf licensed by customs where the custom-house officers attended.

Page 66.—**Cockets.** Custom-house certificates granted to merchants that goods have paid duty.

Page 66.—**Clearances.** Certificates that ships have been cleared at the Custom-house.

Page 66.—**Land Tax Act.** The Act of Parliament by which the amount of the landlord's property-tax is fixed.

Page 67.—**Committee of Supply.** Estimates of public expenditure are laid before the Commons by Ministers, and considered in what is known as Committee of Supply, which is, in fact, a Committee of the whole House of Commons. The Speaker leaves the chair, and the Chairman of Committees presides. The discussion is of an informal character, and members are allowed to speak more than once to the same question.

Page 67.—**Auspicate.** Give a favourable turn to in commencing. From the Roman practice of taking the *auspicium* or inspection of birds before beginning any important proceedings.

Page 67.—**Sarsum Corda!** "Lift up your hearts."

Page 68.—**William Pitt, Earl of Chatham** (1708-1778), is often spoken of as the elder Pitt. He was a great statesman and orator. He led the Government from 1756-1761, and again from 1766-1768. He was opposed to the policy of the Government towards the American colonies, and warmly advocated conciliatory measures. When it seemed likely that peace would be made with them on any terms, Chatham, ill as he was, went to the House of Lords, April 2, 1778, and by a powerful speech secured a majority against the motion. As he finished speaking he fell back exhausted into the arms of his friends, and died May 11, 1778.

Page 70.—**Pepper-corn.** Pepper-berry, something of no appreciable value. Cf. a *pepper-corn rent*=a nominal rent.

Page 71.—**The whole House of Bourbon.** *I.e.* the kingdom of France.

Page 71.—**Prior.** Matthew Prior (1664-1721), poet, succeeded Locke as Commissioner of Trade and Plantations in 1700. His genius and originality as a poet is to be found in his occasional and familiar verses.

Page 71.—**The Stamp Act.** This was an Act for America passed in 1765, authorizing a charge on contracts, wills, and legal documents, levied by means of a stamp. (Cf. the use of receipt stamps in every-day matters.)

Page 72.—**Edward Gibbon** (1737-1794), author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1776-1787), became a member of Parliament in 1774, when the quarrel with the American colonies was in full progress. He was content to support the minority with a silent vote, and had neither the political insight nor the courage which would have led him to oppose the disastrous measures which lost us America. His autobiography ranks as one of the best in the language.

Page 72.—**Howe.** William Howe (1729-1814) held a command under Wolfe at Quebec, and succeeded General Gage as Commander-in-Chief in America in 1775, an office he held till 1778.

Page 72.—**Burgoyne.** General John Burgoyne (1723-1792) was sent out to America in 1774. He was forced to surrender to the rebels at Saratoga in 1777.

Page 72.—**Clinton.** General Sir Henry Clinton (1738-1795) was sent to America in 1775 and was knighted for his services. He became Commander-in-Chief in 1778, an office he resigned in 1781. In 1783 he published a narrative of the campaign.

Page 72.—**Lord North** (1732-1792) was the statesman chiefly responsible for the measures that brought about the loss of the American colonies.

Page 73.—**Burke.** Cf. note to p. 59.

Page 73.—**Fox.** Charles James Fox (1742-1806) earnestly opposed the measures of the Government with regard to America. He framed a Bill for the better government of India, which was passed by the Commons but thrown out by the Lords (1783). He led the opposition to William Pitt.

Page 74.—**General Gage** (1721-1787) became Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America in 1763, and Governor of Massachusetts in 1774. On April 18, 1775, he despatched several hundred British troops from Boston to destroy some military stores at

Concord. On their return they were attacked, and only saved from destruction by a force sent by Gage to their aid. Next day the skirmish at Lexington, which actually began the war, took place. Gage resigned after the battle of Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1775.

Page 74.—**Chatham.** Cf. note to p. 68.

Page 74.—**Governor Hutchinson.** Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780) was Governor of Massachusetts, 1771-1774. He wrote a History of Massachusetts, and his "Diary and Letters" contain a good account of American affairs.

Page 75.—**We much fear that Quebec, etc.** The Americans were not driven out of Canada until May.

Page 76.—**An English army of nearly 10,000 men, etc.** The surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. (Cf. note to p. 72.)

Page 77.—**George Bancroft** (1800-1891), the American historian. His "History of the United States from the Discovery of the Continent" was issued in ten volumes between 1834 and 1874. He was ambassador to the English Court, 1846-1849.

Page 77.—**The General.** James Wolfe (1727-1759), the conqueror of Quebec, after a successful career in the army, was appointed by Pitt to the command of the expedition for the capture of Quebec. He succeeded in his task, but was mortally wounded, and died in the hour of victory.

Page 77.—**Gray.** Thomas Gray (1716-1771), author of the "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard," wrote but little. Yet that little is of so exquisite a quality that it places him among the greatest of our poets. The "Elegy" is a fine expression of the thoughts that occur to most serious-minded men when contemplating the mystery of death. His letters, too, are of great interest.

Page 77.—**Captain John Knox.** An officer in the English navy, and an eye-witness of the events he describes.

Page 80.—**Sieur de Montcalm** (1712-1759), commander of the French troops in Canada. He was defeated by Wolfe (cf. note to p. 77) at the battle of Quebec, where, like the English General, he was mortally wounded, and died the next day.

Page 81.—**Sir Walter Scott** (1771-1832), poet and novelist, published "Marmion" in 1808. To each of the six cantos Scott wrote an introductory epistle in verse. They tell us much of his habits and thoughts. We quote from the first of them.

Page 81.—**Nelson** (1758-1805), England's greatest admiral, "the greatest sailor since our world began," as Tennyson calls him, was killed at the battle of Trafalgar, 1805. He is buried in St. Paul's

Cathedral. Cf. Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," 1852.

Page 81.—**Pitt**, known as William Pitt, the younger (1759-1806), was the second son of the Earl of Chatham (cf. note to p. 68). He was Prime Minister from 1784-1801, and from 1804 until his death. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Page 81.—**Requiescat**. *Requiescat in pace*; may he rest in peace!

Page 81.—**Fox**. Cf. note to p. 73.

Page 85.—**Earl Stanhope** (1805-1875), historian. His principal work, from which we quote, is "A History of England, 1713-1783." It was published between 1830 and 1854.

Page 85.—**Lieutenant Clive** (1725-1774). The best account of Robert, Lord Clive, the creator of our Indian Empire, is to be found in Macaulay's Essay.

Page 85.—**Dupleix**. Joseph François Dupleix (1697-1763), Governor-general of the French Indies, conceived the project of founding a French Empire in India on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy (see Macaulay's Essay on Clive). His ambition was frustrated by Clive, and he was recalled in 1754.

Page 86.—**Sepoys**. Native Hindu soldiers. A corruption of the Persian word *Sipahi*, a soldier.

Page 87.—**Aurangzebe** (1618-1707) was the greatest of the Mogul Emperors of India. For his career and the effects of his policy, see Macaulay's "Essay on Clive."

Page 89.—**Bang**. A drug made from the larger leaves and seed capsules of the wild hemp. Its effect is somewhat similar to that of opium.

Page 90.—**Lord Macaulay** (1800-1859), the historian and essayist, was legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India, 1834-1838. He advocated the teaching of European literature and science to the natives of India, and was chairman of the Committee for preparing a Penal Code and a Code of Criminal Procedure. See "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," by Sir G. O. Trevelyan.

Page 91.—**The Carnatic**. The east or Coromandel coast of India.

Page 91.—**Primus in Indis**. First in India.

Page 93.—**John Lawrence** (1811-1879), afterwards Lord Lawrence, was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and one of the greatest of our Indian administrators. His effective services during the Indian mutiny were due to his great influence over the native population. He is sometimes called "the Saviour of India." He was Governor-General of India, 1863-1868. See "Life of Lord Lawrence," by R. Bosworth Smith.

Page 93.—**Feringhis.** The name by which Europeans are known in the East. It is a corruption of "Frank," and dates from the Crusades.

Page 93.—**Cantonments.** Permanent military towns distinct, and situated at some little distance from, the principal cities.

Page 94.—**Talukdar.** A native who acted as head of a revenue department under a superior.

Page 94.—**Jagheer.** A district of land or its produce assigned by the Indian Government to an individual for the support of some public establishment, generally of a military character.

Page 97.—**Bastion.** That part of the main inclosure of a fort which projects towards the exterior.

Page 97.—**Parapet.** A wall or rampart reaching to the breast.

Page 101.—**John Nicholson** (1821-1857) was appointed Deputy-Commissioner of the Punjab in 1851, and showed a marvellous talent for managing the natives. He did perhaps more than any single man to uphold British rule in the Punjab. See "The Life of John Nicholson," by L. J. Trotter (1897), and Mrs. Steel's "On the Face of the Waters."

Page 102.—**Glacis.** A term in fortification, meaning a sloping bank.

Page 102.—**Scarp.** In fortification the interior slope of the ditch nearest the parapet.

Page 107.—**The Viceroy.** The Earl of Lytton was Viceroy of India from 1876-1880.

Page 107.—**Urdu** (or Hindustani). A peculiar and important form of the Hindu language, with a large admixture of Persian and Arabic words. It is the language most commonly used throughout India, and is written in the Persian character.

Page 109.—**Captain William Dampier** (1652-1715), navigator, published his "Voyage round the World" in 1697.

Page 109.—**New Holland.** The name given by the early Dutch explorers to what is now known as Australia.

Page 110.—**Samphire.** A plant that grows on rocky cliffs near the sea.

Page 110.—**Of trees or shrubs, etc.** The Eucalyptus or Blue Gum tree, the characteristic vegetation of the Australian forest, is here described.

Page 112.—**Tasman** (1602?-1659), a Dutch navigator. The land he discovered is now called Tasmania. He named it Van Diemen's Land, after the Governor of Batavia, who sent him in quest of it.

Page 112.—**Captain Cook** (1728-1779) navigated the South Seas

and largely added to our knowledge of them. He was killed at Hawaii by natives.

Page 113.—**Sydney.** Thomas Townsend, Viscount Sydney (1733-1800), was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1783-1788. The town of Sydney in New South Wales was named after him.

Page 113.—**Flinders and Bass.** Matthew Flinders (1774-1814), with George Bass (*d.* 1812?), discovered the strait between Tasmania and Australia that bears the name Bass's Strait, in 1798.

Page 114.—**Oxley.** John Oxley (1781-1828) was an Australian explorer. He was appointed Surveyor-General of New South Wales in 1812. Between 1817 and 1823 he made three expeditions into the interior of Australia.

Page 114.—**Allan Cunningham** (1791-1839) was a botanist. He made many botanizing expeditions in various parts of Australia. He died and was buried at Sydney.

Page 114.—**Mitchell.** Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell (1792-1855) made four expeditions to explore Eastern and Tropical Australia; he was one of the most famous of Australian pioneers.

Page 114.—**Sturt.** Captain Charles Sturt (1795-1869) made three expeditions to explore Australia. During the last he suffered great privations, which caused impaired eyesight. He was the first English traveller to reach the centre of Australia. See Life, by Mrs. Napier Sturt, 1899.

Page 114.—**Eyre.** Edward John Eyre explored the region between South and Western Australia in 1840-1841. He became Governor of New Zealand in 1842, of St. Vincent in 1852, and of Jamaica in 1862.

Page 114.—**Robert O'Hara Burke** (1820-1861) and William John Wills (1834-1861) were the first white men to cross Australia from south to north. They reached the Flinders river, but both died of starvation and fatigue on the homeward journey.

Page 114.—**John McDouall Stuart** (1815-1866) crossed Australia from south to north in 1860.

Page 114.—**Spinifex.** Sometimes called Porcupine Grass, grows in Australia in clumps to the height of three or four feet. It is coarse, hard, and spiny.

Page 115.—**Captain Arthur Phillip** (1738-1814) was the first Governor of New South Wales. To him was entrusted, in 1786, the duty of forming a convict settlement in Australia.

Page 115.—The population of the Australian colonies, including New Zealand, was in 1897, 4,410,124. In 1897-1898, 553,300,208 lbs. of wool were exported from Australia.

Page 117.—**MacArthur.** John MacArthur (1797-1834) is called the "father" of New South Wales. He devoted himself to improving the agriculture of the colony and the breed of sheep, and practically founded the Australian wool and wine trade.

Page 117.—**Macquarie.** Lachlan Macquarie (*d.* 1824) was Governor of New South Wales, 1809-1821. He founded the town of Bathurst, and two of the rivers of New South Wales are called Lachlan and Macquarie in his honour.

Page 118.—**Squatter** is properly a man who settles on new land, particularly on public land.

Page 125.—**Sir Robert Peel** (1788-1850) was Prime Minister 1834-1835, and 1841-1846. He proposed and carried the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and so secured complete free trade in corn.

Page 136.—**Mungo Park** (1771-1805), explorer, was a surgeon by profession. He was sent to Africa in 1795 by the African Association, and returned at the end of 1797. In 1805 the Government persuaded him to undertake a fresh expedition, and he resolved to trace the Niger to its source. In the course of his explorations he was attacked and killed by natives. There is a great charm about Park's narrative: it reveals the character of the traveller, is an interesting tale, and is told in nervous, literary English.

Page 138.—**Francis Moore** (*d.* 1744) published in 1738 "Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa, containing a Description of the several Nations for the space of six hundred miles up the River Gambia."

Page 143.—**Calabash.** A vessel made from a gourd.

Page 148.—**It cannot admit of a doubt . . . savage and neglected state.** Even so early as 1795-1799 an intelligent man saw the possibilities of Africa, possibilities which a century later are still only on the way to realization.

Page 149.—**David Livingstone** (1813-1873), African missionary and traveller, was ordained priest under the London Missionary Society, and first sailed for Africa in 1840. He laboured for some years in the Bechuana district, and in 1852-1856 explored the country to the north, west, and east. In 1858 he was appointed by the Government chief of an expedition for exploring the Zambesi river. He returned to England in 1864, and in 1866 started again for Africa to explore the watershed of Central Africa and fix the sources of the Nile. He died in 1873 in Ilala, without having actually solved the problem, but having done enough to make the solution easy for his successors.

Page 156.—“Have you any smoke soundings?” etc. Cf. note to p. 20.

Page 160.—**The Slave Trade.** The first Englishman to engage in the slave trade was Sir John Hawkins (1532-1595). Large numbers of negro slaves were conveyed from Africa to America, and slavery was legalized in the British Colonies. Yet as soon as a slave set foot on English soil he was a free man. A society for the suppression of the slave trade was formed in London in 1787, and in 1792 a motion was carried in Parliament to abolish the slave trade by degrees. The General Abolition Bill, making all slave trade illegal in our colonies, was passed in 1807. A Bill was passed in 1833, enacting that slavery was to cease on August 1, 1834, and the emancipation of the slaves throughout the British colonies was accomplished by 1838. Slavery still exists in the Mahommedan countries of Africa under British protection, and the Moslem slave trade is conducted with very great cruelty. But it is to be hoped that the increase of British influence in Egypt, the Soudan, and the Congo Free State will speedily put an end to the wicked and degrading commerce.

Page 169.—**Springbuck.** An antelope found in Africa to the south of the Zambesi, generally inhabiting the *karroos* or dry sandy plains.

Page 173.—(Sir) **Henry Morton Stanley**, the African explorer, began his connection with the American newspaper, the *New York Herald*, in 1867. In 1869 the proprietor, Mr. Gordon Bennett, sent him to Africa to find Livingstone. In 1874 he undertook an expedition to complete Livingstone's work, and traced the course of the Congo. He founded the Congo Free State, under the auspices of the King of the Belgians, in 1879, and in 1886 received from America command of the expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha. He accomplished his mission, and returned to England in 1890.

Page 178.—**The Edict of Nantes**, which allowed the Huguenots in France to worship as they pleased, was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV. The French Protestants then fled to various countries.

Page 178.—**Negro Emancipation Act.** Cf. note to p. 160.

Page 180.—**Sir Harry Smith** (1788-1860) was Governor of the Cape 1847-1852. The towns of Harrismith in the Orange River State, and Ladysmith in Natal, commemorate his Governorship.

Page 180.—**Lord Grey.** He was Under-Secretary for the Colonies 1831-1833 (during his father's Ministry), and became Colonial Secretary in 1846.

Page 180.—**Sir George Cathcart** (1794-1854) became Governor of the Cape in 1852. He fell in the Crimean war at the battle of Inkerman (1854).

Page 180.—**Sir George Clerk** (1787-1867), statesman, was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, 1845-1846.

Page 180.—**Sir George Grey** (1799-1882) was Governor of the Cape, 1860-1861.

Page 181.—**Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton** (1803-1873), statesman and novelist, was Colonial Secretary, 1858-1859. He helped to establish the colonies of British Columbia and Queensland.

Page 181.—**Sir Phillip Wodehouse** was Governor of the Cape, 1861-1870.

Page 182.—**Thomas De Quincey** (1785-1859), author of the "Confessions of an English Opium-eater," wrote most of his works in the form of essays contributed to the magazines.

Page 183.—**Fuit Miam**. Troy was. Cf. Virgil, "Æneid," II. 324.

Page 184.—**William Wordsworth** (1770-1850), in his "Sonnets to Liberty" (1803-1810), gives expression to some of the feelings that animated English hearts during the struggle with Napoleon.

Page 184.—"**With pomp of waters, unwithstood.**" A line from the "Civil Wars between the two Houses of Lancaster and York" (1595-1602), the most important poem of Samuel Daniel (1582-1619), one of the group of Elizabethan patriotic poets. Wordsworth greatly admired his work.

Page 185.—In his tract "The Convention of Cintra," Wordsworth expressed his horror of Napoleon's despotic rule and lust of conquest. Some see in the pamphlet the finest piece of political eloquence since Burke.

Page 185.—**The several independent sovereignties of Italy . . . to form themselves into a mighty people.** Wordsworth has proved himself a true prophet. The union of Germany, and the union of Italy, each under one ruler, were accomplished in 1871, to the lasting benefit of each country.

Page 186.—**The progress of those arts, etc.** In 1798 Wordsworth had written: "For a multitude of causes unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and, unfitting it for all voluntary exertion, to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities."

Page 189.—**Robert Southey** (1774-1843), poet, formed with Coleridge, in 1794, the scheme of founding a "Pantisocracy" in

some "delightful part of the new back settlements" of America. Twelve gentlemen of good education and liberal principles, each to furnish £125, with twelve ladies, were to form the colony, and it was imagined that the labour of each man for two or three hours a day would suffice to support it. The produce was to be common property; there was to be a good library, and the ample leisure was to be devoted to study, discussion, and to the education of children on a settled system. The women were to be employed in taking care of the infant children and in other suitable occupations, not neglecting the cultivation of their minds. Every one was to enjoy his own religious and political opinions, provided they did not encroach on the rules made for the well-being of the society. The plan, however, was never carried out. Later on, Robert Owen established a sort of socialist colony in Indiana known as "New Harmony," but it was not successful. Southey was interested throughout his life in colonization, and thought that it should be more systematically carried on. He was much roused also by the Napoleonic wars. They inspired his "Life of Nelson," his best prose work; his "History of the Peninsular War," his "Curse of Kehama"—Kehama probably representing Napoleon—and his "Ode written during the Negotiations for Peace in 1814," which has been criticized as the finest occasional poem since Milton's sonnet "On the late Massacre in Piedmont."

Page 191.—**George Borrow** (1803-1881) learnt the gipsy tongue and himself wandered through England as a gipsy. "Lavengro" is full of autobiographical interest; and as his father was a captain of militia during his childhood, he naturally heard much about the Napoleonic wars.

Page 192.—**Thomas Carlyle** (1795-1881), author, attacked the shams and corruptions of modern society in "Chartism" (1839), "Past and Present" (1843), and "Latter Day Pamphlets" (1850). In "Past and Present" Carlyle advocated many things, from Imperial Federation to Public Washhouses, that are now familiar.

Page 193.—**Red-tapist**. Red-tape is a term used to describe official formality, so called because lawyers and government officials use red tape to fasten their papers together. Charles Dickens introduced the phrase.

Page 193.—**Nomadism**. Wandering about. Pastoral tribes who had no fixed residence were called *nomades* by the Greeks. Colonial governors are only appointed for a term of years.

Page 196.—**Fiat**.—In law a *fiat* is an order of the Court directing that something be done. Latin, *fiat*, let it be done.

Page 197.—**Physical-force Chartist.** A movement for the extension of the political power of the working classes arose in this country in 1838, when a "People's Charter" was drawn up. It came to a head in 1848; but the monster meeting convened by its leaders proved a failure, and it gradually died out.

Page 198.—**The Earl of Beaconsfield** (1804-1881), as Mr. Benjamin Disraeli first became Prime Minister in 1868. He held the same office again 1874-1880, and during that time bought a share of the Suez Canal and conferred on Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India. He pursued throughout an "Imperial" policy.

Page 202.—**The attempts of Liberalism . . . Empire of England.** There was in 1872, as there is at the present time, a party of persons now called "Little Englanders," who believed it would be better for England to cut her colonies adrift, and confine herself solely to the good government and general improvement of Great Britain and Ireland.

Page 202.—**Incubus.** Anything that weighs heavily on the mind, properly, a nightmare.

Page 204.—**Cæsar.** Julius Cæsar (102 B.C.-44 B.C.)

Page 204.—**Charlemagne** (742-814), King of the Franks, and Emperor of the Romans, ruled an empire that extended from Spain to Saxony.

Page 205.—**Lord Tennyson.** The verse of Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892) expresses in the highest degree the patriotic spirit at its best. He loved his country, his sovereign, his race, and looked with deep satisfaction on the manner in which little England grew into Greater Britain. He regarded

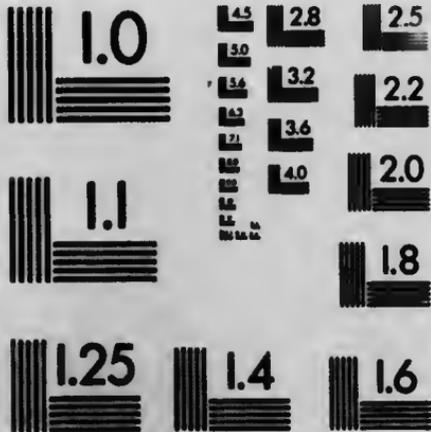
"Our ocean-empire, with her boundless homes
For ever-broadening England, and her throne
In our vast orient,"

as the true signs of England's greatness.



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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

HENRY VII.

Discovery of America by Columbus 1492

ELIZABETH.

Newfoundland taken possession of by Sir Humphry
Gilbert 1583
Settlement of Virginia by Sir Walter Raleigh 1585
First Charter granted to the East India Company 1600

JAMES I.

First permanent English settlement made in America
by the Virginia Company at Jamestown 1607
Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in America ... 1620

CHARLES I.

Acquisition of Madras 1639
Formation of the "New England Confederation" 1643

CROMWELL.

Navigation Ordinance 1651
Conquest of Jamaica 1655
Reorganization of East India Company 1657

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Council for Foreign Plantations established ... 1663
Carolina founded 1663
New York conquered from the Dutch 1664
Pennsylvania founded 1681

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A new East India Company established	1693
Shores of Australia first explored by the English ...	1699

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The old and new East India Companies united ...	1708
Nova Scotia became a British possession	1713

GEORGE II.

Georgia founded	1732
Capture of Arcot by Clive	1751
Battle of Plassey	1757
Conquest of Quebec	1759

GEORGE III.

Captain Cook's voyages to Australia	1768, 1770
Declaration of Independence by the United States of America, July 4	1776
Independence of the United States of America acknowledged by Great Britain	1783
Pitt's India Bill	1784
English settlement made at Sierra Leone	1787
First convict settlement in Australia	1788
Ceylon taken from the Dutch	1796
Cape Colony became the property of Great Britain	1814

VICTORIA.

New Zealand first permanently colonized	1839
Natal annexed by the British	1843
Gold discovered in Australia	1851
Indian Mutiny	1857
Government of India transferred from East India Company to the Crown	1858
British North America Act	1867
Transportation system abolished	1867
Opening of the Suez Canal	1869
South African Republic annexed	1871
Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India ...	1877
South African Republic restored to the Boers	1881

VICTORIA—*continued.*

Death of General Gordon	...	...	...	...	1885
Battle of Omdurman	...	...	...	...	1898
Outbreak of Third Boer War	1899
Federation of Australia	1901

EDWARD VII.

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1900

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