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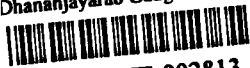
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1889.

First Edition 1877.
Reprinted 1878, 1889.

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I. ENGLISH ISLANDS.

(SEE MAP, P. 65.)

A.—*Earliest Possessions.*

1. BARBADOES.—English since 1605.
2. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S (ST. KITTS).—Part English and part French, 1625-1702. Conquest of whole island by French, 1666; re-establishment of English possession by Peace of Breda, 1668; English driven out, 1689; conquest of whole island by English, 1690; re-establishment of French possession by Peace of Ryswick, 1697; conquest of whole island by English, 1702; confirmed by Peace of Utrecht, 1713; invasion of French, 1782; English possession confirmed by Peace of Paris, 1783.
3. NEVIS.—English since 1628.
4. MONTSERRAT.—English since 1632.

B.—*Cromwellian Period.*

1. BAHAMAS.—Partly occupied, 1629; chiefly colonized afterwards.
 2. JAMAICA.
 3. VIRGIN ISLANDS.
 4. ANGUILLA.
 5. ANTIGUA.
- } English since Cromwell and Charles II.

C.—*Conquests of the latter half of the Eighteenth Century.*

1. DOMINICA.—Disputed until 1748; neutral 1748-1759; taken by England, 1759; confirmed to England, 1763.
2. ST. LUCIE.—Disputed until 1748; neutral, 1748-1762; taken by English, 1762; restored to France 1763; taken by English, 1794; restored, 1802; taken again, 1803; confirmed to England, 1814.
3. ST. VINCENT.—Disputed until 1748; neutral, 1748-1762; taken by England, 1762; confirmed, 1763; retaken by the French, 1779; restored to England, 1793.
4. GRENADA.—French after 1650; taken by England, 1762; confirmed, 1763; retaken by the French, 1779; restored to England, 1793.
5. TOBAGO.—Disputed until 1748; declared neutral, 1748; given to England, 1763; conquered by the French, 1781; confirmed to France, 1783; taken by the English, 1793; confirmed, 1802.
6. TRINIDAD.—Spanish until 1707; taken by England, 1707; confirmed, 1802.

II. FRENCH ISLANDS.

1. MARTINIQUE.—French since 1626.
2. GUADALOUPE, with DÉsirADE, MARIE GALANTE, NORTH PART OF ST. MARTIN, &c.—French since 1635.
All taken by the English four times : in 1762, 1794, 1800–1810, 1815.

III. SPANISH ISLANDS.

1. CUBA
2. PUERTO RICO } Always Spanish.

IV. INDEPENDENT ISLAND.

- ST. DOMINGO.—Entirely Spanish until about 1630, when the buccaneers settled in the west. The buccaneer state became French in 1697, independent in 1800. The Spanish part became independent in 1843.

V. DUTCH ISLANDS.

1. ST. EUSTACE, SABA, and SOUTH PART OF ST. MARTIN.—Dutch since 1632; taken by the French, 1781; by the English, 1810.
2. CURASSAO, BONAIRE, and ARUBA.—Dutch since 1634; taken by the English, 1802.

VI. DANISH ISLANDS.

1. ST. THOMAS.—Danish since 1671.
2. ST. JOHN.—Danish since 1684.
3. ST. CROSS.—Disputed until 1650; French, 1651–1733; sold to Denmark, 1733.
All twice in English possession : 1801–1802 ; 1807–1815.

VII. SWEDISH ISLAND.

- ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—Disputed until 1651; French, 1651–1784; sold to Sweden, 1784.

EUROPEAN COLONIES.

CHAPTER I.

OLD EUROPE AND NEW EUROPE.

Introductory (1)—Epochs of European History (2)—The Roman Empire (3)—The European Type (4)—Europe on the Mediterranean (5)—On the Atlantic (6)—On the Pacific (7)—European Enterprise (8)—Ancient European Colonies (9)—Native Races (10)—African and Asiatic Labour (11)—Process of making a Colony (12)—Colonial Systems (13)—Types of Colonial Life (14)—Colonial Isolation (15)—Quick Growth of Ideas in the Colonies (16)—Ultimate Prevalence of one Colonial Type (17)—The English Transform the Colonial World (18)—Epoch of Independence (19).

I. Introductory.—The history that we are going to write is a singular one. Most histories consist in putting together the events of some cycle that is past and gone. Such are the histories of the ancient Empires of Western Asia, of Egypt, of the people of Israel, of the Greek Republics, and of Rome. Other histories deal with some cycle of events that is still going on, but is advanced enough to be completely defined in its tendency, and in the bearing on each other of the events it includes. Such are the histories of the existing nations of the Old World. The history that we are going to write deals with a cycle of events that has hardly yet begun. Other histories commonly deal with events that have happened mostly in some one definite space on the earth's face; the events of the present history are scattered all over it. Most histories treat of a single people or group of peoples; the present history, though it has mainly to do with the peoples of Western Europe, has something to do with almost every people that exists on the face of the

earth. The main events of this history are not easy to apprehend as a whole, partly because they stand very near to us in time, and partly because they have happened very far from us and from each other in space, so that altogether we shall have to get out of many of our settled habits of thinking about history, or at least we must not think of comparing this history with such histories as those of Greece and England in all their completeness. The history we are going to write is that of the New Europe, that is, of Europe beyond seas : of America, Australia, South Africa, and other places where European communities are growing up away from their native soil. These nations are Colonies, or offshoots, of the Old Europe ; and they have been planted at different times within the last four hundred years. To the historian this is but a short space of time. This world of nations that we are going to write about is an infant world : and the history we are going to write is something like what a history of the Jews would have been in the time of Joshua, or a history of Greece in the time of Agamemnon, or the history of England in the time of Alfred the Great. But it is on a much bigger scale than any of these ; it is in fact on about as big a scale as the history of anything upon this globe can possibly be. On the other hand, the main changes which have directed the course of the present history are few in number and easily remembered : so that if we once understand them well, half the difficulty of the business will be over. Although this history drops at length into the common historical forms, and deals with generals and emperors, ministers and parties, revolutions and constitutions, we shall find that for a long time it is chiefly a history of the ventures of merchants and planters, and that its mainsprings are navigation and trade. After an episode or two of mediæval conquest, it will turn to a history of commercial navigation ; of the quest of spices and metals, coffee and sugar, wool and hides. Its leading types, such as the quick-witted Athenian is for the history of Greece, and the Norman baron in the midst of his liege men for the history of England, will be the grave merchant of Amsterdam, or Bristol, or Lisbon, in his counting-house : the bronze skipper, lading his unwieldy hulk in the Indian roadstead : the Western planter among his canes, and the half-breed miner toiling on the slopes of the South American Cordillera. As we go on we shall see these things exercising a surprising

change upon European ideas. We shall see a mediæval military order turning West Indian planters: religious bodies founding American states: the European world leaving off fighting for religion, and fighting for sugar hogsheads instead: the outcasts of the Batavian marshes suddenly becoming the first nation in Europe, and the Hague the centre of the world's diplomacy: the humble trade-guild grown into the rich and powerful commercial company, and the commercial company speedily transformed into a sovereign power, holding in its hands the welfare of millions. We shall see revolutions in national finance: feel the social balance of old kingdoms displaced by colonial wealth, and listen to dreams of making the fortune of everybody in the old Europe at the expense of the new. We shall see the old Europe finally wax fat and dull with its unnatural prosperity, and the face of affairs change: the decline of the old Europe now becomes the rise of the new. We shall then see colonial empires, built up by generations of acute statesmen, totter to their ruin, and two of the proudest monarchies the world has ever seen humbled in the dust one after the other before their outlawed subjects. We shall see a revolution of races—the despised negro expelling his master from the fairest regions of the earth, which he had been forced thither to cultivate like a beast of labour, and asserting for himself a place among civilised nations: and even the American Indian rising up at last to shake off the tyranny of the priest and the government official. We shall see political movements derived from the old world reflected on a vaster scale in the new; and the beginnings made of a history whose development the wisest cannot forecast. These beginnings are all that we can study; but, if we please, we can study them very thoroughly. For the whole of this history has taken place since the invention of printing. Records have been kept of it in abundance; and the historian of New Europe will be the first historian who goes to work armed completely with facts.

2. *Epochs of European History.*—We have said that to gain a proper idea of this cycle of events we shall have to travel a long way from our everyday historical point of view. First, we must figure to ourselves the peoples of Western Europe as a group apart from the rest of the world. Somewhere about 3,000 years ago certain peoples belonging to what is called the Aryan family of peoples

started westward from the plateaux of Central Asia, and wandered into the southern parts of that great Asiatic peninsula which is called Europe. Others followed them, and settled in the middle and northern parts of the said peninsula; and those were the beginnings of the Greek, Roman, Celtic, and Teutonic peoples. Little is known about this exodus or out-wandering of the Aryans, but it is the main event which leads up to another great event which happened above two thousand years afterwards, and is the beginning of the history we are about to write. As the exodus by land of the Western Aryans is to the history of Greece, Rome, and Modern Europe, so is the exodus by sea of the Western Europeans to the history of the new nations that are now settled on the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Those of these Western Aryans who afterwards became the most famous had settled on the shores of what was to them a vast inland sea. To us who know the map of the world, the Mediterranean seems but a creek in the great ocean; in these days people perhaps consider too little how much the great world is indebted to this inland sea for its progress. Here, during many centuries, certain of these peoples practised and improved the art of navigation, which they learned from a very ancient people who had lived for centuries on the banks of the great river Nile. These peoples travelled about on its tideless waters in fair weather with ease: following the example of the Phœnicians, another Asiatic people, they began to trade with their neighbours, and to make settlements for themselves on other promising shores; and thus on a small scale these Western Aryan peoples did on the Mediterranean what the Western European peoples afterwards did on the Atlantic. The shores of the Mediterranean have been the school of the world. It was here that most of the arts and sciences were first cultivated, and the first commercial supremacy was established. Commercial supremacy is always shifting, or tending to shift, from one nation to another: and the change in commercial supremacy is generally followed by a corresponding change in the supremacy of the arts and sciences. Such a change, on a great scale, followed the enterprise of the Western European peoples on the Atlantic. Ever since the end of the fifteenth century the lead of the world in everything has been gradually transferring itself to the shores of the Atlantic; first to the western shores of Europe, and

thence to the eastern shores of America. Hitherto, partly through the contrivances of statesmen, partly through the natural laws which guide the growth and intercourse of peoples, a strong connexion has been maintained between Europe and the New World. Europe is still giving out to America as fast as she can her stores of capital, population, knowledge, and skill. Every day America, from north to south, is becoming more and more like the old Europe; and the old Europe has been at the same time deriving some substantial benefits in exchange. The new Europe has developed an abundance of public spirit, and a steady and rapid determination to social and civil progress which has reacted powerfully upon the old. The circulation of life goes on there faster, and on a bigger scale. The nations are more fused into a whole: and what cultivation and improvement America gets sinks quickly through the entire people. America has shown Europe how to educate the whole nation: how to organize political action in a peaceful way over an immense area: how to economise labour. The second era of European history, that of a substantial connexion between new Europe and old Europe, is still subsisting. Probably it will not subsist always. Just as the new Europe has won its political independence, it will no doubt in the course of time drift into moral and social independence. In half a century more there will probably be two hundred and fifty millions of English-speaking people in the United States alone. This must necessarily work some great change in the relations of the old world and the new: but it is impossible to guess what or how great that change will be.

3. **The Roman Empire.**—Between the exodus of the Western Aryans to Europe and that of the Western Europeans to America comes a third fact of the highest importance in this history: the growth of the great Roman Empire, which began about two thousand years ago. It was the Romans who first found out how to govern not only with firmness, but on just and rational principles: and we know well how much our modern civilisation owes in various ways to Rome. The empire of the Romans strengthened the European races; it gave birth, in fact, to modern Europe; and the main division in the history which we are about to write springs directly from the shape which was given to it. The Roman Empire spread over Europe by several stages. It decayed when

it was at its biggest, and therefore those nations which had come last within its boundaries had least of its character impressed upon them. Now Spain, Portugal, and France, three of the nations with which we shall have to do, came under it in comparatively early times. They all got thoroughly Romanized, and their language, laws, customs, and government, to this day bear the stamp of that mighty old people which contributed so much to the formation of modern Europe. But there were branches of the Western Aryans whom the Romans could never subdue. These were the peoples who had settled, as we have said, in the middle parts of Europe. They were mostly of what is called the Teutonic or German branch; and while the peoples of southern Europe were being moulded like clay by the genius of Rome, these Teutonic peoples kept their primitive life, which was not far removed from that of their ancestors when they dwelt by the streams which are fed by the snows of the Hindoo Koosh. Out of this Teutonic branch came the English and the Dutch; peoples rougher, stronger, and more independent than those which had been cast in the Roman mould. We have thus two predominant types in the western nations, the Teutonic and the Romanized, or as some call them, from the speech which the Romans had taught them, the "Latin" peoples. This is not strictly correct: for by "Latin" the Romans meant the very opposite of that vulgar Italian tongue which was the basis of the speech of what we call the Latin peoples. It is for want of a better name that we call the non-Teutonic colonial nations the "Latin" nations. We must not, however, suppose that this division is a hard and fast one. The organization of the Italian Republics of the middle ages has nothing of the "Latin" character about it: and these Republics exercised a strong influence on the political growth of England and Holland. The people of Northern France and Spain, the hardy Norman sailors who sailed off to the St. Lawrence, and the Biscayans who followed an adventurous leader round the stormy Horn, and colonized Chile, were more like the English and Dutch than the churchmen and lawyers who shaped the destinies of new Spain: and the English and Dutch also borrowed certain ideas on government and commerce from the Latin peoples, especially that famous one of confining the trade of their colonies to the mother country, which for so many years hindered the growth of the new world. In the later stage

of history, since this system has been abolished, the old contrast of the Teutonic and the Latin type has shone out more strongly than ever : and as events have gone far enough to show that the Teutonic race has done better in the new world than any other, the Latin peoples have of late years been assimilating themselves to it as fast as they can. Some of the legacies of the Roman empire nevertheless remain among the Latin peoples of the old and the new world. The chief difficulty in the way of liberalising, that is, of converting to the English or Teutonic standard, the Latin peoples, lies in a stereotyped oligarchical government, standing armies, and clericalism : and all these are legacies in one way or another of the Roman empire to the Latin peoples.

4. **Type of European Character.**—If we take a general survey of history, we find that of all types of mankind the European type stands highest. As this type has determined the form of the history we are going to write, we must say from what it proceeds. Europe is a moral essence, not a name denoting race or locality. The Phœnician and Hebrew peoples, who are not of Aryan descent, are entirely European in their character. These peoples have indeed contributed on the whole perhaps as much as Greece itself to the formation of what is called the European type. The Phœnicians taught Europe the arts of trade and colonization. It was they who performed the most extraordinary feat in ancient history, the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope above two thousand years before Vasco da Gama : and we may be sure that without the struggle with Carthage Rome would never have played so important a part in history. The more we think about the Phœnicians, the more we see how much Europe owes to this extraordinary people. Of them we learned to read and write : it is literally true that the Phœnicians taught Europe its A B C. Nearly three thousand years ago Phœnicia was to the world of the Mediterranean very much what England has become to that of the Atlantic : everywhere she exported her manufactures of wool, bronze, pottery, and glass, and waxed rich and powerful by the exchange. To the fine genius of the Hebrew people Europe owes still more. Though learned men have argued that the primitive Aryans had originally a belief in one God, all that we know of them proves their religious instincts to have been essentially polytheistic. Europe is indebted to the

Hebrews for that great and profound religious conception which has for fifteen hundred years and more been an inseparable part of its being. We cannot conceive Europe without Christianity. Though we shall be able to say but little of the spread of the great European religion in the new Europe, it must never be forgotten that this religion, to a greater or less extent, went with the European settlers everywhere. The organization of the Hebrew republic, as described in the Pentateuch, is one of the most interesting and important facts in the history of politics. It reveals a moral type which has nothing Asiatic about it; whereas the political ideas of the Aryan Medes and Persians are as Asiatic in essence as can be. We must thoroughly realize what a mixed essence European character really is. It has spread easily enough to the races of the new world; there are many thousands of people scattered over the world, of negro and Indian descent, who are quite as European as the most fair-haired German, whereas the Hindoos and Parsees of the East, who are of the same family of nations as the German, have nothing European about them except what they have picked up of late years from the English. This is not the place to resolve the European type of character into its elements; let us only notice that it is not a matter of race, but of physical and moral habits, of climate, of laws, of manners and customs. It is almost as difficult to describe the European type outwardly, as to resolve it into its elements. It is easier to say what it is not, and to reflect it by means of its contraries. It may be abstracted from the histories of Greece, and Rome, and England; but, whatever it is, it has varied but little in its transfer from the old Europe to the new. The people of the old and the new Europe are equally at home in either; and the superiority of the European over the non-European races has everywhere been maintained. The European peoples, though insignificant in numbers by the side of the countless millions of the non-European races, hold the keys of the earth, and only let in the non-European people as they please into its best parts. Some people think that the Chinese, the most populous people in the world, will put an end to this European ascendancy when they have learned from Europe how to use their strength: it is more likely that before that time the Europeans will out-number the Chinese.

5. *Europe on the Mediterranean.*—Down to the end of the fifteenth century, when this history begins, the commercial navigation of Europe was almost confined to the Mediterranean Sea. At the epoch in question, Europe as a whole had just emerged from a long struggle with a powerful Asiatic element. The Saracens had fallen upon Europe in a period of exhaustion: and but for a deep background of Teutonic strength perhaps the composite European character which had been so many centuries in forming would have been crushed out of history. In commerce and navigation there had been a distinct decay since the times of the Phœnicians. We know that in those times ships traded regularly, not only with the African coast far beyond the pillars of Hercules, but with the British Islands. With the ascendancy of Rome this commerce declined. A revival of navigation came with the migrations of those Teutonic nations which swept over the ruins of the empire. The barques of the men of the north now often rounded the western coasts of Europe on their way to the Mediterranean, where they found nearly the whole of the commercial navigation by this time in the hands of Arabs, or as they were more often called “Moors.” But the navigation of these Teutonic people was not at all commercial in its character. They coasted about in light vessels, landing now and then for plunder wherever they thought it likely to be got. But they did not confine themselves to coasting. With what exact instinct we can only dimly guess, they set their sails northwards and westwards, and in this way discovered Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland, and the continent of America itself nearly five hundred years before it was visited by Columbus. But this discovery, though it undoubtedly took place, has no historical significance: all the importance of the Teutonic sailors consists in the fact that through them the ports of Western Europe came to be found out. The people of Western Europe no doubt improved in the art of navigation by having to repel the attacks of the Northmen; and we know that about the period when this history commences the people of Portugal became expert in this art from repelling the attacks of the Moors. From the time of Charlemagne to that of Columbus the hardy peoples of Spain, France, and England gradually became at home on the seas which washed their shores. But there was little trade here. The great

trade of the world, that of Europe with India, was carried on overland through Western Asia or Egypt, and thence by sea to the ports of Italy, which remained its main inlets for continental Europe. In those times the European world knew nothing of the real shape or extent of the African continent. They believed it to be an oblong mass of land, terminating about the equator : and it was natural for the people of Western Europe, as soon as they understood the nature and extent of the traffic that was carried on between Europe and the East, to try to sail to the East for themselves. The Portuguese, as we shall see, after a century of exploration, succeeded in doing this : but the immortal Columbus had in the meantime made a greater discovery. By a bold course of reasoning, which we shall explain in its place, he had satisfied himself that the Portuguese were not going the shortest way to work : and in following out his own plan, he stumbled first upon the West India Islands, and then on the continent of America.

6. *Europe on the Atlantic.*—The change that followed was one of the greatest, and certainly the most important in its results that has ever happened. The western nations were by this time ready for it : and the enterprise of Europe was now transferred from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The day of Italy and Germany, and Western Asia was over ; and the time of Western Europe was come. Eastward to the old Indies, and westward to the new the ships of all these nations soon poured in an unceasing stream. There had never been such a ferment in Europe as at this time. There was a great revival in art and learning : the old religious tyranny was crumbling away over half the Catholic world : the western nations were just becoming conscious of their native strength and resources : and just at this moment *un* boundless fields were opened for them in the East and West. Within a few years adventurers of all sorts swarmed fearlessly over the Atlantic : and the fact of this great discovery sank deep into the mind of Europe. England, as we shall see, was not behind-hand. In an old play, written soon after the discovery of America, Experience, one of the personages, speaking of the Atlantic, says:—"This sea is called the Great Ocean. So great it is, that never man could tell it since the world began till near within these twenty years. Westward we found new lands that we never heard tell of before this,

by writing nor other means. Yet many now have been there. And that country is so large of room, much larger than all Christendom, without fable or guile: for divers mariners have it tried, and sailed straight by the coast side, above five thousand mile. But what commodities be within no man can tell nor well imagine. And yet, not long ago, some men of this country went, by the King's noble consent, it for to search, and could not be brought thereto. O what a great meritorious deed it were, to have the people there instructed to live more virtuously, and to know of men the manner, and also to know God their maker, which as yet live all beastly." Peter Martyr says what a wonderful exultation of spirits he felt when he conversed with men who had been thither, and how he felt like a miser with new accessions to his wealth. The peoples of Europe soon began to contend for the inheritance of the New World. We shall see how the rich spoil was divided among them, how the greatest power got the lion's share, how its power and prosperity declined, how both of the Peninsular nations at length dropped out of the struggle, how for above a century England, France, and Holland contested the empire of the new Europe, while the balance of influence in the old Europe was alternating among them after the peace of Westphalia. We shall see how England conquered in the great struggle for both America and India, and for the first time in history an European power began to overshadow the oldest and the newest civilisations in the world. At the same time the beginnings were made of a third and last period of history. Perhaps we ought not to describe this period as having yet begun, for the world remains at present in the Atlantic stage. The western parts of Europe, and the eastern shores of the Americas, are at present the main bases of progress and civilized life; but explorers soon struck into the great ocean beyond, and a hundred years ago the discoveries of Cook made it clear that one day these bases must be rivalled by the lands washed by the vast Pacific. We shall see what beginnings the Pacific world has already made.

7. *Europe on the Pacific.*—Across the narrow isthmus of Central America the Spanish explorers quickly found their way. Along the Pacific shore lay the route to Peru and Chile, and westward from it that to the true India; for two centuries and more these seldom traversed routes were all that Europe knew about the Pacific world. With

the discoveries of Cook in the last century the face of things began to change, and by the middle of the present century the change was unmistakable. America and England had begun to colonize on the west and east Pacific. A vast tract of land which had been obtained by America from Mexico, together with British Columbia to its north, on the eastern shore, New South Wales and Victoria on its western, had become alike famous for their yield of gold. This proved the foundation of a more substantial prosperity. No parts of the world are richer in coal and metals than the Pacific shores. Through its metals, Chile, once the remotest part of the world, has become the most flourishing of the South American States; even China and Japan have come to feel the wave of progress, and European enterprise has thus circumnavigated the globe. The countless islands of the Pacific now invited the colonists of Europe; England, France, and America, as we shall see, have all in various ways begun to colonize them. The new Europe in the Pacific does not yet belong to history: but it is necessary to take it into our general view as the final stage into which the Europe of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic is passing. There are already two American railways connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific: one very long one terminating at San Francisco, and a short one terminating at Panama. A third is already begun, which will terminate in British Columbia: and a fourth and fifth will probably be made before the end of the century in South America. We see thus that the Pacific is being brought nearer and nearer to Europe every day.

8. **European Enterprise.**—We shall find that the history of the new Europe is not completely cut off from that of the old. Across the Atlantic much the same things were done as would have been done if the new Europe had locally adjoined the old: and in this way the history of the middle ages runs on into that of America and India. For a whole century the history of the new Europe is rather mediæval or feudal than modern. The activity which burst forth on the newly discovered lands had already taken many and various shapes. The most noteworthy of these is the Crusade. For two hundred years and more the minds of people in Europe had been familiar with the idea of taking up arms and fighting against infidels in a distant country: and the Spaniards and Portuguese, as we shall see, acted exactly in this

spirit in America and the East. The Crusades had gone further than this. The adventurers engaged in them had founded monarchies : a French sceptre had glittered though only for a short time, at Constantinople and Jerusalem. The conquests of the Portuguese in the East, more than any other part of this history, were a continuation of the Crusades. It was everywhere the Mohammedans, or "Moors," who were displaced by these conquests : and the people who did this were exactly the kind of people who had fought in the Crusades. It is curious to speculate on what would have happened if the world had gone no further at that time than to realize the limited ambition of the Portuguese, that of getting to India by the Cape of Good Hope. In this case the attention of Europe would have been directed more and more strongly to the East. The tide was as yet hardly beginning to turn against the Turks : but Europe would now have been able to attack them in the East more effectually than was done by Albuquerque, and perhaps in the course of time those intruders would thus have been forced northwards and the object of the Crusades attained. If this be so, the settlement of the new Europe insured the Turks that hold upon Eastern Europe and Western Asia which they have not quitted to this day. But colonial history does not really depend upon that compound of military and religious enterprise which found vent in the Spanish conquests in America and the Portuguese conquests from the Moors in India. A greater power, called Commerce, had risen into notice at the same time. Venice had grown rich by her trade with the East, and had even acquired many possessions beyond sea on the Mediterranean coast which very nearly approached the character of modern colonial possessions. Genoa and Pisa had begun to rival Venice : the silk manufacture had been established at Lucca and Florence. Germany had followed close in the wake of Italy : nor were Flanders, England, and Northern France far behind. All the nations of Europe had their warehouses at Bruges and Ghent : the Hanseatic league had become a great power : there were companies of merchants trading upon a joint stock in all the great commercial centres. The spirit of military enterprise was in most places being fast transmuted into that of commercial enterprise : and as we shall shortly see, commercial enterprise proved to be a more powerful and lasting force. Commerce

produced ships, and ships led naturally to exploration and colonization. In all this Europe was getting farther and farther from what is mediæval and Asiatic, and becoming, so to speak, more and more decidedly European and modern. We shall see how the colonies in the end came to stimulate more and more the commercial spirit in Europe, and almost to extinguish that compound of military and religious motives which mainly stimulated the mediæval nations.

9. *Ancient European Colonies.*—A process of the same kind as that which we are about to describe took place in the ancient world. As the European peoples have founded a new Europe, so the Phœnician and the Greek peoples, who first perfected the practice of commerce and navigation, founded ages ago a new Phœnicia and a new Greece on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Beyond this sea they did not in general venture; and this sea was to them what the ocean afterwards became to the sailors of Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England. The colonies of the Phœnicians and Greeks consisted mainly of single towns. Phœnician colonization is divided into two periods—the Sidonian and the Tyrian. In the very earliest historical times we find the Sidonians making settlements in Cyprus, Greece, and the Cyclades: Cadmus, who is quite an historical personage, was a Sidonian colonist. The famous Phœnician colonies of Spain belong to the Tyrian era. Most of the settlements of the Phœnicians were merely trading ports or factories: but there were remarkable exceptions. To some of these settlements they transplanted a large mass of real emigrants, who founded agricultural colonies, like New England and New South Wales. One of these was the famous Carthage, which, as everybody knows, grew so greatly in wealth and power as to rival the powerful Republic of Rome. To subdue Carthage cost Rome three exhausting and bloody wars; but it was through this conquest that Rome became mistress of the world. Carthage grew so fast in population as to become the mother of colonies of her own. Large numbers of Phœnician emigrants, for instance, left Carthage for Turdetania in Spain; and Strabo tells us that in his time most of the people in that part of Spain were of Phœnician blood. The Republic of Carthage restricted the trade of its colonies exactly as the European colonial nations did in after-times. There is extant a treaty

between Rome and Carthage which prohibits the trading ships of Rome from entering the colonies and cities of Sardinia, or of Africa to the south and east of the original Carthaginian territory, so that if the Romans wanted any of the productions of these settlements they could not go and buy them in the first and cheapest market, but were obliged to go and buy them in the port of Carthage. Curiously enough, the Carthaginian portion of Sicily was excepted from this primitive "Act of Navigation:" so we see that Carthage had in those early times a well-considered colonial policy. Just as in the case of England, the great colonial trade of Carthage was the foundation of a formidable navy, supported by a heavy taxation. Greek colonization was of a different character. The Greek colonies were always free from the first, so that the mother state had no right to tax them or to keep them in any kind of subjection. But the Greek politicians, who were often very unscrupulous, sometimes asserted a right over those cities which had proceeded from their own: and Athens extorted contributions from most of those in the Ægean Sea by commuting into a money-payment the service due from them for the defence of the Greek race, and thus made herself a great naval power. The Greek and Phœnician colonies, like their mother states, were absorbed in the Roman empire, and every shore of the Mediterranean in the end came to yield obedience to one government. Colonization, in the old sense, became thenceforth impossible. The ancient colonization which thus came to an end is interesting in itself, and presents analogies with the modern which are well worth following up: but it concerns the antiquary rather than the historian. Whenever there have been disputes in modern times between the new Europe and the old, the ancient colonial policy has always been quoted. What the Phœnicians called their colonies we do not know. The Greeks called them *Apoikiæ*, or "swarmings from the old hive." The word "colony" comes to us from Rome. The empire of Rome over the world was won by her great armies. The general, or "emperor" of these armies often provided for his veterans by granting them lands in the conquered countries, upon which they settled. These settlements, which afterwards became military centres, were called "colonies," from the Latin word *colo*, to dwell in a place and till the soil. Relics of this original sense of the word

may be traced in such names as *Köln* or *Cologne* (in Latin, *Colonia Agrippinensis*, Agrippina's Colony), and *Lincoln* (in Latin, *Lindorum Colonia*, Colony among the Celtic people of the Linds). Settlements exactly similar to these are made by the Russians in Central Asia. The word "colony" is even now commonly used among the Latin nations of South America in this sense of a new municipal community. But in English usage it means a *colonial country*, corresponding rather to the Dutch word *Volk-planting*, which is the earliest Teutonic expression of the idea. The earliest word in English use to express it is *Plantation*. Plantations, says Bacon, are amongst ancient, primitive, heroic works. This word, however, has become restricted to settlements founded by planters for the raising of such tropical products as sugar, tobacco, and coffee, and the word "colony," which formerly denoted only a military settlement, has taken its place. In modern usage the word "colony" is sometimes so restrained in its application as to imply the continuance of the relation of government between the new country and the old. Thus, while Australia is still described as a colony of Great Britain, the term would in this sense be no longer applied to the United States, though the latter country, no less than the former, is an offshoot of our own. Besides this, English practice distinguishes between a colony and a possession or dependency. A colony is a possession with a legislature of its own. The historian, however, has to use the word in its extended sense. The European colonies include all the new Europe; and we shall trace briefly the history of the whole of this, excepting the details of that of the United States, which are so important as to require a history to themselves. The United States are in fact about equal in importance to the whole of the states treated of in this book put together.

10. **Native Races.**—Wherever European emigrants have gone, they have always found the land possessed by native races. In Mexico and Peru the Spaniards found organized nations with social systems of an Asiatic type. These, however, occupied no very large geographical space: most of Spanish and Portuguese America was peopled by savage Indians. In North America the French and English also found tribes of native Indians of various degrees of savagery. There is a great difference between the way in which the native races have on the whole been treated by the English on the one hand and the

Latin nations on the other. Wherever the English have gone in America the native tribes have rapidly been driven back and at last extinguished. It was also in French North America. Partly from humanity, partly from policy, the French treated the Indians as human creatures like themselves: they intermarried with them and did their best to incorporate them into the Canadian nation. The same thing happened to a great extent in Spanish America. The early conquerors indeed cruelly overcame all attempts at resistance, and on one pretext or another destroyed very large numbers of them. This went on for at least half a century: but in the end vigorous efforts to protect them were made by the government at home, and by the aid of the Jesuit and other missionaries the Indian tribes were in some measure protected from the violence of the colonists and endowed with civil rights of their own. It is true that the laws made for the protection of the natives were not fully respected, and tales of cruelty to the Indians are common enough down to our own times, both in Spanish America and in Brazil. Still, all over Latin America we now see a sight that shames England. We see old races everywhere preserved, and during the last half century acquiring the civilisation and civil rights of Europeans. In some other parts the extinction of the native races was less avoidable. The wretched savages of Australia and Tasmania, for instance, were of a far lower type than the American Indians: and the New Zealanders were a race so ferocious that for a long time no one thought of anything but exterminating them. Even since they have been protected by the government, they have been diminishing in numbers: and they form no exception to the rule that wherever the English have gone, the natives have disappeared. But in South Africa, with the immense population of the central continent at their back, the natives have occupied a different position. The European settlements have pushed on fast and occupied in a scattered way a vast extent of country, so that a large native population remains mixed up with the immigrants. Of all the non-European races, those of Africa have best withstood the advance of the European element. The Africans in America, as we shall see, do not perish out of the land like the natives. On the contrary, they increase and multiply: in the southern states of North America alone there are five millions of Africans who were once slaves,

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and their number is still increasing. In their dealings with the native races, the French have been juster and more humane than other European nations: a long way behind them come the other Latin nations, and last of all the English and Dutch. But in both of these nations people have risen up to point out the wrongs of the poor natives: and the name of an Englishman, the famous William Penn, will always be remembered as the only one of his nation who took effectual measures to protect the Indians in his colony. Pennsylvania was in some other respects the most enlightened colonial community that had yet been founded. Here alone in America, religious liberty was established: here also the first anti-slavery society was established, nearly two hundred years ago. As we shall presently see, Penn's system had the happiest results. Pennsylvania became the most flourishing of the European colonies: none grew so fast, or became so famous: and its rise was due among other things to the lasting peace which was maintained between the colonists and the natives. But when the government of the state was taken out of the hands of the colonists, and martial law introduced, this happy condition of things ceased. The people of the United States have been as bad us any European race: their dealings with the Cherokees have proved them to be just as selfish and cruel as the English and Dutch. When we come to trace the history of negro-slavery, we shall see that there has been just as much difference between the Teutonic and the Latin nations in the treatment of the Africans, and in taking measures for abolishing slavery and the slave trade.

11. *African and Asiatic Labourers.*—The new Europe, as we shall see, has not been entirely founded out of European resources. A great amount of hard manual labour is necessary in carrying on colonial business: and as much of the new Europe lies within or near the tropics, the colonists have been obliged to look about them, and get hold of people accustomed to labour in those climes. Within the temperate zones Europeans have been able to work hard themselves. They have, therefore, been able to dispense with the system of forced labour which has been practised throughout the torrid zones, where they have fixed themselves for the purpose of raising tropical produce. At first they employed the natives, but they soon learnt from the Portuguese the advantage of importing the vigorous negroes of Africa. The African negro

is made for hard labour in a tropical climate, and for two centuries the European colonists stocked their colonies with African labourers. At length they became so numerous as to be dangerous. They often revolted in great numbers, killed their masters, burnt the plantations, and formed themselves into rude independent communities, which it took years to reduce to subjection. The fear of this on the one hand, and on the other a gradual sense of the cruelty and injustice with which they were treated, led gradually to the abolition of the slave trade, and ultimately of slavery. In this humane change England in the colonies and at home led the way. Tropical labour has now passed into a second phase. Different classes of hardy natives of the tropics have been invited to engage themselves to the planters for a fixed period, on a system which offers mutual advantages, and under this system, which has now been at work in some places for forty years, Canary islanders, Coolies from the hills of India, Chinese, South Sea islanders and other natives of the tropics have flocked to the plantations. Even African negroes have done the same thing, and it seems probable that where slavery still exists, though in process of extinction, as in Brazil and Cuba, the system of free labour will quietly take its place. China is the great reservoir of human labour: what the negro has been to the colonial world the Chinese will be in future. The Chinese are a hardy, industrious, and thrifty people: wherever they compete with European labour in its lower forms, they seem to be able to drive it out of the market, so that when they find their way into temperate climes a bitter animosity is always produced between them and the European labouring people. It is, however, quite impossible to keep them out. Many of the humbler occupations of life are far better filled by the Chinese than by Europeans: and whenever they are well treated they are a docile and law-abiding race. We thus see that the old Europe has exclusively contributed nothing to the new but its enterprise, prudence, and capital: these could not produce their due effect without the aid of the motive power of labour, which Europe cannot furnish in sufficient quantity, and for some very important branches of colonial enterprise, those pursued under the tropics, cannot furnish at all. Africa and Asia thus play a considerable though subordinate part in colonial history, the share of Asia in this part having

mainly been taken since the abolition of the African slave trade.

12. Process of Making a Colony.—Before men understood the art of navigation, changes in the settlement of the globe's surface were exclusively made by means of *migrations*. When people migrate they generally do so in a very large body : often a whole race has in this way changed its dwelling-place. The exodus of the Western Aryans, of which we have spoken, must have taken place by migration. A migrating people generally wanders on and on wherever the road is easiest, along the courses of great rivers or the shores of inland seas. We have in the Bible an account of the famous migration of the Israelites, the most valuable and interesting account of a migration that has been preserve . It is true that it is not a migration of the most primitive type, but it illustrates perfectly the difference between migrating and colonizing. A colony is always a settlement made beyond sea, by a few adventurous people, who leave the bulk of their nation behind them. The earliest and simplest kind of colony is a settlement called a factory or comptoir, which arises whenever a certain number of people of one nation settle in some distant place for purposes of trade. Such were most of the settlements of the Phœnicians, the early settlements of the European nations in Africa and the thickly-peopled east, and the forts of the forest traders of New France. Such settlements, however, are not colonies in the true sense. A true colony is formed when a number of people, of some more or less civilized race, sail away and make a permanent and independent settlement on some coast which is either uninhabited, or possessed by a rude and backward people, build habitations, cultivate the soil, and make for themselves a social and civil life. Virgil gives a famous description of the building of an ancient colonial city. Like most of the old Mediterranean colonies, Carthage at first consisted of only the site of a town : and he tells us how the colonists, who had sailed over the sea in a large body, bringing with them money and stores, were busy in building their town in imitation of those they had left behind in Phœnicia. Instead of the rude huts of the natives, they built great houses, gates, streets, and fortifications, all of large stones : each man divided his lot from the others by trenches : they dug out a harbour for large ships, and even built a theatre and a temple. This description very

much resembles modern colonization. Most of the colonies have kept accurate accounts of their early years, which were in almost every case years of hard struggles. A colonial expedition is, of course, a matter of great expense. Not only have sailors and ships to be hired and stores to be bought for the voyage, but provision has to be made for the subsistence of the emigrants until their crops are ripe. Sometimes these expenses have been mainly borne by private individuals or by companies with an eye to profit in the end; at others they have been undertaken by the governments who claimed the colonial soil. When a beginning has been once made, it is easy enough for an agricultural colony to extend its limits, and it often takes an entirely new character. The most extraordinary changes in colonial history belong to the history of the United States, which is out of the scope of this book: but we shall see how the flourishing group of the Australias has within the present century grown up out of a few settlements made for the reception of English transported convicts, how South Africa has grown out of a mere victualling-place made for the ships of the Dutch East India Company, how the foundation of the great Catholic empire of Brazil was made by Jews exiled from Portugal for their religion, while that of the vast English Dominion of Canada was laid by a few French gentlemen and their peasant followers. Many of the most famous colonial expeditions, both in early colonial times and in our own generation, on record have been complete failures, because plans for colonies have often been made without sufficient knowledge or prudence.

13. **The Exclusive System.**—The same greed of gain and dominion which drove the western nations of Europe westwards made them adopt every way of securing for themselves the whole benefit of their conquests. The Spanish monarchy was the first to exclude all other nations from the trade of its American possessions, and in other countries the system was adopted partly because it was necessary for the profit of the commercial companies to which the trade of the new settlements was at first committed, and partly from a belief that in this way the nation would make the most of what it had acquired. England was the last to adopt the system. Until the time of Cromwell the trade of English America had been quite free. The charters of the early English settlements permitted them to trade with foreign countries, and as early

as 1620 the Virginian tobacco-farmers had warehouses in Middleburg and Flushing. But the Act of Navigation (1651) confined the trade of English America, like that of the colonies of other nations, to the mother country; and for more than a century the exclusive colony system prevailed everywhere. It was supposed that this greatly stimulated the prosperity of both the colonies and the home countries: but we now know this notion to have been quite false. Though the exclusive system was thus common to both families of settlements, there still continued to exist one great difference between the English and all other colonies. The English colonies always had, in other respects, freedom of government. They made their own laws and raised their own taxes, whereas the colonies of the Latin nations were always taxed and governed from home. This difference had been silently working for two hundred years and more before the independence of all the colonies brought out its consequences in all their fulness. One effect of the exclusive system is very noticeable at the present time: it kept back the mixture of peoples, and prevented the formation of a general colonial type until the English nation had completely got the upper hand in the colonial world. If it had been abolished two hundred years ago, the colonial world would have fallen at once into the hands of the Dutch: fifty years later than that, it might perhaps have fallen into those of the French. The decline and fall of the exclusive system is the main event in colonial history from a point of view of the economist, just as the independence of the colonies is the main event from the point of view of the politician and historian.

14. *Types of Colonial Life.*—The extraordinary and endless variety which characterizes European life in the old world has been faithfully reflected in the new. The following pages will be mainly filled with bare details which will lose their significance unless we bear in mind as much as possible, the setting in which the events which make up colonial history have taken place. We must not forget how different is the aspect of nature in the new world from the aspects to which we are accustomed. The physical aspect of almost every part of the new Europe is far grander and more interesting than that of the old. The mountains are loftier, the rivers longer and broader, vegetation richer, colours brighter, the sun hotter, the air clearer. Spaces are vaster and distances greater

than we in the old world can easily conceive: and a great disproportion is at once felt to exist between the forces of nature and those of man. The new world in many ways leads the European back to conditions more natural than those which surround him in the old. This is at any rate the case with the Teutonic races: Englishmen and Germans have generally found in colonial existence a sense resembling that of relief from a heavy and useless burden. In the air of the new world Teutonic life seems suddenly to purge itself of the useless accretions of two thousand years. Activity and enterprise increase as wealth is accumulated: a sense of worth and a pride of race are developed which contribute greatly to social cohesion and political independence. We shall see later on how the English colonial type has distanced all the others, because it is the only case in which the atmosphere of the new world wrought its natural results. In the case of the Latin colonists adverse circumstances for the most part prevented the growth of the true colonial character. Wherever the Spaniards went they found wealth already made for them: they had only to put out their hands and take it. The Spaniards rarely went beyond the limits of the civilization they supplanted, and never attempted, like the Teutonic colonists, to penetrate the wilderness. The Creole hidalgo, the great landowner of a Mexican or Peruvian town, lived a life even more stupid and monotonous than his countrymen of the same rank at home. He had no connection with the home country, and nothing to do with the government of that of his adoption: this was always kept in the hands of the native Spaniards, who came and went like birds of passage, as the English and Dutch still do in India. The West Indian planter and the American farmer had a constant commercial connection with England: in Spanish America there was no trade except what was carried on by a few Biscayan pedlars, who rambled up and down the country buying up what they could for the half-yearly fairs that were held at the ports. The idle hidalgo lived quite self-contained in the midst of his huge estate, his house surrounded by the huts of his Indian and half-breed serfs or peons. Some of these tended his great herds of wild oxen and horses; others dug in the hillsides for silver, or sullenly cultivated patches of maize or potatoes, while their wives spun coarse cotton and woollen stuffs,

and plaited the prairie grass into broad hats to keep off the burning sun. Sometimes he rode in the cool time of the day, and even indulged in the delights of the chase : more often he was borne out in a palanquin by his negroes. Spanish colonial life was organized idleness : that of the English and Dutch had a real object. Not very far from the abode of the Mexican *hidalgo*, in the English colony of Virginia, as early as the time of Charles I., a very different life might have been seen. Here the eye, wandering about James Town and up and down the valley of the James river, would have rested everywhere upon large or small plantations, dotting the wilderness on every side. Traders' stores and warehouses lined the quay, to receive the tobacco and corn which poured into the capital : the port was crowded with ships from New England, from London, and Amsterdam. All was organized activity : the very Indians and negroes had caught the spirit. There would have been signs of a strong political life, though at this time most of the people would have been Royalists. James Town would have been a copy of Bristol or Southampton, just as the Mexican *estancia* was a copy of a Castilian country seat. If we bear in mind all through this history these two types of the Mexican *hidalgo* and the Virginian tobacco-planter we shall find it very much easier to understand. These are the leading types in colonial history : and the others group themselves naturally around and between them. The Canadian seigneur, with his faithful peasantry, settling down in the pine woods of Quebec, comes nearer the former type : so does the Portuguese nobleman, selling his paternal estate to some adventurer from the East, and buying of his sovereign a vast fief on the Brazilian coast, chiefly tropical forest, with perhaps a few sugar patches dotting the swamps below. The Teutonic colonial type is more varied. There may seem to be little in common between the sugar-maker of Barbadoes, the indigo-planter of Jamaica, the mahogany-lumberer of Honduras, the smuggler of Curassao, the boer of the Cape, the sheep-farming squatter of Australia, and the gold-seeker of British Columbia ; but in all of these we shall find the same determined activity and independence, the same rough but effectual power of combination, and the same instinctive repulsion from the lower human types which surround them. The native weakness of the Latin type and the native strength of the Teutonic have had another

remarkable result which became of great importance as soon as the epoch of political independence was reached. Priests and soldiers play a considerable part in European mediæval history. Now we shall find as we go on, that the clerical and military elements have been transplanted to nearly all the Latin communities in the new world, where they have grown and flourished like baneful parasites, whilst in the Teutonic communities they were at first entirely wanting, and could only be created with difficulty when the need came. In Mexico, to add another touch to our contrast of types, there were bishops, priests, and monks all over the country, endowed not only with tithes, but with vast landed properties, and by far the most powerful people in the community. In Virginia clergymen were so scarce that a bounty was offered for their importation. Yet there is no reason to think that Teutonic colonists have, as a body, been less Christian-like and God-fearing than the Latin. On the contrary, wherever they go they have striven to carry their church with them, whereas the Latin colonists have of late years been in many places shaking off their church as an oppressive and intolerable burden. Few things in modern history are more remarkable than the way in which the Protestant Church of England has spread all over the English colonial world. It has not indeed done such great things in civilizing the native races as the Roman Catholic Church has done through its devoted religious orders; but, on the other hand, it has not furnished an element of disturbance and reaction, like the selfish secular clergy of Spanish America. The history of the church in North America, and in all the British Colonies and Possessions, is one of great interest and importance, though we shall be able to say but little about it. It must always be borne in mind that the Church of England has done much to raise the character of new colonial communities, especially in the case of the Australian convict settlements.

15. *Colonial Isolation.*—In one respect the nations of the new Europe beyond seas differed very greatly from those of the old. During the middle ages, nearly all the European nations freely communicated and interchanged ideas with each other: and five hundred years ago no European would have found himself altogether a stranger in neighbouring lands, wherever he might go. But about the time of the first growth of new

Europe, this condition of things was passing away, and except in the case of one or two commercial nations, the bonds of the old European life were becoming relaxed. This isolation was transferred by commercial policy to the new Europe : all the colonial nations of the old world sought, as we have seen, to keep their colonies to themselves. The effect of this was to check even the communication between each mother country and its own colonies : and nothing is more surprising to a reader of the present day when he comes to the epoch of independence, from fifty to a hundred years ago, than to see how utterly ignorant the people of the old Europe in general were of the social conditions and forces which prevailed in the new. It is impossible to suppose that either English statesmen a hundred years ago, or Spanish statesmen sixty years ago, or a famous French statesman of our own time, would have adopted the policy which they did adopt towards America, if they had possessed any real knowledge of the subject. Of late years there has been a great change. Communication between the chief parts of the old and the new Europe is now rapid and frequent : the people of both are always going to and fro among each other, and their knowledge of each other is greatly increased. It is easier for an Englishman of the present day to go all round the world than a hundred years ago it was for him to go to Italy : and a journey from America to London is now a less formidable undertaking than one from Scotland to London was a hundred years ago. Nowadays travellers may go wherever they please : but it is not long since the famous man of science, Humboldt, was forbidden to enter Brazil upon pain of death, and less than forty years ago things were almost as bad in Paraguay. In the present state of constant communication between the new Europe and the old, it is difficult for us to realize the great isolation of the old colonies from each other and from the mother countries. This isolation wrought different effects in the two great colonial families. In the Latin colonies, it contributed to their degradation : for it left them more and more at the mercy of officials and ecclesiastics, and thus enhanced the effect of that combination of tyranny, bigotry, and monopoly, by which they were governed. In the English colonies this isolation was less complete : the colonists were already possessed of a stock of ideas which they never quitted : and these ideas flourished

and spread, tending to keep alive the same ideas in the Old World : and in the case of Pennsylvania the most liberal principles of which the old world was then capable were at once transferred to and put in force in the new.

16. **Quick Growth of Ideas in the Colonies.**—The difference which we have just noticed has completely disappeared with the establishment of free communication between the new and the old Europe since the epoch of independence. The old barriers have been all broken down : and all over the new world European ideas grow faster, if they do not flourish better, than they have done in the old soil. In this the English American colonies led the way. In the new world it takes much less time to mature an idea and put it into execution, than in the old : and consequently America has grown more in a hundred years than Europe in a thousand. In Europe, for instance, a great reformer wrote a hymn above three hundred years ago praying for deliverance “from Turk and Pope,” who were in that day the two great enemies of progress : they are still the great enemies of progress : half of Europe is engaged at the present moment in a war to shake off the Turk, and the other half will before long have to engage in a war to shake off the Pope. Now the Mexicans, perhaps the slowest and weakest of the colonial peoples, are just at the end of a long war, of which the main object has been to shake off the Pope. This mixed and despised race has thus done under great disadvantages what liberal Europe has been trying to do ever since the time of Martin Luther. Both in the Latin and the Teutonic colonies there are of course facilities for carrying out reforms which do not exist in the old Europe. Habits of life are not so stereotyped : the scene is not overshadowed by a gigantic past which it is impossible to get rid of ; there is everywhere a youthfulness, a singleness, and a force which is missed in the old Europe. The Old World is ever being repaired out of the forces of the New. Even in England some famous legal and political reforms have only been adopted since they have been tried in Australia : two famous laws of the greatest importance to the poor man, that which gives him a vote, and that which enables him to buy a piece of land without expense or formality, have come to England from the new world. In Australia public executions, which had so long been a scandal at home, were first abolished, and the example was at once followed in England : and there

are very many other matters which prove how much quicker of growth all ideas of improvement, whether on a great or a small scale, are in the new Europe than in the old.

17. *Ultimate Prevalence of one Colonial Type.*—In the chapters which follow we shall mainly trace the fall of one form of colonization and the rise of another. This change, as we shall see, has several phases. We shall see that the chief Latin type, that of an idle landowning settler, emigrating only for the purpose of subsisting uselessly on the produce of the new world, fails altogether. The wisest policy in the world could not have made a colonial empire flourish wherever this type abounded. A community made up of people of this kind without energy and enterprise cannot but fall out of the race. The successful colonist must in some way or other contribute to the general stock of the world's riches: he must send home sugar, cotton, wool, hides, timber, or some other product of labour, making himself and the community to which he belongs to flourish by the return of something in exchange. We shall see that the Spanish and Portuguese in the new world are beginning to shake off their old character. Again, we shall trace the failure of schemes for putting the profits of the new world on a large scale into the hands of a few people sitting quietly at home in the old. We shall see that shortly after the settlement of the new world many joint-stock companies began to be formed, by which it was expected that the capitalists of old Europe would engross the profits made in the new. This did very well, at least for a time, in the East: but it would not do where nearly everything depended on the labourer, and very little indeed on the capitalist. The filiation of clever ideas of this kind may be traced from the subtle merchants of Holland, through Law, the Franco-Scotchman, down to Wakefield and others in our own time. In enterprise, then, we shall see that the labourer in the colonies has, on the whole, prevailed over the capitalist at home. The great bulk of the riches gained through the new world has been gained by honest individual enterprise: and the failure of the system of commercial colony companies has been as complete as that of Latin colonization in its old mediæval form. Lastly, we shall see that all the colonies in the end adapt themselves to the model of those which are most a copy of the old country, and are least interfered with by the

old country, namely the English. The rapid growth of the English colonial communities, whilst nearly all the rest of the world were standing still, proved that the English had hit upon the true form of colonization. Thus for three centuries the new Europe had been finding out, (1) that a colony was essentially a working place, not an idling place; (2) that its prosperity was an affair of busy individual thought and labour, not capable of being worked out like a machine by some distant force; (3) that it could not go on without having a certain liberty of action and freedom from meddling interference. The pursuit of these principles in the English colonies had greatly helped to raise England above all her continental rivals: and in the middle of the last century, just as the whole world was beginning to see how great her colonial empire was, and what unbounded prospects lay open to her through it, a great war-minister wielded her powers of offence so dexterously that she ruined France, her chief rival, both in the east and west, and thus won a fresh vantage-ground for the colonial type she had produced. We shall see how for a short time (1763—1775) it seemed as if the destinies of the whole new Europe (for Spain and Portugal could not long have resisted the united force of England and her colonies) would be linked for ever with England alone. But this prospect, the most brilliant perhaps that ever dazzled any nation of the earth, was blasted by the folly of her statesmen, and the great colonial power fell asunder into two parts, one having its seat in the old world, and the other in the new. Notwithstanding this, the work was done. The English type, though its effective power was impaired by division, eclipsed all others; and perhaps it will be found in the end to have done its work quite as efficaciously, though not so rapidly, as if its forces had continued united. A great blow in Europe next exposed the whole colonial world to the influence of this victorious English type. The power of the chief Latin nations in Europe was struck to the ground by one of themselves: and their colonies rose and threw off the yoke, which could never be reimposed.

18. *The English transform the Colonial World.*—The New Europe was at first organized on the Spanish model: in about three centuries this had been everywhere exchanged for the English. The final blow was dealt to the old system by the French Revolution, and the effect this shock produced in the new world was speedy and

complete. We shall see towards the middle of this history how the French Revolution came to complete the work which had already been begun by American Independence : the chief thing to be noticed at present is how completely the ruin of the power of Spain and Portugal in America left the field open to English influence. In the previous century, the work that was done would have been done by the English arms : indeed, Pitt's invasion of Buenos Ayres in 1806 was a survival of a very old idea according to which English ships of war were to take all the Spanish naval positions, and make of Spanish America one vast English colony. But the work was done in another way. It was done more peacefully, more easily, and far more completely, by the spread of English ideas, through the medium, not of England herself, but of her sister power in the United States. During a hundred years, that vast power had been growing, both socially and politically, with astonishing steadiness and rapidity : and in different degrees it now began to drag with it all the rest of the colonial world. Spanish and Portuguese America, Canada, Australia, and even old Europe itself, have been since following in its wake. In South America the effect of the example of the United States was felt more immediately and profoundly than anywhere. There was no old antagonism to counteract it, as in Canada : no vast ocean standing as a barrier between, as in Europe. Released from European bondage, the South American nations one after another began to adopt the social and political model of the United States. We shall see what errors they committed, and what failures were the consequence. In the meantime English ideas had wrought an important change in the plantation colonies. The English in America had begun the agitation against the slave trade : and soon after the French Revolution strenuous efforts were made in England to get it abolished : these efforts succeeded, and the whole world in time followed the example. Lastly, England, deprived of her great colonies in North America, began the task of founding new ones. The French tried to follow in the same path, but with no great success. Besides this, England began systematically extending and improving the lesser colonies which were left to her, and those which she won from her continental enemies in the wars of the French Revolution and Empire. There England adopted a fresh policy, abandoning the system of protecting certain trades,

such as that in sugar, for the benefit of particular classes in the colonies, and gradually adopting a system of free commerce. In this, as we shall also see, the other colonial nations have followed her : so that in every respect we may say that the colonial world has been transformed by English influence, policy, or ideas. This transformation has gone far to destroy the isolation of the various parts of the new world from each other.

19. *Epoch of Independence.*—This history is divided into two eras, the first being the era of the colonial system, the second the era of independence. The change from dependence to independence, as we might expect, did not take place suddenly. It took, in fact, about half-a-century to accomplish (1775—1825); and this half-a-century may be termed the Half-Century of Transition. Even then, the practical independence of some of the minor colonies had still to be worked out : and this process is not yet finished. Since the epoch of independence, the history of America, which includes the great bulk of the new Europe, has been the history of separate nations of Spanish, Portuguese, and English descent. The great colonial nation of all, the United States, has a history so important and complicated that it is dealt with in a separate volume : but we shall trace briefly the chief incidents in the history of all the rest. As we might expect, the history of these nations since the epoch of independence greatly exceeds their history before that epoch, both in interest and importance. After tracing the rise, growth, and fall of the old colonial system, we shall turn to the colonial nations in order. Omitting the United States, we shall see how a great English community enveloped the French colony of Canada, how the Canadas became an independent nation in 1841, and have since been placed at the head of a confederation including all the older English possessions on the North American continent : how the loss of the United States led to the colonization of Australia : how several separate colonial communities have grown up there and are still growing, and how they were endowed with the privileges of independence as soon as it was possible to do so : how the movement spread to the neighbouring islands of New Zealand : how an English element enveloped the conquered Dutch colony of the Cape, but not in the way in which a similar element enveloped the French colony of Canada, for we shall see that the English and Dutch have gone on ever since rapidly extending

the boundaries of their settlements: and how the West Indies, ruined by Slavery Abolition and Free Trade, have quite lost their position in the colonial world of a century ago. Leaving the British colonies, we shall then trace the history of the negro state of Hayti. The history of this island opens the door to an entirely new field: for what the negroes have done in imitating Europe may obviously in time be done by other races. Quitting the North American world, we shall then turn to the history of the four groups of Spanish nations in South America, the Colombian, the Argentine, the Chilean, and the Peruvian. We shall see how each has developed an historical type of its own, and how different are their conceptions of national liberty and prosperity: how some of them have manfully wrestled with the evil elements which the Spanish colonial system left in their midst, and how others have resigned themselves to become the sport of force and fraud: we shall then turn to those north of the isthmus of Panama, and see how Mexico has been the scene of a very similar struggle, which has been complicated by its vicinity to the United States and to Europe. We shall then trace the curious story of the Imperial democracy of Brazil, and finally show how the fall of the power of the old Europe throughout the bulk of its Colonial possessions has destroyed even the relics of the old colonial system, leaving little standing that does not come rather under the denomination of India than of the colonies. Yet we shall see after all how vast is the importance which the old Europe still attaches to the possession of colonies. We shall see England still taking up fresh ground in the Pacific, France straining every nerve to create the shadow of a colonial empire in the place of that she has lost, and Spain fostering by every possible means a Spanish interest in the two great West Indian islands which she still keeps, as a means of striking off that independence which must come sooner or later. Lastly we shall shortly trace the share which non-colonial nations such as Germany, Belgium, and Italy have had in the formation of the new Europe by means of emigration. The first episode in this history is that of the enterprise of the Portuguese early in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese were the first to begin the work of colonization: we shall see towards the end of the book that their colonists have been the last in completing the work of independence.

CHAPTER II.

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH COLONIES.

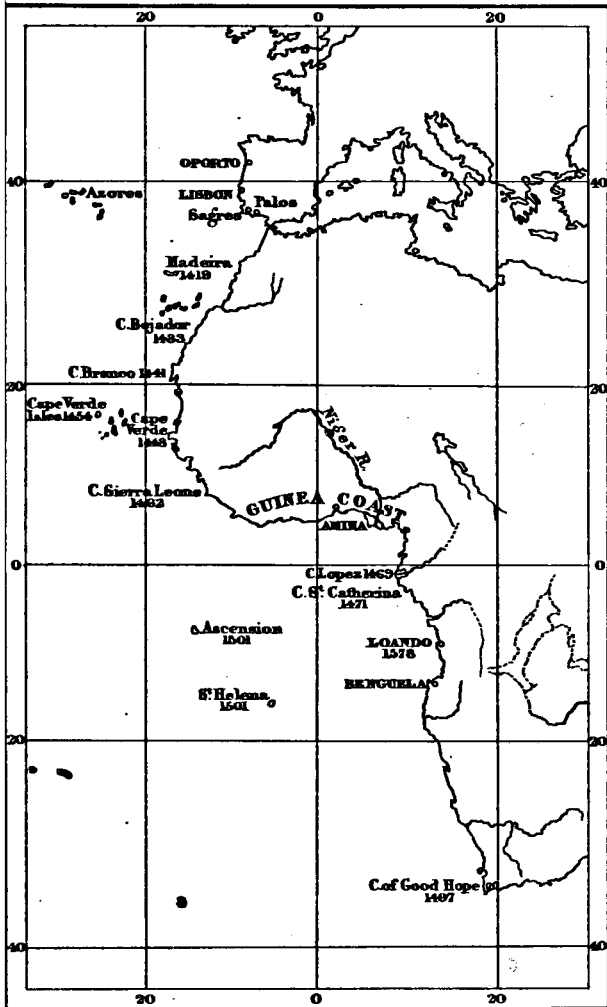
The Moors and the Portuguese (1)—Prince Henry of Portugal (2)—Spain and Columbus (3)—the Portuguese in India (4)—Early Colonial Governments (5)—Albuquerque (6)—Mexico and Peru (7)—Progress of Portugal in the East and West (8)—Other Nations (9)—Mines of Spanish America (10)—the Philippines (11)—Trade of New Spain with Europe (12)—General Remarks (13).

1. The Moors and the Europeans.—Little more than four centuries ago few European vessels ventured westwards beyond the Mediterranean Sea. The existence of America was unsuspected, and nothing certain was known of the remoter coasts of the Old World. It was believed that the Atlantic Ocean was not navigable, and that the western coast of Africa was uninhabitable on account of the heat. The credit of destroying this idle belief is due to the smallest nation of Europe. Mohammedans of mixed race, known to the Christians of Europe by the general name of Moors, were at this time the leading people about the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and others called by the same name engrossed most of the trade of the Indian Ocean. Morocco, as its name implies, was in the possession of the Moors, and they had conquered and settled the greater part of the Spanish peninsula. But the Christian princes of the north of the peninsula drove them by slow degrees from Europe, and some of the ocean coast of Spain thus came into the possession of a petty monarch, who took his name from Porto, his seat on the Douro. The King of Portugal was the head of a nation which, though small, was filled with the love of liberty and of enterprise. The Portuguese, elated and enriched by their conquests, pursued the Moors to their own shores. They gradually made themselves masters on the African coast, as they did afterwards on a great scale

in the East, of the same trade which had enriched the Moors, and finding themselves at home on the ocean, they carried their exploration of the Atlantic coasts of Africa each year further and further. The old idle beliefs were quickly dissipated. Almost everywhere the coasts were found inhabited, and the climate tolerable. Islands were discovered off the African coast; its stormy capes were doubled one after another; its great rivers were partially explored; gold and slaves were brought from the coast of Guinea; and at last the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and a way discovered by which the riches of the East could be brought directly to the western shores of Europe.

2. **Prince Henry of Portugal.**—Prince Henry, Duke of Viseo, and son of John I., was the chief promoter of these adventurous voyages. He has been called the Navigator, though he took no part in them himself; but he had deeply studied the science of astronomy, and he laboured hard to extend and apply it. It is to him, in fact, that the world owes both Vasco and Columbus. Under his directions larger and stouter ships were built and equipped; an observatory was built at Sagres, on the coast, the astrolabe perfected, and the compass, which had been discovered many years before, first became useful in steering. At the time of his death, in 1460, the ships of the king of Portugal had doubled Cape Bojador and Cape Verde; they had explored the coast as far as Sierra Leone; and Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered, and partly settled. For Prince Henry was not a mere man of science. He at once saw in these new-found lands in the south a field for European enterprise. Under his directions the great forests of Madeira were set on fire, and the soil was made ready for the vines of Burgundy and the sugar-canes of Sicily. The island was divided, after the system of the fîmes, into two great fiefs. A tenth of its produce was set apart for the king, another tenth for the clergy, and the rest, according to a primitive contract common in the middle ages, was divided equally between the landowner and the cultivator. We see that the ideas which the Portuguese carried with them were strictly those of mediæval Europe. So it was in regard to the trade for gold and slaves begun under this prince's auspices with Guinea. The traffic with Africa, like that of the Moors themselves, and like the traffic subsequently with India, was half piracy, half com-

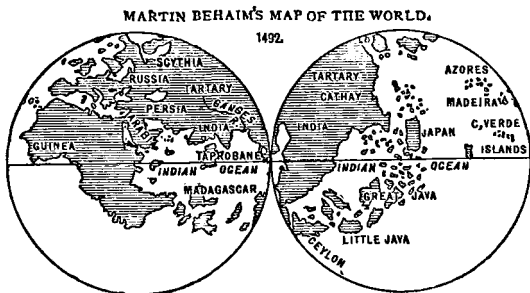
PROGRESS OF PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY



merce. It was from the first a royal monopoly, and was carried on exclusively in the king's ships. But both ships and commerce were often farmed out to adventurers; and the Portuguese trade was thus saved from the officialism which strangled that of Spain. It was not until twenty-six years after the death of Prince Henry that the Portuguese sailors reached the great southern cape, which they called at first the Cape of Storms, but which was afterwards known as the Cape of Good Hope. The progress of navigation was slow, but it was seconded by a wise policy at home. The kings of Portugal encouraged science and trade; Portugal became a commercial nation; Coimbra, the old capital city, was soon forsaken for the rising seaport of Lisbon; and John II. allowed all nations to come there and buy the produce of the African trade.

3. *Spain and Columbus.*—Castile, which had come lately into possession of the ports of Seville and Cadiz, was not likely to remain inactive in the midst of her neighbour's successes. Though the Castilians were inferior navigators, the science and practical skill of Italians were always at their command, and their vessels closely followed those of Portugal, and disputed whenever they could the right to their discoveries. Castilian ships, perhaps, were the first to touch at the Canaries, though the priority was questioned, and, in 1479, the rival claims of the two nations were settled by treaty: Portugal kept Guinea and most of the islands, and the Castilians were content with the Canaries. They carried thither the Rhenish grape, which had been already tried and approved at Cadiz: and the Canary wine soon became famous. When the crowns of Castile and Aragon were united under Ferdinand and Isabel, and the conquest of the Moors had been completed by the conquest of Granada, Spain at once took rank as a formidable European power. Ferdinand was a politic prince, and his jealousy was moved by the continual advances of the Portuguese. These latter were now on the point of reaching the Indian Ocean. Every year saw their ships better built and equipped, and their captains more adventurous, and the counsellors of Ferdinand and Isabella resolved to try a chance of cutting short the rivalry. Columbus, a clever and learned Genoese, who had been long in the Portuguese service, had convinced himself that this long, perilous, and as yet uncertain circumnavigation of Africa

might be avoided, and the voyage to India quickly accomplished, by sailing due west, and thus coming upon the shores of the east from the other side.



If we look at a map of the world of his times, we shall see, indeed, two hemispheres, but only one continent, divided equally between the two. The Indies occupied a vast space in the eyes of mankind; and the great question was, how to get at them. The recent voyages of the Portuguese had greatly changed the map of the world. It had been always supposed that Africa ended at the equator; but these voyages had shown that this was a mistake, and that the way to India was much longer and more dangerous than had been expected. Hence the bold idea of Columbus. Common sense, we should now say, would have suggested what he did. But maps were in those days among the mysteries of the learned; and it is hard at all times to lift human progress out of the beaten track. The way by the coast was thought to be sure, though slow, and all experienced men looked upon Columbus as a visionary. But Columbus pondered on his map, and resolved to execute the idea which filled his mind. He visited several European courts to beg their sovereigns to equip a sufficient expedition. The sovereigns of France and England would have nothing to do with him; and it was not without long hesitation that Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain closed with his offer. They furnished him with three ships, and on the 3rd day of August, 1492, the first expedition of Europeans sailed westwards from the little port of Palos in Andalusia, knowing nothing of their destination save the vague names of India and

Cathay. Three generations of Europeans had been toiling their way to the Cape of Good Hope ; Columbus aimed at outstripping them by a single bold venture. He knew that he was nowhere likely to suffer worse dangers than on the African coast, and that he was sure to reach India sooner or later if he could sail westwards without mishap or obstacle. On the 11th of October his daring and perseverance were rewarded by reaching land. It was only one of the Bahama islands, but he pushed his inquiries further, and visited the Island of Hayti, which he named *Española*, or Little Spain. Its fertility, if not its wealth, confirmed him in the supposition that he had reached one of the finest islands of the wealthy Indies. Here he procured gold, and planted a colony ; and before he returned to Spain he had visited the Windward group, and gained a general idea of the West Indian islands. But he as yet never suspected that a vast continent lay between him and the Indies of which he was in search. He returned to the port of Seville ; and was received with great joy by the court at Barcelona. The Pope confirmed the Spanish monarchs in their new possessions ; and Columbus was sent on a second voyage with seventeen vessels, and 1,500 men. This time he arrived at the island of Dominica. He completed the conquest of Hayti, and built a fort to command the mines of Cibao ; but he returned to Spain without having added very much to the discoveries of his first voyage. On his third voyage he determined to try to reach the real India by standing to the south. In this way he came upon Trinidad and the mouth of the Orinoco ; and this vast river convinced him that he had at length reached the mainland. He proceeded thence once more to *Española* ; but by this time the intrigues of the enemies whom his successes had raised up had done their work. A commissioner was sent out to inquire into the charges against him, and he sent the great Columbus back to Spain in irons. He was never restored to the government of his colony ; but he was allowed to make another voyage to seek the way to the real India, in which he of course failed. Meanwhile, the mines of *Española* were being worked by the forced labour of the natives, and the Spaniards were confirmed in their notion that the destiny of the new world was merely to furnish plenty of the precious metals to Europe.

4. The Portuguese in India.—While the Portuguese sailors were pushing their way league by league round the

coast, sagacious eyes watched their progress at home, and when the Cape of Good Hope was reached it was time to prepare for the great day when they would reach the shores of India. John II. despatched thither two adventurous young men, named Covilhao and Paiva, in order that the Portuguese captains might know what to look for when they got there. We can scarcely realize the hazard and romance that attached to this journey less than four centuries ago. The land to be traversed was in the hands of fanatical Mohammedans. Few Jews, and fewer Christians, had ever returned from seeing the Eastern Ocean, and the monarchs who reigned on its shores were the heroes of strange legends, which came to European ears only through the Moors of Egypt and Tunis. The two pioneers took ship for Alexandria, and sailed up the Nile to Cairo, where they joined a caravan for Aden. Here they parted, Paiva to explore westwards, Covilhao eastwards. The fate of Paiva was never known; he probably perished in an attempt to penetrate the interior of Africa. Covilhao sailed for India. He visited Cochin, Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, returned to Aden, and sent despatches thence which reached Lisbon in time to serve as a guide to the great navigator who first brought a European vessel to an Indian port. He then went to Abyssinia, and visited the court of the Negus, a Christian potentate formerly well known to the Western world by the name of *Prester John*, whence he never returned; but long before he died he must have learned that his countrymen had not only reached India, but won there a great dominion, and possessed themselves of the most flourishing commerce in the world. Vasco da Gama sailed July 18, 1497, soon after receiving the report of Covilhao. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope, fulfilling at last the presage of its name, and after enduring many dangers in those unknown seas, arrived at length at Calicut, after a voyage of thirteen months. This feat was incomparably more difficult and hazardous than that of Columbus, who reached the West Indies in about two months: and Columbus with his mutinous crew and slight resources would probably have turned back before he had accomplished a tenth part of the voyage.

Nor did the discoveries of Columbus produce to Spain results at all to be compared with those which Portugal attained through that of Vasco. The West Indies had been reached by the Spaniards, but their inhabitants were

savages, and nothing was as yet known of the two great aboriginal nations of Mexico and Peru. But the Portuguese had touched the rich civilisation of the great East, with which Europe and Western Asia had traded from time immemorial. The joy and expectation which Vasco's return excited at Lisbon were unlimited. New expeditions were sent out, and now commenced that military subjection of the East to the West, established not for territorial dominion, but for the purpose of trade, which subsists undiminished in our own times. Clad in armour, armed with firelocks, and already well practised in the arts of conquest by a hundred years' experience of Africa, the Portuguese settled without much resistance wherever they pleased on the Indian coasts. At this time, and for long afterwards, we must remember that, excepting Europe, whenever we speak of a country, we speak principally of its seaboard. The peninsula of India, so lately as a century ago, was scarcely known except by the names of the Malabar or Western Coast, and the Coromandel, or Eastern. The petty sovereigns of these coasts, oppressed by their lords in the interior, allied themselves with the new-comers, and acknowledged themselves vassals of Emmanuel the Great. The maritime Mohammedans of the East, whom the new-comers also called Moors, were neither so rich, nor so united as those of the West, and the new-comers knew how to deal with them. Many entered the Portuguese service as pilots and sailors, and those who opposed them could make no effectual resistance. The Portuguese were soon lords of the chief ports of India. In the king's name they bought the merchandize of India, and shipped it to Lisbon, whither the barques of other nations now found their way, and where the stuffs, spices, and precious stones and woods of India were sold much cheaper than they could be sold in Venice, after they had borne the cost of land-carriage and transshipment, and the arbitrary customs duties of Egypt and Asia Minor. This splendid commercial conquest was of course in its very nature but a temporary thing. A small nation like Portugal could scarcely expect to keep so vast an acquisition. But it is clear that the Portuguese might have kept it longer, if they had had a succession of able and honest officers on the spot, and a sound and fixed policy at home.

5. *Early Colonial Governments.*—We have said that the colonization of the Spaniards and Portuguese belongs

to the middle ages. The Portuguese in their new pursuit followed closely a famous European model. The republic of Venice, whose trade they were supplanting, had pursued commerce as its chief object, and the attention of the Portuguese was turned in the same direction. Colonization, in our modern sense, was not thought of. The coast of South Africa did not stay them on their course, and the shores of Asia were already well peopled. Even had they been empty and under a more temperate sky, the mailed vassals of Emmanuel would have been little disposed to settle and drive the plough there, as Englishmen have done in America and Australia. Nor were there rich mines, as in Spanish America, which only awaited the enforced toil of natives or African negroes to yield an inexhaustible supply of treasure. What offered was an existing trade, and it was the richest trade in the world. The Portuguese took the trade and were content. The nation which had taken three generations to toil round the coast of Africa was not a people of new ideas. They knew of but one commercial system to be followed as a model, but that was the greatest and the most successful in Europe, and it was in the zenith of its glory. Venice carried on much of its vast trade through its foreign possessions or colonies--through Cyprus, Crete, Eubœa, and the Morea, and the numerous settlements which fringed the Ægæan Sea. The colonial system of Venice was near upon five hundred years old, and it had been successful, though the hard government of the Republic is proved by the many revolts against it. Each of its colonies had its governor or vice-doge, who was not allowed to hold his office more than two years. He was assisted by a council of noble Venetians, and by some other officials; but the people of the place were allowed no share in the government. The same system was applied by the Portuguese to India, and a viceroy was appointed, for a term of three years, to exercise the authority of the crown over its new vassals, and to direct and extend the trade which was carried on in its name with Lisbon. The first viceroy, Almeida, a nobleman of Emmanuel's court, was sent out in 1505. He was an able administrator; but it is to the talents of his successor, Albuquerque, that the establishment of the Portuguese dominion is chiefly due. Under Almeida the Portuguese settled in Ceylon, but it was not until 1518 that they were strong enough there to obtain the monopoly

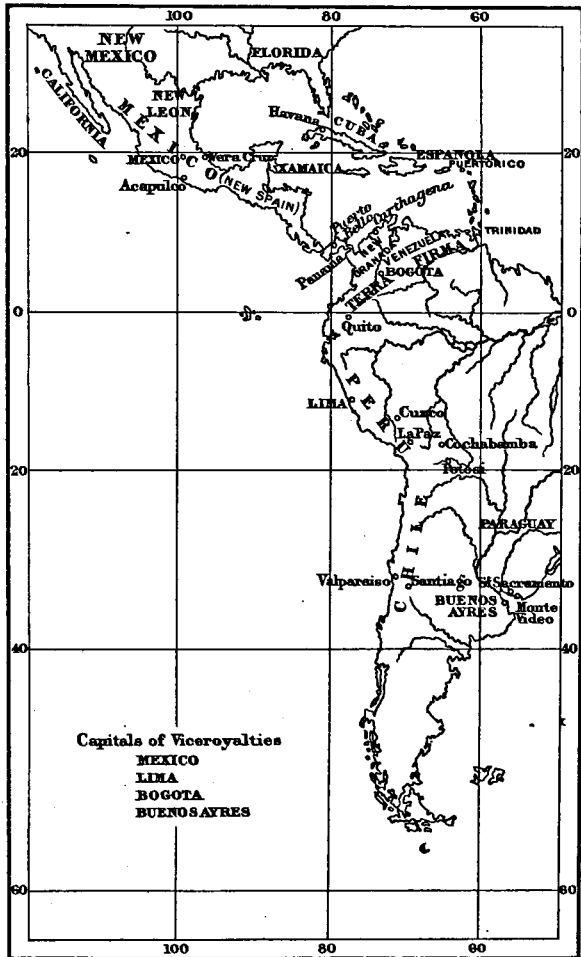
of its fine cinnamon, the finest spice which the earth produces.

6. *Albuquerque* (1509—1515).—The harbour of Calicut, the commercial capital of the Malabar coast, was scarcely accessible to the great vessels of the Portuguese; and the first thoughts of the new viceroy were given to the selection of a new port, to be a centre for the commerce of the Indies. A happy chance made him master of Goa, a strong military position, and one of the best harbours in the world. For nearly a century the commerce of the East with Europe went forth from this port to Lisbon. A great loss fell upon the Italian republics, and upon Egypt and Turkey. Alexandria, with Aleppo and Trêbizond in the East, Venice, with Augsburg and Nuremberg in the West, were almost forsaken. Lisbon received the treasures of the East, and dispensed them to Europe through the port of Antwerp, which became so thronged with goods and merchants, that it was necessary in 1516 to pull down its walls and enlarge it. It was not likely that either Venice or Egypt would tamely submit to this grand revolution in commerce. The Sultan of Egypt, who levied a custom of 5 per cent. upon all merchandize that entered his dominions, and of 10 per cent. more upon all that quitted them, soon felt a falling off in his revenues. He represented to Venice the necessity of disputing the Indian Sea with the new-comers. The Red Sea has no wood for ship-building, but the Venetians brought wood to Cairo, which was carried by camels to Suez, and Suez in 1508 had ready a small fleet to resist the new-comers. The wise Portuguese had foreseen this, and had already taken measures to secure the mastery of the Red Sea. But the Egyptian vessels made their way into the Indian Ocean, and, joined with those of the Moors of India, gave the Portuguese so much trouble, that Albuquerque thought of putting an end to the matter by destroying the port of Suez. His vessels, however, retreated, unable to encounter the difficult navigation of the Red Sea, and Albuquerque bethought him of another plan, which was nothing less than that the African vassals and allies of Portugal should turn the Nile into the Red Sea, so as to lay Egypt desert. The conquest of Egypt by the Turks under Selim I. in 1516 removed all danger for the present on the side of Egypt, and in the meantime Albuquerque greatly strengthened the Portuguese position by making himself master of

the Persian Gulf. Ormuz, a town occupied by a mixed race of Mohammedan traders, and tributary to Persia, was the mart for the trade of Persia and India. Albuquerque reduced it: and when the Shah of Persia sent to demand tribute of him, he sent him cannon-balls and grenades. Flushed with his successes, he now turned his attention to the Eastern Seas, and cast longing eyes on the great port of Malacca. Outrages committed upon his spies by the Malays, already forewarned of the coming danger through the Moors, afforded him a ready pretext. Malacca was taken by storm (1511), and the kings of Siam and Pegu at once submitted, and offered him their commerce. Nor did Albuquerque rest until he had established the Portuguese empire in the utmost limits of the Old World, and a power which half a century before had been scarcely heard of in Europe had become supreme on all the coasts of Africa and Asia. The most profitable of all the Eastern trades was that in the spices of the Moluccas, especially in nutmegs and mace, the taste for which had rapidly spread in the middle ages from India and Persia throughout Europe. Following everywhere the footsteps of the Arab traders, the Portuguese, under the viceroy's directions, established themselves at Ternat and Tidore. These unexampled successes earned him the jealousy of Emanuel, and he died at Goa, poor and in disgrace, 1515. Albuquerque was not merely a great conqueror. He was a just and humane governor; and long after his death the poor Hindoos offered prayers at his tomb against the injustice of his successors.

7. *Mexico and Peru.*—While the Portuguese, penetrated with the hope of gain and the old hatred of Mohammedanism, were everywhere thrusting the Arabs from the commerce of the East, the Spaniards were but beginning to discover the extent and character of their new possessions. As soon as the nature of their explorations was known, the Pope, assuming to exercise the same feudal authority which he claimed in Europe, limited his grant to Portugal to the meridian of 100 degrees west of the Azores, all west of this line being conceded to Spain (1493). But it was soon necessary to revise this boundary. As Cabral, a Portuguese, on the Indian voyage, was making his way round Africa, he stood out to sea more than usual to avoid the calms which were encountered on the coast, and he thus fell on the shore

SPANISH AMERICA



Capitals of Viceroyalties
MEXICO
LIMA
BOGOTA
BUENOS AYRES

of Brazil, of which he took possession (1500). Portugal claimed the new-found coast, for though a Spaniard named Pinzon had previously touched there, it clearly had no connection with the Spanish Indies. Thus America was as it were a second time discovered, and this time by an accident. A treaty was made, by which the possessions of Portugal were limited to the coast south of the Amazon river, and the Spaniards confined themselves to their old possessions, which they now began to explore more narrowly. Española was already taken, and between the years 1508 and 1510 they occupied the other Great Antilles, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. In the meantime the continent northward of the bay was gradually explored, and intelligence gained of the Mexicans, a nation which had made some advances in wealth and civilisation. The prosperity of Mexico was chiefly due to the cultivation of maize or Indian corn ; but the eyes of the Spaniards saw nothing in it but a display of gold and silver. They cared nothing for peaceful commerce : and they at once set about making a complete conquest. The population was collected in towns and villages, and easily overpowered by one or two desperate efforts. With the aid of the neighbouring nation of the Tlascalans, Ferdinand Cortez made himself master of Mexico, 1519-1521. Much has been written of the cruelty and perfidy with which this conquest was carried out ; but cruelty and perfidy were then very common in Europe, and the conquests of Cortez certainly relieved the Mexicans from an antiquated and oppressive government, and from a cruel and senseless religion. The conquest of Mexico was followed by many settlements on the coast, where there were convenient harbours, and in this way were founded the towns of Cumana, Porto Bello, Carthagena, Vera Cruz, and many others. In the meantime Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had made a great discovery. He sailed round Cuba, conquered it, and left it, finding it poor in gold and silver. He then followed the track of Columbus to Darien. He crossed the Isthmus and discovered the ocean beyond, which from its contrast with the stormy Atlantic was called the *Pacific*. Cruising about on its coasts, ever inquiring for gold and silver, the Spaniards learnt that far south there was a land where they might have as much of either as they pleased. This land was Peru, like Mexico, a state which had grown from utter barbarism into such a kind of half-civilisation as might be expected. The prosperity

of Peru, such as it was, seems to have been founded on some rude discoveries in engineering, particularly in the art of irrigation. A ruling caste, called the Incas, who taught the worship of the sun, held the people in subjection; and the Peruvians had a national religion and history, and the sense of these never forsook them during their long subjection to the Spaniards. Peru was never so completely reduced to subjection as Mexico. Balboa reached this distant land and took possession of it in the Spanish name; but the conquest of Peru was first undertaken by Francis Pizarro in 1525. In ten years it was accomplished, though in a manner far more disgraceful to humanity than that of Mexico. There is a bright side to the character of Cortez, but that of Pizarro is utterly detestable. He was, however, an able governor. He built the new capital of Lima instead of Cuzco, the ancient seat of the Incas: and here he was at last assassinated by his own creatures. These proceedings were scarcely heard of in Europe, and no attempts were for a long time made to control the rapacity of the conquerors. The colonial history of Spain does not properly begin until some years later, when the great Emperor Charles V. (1542) introduced what were called the New Laws. At this time the whole country was regarded in theory as a feudal possession of the king of Spain, and a council was established for its administration (1511). This council, which sat at Madrid, was called the Royal Council of the Indies; but no real control at home was established until the appointment of viceroys, as Portugal had already done in the East. Perhaps the most important element in the settlement of Spanish America was the early introduction of the Roman Catholic religion. Churches and convents were built in large numbers, and the rite of baptism was forced upon the natives, partly as a token of submission. And the Bulls which Ferdinand procured from two successive Popes gave him full power over the church in his new possessions. By that of 1501, the Pope relinquished all control over its revenues; and by that of 1508 all claims upon its patronage. No Bull was allowed to go to America unless it had been passed by the Council of the Indies; and the Church thus became a great instrument of government. The priests, moreover, made great efforts to shield the natives from cruelty and oppression: and it was chiefly owing to the humane Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, that stringent laws were made for their protec-

tion. No government has ever made so many laws for the protection of the natives in its colonies as the Spanish; but it lacked the power to execute them. Las Casas, moreover, introduced one cruel system in the hope of putting an end to another. He suggested the employment of African negroes in the mines instead of the native Americans; and though the Spanish never engaged in the African slave trade themselves, they now began to buy slaves of the Portuguese.

8. *Progress of Portugal in the East and West.*—Wherever a petty prince reigned on the African coast, the Portuguese landed to trade with him. One of the earliest of the Portuguese factories was placed at Sofala, which was believed to be the Ophir of the Bible, the port of the rich land of Mozambique: and this they have kept ever since. The coast of Zanzibar, with its ports, made famous by Milton,

“Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,”

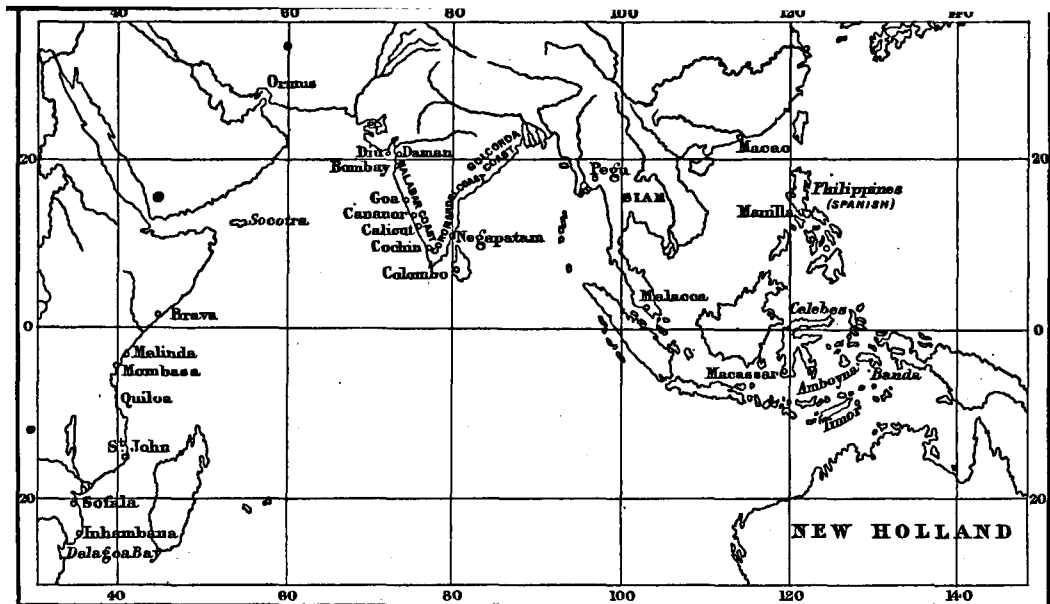
was at once secured by them; and their superior vessels enabled them to compete successfully with the Moors in every branch of the local trade. But they never even heard of the vast Victoria Nyanza which lay in the lofty mountains over their heads, or of the rich table lands lying in mild air around it: they did not even see the capacity of South Africa for receiving European colonists: they scarcely anywhere ventured to explore inland; and their energy was spent on the extension of their commerce further and further eastwards. Albuquerque was the greatest of the Portuguese viceroys. None of his successors equalled him in wisdom and in courage; but they executed his project of establishing commerce with China. Though the high-handed proceedings of the Portuguese at first caused distrust, and for several years they were excluded from the Chinese ports, they were at length readmitted, and the Emperor of China, finding them useful in putting down piracy on the Chinese seas, gave them the Island of Macao, which proved advantageous for the commerce which they afterwards carried on with Japan. In the meantime the wealthiest of all the trades, that of the Moluccas, was strengthened and extended. But this great commercial empire contained the seeds of its own decay. The Portuguese made the most of the coasting trade, which they carried on for their own advantage, to the neglect of the great trade with Europe;

they intermarried with the Asiatics, and gradually corrupted their race ; and their grasping policy kept alive the jealousy and distrust of the native princes. But while the heart of their domination was being weakened, it extended to all appearance more wonderfully than ever. The Viceroy John de Castro defeated the Mohammedan king of Cambay, who possessed himself for a time of Diu ; and his successes were celebrated by a grand triumph in the manner of the ancients. The Portuguese flocked to the East in such numbers that the little kingdom at home was half depopulated. The trade of China led naturally to the acquisition of that of Japan (1542). Thus the whole trade of the new-found coasts of the Old World was in their hands, and they were in possession of the largest and finest of the settlements in the New. For Brazil, on which the Portuguese ships had been cast by accident, had been found to unite in itself the capabilities of every part of the world in which Europeans have settled, though happily gold and silver had not yet been discovered, and the colonists betook themselves from the first to agriculture. The first permanent settlements on this coast were made by Jews, exiled by the persecution of the Inquisition ; and the government supplemented these by sending out criminals of all kinds. But gradually the consequence of Brazil became recognised, and as afterwards happened in New England, the nobility at home asked to share the land among themselves. Emmanuel would not countenance such a claim, but this great prince died in 1521, and his successor, John III., extended to Brazil the same system which had been adopted in Madeira and the Azores. The whole sea-coast of Brazil was parcelled out by feudal grants. It was divided into *captaincies*, each fifty leagues in length, with no limits in the interior ; and these were granted out as male fiefs, with absolute power over the natives, such as at that time existed over the serfs who tilled the soil in Europe. But the native Brazilians were neither so easy a conquest as the Peruvians, nor so easily induced to labour ; and the Portuguese now began to bring negroes from the Guinea coast. This traffic in human flesh had long been vigorously pursued in various parts of Europe ; the Portuguese now introduced it to America. The settlers of Brazil were, properly speaking, the first European colonists. For they sold their own possessions at home, and brought their households with them to the new

country. Thus they gradually formed the heart of a new nation, whereas the chief Spaniards always returned home after a certain tenure of their offices, and those who remained in the colony descended to the rank of the conquered natives. Many of those who came to Brazil had already served in the expeditions to the East; and they naturally perceived that the coast of America might raise the productions of India. Hence Brazil early became a plantation colony, and its prosperity is very much due to the culture of the sugar cane. The Portuguese were greatly assisted, both in the East and the West, by the efforts of the newly-founded order of the Jesuits. The Portuguese of the East had almost forgotten justice and mercy, and the arrival of the devoted Xavier in Goa (1542) produced a moral revolution. Enmities were quenched, and frauds repaired, after his wonderful street-preaching, and when he died in 1552, on the eve of preaching Christianity in China, he was said to have drawn a million of infidels into the fold of the Church. From his mission to Japan (1549) the Portuguese date the real establishment of the lucrative commerce of which they had obtained the monopoly; and, satisfied with the success of his missionaries, John III. in the same year sent out six of the Order with the first governor of Brazil. The Jesuits were of great use both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, in inducing the Indians to submit to their rule.

9. *Other Nations.*—The English were the first people who followed the Spaniards to the New World. John Cabot sailed from England in command of two of Henry VII.'s ships, in 1496, and discovered the islands of St. John and Newfoundland, and all the coast from Labrador to Virginia. The French followed in 1506: and a voyage to the New World was made, in 1523, by Verazzano, another Italian, in the service of the king of France. On the strength of these voyages the English and French claimed a share in the New World. The Spaniards, however, took care to occupy every part which was thought to produce gold, and nothing else was considered worth the expense and hazard of a settlement. The French afterwards made war with Spain, which was the beginning of the piratic warfare they long maintained in the American seas; and their own civil wars, which followed, fully occupied their attention. Nevertheless, Cartier in 1534 sailed up the St. Lawrence, and gave the

fertile plain which is now the province of Quebec the name of *New France*; and some Protestant emigrants, sent out by Coligny to the tolerant colony of Brazil, which did not as yet exclude strangers, gave that country the name of *Antarctic France*. The St. Lawrence district was soon afterwards permanently settled, chiefly because of the fisheries and rich fur trade carried on with the North American Indians, but partly because it was supposed that this great river would sooner or later form part of a highway to India; but Coligny's plans in Brazil were ruined by the treachery of his agents. English merchants, moreover, began early to venture into the Northern seas, and in 1536 Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island were settled, and the great cod fishery, which has ever since been a mine of wealth, was begun. About the same time English traders first ventured to the Guinea coast. But the growth of that mighty system of trade, which has since transformed the face of the world, was slow; and it met with little encouragement at home. Henry VIII. was full of his mock tournaments and his despotic policy, and though the English were waxing rich they lacked such a field for employing their riches as was found out by the Portuguese. Meanwhile, the Turks found the revenues of their new possession of Egypt almost destroyed by this diversion of the India trade. The Turks were at this time a first-rate naval power, for in 1521, to the great alarm of the whole western world, the fleet of Solyman the Magnificent had proved a match for the united fleets of the Venetian Republic, the Emperor, and the Pope. The profits of the king of Portugal from the spice trade alone were estimated in 1529 at the sum of 200,000 ducats; and it is not wonderful that Solyman resolved to strike one more blow for the riches and empire of the world. He despatched an armada of eighty ships in 1537 from Suez to attack Diu. One of the guns cast by Solyman for this expedition lies in the Tower Yard in London. It is still one of the longest and heaviest pieces in the place: so that we can form some idea of his artillery and of the ships which carried it. But the Portuguese totally defeated him: and the Turks have never renewed the attempt. Upon the possession of India, it has been thought that they might possibly at this time have founded universal empire, and played the part of the Romans in Europe after the conquest of Carthage. However this may be, such an event would



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certainly have retarded the advance of Europe by many years ; and had there not been a Vasco to show Europe the way to India, and an Albuquerque to establish her power on a firm foundation, the opportunity would perhaps have been lost for ever.

10. *Mines of Spanish America.*—The conquest of the sea-coast of Terra Firma, as Columbus had called the north of the South American continent, was effected together with that of Peru ; Chile was occupied in 1541 ; and in 1550 a permanent settlement was made there by the foundation of the town of Concepcion. The Plate river was discovered, but not yet successfully settled ; and by far the most important parts of the Spanish possessions were the two conquered nations. The settlements in Terra Firma, Chile, and the district of the Plate River, were maintained at a great expense, rather to keep other nations out than because they were of any value in themselves. They were inhabited by unsettled tribes of Indians ; and the humane laws of Charles V. protected them, as far as laws could avail, from the cruelty which had been exercised in the earlier conquests. He declared the Indians to be free men ; fixed the services and tributes which they were to yield ; and allowed them to live in their own villages, and to choose their own caciques, as in the old times. Mexico and Peru were of more value ; and their importance was doubled by the discovery of the rich mines of Zacotecas, and especially of Potosi. An Indian, who was pursuing a wild goat up the side of a mountain, seized a shrub to save himself from a fall ; the shrub gave way under this hand, and he observed that a mass of silver adhered to its roots. On this barren site speedily sprang up the largest town in all America. The mines of Veragua and New Granada were found to yield a small supply of gold. Shortly afterwards, a mine of native quicksilver was discovered ; and as this metal was then necessary for the refinement of gold and silver ore, the production of the precious metals was greatly stimulated. The discovery of them was left to private enterprise, a certain proportion, at first one-fifth, but gradually reduced to one-twentieth, being reserved to the crown. Wherever the precious metals are found, there comes, even at this day, when mining has been proved to be the most ruinous of all speculations, a rush of all nations ; and the rush in those days would have been far greater, had not the Government commenced a severe system of

commercial restriction. The Government had been already remodelled by the New Laws of Charles V.; Spanish America was divided into two provinces, and committed to two viceroys, one having his seat at Mexico, and one at Lima. Each was attended by an independent bench of magistrates, called an *Audiencia*, from which there was an appeal to the Council of the Indies at Madrid; this device was copied from the colonial system of Venice. The number of the audiencias was afterwards increased to ten, and that of the viceroys to four.

11. **The Philippines.**—An ambitious nation, possessed of the only existing ports on the Pacific shore, was not likely to stop short until it had got a footing in the real Indies; and as early as 1519 the Spaniards had taken into their service the able and intrepid Portuguese Magelhaens, who discovered the straits at the south of the new continent, called after his name, and on his way to India discovered the Philippine Islands, where he perished in 1521. And here the claims of Spain and Portugal, under the Pope's Bull of 1493, came into conflict, for their boundary was fixed only on one side of the globe. At length Spain was confirmed in the possession of the Philippines, and the Portuguese paid 350,000 ducats in respect of any claims which Spain might have upon the Moluccas. In the Philippines Spain possessed a post which seriously injured the trade of Portugal with Eastern Asia, and under a different policy might have quite superseded it. But the statesmen of Spain, bent on consolidating their conquests, pursued the system of commercial restriction and confined the trade of the Philippines to Mexico. The port of Acapulco was founded, and in 1565 the route to the Philippines, by way of the Ladrões, was explored; Manila was built, and a regular trade established. The great galleon took five months to make the voyage between the Philippines and America. It arrived at Acapulco in December, bearing drugs, spices, China and Japan wares, cotton and silk stuffs, gold dust and precious stones from India. At the same time the great yearly treasure ship came in from Peru, accompanied by several others from Peru and Chili: and the great fair of Acapulco lasted for thirty days. But though the vast ships which plied to and fro were freighted with the most precious products of the two worlds, hardly any benefit was derived to either under a system so

absurd. The Chinese, who were chiefly interested in the trade, secured most of the profit; and while the Portuguese, and still more, in after years, the Dutch, drew untold profits from the spices of the Moluccas, the Philipppines would probably have been abandoned, had it not been for the fact that the Church had taken a firm hold there.

12. Trade of New Spain with Europe.—Far greater than that of New Spain and the East Indies was the trade of New Spain and Europe, the whole of which passed through Vera Cruz, the seaport of Mexico. Hither came regularly the annual fleet from Cadiz, consisting of several large vessels, with three or four men-of-war as a convoy, loaded with all the exports of Europe. It may be said that every nation in Europe, except the mother-country, was largely interested in the Mexican trade. For the manufactures of Spain, once so great and flourishing, had come to an end with her influx of riches; and all that she contributed to this vast trade was a little wine and fruit. As to everything else, she was merely the factor of other nations; so that the only advantage that came to Spain from her colonial possessions was the profit of a few merchants and the customs duties. They did not, as in England and France, nourish agriculture and home manufactures, spread wealth and plenty through all ranks of society, and offer a field for capital and labour. Mexico and Peru remained distinct nations; the Indians, and all who were born in America, were treated as foreigners; so that the Spanish colonies remained in a state of subjection to the mother-country which wanted but little to turn it into one of hostility. The Spanish Government was jealous and cruel; those who administered it always returned to Spain, and their chief object was to make money for themselves during the term of their office. The kings of Spain were resolved that the treasure of Mexico should find its way to them and to them alone. But if the exports of a country are to be limited in their direction, the same limitation must be extended to the imports. As no American silver was to go to any other country than Old Spain, it followed that New Spain must supply all its foreign wants from Old Spain; and the consequence of course was a great increase in the price paid for the commodities of Europe. The free traders of other nations could supply New Spain much more cheaply; and there naturally grew up a great smuggling trade with

the English, Dutch, and French. Cloth, for instance, purchased in Flanders could not be sold in Mexico under three times its original price. The Spaniards approved of this, because it brought more silver into Spain; but the real advantage was reaped by the Dutch, who soon carried on a large smuggling trade. This limitation of trade to the vessels of the mother country seemed so profitable that it was speedily copied by the Portuguese, and in after times, in a modified form, by the English. But both of these nations began by leaving the trade of their colonies quite free. The trade of Peru with the Old World was carried on by way of Panama and Portobello, as well as by way of Acapulco. Peru supplied scarcely anything but the precious metals; and these did not greatly contribute to its permanent prosperity. New mines were frequently opened, and the population generally shifted about with the mines. At first the southern part of Peru produced abundance of wine and oil: but the Spaniards, believing that this injured their own trade, rooted up both vines and olives.

13. **General Remarks.**—We have thus traced in their order three distinct sets of events, which about complete the first century of colonial history; 1, the acquisition of the India trade by the Portuguese, and the settlement of the same people in Brazil; 2, the Spanish conquest of America; 3, the attempts of other nations to establish themselves where the Spaniards were not strong enough to keep them out. We have seen the trade of Europe with the East diverted from its ancient channels, and the foreshadowing of the greatest event in the whole course of history, the transfer of the centre of commerce and power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic shores of Europe. The wave of coming change already touches the shores of England and France, destined at no distant day to a great struggle for the commerce of the world; a vast current of specie has been brought from the New World and rapidly diffused into the remote shores of Asia, stimulating the trade of all countries but the one which imported it; at least one new nation has been founded, of unlimited capacity for extension; colonization and colonial policy have taken a distinct form, though the wants and resources of the new countries are as yet scarcely known; and the social and political forms of the old country have been transplanted to the new with scarcely any modification. The next step in progress is due to a people

too obscure to have been hitherto mentioned. In the following chapter we shall see feudalism everywhere yielding to the inroads of a commercial nation, and the way prepared for changes greater still.

CHAPTER III.

THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.

Portugal, Spain, and Holland (1)—*the Dutch in the East* (2)—*Rivalry of the English* (3)—*the Dutch in Brazil* (4)—*India and the Cape* (5)—*Growth of the English East India trade* (6)—*America* (7)—*General Remarks* (8).

I. **Portugal, Spain, and Holland.**—The commerce of Portugal was almost entirely ruined, and the great colony of Brazil almost lost, by the results of one of those trifling incidents which sometimes change the whole course of human affairs. Sebastian, the son of John III., fell in an expedition against the Moors (1578); and Philip II. of Spain declared the succession at an end, and re-entered on Portugal as a fief of Spain (1580). For sixty years Portugal, with its colonies and possessions, remained a dependency of Spain; and as the aggressive and intolerant policy of Philip had made him an enemy throughout Western Europe, the Portuguese dominions were suddenly exposed to plunder and ruin. Philip preyed upon Portugal, and his enemies fell upon her ships and colonies. Philip engaged in a war against the liberty and religion of the Netherland provinces, which, from enjoying a high degree of wealth and liberty under the House of Burgundy, had unhappily fallen under his tyranny. Seven of these provinces succeeded, after a long and bloody struggle, in throwing off the yoke. The United Netherlands, as they were called, gave promise of becoming the most flourishing community in Europe: but Philip, following the maxims of the time, forbade all commerce with the revolted states. Now the Dutch, as the United Netherlanders, by the appropriation of a name of much wider meaning, came to be called, had for nearly a century enjoyed a great share of the most

profitable trade in Europe. They carried the produce of the East from Lisbon to their own country, which labour and skill, working upon the disadvantages of nature, had converted into one vast port; and hence they distributed it over all Europe. The merchants of Antwerp, ruined in Philip's wars, migrated to Holland; and the Dutch found themselves enriched by all their misfortunes. It was easy to foresee the consequences of Philip's revenge. Unable to maintain their commerce without the produce of the East, the Dutch were forced into the East to seek it for themselves. The weakness of Spain on the sea had been proved by the fate of the Invincible Armada; and the Dutch surmised that the Portuguese, cut off from Europe, would make a feeble resistance. In September, 1595, news arrived at Goa that four Dutch ships bound for the Sunda Islands had touched at an Indian port. The history of this expedition is curious. Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch captain in the Portuguese service, had been taken prisoner by the Moors. The Portuguese Government refused to ransom him: and he thereupon applied to some merchants of Amsterdam, saying that if they would pay his ransom he would show them the way to the East. These four ships were freighted with the goods of Houtman's friends: and the venture was so successful that it was repeated. There was soon a permanent Dutch settlement on the rich island of Java. Shortly afterwards another was made on that of Sumatra: and the Dutch quickly made the best part of the Eastern trade their own. The arrogance and greed of the Portuguese had made them enemies everywhere; their colonial government was full of corruption in itself, and weakened by its isolation, as well as by its threefold division; and the discipline of their soldiers was gone. The Dutch, on the other hand, were a young nation, flushed with success at home, and eager for solid acquisitions abroad. They had acquired great comparative wealth from small beginnings. The same system of association which still subsists in their home fisheries had been the foundation of their enterprise. Companies for mercantile adventure were common in other lands; but the Dutch exceeded all other people in the success with which they managed them, and many such were already formed for absorbing the traffic of the East at its source. The States-General, in 1602, consolidated these companies, and the famous East India Company was

formed. It was the turning-point in the commerce of Europe, for it was the first great joint-stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand. It prospered exceedingly, for it soon paid a dividend of sixty per cent.; in after times it aided the state at important conjunctures, and supported the failing manufactures of Haarlem and Leyden. Throughout the East the Dutch, spurred by the necessity of supplying their trade, and by the hope of confirming their political independence, sought to drive the Portuguese from their positions; and the Asiatics were not slow to help them. Philip, as had been surmised, cared nothing for the trade of the Portuguese; and he enlisted them at home to serve in his own wars in Italy and Flanders. And the implacable hostility of Philip stimulated the progress of Dutch navigation, and drove the Dutch more and more into the Eastern trade. He seized the Dutch ships, and flung their crews into the dungeons of the Inquisition. Hence their ships became daily faster and better manned, and their adventure took a wider scope.

2. *The Dutch in the East.*—The Dutch soon established a connection, though subject to great restrictions, both with China and Japan, but their main object was to engross the trade of the Moluccas. These they completely conquered in 1607. The inhabitants allied themselves with the new-comers against the Spaniards and Portuguese, and the Dutch established themselves wherever they pleased. One by one the forts of the Portuguese fell into their hands, and they took measures to get the largest possible profit out of their new possession. And now we see for the first time the policy of a mercantile company having a monopoly. Unable to occupy all the soil of the islands, they fixed themselves where the best soil for spices was thought to be found, and destroyed the spice-trees elsewhere as far as they could, so as to keep their rivals from Europe out of the field. When they had taken a certain quantity of spices, they burnt the rest, in order; as they supposed, to keep up the price. They cultivated the clove in the Island of Amboyna, and the nutmeg in the Banda Islands; and through the old Portuguese settlements of Timor and Celebes they opened a trade with the Chinese. The growth, however, of the Dutch colonies in the East was slow, because they did not at once strike a blow wherever they found trade going on, as the Portuguese did, but looked narrowly for actual

commercial returns. It was not finally secured until the peace of 1609, in which Spain acknowledged their independence. A commercial centre was now wanting, such as the Portuguese had in Goa, and in 1618 they seized the capital of the rich island of Java, upon the ruins of which they founded the town of Batavia as the future capital of the Dutch Indies. The site of Batavia resembled Holland, and the city may still be called an Oriental Amsterdam. Batavia became the seat of the government, which was administered by a governor-general, holding office for five years, and assisted by a Council of the Indies, nominated by the company at home. The success of the Dutch Company was due in a great measure to its democratic constitution. Its profits were shared by the merchants of all the principal Dutch towns, who took care to secure for its produce a sale at the best prices. Much of its success must also be ascribed to its abstinence from all conquests which were not commercially profitable, to its tolerance of Asiatic customs, and freedom from the religious fury which marked the Portuguese. Its decline in after times is due to the competition of the French and English, who brought to the task more enterprise and sagacity, and were less governed by merely mercantile principles.

3. *Rivalry of the English.*—The English were not slow to follow in the steps of the Dutch. The defeat of the Armada showed them their power at sea, and they made great prizes out of the vessels in the Eastern trade. In 1592 the Portuguese Indiaman, *Mother of God*, of 1,600 tons burden, and a cargo worth £150,000, was towed into Dartmouth. She was the largest vessel ever seen in England. The papers of these prizes were carefully scrutinized: and the English now competed with the Dutch in beginning an Eastern trade of their own. They had always been considerable traders, though England formerly produced but little to trade in, save raw materials. The produce of England, however, steadily increased after the Wars of the Roses; the woollen manufacture sprang into being; and the English learned from the Italian merchants, who had long been settled in London, to improve their vessels and to carry their own commodities to the ports of Europe. In the olden times England had been supplied with Indian produce by an annual ship from Venice. They traded to Turkey for it as early as

the time of Henry VIII : and Frobisher tried to discover a north-west passage to India. Sir Francis Drake was the first Englishman to sail to the Indian Archipelago (1577-1580): and the success of his voyage turned the attention of the English strongly to the East. The Western continent, however, was not neglected. Possession was taken, in the name of the whole, of part of the coast of North America ; companies were formed on the Dutch model, for planting them with English settlers : and, encouraged by the weakness of Spain on the ocean, Sir Walter Raleigh made an attempt to seize on what he believed to be the rich empire of Guiana. He left there a small settlement, which attracted some future adventurers, but never rose to any importance. The Russian Company had long carried on a trade with Persia, and the Turkish Company had ventured to send their cloths by way of Bagdad to Ormuz and Goa. Even before the rout of the Invincible Armada confirmed to England the freedom of the sea, Englishmen had visited the courts of Cambay and China in the name of Queen Elizabeth. When Spain was shown to be too weak to drive them off, the merchants of London were not slow to compete with those of Amsterdam for the commerce which was slipping from the grasp of the Portuguese ; and on the last day of the sixteenth century the first East India Company received its charter. The English adventurers were well received in the Indian Archipelago by all except their European rivals. The Portuguese or Dutch were in possession of the most advantageous positions, and the English were prepared and disposed for nothing but a peaceful interposition. But the growing renown and riches of England, and the perseverance of the English Company, excited the apprehensions of the Dutch. Open violence succeeded to rivalry, but in 1619 a temporary treaty was concluded, by which it was hoped that the avarice of the Dutch and the aspirations of the English might be equally satisfied. The Molucca and Banda Islands were to belong equally to the two companies, and the produce was to be divided between them in the proportion of one third for the English, and two thirds for the Dutch. A handful of English, therefore, settled in Amboyna ; but the presence of these rivals became insupportable to the Dutch planters. They suborned some Japanese who were in their service to accuse the English of a conspiracy to seize the fort. Several of these unfortunate adventurers were imprisoned

and killed, and the rest were driven from the island (1623). The English gave up the spice trade, though they kept up their intercourse with the Asiatic continent; and the *massacre of Amboyna*, as it was called, long served to keep up a strong animosity between the two nations.

4. **The Dutch in Brazil.**—The rich and rising colony of Brazil had already attracted the cupidity of the French, and the sugar plantations had flourished greatly since the importation of negro labour from the Portuguese settlements in Africa. The Dutch, made bold by their great successes in the East, now sought to win the trade of Brazil by force of arms, and the success of the East India Company encouraged the adventurers who subscribed the funds for that of the West Indies, incorporated in 1621. The Dutch admiral Jacob Willekens successfully assaulted San Salvador in 1624, and though the capital was afterwards retaken by the intrepid Archbishop Texeira, one half of the coast of Brazil submitted to the Dutch. Here, as in the East, the profit of the company was the whole aim of the Dutch, and the spirit in which they executed their design was a main cause of its failure. The company, for instance, kept the trade in provisions in its own hands; and, in consequence, no native of Pernambuco was allowed to kill a sheep either for sale or for his own consumption; he was obliged to sell it to the Dutch butchers, and buy the meat of them at a price fixed by the company. This was not the way to win the Brazilians, but it increased the profits of the company, which rose at one time to cent. per cent. The visions of the speculators of Amsterdam became greater; and they resolved to become masters of all Brazil. This accomplished, Peru and Mexico might perhaps in time have submitted to them, and the Dutch republic would have given laws to the New World. The man whom they despatched to execute this design was Prince John Maurice of Nassau. He belonged to a family which has been famous for its statesmen: and it is likely that he might really have accomplished this design, ambitious as it was, for in a short time he had greatly extended the Dutch possessions. But, the *stad-houder* was subject, not to the wise and learned men who sat in the States-General, but to the merchants who composed the courts of the company. They thought of nothing but their dividends; they considered that Maurice kept up more troops and built more fortresses than were necessary for a mercantile community, and that

he lived in too princely a fashion for one in their service. Perhaps they suspected him of an intention of slipping into that royal dignity which the feudal frame of Brazilian society seemed to offer him. At any rate, in 1643, they forced him to resign. A recent revolution had terminated the subjection of Portugal to Spain, and the new king of Portugal concluded a truce for ten years with Holland. War was therefore supposed to be out of the question, and the company had some pretext for withdrawing the expenses of Maurice's government. The troops were reduced, there was no *stad-houder's* court, no new fortifications; the trade of the colony flourished as well, and the profits of the company were greater than ever. But the recall of Maurice was the signal for an independent revolt in Brazil. Though the mother countries were at peace, war broke out between the Dutch and the Portuguese of Brazil, in 1645. The Jesuits had long preached a crusade against the heretic Dutch. The House of Braganza was once more on the throne at Lisbon, and, in spite of the truce with Holland, the Brazilians were determined to regain their independence, like the mother-country. Since the conclusion of the truce, the Dutch had possessed themselves of several Portuguese settlements in Africa and Asia, which they refused to surrender, and the King of Portugal was not disposed to check the impulse to independence in Brazil. John Ferdinand de Vieyra, a wealthy merchant of Pernambuco, led a general uprising of the Brazilians, and although the Dutch made a stubborn resistance, they received no assistance from home; they were driven from one post after another, until in 1654, the last of the company's servants quitted Brazil. The Dutch declared war against Portugal; but in 1661 peace was made, and the Dutch sold their claims for 8,000,000 florins, the right of trading being secured to them. But after the expulsion of the Dutch, the trade of Brazil came more and more into the hands of the English. It was carried on in the same way as the trade of Old and New Spain, by armed fleets despatched to each of the principal ports, Pernambuco, San Salvador, and Rio Janeiro, and the produce of Brazil was shipped back to Lisbon; but the woollen goods, metals, and provisions of England formed the bulk of the exports, and the Lisbon merchants chiefly traded upon credit from the English merchants whose goods they exported. Hence Portugal

was rightly looked upon in Europe as only a factor or agent of England.

5. *The Dutch in India and at the Cape.*—The steady progress of the Dutch in the East answers exactly to the advance of Holland among the countries of Europe; and this is perhaps the most important political fact of the century. Resting always on the solid basis of the spice trade, the East India Company planted its settlements on all the shores between Europe and Batavia. They drove the Portuguese from their factory at Malacca in 1640; they allied themselves with the native princes of Ceylon, and drove the Portuguese from Colombo in 1658; and they vastly extended their hold on India. Since 1615 they had acquired settlements at Paliokata and other places on the Coromandel coast, but Negapatam became their chief mart from 1658. On the Malabar coast, the ancient marts of Calicut, Cochin, and Cananor were taken from the Portuguese in succession. By this it was hoped that the whole of the pepper trade would fall into their hands; but it was not easy to exclude the rest of Europe from the commerce of a coast now so easily reached. Accustomed to the enormous profits of their spice monopoly, the Dutch cared but little for their Malabar settlements. They could not, however, afford to abandon the trade of India to the English and French, who were rapidly taking it up, and their factories were spread all over the coasts as far as Bengal. But the most important in the end among all the Dutch settlements was made upon a spot which during a century and a half had invited the attention of Europe in vain. Their commerce with the East now greatly exceeded that which had been carried on by the Portuguese; it was threatened by other European rivals; and it was pointed out in 1650, by Van Riebeck, a ship's surgeon, that the foundation of an agricultural colony at the Cape of Good Hope, where the Portuguese and Dutch vessels had often halted, would be at once a strategical support to the commerce of India, and a convenient halting-place for the Dutch ships. He was entrusted with the formation of a colony. The company allowed about one square league of land to each emigrant, keeping the freehold for themselves; they furnished them with farming stock, and their cattle quickly multiplied. The Cape Colony soon produced provisions, corn, and wine in abundance: natives of other countries were encouraged to settle, as had long been the case in the

mother-country ; but all remained subject to the exclusive system to which they owed their beginnings. No communication was allowed with the ships of any other country, nor were the colonists permitted to sail for themselves to the bordering shores in search of the fuel which the rocks of the Cape scarcely supplied. They obtained labour by kidnapping the natives, and by bringing negroes from Guinea, and Malays from Java. The Colony formed part of the administration of the Indies at Batavia, which was divided into six governments, Java, Amboyna, Ternat, Ceylon, Macassar, and the Cape.

6. *Growth of the English East India Trade.*—The London East India Company continued to prosper and to extend its operations. Its annual ventures brought returns of from one to two hundred per cent. It loaded its large vessels chiefly with bullion, which was collected in foreign parts, for the export of English coin was forbidden : and the rest of the cargo consisted of English raw and manufactured produce. Many foolish objections were seriously raised against it, namely, that by exporting the treasure which would otherwise have poured into the kingdom, it impoverished the state, that it caused the destruction of timber by the building of great ships, and that it engrossed the skilled mariners of the realm. About the year when the company obtained their great factory of Madras (1640) their concerns were so large that their dockyard at Deptford was unequal to them : they therefore bought some ground in a marsh called Blackwall, on the other side of the river, and made a new dockyard there. The company built their own ships, and made their own masts, yards, sails, and cordage : they did everything necessary for victualling and appointing them, down to making their own casks, and baking their own bread, and grinding their own gunpowder : so that they enjoyed profits which have since been divided among several trades. They now, however, had so much business that besides the great ships of 1,000 tons and upwards which they built, they were obliged to hire others upon freight. They grew so rich that William III., following the Dutch method, laid a duty of 5 per cent. upon their stock. In 1698 a second company, called the "English" Company, was chartered : but this produced so great a commotion that the two were consolidated in 1702 by the name of the United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies. The English Company brought into the concern

five times the amount of the original stock of the London Company. The London Company had already begun to feel the effect of the more liberal constitution of the Dutch Company: and some such enlargement of its basis was necessary to enable it to go on competing with the latter.

7. North America.—The rivalry of the Dutch and English was not yet confined to the East. We have seen how John Cabot discovered Newfoundland within a few years of the discovery of the new continent, and how the great fishery of Newfoundland was established. The English made continual voyages to these coasts, and gave out at home that there was gold to be had for the seeking; but the few attempts which were made proved failures. The Dutch, on the other hand, confined themselves chiefly to the East. It was thought that an English colony in North America might serve as a naval outpost against Spain, as a stimulus to the trade of England, and in the end as a source of the much-coveted gold; and this was finally effected in 1607, by means of two joint-stock companies formed on the Dutch model. Through the London and Plymouth Companies there began a great influx of colonists to avoid the religious persecutions of Charles I. The history of this great series of colonies is given in the *History of America* in this series. England did not remain peaceably in possession of all the northern part of the continent. The French took possession of the St. Lawrence in 1603, and founded the town of Quebec, and in 1602 Hudson, the English navigator, when in the service of the Dutch, had explored the banks of the river which now bears his name. The country really formed part of the great English territory which was called Virginia; but James I., who cared nothing for colonies, made only a show of opposition to the claims of the Netherlands, and it was instantly granted out by the Dutch Government to the West India Company. The company built the fort of Orange, about 150 miles up the river, as a market for the fur trade, and the traffic with the Indians on the river was the richest in all North America. But the New Netherlands, as it was called, was destined to be something more than an emporium for the trade of the Five Nations; and the corporation of Amsterdam bought up the rights of the company, and settled the town of New Amsterdam on the Manhattan Island, at the mouth of the river, the

best harbour on the whole coast. The Dutch settlement became so flourishing that Charles II. resolved to conquer it, which he did in 1664. The country was granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, afterwards James II., and the names of York and Albany were substituted for those of New Amsterdam and New Orange. In the subsequent war (1672-1674) between England and Holland the Dutch retook New York; but it was restored to England by the peace of Nymwegen, and the Dutch had to content themselves with a part of British Guiana, which was ceded to them in exchange. In the meantime the English colonies, to which New York was necessary as a commercial centre, had grown up one by one, until the whole coast from the Floridas northwards was occupied by settlers, as the Brazil coast had been occupied by the Portuguese a century before.

8. *General Remarks.*—We see from all this that a new element of great importance to Europe was steadily growing up in the colonies. It was from the colonies that Holland and England drew the wealth and the influence that enabled them over and over to defeat the designs of Spain and France. These states first made colonial commerce, like that which they carried on at home, profitable, by making it comparatively free, and by admitting the principle of peaceful competition; and they found out how to nourish it with plenty of capital by the system of companies. The French, or rather the people of Normandy and Brittany, followed their example; and the system of Spain and Portugal, though its main lines were allowed to stand untouched, soon showed a disadvantageous contrast with that of the free commercial nations. During the period we have described, the Dutch became the first nation in Europe. In the space of half a century, from having no ocean-going ships at all, they came to have more than all the rest of Europe put together. In 1672 they were strong enough to defy the united force of England and France. They surpassed all the rest in art, learning, and manufactures; and both there and in England the whole national life was animated by the impulse of commercial enterprise. It was a movement which proceeded from the merchants of the large towns, and to which the Government of neither country contributed in the first instance anything more than bare countenance. It led, however, in both cases, to the predominance of commercial principles in the national policy,

and through this to a substantial national greatness unknown to the feudal monarchies of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch led the way, as they did in the changes in government at home. Their best statesmen, such as the great John de Witt, steadily advocated colonial enterprise. The Dutch seldom failed in their undertakings; but the English everywhere followed and outstripped them. The Dutch first made the general interest of the community the ground of their policy, and the community permanently profited by the results. The Dutch did not, like the English in after times, form agricultural colonies by sending out large numbers of poor or persecuted colonists from home, because in Holland there was neither poverty nor persecution; their religious toleration combined with economical principles to prevent them from setting up exclusive religious establishments, such as consumed much of the wealth of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, and in this respect their example was in general wisely followed by the English. Capital was expected to furnish a due return; and as the policy of the companies who shared the trade of the East did not admit of its unlimited application, a new form of its employment was found out. Neither mining, agricultural, nor trading settlements, such as we have hitherto had in question, were to form the main body of what Europe for many years regarded as its most valuable possessions. It was found that many of the productions of the East, and some which the East did not afford, could be cultivated to advantage nearer home; and for nearly two centuries much of the enterprise of Europe streamed to the West Indies, utterly neglected or mismanaged by Spain, where each nation seized upon possessions of its own, and laid them out to the best advantage. We shall trace, then, in the next chapter the history of the *Plantations*.

WEST INDIES



English Miles

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CHAPTER IV.

THE PLANTATIONS.

The West India Islands (1)—*the Buccaneers* (2)—*Cultivation of Sugar* (3)—*French Plantations* (4)—*Dutch Plantations, &c.* (5)—*the Negroes* (6)—*Division between France and England* (7)—*Effects of growth of Plantations* (8)—*Progress reviewed* (9).

1. **The West India Islands.**—Together with the mainland of America the Spaniards claimed all the West India islands. These, indeed, had been the first discovery of their navigators, and upon them they had made their earliest settlements. But the gold and silver which they afforded was now exhausted, and the Spaniards cared for little else. They did, indeed, draw from them a supply of hides, tallow, and provisions, and in the course of time they raised from them small quantities of cocoa and indigo; but the Spanish planters had neither the genius to see the wonderful capacities of the soil, nor the industry and the enterprise necessary to bring them into effect. In their hands, these beautiful and fertile islands, which afterwards became the very garden of the world, were utterly neglected, and it was not wonderful that other nations should seek to dispossess them, as soon as the proved weakness of Spain at sea showed that this could be attempted with safety. The way for this was paved by the situation of the islands on the highway to Mexico and Peru. To their countless coves and thick covers smugglers and pirates of all nations resorted to lie in wait for the Spanish galleons, and to carry on a contraband trade; and the English, Dutch, and French soon became better acquainted with their geography than the Spaniards themselves. From the map we see that they lie in distinct groups. There are the four *Great Antilles*, Cuba, St. Domingo, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico; the *Leeward Islands*, a continuation of the Greater Antilles, including the Virgin Islands, St. Christopher and Nevis, and all the islands as far as Martinique: the *Windward Islands*, so called from their facing the East, from Santa Lucia southwards, and all

now belonging to England; and the *Little Antilles*, formerly called the Leeward Islands, belonging to Holland, and lying off the coast of Venezuela. The *Bahamas*, north of Cuba, have but little to do with the West Indies. Of these islands only the Greater Antilles were thought by the Spaniards worth occupying; but they were resolved to keep the adventurers of other nations from settling in the others. This was impossible: the English and Dutch were better seamen, and as fast as the Spanish captains dislodged them from one place, they fixed themselves in another; and many small colonies were formed before any encroachment on the rights of Spain was sanctioned by any European power. Most of the small islands were inhabited by a fierce race of cannibals, who were the terror of the gentler Indians of the Greater Antilles. If the Spaniards had thought the natives worth conquering, it would have been a hard task; and the smugglers and pirates themselves generally sought out a deserted island for their retreat. In this way the island of Barbadoes, which lay in the way of ships bound for Guiana and Brazil, was occupied by English shortly after the death of Elizabeth. It was a desolate and unpeopled spot. The English discerned the advantages of the soil and climate; and its defensibility (being fortified by nature on two out of its three sides) and its remoteness from the route of the Spanish *guarda-costas* encouraged their first attempts at planting it with cotton, tobacco, and indigo. Sugar, the great staple of the plantations, was not as yet introduced; but the industry of the planters prepared the way for its success. An accidental circumstance gave rise to a double occupation of St. Christopher, one of the Leeward Islands. In 1625 D'Esnambuc, a French privateer of Dieppe, had been worsted in an encounter with a Spanish galleon, and putting into the island to refit, found there a considerable number of his countrymen. He was so struck with its capabilities, that on his return he obtained from Cardinal Richelieu a charter incorporating a French West India Company. Returning to the islands, he made other settlements on Martinique and Guadaloupe, in the Windward Islands. (About the same time Thomas Warner, an Englishman, formed a settlement in similar circumstances on the south side of St. Christopher. The Spaniards drove out the settlers of both nations in 1630; but they soon returned, though many of the French settlers migrated to the more promising

colonies of the Windward Islands. Thus were formed the first English and French settlements in the West Indies, which afterwards contributed so much to the wealth of the mother countries, and to the formation of their general colonial policy. All the Greater Antilles were still in the possession of Spain.

2. **The Buccaneers.**—This was the name usually given during the seventeenth century to the French, English, and Dutch adventurers who flocked to the West Indies to prey upon the Spanish fleets and colonies. The Dutch were chiefly smugglers: the English and French chiefly pirates. Many of them began as planters: but they found piracy a more congenial and gainful pursuit. Thousands of adventurous men, with swift and well-found ships, swept the seas in search of plunder, landing now and then to burn a Spanish town, or to hunt wild cattle, whose flesh they smoked over their *boucanes* or wood-fires; hence they were called *buccaneers*. Their swift ships were called in Dutch *vliebooten*, or flying-boats: and hence the name of *freebooters* or *filibusters*. The recorded exploits of these marauders fill large volumes. They greatly increased in strength and numbers as the permanent settlements of the English and French increased in the latter half of the century; and it is calculated that if they had acted upon a uniform plan, with a better discipline, and under a leader of genius, they might without difficulty have conquered all the Americas. They harassed all the shores of New Spain: they passed the Straits of Magellan, and spread the terror of their name as far as California. Van Horn, at the head of 1500 Dutch and French, took Vera Cruz in 1683 under the guns of the Spanish fleet: Morgan, a Welshman, who was afterwards Governor of Jamaica, took Porto Bello and Panama; and the names of Grammont, Lolonois, and Dampier were long words of fear on all the Spanish coasts. In time of war the European governments encouraged them: indeed, for half a century and more they carried out the deliberate policy of the European governments. Privateering was reckoned a regular business, like planting; and the governments received tenths and fifteenths of the booty as the public share. And after 1670, when Spain ceased to assert an exclusive claim to the West Indies, there was much ado to induce them to give up piracy and turn planters. The buccaneers were tempted with grants of land; but the home governments were in the end driven

to repress them by force of arms. Many fruitless expeditions were sent out for their reduction : and the privateers who were licensed to cruise against them often ended by joining them. West Indian piracy has only lately been extinguished. One of the last of the English pirates, Captain Kidd, was hanged on the shore of the Thames sixty years ago : but the exploits of General Walker, in our own times, show that freebooting will exist as long as the temptations which excite it are stronger than the power which should put it down. The chief trace which the buccaneers have left on history is the French colony in the western part of St. Domingo and the little neighbouring island of Tortuga. This was originally a buccaneer settlement, which gradually formed a rude pirate-like constitution and code of laws. The inhabitants were chiefly of French descent, and the French Government took them under its protection in 1665. Other pirate-like settlements were formed by the Maroons, as the runaway negroes of the West Indies were called. These often collected in great numbers, and formed a rude kind of community which defied the attacks of the whites. A colony of Maroons established in the centre of Jamaica resisted all the attacks of the planters, and was at last allowed to exist in peace : there was another famous one in Brazil : and the Maroons of St. Vincent were ultimately taken under the protection of the French and made a regular colony.

3. **Cultivation of Sugar.**—The sugar-cane had been successfully cultivated for two centuries by the Portuguese, who learned its use from the Venetians. Brazil became the chief source of the supply, and the demand in Europe was so great that the sugar trade speedily became the most profitable one in which capital could be engaged. The Dutch, who had long carried this precious article from Lisbon to all the ports of Europe, made their famous and daring invasion of Brazil entirely for the sake of sugar ; and they greatly extended the cultivation of the cane after the Brazilian coast came into their possession. The cane flourished in Barbadoes, but the English planters knew no other use for it than to brew a refreshing drink for that hot climate until 1640, when a Dutchman from Brazil landed in the island, and taught them the secret of ripening the cane, which was by letting it grow fifteen months instead of twelve, and of boiling the juice. In a few years Barbadoes became prodigiously prosperous by

the introduction of the sugar trade. The whole of the leeward coasts of this island were soon covered with plantations, and in twenty years 50,000 English settled there. The civil wars in England increased the number of the planters, who, like those of Brazil, were chiefly men of wealth. The growth of Barbadoes went on fast from 1640 to 1650. It had a free trade with the Dutch and Portuguese; an independent constitution, though nominally the fief of a proprietary grantee; and as most of the planters were cavaliers, they resisted what they thought to be the usurpation of the Parliament. They called the island "Little England": and in the planters of Barbadoes we certainly find the earliest type of the true English colonist. They were, however, reduced to submission by Cromwell, and his Act of Navigation forced them to give up all trade except with the mother country. Cromwell did a great deal for the West Indies by sending many of his Irish and Scotch prisoners out thither as slaves. Seven thousand Scotch, for example, were sold to the West Indian planters after the battle of Worcester. The same thing was done in 1716 after the rebellion of the Pretender. Before the combined effect of the Act of Navigation, the growth of the French plantations, and the rivalry of Jamaica, Barbadoes was the most populous, rich, and industrious spot on the earth. In 1657, £14,000 was reckoned the smallest capital with which a planter could settle upon an estate of 500 acres; but this sum easily yielded more than 50 per cent. every year. The continual hostility of the Spaniards to all other Europeans in the West Indies, and the relentless cruelty which accompanied it, together with the enormous advantage which England might obviously reap from extending her possessions, made Cromwell resolve upon a bold stroke, which was worthy of his statesmanship. This was the conquest of the magnificent island of St. Domingo, the most valuable of the Greater Antilles; and he sent out for this purpose in 1655 an expedition of 10,000 men, under Generals Penn and Venables. Most of it was in the possession of the Spaniards, though the French buccaneers had settlements in the west of the island. The English were repulsed by the Spaniards: but, unwilling to return to England without some glory, they attacked the neighbouring island of Jamaica before its inhabitants had heard the news of their defeat. Jamaica was at this time in a poor con-

dition. The Spaniards had lost all their labour by their cruel treatment of the natives : they had taken those of the Bahama islands, but these were also exhausted ; they were too idle and proud to work themselves, and too poor to buy negroes. The English took it ; and in a hundred years it became one of the richest places in the world. Cromwell settled in the island some of the troops who had won it ; they were joined by many settlers from home, and planters soon came from Barbadoes, especially many Quakers, whom the Royalists of that island would not tolerate. Cromwell ordered the Scotch Government to gather together all the idle and disaffected people they could lay hands on, and shipped them off hither as labourers : and he procured many more, of both sexes, from Ireland. At first there was great distress among these poor creatures : but it ceased as soon as the work of planting began. The sugar-cane, with its three valuable products—sugar, rum, and molasses—pimento, cotton, aloes, ginger, and log-wood, soon took the place of cocoa ; and the trade of Jamaica with England and the English colonies in North America grew rapidly into importance. The manufactures and navigation of the mother country were greatly stimulated ; and the culture of the cane was extended to the smaller islands of Antigua, which had been deemed by the Spaniards uninhabitable, Nevis, and Montserrat.

4. *French Plantations.*—The Knights of Malta had obtained of Richelieu a grant of St. Christopher and three other West Indian islands : and they sent out thither as governor the wise and politic De Poincy, under whom their progress was slow, though in the end it outstripped even that of the English islands. De Poincy, by personal study, greatly improved upon the method of sugar-making in use in Brazil and Maderia. He ruled at Basse Terre, in St. Christopher, twenty-one years ; and once a week he administered justice to the people under a great fig-tree. There were three other groups in French hands, in each of which the principal islands were Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Grenada : these groups belonged to three different proprietors. All the French islands carried on a flourishing trade with the Dutch. Colbert, in the next generation, perceived that the plantations might be made much more thriving under one government, and accordingly in 1664 he purchased them of their owners and handed them over to a company ; but

as this did not flourish, it was dissolved in 1674, and the islands were placed under a department of the Government. The settlement on St. Domingo soon became the most important: and just as the encroachments of the English settlers had been confirmed by treaty, the French Government acquired a legal right to the western part of this island in 1697. By the introduction of negro labour a few years afterwards, the activity of French enterprise made it the most important settlement in all America. Sugar, cotton, cocoa, and ginger, and afterwards coffee, were exported hence in great quantities to France. Besides this the French had settled on the coast of Guiana, and they took under their protection the Maroons, or runaway negroes, who had formed a colony for themselves on the Island of St. Vincent. The progress of the French plantations was at first slower than that of the English, but through the wise, fostering care of the Government it gradually overtook them. The great minister, Colbert, placed them under a Council of Commerce; they were relieved of taxes, even for the payment of the salary of their governors; the smallest duties were levied on their produce: whereas Charles II. had laid on the English plantations a yearly tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon their gross value. The French Government were the first to grant lands gratis to poor and industrious emigrants; and they often lent money to the planters when the plantations were destroyed by hurricanes. They allowed the ships of their merchants strong convoys, and built fortifications to protect the islands from pirates. The improvement of trade and navigation was steadily pursued as an object of state policy to a higher degree than elsewhere. Besides the mother-country the French plantations had lawful markets for their produce in Canada, Cape Breton, and Louisiana, as well as the contraband Spanish trade.

5. *The Dutch Plantations, &c.*—When the Portuguese drove the Dutch from Brazil, and the treaty of Nymwegen dispossessed them of New York, they had nothing left on the continent but Surinam, the scene of the failure of Raleigh, which the Zealanders had conquered in the war with England, and which was ceded to them by the treaty. They had, however, taken possession of Curassao and St. Eustatia about 1634, and here they cultivated sugar and tobacco. All these settlements, together with one on Cape Verde and another on the

Guinea coast, were in the hands of the Dutch West India Company. But the rich commerce of the East engrossed most of the Dutch capital; and the Dutch had more genius for commerce than planting. Curassao had a fine harbour, and it soon became a great depot for East Indian goods, for the Dutch smugglers were able to supply the Spaniards of the continent with them much more cheaply than through the lawful channel of trade. Here also the Spaniards purchased their negro slaves from the Dutch slavers. Curassao was for a long time to the West Indies what Amsterdam was to Europe: all the colonists came thither to buy the commodities of Europe and the East. The Danes took possession in 1671 of the Island of St. Thomas, when they allowed the free citizens of Hamburg also to maintain a factory: and to this the Danes afterwards added that of Santa Cruz, purchased from France; but they did not extend their cultivation beyond the demands of their own market. The commodious harbour of St. Thomas was a frequent resort of the buccaneers: and its neutrality has made it from early times the centre of communication for all the West India islands. It naturally became another centre of the smuggling trade with the Spanish colonies. The Dutch and the Danes were chiefly traders, and their plantations were quite unimportant by comparison with those of the English and French. For a century and a half the Spaniards, though they possessed the finest of the islands, had no plantations. Private enterprise is necessary to the success of plantations; and the Spanish colonial system did not favour private enterprise. Cuba produced nothing of importance; nor was it until the vast trade of St. Domingo was destroyed in its terrible struggle for independence that the plantations of Cuba rose to supply its place. Even then, it was long before a hundredth part of its surface was in a state of cultivation. Havana indeed the capital of that island, was the emporium of the trade of New and Old Spain; and it was important as a naval station against pirates and smugglers. The large and fertile island of Puerto Rico long remained a mere desert; and Trinidad did not prosper until it ceased to be Spanish. To keep the best West India islands in this unproductive state was perhaps good policy on the part of the Spaniards. If they had settled there, they would have tempted the attacks of the French and English; and under the Spanish system of trading

they would have produced no profit to the mother-country. This is equally true of the lower or maritime parts of Mexico. The Spaniards were afraid to drain and cultivate them; and they looked on this deserted and unwholesome coast as a frontier against the enemy. The towns on the sea-coast were often deserted, and rebuilt in the interior, because of the ravages of the buccaneers.

6. **The Negroes.**—America in every way depended on Africa for labour. The Spaniards and Portuguese wanted negroes for their mines of gold, silver, and diamonds; the English and French for their plantations of sugar, tobacco, rice, and indigo. It is true that a large number of white labourers freely resorted both to the French and the English plantations as lately as the middle of the last century, and that convicts were transported thither, who were forced to labour for a certain number of years, after which they became small planters themselves, or emigrated afresh to the colonies on the continent. But the supply of white labour was small and precarious; the planters, especially the French, treated the "*engagés*," as they were called, with great cruelty; the system could not be applied on a very large scale; and the planters generally found it necessary, and always found it best, to invest a certain proportion of their capital in the purchase of negroes. The Dutch in Java and Ceylon could compel the natives to labour; but in the other continent, the Portuguese and Spaniards found the natives as incapable of labouring as themselves. But the hardy negroes of Africa soon supplied their place. From time immemorial the Moors had sold them in the markets of Europe and the East, and the Portuguese, following the steps of the Moors, introduced them in the West. Every Portuguese settlement on the coast of Africa was an inexhaustible source of negro labour, and the Portuguese settlers in Brazil were the first to take advantage of it. The Dutch and English soon followed in the wake of the Portuguese, and as the latter in the end possessed themselves of all the Portuguese carrying-trade, the slave trade fell mainly into their hands. The English had acquired as early as the time of Queen Elizabeth some factories on the African coast, and these now became most valuable on account of the slave trade. But the Portuguese always kept to themselves the trade of the east coast of Africa, where the slave traffic was carried on to the best advantage.

So great were the toils of the plantations that the negro population of Barbadoes wasted away at the rate of 16 per cent. per annum, and the keener the competition between the French and English planters the harder became the stress on the unfortunate blacks. The negroes, besides, were used by Spain to work the mines of Mexico and Peru, and they were imported in large numbers into New Grenada. The French Guinea Company had enjoyed the privilege of supplying them, which was called the *Assiento*; but in 1713, the English took away this profitable trade from the French, and compelled Spain to a treaty by which she could purchase no slaves, except from English vessels. The English thus finally monopolised a trade which they had shared for 150 years, ever since Hawkins first carried negroes for sale from Guinea to *Española*. In the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, where the slaves were employed in the cultivation of cotton, tobacco, and rice, they rather multiplied than dwindled. The slaves were far worse off in the English colonies than in any other country in the ancient or modern world. In the French plantations, the *Code Noir* was established by Louis XIV. in 1685, to shield them from cruelty; it gave slaves some important civil and social rights, and forbade the separation of families; but everywhere else they have always been entirely at the mercy of the planter. From the beginning there have been revolts and disturbances on the part of the negroes, and these were repressed and punished in the most cruel and inhuman manner. Not a century ago rebel negroes were in Jamaica burnt alive by inches at a slow fire, and the gentlest punishment was to hang them alive in chains and leave them to die of hunger. The Dutch treated their slaves more cruelly still; but the Spaniards were more humane, and they had nothing to do with the slave trade itself—that is, with the business of buying the slaves in the ports of Africa, and shipping them to those of America. It was necessary to continue this trade, for the number of the slaves continually diminished; and its abolition, in different parts of the world, has always been the beginning of the abolition of slavery itself. The Danes were the first to abolish the slave traffic, England, France, and the United States of North America followed; in Brazil the trade has been prohibited, and slavery will be finally extinguished in 1900; and the government of Spain in Cuba and Puerto Rico is the only one that now has any

desire for it. It is certain that the West Indies, and every part of the earth that is worth cultivating, may be cultivated without slave labour, though not on so large a scale as is possible with it. Economists have shown that nothing is so dear as slave labour, and that only the most remunerative crops will sustain the loss which it entails; and wherever free labour has been successfully introduced in sufficient quantity, production has in the end been stimulated by the change.

7. **Division between France and England.**—In 1660, or thirty-five years after their first permanent settlements were made, England and France agreed to divide the West India Islands, and to adopt a common policy towards the natives, who never ceased to harass them. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat, and several smaller islands; France in that of Guadaloupe, Martinique, Grenada, and some smaller islands; while St. Christopher remained common to both. The remains of the aborigines, about 6,000 in number, were driven to the islands of Dominica, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. But both England and France claimed these islands. Such settlements as were made on them were French; and the two latter islands were occupied under Marshal D'Estrées in 1719. In 1748 these islands were declared neutral; but in 1763 they were all given up to England, except St. Lucia, and the wretched remnant of the natives were driven to the continent. Until the Anti-slavery movement grew irresistible, the West Indies never ceased to be an object of jealousy to the two Governments. With the growth of these valuable possessions the struggles of Europe first reached the shores of the New World, and in the course of the European wars many of the West Indian islands have changed hands several times. Thus, Antigua and Montserrat were taken by the French, but restored at the peace of Breda. One of the first incidents in the war waged by the Grand Alliance of Western Europe against Louis XIV. was the expulsion of the English from St. Christopher; but Captain Wren recovered the honour of the English flag, and the Peace of Ryswick restored things as they were. In the War of the Spanish Succession, Nevis and other English islands were attacked by the French, but without permanent success; in the Seven Years' War (1756) the English marine proved superior to that of Spain and France united; and by the Peace

of Paris in 1763 the English possessions were increased by the islands of Grenada, Dominica, and Tobago. In the war which followed the Independence of America and the French Revolution, changes took place by which on the whole England benefited; and the power of England in the West Indies has steadily increased, at the expense firstly of Spain, and secondly of her rival France. The French islands, however, have always surpassed the English islands in prosperity and good management. This is partly because most of the French planters lived permanently on their island, whereas the English always went home when they had made their fortunes, and became *absentees*, whose only interest was to get as much money as possible out of their estates. They committed the whole care of their estates to some shipping agent living in London or Bristol, whose business it was to furnish the plantation with all that was necessary, and to receive and dispose of the produce when sent home. Hence there never arose in the British plantations a class of wealthy and independent merchants like those of the French islands.

8. **Effects of Growth of Plantations.**—Not only did the wealth of the West Indies stimulate the manufactures of the mother countries, but it gave the agricultural colonies on the continent of North America their first impulse to produce more than they consumed. The great populations of the West India Islands had to be fed, and land was too valuable there to be used for producing corn and beef. Each group of islands included indeed some one which was specially destined to raising fresh provisions for the rest, such as the English island of Barbuda, and the Dutch island of Aruba. But the continent alone could supply subsistence to so large a multitude of labourers; and the exports of beef, pork, and cheese from Canada to the French islands, and from New England to the English islands, soon became immense. Each district seemed formed to supply the wants of the other. Besides, a great market was opened here for the refuse of the great Newfoundland fishery, for the advantages of which the French now began to contend, though without success. In return for these imports the islands supplied the continent with the products of the cane. Many of the islands, however, were still supplied with provisions from the mother countries: and in the middle of the last century, when the English colonies of North

America had already begun to send corn to feed the increased population of England, the vast colony of Brazil was dependent upon Europe for its daily bread. With this increased traffic came a vast growth of the contraband trade. The French islands were fast outstripping the English in wealth and population, and were able to produce so much more cheaply than the latter that the growth of a smuggling trade between them and New England was inevitable. Trade will always find the channel which is natural to it, and smuggling in all its branches was soon practised in the West Indies with great skill and success. The Dutch, Danish, and French islands were markets for all European manufactures; the Spaniards came to buy there because it was the cheapest market; and the Spanish Government was forced to connive at the practice. The success of their plantations led the French to conceive the grand idea of colonizing the vast and fertile island of Madagascar. Colbert had already encouraged the Oriental trade by the establishment, in 1664, of a French East India Company with a charter of fifty years' duration, and great privileges of every kind, and he intended to make Madagascar the bulwark of the future French empire in India. Few projects have been more promising. The island was fertile in all the products of the tropics; the people were numerous, intelligent, and docile; and nothing was wanting but skill, honesty, and perseverance on the part of the company's agents. But these were wanting. Many of the colonists quitted the island in despair, and in 1672 those who remained were massacred by the natives. A century elapsed before the attempt was renewed; nor was it then attended with more success. The chief result of these attempts was the introduction of rice, the principal staple of Madagascar, into the Carolinas. A lasting impulse was given to English shipbuilding and navigation by the vast trade of the plantations. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies traded with Europe only by means of the Government register ships, and the Dutch and French had established a monopoly, though a far less pernicious one, in committing the trade of both Indies to exclusive companies. The Act of Navigation deprived the Dutch of the trade of the West Indies, of which they had hitherto been in possession; and the trade to the whole Atlantic coast of America, including the islands, was opened to English vessels and closed to all others. Barbadoes alone em-

ployed about 400; and the effect of the great traffic to and fro was to raise the power of the English at sea in the space of fifty years to a position which rivalled that of the Dutch themselves. The preponderance, however, of the Eastern trade maintained the Dutch in the front rank down to the end of the seventeenth century. After that time, the successive growth of the West Indies, of the North American colonies, and of the English East Indian trade, placed the English greatly in advance of all other nations.

9. *Progress Reviewed.*—The establishment of the plantations may be taken as a favourable opportunity for reviewing the progress of colonization during the five or six generations after that of Gama and Columbus. The largest space in the eye of the world was still at this time occupied by the gold and silver-producing countries of South America. The silver of Mexico and Peru had greatly contributed to the extension of commerce in the eastern hemisphere; and each of the nations which were competing for the trade of the East anticipated the day when its grasp should be laid on the riches of the West. This, at any rate, was the belief of Spain; and hence the severe struggles of Spain to prevent the settlements of other nations in the West Indies and on the American coast. These settlements grew entirely out of the expeditions of the buccaneers, who harassed the Spaniards by sea and land; the islands were gradually taken up by the planters of several nations, encouraged and assisted by the governments, all hostile to the pretensions of Spain. The capture of Jamaica, in 1655, marks the period when the lawless rule of the buccaneers began to be exchanged for the control of European governments. England and France were spreading in different directions in the northern hemisphere; the trade of the Dutch with the East was at its zenith; neither the English nor French could pretend to be their rivals, for the Dutch trade supplied most of continental Europe, while neither the trade of England nor France as yet extended beyond their own needs. The most important object, next to the possession of lands rich in gold and silver, was that of a seal rich in productions which were readily exchanged for gold and silver in the markets of Europe. The plantations soon began to eclipse the Eastern trade, and it is to their rise that we may attribute the slow growth of the French and English East India companies. How great the

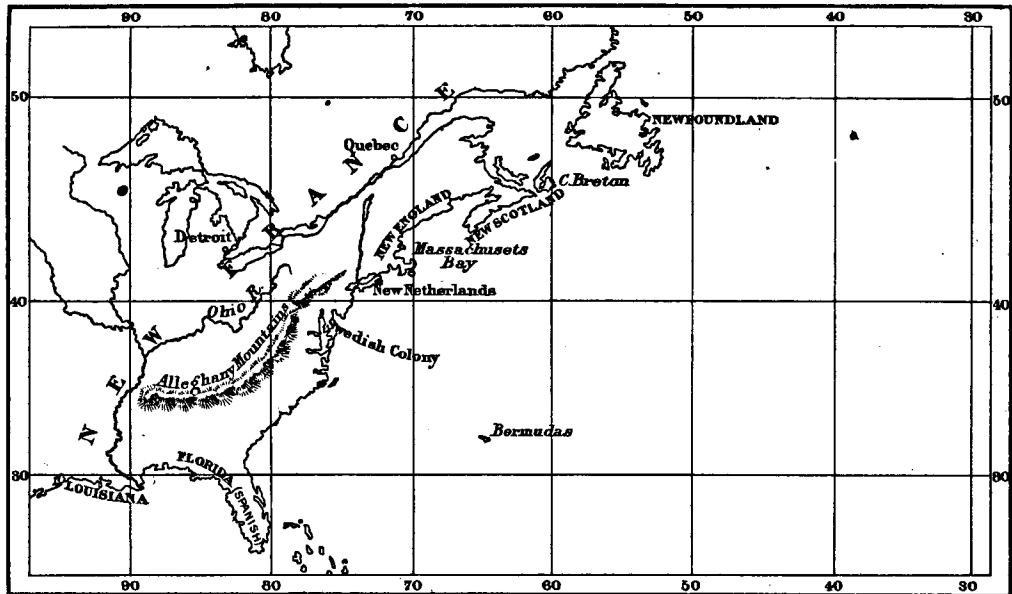
importance of the plantations was may be judged of from the fact that at the time of the French Revolution France drew as much wealth from the single island of St. Domingo as England drew from India, or Spain from Mexico and Peru. Nor did the European wars retard the general growth of the plantations, for the capture of an island always stimulated its productions by the influx of new planters. It was calculated that every European employed in the plantations, including the sailors employed in the trade thither, furnished employment for four pairs of hands at home. Thus, as in 1670 it was calculated that 250,000 English were engaged in planting or in the plantation trade, 1,000,000 of people, or one-seventh of the entire population, must have been dependent upon it at home. On the whole, we may say that the West India plantations were to England in the time of Charles II. very much what the cotton and iron manufactures are in our own times, and that their importance was so much the greater, as there had been nothing to disturb the balance of the landed and mercantile interests, greatly in favour of the former, which had existed since the time of Henry VIII. This balance was now reversed, and the growth of the mercantile interest was accompanied by the growth of a new political doctrine known as Whiggism, based, like the former, on an adoption of Dutch ideas. Political troubles had contributed to the growth of the English plantations; and when these were over, it seemed as if the impulse to West Indian enterprise was checked. At any rate, the eighteenth century has but little enterprise to show. Land was selling for £100 an acre in Barbadoes; but no one attempted to colonize the Bahamas, and not one tenth part of Jamaica was under cultivation. An energetic and sagacious government might have changed the face of affairs; but in the meantime a different field of enterprise was being opened. The plantations had helped the growth of agricultural colonies, and the latter soon rose to an unexpected degree of importance.

CHAPTER V.

NEW FRANCE AND NEW ENGLAND.

The French on the St. Lawrence (1)—*Coligny and Protestantism* (2)—*Canada and Nova Scotia* (3)—*New England* (4)—*The Mississippi* (5)—*Hudson's Bay* (6)—*The Fisheries* (7)—*Guiana* (8)—*Colonial Policy of France* (9)—*Colonial Policy of England* (10).

I. **The French on the St. Lawrence.**—The discoverers of America were speedily followed by the hardy sailors of Normandy and Brittany. One of these, in 1506, reached the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and called the country on its west side Cape Breton. The French, hearing the natives talk of their *canada*, or huts, supposed this to be the name of the country; but it went at first by the name of Acadia. The French were not disposed to forego their claims to America, and Francis the First was as anxious as anyone else to share in the gold and silver of the New World. He would certainly have fitted out ships for the East Indies had not his wars with Charles V. prevented it. In 1523 he sent out an expedition of discovery to the coast under Verazzano, of Florence; but his plans were cut short by misfortunes at home. Francis was taken prisoner at Pavia, and Verazzano never returned to France. Ten years passed before the attempt was renewed. At last Francis sent out a second expedition, commanded by Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, which had more important consequences. In 1534 Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and saw the capacity of its banks for receiving a great agricultural colony; he called the place New France, and in 1540 he conducted thither 200 colonists, under François de Roberval as lieutenant-general, who formed the germ of the future "Canadian nation," as the French settlers afterwards learnt to call themselves. But the wars of Spain and France hindered the progress of this colony, and Cartier himself, foiled in the attempt to reach the East Indies by a north-west passage, lost all heart for further discoveries.



London: Macmillan & Co.

London: Stanford's Geog. Inst.

2. *Coligny and Protestantism.*—Everywhere we may trace the effect of the Reformation on the direction and character of colonial enterprise. The colony on the St. Lawrence was Catholic; and the great Protestant statesman Coligny formed plans for colonies which should be a retreat for the Huguenots, whose final defeat he foresaw, and thither he hoped himself to retire and end his days in peace. But every one of his projects failed. The first attempt was made in Brazil in 1556. Coligny entrusted this expedition to a knight of Malta, called Villegagnon; but this man, seeing the Huguenot cause failing at home, tried to make the colony Catholic. Many French Protestants and Flemings who were ready to emigrate to Rio Janeiro stayed at home; and the Portuguese expelled all the French in 1560. In 1562 an attempt was made to found a Huguenot colony in Florida. Many of the nobility went out, and they were accompanied by a strong guard of troops. For a time all went on well, but in 1564 the Spaniards took possession of the colony, and massacred the settlers. They put up an inscription stating that this was done not because the murdered men were Frenchmen, but because they were Protestants. Three years afterwards a Huguenot called De Gourgues sailed to Florida, took the forts, and hung up all the Spaniards with an inscription over their heads, "Not as Spaniards, but as robbers and murderers." Thus far the French were everywhere unfortunate. The English successfully contested with them the possession of the great Newfoundland fishery. Several parties of fishermen from Normandy, Brittany, and Biscay tried to establish themselves there about 1598, but all attempts at a permanent colony failed.

3. *Canada and Nova Scotia.*—With the return of peace and the seventeenth century, French attempts to colonize took a successful turn. In 1603 Champlain made the first permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence; a fort was built on the cliff of Quebec, and a few years afterwards a few wooden cabins arose on the island of Montreal. The new settlement was formed exactly on the model of Old France. Great tracts of lands were granted out as fiefs to any who seemed likely to carry settlers out with them. The lord selected a strong position for his own domain, and around this were spread the holdings of the peasantry, granted out freely at small quit-rents. The peasants were bound to military service, which was often in requisition against the Indians. The lord had the sole right of

grinding corn, of trading in furs, and of fishing; so that Canada was from the first an agricultural colony on the feudal model. The wooded peninsula at the mouth of the St. Lawrence had not escaped the notice of the French voyagers, and in 1602 Henry IV. granted it by the native name of La Cadie, afterwards Latinized as Acadia, to Pierre De Monts, a Protestant nobleman, who founded a small colony in the great harbour, which he called Portroyal, and another on one of the islands at the mouth of the river La Croix. Though De Monts was a Huguenot, the colony was accompanied by Catholic fathers to convert the Indians. But the English, who were far stronger on these coasts than the French, viewed these beginnings with jealousy; the whole coast was claimed by them as part of Virginia, and the governor of Jamestown, in 1613, destroyed all the French settlements in Nova Scotia, which the Catholic government at home took small pains to protect. Acadia remained uncolonized until 1621, and the two nations continued to share the fishery. James I. made a fresh settlement of Acadia in 1621, granting it to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, by the name of New Scotland. Alexander sold it out in large portions to intending emigrants, who were dignified by the king with the title of Baronets of Nova Scotia; and he then sold the whole colony to Louis XIII. of France. Charles I. confirmed the sale on his marriage with the sister of Louis XIII., and the French reappeared off Portroyal. In 1627 war broke out between France and England, and Alexander, assisted by another Scotchman, Sir David Kirk, conquered the whole of the French settlements, which they divided between them, Kirk taking the parts about Quebec as his share, and Alexander Acadia. But when peace was made, in 1631, Richelieu recovered both places for France, paying, of course, a proper compensation to Kirk and Alexander; and he secured the French a participation in the fisheries. The title of Baronet of Nova Scotia, however, still survived as an honorary distinction, and many Scotch gentlemen were glad to pay a good sum for having it conferred upon them.

4. *New England.*—In his expedition of 1496 Cabot had discovered Newfoundland and taken possession of the whole coast; but for a long time the English made no attempts at colonization. The fisheries were sought by English vessels as early as the reign of Edward VI., and

although the vessels of Spain and other nations were more numerous than the English, the right of England to the coast came gradually to be acknowledged. The reign of Elizabeth saw the beginning of English colonial enterprise. By this time France had occupied the St. Lawrence, and Spain had taken Florida, so that the English were obliged to content themselves with the intermediate coasts. Jealousy and hatred of Spain, combined with a bold spirit of adventure, drove the English to settle in the new world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a Devonshire mariner, sailed for America in 1580; and though he failed to reach it, he started again in 1582. His best ship was only of 200 tons burden, and the *Squirrel*, in which he sailed himself, was only of ten tons. His expedition was lost at sea. The English gained experience in their great naval wars with Spain, but all individual attempts at colonies were unsuccessful. Sir Walter Raleigh headed seven expeditions to America; in 1584 and 1587 he tried to settle a colony called Virginia, in honour of the virgin queen Elizabeth; but it was not until the reign of James I. and the establishment of the London and Plymouth companies that this was effected. After 1606 the English North American colonies steadily grew along the shore. In the interior, they were stopped by the range of mountains called the Apalachians, or Alleghanies, which separate the coast country from the great basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries. These mountains were the limits specified in the royal grants, the country beyond being at first quite unknown, and afterwards claimed by France. Agriculture made far more progress in New England than in New France, where the trade with the Indians for skins, and the fisheries, chiefly occupied the attention of the settlers; and in New England the mountain frontier afforded a protection against the hostility of the natives, which was wanting in Canada.

5. *The Mississippi.*—Beyond this barrier the vast regions of the Mississippi and the Ohio remained in possession of the Indians, and the French were the first to conceive the idea of displacing them. As with the Spaniards and Portuguese, Christianity was employed by the French as an engine of conquest: and the Jesuit missionaries began to spread all over the Indian country from the north. In 1680 Lassalle reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and was entrusted by Louis XIV. with the conduct of the first attempt at the settlement of the

country about there. The attempt failed; but it was renewed about 1700 by Iberville, a Canadian. The French claimed the whole country from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and the name of New France was given to it on the maps. This claim violated the principle that whatever nation possessed the sea-coast was entitled to the interior as far as colonization was possible. Davenant, in 1698, pointed out that the consequence of allowing the ambition of France to work its way unchecked would be to cramp the growing colonies of New England, and in the years which followed the necessity of planting a new set of colonies on the west of the Mississippi and on its tributaries was urged by the English. The few settlers of either nation who found their way into these remote parts were exposed to the hostilities of each other, and of the savage Indian tribes, although the boundaries were settled by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and in 1756 a great war was fought for the decision of the question. In the meantime, just as in the West Indian plantations, England had been slowly strengthening her position. In 1713, by the Peace of Utrecht, she once more gained Acadia, or Nova Scotia, though this rich land long remained little better than a wilderness; and the colony of Georgia was founded in 1732 as a barrier at once against France and against Spain in the south. No English colony advanced so fast as Pennsylvania. Besides religious toleration, this was due in a great measure to the liberal dealing of Penn with his settlers, and to its security from the attacks of the Indians, who had been kindly treated by him. Forty years after its establishment, Pennsylvania had more inhabitants than Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland together.

6. *Hudson's Bay.*—Wherever the French have gained a footing, the English have sooner or later supplanted them. The route by land to Hudson's Bay, discovered by the English navigator of that name in 1610, was first explored by the French, and a trade in peltry with the Indians was commenced; but English traders soon followed, and a company for the acquisition of the trade was formed in 1670. The French in 1682 undertook to dislodge them, and in 1685 De Troyes drove them from all their possessions except Port Nelson. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, continued to flourish, and by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the French were obliged to renounce all their pretensions to these settlements though they

continued to carry on a great trade in furs through Canada. No trade was so profitable as this to those who engaged in it. The furs of the Arctic zone, formerly bought at a vast price from the merchants of Italy, who procured them by a circuitous route from Siberia, have always maintained great prices in Europe, and they were now obtained of the simple Indians in endless quantities for articles of the most trifling value. The return to the capital invested in the trade was no less than six to one. The Hudson's Bay Company still subsists and flourishes, and its agents are the only European inhabitants of the vast territory which bears its name. Portions of its territory have been lately taken to form the colony of British Columbia ; but most of it is too bleak for cultivation.

7. *The Fisheries.*—The French maintained themselves longer in the icy peninsula of Labrador, which bounds the mouth of the St. Lawrence at its north side. Labrador is habitable to none but the native Esquimaux ; but with them the French carried on profitable trade in ironware and woollen clothing. Labrador passed with the rest of New France to the English by the peace of 1763. Newfoundland had come into their possession at the same time with Nova Scotia, in 1713. The French fishing-station of Plaisance had always been an eyesore to the occupants of the English forts, and its cession left the English masters of the whole island. The French fishermen, however, were still allowed to ply their trade north of Cape Bonavista, and to occupy the shore for the purpose of curing their fish. The French now concentrated themselves on Cape Breton Island, the first of their possessions in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Their industry so greatly extended their fishing trade, that at the time of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle it was far greater than that of the English, and employed 27,000 men. The produce of this vast industry found its way to the ports of Brittany and Biscay. By the peace of 1763 the English obtained Cape Breton Island and the exclusion of the French from the Bay of St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland. For twenty years the French were only allowed to touch at the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the south of Newfoundland ; but in 1783 they recovered their right to fish in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence.

8. *Guiana.*—Between the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers, that is, on the debatable ground between Brazil and the Central American settlements of

the Spaniards, lay a large alluvial tract of country which was neglected by both. The French, Dutch, and English who passed it on every voyage to Brazil, heard marvellous stories of the gold that it contained. The story went that besides Mexico and Peru there was a third native empire with a capital called Eldorado which far exceeded them both in wealth and splendour; and it was believed that it would be found in the mountains beyond this coast, which was called Guayana by the Portuguese and the Wild Coast by the English. It was hither that Raleigh led an expedition, memorable only for its failure and the death of his son, in search of the precious metals. One of the first attempts of Dutch enterprise, in 1590, was to occupy a soil which reminded them strongly of their own; this was on the Demerara river, and now belongs to England. They afterwards settled on the Essequibo and Berbice rivers; and though the French settled here as early as 1604, yet the colony of Cayenne could never be said to flourish. The English had settled at Surinam in 1634, but it was not until the impulse given to West Indian enterprise by the cessation of the Civil War and the wise policy of Cromwell, that the settlement really began to flourish. The Dutch conquered the British settlements in 1667, and held them till the peace of Breda, when they retained them in exchange for New York. People in England were always proposing new settlements in Guiana; but the better informed always looked upon the plan as hopeless. The soil of Guiana resembles in its situation that of Holland. The surface is on a level with the sea at high water, and when the land is drained and embanked, it consolidates and sinks a foot below it. The Dutch were experienced in constructing the dykes and sluices, and other works necessary to improve such a soil. These works have to be kept carefully in repair; but once constructed, the labour of cultivation is light, and the expense is but a fraction of that necessary in the West Indies. The Guianas have never flourished as plantations until they have been cultivated on the Dutch system; but when this has been done, they have proved more productive than even the West Indian islands. They soon produced sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, tobacco, spices, drugs, and valuable woods. The Dutch planters have always been in advance of the French. The latter committed the error of occupying the less fertile slopes of the highlands, instead of imitating

the Dutch in the profitable labour of drainage and embankment.

9. **Colonial Policy of France.**—France was at this time far ahead of England in the skill and foresight with which her foreign and domestic affairs were managed. Except Cromwell, England had no statesman, like Colbert, able to comprehend the situation of the country with respect to its colonies, and to see the advantages derivable from their careful regulation. The West Indian plantations of France had been founded by private enterprise, and remained the property of individuals. They passed through the hands of various owners, and the greater part of them were at one time in the possession of the Knights of Malta; but in 1664 Colbert had purchased all of them from their owners, and handed them over to a West India Company. This was, however, abolished ten years afterwards, and the French plantations again became private property. All the possessions of France in America were on the same footing. The trade of the colonies was, of course, restricted to French ships; but, unlike the Spanish and Portuguese system, strangers were not obstructed from visiting the colonies and settling there. There was no special board for their administration. They were governed by the Minister of the Marine, and their internal administration was divided between a governor and an intendant. The earlier half of the eighteenth century was the flourishing period of the French colonies. The French had by this time almost gained all the West African trade, except that in slaves, and they had greatly encroached upon the English in this; they were encroaching upon the Dutch and Spaniards in Guiana: in North America they were pursuing the plan of Louis XIV. for hemming in the English by a chain of settlements extending from the mouth of the Mississippi to Canada; they had strongly fortified Cape Breton island: the growth of Louisiana had begun to encroach upon Mexico and Florida. Neither England nor Spain took much notice of this extension of the French colonies, which was the result of the steady policy of the French Government.

10. **Colonial Policy of England.**—Until the time of Charles II., the Government took no official notice of the colonies. Cromwell had passed the famous law which limited their trade; but until 1666 they were free from Government control. In that year a Committee of Privy Council, called the Committee of Trade and Plantations,

was appointed to regulate them ; in 1681 the duties of this body had become so important, that they were discharged by the whole Council sitting as a committee ; and in 1696 they were transferred to a permanent body called the Board of Trade and Plantations, constituted under the direction of the Whig politicians, Somers and Locke. Until this time jobbers and capitalists had not despaired of gaining the trade of the colonies for a privileged company. The Stuarts hated the colonies and their inhabitants ; and they would have been very glad to raise money by selling the commerce of the colonies to the highest bidder. Charles II. laid heavy duties on their produce, and James II., under French influence, permanently crippled the English sugar trade by loading it with a heavy duty. William III. was not able to abolish this, but he secured the colonies that measure of liberty and prosperity which they continued to enjoy until the time of George III. With some intervals, the British Empire was governed by the Whigs for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution ; and during these years the colonies grew and prospered, though in different degrees. Whig principles were diffused throughout most of them, especially in New England ; but elsewhere the relics of the old Cavalier settlers, together with the natural opposition which is always generated in free states, and the influence of the permanent government officials, most of whom were sent out from England, formed a contrary element of a Tory or Royalist character. The colonies were closely connected by means of their trade with great seaports such as London and Bristol ; in these cities the Whig party was always in the ascendant, so that trade and the colonies were always mixed up in the English mind, and constituted an interest hostile to that of the Tory or country party, who wished to see England a nation balanced on its own foundations, and independent of all connections beyond the seas. The Tories and landed gentry were jealous of the wealth which the merchants and planters drew from this new source ; and they foresaw the time when this wealth, together with that derived from the home industries which the colonial demand stimulated and fostered, would rival their own, and when legislation would have as its first object the promotion of industrial wealth and prosperity. This connection of the colonies with the Whig party began to fail after the great war of 1756 ; and after the Independence of America

it disappeared altogether. During these three quarters of a century we see the old colony system at its height ; but its success was so great, that it had far outgrown the ideas even of Cromwell and William of Orange. When the produce of a single settlement equalled the revenue of a kingdom, and the greater part of this produce went to the account of profit, it became impossible to regulate the colonies through official channels ; and a slight hitch in the administration would obviously lead to a breach of the old connection. This is what actually happened under the unfortunate administrations of the early years of King George III.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MISSIONS.

The Indians (1)—The Jesuits in Brazil (2)—The Plate River (3)—Spanish Missions (4)—The Paulists (5)—Flourishing Period of the Jesuits (6)—The Jesuits in other Colonies (7)—Their Fall (8).

1. **The Indians.**—The story of the general dealings of the Europeans with the natives whom they found established in America is one which cannot be read without shame. During fifty years the Spaniards uniformly conquered and enslaved them ; put them to forced labour, to which they were physically unequal ; and, on the least resistance or other provocation, massacred them in great numbers. One estimate says, that in these years 40,000,000 of the native Americans perished by violence : the lowest makes the number 10,000,000 ; and it is to be feared that the former is nearer the truth. It is certain that the islands of the West Indies once contained nearly 6,000,000 of a race now quite extinct ; and that in Hayti alone they sank, in fifteen years, from 1,000,000 to 60,000, and, in fifty years, to 200. To supply this waste, the Spanish colonists kidnapped the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, especially of the Bahamas. Jamaica, which the Spanish historians declare to have been conquered without any shedding of blood, contained not a single native when the English captured it. The

conquest of Mexico by Cortez, according to Las Casas, cost 4,000,000 of lives. The same process went on everywhere, and at the hands of every European nation. In North America attempts were made, from time to time, to convert and civilise the Indians, but they had only a temporary success; and at length both the French and English gave up the idea altogether. Finding them sometimes useful as irregular troops, they even encouraged them in their condition of savagery. They took their lands, as they were wanted, without scruple; and nation after nation of the poor natives dwindled away and perished. It has been the same all over the world: in South Africa and Australia, as in America, it has been found easier to exterminate the natives than to civilise them.

2. *The Jesuits in Brazil.*—The natives of Brazil were spared the cruelties which attended the conquest of Spanish America. The few felons who were first cast upon the shores of the new colony were too weak to harm them; and the Jews, who established the first sugar plantations, were glad to treat them well, so as to induce them to labour for them. Together with the first governor of Brazil there arrived in 1549 Emmanuel de Nobrega, a Jesuit of high repute, at the head of a number of the order, who at once made great progress in converting the natives. Their task resembled that of the present missionaries in the Pacific islands; they baptized them, stopped their feuds and cannibalism, induced them to come to church, taught them to sing in Portuguese, and to be content with one wife. Da Costa, the second governor, built a large college for the Jesuits, and they rapidly extended their missions along the banks of the great Brazilian rivers. But here, as in Europe, and in Spanish America, these successes excited the jealousy of the clergy in the towns.

3. *The Plate River.*—Cabot, the discoverer of Newfoundland, finding the English little inclined for settling in America, entered the Spanish service. In 1526 he sailed round the coast of Brazil as far as the mouth of the great Plate or Silver River, where he built a fort, which was soon destroyed by the natives. The colony of Buenos Ayres, planted in 1535, fared little better. The object of the Spaniards here as elsewhere, was to secure a supply of the precious metals, with which the country was supposed to abound. In this, of course, they were deceived: they

supplies failed them from home; Buenos Ayres was abandoned, and they sailed up the river to a more productive country, where they built the town of Assumption. Here they flourished better; they were strengthened by new arrivals from Europe, and they established friendly relations with the Indians. In 1580 they were able to re-occupy Buenos Ayres, which had been deserted forty years. This country, rich in metals and in all animal and vegetable products, and approached by the finest navigable river in the world, was already thickly peopled. It was in the possession of many wild tribes of Indians, of whom the most intractable were the Chiquitos and Guaranis, on the upper part of the river. The Jesuits had made great progress in civilising the savages of Brazil, and when Spain took possession, in 1580, of the colonies of Portugal, the fathers undertook to spread Christianity and civilisation on the Plate River. The Spanish Government, to do it justice, was thoroughly ashamed of the cruelties by which the conquest of America had been attended; and they readily granted what the fathers proposed. The chief scene of their labours was what is now the Republic of Paraguay, where they founded and maintained, during 150 years, a government quite unique in the history of the world; but their missions extended to every part of the American continent. The Jesuit missions were imitated by the Franciscans and Dominicans, but neither of these orders rivalled them either in the extent or success of the work they undertook.

4. *Spanish Missions.*—The Jesuits early obtained the privilege of trading with the natives whom they visited for the support of their missions, and they had many warehouses of their own in Europe. Wherever they went, they possessed the secret of acquiring wealth, influence, and respect for their order. The early Jesuits were certainly the cleverest men of their time. They were at once ecclesiastics and men of the world; they partook of the advantages of all the corporate bodies of the age—military, ecclesiastical, and commercial; they were unencumbered by antiquated notions, and their missions had already had great success, not only in Brazil, but on the coasts of Africa and Asia. About the time of the restoration of the colony of Buenos Ayres they began to visit the Plate River. In 1608, when New England and New France were settled, and the West Indies were becoming known to the future planters, they undertook to

reduce the savage and warlike inhabitants of the Plate River to civilisation. The vices and cruelties of the Europeans had retarded their efforts elsewhere; and their first care was to isolate the scene of their labours. As soon as their efforts had begun, they obtained a concession from the King of Spain to the effect that, in return for the yearly payment of a dollar a head for each Indian under their government, no intruders should be permitted. This policy was directed against the bishops as much as against lay landowners; and it is certain that, whereas the Church retarded the older Spanish colonies, the Christianity of the Jesuits was a great element in the new ones. They soon won the confidence of the natives, to whose superstitions, following their fixed policy, they were indulgent; tribe after tribe received their teaching; wherever they went, the lands were cultivated, homely manufactures commenced, houses, churches, and schools built. In each district the inhabitants elected a magistrate, subject to the approval of the fathers. Their agriculture and manufactures were managed by the fathers, who set each man and woman to their task, and stored up or sold the produce. The system of the missions nearly realized the notions of people who have wished for Communism, where every man's labour belongs to the community, which in turn furnishes each member with the means of living. Under the fathers the Indians became happy and thriving; and the advance of their labours nearly kept pace with the demand for their teaching which its success produced. Two at a time these apostles of Europe made their way, between 1608 and 1640, over the whole of the populous land of Paraguay; and in spite of the determined opposition of the Paulists, they established themselves also on the Uruguay.

5. *The Paulists.*—A mining colony composed of adventurers from all countries, owning allegiance to Portugal, had been formed in the extreme south of Brazil, upon which country it exercised great influence. Its centre was the town of St. Paul, founded by the Jesuits, who for some time enjoyed great influence over the Paulists, as these mixed colonists were called, but they quarrelled with the fathers on account of the natives, whom they kept in a state of slavery. The fathers tried in vain to protect the Indians; the Paulists made regular expeditions for enslaving them, and even exported them to the mines of Brazil, where there was a

great demand for them, from the African trade being interrupted through the Dutch war. The years 1580-1640 were a flourishing period both for the Jesuits of the Plate River and for the Paulists; and when the Portuguese recovered their independence the Paulists refused to submit to them, and elected a king from among themselves. They were now a numerous and warlike community, and the Jesuits had reason to fear the destruction of their power. These circumstances gave the final character to the government of the Jesuits. To protect themselves against the Paulists, they now fortified their frontiers and supplied themselves with fire-arms, artillery, and military stores. Few things prove the genius of the Jesuits more completely than the military superiority they attained over the Spanish and Portuguese. The missions were completely formed into a theocratic state; the fathers were the generals, merchants, and magistrates, and the Indians stood to them very much in the relation of serfs, who tilled the lands, and in return for the surplus produce were supplied with food and clothing. Danger pressed on them from more than one side. The authorities of the Church were always ready to attack the Jesuits. In 1649 they were forced to take up arms against their bishop. The Spaniards of Buenos Ayres would not help them; the Portuguese threatened them from Brazil; hostile tribes made war upon them; and they were often obliged to retrace the advances which they had made. But they held their ground, although the Paulists burnt their great college and put the principal to death; and when the Paulists in the end submitted to the government of Lisbon, they assisted the efforts of Spain to get possession of St. Sacrament on the opposite side of the Plate River from Buenos Ayres. The Banda Oriental was claimed by both nations; and the Portuguese, who held it, claimed in virtue of the possession of the coast, the interior of the country occupied by the Jesuits, and some went so far as to contend that the mines of Potosi themselves belonged of right to them. By way of repulsing their pretensions, the Governor of Buenos Ayres was ordered to drive the Portuguese from St. Sacrament, which he effected in 1680, by the aid of 3,000 Indians who had been trained to arms by the Jesuits of Paraguay. The Governor of Rio Janeiro, knowing nothing of the military force which the Spaniards commanded, neglected to send reinforcements, and the troops of the Jesuits

achieved a complete success, though against regular European troops and artillery. This affair greatly raised them in the eyes of the Spanish Government. The town of Buenos Ayres now wished to have a colony of these defenders established in its vicinity, but this the Jesuits refused. They fought the battles of the King of Spain in time of need, because this was part of their bargain ; but it was no part of their plan to furnish other parts of the colony with standing garrisons. But when, twenty years afterwards, the Portuguese again threatened the Plate settlements, the Jesuits brought down their army to protect Buenos Ayres. St. Sacramento was occupied afresh by the Portuguese in 1703 ; they allied themselves with the unconverted Indians, whom they trained and furnished with fire-arms. The Jesuits again worsted them in the field, and took St. Sacramento a second time, in 1705. The valour and coolness of soldiers commanded by a priest, with nothing in his hand but a prayer-book, astonished Spaniards and Portuguese alike. St. Sacramento was again taken by the Spaniards in 1762 ; but it was restored in the following year.

6. *Flourishing Period of the Jesuits.*—The years 1740-1750 may be taken to be those during which the power of the Jesuits in Paraguay was at its height. Their missions included at this time 300,000 families, and they could put into the field as many as 60,000 well-armed and trained soldiers. The missions at this time seem to have presented the same kind of happy half-civilisation which is now seen among the Sandwich islanders. As wealth was not allowed to accumulate, no excessive labour was necessary. The Indians were beginning to cultivate a natural taste both for the fine and the useful arts ; and numerous musicians, painters, and handicraftsmen of all sorts had settled among them from Germany and Italy. The peace, contentment, and obedience of their settlements contrasted advantageously with those of the Spanish colonies in their vicinity. Their churches were large, and richly adorned, even by comparison with the wealthy foundations of Brazil and Peru. They had a code of laws at once humane and effectual ; there was no capital punishment ; and the system of penalties was reinforced by a system of rewards. In a state of things presenting so strange a contrast to all around, it is not wonderful that the Jesuits should be anxious to avert the possibility of change or degeneration. With this view all intercourse

with strangers was rigorously interdicted. If any one arrived in the territory of the missions, he was treated for a day or two with a certain degree of hospitality. He was escorted by the fathers from one mission to another, until he was out of the country, and never suffered to hold communication with the natives. When the latter were taken out of Paraguay on military service, they were never allowed to mix with their neighbours, and returned to their country as unsophisticated as when they left it. No European language was communicated to the Indians. The fathers selected a particular dialect of the Indian tongue which they endeavoured to make the universal language of the missions; and in this language all their affairs were transacted.

7. *The Jesuits in other Colonies.*—Wherever the Portuguese vessels had sailed, the Jesuits had gone with them. They gained a settlement in Japan, at the establishment of commercial relations between that country and Portugal; and they are said to have numbered at one time in that country not less than 400,000 converts to Christianity. However this may be, they were wealthy and powerful; their political power indeed was great enough to excite the alarm of the established Government. Their pretensions to the estates of a rich convert were made the pretext for a general persecution; and as they were strong enough to interpose an effectual resistance, the Japanese raised a crusade against them. After a great battle of two days' duration, the Christians were defeated; the persecution ran its course unchecked; and by 1649 every trace of Christianity had disappeared from Japan. In China they were for a while more fortunate. Their scientific attainments were here fully appreciated; they were made mandarins of the first class, and even when in 1722 their churches were destroyed, and they were forbidden to make further conversions, their reputation as practical mathematicians and almanac-makers, as well as their great property, rescued them from molestation until the abolition of the order. Xavier's college at Goa was the centre of their operations in India; and the famous Inquisition of that town, the main object of which was to destroy wealthy Hindoos and appropriate their riches, was mainly under their direction. In 1624 their missions had spread up the Ganges as far as the borders of Thibet. But the Jesuits, like all Christian missionaries, had far more success among the wild nations of the West than

when competing with the ancient religious systems of the civilised East. In 1625 they established a mission in Canada which preached Christianity through the Indian tribes as far as California. In the sixteenth century, before they commenced their great independent establishment on the Plate River, they had converted vast numbers of the Indians in Peru. Their missions gradually extended on both sides of the great Amazon River, which connects the two countries. They also made great efforts to convert the Indians of New Mexico, and here they came in contact with the Jesuits of France. The conquest of Chili was very much due to the success of their preaching among the Araucanians. Thus we see that the work which began in violent and cruel conquests was gradually advanced on all sides by peaceful conversions.

8. *Fall of the Jesuits.*—The same state which afforded the Jesuits the opportunity of their development commenced their ruin. Pombal, the ablest and boldest minister of his age, noticed with jealousy and apprehension their growing wealth and power; and with the view of depriving them of the commerce of the Amazon River, he made a law forbidding commerce of any kind to the clergy. Shortly afterwards he made another, making it illegal for the Order of Jesuits to hold slaves. These laws pressed only on the Jesuits of Brazil; but in 1750, he surrendered to Spain all the claims of Portugal upon St. Sacramento, and took in exchange a portion of the mission district of the Uruguay. The Jesuits vainly opposed to this proposition all the influence they could command at the courts of Lisbon and Madrid; and in the end they resisted by force of arms the demand made on them by Pombal for the evacuation of their colonies. They were defeated; and the issue foreshadowed the time, now close at hand, when the order succumbed all over the world to political causes. The genius of the Jesuits was opposed to the strong spirit of political reform which from the middle of the eighteenth century spread all over Europe, and naturally extended to the American colonies. Their resistance had excited the suspicions of Pombal. A trial in France relating to the commercial transactions of the order in Martinique produced a scrutiny of their books and constitutions, which were pronounced to be so dangerous that it was necessary to suppress them in that country. Shortly after this the king of Portugal was assassinated; suspicion was thrown on the Jesuits,

especially on Father Malagrida, and they were summarily expelled from that country and from Brazil. In 1767 they were expelled from Spain and Naples. Finally, pressure was put on the Pope, and their order was dissolved in 1773. The effect of their proscription upon Paraguay was disastrous. In 1768, possession of their settlements was taken by the bitter enemies of the founders, the officials of the Government of Buenos Ayres. The Indians of Paraguay, parcelled out into new provinces, rapidly fell into the same condition of revolt and barbarism which marked their neighbours, and from which the missionary fathers had raised them. The friars of other religious orders, who succeeded the Jesuits as pastors, ill supplied their place. The natives had no political organization of their own; and it seemed as if all traces of the Jesuit government were blotted out. But in the end, as we shall shortly see, the Jesuit system was revived in lay hands, and the peculiar despotism and seclusion which marked the rise of the state of Paraguay characterise it to this day.

CHAPTER VII.

GROWTH OF THE COLONIES.

Importance of the Colonies (1)—Character of the old Colony System (2)—Effect on Europe (3)—Commercial Companies (4)—South Sea Company (5)—Spanish System (6)—Brazil (7)—Canada (8)—English North America (9)—Systematic Immigration (10)—The Plantations (11)—Dutch Colonial Policy (12)—Portuguese and French in the East (13, 14).

I. Importance of the Colonies.—The middle period of colonial history, including the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, is marked by a great development of the American colonies, while the European settlements in the East did not much increase either in number or importance. In America several new European nations were gradually formed; while in the East there was nothing of the kind, as the settlements were mostly in the hands of commercial companies, whose officers always returned to Europe,

while those Europeans who remained in the East became mixed with the natives. But the same system of administration was applied to both; the same soldiers fought to defend the colonies of both hemispheres, and the same merchants often competed for their trade. The settlements of the French and English in North America were at first only trading-stations. And as the American colonies increased in extent and population, their trade with Europe greatly increased in importance. Trade, navigation, and colonization were still as much mixed up as ever. The nation that had most colonies had most ships; that which had most ships had most trade and most sailors; that which had most trade had most capital; and that which had most capital, most sailors, and most ships, was mistress of the ocean, which had now become the highway of the world's wealth. Thus we see that the colonies had destroyed the old balance of power in Europe. The Empire had long lost the leading position. The states about the Mediterranean fell into a lethargy; and all the enterprise that was left in continental Europe passed into the service of some one of the colonial powers. When the hour of Spain was over, the Dutch held the first place (1600-1650); the policy of Cromwell enabled the English to compete with them (1650-1688); and after the Revolution the Dutch and English were united to check the pretensions of France. The interests of Europe in its colonies became stronger every year; and a complicated colonial system was formed, which stretched over every quarter of the globe.

2. **Character of the old Colony System.**—Perhaps the nearest parallel to the colony system as it was during this period is to be found in the early times of the Roman Empire. The states of Greece never ruled over their colonies in Asia, in Italy, or in Sicily. Though respect and affection were kept up, more or less, on either side, they never went beyond a feeling of alliance caused by community of blood and language, and the sense of the same destiny towards the rest of the world. But the conquests of Rome were treated something like the American colonies of Spain. In Greece, a state which had founded a colony made no pretence to reign over it, nor did it claim that the policy and internal economy of the colony ought to be directed by the interests of the parent country, so as to lead to the exclusion of other nations from its soil, and of their commodities from its markets. All this,

little more than a century ago, was not only maintained in theory, but practically carried out, and quietly acquiesced in, all over the New World. The system seemed so well established that people not merely were ignorant of its impending collapse, but doubted of the success of any attempt to overturn it; and the nations of Europe have clung to what is left of it with extraordinary obstinacy. We may describe the colonial system in few words by saying that under it the settlements of Europeans abroad were held to be not *nations*, but *proprietary domains*, or *farms, worked for the benefit of the mother-country*. A similar maxim was in use among the politicians of the old Roman Empire. Just as a great landlord might have several estates in different counties, or even countries, so a nation was understood to people its several colonies in different parts of the world. They might be large, or small; a continent, or an island; inhabited by natives, by settlers, or by a mixed race; one and all were *estates of the mother-country*, farmed for its benefit. The mother-country laid them all down on its charts; and it concerted schemes for their defence and extension. Of some it made strongholds to protect the rest, and whenever war was declared, the colonial ships became privateers, and harassed the trade of the enemy. In this way France used the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon as outposts of India, and St. Lucie and Martinique were chiefly forts for the defence of the more productive colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe. Among the English islands Antigua and Barbadoes fulfilled the same function. The mother-country, taking post upon these military centres, sought to extend its borders. It conquered where it could, and bought, sold, or exchanged elsewhere, as was deemed most for its profit. Colonies were valued mainly according to the profit derived from each. To import their produce cheaply, and to encourage them to a large consumption of home manufactures, were among the first cares of European politicians; and they secured to the mother-country the full benefit of this profitable relation by excluding all other countries from participating in it. Thus, England prevented the New Englanders at once from manufacturing cotton for themselves and from importing the manufactured cotton of France.

3. Effect on Europe.—Those nations which had possessions of their own beyond sea, or a trade with those of other nations, quickly advanced in wealth and in influence

at home. Sir Walter Raleigh showed the English that the wealth and power of Spain rested entirely on her colonial possessions, and that of Holland on her commercial activity; and during the years that followed all the seagoing nations aimed, as we have seen, at having possessions abroad, and at keeping the trade with these in their own hands. First Holland, and then England, became greatly enriched, the former mainly through the trade of the East India islands, the latter through that of the West Indies; and a social progress began which soon left the old states of Continental Europe far behind. We may trace this even in the outward aspect of the European towns. Most of the old towns of Germany and Italy, for instance, seem to have changed very little between the fifteenth or sixteenth century and the beginning of the present one; but in Holland and England, and in the commercial towns of France and Spain, we can see that wealth was continually pouring into the country. The lesser maritime nations were also drawn into the stream of commerce. A Danish East India Company was formed in 1618, and the settlement of Tranquebar was obtained. The Company failed; but another was formed, which lasted until 1729. The Swedish East India Company, though it had no settlement of its own, was more successful than the Danish. Its chief trade was with China. In 1638 a Swedish settlement was formed on the banks of the Delaware in North America, but the Dutch conquered it in 1656. Denmark and Sweden took but little share in colonization, but they did not remain so entirely out of the field as the feudal powers of Germany and Russia. It was the rise of England and Holland which induced Peter the Great to try to raise his country to the level of the times; and thus we see that the Colonies and their trade are connected with the growth of the great power which overshadows Asia from the north. Russia soon traded to China by means of a mercantile company, and later on she acquired a large tract in North America for carrying on the fur trade.

4. **Commercial Companies.**—The system of commercial companies grew naturally out of the establishment of commercial relations between the hostile and jealous governments of mediæval Europe. War and commerce are only two means of gaining the same end; and a state of commerce generally succeeds a state of war. When one government had gained from another advantageous

terms of trade, it was always tempted to anticipate the benefit by bargaining away its right to a body of adventurers, who were always far readier than private individuals to pay a good sum for commercial privileges, as well as better able to pay the expenses and stand the risk which attended them. These were held to be so great, that nothing short of a total monopoly was sufficient to recompense them. A great change was coming about in the social aspect of commerce. Sir Walter Raleigh, who first projected the colonization of America, had a monopoly of wine in England; and such men had much to do with the getting up of companies. However beneficial these companies may have been in the beginnings of colonies, there can be no doubt that they stunted their growth, by depriving the European consumer of the advantages of competition. Nor was the system itself calculated to last very long. Out of fifty-eight exclusive companies, forty-six failed completely, and eight were suppressed or surrendered their charters. The English East India Company was in the middle of the eighteenth century the only example of brilliant success; the Dutch Company was in its decline; the Spanish Philippine Company was in a condition of doubtful prosperity, and the numerous companies with which France had embarrassed the rise of Canada, of Louisiana, and of St. Domingo had all been signal failures. The companies of Denmark, and those of the ports of Emden and Ostend, had the same fate. And Portugal, which never allowed any society of traders to interfere between its Government and its colonies, until 1756, when Pombal, seduced by French examples, established one for Brazil, was an example of a nation vastly enriched by its colonies without the aid of exclusive companies. The abolition of the companies of St. Domingo, in 1722, was for France the beginning of a blaze of colonial prosperity which astonished Europe. By the time when the system of completely subjecting each set of colonies, commercially and politically, to the mother-country was at its height, the system of exclusive companies was far advanced in its decline.

5. **The South Sea Company.**—The most conspicuous example of the failure of a great commercial company was one formed in England in the time of Queen Anne to carry on a trade with the South Sea countries, that is, with Spanish America in general and the Pacific islands. The great expectations formed of this company were art-

fully fostered by its promoters, and its shares at one time rose to eight times their original value. But it proved the ruin of every one who trusted in it, for it never had any trade worth mentioning. The best of the trades with New Spain was thought to be the slave trade; and the English deprived the French company of the contract under which this was carried on, called the *Assiento*, and put it in the hands of the South Sea Company: but this trade produced no great returns. For some years this company sent an annual ship for general trade to New Spain, and they engaged largely in the whale-fishery; but they lost by everything, and in the end they ceased to trade altogether, and the capital of the company was converted into annuity stock.

6. Spanish System.—Of all colonial systems the Spanish was the most grotesque and antiquated. It limited the trade of America not only to its own subjects, but to a single place in its territory. Seville was at first the only port of embarkation for the Indies; but the inconveniences of its situation caused the privilege to be extended to Cadiz. Spain only saw too late that by opening all her ports to the American trade she might effectually profit by her colonial possessions. Her original system was obstinately adhered to for two hundred years, the consequence being that she was in the end weakened rather than strengthened by her American possessions, that her colony trade was comparatively the smallest and least remunerative in Europe, and that she chiefly fulfilled the function of bringing silver to Europe for the use of the traders of other nations. The monopoly of Cadiz and Seville was abolished in 1778, and by ten years afterwards her importations from America were increased more than tenfold. But in the meantime, a comparatively free system in the English colonies had raised up a vast nation by her side; Florida was added to English America in 1763; and it was not difficult to foresee the annexation of New Mexico, New Navarre, and California. Spanish America presented a group of nations widely scattered and greatly differing in their composition. In Mexico, and still more in Peru, the natives were far more numerous than the Europeans, and the traditions of the cruel conquest which subjected them to their European masters subsisted still unsoftened. The Peruvians had never been thoroughly subdued; and strangely enough they were

allowed to keep an annual festival which revived the memory of their independence. The Spanish grandees seldom lived far away from the town, as in Central America they seldom lived far from the seashore or the banks of the gold-bearing rivers, and the natives lived alone and unmolested, provided that they paid their tax regularly. In Central America, Chile, and the Plate River settlements, they were mixed with a larger proportion of Europeans; but everywhere an odious distinction was maintained between the Creoles, or Americans born, whether of pure or mixed race, and the officials sent out by the Spanish Government. In this way the elements of a future struggle for independence had long been preparing. The only political change in 200 years consisted in an increase in the number of viceroyalties. Spanish America had been originally divided into those of Mexico and Peru; but in 1739, *Terra Firma*, as the southern continent north of Guiana was called by the navigators who first discovered it, together with the North Peruvian province of Quito, were erected into a separate viceroyalty by the name of New Granada. After the abolition of the Jesuit Government in Paraguay and California, these parts were provided for by the establishment of a fourth viceroyalty of the Plate River (1776), and by sending a separate governor, but without the rank and state of a viceroy, to New Mexico. The maxims of the colony system were rigorously carried out. The Peruvians were not allowed to cultivate the olive and the vine, that the oil and wine of Spain might have a wider market; pepper was prohibited in Puerto Rico, and hemp and flax were exterminated in Chile. The expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain in 1611 began the ruin of the real prosperity of Spain. A million of the most industrious of the inhabitants of Spain were driven into exile; and Spain, so far as regarded her colony trade, became merely the factor of other nations. As Spain declined in Europe, her insular possessions fell into the hands of her rivals, and her inability to defend even those on the mainland against other powers became clear. Anson had, during the war of the Austrian succession, proved the feasibility of an English conquest of Peru. Portugal, with all that belonged to it, was by this time regarded as a mere dependency of England; and there was a general belief that England would in the end absorb all America. The English were thoroughly exasperated with the

Spaniards; many of the mercantile party wished to see the attempt made; and the jealousies and threats of France sometimes drove England in the direction of making it. But a better alternative has been found; though if we substitute for England the English political system, we shall see in the end that the common forecast was not very wide of the mark.

7. *Brazil.*—Brazil and the English colonies alike profited by the neglect of the mother countries. Brazil, though the richest, most extensive, and most promising of all the European settlements, had advanced but slowly, in comparison with the English colonies, since the Dutch evacuated it in 1654. The abundant supply of provisions yielded by the missions stimulated the plantations; and by the end of the seventeenth century the exports of sugar and tobacco were greater than ever. The discovery of gold in the south gave a great impulse to the prosperity of Brazil, and raised into importance the port of Rio Janeiro, which became the residence of the viceroy, and the place where the gold was collected and coined. The governor, appointed for five years, was usually a soldier of some repute. His chief business was to keep the Europeans and natives in order, and to protect the coast against invasion; and his post was often a stepping-stone to that of Viceroy of India. About 1685 the Portuguese Government first began to think of systematically improving their rich colony. One of the most remarkable of the governors of Brazil was John of Lancaster (1694–1702). He was said to be of royal English descent; he improved the revenues, built several new towns, and reduced the Maroon state of Palmares, which must have numbered 20,000 inhabitants. It was in his time that the gold of the south was discovered, and it was by him that the province of Minas Geraes was organised. The Portuguese allowed the mestizos, or half-breeds, to hold lands in their new townships. In 1710 the colony of Recife was founded. The municipal rights which it obtained were thought to be an encroachment on the privileges of Pernambuco. The inhabitants of that town rose in arms and besieged Recife; and the insurrection was only quelled with the aid of a fleet from Europe. The Methuen treaty (1703) placed Portugal completely on the side of England, and in the war of the Spanish succession two expeditions (1710, 1711) were despatched by Louis XIV. to attack Brazil. The

first was unsuccessful ; but in the next Rio Janeiro was taken, and the French carried off a rich booty. In 1728 diamonds were discovered, and as all these treasures were imported into Portugal under the protection of England and her allies, the mother-country, unlike Spain, reaped the full benefit of them. The years which followed were marked by a great extension of mines, missions, and settlements, and in 1750 the boundaries of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions were settled by a treaty. The numerous insurrections of the blacks and Indians prove the cruelty which accompanied the rise of Brazilian prosperity. The success of the struggle for independence in English America probably encouraged the insurrection of Minas Geraes which broke out in 1789. It was secretly favoured by the merchants of Rio ; but the government suppressed it without much difficulty, and the leader, a cavalry officer named Xavier, was executed at Villa Rica. But it was impossible to control the desire for independence, and fortunately opportunities were successively afforded for gaining it in a more peaceful way than happened in Spanish America. On the occasion of the terrible earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, Pombal nearly executed the project of bodily transferring the court and government of Portugal to its great dependency. He anticipated actual events by only sixty years.

8. **Canada.**—French America was quickly eclipsed in importance by New England. For many years neither Acadia nor Quebec were more than a few temporary settlements made by fishermen and traders, with some forts for their protection, and backed, in the case of Canada, by half-cultivated tracts of land in the hands of poor seigneurs and their peasants, living in ignorance and isolation from the rest of the world. The Jesuits were hard at work among the Indians ; but under Richelieu's company the colony made no perceptible advance. In 1662 the company resigned its charter ; the colony was thenceforth placed under a governor and council nominated by the king ; and it began to increase and prosper. About 1685 the French settlers began to encroach on New England ; and before the end of the century the Canadians had made a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. By the peace of Utrecht, Acadia, with its 16,000 French inhabitants, was ceded to England ; but the efforts of the French to occupy the Ohio and Mississippi seemed to be only the more determined. The war of the Austrian

succession was marked in America by the capture of Louisburg (1745); but it was restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. During these years the English colonies were greatly increasing; and the French, foreseeing the struggle which was impending, took measures for defending the frontier of the great lakes. They strengthened the fortifications of Niagara, they built large vessels on Lake Ontario, and they organised the Canadian militia. This national rivalry between the north and south sides of the great American lakes has subsisted unchanged until our own times. During this period the inhabitants of New France became a nation, as they fondly termed themselves, *La Nation Canadienne*. A native of Canada was called an *habitant*: and nowhere in the New World has so intense a national feeling been developed. It has extended to the English settlements in Upper Canada, though here, of course, it has a different foundation.

9. *English North America.*—The growth of the English colonies between the Revolution of 1688, which secured them a degree of liberty enjoyed by those of no other nation, and the disputes which led to Independence (1767—1775) has no parallel in history. These colonies differed much in their forms of government. The charter governments, such as the New England States, in which the governor was chosen annually by popular election, and the proprietary governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland, had no dependence on the executive government of England, and they transacted their business with it through agents of their own, resident in England. The Crown colonies were St. John's, Newfoundland, including the island of that name, and the continent between the river St. John and Hudson's Straits; Nova Scotia; New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, all of which gained their independence together with the charter and proprietary governments which adjoined them; the Bahamas, important only through the little settlement of New Providence. The influence of the growth of the colonies on the trade and manufactures of England had been enormous. The exports to the colonies in 1775 were equal to the whole export trade of England, including the colonies, in the first year of the century; while the growth of individual settlements may be estimated by that of Pennsylvania, which in 1772 took in nearly fifty times the amount of British imports which it consumed in 1704. It was im-

possible that this immense increase should not greatly strain the Act of Navigation, originally only intended to gain for English ships the carrying-trade of the West Indies. This Act was, in fact, greatly relieved in some points, and not observed at all in others. We have seen how the contraband trade carried on between the English colonies and the French and Dutch sugar islands contributed to depress the sugar trade of the English West Indies. The existence of this trade was well known to the British Government, but it was not easy to decide how to deal with it. The armaments which had been sent out from England, Holland, and France against the buccaners had proved the impossibility of suppressing by force any trade which was tolerated by the colonists themselves. The North American colonies produced far more for export than Great Britain or her islands could possibly consume, nor was Great Britain able to supply all the commercial demands of British America. Common sense would have said that the colonists should be allowed to trade with their neighbours for themselves; but this would have been to destroy the Navigation Act, which was regarded as the safeguard of English trade and navigation. The difficulty was solved by the invention of a new system of taxation. A high duty was laid on all foreign sugar, rum, and molasses imported into British colonies; while the English sugar islands were allowed to send those commodities direct to other parts of Europe. Other privileges were granted to the colonies from time to time, in exchange for other duties; and in this way the competence of the British Parliament to lay taxes upon the colonies was first recognised.

10. *Systematic Immigration.*—We have seen how Penn encouraged persons of all nations and religious persuasions to settle in America. In this he followed the example of the Dutch; and he established for North America a principle which has now been extended to the whole of it, and indeed to most of the civilised world. English America had become celebrated throughout Europe as a refuge from persecution. The advantages of the colonial life soon became apparent. Swarms of Germans and Swiss settled there, attracted by the prosperity of their kinsmen. The overflow of the peasant population of Ireland and Scotland soon regularly poured thither. In 1729 over 6,000 immigrants came to Pennsylvania alone, four-fifths of whom were Irish. Two thousand Irish sailed every

year from Belfast, and by 1740 this port as well as Derry had a large and regular passenger trade. New York was the favourite destination of the Irish, while the Germans of the Palatinate, Wurtemberg, and Switzerland found their way in great numbers to Philadelphia. Above twenty ships sailed for this port laden with German emigrants every year, long before the War of Independence; and thus English America drained Europe of some of its most adventurous and its hardiest elements. Labour was eagerly demanded in the new lands, and kidnappers in the pay of English and Dutch merchants spread all over Europe, persuading the poor peasantry, groaning under the last years of continental feudalism, to quit the soil to which they were bound for the land of wealth and liberty. On their arrival they were compelled to bargain themselves away for a certain number of years, usually four. Pennsylvania, where land was to be had cheapest, was the great inlet of foreigners, and as time went on the German immigrants outnumbered the English and Irish in the proportion of four to one. The latter did not, in general, thrive so well as the more frugal and industrious Germans, and sought their fortunes further south in Carolina and Georgia. The latter colony, settled on a waste part of Carolina in 1732, as an outpost against the attacks of France and Spain aided by the hostile tribes of Indians, was settled on conditions which, however laudable in themselves, threw it back in the race of progress. No negroes were permitted; the importation of rum from the West Indies was forbidden; no immigrant received more than twenty-five acres of land; and it was attempted to keep it in the family by making it inheritable only by the settler's male issue. None of these enactments worked well; they were abolished, and the colony was placed on a similar footing to South Carolina. No other country, except the Dutch colony at the Cape, affords during the eighteenth century the spectacle of thousands of agricultural labourers leaving Europe, taking possession of lands beyond sea, and cultivating them for themselves. The *boers*, or peasants, emigrated in great numbers to the Cape, where the Dutch East India Company readily granted them a certain quantity of land, though it allowed them no political privileges whatever.

11. **The Plantations.** — Though the planters mainly relied on negro labour, the spirit of adventure, poverty and failure at home, and the system of transporting debtors

and criminals, replenished the West Indies with a class of labourers who often raised themselves to be small planters and proprietors. Here too English policy permitted the establishment of such forms of government as might be suitable to each island, without any care for uniformity, or for any stricter connection with the mother-country than was already secured by the Navigation Acts. At the breaking out of the War of Independence the English West Indies were divided into four governments. 1. That of Barbadoes; 2. The Windward Islands, which included Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago; 3. The Leeward Islands, including Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, Barbadoes, Anguilla, Tortola, together with several of the adjoining Virgin group; 4. Jamaica. Each of these governments enjoyed the same degree of liberty as the royal or provincial governments of the American continent. The governor had his lieutenant-governor and his council, and the people had their own assemblies, their own law-courts. They made their own statute laws, taking that of England as a basis; and this liberty of legislation often led to great confusion. In the Leeward Islands, for instance, the assembly, sitting sometimes at Nevis and sometimes at Antigua, would pass a law which affected all the islands; but it often made special laws for some one or more of them, just as the British Parliament now often makes special laws for England and for Ireland. Again, in some colonies the powers vested in the governor were very limited, and nothing of importance could be done without a certain number of his council; but the administration in these, as in other cases where personal responsibility is lessened, was not always the best. The Church of England was established in many of these islands by Acts of Assembly, as in the southern colonies of the continent; but there were no bishops. The governor presented to vacant benefices, and exercised the functions of ecclesiastical judges at home. The clergy were sometimes paid by a certain quantity of sugar, as in Virginia they received their stipends in tobacco. Each assembly government regulated the trade of its own shipping, amounting sometimes to 400 or 500 sail. It will be seen that the functions of the legislative assemblies were likely to become very extensive and complicated. In the Leeward Islands the business of the assembly became so heavy, that a separate assembly was established for each of the islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat,

and Antigua. The details of the government enjoyed by these small but wealthy colonies are important, because they illustrate the contrast between those of England and of other nations, and because they were afterwards repeated on a greater scale in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The West India governments were chiefly occupied with the problem of keeping the negroes, who everywhere far outnumbered the whites, in proper order and subjection. They made countless laws for this purpose; but the negroes often broke out in rebellion, which was always cruelly suppressed. The most flourishing period of the British West Indies, though not their greatest extent and population, had been reached in the beginning of the eighteenth century. With the decline of white labour, and the exclusive use of that of negroes, their comparative produce declined. The pretence that the Antilles cannot be cultivated without negroes or coolies is refuted by plain facts. The white creoles of Anguilla and Tortola, and the Ten Acre men of Barbadoes, were instances of successful cultivation by hardy and temperate persons; while numbers of white people in Carolina and Georgia have always raised both grain and rice without negro labour. A white man, with a light plough and two horses, will cultivate as much land as seven negroes with hoes. But the great planters were always jealous of their poorer neighbours, and as they were able to sell their sugars cheaper, and to speculate on a larger scale, they bought them up as fast as they could. Hence the white population daily decreased; but it is to the policy of the great planters and to the great masses of capital in their hands, rather than to the necessity for negro labour, which grew in the end to an abuse too great to be tolerated, that the decline of the islands is truly attributable. Had negroes never been introduced into these islands, probably they would have been far more prosperous, and a source of far greater wealth to the mother-country than has been the case. The French plantations first rivalled and then exceeded the prosperity of the English. The Spanish islands were in a backward condition; and the Dutch islands were chiefly trading stations. °

12. *The Dutch Colonial Policy.*—While the settlements of England and France were fast rising into importance, the former through constant immigration, and the latter through a wise application of capital and industry, those of Holland, except Surinam, did not increase either in

wealth or in extent. From 1700 to 1740 the Dutch Company were the first commercial power in the East; but though they continued to make conquests, they were not really increasing in prosperity. Some remarkable ideas were conceived by a Swiss in their employ, named John Purry. He thought that the commercial countries of Europe should not confine themselves to trading with the old nations, but that they should send out people to form permanent and self-supporting settlements. He had observed that latitudes of about thirty and forty degrees from the equator, such as those of Southern Europe, Carolina, Chile, and Rio Janeiro, were most favourable for Europeans. In 1718, he presented a memorial to the Dutch India Company, urging them to plant new colonies on the Kaffir coast beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and on that part of the coast of New Holland which is now called South Australia. Here he wished to see European settlements producing corn, fruit, wine, and oil, and carrying on a trade with India. But the Dutch were afraid for their spice trade, and Purry was expelled from the service of the company. He then carried his proposals to France, where they were referred to the Academy of Sciences. This learned body wisely refused to judge of countries which they had never seen; and Purry went to England. The English were more interested in America than in the coasts of the Indian Ocean. They sent him home to collect a number of Swiss Protestants, with whom he sailed for Carolina; and there, around Purrysburg, on the savannah which divides Carolina and Georgia, their descendants dwell to this day. Purry, like many other men whose names have perished, was a hundred years in advance of his age. The Dutch East India Company was a hundred years behind it.

¶ 3. *The Portuguese and French in the East.*—Though the Portuguese remained undisturbed in the possession of their East African settlements, the recovery of their freedom came too late to admit of their keeping more than a remnant of their once vast commercial empire in the East. And after the alliance of the new Portuguese dynasty with the English, the Dutch pursued them with still greater vigour. They drove them from Cochin in 1662, and from Pegu in 1719. Goa, Daman, and Diu were their chief possessions in India; in the Spice Islands they retained only a part of the Island of Timor, and nothing in China but the port of Macao. While the vast trade of

the Dutch maintained itself firmly, in spite of the weakness inherent in the system of an exclusive company, and England and France were rapidly extending their commerce, the trade of the Portuguese settlements became less and less, and declined more than ever after Pombal had established an exclusive company at Goa. The Dutch in the East had acquired Malacca, the ancient emporium of the Moorish merchants; and this, together with Batavia, made them masters of the only two known channels of navigation between Europe and the Spice Islands. They had great factories in Sumatra; Ceylon, from which they had driven the Portuguese in 1658, yielded them cinnamon, pepper, precious stones, areca nuts, ivory, and pearls; they had numerous settlements on the Coromandel coast of India, but on the Malabar coast the Portuguese, French, and English had the best of the trade. Java was the centre of their commercial empire. Unlike the Portuguese, they tolerated the Eastern religions; the Mohammedan sultans of this fertile island acknowledged their protection one by one, and in 1768 the prince who ruled in its eastern extremity submitted to the Dutch arms. On these native princes the Dutch Company contented themselves with levying an annual tribute of produce marketable in Europe; but they held the neighbourhood of Batavia as an absolute possession. Like many conquered countries, it was deserted by its old inhabitants, and labour was scarce until a large number of Chinese and German emigrants were induced to settle there by selling them land at a low price. The Chinese had long been immigrating in vast numbers into the town of Batavia. They had prospered exceedingly by their industry and frugality, and in 1740, under pretence of a conspiracy, many of them were plundered and massacred. But they proved indispensable, both in agriculture and in manufactures; and forty years after this there were 200,000 Chinese in Batavia and its vicinity. The company exacted from them heavy capitation and other taxes; and they are said to have received no less than 15,000*l.* sterling a year in licenses to them to keep gambling-houses. The company itself no longer paid, it is true, the enormous dividends of 30 and 40 per cent. which were common in its early years; but 12½ per cent. was regularly paid when Warren Hastings was consolidating English authority on the mainland of India. The position of the company necessitated

numerous petty wars and constant vigilance against the Malay pirates ; they maintained too many establishments ; and finally, the English and French, having discovered through Dutch experience what were the profitable and the unprofitable departments of the East Indian trade, sought to supplant them in the former, leaving them in possession of the latter. And the sudden rise of England and France as military powers on the Indian continent caused great alarm to the Company, whose military forces, though numerous, were mixed and ill-disciplined. The exploits of Clive clearly foreshadowed the time when Ceylon and the Cape Settlement must fall into the hands of the English, and they were thought to foreshadow much more ; for French engineers had already planned the capture of Batavia, the greatest European settlement in the East.

14. **The French.**—The conquest to which the expedition of Columbus was intended to lead, and which had been outlined in the brilliant but transitory exploits of Albuquerque, was too great to be accomplished in a single generation, or even a single century. During 250 years several maritime powers had been feeling their way on the continent of India. Spain had been at last perpetually excluded from the Eastern trade by the treaty of Munster in 1648, which the Dutch took care to enforce, though the Spaniards tried to set up an East India Company in 1732. The Danes, the Swedes, and the people of the Austrian Netherlands had taken part in its commerce ; but the events of the eighteenth century showed that here, as in Europe, the grand rivalry lay between England and France. The dream of universal empire had passed from the house of Austria to that of France. A combination of Germany with England had defeated the effort in Europe ; but it was made with better chance of success in America and the East, where England stood alone against the French arms. The merchants of Normandy and Brittany had tried, without much success, to establish a trade with India ; but in 1664 Colbert founded the French East India Company, with privileges greater than those enjoyed by the Dutch Company. A settlement was obtained at Surat, the chief port of the Mogul Empire, and the richest mart of India, in 1668. The English and Dutch had factories here ; but the French surpassed them in success. On the Eastern coast they soon after obtained Pondicherry. It was taken by the Dutch in 1693, but restored at the Peace

of Ryswick. Here the interests of the French were watched over by a series of bold and patient administrators. Dumas obtained the liberty of coining money, and a large cession of territory, which placed in his hands all the trade of the Carnatic. He was strong enough to keep the victorious Mahrattas at bay. In 1720 the French had taken possession of Mauritius, abandoned by the Dutch, and called it the Isle of France; and under Labourdonnais it now became a thriving colony. But it was to Dupleix, the governor of Chandernagore, in Bengal, that the chief successes of the French in India were due. Dupleix was himself a wealthy speculator; and, following his advice, the French Company, secure of the favour of the Mogul, extended their trade in all directions, from Chandernagore over the continent. They also traded on an increased scale by sea, from the Arabian Gulf to the Spice Islands; and the name of Dupleix became so famous, that after twelve years at Chandernagore he was sent to Pondicherry to take the general management of the affairs of the Company. Had the views of Dupleix and Labourdonnais been seconded by the French Government, it is probable that the great empire of India would never have fallen into the hands of the English. They foresaw the impending struggle, and unceasingly urged the necessity of keeping a strong squadron in the Indian seas. The court of Versailles was of another opinion; and when the war actually broke out, the English were not driven, as they might have been, from the sea, though Labourdonnais defeated them and made himself master of the English settlement of Madras. Divisions took place in the French Company: Dupleix opposed the views of Labourdonnais, who returned to Europe in disgust. The English then laid siege to Pondicherry, but the peace which followed stayed the struggle for a time. In the meantime, the advantage had hitherto been on the side of France. Dupleix, seeing the advantages which the territorial possessions of the Company had procured him in the Carnatic, procured the cession of six hundred miles of coast in Orissa. Intimately acquainted with the politics of the Mogul court, he procured in 1751 the appointment of two of his allies as Subah of the Deccan, a territorial authority extending from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, and Nabob of the Carnatic. He intended to become the military lieutenant of these princes, to seize upon the

Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast, and thus to make the French masters of the whole sea-board from Goa to the Ganges. The English, however, opposed these vast pretensions by setting up an anti-Nabob in the person of Mohammed Ali Khan; and a desultory war, the centres of which were at Madras and Pondicherry, was carried on until 1755, in the name of the Companies and of the native pretenders whom they favoured, but openly abetted by the Government of both nations in Europe. Thus we see that both in America and in India a great struggle between England and France was now impending. The Portuguese and Spaniards had fallen out of the race; the Dutch were resting on their successes; the attempts of all other nations were insignificant; England and France were each making rapid advances; and neither in the East nor in the West was there room for both side by side. England conquered in the struggle, and the way was then prepared for changes which completely destroyed the whole system of the European Colonies, and left in its place one of free nations. The steps which led to this great revolution will be described in the two succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLONIAL SUPREMACY OF ENGLAND.

Conquest of Canada (1)—in the West Indies (2)—in the East (3)—The Definitive Treaty (4)—French Guiana (5)—The Dutch in India (6)—Science and History (7)—Captain Cook (8)—English Finance and Policy (9)—Real aspect of Colonial affairs (10).

I. Conquest of Canada.—Two-and-a-half centuries had elapsed since Europe began the gradual process of colonization in countries beyond her borders, either newly discovered or newly opened to navigation; and the result had been to make the mastery of all that general European enterprise had won a great stake to be played for by the two great naval European powers. The advantage in the coming contest was everywhere on the side of France.

Her settlements were richer and better fortified, and both in the east and in the west she could count on the sympathies of the native population. It was in America that the great contest was begun. The French claimed the basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries, in right of their colony of Louisiana at its mouth; and they thought the Apalachian mountains the natural boundary of the English settlements. The English, however, would not consent to be thus excluded from a territory which has been called "the Garden of the World;" and they settled there in despite of the French claims. Lines of forts were erected for the defence of the settlements of either nation. War broke out in Europe in 1756; and in 1757 it was resolved by Pitt to prosecute it vigorously in America. In 1758 the English landed on Cape Breton Island; Louisburg was taken by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, and the key of Canada was in their hands. The next year the bold resolve was taken of sailing up the St. Lawrence and taking Quebec and Montreal, thus putting an end for ever to the sanguinary struggles of which the Ohio and the Wabash had long been the theatre, and relieving the New England colonists from the apprehension of a hostile nation growing up in their rear. Troops had passed from Canada by the Ohio to Louisiana in 1739, and the road to the south had thus been opened. The French knew the country, and all the operations of the English in the interior had hitherto proved unsuccessful. The expedition of General Braddock in 1755 against Fort Duquesne had proved a disastrous failure. Emboldened by their success, the French had attacked and taken the English fort of Oswego in 1756; and in August 1757 they attacked and took Fort George, the great outpost of England, and the centre of any possible operations by land against Canada. These disasters caused little anxiety to the English, who were secure in their dominion of the sea. Early in 1759 the English fleet sailed from Louisburg up the St. Lawrence. General Wolfe was in command of the Highlanders and Grenadiers which it carried. The French fought bravely point by point; but Wolfe's generalship was irresistible. In the dead of one night in September he landed all his forces under the famous heights of Abraham, and when the French looked out from their intrenchments in the morning they saw that they must either give battle at once or retire into the town and prepare for a siege. Montcalm chose the former, and after a short and

sharp engagement, in which both generals fell, the French gave way. Quebec, the strongest fortress in the world after Gibraltar, surrendered on the 18th of September. This event, though it did not terminate the war, decided its issue. Montreal capitulated in the following year, and England was mistress of the continent of North America from Florida to Labrador.

2. **Conquests in the West Indies.**—The naval power of the English had been demonstrated in the war of 1739, but its greatest exploits were reserved for that of 1756. Pitt was the presiding genius of England, and never has Europe seen a greater war minister. His designs were proportioned to the means at hand for executing them; he chose for their execution the fittest instruments; and, in spite of occasional imprudence, he was everywhere successful. Besides Canada, Pitt directed the naval forces of England to the conquest of the French West India Islands, which were commercially the most valuable possessions of Europe. In April 1759 Barrington took the Island of Guadaloupe; and in 1762 General Monckton and Admiral Rodney took Martinique. Grenada and the other Leeward Islands surrendered without a struggle. St. Domingo was known to be capable of making but a feeble defence; but before its capture entered into Pitt's plans the fears and hostility of Spain had taken an active shape. Pitt declared war in 1762 against Spain; and in the same year he inflicted upon Spain the greatest humiliation she had hitherto experienced. Havana, the capital of Cuba, was attacked and taken by Pocock and Albemarle. It was the key of continental Spanish America, and the incidents of half a century later leave no doubt that the oppressed natives and creoles would gladly have thrown themselves into the arms of England. The entire continent of America, in fact, lay at the feet of the English Government; for the advancing shadow of the great colonial Power had fallen even on its western shores. England had long been engaged in reconnoitring on the Pacific; and Anson, in the war of 1739, had been actually charged with the conquest of Peru and Chile. Unforeseen disasters had checked that great sailor's attempt, but the success of a similar one in favourable circumstances was regarded as certain. To a well-appointed force, resting as on a basis on the friendly ports of Brazil, and doubling the south corner of the continent at the proper season, with the co-operation of the free natives of the south, neither

the Chilean nor the Peruvian coast would be capable of any effectual resistance. The capture of Havana, though it was restored at the Peace of 1763, made an indelible impression on the mind of Europe. For the Spanish American empire it was indeed the beginning of the end. Cuba is now almost all that is left to the Spaniards; and it will perhaps not be many years before Havana, like Mexico and Lima, is the capital of a free state.

3. *Conquests in the East.*—Dupleix had placed the French in possession of four extensive tracts of India, but they were too remote from each other to be defended by one plan of operations. He was besides practically master of the whole Carnatic, the most flourishing province of the Mogul Empire, and the direction of its affairs was now formally tendered to him. But the Court of Versailles saw good reason for declining this proposal; Dupleix was thought to have outstepped the bounds of prudence: he was recalled and replaced by Lally, a man unlike him in every respect. Lally was routed by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash, the English defeated the French squadron at sea, and Pondicherry, after enduring the horrors of famine, surrendered in 1761. Clive had already accomplished that prodigious revolution in Bengal, which placed this province in the Company's hands, and the English now resolved to remove effectually all obstacles to that conquest of territory in India which the success of the policy of Dupleix had proved to be practicable. The French troops were disarmed and despatched to Europe, and by the Definitive Treaty of 1763 France bound herself to maintain no more troops in India. England now established Mohammed Ali Khan, a creature of the Company, as Nabob of Arcot. He resided at Madras, leaving the whole of his dominions to the protection of the Company's arms and the administration of their officers; and in 1767 they obtained from the Subah of the Deccan a concession of immense provinces in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam from which they had driven the French in 1761. Hyder Ali Khan, a soldier of fortune, who had made himself master of Mysore, vainly endeavoured to dislodge them (1768); and from this time forward the English possessions have gone on gradually increasing. In the Eastern Archipelago, as if to prove to Spain that she existed henceforth as a colonial power solely by the forbearance of England, Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, was taken by General Draper

and Admiral Cornish in 1762, and ransomed from pillage at the price of £1,000,000. This ransom was never paid.

4. **The Definitive Treaty.**—The Treaty of 1763, made between England, France, and Spain, and known as the Definitive Treaty, left England everywhere far stronger than at the beginning of the war. North of the English colonies, Canada, with all its dependencies, including Cape Breton, the Dunkirk of North America, was ceded to England; France renounced all claim to Nova Scotia; and in the south gave up all the left bank of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. Spain surrendered Florida. England was thus greatly strengthened in the neighbourhood of Spanish America; but a more important advantage was secured by the possession of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent, together with Grenada and the Grenadines, which were taken in exchange for St. Lucie. The possession of these islands placed the remaining French sugar islands at the mercy of the English fleet, and greatly strengthened England in the neighbourhood of the Spanish mainland. It added, moreover, a great province to the English West Indies. Grenada alone is twice as large as Barbadoes; and the overflow of capital and population of the British Islands now fell upon British soil, instead of enriching the Dutch and Danish Islands. The English settlement of Buccaneer origin, which for 200 years had existed for mahogany-cutting in the Gulf of Honduras, was secured from the molestation of the Spaniards, and in a year or two British Honduras became a regular crown colony. In India the French had to renounce all their military policy; they were bound to build no fortifications and keep no troops in Bengal, and they acknowledged Mohammed Ali Khan as Nabob of the Carnatic.

5. **French Guiana.**—The loss of Canada stimulated the French Government to new projects; and Choiseul proposed to replace it by the creation of a great colony in *Equinoctial France*, as Guiana had been grandly named by Louis XIV. Little enough could have been known of the marshes of Guiana to those who proposed to send out the peasants of Alsace and Lorraine to cultivate them; but there was no lack of emigrants, all eager for wealth. Not only labourers, but tradesmen, capitalists, men of letters, civil and military officials, and even actors and fiddlers, hastened to inscribe their name for the unhappy colony of Kouron, which proved a total failure, after costing France 14,000 men and 30,000,000 francs in

money. The project was revived in 1777 by the Baron de Besner, who proposed to employ on a great scale the labour of the native Indians and the maroon negroes from Dutch Guiana ; but the French, full of West Indian ideas, were unwilling to begin the unprofitable labour of draining the great alluvial flats which are the only productive parts, and fixed their plantations on the barren slopes of the mountains. Nor was it until the system of the Dutch in their thriving settlement had been studied and adopted, that French Guiana began to flourish on a small scale. Its later history has been as unfortunate as its beginnings ; and it is the only colony in the world which has sunk in our own times to the condition of a penal settlement.

6. *The Dutch in India.*—Holland was the only colonial nation that was not affected by the Definitive Treaty, and it was only in the East that the rivalry of England and Holland subsisted. Here indeed the Dutch were strong. From the massacre of Amboyna to the wars of the French Revolution they monopolized the spice trade ; and they had a far larger share of the trade of the Indian peninsula than either the French or English. The Portuguese power in the East was now a mere shadow. There was still a viceroy, who sat under a canopy at Goa, and had under him a court of judges and several provincial generals ; but all the trade of Portuguese India might now have been done by a single English ship, and the East would certainly have been abandoned if the priests had not resisted it on the ground that this would cause the loss of a multitude of souls. Pombal's company completed the ruin. The Dutch East India Company, on the contrary, was the most thriving mercantile body in the world, and it was fully as important to the nation as the English East India Company had become in England half a century later. Besides the islands of Mauritius and Ceylon, and their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope and Mocha, they had settlements at thirty places on the shores of India proper, and eastward of this the trade was theirs without competition. The Company appointed magistrates, generals, and governors, it sent and received embassies, made peace and war, levied troops, fitted out fleets, administered justice, and coined money. England had ruined the colonial empire of France, and shaken to the foundation that of France and Spain, and it now remained to be seen whether that of Holland would bear the shock of her

hostility. We shall shortly see how the question was answered.

7. **Science and History.**—We have not hitherto said how much of the progress of commerce and colonization is due to the steady growth of science at home. From the days of Columbus the art of navigation had steadily advanced with that of shipbuilding. The early sailors had either ill-built and unwieldy ships, which it was only safe to sail under the most favourable circumstances, or else mere cockboats; they were perpetually puzzled by the variation of the compass, and they had nothing to sail by but the plane chart, which could never be rendered accurate, because it is impossible to represent accurately the parts of a spherical surface by a flat picture. Gerard Mercator, a Netherlander, first found out how to make accurate charts about 1569; but it was long before his method was generally adopted. Other Dutchmen made advances in the science of navigation and in the construction of astronomical instruments; but the greatest improvement for many years was the application of *logarithms* to nautical calculations by an Englishman, Edmund Gunter, about 1620. By means of the logarithmic tables anybody who knows the first four rules of arithmetic may easily make accurate reckonings at sea, and what was formerly an intricate and difficult science was thus reduced to a simple mechanical form. Dr. Halley, a great English astronomer, constructed a chart showing the variation of the compass in all parts of the globe by means of the *Halleyan* or *isogonic lines*. This was published in 1700; and its principles were corrected about fifty years later by Euler, who showed that the earth has two magnetic poles, not coinciding with its geographical poles. The scientific societies of England and France vied with each other in these and similar researches; and we may be sure that if the attention of learned men had not been systematically directed to them navigation and commerce, which were the springs of colonization, would long have remained in a backward stage. But the chief obstacle to navigation was always the want of a good method of determining the longitude. The English Government, in the time of Queen Anne, offered £20,000 for an instrument which would do this to a certain degree of accuracy; and nearly fifty years afterwards this reward was won by a Yorkshireman named John Harrison, whose *chronometer* was, perhaps, the greatest invention in navigation since the mariner's compass. In 1767 the Government began to

publish the Nautical Almanac. Cook, of whom we shall shortly speak, carried Harrison's chronometer with him on his famous voyages; and it is impossible to overestimate the importance of all these matters in tracing the growth of trade and colonization.

8. Captain Cook.—When the war broke out in 1756 there was a young seaman engaged in the coal trade, who had raised himself from the position of a common sailor, named James Cook. Refusing promotion in the service of his shipowner, he offered himself for that of the king, distinguished himself in several ways, and took part in the siege of Louisburg. He was entrusted with important duties at the siege of Quebec, but while thus engaged he found time to study Euclid, and supply the defects of his early education. He speedily rose in rank, and as he combined in a remarkable degree great skill in seamanship and astronomy, he was despatched to the Pacific in 1768 to conduct observations of the transit of Venus, which took place in the following year. The transit was observed from Otaheite; and on his return voyage over the Pacific he discovered and surveyed New Zealand and the eastern coast of New Holland, and made his way home by way of Batavia and the Cape, having made in one voyage greater discoveries than any navigator since Columbus. It was immediately perceived that he was qualified to pursue still more extensive discoveries. The map of the world was before these voyages only very imperfectly known. Many groups of islands had never been surveyed, and it was confidently believed that round the south pole of the globe there lay a vast continent called *Terra Australis*, or Southernland. This continent was thought worthy of the attention of the mistress of the colonial world. Cook was intrusted with the task of discovering and exploring it; and in 1772 the *Resolution* and the *Adventure* left Deptford Docks on a voyage of discovery which lasted more than three years. Cook did not discover any *Terra Australis*, but he showed that even if it existed it could not be habitable, and that the coasts of the vast island of New Holland had been mistaken for it. The name was transferred to this great island, which Cook accurately surveyed and made known to the English; and he pointed out how advantageously it might be colonized. Cook's skill and enterprise led the way to the foundation of another important colony. We have already mentioned that dream of the European navigators, the discovery of

a north-west passage to India and China. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 for its discovery, and Cook's third voyage, which he undertook with this view, was the most memorable of all. He did not indeed discover a north-west passage any more than a Terra Australis; but he made it highly probable that no such passage existed. Previous explorers had vainly tried to find it from the east: Cook, by a bold effort of judgment, laid his plan for its discovery by the west. On this famous voyage he discovered the Sandwich Islands, and explored the hitherto unknown western coast of America, north of California, to a length of 3,500 miles. He laid down accurately on his chart the approximating coast-lines of Asia and America, passed the straits which divide them, and saw enough of the Arctic Sea to dispel all hopes of ever reaching the Atlantic from the Pacific, or the Pacific from the Atlantic, by the northern extremity of America. Cook was murdered by the savages of Hawaii on his return from this voyage, which opened to British enterprise the Pacific shore of Canada, Vancouver's Island, and British Columbia. As America owes its fortunes to the genius and daring of Columbus, so Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, and British Columbia, owe their future to the science and adventurous spirit of Cook. Cook destroyed two great geographical illusions: he fixed for ever on the map of the world the outlines of land and ocean; he at once stimulated and regulated the enterprise of those who followed in his steps. The results of his discoveries belong to future parts of colonial history, but his fame was deservedly great in his lifetime. The French never molested his vessels when at war with England, but this generous feeling was not shared by Spain and the American Colonies.

• 9. *English Finance and Policy.*—The Colonial Empire of England now extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Caribbean Sea. Her ships and her armies were victorious in every part of the globe. When peace was made with France and Spain, in 1763, many of the British conquests were judiciously restored. The British Empire, in truth, was larger than British statesmen could at this time conveniently manage. And the French and Spaniards, generously as most people thought that England had treated them in 1763, were scheming to retrieve their losses. New France had been conquered and added to New England; and Spain be-

lieved that her hour would come next. Choiseul, a bold and active minister, directed the policy of France; and he was intriguing with all the European powers for a grand attack on England. He encouraged Spain to refuse to pay the Manilla ransom, and to set up a claim to the Falkland Islands; and England was obliged to form defensive plans on a large scale. The expense of the civil and military establishments abroad was now greatly increased. England was at this time by no means a wealthy country in proportion to the extent of her vast dominions. Her wars had involved her in a heavy public debt; her people were impatient of further taxation; but it was necessary to raise more taxes in order to defray the increased and still increasing expenditure. The Government got year by year deeper in debt, and it was at last resolved that the colonies, for whose benefit these great expenses were being incurred, should contribute to it themselves. We have seen how great was the development they had reached; and it was generally understood that the comfortable circumstances of the colonists quite justified the measure. To lay heavier duties on the imports from the colonies would have been to tax England, not America; and such were the relations between the colonies and foreign nations that it was impossible to meddle with the produce either of the fisheries or of the sugar plantations. It was necessary to leave alone also the carrying trade. Direct taxation, or customs' duties on imports, were the only alternative, and we shall see, shortly, the results of attempts to introduce both the one and the other. In the meantime English statesmen formed plans for such an extension of the colonies as should turn out most to the advantage of England. Not Canada, but the south, was thought to be the most promising; and a great colony, called New Wales, was projected on the Ohio. The colonial system was now at the height of its glory. The manufacturers of England looked forward intently to the time when it would not be worth the while of the colonists even to make a shoe or knit a stocking. "Then, indeed," as one of them said, "will they thrive indeed, and Britain be happy." The duty of a colony was to work diligently at its mines, its fisheries, and its plantations. The destiny of America was to be to supply Great Britain with raw materials; and Great Britain was to be made in this respect independent of all the rest of Europe. The St. Lawrence was to send the flax, hemp, potash, and

naval stores she imported from the Baltic ; the Mississippi to supply her with the wine, the oil, the silk, the drugs, and fruits for which her treasure was yearly exported to the Mediterranean. All this trade would enrich English ship-owners and increase England's naval strength. The immensely increased population of the colonies, and the spirit with which they took up the war with France in America, gave hopes that they would one day greatly contribute to her military strength at home. So rooted were these ideas that long after the Americans had begun to resist taxation from home, it was believed that even if they achieved their independence they would soon perceive their mistake, and voluntarily throw themselves at the feet of Great Britain.

10. **Real aspect of Colonial Affairs.**—The truth, however, was, that while the colonies were attaining the height of their prosperity, and reflecting this prosperity upon their mother-countries, the colonial system itself was tottering to its fall. The home governments stubbornly shut their eyes to the fact that many of the settlements which they looked upon as merely contributory to their own wealth and greatness were growing into new nations, which upon the happening of a fit opportunity would surely seek their independence. The Definitive Treaty of 1763 may be looked upon as the beginning of a wonderful *half-century of transition*, during which this change was really everywhere effected, here in one way, and there in another. This is the first occasion in history when a great political convulsion has travelled quickly from one end of a great continent to the other, and accomplished a revolution which can never be reversed. The fall of the power of Europe in North and South America is perhaps the grandest catastrophe in all history, though we stand at present too near to it to realise its full significance. The beginnings of this catastrophe will be traced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

American Independence (1)—*Effect on England* (2)—*Geographical Discovery* (3)—*Sierra Leone* (4)—*Canada becomes a nation* (5)—*The Plantations* (6)—*New South Wales* (7)—*Effects on Spanish America* (8)—*The French Philosophers* (9)—*Reaction on Europe* (10).

1. **American Independence.**—The American colonists had already proved their strength in the Seven Years' War; they were strongly attached to England, but more strongly to the English liberties which they had inherited. England had allowed them to form themselves into several little independent republics, most of which would long ago have shaken off the commercial yoke of the mother-country if they had not had before their eyes the fear of the French knocking at their gates. When Canada was conquered this fear was gone; and when England proposed to tax them for the avowed purpose of keeping up a military force, they believed that this was only the beginning of a plan for reducing them to the model of the Royal Governments of Georgia and Canada. There is no doubt that English statesmen, if they had pleased, might easily have avoided the supposed necessity of taxing America. They might have put off until better times any increase in the army, and have, in the meantime, greatly increased the land revenue. The colonists resisted Mr. Grenville's Stamp Act so unanimously that it was withdrawn by the Government which succeeded; but Mr. Townshend in 1767 revived the attempt, and laid duties upon tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours, some of the most important articles exported to them by England. The colonists unanimously resolved not to buy of England any of the taxed articles; and as the taxes therefore only ruined the English trade, they were repealed in 1770, except a trifling duty on tea, which was purposely left as an assertion of the right of taxation. In 1773, a cargo of tea, which had just arrived in the port of Boston, was

thrown into the sea by the people ; and the British Parliament retaliated by completely abolishing the charter of the colony and closing the port. From this period, hostilities became inevitable. A Congress of the colonists was opened at Philadelphia in the next year ; and in 1775, the first blood was shed at the battle of Lexington. In 1776, the thirteen colonies declared themselves independent ; and in the next year General Burgoyne, the British commander-in-chief, capitulated at Saratoga. France, of course, tried to take advantage of this disaster. She acknowledged the independence of the colonies, and a war ensued in which the French temporarily captured the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada, though they lost St. Lucie. Lord Cornwallis, the last of the generals who maintained the contest on the continent, surrendered at Yorktown in 1781 ; but the splendid victory of Rodney off Guadaloupe retrieved British honour, and proved the superiority of England at sea to the combined power of France, Spain, and the thirteen colonies. But the Peace of Versailles, in 1783, left England in a far less dominant position than she held at that of Paris, twenty years before. The independence of the colonies, thence called the United States, was formally acknowledged ; Tobago, gained from the French in 1763, was restored, and they were allowed a greater share than before in the Newfoundland fisheries, and to take possession of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. From the Dutch, against whom England had declared war in consequence of their joining the armed neutrality formed by Russia, the English not only took several places in India, but exacted the free navigation of all the Eastern seas. The independence of America was important on many accounts ; but its immediate effect was felt in its destroying the Navigation Act, and opening the commerce of the United States to the world. The shipping of the United States increased fivefold in twenty years ; the trade with England increased in the same proportion ; and these facts in the end showed the people of England that it was well to release their colonies from tutelage as speedily as possible. France and Spain began to cast about for new colonies ; Spain explored the western coast northwards of Mexico, and France made strenuous efforts to gain a footing in South America. People began to think more and more of agricultural colonies, and less of plantations and colonial possessions ; but to form these fell to the lot

of England alone. Since the Independence of America, English capital and labour have been dispersed all over the world, and made the beginnings of a new United States on each shore of British America, in South Africa, and in the great group of islands called Australasia.

2. *Effect on England.*—The relations between England and the English colonies are now so different that it is not easy to estimate the difference which the independence of the American colonies produced in the mother-country at the time. Canada and Victoria, for instance, are bound to England by a tie which is known to be so slight that its rupture would be not at all dreaded; and such a rupture would hardly be felt whenever it happened. But the rupture of the ties between America and England amounted to the total destruction of a great artificial system of trade, in which most of the home merchants and manufacturers were interested. The anticipations of these were of course gloomy enough; but the real result, as had been foreseen by a few far-sighted men, was much to their advantage. As soon as the old narrow system of commerce collapsed, a new one naturally arose, of much vaster proportions, and offering an unlimited scope for extension. The collapse of the colonial system, therefore, laid solid beginnings for free trade in England; and in almost every way it proved to be a great benefit. The great English minister into whose hands the affairs of England fell, was prepared to advance free trade far more quickly than people thought. But Pitt's hands were stayed by the French Revolution; a catastrophe whose effect was more immediately felt than even the fall of the Act of Navigation. The French Revolution delayed his plans on the one hand, but on the other, as we shall see by the following chapter, it finished the work of American Independence by destroying the old system in the case of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

3. *Geographical Discovery.*—Cook stimulated discovery almost as much as Columbus himself. The journals of his voyages were soon in circulation all over the world. A crowd of navigators of all nations followed in his track on the north-west coast of America, of whom the most famous were Vancouver and La Pérouse. The abundance of fine furs on the north part of this coast attracted the merchants of Siberia and Kamtschatka; and in the years after 1783 many settlements for the skin trade were made by the Russians. The vast territories inland were

traversed by Mackenzie, Frazer, and other travellers ; but for many years no settlements except stations for the fur-trade existed on the Pacific shore of the British territory. Great efforts were made to do for maps of the soil what Cook had done for the chart of the ocean. Of Africa little was known beyond the coasts : but these revealed the existence of a great savage population. Many philanthropic people now began to think of civilizing them. In 1787 a party of colonists, led by a Swede called Wadström, landed on the west coast of Africa, but they were driven off by the opposition of the French Senegal Company. The English people, however, took up Wadström and his cause. The plan was, that the slaves of America should be emancipated and sent back to Africa, and that with their experience of civilized life, they might begin the task of civilizing their fellow-countrymen. In the south of Africa, Patterson and Vaillant began their explorations in Caffraria, in 1788. These were the beginning of great settlements. The African Association shortly afterwards sent out several explorers, the most distinguished of whom was Mungo Park. The cession of Louisiana laid open a vast region to American enterprise, and Pursley, in 1805, traversed its pathless forests until he reached the Spanish territory of New Mexico. In the next year Lewis and Clarke first crossed the Rocky Mountains, and reached the north-west coast. The Pacific Islands were visited by whaling-vessels, and European settlers began to fix themselves in their tracks. Missionaries soon followed ; and in many places of the South Seas Christianity and civilization made a beginning together.

4. *Sierra Leone.*—From the independence of America dates the great agitation against the slave trade, which ended with its abolition in 1807. The inhabitants of the northern states had long hated it. More than a century before, George Fox had loudly denounced the slavery of Barbadoes ; and the Quakers of Pennsylvania had all emancipated their slaves. The famous Declaration of Independence commenced with declaring “all men free and equal ;” and all the States, except the Carolinas and Georgia, followed up their victory over England by prohibiting the importation of any more negro slaves. Sympathy for the negroes spread at once to England. Many black slaves, whose masters had been ruined, were found naked and starving in the streets of London, as well as in Nova Scotia, and it was resolved to found a free colony

on the African coast for their reception. This was done, through the efforts of Granville Sharp and Jonas Hanway, in 1787; the colonists were joined by free negroes from the West Indies; and though the natives dispersed them, the settlement was restored in 1791, and long served as an asylum for the rescued victims of the slave traffic. But the hopes that were entertained of its forming a centre from which civilization might gradually cover equatorial Africa, have hitherto been fruitless.

5. **Canada becomes a Nation.**—The loss of the thirteen colonies gave a new importance to the remaining members of the British Colonial Empire. It was at once foreseen that a religious concession must be made if Canada was to be retained; and the Act of 1774, for regulating its government, practically gave a legal establishment to the Catholic religion, subject to the King's supremacy. This liberal measure, which marks the commencement of Catholic emancipation in the British dominions, was necessary to secure the allegiance of the Canadians. It was strenuously opposed in England; but its results were most beneficial. The Canadians joined heartily with the British in repelling the invasion of Montgomery in 1775. After the peace of 1783 many loyalists flocked thither from the United States; the settlements rapidly extended westwards; and so important did the new dominion become that in 1791 Mr. Pitt divided it into two distinct governments, by the names of Upper and Lower Canada, framed upon the model of the republican states of North America. In each he established a Legislative Council, nominated by the Crown, and a House of Assembly, elected by the people. The privileges of the Habeas Corpus Act and the right of self-taxation were granted to the Canadians. The British Parliament retained the right of imposing commercial duties; but the produce of even these was placed at the disposal of the Canadian Legislature. This great measure was made necessary by the success of the French Revolution, for a similar agitation to that which had destroyed the government of France might easily have spread to the French population of Canada. Nor was it possible for Canada, with the United States by her side, to continue a royal government on the old model. The commerce of the States had increased tenfold since their emancipation; the States threatened annexation, and the only way to retain the allegiance of the Canadians was to prove to them that they would

be better off in connection with the British Government than with the United States.

6. **The Plantations.**—The independence of America shook to the ground the old colonial system in the British West Indies. Trade with the American colonies was necessary to their existence; the planters had everywhere joined heartily with the mother-country in resistance to the attacks of France and Spain, their hereditary enemies, though the allies of their commercial connections in the United States; and England granted them a restricted commerce with the United States, with Ireland, and with foreign colonies, in their own vessels. The West India Islands were now at the height of their prosperity; and henceforth they would probably have declined in the natural course of things through the cultivation of their produce on the American continent and in the East Indies, even if it had not become apparent that the slave system had grown into a public scandal too vast to be tolerated. They furnished a million and a half a year to the Imperial treasury: and they possessed at the same time free and independent representative governments of their own. The maintenance of the African slave trade was the reward with which England requited the fidelity of the planters; and bitter were the reproaches with which they perceived the progress made by the anti-slavery movement at home. The condition of the slaves varied in the different islands. Antigua had given to the blacks the privilege of trial by jury, and had encouraged the efforts of the Moravian brethren to convert them to Christianity. But in most of the islands the negroes were treated, as they still are in Cuba, as mere labouring machines. The general condition of the negroes in the West Indies was perhaps better than in their native country; but the national conscience, once awakened, never rested until the slave trade was abolished, and the way thus prepared for the total extinction of this hateful institution on British soil.

7. **New South Wales.**—The foundation of our great settlements in Australia is not due to private adventure, like that of Virginia, nor to the desire of liberty, like those of New England. It arose from the necessity of finding a penal settlement for the convicts, who could no longer be sent to the American colonies. At first they were sent to the coast of Guinea, but this was only a roundabout way of putting them to death. Captain Cook

had pointed out the fitness of Botany Bay for a European settlement; and in 1788 Pitt sent out Governor Phillip, who commenced the convict settlements of Sydney and Norfolk Island. The first twenty years of the colony were years of hard struggles. In 1805 a third settlement was formed on Van Diemen's Land. The French made a show of taking possession of the Australian coast, which they named *Terre Napoléon*, or Napoleon's land. It was many years before Australia was anything more than a penal settlement, or was thought to be in any way an important appendage of the British Empire.

8. *Effects on Spanish America.*—The immense wealth drawn by France and England from their colonies had led to some modification of the Spanish colonial system even before the epoch of independence. The fleet of galleons, sailing only once a year, accompanied by a strong guard, had been abandoned at the peace of 1748: and the trade was carried on by register ships, which sailed as often as occasion required. In 1765 a vast change took place. A general duty of 6 per cent. was levied, and the commerce of the Spanish islands was thrown open to all Spaniards trading from the principal ports of Spain. In 1774 the trade between the continental colonies themselves was thrown open; and in 1779 they were allowed to trade on their own account to the Spanish islands. The success of these liberal measures was such that the customs' duties were again reduced in 1778 and 1784, a measure which stimulated trade more than ever. A regular service of mail-ships was established with the mother-country. A new political division into four viceroyalties had been some time ago introduced. These were (1) Mexico or New Spain, (2) Peru, (3) New Granada, (4) Buenos Ayres. New Mexico, Guatemala, Chile, Caraccas, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Louisiana and Florida, and St. Domingo were still governed by captains-general. Manilla was made a free port, and a Philippine Company was established for trading with it. These changes were not made too soon, for a desire for political reform was by this time widely spread among the South Americans. Their domestic government was still as narrow and tyrannical as ever; and the first indication of the coming political storms which swept over them was given during the war with England by a revolt in Peru in 1780, headed by a descendant of the ancient Incas who called himself Tupac Amaru, or Child of the Sun. In this country the old nobility was still recognised; the

remembrance of their ancient nationality was still cherished ; and this bold adventurer nearly succeeded in overthrowing the Spanish Government, and setting himself on the throne of his forefathers. But the arms of the Spaniards prevailed ; Tupac Amaru was defeated, captured, and sentenced to be torn limb from limb by wild horses in the square of Lima, and his innocent wife and children were burnt alive.

9. **The French Philosophers.**—The Independence of America had not taken all the world by surprise. The merchants and politicians of England were not so well informed as some in France. Indications of a great reaction against the colonial system had been long given in the writings of the French political economists. Quesnay and others, followed in England by the great Adam Smith, endeavoured to show that the true prosperity of a state consisted not in its overflowing with gold and busying itself with foreign trade, but in producing as much as possible of the gifts of nature from its own soil. In this they were but partly right ; but they were on safer ground when they pointed out the absurdity of the system which kept the colonies in the condition of *farms* of the mother country, and to be worked for its benefit. They thought that the colonies should be regarded as integral *parts* or *provinces* of the mother-country ; and they foresaw that if the colonies should claim to be considered such, it would be wise for the mother-country to yield to them. The French did not go beyond this ; but when the English got hold of the same notion, they soon saw that the colonies would not stop at the stage of provinces, but would seek independence. Inquiries into colonial policy were stimulated by the publication of the great French Encyclopædia ; and a striking commentary upon them was soon found in the independence of the English colonies. Since then it has become clear that every successful colony tends to gain a strength of its own which leads it to assert equal rights with the mother-country, and if these are not granted, to demand its independence. Since the loss of the North American States it has been the true policy of England to grant and even to encourage these claims, and to lead all colonies to depend upon themselves as soon as possible, rather than to wish to keep them in perpetual subjection. The French philosophers also early called attention to the cruelty, injustice, and false economy of the slave trade, and suggested plans for the gradual

emancipation of the negroes. From this time dates the rise of a colonial and an anti-colonial party, the former upholding the old system, with slavery as a necessary accompaniment, the latter abandoning both. For France the march of events in St. Domingo soon settled the question in favour of liberty; but it continued to divide the politicians of England for thirty years longer. After the abolition of slavery (1835), the West Indies became so insignificant, and the great agricultural colonies of America, Africa, and Australia so important, that the word seemed almost to change its meaning.

10. *Reaction on Europe.*—It was, perhaps, in France that the moral effect of the American Revolution was most fully felt. New forces were steadily fermenting in that country; and the hostility of England had brought the new nation of America from the first into a close alliance with France. But all Western Europe was deeply moved by the results of the American War; and in America itself a new and lofty national feeling had been produced. Men had long believed in the prophecy contained in some fine lines written many years before by Bishop Berkeley, in a fit of disgust at the decay and stagnation which prevailed in Europe:—

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

This prophecy now began to be fulfilled; and Europe began from this time to awaken from a state of apathy or delusion and to feel that if the lead of the world was not to pass from her hands she must keep up with the moral and political progress of America; to do this great changes were necessary; and the history of Europe ever since has been the history of these changes. Thus we see that the Independence of America introduced a new political force into the world; public spirit was revived in Europe; and a great series of events soon afterwards happened, which all tended to destroy what was left of the old colonial system. We have arrived, in fact, at the events of the French Revolution and the quarter-century which followed it; and we shall trace out a few of them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The Revolution (1)—Change of Public Opinion in England (2)—The Revolution reaches the West Indies (3)—Attack of the English (4)—The English Negroes (5)—Conquests of England from Holland and Spain (6)—Bonaparte attacks Hayti (7)—The East India Companies (8)—Designs of Bonaparte (9)—The Spanish Peninsula (10)—Second European War (11)—Conquests in India (12)—Final Break-up of the Old Colony System (13).

I. The Revolution.—Though the bad government of France, and the obstinacy of the privileged classes, were the main causes of this mighty convulsion, great importance must be ascribed to the prevalence of the doctrines of the philosophers, and the power of the moneyed interest. The New World contributed in many ways to the instruction of the Old. The philosophers pointed out the contrasts of the old system of government and that which had been realised in the United States; the condition of the West Indian slaves helped to illustrate the doctrines of the Rights of Man; while, on the other hand, those who had grown rich in the plantations and the colony trade swelled the number who clamoured against the clergy and nobility, and wished to see the old country itself opened to their enterprise. All the century there had been great talk of new colonies; and they began to see that there was room for colonization in France itself. The eyes of men were opened by the new world; the old feudal laws were swept away; those which fettered the land were abolished; land became divisible on a man's death among all his children alike; the lands of the Church and Crown, and of the emigrant nobility, were sold; the old Mississippi scheme of Law was applied to raise money for the needs of the country. The chief management of public affairs fell into the hands of men who had been trained in the conduct of mercantile companies; and though the change at first reduced the country to the verge of bankruptcy, its good

effects were seen before very long. But the visions of the Colberts and Choiseuls vanished for ever. In the colonies the change was everywhere to the disadvantage of France. St. Domingo became independent, Louisiana was sold to the United States for ready money, and all the rest of the colonies were swallowed up by the English. The French, following the maxims of their political philosophers, procured substitutes at home for colonial produce; they made coffee from the root of the dandelion, and sugar from that of the beet.

2. *Change of Public Opinion in England.*—Long before the French Revolution a small party in England had been earnestly striving for political and financial reform. The government of the people had long been the gain of a few; and now it came to be seen not only how little substantial good colonies really did, under the old system, to the nation which possessed them, but that, in an indirect way, they strengthened the government against the people. The colonies carried with them an important official influence. The governorships, judgeships, generalships, and numberless other offices which they made necessary, as well as the army and navy contracts, which they largely swelled, were great pieces of patronage. The maintenance of the exclusive commercial system kept the moneyed classes attached to the government. Besides, the colonies, as we have seen, were a fertile source of wars: and a weak government could greatly strengthen itself by a successful war. All this, coming after the Independence of America, strengthened a rising anti-colonial party; the efforts of this party were early directed to the abolition of protective duties in favour of British West Indian produce. It took more than half a century, however, to accomplish this, for the differential sugar duties lasted until 1854. From the French Revolution dates a growing conviction that the old Greek system of independent colonies was, after all, the only true one, or at any rate the only one practicable on a large scale, and that the commercial colony system must, sooner or later, be totally abandoned.

3. *The Revolution reaches the West Indies.*—Before the French Revolution broke out, in 1789, the western part of St. Domingo was perhaps the most remarkable spectacle of successful industry in the world. The plantations, which were numbered by thousands, reached to the very tops of the mountains, and the town of Cap-François

almost rivalled the capitals of Europe. The planters themselves were wealthy and intelligent. The spirit of industry and enterprise had extended to the free blacks and mulattoes, many of whom were not only well educated but had visited Europe, and had imbibed the newest European ideas. They were more numerous than the planters, and the planters were justly alarmed at the prospect of their taking a share in the government. The philosophers' doctrine that St. Domingo was a part of the mother-country, was generally accepted; and the planters proceeded to return deputies from among themselves to represent the island in the National Assembly. The mulattoes and free blacks demanded in vain a voice in the elections; for it was known that in that case the government would fall into their hands, the slaves would be emancipated, and the European planters as good as ruined. But the National Assembly of Paris remained firm to the principles of equality on which the great Revolution was itself based. It was argued in vain that the ruin of the colonies would follow; and a famous saying rang through the Assembly, "Perish the colonies rather than a single principle!" The equality of rights was decreed; and the news of this decision was received in the island with despair, which soon turned to hatred of the new French government, and a leaning towards England. The provincial assembly of St. Domingo had still some months to run before a new election; but it became known that the whites intended to resist the new law by force of arms, and perhaps by foreign intervention. The mulattoes took the offensive, and on the 23rd of August, 1791, a general rising took place around Cap François. Before two months were over, 1,000 plantations had been destroyed; 10,000 negroes and 2,000 whites had perished in the struggle. The rebellion extended to the south and west of the colony; here, however, the planters arrested it by solemnly engaging to execute the decree. But the alarm had spread to France; in the next year the decree was repealed, the belief in the double-dealing of the planters was confirmed, and the insurrection became general. Everywhere numbers and intelligence made the blacks successful, and it became clear that the revolt could never be put down without foreign aid.

4. *Attack of the English—Toussaint.*—Though the difficulty of reducing the Maroons of Jamaica might have shown the futility of such an enterprise, the English

Government quickly responded to the appeal of the Haytian planters. England had already undertaken the task of repressing the Revolution and all that belonged to it in Europe, but to repress it in the West Indies proved a harder task. With the aid of the English, Port-au-Prince was retaken, but the English force, small enough at first, was wasted by yellow fever, and general after general was obliged to retire. The negroes were by this time under the command of a negro called Toussaint, named also from his plantation L'Ouverture. Born in 1745, and originally a slave, he had become free and rich. He had visited France, and he was a man of wisdom, refinement, and prudence. He proved an able general, and under him the negroes gained every day in confidence and experience. They gradually drove the English from their positions, and in 1798 General Maitland evacuated the island, and England afterwards recognised Hayti as a neutral power. Toussaint lost no time in organizing the infant state. He procured assistants from France, and framed a simple constitution. The people hailed him as their deliverer, and declared him President of the Republic. Thus the last year of the eighteenth century saw a strange sight—a free negro state erected amid the ruins of the most flourishing colony in the West Indies.

4. *The English Negroes.*—The example of the blacks of Hayti caused a terrible outbreak of the Maroons of Jamaica in 1795. But their hopes of exciting a general uprising among the slaves were defeated; the island was placed under martial law, and their attacks were successfully repelled. Having possessed themselves, however, of an inaccessible place called the Cockpits, whence they sallied forth to kill and burn, it was found impossible to dislodge them, and the English commander sent to Cuba for a hundred of the bloodhounds in use in that island for the purpose of tracking runaway slaves. When it was known that these had actually arrived, they made proposals for peace on the footing of free black subjects, which General Walpole accepted. Had the English been as liberal as the French in the treatment of the free blacks and mulattoes, and had the general advancement of the English islands been equal to that of the French, perhaps there would at once have arisen free black English states in the West Indies. The negroes of the English West Indies have greatly progressed since their emancipation; and in several islands they have formed a class of

small landowners. Elsewhere, they have become a free peasantry.

5. **Conquests of England from Holland and Spain.**—The French, under Pichegru, conquered Belgium and Holland in 1795, and this led to most important additions to the British Colonies. The Dutch almost preferred that their rich colonies should fall into the hands of England than into those of France, and in all parts of the world great possessions—Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, the Cape Colony, and Guiana, surrendered to the British arms. The Cape Colony, Ceylon, with its fine harbour of Trincomalee, and the Dutch settlements on the Indian coast, completed the chain of the British Eastern Empire, and answered, on a large scale, to the principle of *arrondissement*, or rounding off of boundaries, which was shamelessly executed by the French Republic. The successes in the West Indies and an advantageous commercial treaty and alliance with the United States contributed to consolidate these conquests. Banda and Amboyna, the ancient English settlements in the Spice Islands, were also taken; but all these conquests, except Ceylon, were restored at the Peace of 1802. In the next year (1797) Godoy, the infamous Minister of Charles IV. of Spain concluded that peace with the Directory from which he received the name of the Prince of the Peace; it was marked by the cession to France of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and by the immediate conquest of Trinidad by the English, to whom that rich island has ever since belonged, and the principal conquests from the Dutch were only restored to be permanently occupied at a future time. The immense naval power of England was never more conspicuous than when Bonaparte was threatening an invasion of her shores, and kindling the flames of rebellion in Ireland.

6. **Bonaparte attacks Hayti.**—But this happy condition of things lasted only a short time. The French republicans had not bargained for the loss of their estates; dissatisfaction became general; Bonaparte wanted work for his soldiers, and he resolved on the foolish and shameful attempt to reduce these brave blacks by force of arms. In 1801 an expedition consisting of the finest soldiery of France was despatched to conquer them. The negroes defended Cap François as long as they could, and when the French entered it they found it a heap of ashes. Port-au-Prince was gained by treachery, and the same

means were employed to deprive the negroes of their wise and able general. Le Clerc, the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, was in command of the expedition. He persuaded the negroes that Bonaparte was anxious for their freedom, and proved to Toussaint that a connection with liberal and regenerated France would be for their benefit; he induced the negroes to lay down their arms and Toussaint to retire to his country seat. No sooner was this done, however, than the treacherous Frenchman had him arrested and sent to France, with his wife and children, as a traitor; and this great and brave man, to the eternal infamy of Bonaparte and France, perished in a noisome dungeon at Besancon in 1803. But Toussaint's colleagues, Dessalines and Christophe, still carried on the war, and the rage and cruelty of the French knew no bounds. The bloodhounds were fetched from Cuba, and actually employed in hunting down the negroes. But justice and liberty triumphed. Le Clerc was dead, and his successor, Rochambeau, beaten at St. Marc, was driven to the sea in 1803; and the soldiers who had defeated all the chivalry of the Old World finally retreated before the despised negroes of the plantations. In 1804, Dessalines, a negro, like Toussaint, was proclaimed Emperor. Like Toussaint, whose lieutenant he had been, he had begun life as a slave. The assumption of the imperial title by this negro adventurer has a sad and strange air of comedy. Dessalines reigned less than three years, for he was assassinated in 1806.

7. *The East India Companies.*—The Dutch East India Company had been long on the decline, and it subsisted only through its connection with the Dutch Government. When this perished, and Holland was united to France, it was formally abolished, and its debts and possessions became those of the nation (1795). The trade with Continental India was thrown open, but that of Batavia and the islands continued to be a national monopoly. The dividend of the English Company was limited by Act of Parliament to 10 per cent., and its affairs had ever since its first territorial conquests been looked on as those of the nation; but the English are always unwilling to part with an old institution. As the Company was a convenient instrument of government, it was allowed to subsist for many years longer. The example, however, of the Dutch in throwing open the trade of India was followed much earlier; for when the charter

was renewed in 1814 the monopoly of the Company in India was abolished, though that in China was renewed.

8. *Designs of Bonaparte.*—Napoleon Bonaparte, now the chief general of the French Republic, conceived one of the grandest designs that had ever occupied the mind of man. It was not indeed new, for Macedonian and Turkish conquerors had actually executed the first part of the same project, and Choiseul, forty years before, had fixed his eyes on Egypt as the foundation of a French empire in India. Now, if ever, the time was ripe for its execution. Under Bonaparte France had not only resisted with success the coalition of European powers formed for her ruin by England, but had vastly increased her territory and her influence on the European Continent. He now proposed to roll back the whole tide of the events which make up the present history, to take possession of Egypt and the Turkish Empire, and by restoring the Indian trade to its ancient channels to ruin the trade and influence of England in the East. He was victorious on land in Egypt and Syria, but the English destroyed his fleet in the battles of Aboukir and the Nile, and he was obliged to return to France. The French took possession of the strong fortress of Malta, which was to have been the foundation-stone of the French Indian Empire; but the English drove them out, and refused to evacuate the island after the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Bonaparte's successes in Egypt had been too brilliant to be forgotten. The French were still dazzled by the vision of a French Eastern Empire, resting on Constantinople and Alexandria, and the English refusal to leave the way again open, by the evacuation of Malta, led to the renewal of the war in 1803. Bonaparte's successes on the Continent continued unchecked for ten years longer, but he made no further efforts in the East. He endeavoured, however, by the famous Berlin and Milan decrees, to ruin the trade and the colonial system of England by rigorously excluding her manufactures and her colonial produce from the markets of Europe, and in this way he at once diminished British resources, and stimulated the trade and manufactures of France and Germany. Besides, the orders in council, which the English Government was obliged to make in self-defence, helped to drive the United States into a war with England. Had Bonaparte succeeded in his grand designs we should, perhaps, have seen the great English trade with America almost destroyed and

the progress of the United States seriously checked. We might have seen the commerce of the East once more poured into the ports of the Mediterranean, Italy regain her ancient wealth and splendour as a province of France, the Suez Canal would have been made sixty years ago, and France might by this time have become the mistress of the world. A similar dream had entered the head of Alexander the Great, and the attempt had been made by Solyman the Magnificent, nearly 300 years before ; but we are sure that so vast a superstructure could not have been built on a few brilliant military exploits, and sooner or later the balance of power must have fallen to the nation which commanded the greatest mass of individual industry and enterprise.

9. The Spanish Peninsula. — The most extensive changes, however, which proceeded from the French Revolution happened upon Bonaparte's invasion of the Spanish Peninsula in 1808. Disappointed by the English in his attempts upon the Empire of the East, he resolved to strike a blow for the less valuable but still magnificent Empire of the West. He drove King Charles from Madrid, and made his own brother Joseph King of Spain and the Indies. But the Spaniards of America refused this new sovereign, and by the time the old king was brought back to Madrid in 1814 they had tasted the sweets of liberty, and were determined to have no king at all. Immediately after the deposition of Charles, one American viceroyalty after another declared itself free. The movement in favour of liberty, however, dates from an earlier time. The independence of North America, the increased traffic with Europe consequent upon the opening of trade, and the increased wealth which this brought, produced a general wish for independence, and a strong leaning to England. When Spain declared war against England in 1796, England had encouraged these pretensions, and in the following year, just before Abercromby took Trinidad, Miranda was doing his best to get the English to help in establishing the independence of the Spanish colonies. The French believed that the English would try to recover in South America what they had lost in the North. Portugal was a mere dependency of theirs, Brazil was a good position for maintaining a standing army. The insults of France and the tie of commercial interest rendered the United States in the north friendly to England, and the two powers might have divided the West Indies

between them, America taking Cuba equal in worth to all the rest put together, as her own share. An official of the Government of Cuzco, in Peru, had tried to set up a free Government in 1806. He failed, and died on the scaffold in the same year, declaring with his last breath that only an official like himself knew the depth and atrocity of the tyranny which crushed the South American people, and that God had decreed its speedy end. In the same year the English, under Popham, occupied Buenos Ayres, and became masters of the Plate River and of Montevideo. An ineffectual revolution was attempted in Mexico as soon as the news arrived of Charles's deposition; but it was not until 1809, when peace was made between England and the old Spanish Government, and the Spanish ports were opened to English ships, that the way was prepared for the real struggle.

10. **Second European War, 1803-1814.**—In the course of this war the English carried their maritime supremacy to its greatest height. In 1804 they took Demerara once more from the Dutch, together with Berbice and Essequibo; in 1806 they finally occupied the Cape Colony; in 1809 they took Cayenne, becoming thereby masters of the whole of Guiana, and Martinique; in 1810 they took Guadaloupe, and the two islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, *the French nation being thus left without a single colony.* Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate were again taken from the Dutch; in 1811 Batavia surrendered to Sir S. Auchmuty, at the head of the Bengal fleet, and England was mistress of the rich island of Java, and of all the Dutch East Indies. The conquest of Ceylon was completed in 1815 by the capture of Candy. By the Peace of 1814 England restored to France all her conquests, except Tobago, St. Lucie, and Mauritius. To Holland she returned the valuable Dutch Indies, that is, Java, and all the possessions in the surrounding islands, retaining Ceylon and the Cape, which were of little significance except to the possessors of continental India; and as a price to be paid for a portion of Dutch Guiana, England constructed for the united kingdom of Holland and Belgium a line of strong fortresses on the frontier of France. Belgium and Holland, however, broke asunder in 1830, so that Holland, on the whole, got but a bad bargain.

11. **Conquests in India.**—The English held their ground firmly against the rising Mahratta power on the

one hand, and Tippoo, the formidable Sultan of Mysore, on the other. The French excited Tippoo in 1799 to the final war with England, in which Seringapatam was stormed, and this turbulent prince killed; and England was thus mistress, not only of Bengal, but of all Southern India, except the Mahratta States. At the Peace of 1802 Pondicherry was restored to the French; but a great war broke out with the Mahrattas in 1803, and their power was not finally overthrown until 1818. They had long been divided between the interests of the rival houses of Scindia and Holkar, neither of which was able to prevent England from taking Delhi and Agra, and making a pensioner of the Great Mogul. We have only indicated some of the chief events in the British conquest of India. The British power there lost its colonial character as soon as that conquest was commenced by Clive; after the time of Bonaparte and Tippoo it was never challenged by any European rival; and the subsequent history of the development of the empire of the Company in India is so large and important as to require a separate volume of this series.

13. *Final Break-up of the Old Colony System.*—We have already traced some great steps in the decay of the European colony system. The first is the general decline of commercial companies, whereby the rule of such foreign trades and possessions as had been placed in their hands vested again in the several European nations. Most of the companies were actually dissolved, and the others were absolutely subject to the policy of their several governments. The principal nations of Europe thus came into a valuable heritage, which had, sooner or later, to be fought for; and we have seen how the best part of it was carried off by England and secured by the Definitive Treaty of 1763. Had France and Spain gained the victory the old colonial system might perhaps have been subsisting to this day. But the position which was thus won by England led necessarily to changes greater still. The colonies had grown to monstrous proportions; it was impossible to retain them in the old narrow commercial trammels, and in the struggle to do this they easily broke away, and the colonial system of England toppled to the ground. Changes of an important kind were now necessary in Canada, and the West Indian Islands began a slow but certain downward career; new settlements were planned in other seas, and some of the

old ones acquired a new importance. But the old character of the colony system was utterly gone. The Treaty (1763) is therefore the epoch of dissolution for the French colonial system, and the independence of America (1776) of the English. The wars of the French Revolution broke up the Spanish and Portuguese. Bonaparte, the great general of the Revolution, took possession of the Spanish Peninsula; the king of Portugal renounced his old kingdom and fled to his colony of Brazil; while the Spanish colonists revolted from the usurper whom Bonaparte placed on the Spanish throne. The old state of things was replaced in the Peninsula, but it was too late to do this in the colonies. The shock of Bonaparte's policy came when the time was ripe. Though in different degrees, the people of both Spanish and Portuguese America were ready for their independence; and when once the bonds were thrown off it was impossible to impose them anew. Here closes the first act, so to speak, of a great historical drama. From the last years of the eighteenth century colonial history is cast into a totally different shape. The greater colonies all lose their European character, and take an independent one of their own. Historical events, instead of being guided, so far as events ever are guided by anything, by the policy of Europe, are produced by the play of local forces, and the fortunes of the different colonized countries have little or no general connection. Where political connection with the mother-country still subsists it tends to become a mere form, which might be laid aside without much difficulty. Canada, for example, or Victoria, might now separate from the English crown almost as easily as Hanover did in 1837, that is, without leaving any trace of the separation on either nation. The rest of this work will therefore be written in separate chapters, each one being devoted to a single group of settlements. Remnants, however, of the old system still survive: we shall see how they have been affected by the great changes which have taken place around them.

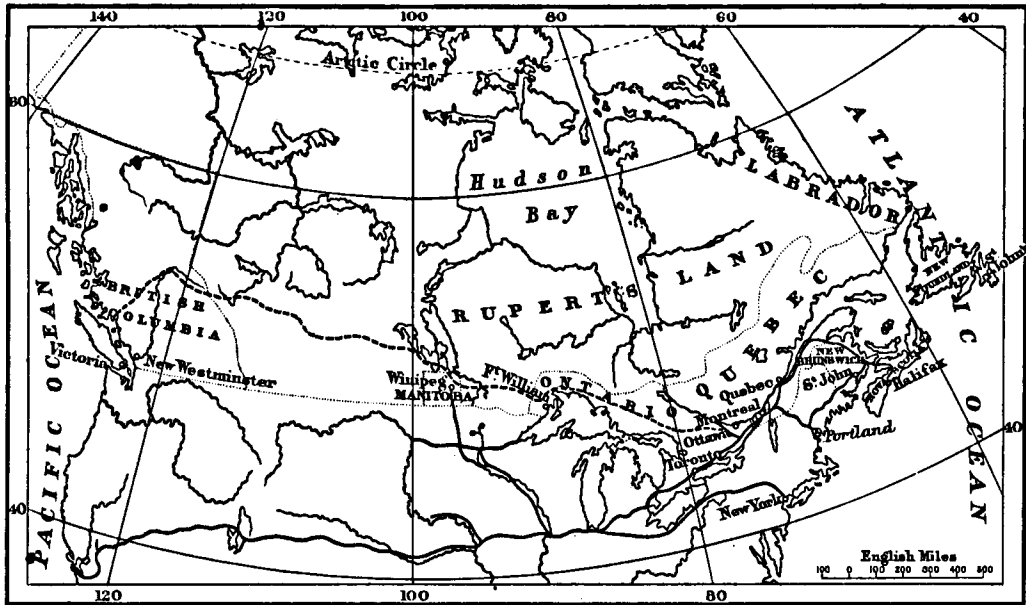
CHAPTER XI.

CANADA.

New Era of Colonial History (1)—*The Quebec Act* (2)—*The Constitution Act* (3)—*Governor Craig* (4)—*War with America* (5)—*The Rebellion* (6)—*Union of the Canadas* (7)—*Political Parties* (8)—*Lord Elgin* (9)—*Political Changes* (10)—*Trade and Manufactures* (11)—*The Maritime Provinces* (12)—*British Columbia* (13)—*Newfoundland* (14)—*The Dominion of Canada* (15)—*General Remarks* (16).

1. **New Era of Colonial History.**—With the history of English rule in Canada we open what may be called the modern era of colonial history. The history of the United States properly comes first; and a history of the modern colonial era cannot be properly understood without studying that of the United States. The spirit of the old American colonists, and that of the institutions which they established, has penetrated more or less into every corner of the New Europe. In the natural course of things the influence of the citizens of the States has been deeply felt by their Canadian neighbours. For a whole century the people of Canada have stood as it were in a balanced position between England on the one hand and the United States on the other. If Canada had locally adjoined England there is no doubt that it would have become a fixed member of the British monarchy. It was inevitable that Canada should take its political cast either from England or from the United States: and it was equally inevitable that the attractive force of the States should outweigh that of England. During a century the laws of nature have been silently working. The *sentiments* of at least a large section of the people towards the English monarchy have suffered no change, but they have shown no desire for a separate monarchy of their own. The *political basis* of the colony has in the meantime gradually assimilated itself to that of the United States; and there is an

DOMINION OF CANADA



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important party which cares nothing about the connection with England; so that Canada is monarchical only through its traditions. If the English monarchy ceased in Canada there is no chance of the establishment of any other. The organised democracy of Canada has long presented a very different state of things from that of a century ago, when the Canadian seigneurs peaceably transferred their allegiance from Louis XV. to George III. Canada and the neighbouring colonies have followed America in establishing, with the consent of the mother-country, an independent federation. Independent Spanish states have done the same thing in South America, and in Central America. English statesmen are actively engaged in promoting a similar movement in South Africa; and the time will, perhaps, come when it will be adopted in Australia. America has thus led the way (1) in the organisation of colonial communities into democratic states, (2) in the union of these states into federations, and defining what questions the federal government shall deal with, and what shall be left to the provincial governments.

2. **The Quebec Act.**—Canada, at the time of its conquest, contained about 65,000 persons, mainly settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. These were either French, or of mixed French and Indian blood: and they were the poorest part of the population, for many of the capitalists and landowners went back to France at the conquest. After 1763 many soldiers who had served in the war were rewarded with grants of land, and the British Government did what it could to turn the tide of emigration in the direction of Canada, so that the French population might be absorbed in an English element. The King's Proclamation of 1764 promised the Canadians the same sort of constitution as was enjoyed by the old royal governments of the United States: but the troubles which soon after broke out in New England caused this plan to be suspended, and Canada remained under military rule until 1774. The American Revolution was now on the eve of breaking out, and the Anglo-Canadians petitioned that the constitution which they had been promised might be given them. The English Government knew that the Anglo-Canadians were as great lovers of liberty as the Americans, whereas the French Canadians were disposed to prefer their old form of government. The French were in the majority: and in order

to keep Canada on the English side, in the struggle with America, the English determined to maintain as far as possible the French system. Lord North, therefore, in 1774, passed the Quebec Act, which made Canada one royal government by the name of Quebec. There was no Assembly, only a Council, which might be changed at pleasure: the old French land law and the Roman Catholic Church were established permanently. Until the troubles with the American colonists, what regulation of the colonies existed had been in the hands of the Board of Trade: but the ministers of George the Third resolved to hold their new colony tighter than those which were slipping from their grasp. A Colonial Secretary was now appointed, and from this date began a system of official regulation at home which was quite unknown in the earlier English colonial era. It produced great trouble and mischief: and in the case of the large colonies it has now been completely abolished. The Quebec Act marks the beginning of this rule of the Colonial Office, as well as the introduction into Canada of the inhuman criminal law of England. Oddly enough however, it marks also an epoch in the history of religious toleration: for it dispensed with the statutory *Test* which at that time excluded all Roman Catholics everywhere else in the British dominions from all public offices. A third of the members of council were now to be French Canadians. The Anglo-Canadians in vain protested against this measure, which sowed the seeds of dissension, and kept back the progress of the Colony for seventy or eighty years. It was, however, well adapted to gain its immediate object. The clergy and the French landowners warmly supported the British government: and when the Americans invaded the land and besieged General Carleton in Quebec they were easily repulsed. The Legislative Council governed the country with closed doors. Their policy was selfish and tyrannical: and the people, both English and French, sent frequent petitions to the home government asking for a representative Assembly.

3. **The Constitution Act (1791).**—After the acknowledgment of American independence, great numbers of loyalists withdrew from the United States and settled in Canada, especially on the shores of Lake Ontario. They were mostly active and wealthy people; and they were by no means subservient to the Home Government. It must have been a deep and strong feeling which led these

men to prefer exile in the wilds of Upper Canada to the sunny banks of the Merrimac and the Susquehanna. They were a thoroughly English race, and strongly attached to the monarchy for which they had fought : it was impossible for them to remain content with the settlement of 1774 : and they joined with the other Anglo-Canadians in demanding the repeal of the Quebec Act. Mr. Pitt now divided Canada into two parts, the Ottawa river being the boundary. Eastward of this was the old French colony, now called Lower Canada, including the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and commanding the navigation of the St. Lawrence: westward was the English colony of Upper Canada, stretching round the shores of Lake Ontario. Mr. Pitt granted to the Canadians the same measure of liberty to which some of the constitutional states of Europe are still limited. Each province had a Governor and an Executive Council appointed by the Crown, and also a law-making body consisting of a Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, like the British House of Lords, and a Representative Assembly, like the British House of Commons. The government, however, in both, was responsible only to the Colonial office in London, and was independent of the Assembly. This delusive show of freedom was endured for half a century, and was only replaced by something more real after a serious rebellion. Each province managed its legislative affairs independently : and Upper Canada began a course of peaceful and uninterrupted progress. Here English law was at once reestablished : but there were constant difficulties in Lower Canada, which was far the more important of the two provinces. Fresh batches of English settlers were continually arriving, and there was an increasing minority who strove against the bad laws and narrow commercial policy which the colony had inherited from France. The history of the Parliament of Lower Canada is the history of the struggle of this English minority against the conservative French majority. In 1795 Lord Dorchester in vain tried to get the latter to consent to a modification of the feudal land laws; but the minority succeeded in passing some good laws for trade and revenue. The French, however, increased in numbers faster than the English immigrants : and the Parliament of Lower Canada became gradually more democratic and more determined in its resistance to all innovation, so that the executive were often driven, in the interests of good government, to intrigue and arbitrary

measures. The hope that the mere forms of the English constitution would speedily Anglicize Canada proved vain : it was the commercial connection with England and the United States which gradually effected the change. Great Britain, when at war, drew largely on the commercial resources of Canada ; and the Napoleonic wars greatly benefited the colony during the early years of its freedom. Ship-building, a trade which can be carried on during the long Canadian winter, soon flourished greatly at Quebec : and it extended thence to Montreal. But the ignorant majority of the Assembly of Lower Canada continued to discourage the mercantile connection with England by imposing heavy import duties. The English minority, however, supported by the people of Upper Canada, succeeded in improving the water and land communication with that province. The people of Upper Canada incurred a heavy debt in public improvements which were really for the benefit of both provinces, and this debt, on the union of Canada, was charged upon the entire nation. In after years Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees gave a great impulse to the timber trade, by causing the removal of the English duties on Canadian timber, and the increase of those on foreign European timber.

4. **Governor Craig.**—The strong spirit of opposition displayed by the Lower Canadians led the executive more than once to oppressive measures. The distrust of the Canadians which prevailed in England and the growing hostility of the United States led in 1807 to the appointment of a purely military governor in the person of Sir James Craig. The French still remember Craig as a despotic and unpopular ruler. He dissolved the Assembly in 1810 : he removed all the French militia officers, suppressed the newspapers, imprisoned the leaders of the popular party, and talked of disestablishing the Catholic priesthood. All these things retarded the progress of the province. The English emigrant found himself as much in a foreign country as if he had gone to Chili or Brazil, and would have been far more at home in the United States. But the worst feature of all was the injustice of the financial policy maintained by the French majority. As in France, before the revolution, the clergy and landowners refused to bear their proper share of taxation : but the peasantry were in alliance with their seigneurs, and the public expenses were thrown almost entirely on the shoulders of the English merchants. The

landowners refused to bear even the common expenses of local government, such as building gaols and court-houses. Upper Canada had now quite outstripped the province of Quebec : most of the flour and timber exported was furnished by the new province : and it became clear that a legislative union of the two provinces was the only possible path of improvement. The Assembly openly pursued a retrograde course, and the Legislative Council withheld its consent to many of their bills. The determined policy of Governor Craig was perhaps justified by these facts : but it of course failed to ensure Canada against the dangers of an American invasion. Perhaps the best result of his rule was his report of his administration, which conveyed many important truths in plain language to the British Parliament. Before the American war broke out, he was replaced by a Governor who was instructed to adopt a very conciliatory policy, and under him, as we shall see, the French and English cordially united a second time in repelling the invaders.

5 War with America.—All the circumstances which induced the French Canadians to resist being Anglicised concurred with great force to induce them to resist annexation to the United States, where English principles were carried to their greatest extent: and the French Canadians, so long as they were secure from what they thought actual oppression, were quite in accord with the government. When the war broke out, in 1812, Sir George Prevost was governor of Canada, and General Brock lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. The Americans, who knew the strong Protestant feeling of Upper Canada, and relied on the dissatisfaction of the English with the forced alliance of the French Catholics of Quebec, crossed into Upper Canada from Detroit under General Hall; but Brock forced them back, and besieged Hall in Detroit itself, where he capitulated. Brock fell at Queenston in a successful repulse of another attempt made by the Americans upon Montreal. The attempts of stronger forces against Lower Canada were equally unfortunate : but in the subsequent years the attempts of the Americans upon Upper Canada were renewed with more success. They took the town of York, and the neighbouring garrison of Fort George at Niagara. The Americans were generally stronger than the British on the lakes : but they lost by an invasion of Lower Canada, and the British recovered many of their positions. The line of hostilities stretched from the west

end of Lake Erie to the neighbourhood of Montreal. Gradually the English transferred the war to American soil, and took from them Niagara, their strongest fortress, Black Rock, and Buffalo. The British now planned an invasion of New York State by way of Lake Champlain: but they lost their vessels, and were repulsed from the fort of Plattsburg. Peace was made by England and America in 1815. In this war Canada, with only a handful of British troops, organised its militia in such a way as not only to defy all the resources of the United States but to carry the war into the enemy's country. We must, however, be cautious in making deductions from this fact. Canada has a frontier of 1500 miles long which is nowhere completely defensible: and a military force such as the United States could now raise without difficulty would have a much better chance of success. The war of 1812 was undertaken by the States with the view of conquering a wealthy and rising province of England: but it had the effect of uniting the French and English Canadians, and of checking the desire of independence which had begun to possess the former: and it showed that a cordial union between the two Canadas was necessary to check American aggression.

6. *The Rebellion.*—After the peace of 1815 the stream of emigration poured more strongly than ever into both the Canadas. In Lower Canada this served to increase the hostility of the old *habitants*, for the opposition in the Assembly grew more and more bitter. The French Canadians saw themselves being gradually swamped by the tide of English, and they disputed unceasingly with the Executive, and complained to the Home Government. Their discontents were far from being groundless. The Executive and the Legislative Council (or Upper House) were composed entirely of Crown nominees, and the majority of them were aliens in every respect from the majority of the people. Just as in the American provinces of Spain, the colony was really governed from home by people who were ignorant of its circumstances and requirements. The local government was old-fashioned, corrupt, and expensive: it was not responsible to the Assembly for its acts: the people had no control whatever over the national property: and the French Canadians, fired by the example of their American neighbours, resolved either to improve it or to shake it off. The national party was led with great ability by Papineau, whose zeal and

abilities had raised him to the speakership of the Assembly at the age of twenty-six. They embodied their grievances in a manifesto addressed to the English government, which was known as the "Ninety-two Resolutions:" but the government refused to make concessions. Discontent spread more and more widely, and at last the Assembly stopped the supplies. For four years no taxes were raised; the government officials received no pay, and the government itself came to a dead-lock. Arrests were made for sedition: and at length, in 1837, the rescue by some peasants of two persons who had been arrested became the signal for open rebellion. The outbreak spread to Upper Canada, where the population had increased fivefold since the peace of 1815, and the latest generation of settlers found themselves practically excluded from the government by those who were in possession. The spirit of revolt was actively fomented by American "sympathizers": but the rebellion in both provinces was easily suppressed. The insurgents gained a temporary success at St. Denis: but they were defeated at St. Charles, St. Eustache, and Napierville. Some of the rebels were executed, and 141 were transported to Australia. The English people, who had hitherto known but little about the condition of the colony, were shocked at the fate of these unhappy Canadians. Besides this, it became known that hundreds of Canadian families, disgusted with British rule, were now crossing the frontier and settling in the United States. Public opinion was now thoroughly awakened, and the government interfered between the colonists and the Colonial Office. The country was put under martial law, and the old constitution, which had completely broken down, was suspended. The Earl of Durham was sent to Canada in 1838, to report on the best means of organizing a new government: and he pronounced in favour of totally reversing the policy of North and Pitt, and treating Canada as New England had been treated—that is, letting it govern itself.

7. *Union of the Canadas.*—Even before the Canadian rebellion, it was apparent to many enlightened men that the only remedy for the ills of the colony was the union of the two Canadas under a single local supreme government, which should be responsible to the local Assemblies, and therefore practically independent of England. An outcry was raised at home, when Mr. Roebuck put this forth at the time of the rebellion: but it was immediately

recommended by Lord Durham, and presently accomplished. The two Canadas were united in 1840: an epoch which, in Canadian history, corresponds to 1776, the epoch of Independence, in that of the United States. Henceforth there was to be a single government, and a single parliament, composed of a Legislative Council of at least twenty life members, and a Lower House of eighty-four deputies, elected by the people every four years, forty-two being elected in each province. This equal division of the representation was apparently unfair to the French Canadians, who far outnumbered the English of the Upper Province: but it was the secret of the success which attended the scheme, for the French would be henceforth permanently outnumbered in the Assembly. The less intelligent among the French protested strongly against the Union, but the voice of the old Assembly was now silenced. The French Canadians did not see how vast a concession was made to them by the grant of responsible government, and how necessary it was to temper it by giving some moderate party a preponderance. The boundaries of the electoral districts were revised; the crown lands, which in Lower Canada were very valuable, were taken by the nation, and a civil list was granted instead of them. Both these measures weakened the French party: their populous districts now counted for no more than the thinly-peopled ones of Upper Canada, and the Upper Province contributed nothing but its debt to the new financial arrangements. On the other hand, the French party now had a real voice in controlling the government; and the justice of the compromise is proved by the fact that, ever since, the Canadas have been uninterruptedly tranquil and prosperous. Great Britain has guaranteed them loans for developing their resources: the population has increased until it has become much greater than that of the thirteen colonies of America at the time of their revolt: free trade has been established, and local self-government on the English model universally substituted for the seigniorial tenure. The French population in Lower Canada has submitted to the loss of its domination, and entered peacefully into equal rights with the English. It has not, however, disappeared in the midst of the English element, for the French Canadians are still as fondly attached as ever to their own laws and manners, and form a compact mass of more than a million souls.

8. **Political Parties.**—In each of the Canadas there existed a *Conservative* or *Tory*, and a *Liberal* or *Reforming* party. In Upper Canada the *Conservatives* were mainly the officials and their friends, who had hitherto controlled the government by a league called the "Family Compact." The chief man of the party was Sir Allan M'Nab. Their chief principle was at first attachment to the Colonial office in London, and a determination to nullify the Union by resisting the attainment of really responsible government: they named themselves "Loyalists," and their opponents "Rebels." In Lower Canada the parties were divided in much the same way: but here the Liberals had a strong nucleus in the compact body of French inhabitants. The difficulty of uniting the Liberals of both provinces at first gave the power to the Conservatives. But Lord Sydenham, the first governor under the Union, found it impossible to carry on the government with a Conservative cabinet: and the Liberals of both provinces now saw the necessity of uniting. Under Lord Sydenham's successors, Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Metcalfe, the Liberals were in power: and they began a great series of internal reforms. They abolished much of the old penal code, reformed the judicature, organised municipal government, made laws for education, and began important public works. They compelled Governor Metcalfe, after a long struggle, to yield to the ministry the patronage of public appointments. The seat of government had been fixed by the Union at Kingston, then a mere village in Upper Canada: the majority of the Liberals removed it to Montreal, the commercial centre of the country. This question of the capital was one of several which still divided the two provinces, without regard to party principles, and which now and then produced a Conservative majority from Upper Canada, whilst in Lower Canada the Liberals always held their ground. As time went on, the Conservatives gradually reconciled themselves to the principles of the Union, and contented themselves, like the Conservatives at home, with becoming a mere counterbalance to the more advanced party. In Metcalfe's time the Conservatives came again into power, though supported in only a slight majority, and by questionable means; and the Governor and his advisers were engaged in a long and bitter struggle with the people. It was not until the time of Lord Elgin that the Liberals obtained a second time a decided preponderance, and

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Canadian history took a fresh turn with the return to power of their leaders, Baldwin and Lafontaine, in 1848.

9. Lord Elgin.—The difficulties which arose with the United States on the question of the Oregon boundary again led to the appointment of a military governor, in the person of Lord Cathcart (1845-1847). But the Americans, who were quite in the wrong, yielded peaceably; and nothing of importance occurred until the governorship of Lord Elgin (1847-1854). This great practical statesman may be said to have organised Canada into a modern nation. He reformed and increased the representation, improved the administration of the law, completed the abolition of the seigniorial tenure, and secularised the lands of the clergy. The French population increased very fast, and thousands were at this time obliged to emigrate every year to the United States, while there were still numerous tracts of uncultivated land in the Eastern townships which had been wastefully granted away to private owners. Many of the poor Canadians had *squatted* on their lands. Lord Elgin tried in vain to give these squatters a right of ownership; but he threw open the crown and church lands all over the country to the peasantry at very moderate prices. He greatly improved the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so that ocean steamers might reach the quays of Montreal. In his time railways, telegraphs, and large ship canals were made in the interior: and greatest of all, the British parliament, in 1849, threw the trade of Canada open to all the world, by which means the revenue from the customs was quadrupled. One of the last acts of his government was the Commercial Treaty with the United States, which did more than anything else to advance the commerce of Canada. From his time dates the establishment of a regular steam communication with Europe, and the Allan line of ocean steamers, now the most numerous in the world, is entirely the product of Canadian industry and capital. He also organised an excellent system of immigration. When he quitted Canada, he left its population double what it was at the time of the Union. Industry had risen to high importance, and Canadian manufacturers already looked forward to competing in their own market with those of Bradford and Leeds.

Lord Elgin's administration was not free from serious party struggles. Though a Conservative by education

and sentiment, he deemed it his duty to throw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of Canadian Liberalism. He sometimes publicly addressed the French representatives in their own language, and in many other ways he succeeded in winning their confidence in a greater degree than any of his predecessors. It was now ten years since the Rebellion ; and Lord Elgin's ministry passed an act for a general amnesty (1849), and for an indemnity to those who had suffered by the violence with which the Rebellion was suppressed. The Conservatives saw in the latter measure an opportunity of recovering the ground which they had lost. They revived the old cry of "Loyalists" and "Rebels" ; and when the governor's consent had been given, they excited the mob of Montreal to serious riots. The mob entered the parliament-house and drove out the members who were sitting with showers of stones. They broke up the benches, and seized the mace ; and one of the ringleaders entered the chair, and dissolved the parliament in the name of the people. They finished by setting fire to the building, which was burnt down, together with the colonial archives and a valuable library. But the Liberals of the colony, who numbered three-fourths of the population, rallied round the government ; and even the Conservatives of Toronto and Kingston repudiated the acts of the Opposition. The Indemnity Law is remarkable for having been the occasion on which the right of the Canadians to manage their own affairs was finally established. The Opposition appealed to the Home Parliament, but in spite of the support of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, the majority, led by Russell, Roebuck, and Peel, affirmed the decision of Lord Elgin, and thereby convinced the Canadians that the independence which they had received was no empty show. Montreal now ceased to be the seat of government ; and the parliaments for some time met alternately at Toronto and at Quebec. The discontented Conservatives now joined with the extreme Democrats, or *Clear-grits*, to form a party in favour of annexation to the United States.

10. *Political Changes.*—The Legislative Council, or Upper House, was made elective in 1856, the old members retaining their seats for life, and forty-eight additional ones being elected by electoral colleges, chosen by the people, for a term of eight years. This change had been long demanded by public opinion, but it cannot be

said to have answered the hopes of its promoters. The position of political parties was now greatly changed. The Conservatives had accepted the principles of moderate reform and of truly responsible government; but the Liberals drew nearer and nearer to the principles of the *Clear-grits*. They were opposed to the Catholics, and were in favour of adjusting representation to population, without regard to the line which separated the two provinces, of secularising education, of ceasing to pay for the redemption of the seigniorial rights, diminishing the grants for the colleges and higher schools, and increasing those for the lower schools. Canada was now thoroughly democratized; and though the change had been on the whole most beneficial, it had introduced a low state of political morality. The arts of bribery and corruption and the fabrication of votes were well understood: nor could any electoral law repress them. The two chambers found it impossible to agree on a permanent site for the capital; and in 1857 this question was referred to the Queen, who chose Ottawa, a village situated on the boundary of the two provinces. This choice excited general surprise, for nine-tenths of the Canadians would certainly have voted against it; the Canadian ministry were defeated on the motion for accepting it, and had to retire. But after a long period of debate it was felt that the Colony could not gracefully reverse the Queen's decision, and it was affirmed by a small majority. These questions belong to the viceroyalty of Sir Edmund Head, who quitted Canada in 1861. In his time was first mooted the question of combining all the British possessions in America into one Dominion. He was succeeded by Viscount Monck (1861-1867).

11. *Trade and Manufactures.*—The prime export of Canada has always been its fine yellow pine timber or lumber. Formerly the whole country was covered with it. The yellow pine runs 120 feet without knot or branch, and has a butt seven feet in diameter. Each of these trees is worth, in New York, 800 dols. and in England, £200. The lumberers begin their work in autumn, and fell as many trees as they can during the winter haul down to the rivers, whence they are carried by the spring floods down to the lake. Here they are rafted, and floated down over the rapids to Montreal and Quebec, where they are sawn up and distributed for use or export. British Columbia sends large quantities of this valuable

product all over the Pacific coast. Besides lumber, Canada exports every year increasing quantities of corn, flour, beef, pork, and cheese. Some of the factories of Ontario make half a million pounds of cheese a year. Canada has also inexhaustible supplies of mineral oil. Its trade has greatly increased since the construction of the Grand Trunk and other railways. The anticipation of a collision with the United States in 1862 led to the Canadian railways being connected with the port of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, which is accessible to ships all the year round, so that Canada might be independent of the United States for its communication with Europe. Thus was constructed the great Intercolonial Railway, which, however, cannot yet pay its working expenses. About the same time the manufactures of Canada began to rise to some importance. Manufactures always spring up when the population has reached a certain degree of density. Thousands of the inhabitants of Lower Canada were for many years unable to find employment at home; and it is calculated that there are at least half-a-million of them settled in the United States. Canada now has abundance of capital; it commands water-power, cheap labour, and easy communication with the rest of the world; it is rich in all kinds of metals, while Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have abundance of coal; so that it is probable that the manufactures of Lower Canada will steadily increase with the increase of population. The workings of iron, copper, lead, and gold, greatly increased during the time of Lord Monck; and the stimulus thus given to enterprise, together with the obvious advantages of an abolition of tariffs, a free access to the ocean, and a more extended field for capital, led the Canadians to make definite proposals to the older possessions of England at the mouth of the St. Lawrence for a general confederation. These provinces were at first unwilling to sacrifice their independence; but in the end all of them, except Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island, became convinced of the value of the Canadian alliance.

12. **The Maritime Provinces.**—Canada is so important that it makes the history of the rest of the British Colonies in America seem insignificant; and it has ended by absorbing all of them. Besides Canada, the Definitive Treaty of 1763 had put Great Britain in possession of New Brunswick, and of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's

islands. Nova Scotia had been ceded at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713; New Brunswick and Prince Edward's island were at first annexed to Nova Scotia, but they were afterwards constituted separate colonies, and Cape Breton island was added to Nova Scotia instead. These colonies are known as the Maritime Provinces. None of them were thought of much importance, until the growth of Canada drew attention to them. In 1755 the English drove out all the French from Nova Scotia. They settled in New Brunswick and Cape Breton: and their descendants remain there to this day in distinct villages by the name of Acadians. At the time of the Definitive Treaty the colonists of Nova Scotia were mostly the overflow of the Northern states, together with some Scotch and Irish immigrants. The Nova-Scotians submitted to be taxed by England, and took no part in the struggle for independence, and in 1776 they were joined by ten thousand loyalists from Boston. By the end of the war in 1783 the number of these emigrants was doubled. It is mainly to these Americans that the prosperity of Nova Scotia, like that of Upper Canada, is due. The history of the other maritime provinces very much resembles that of Nova Scotia. They all had their Councils and Legislative Assemblies granted to them by George III.; but these had little control over the destiny of the colonies. The whole of the land in Prince Edward's Island, for instance, was given away by the king in one day. The same thing happened in the others; and in order to compete with other fields of emigration the governments have since been obliged to buy the land back from the grantees, who, in many cases, made no use of it, and sell it at a comparative high price to the immigrants. These provinces are rich in timber, coal, and minerals: and their union with Canada cannot fail to stimulate their progress.

13. *British Columbia.*—The English navigators who succeeded Cook laid down the Pacific shore of British America on their maps, and one of them, called Vancouver, who had been a lieutenant under Cook, circumnavigated and gave his name to the large island which lies off its shore. An English settlement was attempted at Nootka Sound, on the west of this island, in 1778, and both the island and the adjoining continent remained long in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company. The discovery of the Californian goldfields led to the surmise that the great mountain

chain, which forms the backbone of the American continent, contains gold in all its parts. Gold was discovered in 1858, on the Mackenzie and Fraser rivers; and there was soon so great an influx of diggers that it became necessary to establish some kind of government. The port of Victoria, on the island, grew to a large town: it was made a free port like Hamburg, St. Thomas, and Hong Kong: the rival town of New Westminster was founded on the continent; and the influx of people soon led to the working of the great resources of the soil. In 1862 some letters from the *Times'* correspondent caused a large increase of population. Representative government was soon afterwards established. Vancouver's island was added to British Columbia in 1866, and both were incorporated with the dominion of Canada in 1871, upon the petition of the inhabitants. The Dominion Government, in consideration of this, agreed to construct, within ten years, a Pacific railway right across British North America, so that English people could come directly to the new colony. This was promising too much, for there are great difficulties to be overcome, and the route can hardly be even completely surveyed within the time fixed: it well illustrates, however, the large ideas which characterize the new colonial era. Still more so does the fact that the work is begun, and that if it goes on at the present rate of progress it will be finished about the year 1890. The telegraph which will precede the railway will be finished much sooner, for every part of it is already contracted for. This alone will cost a million sterling. Meanwhile, the natural resources of this vast and almost unknown country seem to be unlimited. It produces the finest timber in the whole world: it abounds in coal, iron, and copper: and its fisheries are capable of supplying food to the whole continent. The trade with China has grown to large proportions: and the advantages of a free port will perhaps at some distant day enable Victoria to surpass San Francisco.

14. Newfoundland.—Newfoundland has been claimed by the English ever since its discovery, in the time of Henry VII.; but the English people who settled there were never able, as we have already seen, to keep out the French fishermen, and until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, there were perpetual feuds between them. By this treaty the island was finally secured to the English, and it has ever since remained a Crown Colony. Newfoundland has

not been so fortunate as the Maritime Provinces. Unlike these, it had, until 1832, no constitution granted to it; the rude and lawless people, mostly Irish, who inhabited it, were not indeed fit to be entrusted with one. Charles J. had placed Newfoundland under the jurisdiction of the mayor of Southampton; but the government of the Island was long practically in the hands of the skippers of English vessels, each of whom was invested, by an Act of William III., with the authority of a Vice-Admiral on his own fishing station. When the fishing vessels went for the winter there were no means of keeping order, and crime and disturbances were the natural consequences. In the middle of the last century, however, the island came to be regarded as something more than a mere fishing-ground; permanent settlers went out in great numbers, and the Board of Trade recognised it as a Colony, though they still looked upon it as an isolated estate of the English nation, to be farmed for its benefit. But as population increased the fisheries fell more and more into the hands of the resident people; there was little room left for European fishermen; regular grants of land were made; courts of law were established in 1826; and on New Year's Day, 1833, the House of Assembly met for the first-time. Lastly, the Government was made responsible to the Assembly in 1852. The rich fisheries of Newfoundland still make its chief value; the climate is severe, and few of the people live as far as five miles from the coast. But it has great pine forests; and of late years attention has been drawn to its mines of lead, iron, and copper. Its geographical position connects it closely with the dominion of Canada, which it will no doubt join in the course of time.

15. *The Dominion of Canada.*—The idea of a Confederation of the British Provinces is as old as the epoch of Independence. Lord Durham had contemplated it in 1838, but at the eleventh hour he was obliged to confine himself to a Union of the two Canadas, and for some years no further efforts were made in the direction of a general Union. Nova Scotia at length led the way, and a complete Federation of the British provinces in North America was effected, after much discussion and hesitation, in 1867. In that year the British North America Act was passed. At the express wish of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, it combined all these in one 'Dominion' under the Crown, with an Upper and a

Lower House, like to those of the United Kingdom. Each Province had its own Provincial legislature to manage affairs exclusively relating to it : and the limits of the Federal government were accurately laid down. One important reform was now adopted. The elective Legislative Council, which had been tried for ten years, was abolished, and the English practice of summoning the members of the Upper House in the Queen's name was restored. Soon after this the Canada Parliament was invested with power to take in new provinces : and since then, as we have already seen, it has taken in British Columbia, with Vancouver's Island on the west, and Prince Edward's island on the East. Newfoundland is now the only the British colony in North America which has not joined the Dominion. The old names of Lower and Upper Canada have been replaced by those of Quebec and Ontario : and the capital of the Dominion is now the city of Ottawa, on the river of the same name, which divides the two. Here it is that representatives from all parts of the Dominion, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, deliberate. The Canada of a hundred years ago is thus completely eclipsed by the larger growths which have been attracted to it. It ranks after great Britain, the United States, and France, as the fourth mercantile nation in the world, and it may, perhaps, in time come to rank as the third. It has a system of local government much better and more complete than that of England, or even of the United States ; and its commercial legislation is more enlightened than that of the latter country, in consequence of which the average amount of imports and exports per head of population is much larger. Its relationship to England has shrunk to very slight proportions. Canada now has a supreme Court of Appeal, and there is therefore now no appeal from the Law Courts of Canada to England : this was one of the first changes effected by the liberal ministry of Mr. Mackenzie who came into office in 1874. England has a nominal veto on the laws made by the Canadians : but it is never exercised, and the Queen has merely the honorary selection of the Canadian Governor-General. The frame of society in Canada, as in Australia, is of the American rather than the European type ; and many people suppose that Canada will sooner or later join her fortunes with those of the United States. But Canada cannot wish to be burdened with the Federal protective duties, with the

troubles of Presidential Elections, or with the heavy national debt of the United States; and the Canadians are in general strongly attached to the mother-country.

16. **General Remarks.**—Since the great changes of 1867, Canada has made some important advances. One of the outlying districts in the prairie region was organised into a new Province by the name of Manitoba in 1870: and thus has begun the same process by which the United States have grown from a narrow line of maritime settlements into a mass of organised states extending over the whole continent. Manitoba has its Lieutenant-Governor, Legislative Council, and Representative Assembly: it is an excellent farming district, and in the course of time will probably become an important State. The rest of the British Dominion, since the expiry of the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, has been placed under a "Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west," and provision has been made for the proper government of any newly settled districts by a law which came into operation in 1876. Much of this territory lies too far to the north to be suitable for settlement: but there are known to be more than four hundred thousand square miles, or nearly four times as much as the area of Great Britain and Ireland, of fertile land, in a temperate climate, still waiting for the settler. Besides the railways which now connect the older provinces of Canada with the Maritime Provinces, the great Pacific railway is now in course of construction: and when it is completed, it will form a road from Europe to China and Japan shorter by 1400 miles than the Pacific Railway of the United States. Besides the large amount of capital that has been sunk in these vast railways, and which at present produces no return, during the last thirty years great sums have been spent in improving the navigable waters connecting the great lakes with each other, and with the St. Lawrence: and the Dominion Government are now enlarging the canals and locks so that vessels of 1600 tons can be navigated all the way from the ocean to Lake Superior. Canada has long been progressing at a much faster rate than the United States: and from all this we may be sure that new developments are now at hand on a great scale. During the growth of Canada, as in the case of the United States, a deep and strong political sense has been generated: and in no nation of English descent is a keener interest taken in its own public

matters, and in those of Europe. Canada is bound to the Old World and to her American neighbours by closer ties than the more isolated group of colonies which come next to her in historical order: and the growth of Australia, as we shall now see, though its results are quite as surprising, does not in the least resemble that of Canada.

CHAPTER XII.

THE AUSTRALIAS.

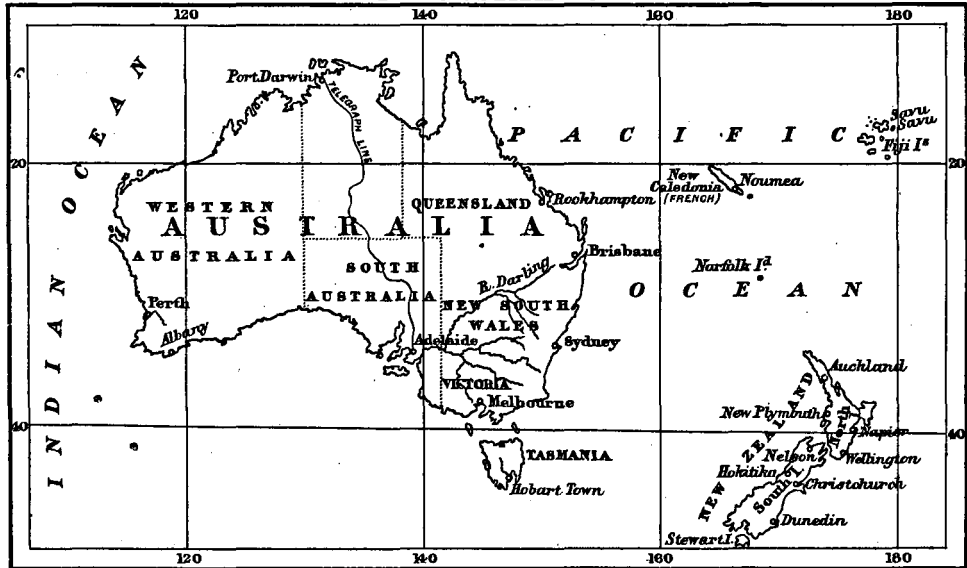
Introductory (1)—New South Wales (2)—Early Struggles (3)—Governor Macquarie (4)—Sheep-farming and Free Labour (5)—Western Australia (6)—Growth of Eastern Australia (7)—New Zealand (8)—Political Institutions (9)—South Australia (10)—Victoria (11)—Tasmania (12)—Queensland (13)—Growth of New Zealand (14)—Further extensions (15).

I. Introductory.—Colonial history is as full of surprises as any other. Little was it supposed by the statesmen of a hundred years ago that the old colonial system would utterly pass away; quite as little was it guessed what would arise in its place. How incredulously would the politicians of that day have listened to one who should have spoken as follows:—"The New Britain, which is slipping from your grasp, you can never recover; but in other and far remoter climes, on a great island in the far South Sea, where as yet no white man dwells, there shall be seen a hundred years hence a second New Britain, more populous, more prosperous, and more profitable to the mother country, than that which you have now lost. This second New Britain, moreover, will grow up from the very dregs of your population, which you are obliged to cast out from among you." This has really taken place: but during the first half of the century which has elapsed any one might have been excused for questioning such a prophecy. After the revolt of America, the English people would perhaps not have contemplated the idea of another troublesome set of dependencies with any pleasure, and they would certainly not have colonized in the face of the strenuous efforts which would have been made at that time by France to exclude England from

any shore that promised well for new colonies. But the wars of the Revolution and the Empire left the naval strength of France completely exhausted ; and though the French never ceased to watch and follow the English explorers, from the time of Cook's voyages down to the settlement of New Zealand, they were never adventurous enough to anticipate them. It is to this exhaustion of France that the steady growth of the Australian colonies is in a great measure due. This growth, surprising as it has been of late, was at the beginning but slow. For many years it was never supposed that Australia would become anything but a place for penal settlements. We have already said how Pitt selected the eastern shores of the island, then just made known by Cook's survey, as a substitute for the Carolinas, whither English felons had hitherto been transported. England at this time found it necessary to banish from her shores 2,000 criminals a year, and henceforward these criminals were sent to Australia. As their terms of sentence expired, the convicts became free men again, and often owners of land ; and thus we see that in a few years there would be a gradually increasing generation of independent colonists. These would soon be joined by other free settlers from home, if the colony happened to prosper, and ultimately the free element would be so strong in the colony that it would seek to get rid of the penal character altogether. This is what has happened in New South Wales, from which the other Australias are offshoots.

2. *New South Wales.*—Cook gave this name to the eastern shores of New Holland from their likeness to that hilly coast which is so well known to sailors who enter or leave the port of Bristol. He did not survey it accurately, for he passed without examination the inlet of Port Jackson, which leads to the finest harbour in the whole world, and advised a settlement near his own anchorage of Botany Bay, which had nothing to recommend it except that profusion of strange plants to which it owes its name. To Botany Bay, accordingly, a fleet of several vessels, containing 850 male and female convicts, was despatched under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, in 1787. Phillip quitted Botany Bay as soon as he arrived ; and after exploring Port Jackson he decided to make his settlement at that place. The vast harbour to which Port Jackson leads is divided into many coves. The principal of these he called Sydney cove, in honour of Viscount

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Sydney, the colonial secretary under whose directions the expedition was sent out ; and on its shores he began the little convict settlement of Sydney, which after many years was destined to become the capital of a great colony. Why so many years passed before this took place is explained by the nature of the settlement. It mattered nothing to any one how the settlement got on, provided no one out of the shoals of convicts who were annually brought to the place actually died of hunger. The only thing was to provide the inhabitants with subsistence : and proper land for this purpose was to be selected by the governor, and to be cultivated by the convicts for corn. The soil of the place is poor, and it was not until 1791 that a tolerable site for a farm was found out on the river Paramatta. However, more and more land was grubbed of the tough gum trees which covered the place, and as the convicts arrived they were distributed to work during their allotted time in cultivating the soil, very much like the white slaves sold in the old times to the West Indies, except that they were toiling not for another's profit, but merely for their own subsistence and that of their fellow convicts. On the expiration of their time, a small portion of land, with stock and implements, was sometimes given to them. In after times, when a class of wealthy people had arisen, formed partly of the freed convicts, or *emancipists*, and partly of free settlers, the convicts were distributed by the governor among them. This was a much better way of disposing of them than the plan of government farms, and gradually the government was able to discontinue the old system, to sell the farms, and pass over all the convicts to private people. Such were the elements out of which Australia was originally formed. Similar convict settlements were also made on Norfolk Island ; but they never prospered, and after a trial of several years were abandoned.

3. *Early Struggles of the Settlement.*—The project of shipping off English men and women by wholesale to a coast many thousand miles off, where there were known to be no natural means of subsistence, had been opposed on humane grounds by the philanthropist Howard. Owing to their ignorance of farming, and the uncertainty of the arrival of stores from England, the poor convicts were often reduced to great straits. They often lived on half rations ; sometimes they only had a single cob of Indian corn a day. Sometimes they lived on pounded grass and

the flesh of wild dogs. Besides this, the moral condition of the people was at the lowest ebb. This was not wonderful, considering who they were; but no means whatever were employed to ameliorate it. The governor's authority was despotic, and he was often obliged to employ the worst ruffians to keep the rest in order. Besides this, the home government embarrassed him by sending out to Sydney a regiment called the New South Wales Corps. There was really no necessity for soldiers in the colony, and this regiment soon became a great abuse. It made the morals of the colony worse and worse; its officers defied and perplexed the governor, and they obtained from the government a monopoly of rum, which was long the principal import of Sydney. It was also its currency, for a bottle of rum was the unit of mercantile value. For twenty years and more no one at home gave a thought to New South Wales, or "Botany Bay," as it was still erroneously called, unless in vague horror and compassion for the poor creatures who lived there in exile and starvation. The only civilizing element in the place was the presence of a devoted clergyman named Johnson, who had voluntarily accompanied the first batch of convicts. Johnson laboured unceasingly among the convicts; he built a church for them at his own expense, but they soon burnt it down. The only historical fact of the time is the circumnavigation of Tasmania, which had formerly been supposed to be part of the main land, by Flinders and Bass, two of the government staff at Sydney. To this island the convict settlement of Norfolk Island was removed in 1807.

4. **Governor Macquarie.**—Colonel Lachlan Macquarie entered on the office of governor in 1810, and ruled the settlement for twelve years. His administration was the first turning point in its history. Macquarie was an able and energetic governor; and he began his work with some advantages. The New South Wales Corps had been ordered home; the government kept him well supplied with funds, as well as with convict labour, and he had the experience of twenty years to guide him. Macquarie saw that the best and cheapest way of ruling the convicts was to make them freemen as soon as possible. Before his time, the governors had looked on the convicts as slaves, to be worked for the profit of the government and of the free-settlers. Macquarie did all he could to elevate the class of emancipists, and to

encourage the convicts to persevere in sober industry in the hope of one day acquiring a respectable position. He began to discontinue the government farms, and to employ the convicts in road-making, so as to extend the colony in all directions. When he came to Sydney, the country more than a day's ride from the town was quite unknown. The growth of the settlement was stopped on the west by a range called the Blue Mountains, which before his time no one had succeeded in crossing. But in 1813, there came a great drought upon the colony: the cattle, on which everything depended, were unable to find food. Macquarie surmised that there must be plenty of pasture on the plains above the Blue Mountains: he sent an exploring party, telling them that a pass must be discovered. In a few months, not only was this task accomplished, and the vast and fertile pastures of Bathurst reached, but a road 130 miles long was made, connecting them with Sydney. The Lachlan and Macquarie rivers were traced out to the west of the Blue Mountains. Besides this, coal was found at the mouth of the Hunter river, and the settlement of Newcastle formed. So fast was the progress, that in five years half a million acres on this river had been inclosed, and half a million sterling of capital embarked in its settlement. Macquarie remodelled the town of Sydney, and built several large public buildings. Altogether, it is to him that New South Wales traces its prosperity. His policy had its shortcomings. He spent the public money perhaps too freely; and in his eagerness for the cause of the emancipists, he kept back the tide of free-settlers, who would otherwise have poured much faster into the colony. But as his administration went on, very favourable news of the colony began to circulate at home, and when it ceased, this exclusive policy was reversed. When it became known that the penal settlement was gradually becoming a free colony, and that Sydney and its population were rapidly changing their character, English and Scotch people soon bethought them of emigrating to the new country. Macquarie returned home in 1822, leaving New South Wales four times as populous, and twenty times as large as when he went out, and many years in advance of what it might have been under a less able and energetic governor.

5. *Sheep-farming and Free Labour.*—The discovery of the fine pastures beyond the Blue Mountains settled the

destiny of the colony. The settlers came up thither with their flocks long before Macquarie's road was finished; and it turned out that the downs of Australia were the best sheep-walks in the world. The sheep thrives better there, and produces finer and more abundant wool, than anywhere else. John Macarthur, a lieutenant in the New South Wales corps, had spent several years in studying the effect of the Australian climate upon the sheep; and he rightly surmised that the staple of the colony would be its fine wool. In 1803, he went to England and procured some pure Spanish merino sheep from the flock of George III. It was then a capital crime to export these sheep from Spain, and they were, therefore, only to be got through royal favour. The Privy Council listened to his wool projects, and he received a large grant of land. Macarthur had found out the true way to Australian prosperity. When the great upland pastures were discovered, the merino breed was well established in the colony; and the sheep-owners, without waiting for grants, spread with their flocks over immense tracts of country. This was the beginning of what is called *squatting*. The squatters afterwards paid a quit-rent to the government, and thus got their *runs*, as they called the great districts where they pastured their flocks, to a certain extent secured to them. The manufacture of wool is perhaps the oldest industry in the world: it now took an entirely fresh start. Wool had, from early times been the chief English staple; and the manufactures of England were capable of absorbing it in unlimited quantities. But the fine Australian wool, especially after the invention of the combing-machine, gave an unexpected stimulus to the English worsted manufacture, and this quickly reacted upon the colony. Hundreds upon hundreds of square miles of the great Australian downs were now explored and stocked with sheep for the English wool-market. The Australian Agricultural Company, one of the greatest and most successful mercantile concerns of the century, was formed at home; and from this time, in spite of reactions and reverses, the colony came to have a real commercial existence. It was in the time of Macquarie's successor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, that the prospects of New South Wales became generally known in England. Free emigrants, each bringing more or less capital with him, now poured in; and the demand for labour became enormous. At first the penal settlements were renewed as depots for

the supply of labour, and it was even proposed that the convicts should be sold by auction on their arrival ; but in the end the influx of free labourers entirely altered the question. In Brisbane's time, and that of his successor, Sir Ralph Darling, wages fell and work became scarce in England ; and English working men now turned their attention to Australia. Hitherto the people had been either convicts or free settlers of more or less wealth, and between these classes there was great bitterness of feeling, each, naturally enough, thinking that the colony existed for their own exclusive benefit. The free labourers who now poured in greatly contributed in course of time to fusing the population into one. In Brisbane's time, trial by jury and a free press were introduced. The finest pastures in Australia, the Darling Downs, near Moreton Bay, were discovered and settled. The rivers which pour into Moreton Bay were explored : one of them was named the Brisbane, and a few miles from its mouth the town of the same name was founded. Brisbane is now the capital of the colony of Queensland : and other explorations in his time led to the foundation of a second independent colony. The Macquarie was traced beyond the marshes, in which it was supposed to lose itself, and named the Darling : and the Murray river was discovered. The tracing out of the Murray river by the adventurous traveller Sturt, led to a colony on the site which he named South Australia. In Darling's time, the Swan River Colony, now called Western Australia, was commenced. Darling discontinued the wasteful practice of free-grants of land to wealthy people. He was the first to sell the land at a small fixed price, on the system adopted in America ; and he thus formed a fund which was afterwards employed in carrying out labourers and artisans to the colony free of expense. This system was settled and improved in the time of his successor.

6. *Western Australia.*—The foundation of the colony on the Swan River is chiefly due to the desire of the English at home that every part of the Australian shores that was suitable for colonies should be occupied in the name of England as soon as possible. As soon as the nature of the Swan river site was known, an expedition was sent there in 1829, and two towns, which are still the only towns in the colony, the Port of Freemantle, and the town of Perth, twelve miles up the river, were founded. Vast free grants of land were made : one gentleman

obtained a quarter of a million of acres. For some years settlers continued to arrive in fair numbers : but they were soon carried off by the stronger attractions and quicker growth of the Eastern colonies. Besides, there were difficulties with the robust blacks of Western Australia which did not exist in the East : the best part of the land had been granted away : and there was no convict labour. After the discovery of gold in the Eastern colonies, the contrast became even more decided. There was no gold in Western Australia ; and its small labouring population diminished more and more. Free passages from England were granted : but the emigrants soon found out the disadvantages of the place, and emigrated afresh Eastwards. It became clear that the only thing to be done was to bring to Western Australia the convict labour which the Eastern colonies were now able to discard : and during the ten years after 1850, as many as ten thousand convicts were sent hither. This resource saved the colony from extinction : but even the convicts got away to the Eastern colonies as soon as they could, and in consequence of complaints from these colonies, which were anxious to remove all traces of the convict element, the transportation to Western Australia was discontinued in 1860. The colony, though it cannot be said to be prosperous, has certainly made advances, and it is perhaps not really more backward than Sydney itself was at the end of the first half-century of its history. But so rapid has been the growth of the Eastern colonies, that Western Australia appears quite distanced in the race. A new land-law was passed in 1874 : and it may be expected that the fine climate and soil of this colony will be henceforth better appreciated. The population of the colony is at present too small for the complete machinery of English representative government ; and at present it is ruled by a Governor, and a Council, sitting for three years, of whom one-third are nominated by the Government, and two-thirds elected by the people. Besides the district of the Swan River, the territory of Western Australia includes the fine harbour of St. George's Sound at the south-west angle of the continent, on which stands the little town of Albany. A small convict settlement connected with Sydney was formed here in 1826, such as had already been tried at Norfolk Island, and in Van Diemen's Land : but it was discontinued as soon as the colony of Western Australia was regularly constituted. St. George's Sound

is the best harbour on the south coast : and Albany may, perhaps, one day be the centre of a more important colony than Perth itself.

7. **Growth of Eastern Australia.**—Darling returned to England in 1831 ; and the six-years' administration of his successor, Sir Richard Bourke, marks a fresh turning-point in Australian history. In his time the colony threw off two great offshoots. Port Phillip, on which now stands the great city of Melbourne, had been discovered in 1802, and in the next year the government sent hither a convict colony. This did not prosper, and this fine site was neglected for thirty years. When the sudden rise of New South Wales began, the squatters began to settle to the west and north of Port Phillip ; and the government at once sent an exploring party, who reported most favourably of the country a-round. In 1836, Governor Bourke founded a settlement in this new land, which had been called, from its rich promise, *Australia Felix* : and under his directions the site of a capital was laid out, to be called Melbourne, in honour of the English Prime Minister. This was in 1837, so that the beginning of the colony corresponds nearly with that of Queen Victoria's reign ; a circumstance which afterwards led to its being named Victoria. Further west still, a second new colony arose about this time on the site discovered by Sturt in 1829. This was called South Australia, and the first governor arrived there at the end of the year 1836. The intended capital was named Adelaide, in honour of the Queen of William IV. Both the new colonies were commenced on a new system, called, from its inventor, the Wakefield system, but the founders of South Australia were able to carry it out most effectually, because they were quite independent of the experience and the prejudices of the Sydney government. Mr. Wakefield was an ingenious man and a clever writer ; he missed in Sydney, with its many leading and wealthy men who had once been convicts or rough labouring emigrants, much that he thought necessary to these new nations : and his notion was that the new colonies ought to be made "fairly to represent English society." His plan was to arrest the strong democratic tendencies of the new community, and to reproduce in Australia the strong distinction of classes which was found in England. He wanted the land sold as dear as possible, so that labourers might not become land-owners : and the produce of the land was to be applied

in tempting labourers to emigrate with the prospect of better wages than they got at home. A Company was easily formed to carry out these ideas in South Australia ; and as it was thought necessary to the success of Wakefield's plans that they should be carried out separately, the Company was made independent of the New South Wales Government. The old system undoubtedly needed correction. In the beginning of New South Wales, large wasteful grants of lands had been made ; but the Wakefield system went into the opposite extreme. Like the settlement of Carolina as framed by Locke and Somers, it was really a plan for getting the advantages of the colony into the hands of the non-labouring classes : and by the natural laws of political economy, it failed everywhere. Adelaide became the scene of an Australian "bubble." The land-jobbers and money-lenders made fortunes : but the people who emigrated, mostly belonging to the middle and upper classes, found the scheme to be a delusion. Land rapidly rose in value, and as rapidly sank ; and lots for which the emigrants had paid high prices became almost worthless. The labourers emigrated elsewhere, and so did those of the capitalists who had anything left. The governor of Adelaide, Colonel Gawler, went on as long as he could ; but in 1840, the English government dishonoured bills to a large amount which he had drawn on them for the expenses of government. The depression of South Australia, however, was but temporary. It contains the best corn land in the whole island : and hence it of course soon became the chief source of the food supply of the neighbouring colonies, besides exporting large quantities of corn to England. It contains rich mines of copper, and produces large quantities of wool ; and in the course of time, as we shall see, the colony has quite retrieved its position. Port Phillip, founded at about the same time as South Australia, was from the first far more prosperous, although not so much show was made by the founders. The emigrants at once sought the downs and began breeding sheep, or settled on the rivers and devoted themselves to farming, instead of settling on the site of the capital and gambling for land. Besides, it was under the government of Bourke, who steadily resisted the whole tendency of the Wakefield system, though he carried out the plan of selling land at a moderate price, and laying quit-rents upon the rich squatters, so as to form a fund for promoting the emigration of labourers.

8. *New Zealand.*—New Zealand has now but little to do with Australia, from which it is over a thousand miles distant : but its history is closely connected with that of New South Wales, to which colony all the settlements in these parts once belonged. Governor Bourke was succeeded in 1838 by Governor Gipps : and his administration will be remembered as that in which the first regular settlements were made in the North Island of the New Zealand group. The three islands, called North Island, South Island, and Stewart Island, had long been known to English sailors. The natives, called Maories, were the most ferocious race of cannibals ever known : and the European intercourse with them for sixty years from the time of Cook consisted of mere cruel war, carried on by the English with the object of extirpating so odious a race, and by the natives amongst themselves and against English for revenge and plunder. By degrees, however, the Maories came to Port Jackson : and the chaplain, Dr. Marsden, always made friends with them and entertained them in his house, though he had difficulty in restraining them from slaying and eating each other under his very eyes. Marsden afterwards went to New Zealand to labour as a missionary. In 1814 a famous warrior among them, called Hongi Hika, was tempted to visit Sydney : and in 1820 he came to England. Though a savage, he ever afterwards protected the Europeans, and encouraged the missionaries : and after his time the communication between Sydney and New Zealand greatly increased. Many Maories visited Europe and America : the whaling stations became centres of traffic : Europeans gradually settled among the natives and attempted to civilize them : and at the same time the introduction of fire-arms by Hongi in his wars enabled the natives to exterminate each other faster than ever. Europeans now began to buy land from the natives for growing flax : but the first batch of colonists, who were settled by the government in 1825, at a cost of £20,000, were so scared by the war-dances of the natives that they fled from the place. The colonization of the island was afterwards entrusted by the Government to a New Zealand Company established on the Wakefield system. In 1839 Colonel Wakefield's party established themselves at Port Nicholson on the strait which divides the islands : and thus was begun the settlement of Wellington. Soon after Captain Hobson landed as governor of a motley community of Europeans who had settled at Kororare'a.

This colony was soon after removed to the beautiful bay on which Auckland now stands. Governor Hobson, in 1840, proclaimed the South Island to be also English. Several other settlements were soon afterwards formed, the chief of which were Nelson, in the South Island, and New Plymouth, on the western coast of the North Island, and chiefly colonized by Nonconformists. Until 1841 all the New Zealand settlements, like Port Phillip, were subject to the Sydney government : but in that year the three islands were erected into an independent colony, with Auckland for its capital. The growth of New Zealand resembles that of New South Wales. The North Island, however, had a special difficulty to contend with in its fierce native population, who refused to be quietly extinguished like the feeble negroes of Australia. The condition of the Maories, however, has been gradually changing. They have become partially civilised, although they sometimes break out into hostility with the settlers ; and some of their number sit as representatives of the race in the New Zealand Parliament. But with all this they have steadily diminished in number, and in the course of time they will probably become extinct.

9. *Political Institutions.*—New South Wales had greatly increased in importance through its own growth and that of its dependencies, and to satisfy a strong and growing feeling, an elective element was introduced into the Government in 1842 by the Earl of Derby, then Colonial Secretary. New Zealand, as we have seen, had been already severed from the parent colony : and the same thing ought perhaps to have been at once done with Port Phillip. Governor Macquarie had resisted the attempt to hamper him by any sort of Legislative Council : but in Governor Brisbane's time the chief officials were combined into something of the sort ; and in that of Governor Darling, seven colonists, nominated by the Crown, were added, so as to make up a Council of fifteen. Political instincts are always strong in the English race ; during the recent influx of settlers and capital the conduct of the Government often produced dissatisfaction ; and Lord Derby's Act was well-timed and, so far as it went, successful. He made a Legislature of one house, consisting of the six chief officials, six crown nominees, and twenty-four elected representatives of the people, eighteen elected from the district of Sydney, and six from Port Phillip. The qualification for the franchise was a £20

rental, or a freehold worth £200, and that for members was fixed high in proportion. In the first session of this Council Mr. Lowe, then a barrister at Sydney, entered upon his political career. The Council at once began the work of remodelling the laws in accordance with the wants of the colony. In 1842 municipal government on the English model was established in Sydney, and in 1843 in Melbourne and Geelong, in Port Philip. The spirit of independence was greatly strengthened in Port Philip by these free institutions. But in none of the Australian colonies was there as yet established a really responsible government. The sudden importance to which the Australian colonies were raised by the discovery of gold came at the same time with some vigorous efforts which were made in the colonies themselves and by one or two enlightened men at home, for releasing them from the tutelage of the Colonial office. The undoubted success of the free institutions which Canada, after a long struggle, had wrested from the mother country, lent a strong confirmation to the views of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Lowe : and at length, by the same Act of Parliament which established Victoria as a separate colony, Lord John Russell's government enabled the four colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land to choose their own form of government by means of popular assemblies composed of all the inhabitants who were £10 householders or £100 freeholders. The colonies then proceeded to make their own constitutions, which were in the end all framed on the British model, except that Victoria and Tasmania chose to make their Upper House elective, as Canada did soon afterwards. The constitutions were everywhere completed about the same time : the first real parliament of New South Wales met in June 1856. The members of the Upper House sit for life : those of the Lower House for four years, subject to dissolution by the Governor. There is no hard line of demarcation between political parties in New South Wales. There are, of course, protectionists and free-traders : there are those who are anxious for the interests of the rich squatter, believing that the prosperity of the country depends entirely upon its wool-growing, and those who are anxious to encourage the poor emigrant corn-farmer, or "free-selector" : but the changes of ministry, which so often happen in Australia, have but little to do with any recognisable body of principles,

whether liberal or conservative, and generally depend on local and personal questions.

10. *South Australia.*—The beginnings of South Australia, as we have seen, were unpromising : but the whole face of affairs was changed in a few years by the discovery of a new source of wealth. South Australia owes her prosperity to her mines of copper, as Victoria owes hers to her mines of gold. The Kapunda mines were discovered in 1843, and those of Burra-Burra in 1845 ; and in the meantime the Government of the colony had passed into the hands of Sir George Grey, under whom it gradually began to retrieve its fortunes. Copper mining steadily progressed, in spite of the check which came of the discovery of gold in other colonies ; and there are now many more rich mines, the best being those of Wallaroo and Moonta. The production of wool, grain, and wine has steadily increased : and wheat is now sent from Adelaide not only to the neighbour colonies, but to the Cape, India, and China. The movement in favour of representative government in South Australia has closely followed the same movement in Victoria. From 1842 to 1850 the colony was governed by a Legislative Council of eight persons, nominated by the Crown : but in the latter year the number was increased from eight to twenty-four, and two-thirds were to be elected by the colonists, as in Western Australia. The Australian Colonies Act empowered the Council to choose such new institutions as might be suitable to the colony : and in 1853, while similar discussions were pending in Victoria and in New South Wales, the Council passed a Bill establishing an Upper and a Lower House, the former being nominated by the Crown and the latter elected by the people. The colonists petitioned the Home Government against this constitution of the Upper House : like the people of Victoria, they wished their Upper House to be elective, and they gained their point. The new constitution on this basis was proclaimed in 1856. Since that time the population has nearly trebled itself. South Australia seems to be ahead of her neighbour colonies in public spirit and enterprise. She is practically the westernmost of the colonies ; her territory, as may be seen from the map, stretches northwards right across the island to the sea which washes the Indian Archipelago, and she is making strenuous efforts to connect the colony in the south with the shores of the north, and in this way with India and Europe. Her

northern shores have good ports and a productive soil, though the climate is hot : and it was proposed about thirty years ago to develop one of these ports, called Port Essington, into a great free port, on the model of Singapore, for the trade of the Archipelago. The project, however, was abandoned : and the most favourable site is now found to be Port Darwin, further west, around which large land sales have now been made, and where there is already a small settlement called Palmerston. The Government of Australia have actually executed the great project of a telegraph 2,200 miles long, connecting Adelaide with Palmerston, and, through other lines, with Java, Singapore, India, and Europe : and they look forward to gradually following it up by making a railway, just as the Dominion Government is doing in Canada. Lying, as South Australia does, round the estuary of the great river system of New South Wales and Victoria, it is through her that the Australian world will be hereafter connected by railways, as it already is by the telegraph, with the Indian Ocean and Europe.

11. Victoria.—The year 1851 is memorable in Victoria for two things, its political independence, and the discovery of gold. Gold was first found near Bathurst in New South Wales : but shortly afterwards the richest gold-field the world has ever seen was discovered at Ballarat in Victoria. A vast influx of population followed, first from the adjacent settlements, and then from Europe and China. The city of Melbourne rose as if by magic : in four years the population of Victoria had increased five-fold, and its imports and exports as much as twelve-fold. By this time the Australian Colonies Act had been passed : and the colonies had to settle the shape which they wished their permanent constitutions to take. Victoria was ahead in this respect of the older colony of Sydney. It had in four years quite outgrown its Legislative Council : and the demands of the community boldly embraced an elective Upper House, and a Lower House, sitting only for three years, and constituted on the principles of the ballot, the abolition of the property qualification, equal electoral districts, and manhood suffrage. The new constitution on this basis was proclaimed in 1855, and ever since Melbourne has been the centre of a remarkably active political life. Victoria is the most democratic of the Australian colonies : it is the only one of them in which members of Parliament are paid, as in the United

States and Canada, for attending to their duties. It presents many of the features, some more and some less desirable, of American politics : but its governments lack the stability which the four years' presidency gives to that of the United States. The importance of Victoria has been steadily increasing, notwithstanding the decrease in the production of gold : and it has become the most populous, and in some respects the most advanced of the Australian colonies. In Victoria we find the most populous city, the largest public revenue and debt, the finest public buildings, the greatest comparative length of roads and railroads, and the greatest show of activity and wealth, of perhaps all the English colonies. But New South Wales rests after all on a more extended breadth of territory and resources ; and it seems certain that it will in the end regain the lead which it seemed a few years ago to have lost. Victoria is the only one among the Australian colonies which imitates the United States of America in loading her imports with heavy duties, with the object of stimulating her own production. It will no doubt be seen in the course of time that this policy has retarded the progress of the colony.

12. *Tasmania.*—From the removal of the convict settlement hither from Norfolk Island to the epoch of independence (1804—1850) the history of Van Diemen's Land resembles, on a small scale, that of New South Wales. The only historical fact during this time is that the natives were all destroyed by the soldiers who guarded the settlement. Free-settlers began to arrive as early as 1816. but it was not until 1853 that they had become so numerous that convict labour could be dispensed with. In 1856, under the provision of the Australian Colonies Act, Van Diemen's Land became a separate colony with a representative government. The name had become unpopular from its association with the convicts : and it was now changed for Tasmania, from its discoverer, Abel Tasman. Tasmania is very like England in its climate and produce. It is not a very flourishing or fast-growing colony : and it can scarcely be said at present to have any history of its own. Its two chief towns, Launceston in the north, and Hobart Town in the south have grown quietly up out of Government convict settlements. At present Tasmania is undoubtedly suffering by the withdrawal of the convict labour, and by the superior attractions of its neighbour colonies : and it is possible that it may hereafter throw in its lot with the

adjoining colony of Victoria, in the hope of gaining some share of Victoria's prosperity. Quite recently, however, valuable mines of tin have been found in Tasmania : and if the island proves to be rich in minerals the face of affairs will be changed.

13. Queensland.—When we consider that the east coast of Australia is about two thousand miles long, and that Sydney is near the south end, it becomes clear that if settlements were to be made along all its length, it would be necessary to divide the colony for purposes of government. After the settlement of the Darling Downs, the town of Brisbane, near the old penal colony of Moreton Bay, about half-way up the settled coast, rapidly grew up into an important place. Sheep-owners and farmers went on settling far away northwards, and Brisbane soon tended to become the capital of a Northern portion of New South Wales. Accordingly in 1859 this portion was erected into a separate colony, with a representative government framed on the model of that of New South Wales, by the name of Queensland. The more northern shores of the great East Australian coast differ in one great matter from those about Sydney. They are much hotter, because near the Equator : and much of them is actually within the tropics. Here, then, we naturally look for something like what we have already met with in the West Indies : and we accordingly find that Queensland within the tropics is well adapted for the production of sugar, tobacco, and cotton. The south of Queensland is at present the most thickly settled, like New South Wales, and wool is therefore, on the whole, its staple produce. But the immense length of tropical coast to the north is not suited for growing wool or corn : Rockhampton is the centre of so large a plantation district that it seems likely that Queensland will soon be further subdivided, and that the growth of sugar and cotton will make the north greatly exceed the south in importance. The labourers of the Queensland plantations are chiefly South Sea Islanders, who are imported under government inspection, and bound to work for a term of three years, after which they return home with their savings, and, what is far more important, with new ideas of life. Many of those who have thus returned come back to Queensland for a second term of labour : and we may thus conclude, in spite of the objections of philanthropists, that this system works benefit to both the parties. Cotton

grows wild in Queensland, and it is of a better quality than anywhere else in the world. Besides this, Queensland is rich in coal, and in gold, copper, and tin : so that it may well expect at no distant time an extraordinary degree of prosperity.

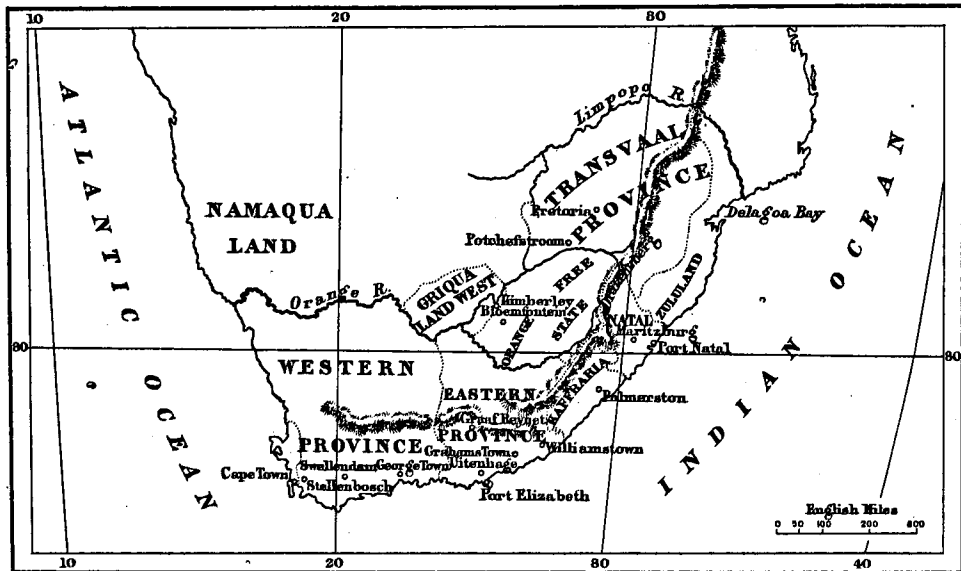
14. *Growth of New Zealand.*—We have already sketched the beginnings of four of the provinces of New Zealand. These were not all placed in the best situations, and they have been eclipsed in wealth and importance by some that have been more recently formed. All these settlements were formed under the direction of Mr. Wakefield : and, from their isolation, their original character has remained impressed upon them more strongly than upon South Australia. Among Wakefield's clever devices was a notion, borrowed from American history, of sending out bodies of colonists of the same religious persuasion to different parts. Thus he had located a number of Non-conformists at New Plymouth : he now (1848) shipped off a number of Scotch Presbyterians to Otago in South Island : and he advertised a colony of Episcopalians for a settlement in the same island to be called Canterbury, with a capital town to be called Christchurch. He sold the land everywhere as high as he could ; but here he proposed to build and endow cathedrals and churches out of the purchase money, which was fixed as high as £3 an acre. For this colony he obtained a special charter in 1850 : and it turned out more of a success than might have been expected, though the expectations of the colonists have not been completely satisfied. There were now six regular colonies on the coast of New Zealand : and the Conservative Government framed a constitution for them in 1852. Each was to have its provincial institutions, besides which there was to be a nominated Legislative Council and a House of Representatives, elected by people possessing a property qualification, for the whole colony. Power was given to constitute fresh provinces as the population should increase : and the six provinces were soon increased to nine by the addition of Hawke's Bay, formed in 1858, Marlborough, which was formerly part of Nelson, and Southland, formerly part of Otago, which were formed in 1861. But the constitution of 1852 turned out to be a great blunder. Difficulties arose in the administration of the provinces. Canterbury, for instance, is physically cut in two by a range of snow mountains, which practically separates it into the two districts of West-

land and Christchurch, which differ from each other greatly in the nature of the population and in their political interests. It was impossible to multiply provincial councils, for their government was already notoriously costly and inefficient; and for a long time there were conflicts of opinion between the Ultra-Provincialists, who wished each province to become a separate colony, the Separatists, who were for a separate colony in each island, Auckland being the capital of the North, and Christchurch or Dunedin, of the South Island, and the Centralists, who wished for the abolition of the provincial governments and the substitution of counties, as in England and America, the seat of Government remaining at Wellington, whither it had been removed from Auckland in 1865. The last party prevailed; in 1875 the provincial distinctions were abolished, and the central government was established, exactly as had been recommended by Mr. Roebuck a quarter of a century before. The New Zealand islands are now divided into counties, like the United Kingdom. The government will be henceforth more economical and efficient, and we may expect from the people something more like a national policy and aims. The growth of New Zealand has been greatly promoted by the discovery of gold, first in Otago, and then on the western coast of the South Island, where ten years ago the town of Hokitika sprang up as if by magic. But in all minerals, as well as in the quality and quantity of its coal, it is far behind Australia.

15. *Further Extensions.*—Let us cast our eyes over the map of Australia, beginning with the Eastern shore. Travelling south from the tropical clime of North Queensland we shall pass by a line of coast nearly three thousand miles long. As the climate becomes more temperate we gradually find the coast occupied right up to the distant mountain ranges, and for many hundreds of miles beyond them, by English colonists, living under a free local government of their own, and divided into four central governments, having their seats at Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. All these ports, and several others, are connected by railways with the uplands beyond the mountains. Opposite Victoria lies the island of Tasmania, forming a fifth independent colony. This great south-eastern part of Australia is the best part of the island, for most of the central and western parts consist of sandy and stony deserts and salt-marshes. There

is but one settlement on the western shore. It is not yet of sufficient size to receive independent government, and is not at all likely to grow into a great nation like the five colonies of the east. South Australia really limits their westward development; and the further growth of the Australian settlements must clearly not be looked for in that direction, though it leads to the Cape of Good Hope and to Europe. The course of colonization, in fact, has now reached its *tropic* or turning-point. Australia really faces round from Europe to meet the kindred civilization of America on the one hand, and the trade of the Indian Archipelago and China on the other. It is in the direction of America that the colony of New Zealand has been formed: and it seems likely that from America on the one side and from Australia on the other, colonists will go on settling in many of the numberless islands of the Pacific Ocean. An important step in this direction was taken in 1874 by the British government. Acting on the representations of the Australians, they took possession in that year of the Fiji islands, more than two hundred in number, where many sugar and cotton planters had already settled. The way for colonization had already been prepared by Christian missionaries, both from America and from Europe: and it is impossible to say how far the movement may have extended in another century, when the wealth and population of America and Australia have become better developed and consolidated. Northwards the communication with the Indian Ocean has been begun by the Adelaide telegraph: and this will in time be followed by a railway. Settlements have been made on the Northern shore, and it is likely that the British government will before long take possession in like manner of the vast island of New Guinea. If not, some one of the Australian governments will certainly do so as soon as a fit time arrives. Pacific colonization is apparently the next phase of colonial enterprise. The French, the Germans, and the Americans have already made a show of taking possession of some of these islands, but the only approach to real colonization among them is the French penal settlement of New Caledonia. The richness of the soil of the countless Indian and Pacific islands, the facilities for government and for intercommunication afforded by their position, the native labour with which they abound, and more than all, the immense increase during the last few

SOUTH AFRICA



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years of ocean navigation by large steamships, are now attracting to them the attention of the world: and it is possible that a few years may see many more of them peopled by an English-speaking race. It seems likely that the great world of the Pacific, including the shores of China, Japan, Australia, and America, as well as the islands in its bosom, may one day vie with the world that is washed by the Atlantic in prosperity and civilization. If this should ever come to pass, men will then say that the circle of history is complete.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The Cape Colony (1)—*Acquired by England* (2)—*The Kaffirs* (3)
 —*The Eastern Province* (4)—*Political Changes* (5)—*Natal* (6)
 —*The Orange Republic* (7)—*The South African Republic* (8)
 —*The Diamond Fields* (9)—*Confederation* (10).

1. **The Cape Colony.**—We have seen how the Dutch East India Company formed their settlement at the Cape, in the middle of the seventeenth century, as a convenient halting-place for their vessels, such as the English Company had at the island of St. Helena. The history of this Dutch settlement would be as unimportant as that of Mombaza or Melinda, but for the fact that many poor Dutchmen settled there and cultivated the soil, as Englishmen had already done in North America. As is usual in a new country, the boers, or farmers, suffered great hardships. Sometimes they lived on the flesh of penguins and monkeys: and for stealing a cabbage a man was sentenced to three years' penal servitude. But they throve better in course of time: their cattle multiplied: they brought negroes from Guinea, and Malays from Java; and they made slaves of the native Hottentots. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes, many French protestants came and settled near the town of Stellenbosch: they brought with them the vine-plant, and in a few years the vineyards of Constantia had become famous even in Europe. The traffic between Europe and India brought to the Cape many of the waifs and strays of both,

and hence the place was early noted for its poor and mixed population. Otherwise the colony attracted little notice. It was tyrannically governed by the officials of the East India Company: and the slaves and Hottentots were cruelly treated by the settlers. Capetown grew in proportion to the extension of the farms, just as the towns of Australia have since done. The farmers, as they prospered, got tired of living up the country, and came down to the town, leaving the management of their farms to their slaves. Some settlers lived by fishing and petty trading: and others by letting out slaves to work for hire. But there was no getting rich on a large scale, for the Company limited the size of the farms, and kept most of the trade in its own hands. The method under which the holdings of the boers in South Africa were formed is both interesting in itself as the earliest example of modern agricultural colonization as a regular system, and important for understanding subsequent South African history. The boers at first never thought of anything like absolute ownership of the soil. The Company allowed each boer to choose his own place for settling, and to occupy a large space of land, which from its being held on loan or sufferance was called his *loan-place*. A central point was fixed, and all the land within half-an-hour's walk in any direction from it was included in the loan-place. The settler received no title-deeds with his land, but only a written permission to occupy; and of course he could not be expected to make any permanent improvements on a place from which he could be at any moment ejected by some more favoured person. To induce the boers to build houses and cultivate the soil, about 120 acres of land, selected by themselves anywhere within their loan-places, were granted as freeholds to each. Here the boer built his house, and planted his vines and his orange trees. His sons also built their houses around in the same way, so that each loan-place gradually became a family colony in itself, with from six to twenty thousand acres of pasture land around, on which the flocks and herds multiplied with little trouble. This system was afterwards carried out in places where no official eye had penetrated; and when the English government afterwards converted this tenure by sufferance into freehold property, there was much difficulty in settling conflicting claims where no accurate boundary had been fixed. The farming was of the poorest and most primitive kind: and as all the work was

done by slaves, it is not wonderful that the progress of the colony was slow. Janssens, the last of the Dutch governors, replied to a proposal for a new settlement in the place by saying that he did not see how any more people could subsist there, and that he contemplated the actual increase of population with alarm, not knowing where the children of the next generation would find bread to eat. At this time, after an existence of a century and a half, the colony contained about 20,000 free people. Since it has come into the possession of England the number has increased to over a million. In governor Janssens' time some loads of wool, which had been brought down for export, found no buyer, and the wool was thrown to the winds upon the beach. The export of the same article from South Africa now amounts to three millions sterling.

2. *The Cape acquired by England.*—Such were the consequences of the narrow and tyrannical government of the Company. The Dutch are a republican people, and it was not likely that the colonists would endure it longer than they could help. The revolt of the English colonists in America, and events in France, were enough to show them the way; but the change was precipitated by the revolutionary disturbances which distracted Holland about the same time. The Company had long been in a decaying condition; and when the French conquered Holland in 1795, it was abolished, its debts and possessions becoming those of the nation. The Cape colony, exclusive of Capetown, was divided into three Provinces. Capetown enjoyed a hateful official predominance; and the inhabitants of two of the other provinces now declared themselves independent, expelled the government officials and proclaimed a republic at Swellendam. The English Government saw in this incident nothing but an effect of French revolutionary principles; the Cape was now an important naval station; and they took possession of the whole colony on behalf of the Prince of Orange, who had been driven from Holland. This British protectorate over the colony lasted until the peace of Amiens, when it was evacuated and restored to Holland. Upon the war breaking out again, the English again took possession of the Cape; and since 1806 it has remained in their possession, having been formally ceded by the Treaty of Paris in 1815. We shall see in the next chapter how public opinion was gradually stirred against the slave-trade and slavery,

on which, however, the prosperity of many European colonies was supposed to depend. The Cape was one of these ; and the first consequence of the British occupation was the abolition of this trade : for the last cargo of slaves came to Capetown in 1807. The Dutch, who did not share the humane ideas of the English, were exasperated at this : and still more by the laws for the protection of the Hottentots, which the English made and rigorously executed. As we shall presently see, they were afterwards still more offended by the abolition of the institution of slavery itself. In 1815, some of the boers attempted a rebellion, in consequence of some prosecutions for ill-using the Hottentots, and in this they were helped by some neighbouring natives, who have from time to time proved very troublesome to the English.

3. *The Kaffirs.*—These were the Kaffirs, a tall and warlike race, in no way resembling the Hottentots. They have, indeed, some of the characteristics of an Asiatic people. The Dutch had fought with them many years before, and in 1780 had succeeded in driving them beyond the Great Fish River. But they often came back : and there was no little difficulty in maintaining this river as the boundary. They dwelt mostly to the east of the colony : and as the colonists approached their borders, the Kaffirs stole their cattle : and this went on so much that it was made lawful to shoot the Kaffirs whenever they were taken in the act of cattle-stealing. The colonists also adopted a system of reprisals, by which they stole the cattle of the Kaffirs : and ever since 1811 there have been from time to time wars between them and the Kaffirs, and sometimes wars on a considerable scale. In 1818, for instance, English troops to the number of three or four thousand entered Kaffirland, and took possession of a large frontier tract ; and there was another invasion ten years afterwards. The greatest Kaffir war broke out in 1835, when 10,000 fighting men invaded the colony, sweeping over the Eastern Province, and striking a panic into Capetown itself. The Kaffirs are naturally cruel and superstitious : one of their chiefs, named Chaka, who lived at the beginning of this century, destroyed a million of human beings. But large numbers of them have now been civilized ; and in course of time they will perhaps settle down peaceably by their white neighbours. The English have always endeavoured to treat them fairly and humanely, and to make the Dutch do the same. The Dutch boer, however, can-

not understand why this should be, and he hates the English for coercing him into it. The boers all over South Africa have the same characteristics. They are ignorant and grasping; and as regards the Kaffirs they have a doctrine which completely satisfies themselves, though it does not satisfy any other of the parties concerned in the question. They are stern Calvinists, and hold the Bible as their only moral law. When the English remonstrate with them, they turn to the five books of Moses, and point to the passages where the people of Israel are commanded to go in and possess the land, and to drive out the Canaanites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. "Ye shall utterly drive out the inhabitants thereof. Ye shall make no covenant with them nor show any mercy unto them. The Lord hath given the land for an inheritance to you and to your children." In this blind stubbornness have the Dutch boers gone on to this day, forgetting that they are in the midst of a land which is far from being conquered from the inhabitants, who are a numerous and warlike race, and gradually learning the use of fire-arms. Their treatment of the natives has often provoked hostility to all white people; and although in most parts of South Africa the natives by this time fully understand the difference between the English and the Dutch, it is probable that in the case of a general rising against the Dutch the English settlers would be seriously endangered. It is this, besides motives of common justice and humanity, which leads England, however unwillingly, to keep her hand upon the Dutch wherever they go.

4. *The Eastern Province.*—No colonizing expedition has been more successful than that which was sent out by the English government in 1820. Free settlers had already been emigrating to New South Wales; and after the war of 1818, it appeared to the government that a settlement might well be established in the conquered part of Kaffirland if people could be sent out in sufficient numbers to protect themselves. They voted £50,000 to send out 5,000 colonists: and in 1820 this party landed at Port Elizabeth in Algoa Bay. The government transported them in waggons to their freehold allotments of 100 acres each, and supplied them with rations until they could manage to subsist by their farming. They suffered many hardships: but the new colony steadily prospered and extended: in 1835 it became a separate district by the name of the Eastern Province: and it now rivals the Western Pro-

vince in wealth and population. There were already many Dutch settlers in the Eastern Province: indeed, the old Dutch Province of Graaf-Reynet was incorporated with it. But the Eastern Province has taken a character so different from the Western as to illustrate exactly the difference between the English and the Dutch settlers. It is less self-contained, and more enterprising. It devotes itself to raising goods for export, and above two-thirds of the whole customs duties of the colony are raised at Port Elizabeth. It is true that the exports of the Orange State are included in the trade of Port Elizabeth: but after making all allowances, there is no doubt that the Eastern Province has grown much faster in proportion than the Western.

5. *Political Changes.*—The Cape was included in that general enfranchisement of all British colonies which were willing to accept it, which took place in the middle of the present century. For nearly thirty years after the conquest the colony remained under military rule: but this ceased in 1835, when executive and legislative councils were appointed. But the Dutch, a nation full of political instincts, had always been discontented at their exclusion from political rights, and the new English settlers were not slow to take up this feeling. As early as 1841, the people petitioned for representative government, and the governor, Sir George Napier, warmly supported their request; but the Colonial Office found difficulties in the way, both as to the exact measure of the proposed grant, and in connection with the scattered character of the settlements, and the remoteness of the Eastern Province from the seat of government. An incident in the year 1849 forced on the measure. Australia had now closed her ports against English convict ships, and Lord Grey, then Colonial Secretary, determined to send the convicts henceforth to the Cape. A shipload of Irish political prisoners actually arrived off Capetown; but the colonists rose in arms, and would not allow them to be landed. This successful resistance encouraged them to repeat their demands: and at length in 1850 the governor was empowered to summon a constituent council, as in Australia. The constituent council settled the new form of government, on the basis of a Legislative Council or Upper House, and a House of Assembly, both elected by persons possessing a property qualification. As the governor was not responsible to his parliament, this was much the same constitution as Canada

enjoyed up to the year 1840. The first Cape parliament met in 1854 : but for twenty years the government of the colony was carried on chiefly from home, and with indifferent success. There was constant poverty and commercial depression ; the colony seemed incapable of progress, and had even to raise loans to pay its current expenses of government. The opening of the Suez canal in 1870 removed much of the traffic which formerly passed by the Cape, though the injury to the colony has been far less than was anticipated. But the Cape now became of far less importance as a station on the way to India : and the defences of this colony could no longer be allowed to cost the mother-country £300,000 a year. Gradually it came to be seen that the Cape people ought to be left entirely to the management of their own affairs : and in 1874 this half-and-half state of things ceased, and the colony passed into the hands of local ministers responsible to the Assembly, as in Canada and the Australian colonies. This measure was forced on by the increasing difficulties with the natives in other states of South Africa, in the belief that it would be followed by these states in some way or other joining with the free Cape government to make a general South African Confederation. The territory of the Cape colony had been in the meantime increased by the addition of some territory beyond the Eastern Province. At the close of the war of 1835, British authority was extended over a considerable tract of Kaffirland ; and at the end of the last Kaffir war in 1853 this was definitely annexed by the name of British Kaffraria. In 1865 British Kaffraria was incorporated with the Eastern Province, and authorized to send representatives to the Assembly at Capetown.

6. Natal.—The continuance of the English policy in favour of the natives led to a great migration of the Dutch boers from the Eastern Province in 1835 and the years following. Slavery had been finally abolished in 1834, and a general condemnation was soon afterwards passed by the British government on the Kaffir wars. Thousands of Dutch settlers, smarting from the loss of their Hottentot and negro slaves, and believing that the English were really encouraging the Kaffirs to massacre them, now abandoned their farms, placed their goods and their families in their ox-waggons, and crossed the Orange river into the land which is now the Orange Free State, driving their herds with them. Here they wandered about for some

time, and at length found their way over the Drakenberg mountains into the district of Natal. On the Christmas Day of the memorable year 1498, when Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape, and was coasting round the Eastern shore on his way to India, he came upon a wide bay to whose picturesque shores he gave the name of Terra do Natal (Christmas-land). When the boers entered this country there was already a small English settlement at Port Durban, on the bay. It had been founded by an English captain named Gardiner; and he named it the Republic of Victoria, supposing that the British Government would never help him in organizing it. The English at the coast were ready enough to welcome the Dutch immigrants. The natives were few and feeble: after being under the tyranny of a ferocious Kaffir chief, they had now passed into a state of vassalage to the Europeans at the port. But shortly after the arrival of the boers, there happened an immigration of 100,000 warlike blacks from the interior called Zulus, with whom the Dutch had to do battle for their new settlement. They beat the Zulus: but they could not prevent them from settling down in large numbers all round them. Fancying themselves now independent of England, they elected a Volksraad, or national council, and proclaimed the Republic of Natalia: but the English forced them to submit, and in 1843 Natal was declared a British Colony. The English protected the Zulus, and many of the Dutch went back over the Drakenberg: but in a few years British settlers began to arrive, and there are now 20,000 Europeans in the colony. In 1849 the sugar-cane was introduced in the lowlands near the coast; and many thousands of tons are now made here every year, yielding employment to a large number of the natives, as well as to Hindoo coolies. Natal has valuable mines of coal, an important fact when we consider that great quantities of coal were formerly exported from England to the Cape, and that all South Africa is rich in valuable minerals. Besides this Natal, like the Cape, exports large quantities of wool and hides. After being several years a dependency of the Cape government, it became a separate colony in 1856: but as yet it has no representative government. The first decided evidences of progress in this colony date from the years 1859 to 1863. As the land is extremely fertile, and has been sold very cheap, the increase of immigration has been steady; and although Natal has always been beset with the same question which

perplexes the South African colonists, it has all the elements of great future prosperity.

7. **The Orange Republic.**—Many of the boers, instead of crossing the Drakenberg, remained in the district of the Orange and Vaal rivers, and made the beginnings of an entirely new community. This fertile district is part of the great table-land of South Africa. It lies 5,000 feet above the sea, and has the driest and healthiest climate in the world. Here many of the Dutch settled down with their herds : and they were soon joined by English and German emigrants. They organized their community as a Free-State or Republic, governed by a president, elected for four years, and a parliament or volksraad, elected by the inhabitants of the various districts. One of the boers had settled near a spring of water surrounded with rich vegetation. He called his farm Bloem-fontein, or Spring of Flowers, and here there grew up the little town which is now the capital of the Orange State. For some years the English government took no notice of these settlers : but in 1845 they made war upon the Griquas, a race of half-breeds, who had emigrated to the same neighbourhood early in this century. The Griquas were under English protection : and the government, surmising that the boers would not very strictly respect the rights of the Griquas, sent troops from the Cape to defend them ; and, for the purpose of enforcing English law, proclaimed the sovereignty of England over all the rich territory between the rivers Orange and Vaal. The boers resisted by force of arms : but they were reduced to submission : and a number of them, led by one Pretorius, disgusted at finding themselves once more subject to English law, migrated to the other side of the Vaal, as they had migrated a few years before over the Orange river. Many more English settlers now came : but the constant troubles with the natives, and apprehension of a continual increase of the African territory of the crown, led the English government, in 1853, to cast the Orange province adrift. So little was then known in England of the matter, that only a single voice was raised in the British Parliament against this measure. Sir Charles Adderley, as everybody now allows, was right ; but it may now be no easy matter to recover what the government in those days threw away. The Orange republic had now to enter alone on a long war with the Basutos ; and to annex a large tract of Basutoland to their territory. The

people of the Orange afterwards petitioned, but without success, to be readmitted to the rights of British citizens.

8. **The South African Republic.**—In 1861, those of the boers who dwelt to the north of the Vaal river, formed themselves into a separate state, by the name of the South African Republic. The Transvaal land resembles the Orange State, except that it is somewhat higher, more tropical, and more picturesque, richer in minerals, and much larger. It has, indeed, no limits, except on the south and east; and if immigration goes on increasing in the present proportion, it will become the largest and most important state in South Africa. Like the rest of the South African settlements, its chief wealth lies in its sheep and cattle: but it produces also large quantities of grain, two crops of which will grow in one year; and it is rich in various kinds of minerals, including gold. The boers of the Transvaal established a government like that of the Orange state, with a president and volksraad. Their constitution was semi-military, the governors of the districts, elected by the volksraad, being chiefly men who had become famous as leaders of periodical raids upon the natives. Such a man was the former President Pretorius, who died in 1853, and after whom the seat of government was named Pretoria. After the death of Pretorius, the government fell into great disorder. The Dutch provoked the usual disturbances with the natives; and it became clear that there would be no peace for the Transvaal until it was taken in hand by Englishmen. The boers, however, hoped to avoid interference: and with the view of obtaining access to the sea for themselves, they made a treaty with the Portuguese for constructing a railway from the Republic to the Portuguese settlement of Delagoa Bay. But matters got worse and worse: and at last in 1877 English sovereignty was proclaimed over the Transvaal. We cannot guess to what dimensions the South African Republic, under better government, may ultimately grow. People were misled for four hundred years by judging of the African continent from its arid and uninviting coasts. Livingstone and other travellers have dispelled this illusion. Just as in many parts of South America, when you have penetrated inland, you find a green and fertile country, rich in everything that can tempt the European settler: and by the aid of railways there is no doubt that Central Africa will now be gradually opened to the world.

9. **The Diamond Fields.**—In 1867 a diamond was found

in the roots of an old thorn tree in a district belonging to the Orange Republic : and it was soon found that this district contained more diamonds than all the rest of the world together. This great discovery was at first kept secret ; but in 1870 the number of the diamonds that found their way to Europe from South Africa could no longer be concealed. A great influx of diggers now took place, most of whom were English : and as the government of the Orange Republic was thought to be unable to keep order among them, the English took possession of the district, availing themselves of the pretensions of a Griqua chief named Water-boer, and made it a British colony by the name of Griqua-land-west. The people of the Orange State protested in vain against this annexation : but the fact is that the states of South Africa lie under a difficulty which does not happen in other colonies, and which perhaps justifies the English government in what appears to be arbitrary policy. The Dutch boers, whatever may be the reason, cannot get on with the natives, and their policy imperils the position of the English colonists. Of late years it has become clearer and clearer that English authority must in some shape or other be re-asserted over all the European settlements at the Cape : and the occupation of Griqua-land-west was the first step in this process. In 1877, Griqua-land-west was united with the Cape Colony.

10. *Confederation.*—To understand the necessity for some change in the government of all South Africa which shall establish a uniform policy towards the natives and a strong power for maintaining order, we must bear in mind both the geographical conformation of this vast district, and the peculiar system under which it has been colonized. It is not like that of Canada and the United States, by which the land has been completely occupied piece by piece, and a dwindling race of natives has been gradually driven in the mass farther and farther away. Each farmer takes to himself a large stretch of land, varying from six to twenty thousand acres, only a small part of which he actually occupies, the rest being left as wild pasture. In this way a very thin European population soon spreads over a vast area, from which it is impossible to exclude the natives, who are a warlike race, multiplying faster than the Europeans, and continually recruited from the populous interior of the continent. It is thus most difficult for the settlers either to combine for self-defence, or to calculate

the extent of their danger. The natives have confidence in the rule of the English, but none in that of the Dutch. They are advancing in many ways, especially in the use of fire-arms; the Dutch are ever giving them provocations to break out, which they are only too ready to accept; and until some government is established which secures them the rights to which they have been accustomed under English rule, no district is ever free from apprehensions of a general rising against the Europeans. The English Parliament therefore, in 1877, framed an Act establishing a confederation to include all the colonies of South Africa. By the annexation of the Transvaal, British authority has since been established over all these colonies except the Orange Republic: and the advantages of the scheme are so plain that this colony will no doubt fall in with it. We may therefore look forward to seeing a Confederation of the South African States, each enjoying self-government, under its own local institutions, but all united for general purposes of public safety and prosperity, as in the United States and the Dominion of Canada. One of the chief difficulties, as in the case of Canada, will arise in finding a suitable seat for the general government. This and other difficulties will no doubt be overcome; and then will begin the real history of a great European nation in South Africa.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEPENDENT BRITISH COLONIES.

Crown Governments (1)—*The West Indies* (2)—*Anti-slavery Movement* (3)—*Abolition of Slave Trade* (4)—*Abolition of Slavery* (5)—*Effect of Abolition* (6)—*Free Trade in Sugar* (7)—*Political Changes* (8)—*Trinidad and Guiana* (9)—*The Bermudas and Falklands* (10)—*New Colonies in the East* (11)—*West African Settlements* (12)—*General Remarks* (13).

1. **Crown Governments.**—We have now seen how three great groups of English colonies, besides the mighty United States of America, have grown up in a short time in different parts of the world, and have attained free representative government. The conditions under which this has been done are peculiar, and not easily repeated elsewhere, so that it is hard to see where any fifth English colonial

nation can ever be founded. Such colonies require a large expanse of productive agricultural land, which must lie in a temperate climate, and not be too thickly peopled by native races, so as to attract a continuous stream of capital and labour. They presuppose the formation of strong political instincts, the growth of a class of colonists possessed of some leisure and education, continued immunity from the severer forms of social disaster, and an internal prosperity which enables them to pay the expenses of their own Government, and to win the confidence of older states where there is money to be lent on national credit. Many settlements have, of course, been made where some of these conditions cannot be fulfilled, and these remain under the control of the mother-country, under the name of *Crown Governments*, by which is meant that, instead of making laws for themselves, laws are made for them by the Crown in council, or by a local governor and council appointed by the Crown, instead of by their own popular representatives. Contrary to what might be presumed, this class of colonies has of late years been increasing; for some colonies which had free institutions long before the settlement of Englishmen in Africa and Australia, have apparently come to drop behind in the race of colonial progress, and to lapse into the condition of Crown Governments. Excepting three islands in the Windward group, Barbadoes, Tobago, and Grenada, this has been the case with all the British West Indies. In old times the islands were not much the better for their independent governments. They had each to maintain a complete set of government offices, which could be easily filled by deputy, and gradually came to be held by sinecurists in England, and as time went on it became a difficult thing to get the planters to take any interest in the government. The wealthiest planters were always absentees. The rest were too busy in making money to care anything about public affairs: and when their fortunes were once made they became absentees also. Hence few people voted or offered themselves as candidates; and the assemblies were often composed of obscure and ignorant people. They made all kinds of inconsistent laws; they got into financial difficulties; their Governments were lax and corrupt, and shocked Europe by the cruelty with which the slave system was administered: and when at length this was abolished, and the protection to English-grown sugar was withdrawn, new troubles began. While private and public interests had alike enough to do

to weather the financial storm, the freed negroes became unmanageable : they got into the assemblies, and tried to turn the tables on their former masters. Some of the islands surrendered their old constitutions, and have since been in process of consolidation into a less number of larger and more efficient governments under the direct authority of the Crown. Besides the West India islands and Trinidad, Guiana, Mauritius, and Ceylon, which were taken from the French and Dutch in the wars of the Revolution, and some others, have always remained Crown colonies. Some new and important trade settlements in the seas east of India come under the same head : and the history of the Crown Governments naturally includes one or two free Governments like Barbadoes, and practically free ones like Guiana. Under this head, therefore, we shall trace the history of what remains of the British Colonial Empire besides the three great groups of colonies treated of in the three preceding chapters.

2. *The West Indies.*—We have seen that in the great European war between 1805 and 1814, the French and their allies lost all their colonies, and the naval and colonial supremacy of England was thus carried to its greatest possible height. The West Indies were still thought to be the most valuable of the European colonies ; and every island in the Caribbean sea, except Hayti, was now at the mercy of the English. At the peace of 1814 all the conquests in the West Indies were restored, except Tobago and St. Lucie, which were ceded by France, and the plantations on the Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice rivers in Guiana, which were ceded by Holland. England thus augmented once more the already overgrown empire in the West Indies which she had been nearly two centuries in building up. Its value was greatly increased by the total ruin of the trade of St. Domingo. Before the Revolution, St. Domingo had been the most flourishing of the West Indian colonies ; and it had supplied France and most of continental Europe with sugar and coffee. At the beginning of the present century, the produce of Jamaica was nearly doubled, in consequence of the ruin of St. Domingo, and the continuance of a war in which the English were supreme at sea. It reached its greatest height in 1806. The same causes promoted a very rapid growth in Trinidad. But the West Indies were no longer the only sugar-producing colonies. The sugar production of Brazil, and in the east of Ceylon, Mauritius, and

Java, had been steadily increasing during the past century ; and the West India planters were driven hard to keep the command of the European market. The West Indies had thus begun to decline in real importance as a whole at the time when they reached their greatest prosperity. And this prosperity was at best but hazardous. The islands are subject to great hurricanes, which sometimes destroy the whole of the crops and machinery, besides killing the inhabitants : the planters were often ruined, and thousands of negroes perished of famine. In 1831, for instance, there was a terrible hurricane in Barbadoes, in which 2,500 persons were killed, and property was destroyed to the amount of two and a half millions sterling : and many others are matters of local history. The hurricanes are sometimes rivalled in destructiveness by earthquakes. In 1692 one of the most awful of these visitations buried Port Royal, the ancient capital of Jamaica, eight fathoms under water. The French Government, less scrupulous than that of England in disposing of the produce of taxation, often reimbursed the planters for such losses, and the English Government was obliged to follow their example. The West Indies were thus maintained in an artificial position, partly for the benefit of a certain number of capitalists and merchants, partly out of regard for a doubtful political principle, and partly as affording a large amount of interest and patronage to the Government, at the expense of unceasing cruelty and injustice to the negro race, and of a tax, in the shape of protective duties on their produce, which fell heavily upon the poorer classes in England. This could not go on long after the moral and political awakening which came with the latter years of the eighteenth century ; and we shall now see how the West India Islands have lost their artificial prosperity, and have had to begin a new career, in which they have no advantage over the rest of the colonial world.

3. *The Anti-Slavery Movement.*—The British slave trade was at its greatest height just before the outbreak of American Independence. In 1771 English vessels carried 47,000 negroes to the plantations ; and those of other nations brought about 35,000 a year more. Many thousands more were annually murdered in the perpetual wars which were carried on among the natives in Africa, to feed this unnatural traffic, and great numbers often perished in the horrors of the Middle Passage. The agitation against the trade had originated among the Quakers of

Pennsylvania, from whom it spread to the other American colonies ; and the Virginian Assembly had petitioned the Crown against it shortly before the Declaration of Independence. But England refused to give up this profitable iniquity. It was clear that its abolition would only be a step towards the abolition of slavery itself : and in slavery many good people saw no harm whatever, or thought that what harm there might be was quite justified by the recognition of the principle of it in the Bible. Even the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel owned plantations in the West Indies worked by slaves. Many people wished for the abolition of the trade who saw great difficulties in abolishing slavery itself. At any rate, there was no prospect of the abolition of the trade until after the English slavers had lost the monopoly of the ports of the United States. This happened in 1783 : and the scope of the slave trade was now greatly narrowed. There could be no pretence that the West Indies were not sufficiently stocked with labourers ; and, encouraged by the success of the American Anti-Slavery Societies, a number of humane Englishmen, foremost among whom was Thomas Clarkson, now laboured to call public attention to the matter. It was introduced to Parliament in 1789 by Mr. Wilberforce : the atrocious nature of the trade was amply proved before a Committee of the House, and Denmark, while following the example of England, actually anticipated it by abolishing the trade in 1793. But the progress of the movement was stayed, like that of so many others, by the French Revolution. It was thought to savour of French principles ; and for several years Mr. Wilberforce was outvoted in his annual motions in its favour, until in 1800 he ceased to make them.

4. **Abolition of the Slave Trade.**—The final abolition of the slave-trade was forced on by the success of the English in the wars, by the ruin of her rivals, and by the consequent great increase in the produce of the English West Indies. The English people had long been disgusted with this wicked and inhuman traffic ; and they now saw the price of slaves doubled, and a new stimulus given to the trade, while many thousands more were added to the black population of the West Indies, already sufficiently formidable. The example of Hayti was alarming, and the operations against that island had shown the English Government the difficulty of quelling a general insurrection of the blacks, if headed by intelligent leaders. The number of free negroes

and mulattoes was greatly increasing; many of the principal islands, such as Trinidad, Tobago, and Grenada, were occupied by French planters and French mulattoes; insurrections had already desolated the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada; and it was clear that either an end must be put to the further importation of slaves, or a large addition must be made to the military forces stationed in the islands. These considerations, urged on by the increasing force of public opinion, which had now been directed to the subject for twenty years, prevailed with the English Parliament: and in 1804, during the Addington administration, Wilberforce's Bill prohibiting the slave-trade was supported both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and passed in the House of Commons. It was rejected in the Lords; but it became law in 1806, after the accession to power of stronger ministers. Of the consequences of the abolition of the slave trade one of the most interesting to the historian is that it caused the repeal of the navigation laws and the abandonment of the last relics of the old colonial system. Slavery and monopoly, the two parasitical growths that have always threatened to choke colonial progress, were thus cut away together. All the West India islands were fed on imported corn and meat; and it was now impossible to keep the planters from feeding their slaves on the cheapest supplies. By four distinct stages (1822, 1825, 1833, and 1843) the laws which hampered their import trade with foreign countries were removed: and so far as trade was concerned, the West Indies were placed in the same situation as regarded foreign countries, as if they had formed part of Great Britain. The abolition of the British Slave Trade was but the first and easiest victory in a series of hard struggles. It was not so easy to persuade, and sometimes to compel, less civilised nations to abolish the traffic. Besides, slavery still existed as an institution. It was hoped that this cutting off of the supply would put an end to that system of working negroes to death which was practised by many planters who had hitherto found it cheaper to buy slaves than to breed them, and that henceforth the slaves would be more humanely used out of mere economy. The United States abolished the slave-trade in the same year, and henceforth both countries devoted themselves to procuring its abolition all over the world.

5. *Abolition of Slavery.*—The hopes that had been entertained of a gradual improvement in the condition of the

slaves proved groundless. On the contrary, their owners too often treated them with increased cruelty ; and perhaps the grossest inhumanities on record were committed upon his slaves by a wretch named Hodge, who was hung at Tortola in 1811. The English Government in vain tried to get the local Assemblies to improve their laws as regarded the negroes, and at last sent out warning messages, which were angrily returned by the planters, who threatened to revolt, as the colonists of America had already revolted, if the mother-country meddled in their domestic affairs. This was mere bravado, for if England had withdrawn the troops the blacks could easily have massacred the whole of the whites in the British West Indies. As the true state of the negroes became known, public opinion at home was again thoroughly roused. At length, in 1831, a ruinous insurrection broke out among the blacks of Jamaica, who believed that England had freed them, and that their masters were cheating them out of their liberty. The general successes of a liberal ministry now paved the way for a final settlement ; and Mr. Buxton at length crowned the labours of many years by carrying through Parliament a Bill abolishing slavery in the English colonies after the year 1834. Twenty millions sterling were voted as compensation to the slave-owners : and this vast payment, raised out of the taxes of the nation without an outcry from any class from the highest to the lowest, was certainly an act of moral grandeur to which it would be hard to find a parallel in history. The negroes were to remain for a certain term of years in a state of tutelage or "apprenticeship." Antigua, however, set a wise example by giving them complete freedom at once ; and the apprenticeship was first shortened, and afterwards completely abolished. The abolition of slavery was received with great joy by the negroes ; and at length even the planters came to believe that free blacks would work harder than slave blacks, as the philosophers were always telling them, and that the change would therefore be greatly to their advantage. The philosophers, however, were quite wrong, as we shall shortly see.

6. *Effect of Abolition.*—English notions of the effect of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the West Indies have naturally been derived from the condition of the principal English island. During the present century the decline of Jamaica since the abolition has been conspicuous : and the more so because of the enormous

stimulus which was given to its production in the first years of the century. But no other island declined at once in the same proportion; and this would be enough to show that the decline of Jamaica cannot have been entirely caused by the abolition. The fact is, that the decay of Jamaica had been going on all through the eighteenth century, and was only completed by this final shock. The white population at the beginning of the century had numbered 60,000; in 1757 it was only 25,000. The negroes had diminished, though in a less proportion than the whites. At the latter epoch, which, notwithstanding this decay, was one of great external prosperity, not one-tenth of the island was under any kind of cultivation. In William Penn's time improved land in Jamaica was as valuable as in Barbadoes, and worth three times as much as similar land in England; but a hundred years later land was of just as little value by comparison with Barbadoes and Antigua as at the present day. The fact is that Jamaica had been wasted by continual earthquakes, hurricanes, and pestilences. Through the ignorance of English financiers it had entirely lost one branch of its trade, the cultivation of indigo; and its general wealth and credit had greatly diminished. This decline was, of course, accelerated by abolition: the freed negroes had no reason for labouring, and settled on the uncultivated lands, where they easily subsisted on their gardens or "provision grounds," whereas in Barbadoes, where every rood of land was under cultivation, they were obliged to work for wages to make a living, like the farm-labourers of England. In most of the other islands, just as in Barbadoes, the value of land and the amount of sugar produced were increased by the abolition of slavery. The demand for additional labour was supplied by importing free emigrants from the hills of India, called coolies, as well as Portuguese from Madeira; and this competition made it necessary for the negroes to work in good earnest, unless they wished to starve. Trinidad and Guiana took the lead in the application of coolie labour: and this enabled them to bear the effects of abolition better than the older sugar colonies. But the produce of Guiana in 1839, when the apprenticeship system terminated, fell at once to half the average quantity: and a heavy blow soon fell upon the sugar colonies from another quarter.

7. *Free Trade in Sugar.*—The worst misfortune now came that could possibly have befallen the British West

Indies. Like the abolition of slavery, the abolition of the differential sugar duties was not unforeseen, for it was an inevitable result of the juster and more enlightened policy which England had now begun to put in practice. Formerly the raw sugar of the foreign planters could only enter England on payment of a duty twice as great as that levied on English West Indian sugar; and all the inhabitants of these islands were thus taxed for the benefit of the West Indian planters. Even the sugar of India was thus taxed, though to a less extent. The question whether the people of England were to continue thus taxed for the benefit of one small class had been already fought out in the case of the Corn Laws; and in the same year (1846) in which the duty on foreign corn was abolished, the tax on foreign sugar was abolished also, an Act being passed by which the protective duties were to be diminished every year until in 1851 they were to cease altogether. The collapse which this caused produced in 1848 the extension of the time for three years longer. If we take into account Trinidad and Guiana, we may say that this great measure has produced no general depression in the West Indies as a whole. Prices and profits of course fell; but in five years after the abolition the British islands produced 20,000 tons of sugar above the average of the last five years of protection. But the older sugar islands of the West Indies were even, for a physical reason, less able to meet the strain of competition than Trinidad and Guiana. One or two degrees of average heat make a very great difference in the yield of the sugar cane: and for this reason we see that its cultivation has gradually tended more and more southward. In the middle ages it was grown in the Mediterranean: from thence it was carried to Madeira and the Canaries: then to the Leeward and Windward Islands: and during this century the chief production has been still nearer to the equator, in Trinidad, Guiana, Brazil, Java, and Mauritius. This physical fact has increased the West Indian difficulty, and it told at once upon all the northern parts of the West Indies. Jamaica also was again peculiarly unlucky. The island was desolated by cholera, which carried off 40,000 negroes; the coolies who were beginning to arrive from India had to be sent back; and the planters believed themselves ruined by the English Parliament. No less than 140 sugar estates were abandoned in Jamaica between the years 1832 and 1848.

§. Political Changes.—The planters, especially in Ja-

maica, had stubbornly resisted all these measures. When the negroes were emancipated, they tried to forestall future difficulties by passing an Electoral Reform Act, which extended the franchise to the blacks; and fifteen black men at once found seats in the Jamaica Assembly. But this only increased the negro difficulty. The blacks thought themselves entitled to the land of the planters; they refused to work on the plantations, and therefore could pay no rent; and at length, in 1865, they broke out in an insurrection as formidable as the rising of 1831. The ultimate cause lay, no doubt, in the indolence and unreasonableness of a particular class among the blacks; for a large number remained loyal to the Government. The fact that out of 400,000 Jamaica negroes, 60,000 had, at this time, legally become land owners, sufficiently shows that they lay, as a class, under no political disadvantages. But there is no doubt that the planters, irritated by constant failures in their business for lack of labour, treated them with undue harshness. They had suffered the negroes to squat and plant "provision-grounds" on their estates; and though they might be justified in turning them away when they refused to pay rent, it was unwise and impolitic to destroy, as they often did, the huts and yam-crops of the poor squatters, so as to drive them to work by starvation. We cannot wonder that the assembly was unequal to deal with the crisis. Finding it impossible to maintain the independent government, they surrendered the constitution, at the instance of Governor Eyre, and Jamaica has since been governed by a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown. The Turks and Caicos Islands, and British Honduras, of which England obtained legal possession from Spain in 1786, were combined with the government of Jamaica in 1873, but it is not clear that under the new system the condition of the island has begun to improve. Honduras, as we have seen, was a settlement formed to supply England with mahogany from the forests of Central America. Like the sugar of Jamaica, the mahogany of Honduras was, in the old times, imported under the protection of duties on foreign supplies. These were of course removed when the principle of free trade was established, and since that time the Honduras merchants have been exposed to a sharp competition with those of Mexico and Hayti. It has been the policy of the Government to procure the surrender of the constitutions of all the rest of the islands, and to combine them in another single govern-

ment. Hitherto, however, this measure has only been executed in the Leeward Islands, the six governments of which were consolidated into one confederation in 1871, Antigua being the seat of government. Since the abolition of slavery, the islands had been in a steadily declining condition, and were unable to bear the expenses of their separate establishments. Dominica, for instance, with only 25,000 inhabitants, which, under French rule, had been combined with several other islands under one set of officials, had under the old English system been made a separate colony, and had to maintain fifty-three officials for itself alone. We can easily see how glad the half ruined planters must have been to get rid of this burden, and to combine with the rest in one government. The case in the Windward Islands is somewhat different. Public opinion here has been led by the planters of Barbadoes, who still retain a large measure both of prosperity and of public spirit. They prize their political independence, and believe that good times still await the West Indies. They think also that what Tobago and Grenada would gain by confederation, would be so much loss to Barbadoes; and without Barbadoes it seems useless to make even the beginning of a combined government for the Windward Islands. But Tobago and Grenada would no doubt readily resign their independence for a cheaper and more active government. Troubles have lately occurred in Barbadoes, where, unlike all the other West Indian islands, the negro population has greatly increased since the abolition of slavery; and it is probable that the five separate governments of which the Windward Islands still consist, though they are within the jurisdiction of a single governor from England, will in time be merged in a confederation similar to that of the Leeward Islands. The Bahamas have been little affected by West Indian events. They still retain their Representative Assembly, which is elected from eleven different islands, of which San Salvador, the first land sighted by Columbus, is one. This Assembly meets at Nassau on the island of New Providence, and under it the islands seem to enjoy a moderate prosperity. The Bahamas have lately disendowed their established church, and have dealt effectually with the question of negro squatting; but the uncertainty of the climate often operates badly upon their trade, which is chiefly in salt, sponges, and tropical fruits. Taking these colonies altogether, their condition is one of very slow

improvement and reconstruction after half a century of disaster.

9. *Trinidad and Guiana.*—The great sugar-producing colonies of Trinidad and Guiana have a very different history to that of the rest of the West Indies. Both were acquired by England through the wars of the Revolution; they were peopled by a race very different from the British planters: and they escaped the worst of the calamities which befell Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, because, instead of foolishly resisting emancipation and then falling into apathy and despair, they at once took active measures for procuring a supply of free labour from India, China, and the Canaries. Trinidad had been unusually favoured in the latest Spanish commercial policy. Its trade had been thrown open by Galvez in 1778: and in 1783 was taken the surprising resolution to open the island to Catholic settlers of all nations. At this time the island did not contain 3,000 people of all colours, and it produced neither sugar nor coffee, but when the English captured it in 1797, it was found to contain nearly 18,000 inhabitants, and nearly 300 sugar and coffee plantations. So many of the immigrants were French that French soon became the language of the island. The troubles of Hayti had contributed to this influx of French settlers more than anything else; and immigration began from Ireland and Scotland under the English rule. Trinidad has ever since been developing into what Hayti was at the zenith of its prosperity. While Jamaica was going back, and Barbadoes only holding its ground, Trinidad was rapidly advancing; and its imports and exports steadily increased. Unlike most of the West India islands, which consist mostly of belts of alluvial soil surrounding an interior of barren highlands, nearly the whole of Trinidad is extremely productive: and during this century more and more land has been brought under cultivation. With one-fifth of the population of Jamaica it exports about as much sugar as that island. British Guiana, which has a very similar history, was at one time placed under the same governor with Trinidad. It is divided into three provinces, named, from its three great rivers, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. It has become by far the most flourishing of the English sugar colonies, exporting more hogsheads every year than any of the islands. The planters are wealthy men, and use steam-power and modern machinery for sugar-making. An immense trade has also grown up in

the timber of the inland forest districts. The progress of Guiana during the last twenty years is as surprising as any fact in colonial history, and perhaps it may soon be necessary to grant the planters a regular representative Government. The constitution of Trinidad as a Crown colony has not been changed; but it has already been found necessary to modify the old Dutch constitution of Guiana by adding to the old Court of Policy, as the Legislative Council is called, a certain number of elected representatives, who have a voice in the grant and disposal of the taxes.

10. *The Bermudas and Falklands.*—These two widely-distant groups of islands make up with the West Indies the sum of the British Colonies on the American coast. The Bermudas, so named from their Spanish discoverer, a cluster of three hundred islands, most of which are barren and uninhabited rocks, are among the oldest of the English colonies, possession having been taken of them in 1609 by Sir George Somers, who was cast upon them on his voyage to America. Somers made his way to the continent on a rough boat which he had built out of Bermudan cedar-wood; and a year or two afterwards the English took possession of the islands, which are in fact the relics of the old North American colonial possessions of Great Britain, just as the Channel Islands are the relics of its French possessions. Shakespeare mentions the "still-vexed Bermoothes," and Waller, who once lived here, wrote a curious and amusing poem, minutely describing the islands and their products. Before American Independence they were of importance as affording a convenient naval station; and since that time their importance in this respect has of course increased. But they are not a colony in the ordinary sense of the word, though the inhabitants have ever since 1620 had a representative government. The Settlement of the Falkland Islands is more modern. They lie in an ungenial climate off the southern extremity of America; and though they were discovered at the end of the sixteenth century, no nation thought them worth occupation until they became, about a century ago, important as stations for carrying on the whale fishery. The French at one time tried to colonize them; but the final dispute concerning them arose between England and Spain. The Buenos-Ayreans at one time made a show of entering upon them as the heirs of the old Spanish empire in these parts, but they could make

nothing of the place, and in 1833 the English established an organized government. Since the growth of commercial intercourse between Europe and the ports of Chili, Peru, and Ecuador, the Falklands have greatly risen in importance as a coaling and victualling station for the Pacific : and in this respect they have begun to compete with the port of Rio Janeiro. The soil, though reduced by cold winds to what seems a barren heath, has been found well adapted for sheep farming ; and the port of Stanley now sends large quantities of wool, as well as other raw produce, to the English market. The Falklands have never been any other than a Crown government.

11. *New Colonies in the East.*—Some important acquisitions which have been made in the East stand on the borderland between Indian and Colonial history, which it is not even now easy to separate by a rigid line. We have seen how the wars of the Revolution put England in possession of the Dutch Settlements on the island of Ceylon and of the French Colony of Mauritius. England would perhaps not have taken them but for the growing importance of her empire in India : but they do not belong to Indian history, neither of them having ever permanently passed into the hands of the East India Company, or having any connection with the Indian Government. Ceylon was indeed soon after its capture annexed to the Presidency of Madras ; but in 1801 it was erected into a separate colony. The Portuguese and Dutch had only possessed the coasts : but the English soon destroyed the barbarous kingdom of Kandy and made themselves masters of the whole of the island. Having abundance of rich land lying vacant, which the Crown has sold at a moderate price, and plenty of native labour, it has since attracted English capital to a great amount, and produces large quantities of sugar and coffee. It has always remained a Crown Colony, though not of the strictest kind. The European population scarcely numbers 2,000 : while the natives, whom it is impossible to admit to the franchise, are at least two-and-a-half millions. It is argued that to give the Europeans much power would therefore be to establish an useless oligarchy : but as the colony now pays for its military defences, the Legislative Council is allowed to deal with the surplus revenue as it pleases. There is a strong feeling in Ceylon in favour of superseding the Legislative Council by a better representation : and as the colony has of late years greatly increased in prosperity,

some concession will, perhaps, be made. The Ceylon question, however, is complicated by the immediate neighbourhood of the Indian peninsula, where the English nation must for a long time to come maintain a beneficent despotism, and it is not easy to see how this island could ever become a self-governing colony. These considerations apply, though in a less degree, to Mauritius : but here the planters, who are mostly of French descent, care but little about self-government, and are satisfied with the voice which they have in the deliberations of the old-fashioned Legislative Council. Mauritius, which contains the finest sugar land in the world, exceeding even that of Guiana in productiveness, is one of the latest acquisitions of the British Empire, having been taken by General Abercrombie in 1810. During the century of French occupation it had been little more than a naval station ; and it was under English government that it became important as a sugar island. The most important date in Mauritian history is the year 1825. The island had hitherto been classed by English financiers with the East Indies, and its sugar, like theirs, had paid a duty of 37*s.* per cwt. : but in that year it was placed on the same footing as the West Indies, which only paid 27*s.* per cwt. A large influx of planters immediately followed : and there was an inexhaustible supply of labour at hand in India. Together with Mauritius, England also came into possession of the Seychelles, Amirante, and some other islands dependent on the Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean. Cotton has been planted here, and Port Victoria, on the largest of the Seychelles, has a magnificent harbour. The further extension of the British possessions in the East, including the occupation of the Straits Settlements, properly belongs to the history of British India. Malacca, the chief port on the Straits which lead to the Indian archipelago, had been, as we have seen, an important possession of the Portuguese until they were driven from it by the Dutch. The English in 1795 took it from the Dutch ; and after the war the Dutch formally ceded it to England. The English were afterwards obliged to take possession of a large tract of this coast, by the name of British Burmah, and they fixed on the island of Singapore, at the south end of the Malay peninsula, to be the commercial centre of their new acquisition. Sir Stamford Raffles took possession of Singapore in 1819 ; and in half a century the settlement had grown to be the most important in the eastern

seas, the town numbering 50,000 inhabitants. A similar Settlement, tributary to the trade of Singapore, was made in 1846 by Sir James Brooke, on the island of Labuan, off the coast of Borneo. Besides being governor of the British colony of Labuan, Sir James also became Rajah of the neighbouring district of Sarawak, on the main land of Borneo, and his government here rescued the poor natives from the wretched and defenceless condition into which they had fallen. Brooke's deeds in Borneo form one of the most encouraging pages of history. Soon before he died, he offered his rajahship to the English Government, who refused it : and he was succeeded in it by his nephew Charles. The Government were no doubt right in not accepting Brooke's offer. The United States have also refused a proposed concession to them by one of the sultans of Borneo, though American citizens, fired by the example of Brooke, have sometimes hoisted the stars and stripes on its shores. Labuan sends large quantities of the produce of the vast island of Borneo to Singapore for the markets of Europe and China. Another insular commercial colony was founded in 1841 on the coast of China on the little island of Hong-Kong, by the name of Victoria. Hong-Kong is an important naval station ; and its government, which is of the Crown Colony type, exercises jurisdiction over all Englishmen in the vast empire of China. These important settlements reproduce the earliest form of European colonization. The history of another Asiatic settlement, which has been quite recently formed, takes us back to the days of Albuquerque. That great general had been repulsed by the Turks from the flourishing port of Aden : and under their rule the place lost all its trade, owing to the discovery of the route to India round the Cape, and fell into decay. The Turks were expelled in the last century : and the place fell into the hands of hostile Arabs. An English Indiaman was wrecked near the town in 1837 ; and the Arabs plundered the cargo and maltreated the crew and passengers. The East India Company had for some time cast envious eyes upon the spot, and they now took possession of it. Aden had been a very important place in ante-colonial times. It now recovered its prosperity, and since the opening of the Suez canal it has become one of the first commercial stations in the world. From a wretched Arab village Aden has become, in a few years, a city of 50,000 inhabitants ; and it has been made almost as impregnable as Gibraltar itself.

At the close of this history we thus find the familiar incidents of the early colonial age exactly repeated.

12. **The West African Settlements.**—In British colonial history we have an odd exemplification of the saying that “the last shall be first, and the first shall be last.” The first place in importance is occupied, as we have seen, by colonies of very late growth. The last is occupied by some petty settlements on the West African Coast, which date from the time of Queen Elizabeth. These settlements lie in four groups on the coast. Two of them, those on the Gambia River and the Gold Coast, belong to the history of the slave-trade, having formerly been the marts where slaves were purchased by the English slavers. The other two, those of Sierra Leone and Lagos, are connected with its abolition: the former, as we have already seen, having been founded as a refuge for its rescued victims, and the latter in 1862, as a station for more completely destroying it. The old West African Settlements were soon superseded by the New World as a source of the gold supply of Europe, and they lost most of their importance with the abolition of the slave-trade. The African Company, to which they were always subject, was ruined in consequence: and in 1807 the Crown took possession of them in order to make sure that the slave-trade ceased. At first the three groups of settlements had separate governments. In 1821 they were united, but separated again in 1842. In 1866, following the same policy as in the West Indies, they were again placed under one government fixed at Sierra Leone. They still exchange considerable quantities of raw produce with the English market; but it is not likely that they will ever grow beyond the proportions of small trading settlements. The climate effectually precludes European settlements on any large scale. At unequal distances from the West African Coast lie also the two British islands of St. Helena and Ascension. St. Helena was taken from the Dutch in 1673, and was used by the East India Company as a victualling station; the only historical fact connected with it is that it was the scene of the last years and death of Bonaparte. Ascension Island was taken as a naval station by the English during Bonaparte’s confinement, and has been occupied as such ever since. To guard against all possibility of Bonaparte’s escape, the English also seized and fortified at the same time one of the three rocky islets in the extreme south of the Atlantic Ocean, 1,200 miles from St. Helena, and 1,500 from the

Cape of Good Hope, called Tristan d'Acunha, from an old Portuguese sailor of that name. The small community which formed there was incapable of self-support. They lived on supplies from whaling vessels : and as the whales suddenly forsook the South Atlantic most of the inhabitants were removed to the Cape of Good Hope in 1862. A handful of English people, however, who have become attached to the place, still prefer to live in isolation and poverty on this almost barren rock.

13. *General Remarks.*—Having thus briefly traced the history of all the British colonies, both dependent and independent, since the French Revolution, we are able to see that much of English colonial greatness is due to the successes of the English nation in the wars which followed the Revolution. Of the three sets of colonies which we have classed as independent, the nucleus of one important group, the South African, was actually acquired in those wars; and the exhaustion of the French nation in those wars very much contributed to the peaceable settlement of another (the Australian). Of the dependent colonies whose history has been traced in the present chapter, Trinidad, Guiana, Ceylon, and Mauritius, which are at present the most prosperous and valuable parts, were also actually acquired in those wars. These new acquisitions were, in fact, the choicest parts of the whole European colonial system : and their subsequent prosperity quite justifies the judgment of the British statesmen of 1814. We have also seen how the decay of the West Indies is to be traced, mainly through a great movement in favour of Free Trade, but partly through Slave Emancipation, not only to the general dawn of liberal ideas in Europe which marks the last quarter of the last century, but also to the rivalry of these newly-acquired colonies ; and we may perhaps conclude that the system of British dependent colonies was transformed, quite as much as any of the independent colonies, by the great political movements which belong to the time which we have named "the half-century of Transition." The history of this section of colonies also well illustrates the limits within which colonial independence seems to be practicable. Isolated settlements necessarily depend for defence on the mother-country ; and a small and impoverished community, such as several now are in the West Indies, clearly does well not to aspire to an independent position. Where the great mass of the population belongs to an inferior race, as in Ceylon and Guiana,

it would be difficult for the English settlers to reconcile their own political rights with those of that inferior race, who are equally free men with themselves : and it therefore seems likely that dependent colonies will always exist. Later in this work, we shall trace the history of the dependent colonies of the other European powers, nearly all of which have been restored to them after conquest by England : from which, however, it should not be hastily concluded that they are of small value or of no historical importance. But next in order after the dependent colonies of England come a series of free states which, like them, owe their present form to the convulsions which followed the French Revolution. The first of them is the famous negro-state of Hayti, formed on the ruins of the French half of the island of St. Domingo ; of which, together with the Spanish republic in the eastern half of the island, we shall treat in the next chapter, under the head of the Dominican States.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DOMINICAN STATES.

Contrast between the English and other races (1)—French and Spanish Hayti (2)—Independence of the Blacks (3)—Dessalines (4)—Christophe (5)—Pétion and Rigaud (6)—Union of the Island (7)—The Gerontocracy (8)—Soulouque (9)—The Republic Restored (10)—The Dominican Republic (11)—General Remarks (12).

I. *Contrast between the English and other races.*—With the present chapter we open an entirely new page of history. The independent colonial nations fall into two very distinct classes, the English, and the non-English or, as some writers call them, the "Latin." The former include the United States and Canada, the Australias, and South Africa ; the latter consist of the rest of the independent American states, including the Spanish and Portuguese nations in South America, and the two independent republics which exist in the island of Hayti or St. Domingo. We have just traced the history of the English colonial nations : and in turning to the Latin colonial nations we now open a totally different scene. The more

nearly we examine the two groups side by side, the more numerous are the contrasts which the comparison will disclose. These contrasts, however, proceed from a single cause, which is the radical difference in the habits of political sentiment and action which the English and the Latin races have acquired in the course of many generations. The English race has everywhere started with a certain extent of personal and social liberty : from the time when it dwelt in the forests of Germany, history shows us that the English have always been at bottom a free people. Knowing this liberty to be their heritage, the English have acquired a settled habit of surrendering some part of it, in order the better to secure what is left : and this has always made them content with what seems to other races a mediocrity of liberty. Respecting highly the continuity of their race, they have always treated with deference what has been deliberately done by past generations, and they have therefore generally favoured interests which have the advantage of possession. They may thus be described as a conservative race. But they have never bowed down for long together before any political idol ; and as soon as any institution ceases to commend itself to the common sense and the justice of the majority, it is swept away without remorse, though it may be perhaps remembered with regret. Hence the English race are conservative mainly by instinct and sentiment, and are disposed to reform upon principle ; and the story contained in their annals is on the whole a dull one, devoid of brilliant and surprising incidents, and noticeable only for a certain process of slow and solid development. The same will be found true of the English colonies, if we make due allowance for the difference in circumstances : and America, Canada, and the Australias will be found to exhibit, in a somewhat different form, a peculiarly English and radically identical form of political growth. In the Latin nations we find nearly all these conditions reversed. Their history always begins with, and is largely made up of, periods of complete subjection. They have their brilliant periods, followed by others of reaction, disgrace, and stagnation : and the story of both is always equally curious and instructive. They are devoted to ideas which they seldom realise, are little disposed to compromise, and care nothing for tradition or vested interests. They readily bow down before a political fetish, and are never safe from the recurrence of pests which they think they

have swept away. Hence, they are long in winning any considerable measure of real liberty, even when they have overthrown a bad government. Less shrewd and perhaps more generous than the English, they are more liable to become the victims of imposture and chicanery; and while they are more sensitive to discern their rights, they are less able to assert them by lawful means. Hence, while English political progress is made slowly, painfully, and peacefully, that of the Latin people proceeds by the simpler method of revolution. The English race eschew and even abjure revolution: for the Latin races it is the normal path of political progress. Revolution, says a Spanish writer, is the steam-engine which drags, stage by stage, the heavy lumbering train of humanity along the railway of progress. Extravagant as this may seem to the Englishman, it is nevertheless substantially true. The history contained in the present and following chapters is a history of revolutions; and the contrast between the Latin and the English races will be illustrated by comparing it with the comparatively dull annals of the United States, Canada, and the Australias. The latter are pre-eminently the annals of a law-abiding and slowly progressing race. The history of the Latin races hitherto has been that of races doomed to advance by fits and starts, and to suffer long and distressing relapses. The history of the Republic of Hayti, which comes first in order, does not illustrate this so fully as the new nations of Spanish America; and it is further complicated by the incidents of race. Still Hayti only interests us so far as it is European; and nearly all that is European in Hayti is French by origin and character.

2. *French and Spanish Hayti.*—Few colonies have been the scene of changes so surprising as the island of Hayti, or St. Domingo. It was here that Columbus planted the first American colony; and its flourishing capital, long after the mineral wealth of the island had become of little account, remained one of the principal glories of the Spanish Indies. Westward of this Spanish settlement the buccaneers established the French colony, which, as we have already seen, grew into importance as the Spanish settlement declined. We have traced in former chapters the strange history of the rise and progress of the Western settlement: of its share in the revolutionary struggles of France: of the union of the blacks and mulattoes, and their terrible struggle with

the whites. There is nothing so interesting to be said about the Eastern settlement. At the treaty of Basle it was ceded by the Spanish minister Godoy to France. The Haytians, under Toussaint, entered upon it as the representatives of the French : but they were expelled by the French generals who were sent by Bonaparte in 1802 to reduce the whole island, and it remained in possession of the French until 1809, when they were driven out by the help of the English as the allies of Spain; and the capital town of St. Domingo remained in their possession until the peace of 1814, when it was resigned to Spain. In a few years, however, there was a revolution ; the colony then, as we shall presently see, put itself into the hands of Boyer, the President of Hayti, and the whole island was thus during his Presidency reduced under a single government. After his fall the Spaniards again made themselves independent, and the island was divided, as it still remains, into the Haytian and Dominican Republics. The fortunes of the western part of the island, which on its independence assumed the old name of Hayti, form one of the most curious chapters in modern history. It almost seems to us like a philosophical romance written by Swift or Voltaire ; and it is certain that if any satirist had written such a story it would have been censured as too improbable. That the negroes of a West India island should succeed in defeating not only their white masters, but the wealthy and intelligent race of mulattoes, who shared the island with them, might have seemed unlikely enough : but that they should be able to defy and destroy the best of the French armies, the heroes of Marengo and the Pyramids, and to make themselves independent of Bonaparte when all Europe was crouching at his feet, must have seemed impossible. At every subsequent stage the history of Hayti reveals fresh surprises. Negro adventurers making themselves emperors and kings : creating their swarthy princes, dukes and counts : practising all the stale devices of despotism : their subtlety, avarice, and cruelty : the ruin and degeneration of the poor negro people, and their sudden awakening into fierce activity : the strange aspect of negro society, with its debased French dialect, its Christianity mingled with fetichism, and its general travesty of European life ; in the midst of all this the revival of republican ideas, derived from France, and their occasional triumph, followed by an inevitable relapse : all this done by an African race only

half Europeanised through serfdom on a foreign soil, and launched into political existence by the convulsions of the French Revolution, certainly make up a picture without a parallel. Nor must we suppose the Haytians to be an obscure and worthless people. In the face of every possible disadvantage, they have long since entitled themselves to the respect and consideration of Europe. Hayti ranks high, for its size and population, among commercial nations; and it is not without distinction in arts and literature.

3. *Independence of the Blacks.*—When the destruction of the French forces in St. Domingo fell like a thunderbolt upon the European world, it came to be seen that of all facts in history the establishment of the Haytian nation was not only one of the most curious, but also one of the most portentous. It was the composite result of many separate movements; of the extermination of the Carib natives, of many years of French enterprise in the plantations, of the African slave-trade, of intercourse with Europe, and of the spirit of political independence culminating in the shock of the French Revolution. Seldom in history had so swift, so complete, and so terrible a vengeance overtaken oppression and cruelty: and the warning note, as we have seen, was not heard in vain by the statesmen of England. The independence of Hayti rapidly precipitated the abolition of the slave-trade, and ultimately of slavery, in the English colonies. It did far more than anything else to establish for the negro and coloured races a place in the civilised world: and the feeling of wonder and abhorrence which it at first excited was gradually exchanged for one of interest, and even sympathy. But it was long enough before this change took place. One of the richest regions of the world was now in possession of the despised race who had been imported as slaves to cultivate it: and we can hardly credit the awful retribution which they exacted from the race of oppressors. In the beginning of 1804 the independence of the negroes under Dessalines was sufficiently assured: but they were not satisfied until they had completed a general massacre of nearly the whole of the whites, including aged men, women and children, who remained in the island, numbering, according to the lowest estimate, 2,500 souls. Thus did Dessalines, in his own savage words, render war for war, crime for crime, and

outrage for outrage, to the European cannibals who had so long preyed upon his unhappy race.

4. **Dessalines.**—The negroes declared Dessalines Emperor: and in October 1804 he was crowned at Port-au-Prince by the title of James I. Dessalines was at once a brave man, and a cruel and avaricious tyrant. He acquired great influence over the negroes, who long remembered him with affectionate regret: but he was not warmly supported by the mulattoes, who were by far the most intelligent of the Haytians. He abolished the militia, and set up a standing army of 40,000 men, whom he found himself unable to pay, from the universal ruin which had overtaken the island. The plantation labourers refused to work, as they always do in the absence of an over-ruling necessity: Dessalines authorised the landowners to flog them. Dessalines was himself a large planter: he had thirty-two large plantations of his own at work, and he forced his labourers to work on them at the point of the bayonet. Both he and his successor Christophe, like Mahomed Ali in Egypt, grew rich by being the chief merchants in their own dominions. With the view of encouraging planting, he burnt down whole plantations of valuable dyeing woods, thereby destroying the best export trade of the island. He failed in an expedition against St. Domingo, the Spanish part of the island, whence the French general Ferrand still threatened him: and at length some sanguinary acts of tyranny roused against him an insurrection headed by his old comrade Christophe. The insurgents marched on Port-au-Prince, and the first black Emperor was shot by an ambuscade at the Pont Rouge outside the town. The death of Dessalines delivered up Hayti once more to the horrors of civil war. The negroes and mulattoes, who had joined cordially enough to exterminate their common enemies, would no longer hold together; and ever since the death of Dessalines their jealousies and differences have been a source of weakness in the black republic.

5. **Christophe.**—In the old times, Hayti, as the French part of the island of Española was henceforth called, had been divided into three provinces: South, East, and North. After the death of Dessalines each of these provinces became for a time a separate state. Christophe wished to maintain the unlimited imperialism which Dessalines had set up: but the Constituent Assembly, which he summoned at Port-au-Prince in 1806, had other views,

They resolved upon a Republican constitution, consisting of a Senate of twenty-four members, who were to have the real government in their hands, Christophe retaining the title of President. Christophe, who was, like Dessalines, a mere military leader, and knew nothing of the mysteries of statesmanship, collected an army with the view of dispersing the Constituent Assembly : but they collected one of their own, under Pétion, and forced him to retire from the capital. Christophe maintained himself in Cap François, or, as it is now called, Cap Haytien ; and here he ruled for fourteen years. In 1811, despising the imperial title which Dessalines had desecrated, he took the royal style by the name of Henry I. Christophe, as a man, was nearly as great a monster as Dessalines. He was the slave of furious passions. His chief amusements were to cane his generals and degrade them to the ranks ; to pump cold water on the heads of his judges, and to send his ministers of state to hard labour on the terrible fortifications of La Ferrière, where each stone is reckoned to have cost the life of a human being. He drank himself into a semi-paralysis ; and from this time a revolution became inevitable. Yet Christophe at his best was a man capable of great aims, and a sagacious and energetic ruler. He raised education, industry, and commerce to a position from which they steadily lapsed under the republic. He greatly improved the condition and discipline of his troops : there was, indeed, no department of state in which he did not display judgment and ability. Believing that it was for the benefit of Hayti to discard everything French as soon as possible, Christophe tried to introduce the English language, but without success. Resolving to surround himself with all the proper belongings of his position, he procured costly robes and jewels from England for the solemn coronation of himself and his black queen. He inquired diligently how George III., to whom, though a negro of almost pure descent, he bore a near resemblance, usually dressed and comported himself : and his common dress was made in imitation of King George's well-known Windsor uniform. He built his palace of Sans Souci, a few miles from Cap François, in imitation of the country seats of the great European monarchs. He established a new order of chivalry, that of St. Henry : he had his grand almoner, and grand cupbearer, and all the usual appendages of feudal royalty. He made bishops and archbishops, and created an aristocracy of black barons,

counts, and dukes, so that his court was full of Royal Highnesses, Serene Highnesses, Graces and Excellencies. One of the best things that Christophe did was to reverse the absurd exclusive policy of Dessalines, and to throw open his ports to the ships of foreign nations. In imitation of Napoleon he also compiled a new statute-book, which he called the Code-Henri. In 1820, after a cruel massacre of some women of their race, the mulattoes arose in arms to dethrone him : and Henry I., finding himself deserted by his own negro generals, shot himself in his own palace. With Christophe the monarchy of the North ceased. His intended successor was an ancient negro whom he had made Grand Marshal of Hayti and Prince of Limbé, called Paul Romain. Romain pretended to side with the revolution : but being detected in a conspiracy with the Duke of Marmalade, both were shot by the soldiers. In a month or two after Christophe's suicide the whole island was united under the rule of President Boyer.

6. *Pétion and Rigaud.*—While Christophe was making himself independent in the North, Alexander Pétion, a man of far greater worth and capacity, was elected President, with the right of nominating his successor, in the Western Province, where the mulattoes predominated. Pétion was a mulatto of the best type ; he had been educated at the military academy of Paris, and was full of European ideas : in 1802 he had been the leader of both Dessalines and Christophe : and during the eleven years of his rule the Western Province recovered some share of its old prosperity. He organized the revenue, threw open commerce, made provision for the education of the people and for enabling them to become owners of land : but his liberal policy did not win him the confidence of the negroes. Pétion discontinued the system of forced labour which had been rigorously maintained by Dessalines and Christophe ; and hence, though the produce supplied from Port-au-Prince was perhaps greater than that from Cap François, the prosperity of the rural districts in his part of the island quickly diminished. He was deceived in supposing that the negroes in their uncivilised condition would become active and industrious as soon as they became owners of land. He secured Hayti against the intrigues of the French politicians after the Restoration ; and his constitution, which took its final shape in 1816, was afterwards adopted by Boyer, thus exercising an important

influence on the future of the republic. It had many defects, one of which was that the President was to be chosen for life, with the power of nominating his successor, thus becoming a sovereign in everything but the name. The House of Representatives was to be chosen for five years, and the Senate, which was elected by the President and the Lower House, for nine. Pétion employed Rigaud, the old rival of Toussaint, who, unlike Toussaint, had succeeded in escaping from his French prison, to subdue the turbulent South Province : but this man made himself independent, and got the Provincial Assembly to declare him Governor with absolute power. Thus, besides the Spanish part of the island, Hayti was now divided into three hostile provinces under the rule respectively of Christophe, Pétion, and Rigaud. Christophe made war upon Rigaud, and the latter, unable to defend himself, and deserted by his own people, starved himself to death in 1811. Pétion, disgusted by the ill-success of his efforts to make Hayti a homogeneous nation, and dreading the advancing power of Christophe, committed suicide in the same way in 1818, having nominated as his successor in the Presidency his lieutenant, Jean Pierre Boyer, another of the mulatto race who had distinguished himself in the war of liberty.

7. *Union of the Island under Boyer.*—Boyer began his presidency by a successful campaign against Christophe, and in a short time he had besides this reunited the South to the West Province. Still greater successes awaited him. On the suicide of Christophe, the army of the Northern Province, weary of the tyranny of one of their own race, declared for Boyer. The French part of the island was now once more under a single government : and Boyer turned his attention to the much larger Spanish territory, with the old capital of St. Domingo, where a Spaniard named Muñoz de Caceres, with the aid of the negroes, had now followed the example in the West, and proclaimed an independent government. The Dominicans, however, were still afraid of Spain, and were glad to put themselves under the wing of Hayti : Boyer was not unwilling to take possession of the Spanish colony, and thus it happened that in 1822 he united the whole island under his Presidency. In the same year he was elected President for life under the constitution of Pétion, whose general policy he maintained : but his government, especially in his later years, was almost as despotic as that of Christophe. Boyer was the first Haytian

who united the blacks and mulattoes under his rule. It was mainly through confidence in him that the Government of Hayti won the recognition of the European powers. Hitherto even the new free state of Colombia, to the establishment of which Hayti had lent material aid, had hesitated to recognise it : but in 1825 its independence was formally recognised by France, on a compensation of 150 millions of francs being guaranteed to the exiled planters and to the home government. This vast sum was afterwards reduced : but it still weighed heavily on the impoverished state, and the discontents which the necessary taxation produced led to Boyer's downfall. He in vain attempted to revive agriculture by renewing the policy of Toussaint and Christophe. His *Code Rural*, which was voted in 1826, was very much like some famous old laws in the English Statute-book, which enable the magistrates to apprehend vagrant and idle people and set them to work, whether they will or no. The *Code Rural* was perhaps a good measure : but legislation will not always undo the misfortunes which have come of bad government. Boyer also introduced a paper currency, which in after times proved most ruinous to the island by disturbing its credit. It also facilitated revolutions : for money is necessary to a new government, and by the help of the printing press a successful insurgent can always coin what money he pleases. Boyer's paper money soon fell in value : and by 1842 it passed for little more than a third of its nominal worth. The credit and prosperity of the island could not be re-established : and his government grew weaker and weaker. The large and unmanageable army which had become necessary had at last to be reduced, because Boyer could no longer pay for its maintenance : and this led at once to the break-up of the government. The Spanish part of the island revolted : and in 1842 an ambitious man of letters named Dumesles, and a major of artillery named Rivière-Hérard, set on foot a conspiracy to seize the government. Boyer, though he could scarcely have thought himself secure in his position, was slack in repressing it. In 1843 he was beaten successively at Pestal and Léogone, and fled to Jamaica in an English vessel. The Revolution of 1848 attracted him to Paris, where he died in 1850. Decayed as was the prosperity of Hayti towards the end of Boyer's presidency, it still had a foreign trade in proportion to its population not much below those of Great Britain and of the United States.

We thus see that, in spite of everything, Hayti had much to lose by misgovernment, and cannot wonder at the fall of the government of Boyer.

8. The Gerontocracy.—This word, which means government by *old men*, has been invented to express the system by which the Haytian government was during several years carried on. The Haytian nation, as we have seen, consisted of two irreconcilable races, and was besides divided into three Provinces which maintained a perpetual rivalry. The independence of Hayti had been won originally by the valour of the negroes : but the constitution, with all its belongings, was the work of the mulattoes : and since the time of Pétion the government practically had been in the hands of a few of this race. But under Boyer the constitution had been undermined, and the government had become almost as arbitrary as in the time of Des-salines. Boyer was succeeded by the insurgent general Hérard, whose policy, as he pretended, was to restore the constitution. He proclaimed the responsibility of ministers to the Assembly, abolition of the military commissions by which the government had been carried on by his predecessor, and a term of years instead of the presidency for life. But the negroes, profiting by the divisions among the mulattoes, now rose in arms. The mulattoes were chiefly inhabitants of the towns : the negroes mostly a poor, idle, and fast-multiplying peasantry. They were by far the most numerous race : they had lost all confidence in mulatto government, and indeed in government of any sort, for such ideas as they had on the subject mostly tended to socialism ; and large numbers of them, under the names of *Piquets* and *Zinglins*, now formed themselves into armed bands, and sought to obtain a general division of property under some communistic monarch of their own race. The mulatto officials now cajoled the poor negroes by bribing some old negro, whose name was well known to the mass of his people as one of the heroes of the war of liberty, to allow himself to be set up as President. The Boyerists, as the mulatto oligarchy were called, thus succeeded in re-establishing their power at the very moment when the negroes believed it to be completely crushed. Hérard, who was ill qualified for his office, soon had to abdicate the presidency : and the Boyerists elected in his place a veteran negro general named Guerrier. They now completed their ascendancy by abolishing the constitution and forming themselves into a Council of State.

Guerrier, who was an incapable old drunkard, died in the next year : and the Council replaced him by another old negro soldier called Pierrot. Pierrot, however, showed himself unwilling to remain a mere tool of the mulattoes. He thought of the glory of negro royalty under Dessalines and Christophe : and he knew that by the aid of the negroes he might easily renew it. But the mulattoes were too quick for his intended *coup d'état* : and in 1846 he was replaced by General Riché, an old negro lieutenant of Christophe's. The negroes had of course found out by this time the system by which they had been thus cajoled. They rose in several places against the Government, and an army of the *piquets*, under a ferocious negro called Aca-au, gave General Riché much trouble. Riché died under mysterious circumstances in less than a year : and the ruling oligarchy were now divided between two other imbecile old negroes, named Souffran and Paul. After eight scrutinies they could not decide which was duly elected : and the President of the Senate suddenly brought forward as a candidate one whom they thought only a third military puppet. This was General Soulouque : and he was elected President in 1847. No one was more astonished at his elevation than Soulouque himself : but he showed himself, as we shall see, quite equal to his position. Soulouque was an illiterate negro whose recommendations to power were that he was old enough to have taken part in the War of Independence, having been a lieutenant under Pétion, and that he was popular with the negroes, being devotedly attached to the strange mixture of freemasonry and fetish worship by which the Haytian blacks maintain their political organisation. The history of Pierrot and Riché was not lost upon Soulouque. He at once got rid of the mulattoes to whom he owed his elevation, and surrounded himself with a new body of adherents. The devices of the Boyerists were by this time worn out ; and everyone knew that a fresh despotism was impending.

9. Soulouque Emperor.—Soulouque was apprehensive of being deprived of his position by the same hands that had elevated him, and he sought by every possible means to secure the support of all belonging to his own race. He imprisoned a general who had shown himself too eager to repress the *piquets* ; and on some demonstrations being made in this officer's favour, he prepared a *coup d'état*. He caused a general massacre to be made of the mulattoes

at Port-au-Prince : after which he marched into the south, put himself at the head of the *piquets*, and established military commissions in all the towns. A negro reign of terror was now established all over the country ; the mulatto party was crushed, and Soulouque caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor, by the title of Faustinus the First (1849). The bold action taken by Soulouque was well adapted to win the admiration of the negroes : and he was crowned in 1852, with all the imperial pomp and circumstance which negro imagination could suggest. He reigned nine years : and the story of his reign is one of massacre and confiscation, varied only by disastrous expeditions against the Spanish republic in the eastern part of the island. Nothing could be weaker than Soulouque's state policy. He declared sugar and coffee, the staple products of the island, as well as most of the other products of the soil, to be imperial monopolies. Believing that his empire chiefly needed for its consolidation a well-ordered system of social grades, he created a black nobility out of his adherents, including four princes of the empire and fifty-two dukes. Soulouque's rule, however, was not really strengthened by such dignitaries as the Duke de Lemonade, the Duke de Trou-Bonbon, and the Prince Tape-à-l'œil : and his real resource was a standing army of *piquets*, whom he obliged to cultivate his own sugar plantations. His military discipline was as cruel as his greed was insatiable, and at length, as in the case of Christophe, his own soldiers turned against him. When his misgovernment could be borne no longer, and a leader was sought to dethrone him, all eyes were fixed on Geffrard, a mulatto general who had served under Rivière-Hérard, and who had long represented the party of fusion. In December 1858 Soulouque attempted to arrest Geffrard ; but he escaped from the capital, and the tyrant contented himself with imprisoning his wife and daughters. The prisons were soon crowded with mulattoes : and Geffrard having put himself at the head of the remains of the republican party, re-entered Port-au-Prince and dethroned Soulouque, just in time to prevent an atrocious massacre. Soulouque was allowed to retreat to Jamaica, carrying with him his black empress, the imperial jewels, and a considerable amount of treasure.

10. The Republic Restored.—In 1859 General Geffrard was elected President of the Haytian Republic. The constitution of 1816 was re-established ; a truce of five years was

made with the Dominicans ; and Geffrard applied himself with some success to the restoration of the national prosperity. The negroes, as usual, were the chief obstacles. They can never remain contented with a mulatto government : while experience shows that tranquillity may be to some extent preserved by placing a negro at the head of the government, and keeping him as far as possible subject to constitutional checks. Geffrard held the Presidency for eight years ; at the end of which, unable to carry on the government any longer, he resigned, and was succeeded by the insurgent negro General Salnave. Salnave's policy was of course to restore the Empire, and he attempted to make himself Dictator on pretence of introducing reforms in the constitution. The Senate, however, were beforehand with an impeachment : the whole people were by this time weary of imperialism : independent generals soon established themselves both in the north and the south : and Salnave was shot as a traitor to the nation in 1869. His *piquet* partisans were still strong in the south ; and the succeeding mulatto President, Nissage-Saget, was unable to hold his ground. All the negroes, even the most intelligent, are impatient of mulatto rule, and suspicious of the means used to secure it : and as they are the great majority of the people, there can be no doubt that if they had fair play in the elections the island would generally be under a negro president. To obviate another military revolution, there was a new election : and the negro general Domingo, who had been a candidate for the Presidency against Nissage-Saget in 1869, was elected President in 1874. But in 1876 Domingo was displaced by a mulatto revolution, which gave the Presidency to General Boisrond-Canal, who was now elected for a term of four years. The success of any government in Hayti must of course mainly depend on the wisdom and forbearance of the mulatto party, and on the maintenance of constitutional principles by the government. While the examples of Soulouque and Salnave have shown that the negroes are weary of despotism, it is certain that an oligarchy of mulattoes is no longer possible ; and perhaps with the increase of intercourse with Europe, and the spread of education, especially among the negroes, the Haytians will learn that government is always a compromise. Otherwise, it seems as if Hayti must always be oscillating between a degraded negro imperialism and a feeble mulatto oligarchy.

11. **The Dominican Republic.**—The history of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, since its independence, has but little to do with that of the Haytian Republic. The instinct of independence here proceeded from quite other causes. The first outbreak, as we have seen, was simultaneous with the revolt against Spanish rule on the American continent: and the acquisition of the colony by Hayti under Boyer no doubt preserved it from being retaken by a Spanish fleet. We have seen that its revolt from the Haytian domination had commenced before the fall of Boyer in 1843. The Haytian Republicans had treated it as a conquered country, and endeavoured to efface every trace of Spanish nationality; and the white inhabitants, who were a large majority, naturally revolted against the government of the western mulattoes. The revolt was led by the land-owners: but all classes joined heartily in the movement, which was soon successfully accomplished. Since its independence the history of St. Domingo belongs rather to that of Spanish America than to that of Hayti. A conservative constitution, in imitation of that of Venezuela, was proclaimed in 1844, the first President of the new state being Pedro Santana. For fourteen years the Dominican Republic maintained a precarious existence against the attacks of its Haytian neighbours, which were invited by the continual struggles of the democratic party to modernise the community. As the liberal party gained ground, the patriotism of the conservatives decayed. Some of them were for reunion with Hayti, others for submission to Spain; and at length, in 1858, Santana, who had been obliged to quit the island, suddenly invaded it and established a despotic provisional government, which in 1861 ceded the island to Spain. This event is connected with that revival of European intervention in the time of Napoleon III. of France which we shall speak of in the history of Mexico and Peru. Spanish troops once more took possession of the colony: but the democratic party, which was now greatly increased in numbers, rose against the occupation, and in three years' time St. Domingo was again left to the devices of its native politicians. The liberal President Baez was now placed at the head of the government: but being unable to make head against an insurrection, he decided on trying to secure progress for St. Domingo by incorporating it with the United States. American agents had long been intriguing in the island with this view; the civil war in Hayti encouraged their

projects : and in 1869 they actually concluded with the Dominican Republic a treaty, by which the peninsula of Samana was to be ceded to the United States, and the whole island placed under an American protectorate. Congress, however, wisely refused to ratify this; and in the meantime the cessionist party fell from power. In 1875 there was a revolution in favour of Baez and his policy : but this was nullified by the election of President Gonzales in October 1876.

12. *General Remarks.*—Though but little is known in Europe of the actual condition of the Dominican States, it is certain that, in the interval between the fall of Soulouque and the re-establishment of negro domination under Domingo in 1874, the Haytian Republic was gradually recovering its credit and prosperity. The mulatto government did much to re-establish the credit of the Republic. They redeemed the paper currency, which had steadily decreased in value since Boyer's time, with the exception of a short revival under Geffrard, until it had become almost worthless. The old unstatesmanlike laws against white immigration having been repealed, even in Soulouque's time many American and European capitalists had settled in the island ; and their number was increasing. Notwithstanding the disturbances which have since that time affected the country, there is no doubt that Hayti has a prosperous independent career before it ; and the elements of still greater prosperity exist abundantly in the Dominican State, which is as yet comparatively in its infancy. The future of the Spanish State is in many ways connected with the uncertain destiny of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Should the planters of those islands render themselves independent, perhaps the Dominican State may at some future time unite with these in forming a West Indian Confederation as the most economical and efficient form of government. This, however, is not likely to happen at present : for even the Dominicans, who have enjoyed independence for thirty years, have not yet established their own government on a firm foundation. From Dominican history we may not only see that the impulse to independence in the western world is strong and universal, but that the old national antipathy which alienates the French from the Spanish colony is even stronger. The independence of Hayti, besides contributing to the extinction of slavery, was of importance, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the insurgents of

South America: and its history may be regarded not only as the first result upon the American world of the shock of the French Revolution, but as a connecting link between North American and South American independence. In the following chapters the story of the latter will be traced out, and we shall now see how the ideas of the French Revolution, just as they were being crushed in Europe in the person of Napoleon, sprang into new life on the other side of the Atlantic, and kindled a flame which gradually spread over the whole of the South American continent.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COLOMBIAN STATES

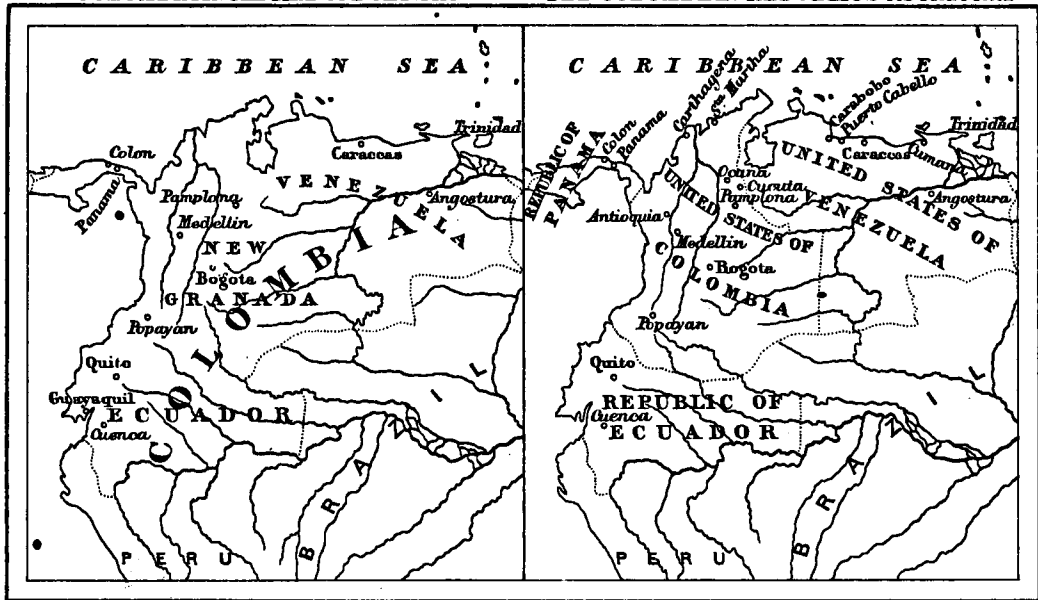
(ECUADOR, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA.)

Introductory (1)—*South America and Spain* (2)—*Progress of Independence* (3)—*Colombian States* (4)—*Miranda* (5)—*Revolution of Venezuela* (6)—*Earthquake of 1812* (7)—*Bolívar* (8)—*The Restoration* (9)—*First Federal Republic of Colombia* (10)—*Fall of Bolívar* (11)—*Santander and the Twelve Years* (12)—*The Revolution of April* (13)—*Second Federal Republic of Colombia* (14)—*History of Venezuela* (15)—*Of Ecuador* (16)—*General Remarks* (17).

x. *Introductory.*—The six following chapters contain the history of Spanish America from the epoch of Independence; and the incidents of the Haytian history will serve, in some measure, as an introduction to them. We have there traced a series of events which bear no resemblance to those which make up the story of the English colonial peoples, and which are partly due to the peculiar antecedents of Haytian history, but chiefly to certain political defects which cling to the Latin races. Subtracting the preponderance of a negro element and its results, we shall have to observe a very similar condition of things in South America. The South American peoples, since their independence, may in fact be looked upon as a local continuation, in the new world, of modern France and Spain in the old. The causes and effects in Latin politics, through both hemispheres, have been much

COLUMBIA IN THE TIME OF BOLIVAR

THE COLOMBIAN REPUBLICS AS THEY ARE



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the same ; and perhaps the most useful general idea in modern history might be given by a map of the world, in which England, the United States, and the three other great groups of colonies of English descent, were painted with one colour, and France, Spain, Italy, and America from Mexico to Patagonia, with another. The modern history of England and her colonies is a rather dull history of little more than material progress. It affords few brilliant episodes and not many memorable names. There have been no great or sudden political changes ; and government seems to have gone on in what appears to be a mere routine. In the Latin nations the material progress is less marked, but the social progress is unmistakable. Less than a hundred years ago, England could look down upon them all as immeasurably beneath her political level ; now they are fast reaching it, and perhaps some of them will before very long have risen above it. In the meantime the English have not been very painstaking or very charitable in judging of the political action of the Latin peoples, and they have been conspicuously unfair to America. At first, England was very enthusiastic for South American liberty. Perhaps this enthusiasm was prompted by the hope of a large and profitable commerce more than by anything else ; and it cannot be denied that when the English saw that one struggle only led to another, and that the Spanish nations, one after another, were passing into the throes of a desperate intestine struggle, they turned their sympathies from them at once. The fact is that the winning of *independence*, as we shall soon see, was no step at all in the direction of winning *political liberty*. No sooner had the people shaken off the yoke of Spain than they had everywhere to begin a struggle against the equally galling yoke of powerful and determined oligarchies in their own land ; and the epoch of liberty may be said on the whole to date full forty years after the epoch of independence. The English colonies were spared these forty years' struggles, except Canada, where we have already traced a similar antagonism. The reader, therefore, should lay aside any prejudices formed against the South American peoples on the score of their being turbulent, bloodthirsty, volatile, and unfit for self-government. Nearly all the troubles of South America have been produced by the obstinacy and intolerance of oligarchies resting on officialism, military force, and clericalism ; and until this inveterate evil, from which peoples

of English descent have not suffered, was cast out in each, there was no hope for them at all. The long struggle for liberty, lasting for forty years, is, in fact, a worthy historical appendage to the long struggle for independence; while the spirit and determination with which it has, on the whole, been maintained, prove the existence in the South American peoples, not only of true courage and patriotism, but of genuine political instinct.

2. South America and Spain.—The history of the independence of Spanish America has but few points of resemblance with that of the United States: and it is due to mere accident that the one followed so closely upon the other. But, however different might be the circumstances of the two sets of colonies, the independence of North America in many ways placed the Spanish provinces in entirely new relations. The Count of Aranda, one of the best of the Spanish statesmen, had warned the King of Spain of this after the peace of 1783, in a letter which is remarkable for the accuracy of its prophecies. The United States, he said, would soon forget their obligations to Spain and France, and lay hands, first on Florida, and then on Mexico. The spirit of independence, besides, would seize Spanish America; and the only remedy would be to make Mexico, Peru, and New Granada into three separate kingdoms. These ought to be under Spanish princes, and to pay a fixed tribute to the mother-country, reserving to the crown of Spain only Cuba, Puerto-Rico, and some one small district on the continent. On the other hand, Spain was to be at the head of a general commercial and military alliance of all the Spanish nations. Such a plan, in the existing condition of Spain and the Spanish colonies, could not have been executed without great difficulty; and it was harder still to establish free government on a firm basis without any such intermediate state of things. The thirteen English colonies had always been practically free and independent states, and they separated from the mother country on the question of *maintaining* this freedom and independence. The Spanish provinces, on the other hand, had always been under the strictest control. The mother country had always taxed them heavily and arbitrarily; and though some commercial concessions had been made, it had never allowed the colonists the slightest voice in the management of their own affairs. The Spanish colonists, therefore, had to *gain* their independence, as they afterwards had

to *gain* their political liberty; and we must also consider that they were very far indeed from being a purely European race, as were the North American colonists. Besides people of European descent, there were here native races who, instead of being driven away as the Europeans began to settle, had been allowed to stay among them, and hence had everywhere become faithful subjects of the kings of Spain. In some places they still had an ancient civilisation of their own, and in many others had become partly civilised; the Europeans had intermarried with them and thus produced mixed breeds of various shades; and the negroes contributed another element in the mixture of races. The name of Spanish Creole thus included many different types, from the great landowner of pure European descent, to the wild Indian of the forest and mountain. It was difficult at first to arouse a patriotic spirit in South America, and perhaps its independence would have been deferred much longer, if Spain had not been seized by the French just as the idea of political liberty was beginning to engage the attention of the South Americans. Those of the South Americans who were of European blood cherished a sentimental pride in being Spaniards; and many of them who would have long hesitated before resolving to claim the rights of free men, determined at once to resist the French domination which had now overspread the European peninsula. Hence the first demonstrations of resistance to Europe were made by the juntas of Spanish America in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, the son of the king whom Bonaparte had compelled to abdicate; and had Ferdinand quickly recovered Spain, and given a suitable recognition of the loyalty of his American subjects by means of administrative reforms, and a remission of taxation, everything would have quietly settled down on the old basis. It has been said that Spain might have kept her revolted provinces by abolishing the monopoly of tobacco. This is true in the same sense in which it might be said that England, forty years before, might have kept America by abolishing the duty upon tea.

3. *Progress of Independence.*—The real impulse to independence came from the refusal of the Regency of Cadiz to recognise the South American juntas. The colonists now saw that the Spaniards were resolved to maintain the state of absolute subjection in which they had been held, and the idea of independence gradually

gained ground all over South America. They felt that the mother country was treating them ungenerously, and even unjustly; and when the great European struggle was over, and Spain had been freed from the French, instead of rewarding the colonies for their fidelity, she even punished them for acting independently at all. The fall of the domination of Spain was now imminent. Efforts were made to sustain it, but the task was beyond her strength, and she only ruined herself, as she well deserved to do, in the attempt. The 'South American Spaniards, never having known what self-government was, and knowing nothing of liberty except from books and speeches, now had to form governments for themselves, and the only thing they could do was to let the existing machinery of government remain, and put the headship into the hands of a few leading men, so that for some time the colonies remained very much in the old condition, although they everywhere assumed the proud title of Republic. It was of course impossible that such a state of things could last. The people soon began to assert their rights as against the oligarchies who had slipped into the administration; the hastily devised constitutions broke down; the provinces remote from the centres of government would no longer submit to the domination of their neighbours, and a series of struggles ensued, during which the whole political basis of most of these states has been gradually changed. South American history thus divides itself into two sections: (1.) the conquest of independence, (2.) the formation of new political systems. The first of these movements began south of the isthmus of Panama, and was not accomplished until after a prolonged struggle, which may be roughly conceived as beginning on the north coast of South America, and spreading southwards round the shore until it reaches the isthmus again on the Pacific side: that is, the states acquired their independence in the following order: (1) New Granada with Venezuela, (2.) States of the Plate River, (3) Chile, (4) Peru. The struggle for independence went on simultaneously in Mexico, but it has no connection with the movement south of the isthmus. In tracing the course of the movement in South America we shall find it very easy to understand if we remember that it began with 'Colombia, where the leaven of foreign ideas, introduced from the French, Dutch, and English West Indies, had already begun to work, was strengthened by meeting with complete success

in the States of the Plate River, where the Spanish Government had always been obliged in many ways to relax its control, came next to Chile, where it succeeded through the Argentine arms, and last to Peru, the most valuable and best guarded of the Spanish possessions, where the struggle ended with the decisive battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824, won by the united forces of Colombia, the Argentine Confederation, and Chile, who had come in a mass to the aid of the insurgents of Peru.

4. *The Colombian States.*—The Colombian States occupy the first place in the history of South American Independence. The name itself is a melancholy relic of the early dreams of the South American patriots: it was first applied to the whole of the Southern continent, then restricted to the Confederation of August 1821, in which sense it is employed as the heading of the present chapter, and quite lately it has been employed as a substitute for that of New Granada alone. It was here that the great struggle for liberty was commenced, first by the unsuccessful revolution of Quito, and afterwards by the decisive one of Caraccas, the example of which was then quickly followed by the chief towns in the Viceroyalty. It was here that Spain exerted herself most, and that the contest was longest protracted. It was here that the battle of constitutionalism against military tyranny was first fought out about 1830. The characters of some Colombian citizens, such as Caldas, Santander, and Bolivar, are perhaps the best types of their several classes. The victory of the cause of liberty in Colombia virtually secured the same result in the rest of South America; for it had already triumphed on the Plate River, and though the principal scene of the struggle was afterwards transferred to Peru, this victory enabled all the South American forces to be concentrated in one final effort. In the subsequent history of Colombia we see as faithful a reflection as could be wished of the political troubles which have distracted nearly all Spanish America. Within the space of half a century, every species of government has here had its turn: colonial despotism, federalism, military dictatorship, oligarchy, and lastly, the present form of democracy. It may therefore be useful to dwell with some minuteness on the chief episodes of Colombian history. The Colombian States were first in the struggle because they were in many ways nearest to Europe. It was through them that intercourse between the Pacific coast and Europe was mainly carried

on : Porto Bello and Carthagenas were thus the main inlets of European ideas. Besides, there was here constant communication with the West Indies ; and government, population and wealth were less centralised than in the more important viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. The Indians of New Granada had always been a restless race, and the increase of taxation which was resorted to for the defence of the coast in the war with Great Britain (1777-1783) produced discontents among the whole population, both red and white. 'In many places of the north of New Granada the people, who were excited by the reported successes of Tupac Amaru, arose in arms, and in the stress of the moment the Spanish Government was obliged to yield. The French Revolution, coming soon afterwards, was another link in the chain of causes. Pamphlets about the rights of man, translated from the French, and pasquinades on the government, now began to be printed at Santa Fé ; and the authors were punished with the utmost severity. One of them, named Nariño, who afterwards took a prominent part in the revolution, was transported to Europe on his way to the penal settlements in Africa ; but from Cadiz he escaped to France and England, where he did his best to create an interest in the South American peoples. In Venezuela, which the industry of its inhabitants had raised from a poor mission district to a thriving commercial province, the progress of modern ideas was yet faster. The Spanish Government did not altogether stifle these ideas, for soon after the French Revolution it consented to the establishment of elective municipal councils at Carthagenas and Caraccas. The conquest of Trinidad by England in 1797 gave a new turn to the movement, for it was then the policy of Great Britain to weaken Spain by detaching her colonies from her. Trinidad now became the centre of revolutionary impulses. But when Spain became an ally of Great Britain, shortly after, the sympathies of the English were naturally withdrawn from the colonists.

5. *Miranda*.—It was from Trinidad that the first attempts were made to excite the Spanish colonists to revolution. Francis Miranda, by whom this was done, was a type of many other men, to whom is due the credit of leading the South American peoples to independence. He was a native of Caraccas, and when a young man had held a French commission in the American War of Independence. On his return to Venezuela in 1783, he found

the populace, as we have already mentioned, in an excited state, and finding that he was suspected of designs for liberating his own country, he went to Europe, and again attached himself to the French service. He fought under Dumouriez, and commanded the left wing on the disastrous field of Neerwinden. Being proscribed by the Directory, he turned to England, and was there strongly encouraged in the idea that he was destined to deliver his country from the yoke of Spain. England had already conquered Trinidad, which lay very near to the Spanish mainland; and when the war broke out afresh in 1804, and England sent out an expedition to invade Buenos Ayres, Miranda believed that his opportunity was come. In 1806, by English and American aid, he sailed from Trinidad and landed with 500 men on the coast of Venezuela. But the "Colombian Army," as Miranda named it, met with a cool reception among the people. His utter inability to meet the Spanish forces compelled him to retreat to Trinidad, nor did he reappear on the continent until after the revolution of 1810.

6. **Revolution of Venezuela.**—The principal inhabitants of Caraccas had been meditating the formation of a provisional government, on the model of the juntas of Spain, ever since the abdication of the king; but it was not until 1810, when the final victory of Napoleon in Spain appeared certain, that they made a decisive movement in favour of independence. Spain, for the time at least, was now blotted out of the list of nations. Acting, therefore, in the name of Ferdinand VII., they deposed the Spanish colonial officers, and elected a supreme junta or council. Similar juntas were soon established in New Granada, at Santa Fé, Quito, Carthagena, and the other chief towns of the Viceroyalty, as well as in the more distant centres of Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Mexico; and the fortune of the patriot party in New Granada, from their close neighbourhood, was closely linked with that of the Venezuelans. The Regency of Cadiz, grasping for itself all the rights and powers of the Spanish nation, determined to reduce the colonists to subjection. They therefore declared the port of Caraccas in a state of blockade, as the British Government had done in the previous generation with that of Boston; and, as in the case of Boston, this resolution of the Regency amounted to a declaration of war. The exasperation of the European Spaniards, when it became known that the revolution was spreading from the Vene-

zolan shores all over South America, knew no bounds, and they set about reconquering their colonies in as ferocious a spirit as that of Cortez and Pizarro. A congress of all the provinces of Venezuela now met at Caraccas, and published a declaration of independence on the 5th of July, 1811, and those of Mexico and New Granada soon followed. It was now clear how terrible a struggle was impending; and an eminent Spanish writer, named Blanco White, earnestly dissuaded the Regency from its suicidal course of action, proving that it was impossible to maintain the corruptions of the old Spanish colonial government, and to reduce the colonists themselves to subjection; and that unless a reconciliation took place, the cause of Spain must be ruined. But the Cortes paid as little attention to him as the English parliament, forty years before, in similar circumstances, had paid to Chatham and Burke; and their resolution to continue the war amounted to a sentence of separation between America and the mother country. The English Government also tried to mediate between Spain and her colonies, but without success. An unfortunate change had now taken place with respect to England. The English were now obliged to maintain, as far as they could, the interests of Ferdinand, and the colonists were greatly chagrined by the orders which were now given to the English naval commanders to observe a strict neutrality. It was not until the time of Mr. Canning that the English Government countenanced the new states, to whom it would have rendered important assistance but for its forced alliance with Spain. The English people, however, freely aided the insurgents with arms and money.

7. *Earthquake of 1812.*—The powers of nature seemed to conspire with the tyranny of Europe to destroy the young South American Republic. On the 26th of March 1812 Venezuela was visited by a fearful earthquake, which destroyed the capital and several other towns, together with 20,000 people; and many others perished of hunger and in other ways. This day was Holy Thursday; and the superstitious people, prompted by their priests, believed this awful visitation to be a judgment from God for their revolt. The Spanish troops, under Monteverde, now began a fresh attack on the disquieted Venezuelans. Miranda, who on his return had been placed at the head of the army, had in the meantime overrun New Granada, and laid the foundation of the future United States of

Colombia. But the face of affairs was changed by the news of the earthquake. Smitten with despair, his soldiers now deserted to the royalists; he lost ground everywhere; the fortress of Puerto Cavello, commanded by the great Bolivar, then a colonel in the service of the Republic, was surrendered through treachery. On the 25th of June Miranda himself capitulated, with all his forces; and Venezuela fell once more into the hands of the royalists. Miranda himself was arrested, in defiance of the terms of the surrender, and perished in an European dungeon, as Toussaint had perished a few years before. A cruel retribution was exacted by Monteverde from Venezuela. Monteverde emptied the prisons of their occupants, and filled them with the families of the principal citizens of the republic: and Caraccas became the scene of a Reign of Terror.

8. Bolivar.—After Miranda's capitulation, Bolivar had gone to New Granada, which still maintained its independence, and entered into the service of that republic. Bolivar now reappeared in a new character, and earned for himself a reputation in the history of the new world which up to a certain point ranks with that of Washington. Simon Bolivar, like Miranda, was a native of Caraccas; it was in his house, on the banks of the river, that the first meetings of the patriot party had been held. Like Miranda, he had to some extent learned modern ideas by visiting the old world and the United States. When the cruelties of Monteverde had made Venezuela ripe for a new revolt, Bolivar reappeared on his native soil at the head of a small body of troops from the adjacent republic. The successes which he gained so incensed the royalists that they refused quarter to their prisoners, and war to the death (*guerra a muerte*) was proclaimed. All obstacles disappeared before Bolivar's generalship, and on the 4th of August, 1813, he publicly entered Caraccas, the fortress of Puerto Cavello being now the only one in possession of the royalists. Bolivar was hailed with the title of the *liberator of Venezuela*. He was willing to see the republic restored; but the inhabitants very properly feared to trust at this time to anything but a military government, and vested the supreme power in him as dictator (1814). The event indeed proved the necessity of a military government. The defeated royalists raised fresh troops, many thousands of whom were negro slaves, and overran the whole country; Bolivar was beaten at La Puerta, and

forced to take refuge a second time in New Granada ; and the capital fell again into the hands of the royalists. The republicans, however, held their ground in many places ; and the success of the Spanish troops was but temporary.

9. *The Restoration.*—The War of Independence had been undertaken against the Regency ; and had Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne in 1814, shown any signs of conciliation, he might yet have recovered his American provinces. But the government persisted in its course of absolute repression : and the colonists now saw the whole force of the Spanish power, released from the fears of France, turned against them. New Granada, where Bolivar was general in chief of the forces, was the only part where the insurrection survived ; and in 1815 a fleet containing 10,000 men under General Morillo arrived off Carthagena, its principal port. Morillo had already visited Venezuela, and received the submission of the conquered inhabitants : and he now resolved to quench the insurrection in its chief focus. Carthagena was only provisioned for a short time : and Bolivar, overpowered by numbers, quitted the soil of the continent, and went to the West Indies to seek help to relieve Carthagena, and maintain the contest for liberty. At Jamaica he met with little success ; but he was kindly received by Pétion and Boyer in Hayti, and with the assistance he received from them he was enabled to fit out an expedition which sailed in April 1816 from the port of Aux Cayes. Bolivar landed near Cumana, in the eastern extremity of Venezuela, and from this point he gradually advanced westwards, gaining strength by slow degrees. In the meantime, after a siege of 116 days, Carthagena surrendered ; 5,000 of its inhabitants had perished of hunger. Both provinces were now in Morillo's hands. Fancying himself completely master of the country, he now proceeded to wreak a terrible vengeance on the Granadines. But at the news of Bolivar's reappearance, though yet at a distance, the face of affairs changed, and the hope of liberty once more animated the people. The cruelties of Morillo even roused their fainting spirits ; and it is certain that they greatly contributed to the triumph of the cause of freedom. Had Morillo been as judicious as Apodaca, in similar circumstances in Mexico, it might have fared far otherwise with Bolivar's final enterprise. His successes in the year 1817 were sure,

though slow : in 1818, after he had been joined by European volunteers, they were brilliant. Bolivar beat the royalists in one pitched battle after another : and at length a decisive victory was won by his lieutenant, Santander, at Boyaca, in New Granada, August 1, 1819. This battle, in which some hundreds of British and French auxiliaries fought on the side of liberty, completely freed the two countries from the yoke of Spain. Boyaca was the first in the series of victories which is completed by the names of Carabobo, Piñincha, Ayacucho, and Junin.

10. **First Federal Republic of Colombia.**—The provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, together with the Presidency of Quito, now sent delegates to the Convention of Cucuta, in 1821, and there decreed the union of the three countries as a single state by the name of the Republic of Colombia. The first Colombian federal constitution was concocted by the united wisdom of the delegates ; and the result might easily have been foreseen. It was a farrago of crude and heterogeneous ideas. Some of its features were imitated from the American political system, some from the English, some from the French. The senate was to sit for eight years, and the House of Representatives for four : the former was to be elected by the provinces, the latter from equal electoral districts ; and side by side with the provision that money-bills could only originate in the lower house, stood such sweeping changes as the abolition of orders of nobility, of primogeniture, and of entails of property. The patriots of Cucuta, including such men as Santander, Azuero, and Soto, seem really to have believed that the settlement of a few political ideas upon a sheet of paper was sufficient to create a great nationality, and to unite for ever a vast number of practically distinct and alien peoples, scattered over a hundred thousand square leagues of broken country, and divided by the least practicable mountains in the world. Whole regiments have perished in the attempt to cross the icy wastes that separate Venezuela and New Granada. Facts, however, had to yield for the time to ideas. Bolivar of course became President ; and the Republic had need of him. The task of liberation was not yet completed. Carthagena, and many other strong places, remained in Spanish hands. Bolivar reduced these one by one, and the second decisive victory of Carabobo, in 1822, finally secured Colombian freedom. The English claim the chief share in the battle of Carabobo : for the British

legion alone carried the main Spanish position, losing in the feat two-thirds of its numbers. The war now fast drew to its close. The republic was able to contest with the invaders the dominion of the sea : General Padilla on the 23rd of July, 1823, totally destroyed the Spanish fleet : and the Spanish commander finally capitulated at Puerto Cavallo in December. All those hard-won successes were mainly owing to the bravery and resolution of Bolivar. Bolivar deserves to the full the reputation of an able and patriotic soldier. He was now set free, as we shall see, to render important services to the rest of South America : and among the heroes of independence perhaps his name will always stand first. But Bolivar the statesman was a man very different from Bolivar the general. He was alternately timid and arbitrary. He was indeed afraid to touch the problems of statesmanship which awaited him : and instead of leading the Colombian people through independence to liberty, he stubbornly set his face against all measures of political or social reform. His fall may be said to have begun with the moment when his military triumphs were complete. The disaffection to the constitution of the leading people in Venezuela and Ecuador, in 1826 and 1827, was favoured by the Provincial governors, Paez and Mosquera ; and Bolivar, instead of resisting the disintegration of the state, openly favoured the military dictatorships which Paez and Mosquera established. This policy foreshadowed the reign of absolutism in New Granada itself. Bolivar, as we shall see in another chapter, had now become not only the constitutional head of the Colombian federation, but also the military head of the Peruvian republics : and there can be no doubt that he intended the Colombian constitution to be reduced to the Peruvian model. As a first step towards reuniting all the South American nations under a military government, Paez, beyond reasonable doubt, with Bolivar's connivance, proclaimed the independence of Venezuela, April 30th, 1826. This practically broke up the Colombian federation : and the destruction of the Constitution, so far as it regarded New Granada itself, soon followed. Bolivar had already resorted to the usual devices of military tyranny. The terrorism of *sbirri*, arbitrary arrests, the assumption of additional executive powers, and, finally, the suppression of the vice-presidency, all pointed one way. The Constitution of 1821 was now respected by neither party. While the people demanded a free and

popular suffrage, the substitution of municipal for central administration, and due checks upon the executive, the Bolivians agitated for a revision in exactly the opposite sense. At length, after the practical secession of Venezuela and Ecuador under their military rulers, Congress decreed a summons for a Convention, which met at Ocaña in March 1828. It was now scarcely sought to maintain the federation: it was almost a question of the retention of political power by the Liberator and his party in New Granada itself.

11. **Fall of Bolivar.**—The course of public opinion was clearly indicated by the elections to the Convention. Nearly two-thirds of the members were anti-Bolivians, and they were led by such men as Soto, Azuero, and the hero of Boyaca, the patriot general Santander. Bolivar's party came almost entirely from Venezuela and Ecuador. As soon as the debates began, it was clear that the parties were irreconcilable. The Bolivians argued for an eight years' presidency, biennial sittings of the Assembly, the government being in the meantime carried on by a Council of State, and an increase in the Presidential powers. The liberals, who were bent on electoral reform and decentralization, were paralyzed by the violent bearing of the Bolivian leaders: and Bolivar quartered himself in the neighbourhood, and threatened the Convention at the head of an army of 3,000 veterans. He did not, however, resort to open force. Instead of this, he ordered his party to recede from the Convention: and this left the Convention without the means of making a quorum. From this moment the designs of Bolivar were unmistakable. The dissolution of the Convention, and the appointment of Bolivar as Dictator, by a junta of notables, followed as a matter of course; and by the "Organic decree" of August 1828, Bolivar assumed the absolute sovereignty of Colombia. A reign of brute force now followed: but the triumph of Bolivar was only ephemeral. A popular ferment began to spread over the country: and the Dictator was near being assassinated in his palace of Bogota. The standard of revolt was raised in many places, and notably at Antioquia, by the patriotic general Cordova, the hero of Ayacucho. Bolivar did not hesitate to sacrifice to his ambition all his old companions in arms: Sucre was assassinated, Cordova was mutilated and slain, and Santander was banished. Notwithstanding all this, the power of Bolivar was now tottering to its fall. •The

Federation was gone : and it became a question of securing military rule in the separate provinces. A portentous change now occurred in Ecuador. The democratic party under Flores triumphed over the Bolivians under Mosquera : and Páez assured his chief that no help was to be expected from Venezuela. At the Convention of Bogota in 1830, though it was packed with Bolívar's nominees, it became clear that the liberator's star had set at last. The loss of Granadine prestige completed the change of feeling that had been produced by his insufferable tyranny : and this Convention refused to vote him President. Bolívar now withdrew from public life : and a few months later, December 17, 1830, he died broken-hearted at San Pedro, near Santa Martha. Bolívar, though a patriot as regarded the struggle with Spain, was in the end a traitor to his fellow-citizens. Recent discoveries leave little doubt that he intended to found a monarchy on the ruins of the Spanish dominion. England and France, both at this time strongly conservative powers, were in favour of such a scheme ; and a Prince of the House of Bourbon had already been nominated to be Bolívar's successor. Thus we see that Bolívar's designs fell to the ground as soon as South American liberty was actually secured. He was unable to govern New Granada alone, much less to rule the Confederation : and New Granada was obliged in 1830 to recognise the disruption of Colombia, which had been long an accomplished fact. From this date the three states have a separate history, which is very much of a piece, though Venezuela was for some years preserved from the intestine commotions which have from the beginning distracted New Granada and Ecuador.

12. *Santander and the Twelve Years.*—Since 1831, which is looked upon by the Granadines, or as they now call themselves, the Colombians, as the epoch of their nationality, there have been many revolutions in New Granada, proceeding sometimes from the liberal, sometimes from the clerical and military party, which have kept the country in perpetual commotion. Mosquera, who had won the election which decided the fate of Bolívar, did not long occupy the presidency. The soldiery would not submit to the exercise of supreme power by a civilian ; and Mosquera was soon driven out by General Urdanete, who was now at the head of the conservative or Bolivian party. But after the death of their leader, this

party suffered a natural relapse, and Urdanete was overthrown early in 1831. The history of New Granada may be said really to commence with the presidency of Bolivar's old rival and companion in arms, Santander, who was elected under the Constitution of 1832, General Obando, another anti-Bolivian soldier, being his Vice-President. Santander was the chosen representative of that party of progress which Bolivar had fallen in thwarting; but his popular name of the "Man of the Laws" is enough to show us how the people regarded him. The name indicates a conservative tendency; and Santander, though an upright and loyal Colombian, was no reformer. The old fiscal system, under the burden of which social and commercial life languished, was still continued, nor was there any radical reform until after 1850. But Santander did something to pacify the land and to procure a firm administration of the law. He also substituted the national guard, or militia, for the standing army. Under Santander, though reform made no progress, liberal ideas certainly gained ground. His presidency, though sullied by the murder of the Bolivian general Sarde, and by cruel judicial revenges, was a comparatively bright episode: and with its termination in 1836, begins the dark and troubled period which the Granadines emphatically designate by the name of the *Twelve Years*. The scanty measure of liberalism which Santander had dealt out to the people was now withdrawn. Marquez, his successor, was a sceptic in politics, and a man of infirm will. He thought it best to conciliate the conservatives, and thus the Bolivian party revived, and led Marquez quite by the nose. Now began the ascendancy of clericalism, of absolutist oligarchy, and of government by the gallows. This same system continued under President Herran, who was elected in 1841; and then appeared on the scene, as his chief minister, the famous Dr. Ospina. Ospina was of a totally different type from the conservatives of both the old schools. He was equally unlike the official instruments of the old colonial despotism and the military patriots who had taught the country how to shake it off. The South Americans consider Ospina the best example of the Machiavellian politician. Well versed in the aims, the tactics, and the weaknesses of modern liberalism, he had studied how to thwart it while seeming to yield to it, and he was well able to cajole the stupid clergy and generals,

the idle landowners and capitalists, of whom his own party was made up. Ospina was thus one of a race of clever men who have become as necessary to the old Europe as to the new. He sought to reverse all the steps in the path of progress which had been taken in the time of Santander. He changed the plan of the elementary schools, and brought back the Jesuits after an exile of eighty years. In 1843 he passed a curtailment of the constitution at all its points. In 1844 he remodelled the local government in an absolutist sense, abolishing the *cantons*, a division intermediate between the *provinces* and the *parishes*, and raised the number of provinces from twenty to forty-four. A revolution so serious began to alarm the liberal party, and even the better class of the conservatives. It served to stimulate the liberal party, and to call forth the energies of leaders like Rojas and Arboleda, and under the succeeding president, Mosquera (1845—1849), though he had been a leader in the dictatorship of 1828, liberalism once more began to gain ground. Mosquera refused to allow Ospina to lead him by the nose; and during his term that reaction was gradually preparing which, in 1849, gave the presidency to the favourite of the people, General José Lopez.

13. **The Revolution of April.**—Times had now greatly changed in the Colombian republics. The people were everywhere weary of a combination of military tyranny, official oligarchy, and clerical intolerance. Flores, in Ecuador, had been fast losing ground: in 1845, as we shall shortly see, he was expelled, and to the great indignation of the American nations, he made overtures in Spain for turning over the republic to its old tyrants. In Venezuela the long tyranny of Paez had been terminated by the popular reaction which brought in Monagas in 1847. Besides these happy events in Colombia itself, the French Revolution of 1848 mightily stimulated the courage of the Granadines. During the last twenty years the population and trade of the country had greatly increased; and a large and powerful class of artisan politicians had arisen in the towns. The presidential election of 1849 was no doubt influenced by the fear of this artisan, or radical, party; and the Lopez ministry did not hesitate to promise large measures of reform. By far the most urgent, in the eye of the radicals, was the question of the Jesuits. The re-introduction of this pestilent body was not, in the eye of any real statesman, the worst of the

grievances under which the country laboured ; but the ministry, unable to help themselves, decreed their expulsion. This was, of course, the signal for conservative revolts all over the country : and it soon came to be seen that the Lopez cabinet, though an honest and enlightened body of men, were in every respect a weak one. Liberalism admits more degrees than conservatism ; and some of Lopez's best men were disposed to go great lengths. Murillo, the Secretary of the Exchequer, passed a bill enabling the waste lands of the state to be sold cheap to the artisan class, to which Lopez refused the presidential assent. Murillo retired ; and the reaction set in. The people lost all their confidence in the liberals ; and at the election of 1853 they were resolved to have a president after their own heart. Accordingly, General Obando, a disappointed liberal of the old school, who, after being a favourite of Santander, had failed as a candidate against Marquez in 1837, and had now thrown in his lot with the radicals, was elected president. A wider schism now set in between the aristocratic and philosophical liberals (*cachacos*), and the radicals, who were for universal suffrage, protection, and separation of church and state. This soon grew into open hostility : and seeing signs among the more intelligent and reputable section of the party, of a coalition with the conservatives, the radicals, on Easter Monday (April 17), 1854, effected a revolution, and declared President Obando to be dictator. The artisans knew well enough that they would have to fight for the ideal democracy they proposed to constitute. The hopes of the conservatives now revived. Aided by the moderate liberals, they took the field with a "regenerating army" of 20,000 men, and General Herran was declared head of the state. The artisan army fought bravely, but by the end of the year the victory of the constitutionalists was everywhere complete.

14. **Second Federal Republic of Colombia.**—This defeat of the ultra-radicals, of course, led at once to the ascendancy of the conservatives, and Ospina entered on the Presidency in 1857. The government had been much decentralized by the liberals in 1853, and in 1858 the complete Federal System of the United States was introduced, the forty-four Provinces being divided into eight federal states with independent state-rights. The liberals, though not opposed to federalism, knew that this would greatly strengthen Ospina and his party, who had neither

the patriotism to abide by the constitution, nor the prudence to avoid reactionary measures. The liberals, however, were not crushed. They soon rose all over the country, and a civil war, carried on with varying success, now began to rage, between the conservative government under Ospina and his successor, Arboleda, and the provincial democracy under powerful leaders like the ex-president Mosquera, who had almost rendered himself independent in one of the provinces. After a hundred fights, the revolution triumphed in July, 1861. With the assassination of Arboleda in 1862 the last hopes of the conservatives disappeared. Mosquera, who was now in possession of the field, was a true pupil of Bolivar's; and he thought that the time had come for reviving Bolivar's plans. Venezuela, where Falcon was then president, did not encourage his projects; and the conservative government of Ecuador refused at once. Mosquera then invaded Ecuador; but he desisted from the enterprise, and devoted himself to consolidating liberalism in New Granada. In 1863 Mosquera's new Federal Constitution was proclaimed. Henceforth each state became practically independent under its own President; and to mark the change the title of the nation was altered. At first it was called the Granadine Confederation: but it afterwards took the name of Colombia, which had formerly been the title of the larger Confederation under Bolivar. Among the most important facts in recent Colombian history is the independence of the State of Panama, which has become of great importance through the construction of the railway connecting the port of Colon, or Aspinwall, as it was named by the Americans, on the Atlantic, with that of Panama on the Pacific. This railway was opened in 1855; and in the same year Panama declared itself a sovereign state. The State of Panama, after many years of conservative domination, has now perhaps the most democratic government in the world. The President is elected for two years only, and is incapable of re-election. Panama has had many revolutions of its own; nor has the new Federal Constitution solved all the difficulties of the Granadine government. In 1867 Mosquera was obliged to have recourse to a *coup d'état*, and declared himself dictator, but he was soon afterwards arrested; a conservative revolution took place; Mosquera was banished; and Gutierrez became president. The liberals, however, came back the next year, under

Ponce. Since 1874 General Perez has been President of Colombia.

15. *History of Venezuela.*—We have dwelt at some length on the history of New Granada, because it includes a series of typical events, and the history of other states thus becomes easier to understand. We shall therefore be able to dispose more briefly of those which in the main resemble it. We have seen that Venezuela was the first among Bolivar's three confederated States to leave the union: and that Paez, Bolivar's companion in arms, established there a military tyranny under the form of a constitution, which lasted from 1826 to 1847. Paez nominated the President, when he was not President himself: he found a ready tool in civilians like Dr. Vargas, whose term of office ended in 1843. He was thus for twenty years as much master of Venezuela as Napoleon ever was of France. Under his government Venezuela seemed perfectly happy and tranquil, and in the midst of surrounding confusion was thought to afford the rest of the world an example of what it was possible for a South American Republic to become. But the political condition of Venezuela was rotten: and under Vargas' successor, Soublette, the face of affairs altered. The government had been hitherto of the ordinary South American conservative character. It had been a common oligarchy, of which Paez was the head: and it needed an abler man than Paez to preserve it from that fate which sooner or later befalls all oligarchies. The people, including the Indians and half-castes, now began to agitate for reform; and the election of 1847 was the turning point in Venezuelan history. Paez knew that a change was coming: and, in order to frighten the people, he now asked for leave from the government to quit the country, in case the new President should not like to have him in it. This meant that he would return in arms to overthrow the liberals: and when Monagas, the new President, showed that he did not mean to be the puppet of Paez, he went to New York, telling the Americans that the Constitution of Venezuela had been overthrown, and begging for help to go and fight for it. The Americans are strong believers in Constitutions: and by 1849 Paez was enabled to land at Coro, and establish himself in the town. He was however beaten by the national forces, and taken prisoner to Caraccas. During the reign of conservatism, the leader of such a rebellion would have been certainly

shot : but the Congress spared his life, only banishing him from the country. Monagas now pretended to reconstitute the government on a more popular basis. But his reforms plainly tended to strengthen the Presidential authority ; and he soon found himself opposed in the Assembly by a coalition of the conservatives and the moderate liberals. Venezuela was thus in a situation which very much resembled that of Colombia under Lopez and Obando : and, as in Colombia, it issued in a civil war, which ended in favour of the popular party, and conferred upon Monagas a practical dictatorship which he exercised for ten years. Paez made an unsuccessful attempt at Cumana in 1858 : but Monagas was unseated by the democratic Revolution headed by General Castro in 1859. Castro was elected President : but being too liberal in his tendencies, he was soon supplanted by the old oligarchic party. The country was for some years divided between three sections of politicians : and a military dictatorship on conservative principles was soon after established by the ex-president General Paez. Paez appointed as his Secretary an able man named Rojas, who soon became the practical head of the Government. But Paez had now completely lost his hold on the country. General Falcon, and his partisans, who belonged to the moderate party, successfully maintained war against him : and in 1863 the oligarchy was finally overthrown. Falcon now became President ; and he was re-elected in 1865. But the old General Monagas, though now nearly ninety years of age, had long been resolving to profit by the dissensions of his rival : and in 1868 he returned to the country and drove out Falcon and his party. His triumph, however, was short. In 1870 the Falcon party once more rose in arms under Guzman Blanco, and seized the Government : and the veteran Monagas died in the same year in prison. Blanco has been in power ever since : and only one rebellion of any importance, that of the unfortunate General Salazar, has disturbed his term of office. Salazar, who was himself a strong liberal, lent his aid in the most unprincipled way to a clerical revolution, and was deservedly shot. Significant facts in the most recent Venezolan history are the democratic reforms of the Constitution, and the determined attack which Blanco's government has made on clericalism. The convents have been suppressed, and in May 1876 the Congress resolved on separation from Rome, and the

establishment of a National Church. The growth of Venezuela has also been stimulated since the late war by the immigration of large numbers of the Southern planters from the United States, and by the discovery of gold in the mountains of Guiana.

16 Ecuador.—The southernmost of the three states which composed the first federal republic of Colombia consisted of the northern part of the old kingdom of Petu, with its port of Guayaquil, and its ancient capital town of Quito. This district had been separated from Peru, and added to the new viceroyalty of New Granada ; and thus while its ancient history belongs to the Pacific state, its modern history connects it immediately with the states on the Atlantic to which Bolivar had given their independence. In 1809 and 1810 there had been unsuccessful risings in the Province of Quito : and the second of August in the latter year was a memorable day in the revolt. It was the day on which three hundred citizens of the capital had been cruelly murdered by the soldiery : these were afterwards remembered all over South America by the name of the *Martyrs of Quito*. The people now made no further attempt until the liberation of New Grenada had been completed. In 1820, the Revolution of Guayaquil took place. The insurgents were at first worsted, but at last succeeded under Bolivar's lieutenant, General José de Sucre, in throwing off the Spanish yoke. The Spaniards were finally defeated at Pichincha, May 22, 1822 ; and the Province of Quito was incorporated into the Colombian Republic. It was now divided into three departments, on the French system : and the southernmost of these received its name from the Equator (Ecuador), which passes through it. Shortly after Venezuela had declared herself independent of the Colombian Republic, the old province of Quito did the same, and placed its fortunes in the hands of one of Bolivar's lieutenants named Flores. The name of Ecuador was now extended to all three departments. Flores exercised the chief authority for fifteen years. The constitution limited the Presidency to four : but Flores made an arrangement with one of his lieutenants called Roca-Fuerte, by which they succeeded each other, the out-going President becoming governor of Guayaquil. In 1843 Flores found himself strong enough to improve upon this system. He called a convention, which reformed the constitution in a reactionary sense, and named him dictator for ten

years. In 1845 the liberal reaction had set in all over Colombia; and it soon became too strong for Flores. Even his own supporters began to fail him, and he agreed to quit the country on being paid an indemnity of 20,000 dollars. But Flores had no intention of resigning Ecuador to the democrats. He went with his dollars to Europe, bought arms and ships in England, and raised a legion of filibusters in Spain. The court of Spain encouraged him in his enterprise: and he agreed to make Ecuador a kingdom for one of the younger branches of the house of Bourbon. Neither America nor Europe could tolerate this; and Flores, foiled in his project, went by way of the United States to Costa Rica, where, as we shall see, he concocted with Ballivian, the ex-president of Bolivia, a joint expedition for recovering their authority, which was defeated with the aid of Peru under President Castilla. In the meantime the Republic was reconstituted on a democratic basis; and the constitution received its final revision in 1850. The government was made responsible to a single legislative chamber, elected for four years, by property qualification. This does not seem a very democratic system: but it was clearly as much as Ecuador could bear. Flores continued to threaten it from without, and at length, through the help of the new government in Peru, he attained his end. In 1860 he succeeded in putting himself at the head of the conservatives in Quito, and while the radical General Franco in Guayaquil was at the same time threatened on the other side by the Peruvians, he advanced against him and defeated him. The Floreanos now returned to power; Dr. Moreno became president, and Flores, as in the days of Roca-Fuerte, became Governor of Guayaquil, the seat of the ultra-democratic party. Moreno was constantly threatened by the latter, and by the radical party in New Granada under Mosquera; but he kept his seat during 1868, a year of liberal revolutions which Ecuador did not escape, and was re-elected in 1869 for a period of six years. His administration will be chiefly remembered in American history by his accepting the "protectorate" of Napoleon III. of France. When we come to the history of Mexico, we shall see what this meant; and it is clear that South American conservatism must be weak indeed when it descends to ally itself with the pretenders of the old world. In August, 1875, Moreno was assassinated: and we may be sure that the people of Ecuador will never rest until they have obtained the same liberty as their

neighbours in New Granada and Venezuela. Ecuador has the misfortune to be divided geographically into two parts, the natural centres of which are the radical port of Guayaquil, and the old capital of Quito, where the clerical and official party have always held sway. The seat of the old Inca dynasty thus remains one of the last strongholds of that pernicious oligarchy which Spanish America has so long been struggling to shake off.

17. **General Remarks.**—We cannot help regretting that Bolivar's grand idea of a great Spanish Confederation, including all the lands between the isthmus and the Amazon, so soon fell to the ground; but it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. The successful struggle for independence was everywhere succeeded by the reign of ideas too big and too vague to be realized, as we shall see even more clearly in the next chapter. The South Americans, as they now know, had very much to learn: and it is only since their statesmen have learned to study not only the outward form but the actual constructive elements of more successful communities that any progress has been made. The Colombians have studied theories too much, and their moral and material interests too little. Most of America is a labourer's paradise, but this is not so in Colombia. Hence, seen side by side with North America on the one hand, and the Plate States on the other, the Colombian States seem to the European eye to be retrograding rather than progressing. The energies of man and of nature seem to fail alike under a burning sun, and matters seem even the worse because political power has been lately transferred, by the progress of democracy, to an indolent and half-civilized majority, which includes many aborigines and half-castes. At present the general social condition of the Colombian peoples is said to be scarcely equal to that of Mexico. Democratic changes usually stimulate a nation: and we can hardly believe that here they have only relaxed and demoralized. It cannot be forgotten that the Venezuelans began in earnest the great struggle with Spain, and that they produced the great Bolivar: and there seems no reason why these great and fertile countries should not recover some of the prosperity which always marked the old Viceroyalty of New Granada. Venezuela, which as this history shows, has always been in advance of its neighbours, still keeps the lead: and if the recent measures which have been adopted suffice to ensure the

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decline of the clerical party, and the cessation of conservative reactions, it will probably become a very prosperous country. It is little more than twenty years since slavery was abolished in Venezuela : and free labour has not yet taken its place in sufficient quantity to produce any great results. But this immense country is capable of growing endless supplies of tobacco, indigo, cotton, sugar, and coffee : it produces the finest cocoa that is known to commerce : it has abundance of coal ; and the copper-mines of Aroa might make it in this respect the rival of Chile and South Australia. Venezolan Guiana, one of the finest of its districts, is scarcely known to the traveller. Colombia is less favourably situated than Venezuela : and Ecuador, from its position on the Pacific and its political difficulties, is likely to remain long behind its sister states. The inhabitants allege that during the last thirty years a steady improvement has been taking place in the moral and social condition of the Colombian states : but they can show nothing resembling the progress which has taken place in the next group of the colonial nations of Spanish descent. The states of the Plate river, to which we next turn, make up by far the greatest group of the Spanish colonial nations : and the history of these two groups will disclose a complete and curious contrast, which may be roughly described by saying one has been most influenced by French ideas, and the other by North American ideas.

CHAPTER XVII.

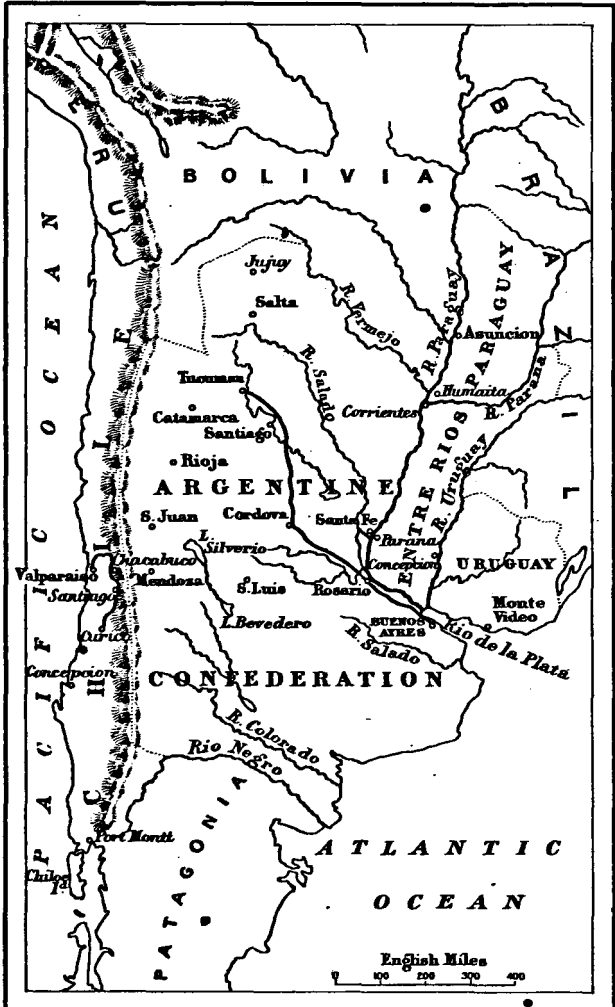
THE ARGENTINE STATES.

(ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION, URUGUAY, PARAGUAY.)

Isolation of the Plate States (1)—*The English Invasion* (2)—*Revolution of Buenos Ayres* (3)—*The Confederation* (4)—*Special Character of Federalism and Unitarism* (5)—*Paraguay* (6)—*The Unitary Republic* (7)—*The Banda Oriental* (8)—*General Rosas* (9)—*His Fall* (10)—*Triumph of Unitarism* (11)—*Opening of the Plate River* (12)—*The Two Lopez in Paraguay* (13)—*Growth of Colonization* (14)—*General Remarks* (15).

I. Isolation of the Plate States.—The States of the Plate River may almost be said to belong rather to North than

CHILE & THE ARGENTINE REPUBLICS



to South America. Unlike any other of the old Spanish Viceroyalties, they had been mainly peopled by recent European immigration, and the city of Buenos Ayres was even at the epoch of independence more European than any other south of the Mexican Gulf. This is partly due to the comparatively temperate climate, which favours the normal activity of civilized mankind, and partly to the incidents of its history. The Plate was never like Mexico and Peru, the seat of an effete people, on which the Spanish political system was grafted; and the civilization of Europe was here planted in a virgin soil. Remote from the seat of government in Europe, it at once engaged less of the attention of the mother country and yielded a less perfect obedience. The inhabitants at the epoch of independence had therefore much more of the true colonial character than those of any other Spanish province. The importance of the district consisted in its stock farms: and the mode of its settlement reminds us something of the Cape Colony. The colonist fixed on some tract of pasture land, where he made a settlement called an *estancia*, which was not unlike the South African *loan-place*. The fast-multiplying herds of horses, and of cattle bred for the export of their hides and tallow, employed numbers of hardy horsemen called *gauchos*, who lived on the estancia. Through the trade in hides and tallow, the peculiar character of the settlements on the Plate River was well known in England. Sir Walter Scott, with little exaggeration, described the country as a boundless extent of grassy plain, peopled only by a race of Christian savages, the furniture of whose huts consisted of the skulls of oxen, who lived on raw beef and water, and amused themselves by running horses to death. The *gauchos* were a wild and lawless race, approaching the type of some nomadic peoples in the old world. In the unsettled state of the country they often formed themselves into armed bands, under a leader called a *caudillo*. Settled government existed only in the fourteen towns which were scattered over the surface of the great plain: and when the authority of the central government ceased, these towns naturally fell into the hands of the *caudillos*. The *caudillos* generally owned an estancia which soon became a populous commune: and as the *estancieros* grew rich, and perhaps powerful through family connection, there sprang up everywhere a numerous race of rude chiefs, and a real social organization, which had in it the

material of a sound national life. The estancieros, as might be expected, were not at first a very enlightened set of people. They were the strength of the old Federalist party, until that party was broken up by the tyranny of Rosas ; but within the past twenty years great changes have taken place, and their politics do not materially conflict with those of the City of Buenos Ayres, the traditional centre of the unitary or liberal party. Here again, there existed a rich democratic community, which had grown into importance in the same way as Sydney and Melbourne, as the first nucleus of the colony, the capital town, and the point of export and import. As the great basin of the Plate States has no other ocean port except Monte Video, at a great distance on the other side of the estuary, all the commerce of the interior and riverine provinces passed through Buenos Ayres. It is easy to see how complete was the antagonism between the civilized people of the port and the rude residents in the pampas : and this antagonism is very conspicuous in Argentine history. In one respect however, both the town and the country were alike. The Argentine district was an entirely *new* country ; where nobility was scarcely known or valued ; where the Church had but little influence ; and where foreign ideas had largely penetrated owing to the alliance of France and the contraband traffic with the United States. It is easy to see how much this facilitated the repudiation of the yoke of Spain, and why the revolution of Buenos Ayres, unlike those of Colombia and Peru, was brought about without much shedding of blood. It was here, as we shall now see, that the English first sought to deliver South America from the Spaniards by armed intervention.

2. *The English Invasion.*—The trade of the Plate River had enormously increased since the substitution of register ships for the annual flotilla, and the erection of Buenos Ayres into a viceroyalty in 1778 ; but it was not until the war of 1797 that the English became aware of its real extent. The British cruisers had enough to do to maintain the blockade : and when the English learned that millions of hides were rotting in the warehouses of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, they concluded that the people would soon see that their interests would be best served by submission to the great naval power. The peace put an end to these ideas ; but Pitt's favourite project for destroying Spanish influence in South America by the

English arms was revived and put in execution soon after the opening of the second European war in 1803. In 1806, the year of the first attempts of Miranda in Venezuela, he sent a squadron to the Plate River, which offered the best point of attack to the British fleet, and the road to the most promising of the Spanish colonies. The English, under General Beresford, though few in number, soon took Buenos Ayres, for the Spaniards, terrified at the sight of British troops, surrendered without knowing how insignificant the invading force really was. When they found this out, they mustered courage to attack Beresford in the citadel; and the English commander was obliged to evacuate the place. The English soon afterwards took possession of Monte Video, on the other side of the river. Here they were joined by another squadron, who were under orders, after reducing Buenos Ayres, to sail round the Horn, to take Valparaiso, and establish posts across the continent connecting that city with Buenos Ayres, thus executing the long-cherished plan of Lord Anson. Buenos Ayres was therefore invested a second time. But the English land forces were too few for their task. The Spaniards spread all round the city strong breastworks of oxhides, and collected all their forces for its defence. Buenos Ayres was stormed by the English at two points on the 5th July, 1807; but they were unable to hold their ground against the unceasing fire of the Spaniards, who were greatly superior in numbers, and the next day they capitulated, and agreed to evacuate the province within two months. The English had imagined that the colonists would readily flock to their standard, and throw off the yoke of Spain. This was a great mistake; and it needed the events of 1808 to lead the Spanish colonists to their independence.

3. *The Revolution of Buenos Ayres.*—It must be remembered that the revolution of La Paz took place within the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; and its unhappy termination discouraged the independents of the capital. When the English took Monte Video, the Buenos Ayreans made an attempt at revolution, and deposed the viceroy. But in 1810, when it came to be known that the French armies had crossed the Sierra Morena, and that Spain was a conquered country, the colonists would no longer submit to the shadowy authority of the colonial officers, and elected a junta of their own to carry on the Government. Most of the troops in the colony went over to the cause of inde-

pendence, and easily overcame the feeble resistance that was made by those who remained faithful to the regency in the engagement of Las Piedras. The leaders of the revolution were the advocate Castelli and General Belgrano; and under their guidance scarcely any obstacle stopped its progress. They even sent their armies at once into Upper Peru and the Banda Oriental, and their privateers carried the Independent flag to the coasts of the Pacific; but these successes were accompanied by a total anarchy in the Argentine capital and provinces. The most intelligent and capable men had gone off to fight for liberty elsewhere: and even if they had remained, it would have been no easy task to establish a new government over the scattered and half-civilized population of this vast country. The estancieros kept what order they could among their gauchos and the Indian tribes: and the most important of them formed loose defensive leagues in each province, so that the first result of independence was the formation of a not very intelligent party of country proprietors, who knew nothing of the mysteries of politics, and were not ill-content with the existing order of things. The business of the old viceregal government was delegated to a supreme Director; but this functionary was little more than titular. How limited the aspirations of the Argentines at first were may be gathered from the instructions with which Belgrano and Rivadavia were sent to Europe in 1814. They were to go to England, and ask for an English protectorate; if possible, under an English prince. They were next to try the same plan in France, Austria, and Russia, and lastly in Spain itself: and if Spain still refused, were to offer to renew the subjection of the colony, on condition of certain specified concessions being made. This was indeed a strange contrast to the lofty aspirations of the Colombians. On arriving at Rio, the Argentine delegates were assured by the English minister, Lord Strangford, that, as things were, no European power would do anything for them: nor did they succeed better in Spain itself. Meanwhile, the government of the Buenos Ayres junta was powerless outside the town, and the country was fast lapsing into the utmost disorder and confusion.

4. *The Confederation.*—At length, when Government could hardly be said to exist at all, a general congress of the provinces of the Plate River assembled at Tucuman in 1816. It was resolved that all the states should unite

in a confederation to be called the United Provinces of the Plate River : and a constitution was elaborated, in imitation of the famous one of the United States, providing for two legislative chambers and a president. Exactly as in Colombia, the establishment of such a constitution was really what is called putting the cart before the horse. It was a chain of crumbling links which had indeed never hardened at all ; and this appeared from the very beginning. The influence of the capital, of which all the other provinces were keenly jealous, predominated in the congress ; and Puyrredon, an active Buenos Ayres politician, was made supreme director of the Confederation. The people of Buenos Ayres thought their city destined to exercise over the rural provinces a similar influence to that which Athens, under similar circumstances, had exercised in Greece ; and able Buenos Ayreans like Puyrredon, San Martin, and Rivadavia, now became the leaders of the unitary party. The powerful provincials, represented by such men as Lopez and Quiroga, soon found out that the Federal scheme meant the supremacy of Buenos Ayres, and a political change which would deprive them of most of their influence. The Federal system, therefore, could not be expected to last very long ; and it did in fact collapse after four years. Artigas led the revolt in the Banda Oriental, and the Riverine Provinces soon followed the example. For a long time the provinces were practically under the authority of their local chiefs, the only semblance of political life being confined to Buenos Ayres itself.

5. Special Character of Federalism and Unitarism.—

The wars which long distracted the Argentine States proceeded from causes very different to those which produced the revolutions of most of South America. We do not here find generals of the revolution like Paez and Flores conspiring against the constitution, pandering to a clerical and official party, and establishing a reign of obstructive conservatism. On the contrary, we find the soldiers of independence taking little or no part in civil struggles, while the caudillos, like the robber knights of the middle ages in Germany and Italy, passed from private to public warfare, and at last, on the decline of the old party of independence, made themselves masters of the capital and the government, passing, by a strange accident, under a title which is everywhere else distinctive of liberalism and social progress. In tracing the history of South America

we shall find that everywhere, except in the Argentine Confederation, the Federalists have been what we should call a liberal party, and the Unitarists a conservative party. It is easy enough to understand this, because the old Spanish government was centralized in the capital of each viceroyalty or captaincy-general (as the case might be), and the official party, who really came into power at the epoch of independence, wanted still to keep the upper hand among the people of the chief states, and to keep the provinces in the old state of subjection. The populace of the capital, and nearly all classes in the provinces, thus became a natural opposition, whose chief aim was to decentralize the government: and as there was but little trade, either among themselves or with Europe, they actually suffered but little by the provinces lapsing into this condition of independent states, though this of course checked their commercial growth. Such has been the case in Mexico, Central America, and Colombia. But on the Plate River the progress, and even the present well-being, of the provinces, very much depended on their trade with Europe: and the whole of this, under the Spanish system, passed through Buenos Ayres, where a large revenue was thus raised. It was therefore the interest of Buenos Ayres, though the centre of liberal ideas, to establish a strict Unitary system, keeping the waters above closed to European vessels, so as to secure for itself the trade of the whole Confederation. Against this the provinces revolted. The object of the rest of the Confederation was to make Buenos Ayres share its great revenue with them by having ports and governments of their own: and hence we see why Federal principles were held in the provinces, and Unitary principles at Buenos Ayres. The reverse was the case in the rest of Spanish America, and in Brazil, where each province generally had its own port on the ocean. But as time went on, the names of these parties, like those of political parties in England, lost all their meaning: and the fact is that never was the government so thoroughly centralized as by the Federalists under Rosas, and never have provincial interests been so well regarded as by the Unitaries, since their triumph under Mitre in 1852. The chiefs of the Federalist party were simply the rich proprietors, who would naturally be the chief people in a society just emerging from colonial slavery. These were ignorant and stupid people: and the Unitaries, on the other hand,

were the small class of intelligent politicians, seeking to form new political conditions, under which absolute power in every form should be abolished, and the rule of law should take its place. The history of the Argentine States is the history of the progress and triumph of this minority : and the disruption of the Federalists, and the almost universal adoption of Unitarism, form one of the most encouraging pages of South American history.

6. Paraguay.—A singular fate befell the people of Paraguay. While the revolution was going on in Buenos Ayres, they showed no sympathy for the cause of independence. The junta resolved to awaken them from their political stupor ; and Belgrano invaded Paraguay in 1810, at the head of 5,000 men. He was defeated and obliged to retire ; but in the next year, incited by two or three persons of influence, the people deposed their old governor and elected a junta, the secretary of which was a popular advocate named Dr. Francia, who, having already held office under the old Spanish government, well understood the country and its people. The Government of Paraguay had always maintained the old antagonism which had existed between the Jesuit missions and the provinces surrounding them : and the new junta, having succeeded without much difficulty in organizing a strong government, refused to join the Confederation of the United Provinces. Following the example of ancient Rome, the Paraguayan politicians established in 1813 a Republic under two annual Consuls, who were to be alternately at the head of the Government. Francia himself was one of these, and he took care to get a wealthy estancieros, who knew nothing of politics, elected as the other. The forms of a free government were of course only used to delude the people. The republic was solemnly inaugurated, the chief features in the ceremony being two great chairs, one of which was called Cæsar's, the other Pompey's. The next year Francia showed the people that it was useless to have more than one supreme magistrate, and got himself nominated dictator for three years. At the expiration of this period he was made dictator for life. Francia, whose policy, after making certain allowances, may be said to be merely a continuation of the Spanish system, would have nothing to do with any of the neighbouring states. He kept up and strengthened the barriers which had always separated Paraguay from the rest of the world ; and if any stranger entered it, it was probable that he would

never be allowed to leave it. Being always afraid of revolution, he tolerated no freedom of thought or speech ; and anybody, man or woman, who said a word against his government was at once thrust into prison, where they languished in irons until they died. His rule, which he affected to model on that of Bonaparte, though cruel and despotic, was, in some respects, beneficial, especially towards its close. He did not a little to improve the agriculture and the rude manufactures of the country. He was never trusted by his Spanish neighbours, and sought alliance with the new empire of Brazil, although between the Brazilians and his own subjects there existed the strongest hatred ; and over these latter his reign was truly a reign of terror. Many believed that Francia intended to play the part of the famous General Monk, and hand over Paraguay to some prince of the Bourbon family. This expectation, however, was not realized : and the rule of this strange being in Paraguay lasted for a quarter of a century, and only ended with his death. As Francia held no communication with the outer world, the outer world was often surprised by some extraordinary piece of news about him. Now it was said that he had sold Paraguay to the new empire of Brazil : now that he had been driven from power by his generals, and had retired to his country seat : now that he had made himself the centre of a grand confederation, including Bolivia and the Riverine Provinces, and declared war on Brazil. One day, to the surprise and delight of Europe, a certain Marquis of the Guaranis, as he called himself, announced himself at the Court of Madrid as an envoy from Francia ; but the imposture was soon discovered, and the Marquis had to quit Spain in haste. Under Francia the Paraguayans lived in absolute terrorism. Even after his death they scarcely ventured to pronounce his name : and his tomb became to the poorer people an object of superstitious worship. Some believed him a god, who would rise again from the grave. When his tomb was opened, a few years afterwards, it was found almost empty. Most of his remains had been carried off, and no doubt flung into the river, as the bones of the English tyrant, Stephen, were once flung into the Swale at Faversham.

7. *The Unitary Republic.*—No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the reign of Conservatism under Francia in Paraguay, and the strong efforts towards progress which were now made in the capital of the

United Provinces. The year 1821 was marked by the establishment at Buenos Ayres of the representative republic under Rivadavia. Under him the immigration of foreigners was first encouraged, religious liberty established, some measures were taken for promoting education, and advantageous treaties made with neighbouring nations. Rivadavia soon afterwards became President-General of the Confederation. He renounced the pretensions of the Republic to Upper Peru, which now took its place among the American nations by the name of Bolivia; and he refused to take part in that narrow and exclusive movement the principle of which was "America for the Americans." Hitherto most of the South American peoples, completely reversing the policy of the flourishing nations of modern times, as illustrated in the cases of Holland, England, and the United States, had thrown every sort of obstacle in the way of foreigners wishing to settle in the country. Rivadavia threw open the province of Buenos Ayres, which was the key of all the Argentine states, to all Europe, as William Penn had done with Pennsylvania. But the immediate result was to render him unpopular; and in consequence partly of this and partly of provincial opposition, this truly liberal statesman resigned and went to Europe in 1827. With him fell the hopes of the representative republic: and the progress of the Argentine States was thrown back for thirty years. Quiroga and Lopez, with other provincial leaders, had now made themselves practically independent. Quiroga almost occupied the same position in La Rioja that Francia did in Paraguay. Bustos did the same in Cordova. Lopez succeeded Rivadavia as President-General: and thus began that gradual depression of the influence of Buenos Ayres, and supremacy of the interior and riverine provinces, which soon culminated in the tyranny of Rosas. The country was now in the hands of leaders of gauchos; and under the name of the United Provinces the nation maintained but a feeble and precarious existence, being in fact only a voluntary association of the states, which might be repudiated and restored at will. The collapse of the Unitary party was natural and inevitable. Its creed of modern European principles, which had nowhere stood the test of experience, and were gathered from many contrary sources, was readily shaken: and if the constitutionalism of the French philosophers could not

be upheld at home, it was not likely to hold its ground in South America.

8. **The Banda Oriental.**—We have seen how the Eastern state (Banda Oriental), like Paraguay, refused to cast in its lot with the United Provinces. It was, however, far too weak to maintain an independent existence : and the Brazilians, in the heyday of their lately gotten independence, profited by the weakness and division of the Argentines, and revived their old claim. The Banda Oriental might be said to lie within the natural geographical limits of Brazil, but Spain had always claimed it. It was mainly peopled by Spaniards, and was now occupied by a numerous band of gauchos under Artigas. Artigas had no faith in the new Argentine nation ; and when the Portuguese attacked the place in 1816 he made but a show of resistance. Until 1821 he preserved his influence at Monte Video, though the province was practically under Portuguese rule ; and at a congress called in 1821 he procured its formal reunion with Brazil, under the name of the Cisplatine Province. The Buenos Ayreans, however, could not look quietly upon what was really the Brazilian annexation of this valuable province. In 1825, a number of volunteers invaded the Banda and drove out the Brazilians : a new government was formed at Monte Video, and the Banda formally incorporated itself with the United Provinces. Pedro the First of Brazil now declared war on the Argentines : but the Monte Videans successfully resisted his arms, and the quarrel was finally settled in 1828, by a treaty which established the Eastern province as an independent republic by the name of Uruguay. Its constitution provided for the government under a President and two elective chambers. The trade of the new state was opened to the whole world ; immigration was encouraged ; and under the Presidency of General Rivera the Uruguay republic commenced what has proved a steadily prosperous career, in spite of its intestine troubles. The population of the Uruguay Republic has always been divided into the *blanco*, or white, and the *colorado*, or coloured parties ; the first being Conservative, and the second Liberal. During the tyranny of Rosas, of which we shall presently speak, it was the resort of all Spanish Liberal refugees from Buenos Ayres : and this naturally exposed it to the hostility of the Dictator. We shall see how gallantly it was defended from his attacks during nine years, and how it became the

centre from which the liberating army finally overthrew the tyrant. After the fall of Rosas in 1852, and the triumph of Liberalism in Buenos Ayres, it followed that the old Conservative constitution in Uruguay would soon be abolished. After a long struggle and several revolutions, the triumph of the *colorado* or advanced party seemed assured; and Pereira, its head, with a good fortune rare in South America, completed the term of his presidency (1856-1860) without a revolution. But his successor, Berro, was less fortunate. Flores, an adventurer in the service of Buenos Ayres, unseated him in 1863; and the history of the Uruguay thus leads us up to that of the Paraguayan war. Notwithstanding all its troubles, Uruguay has never ceased to be a flourishing country. In 1870 it had not far short of 400,000 inhabitants, or five times as many as at the date of its independence.

9. General Rosas (1829-1852).—For twenty-three years the government of Buenos Ayres, with some intermissions, was in the hands of General Juan Manuel de Rosas, an estanciero and Federalist leader, who had raised himself to power on the fall of the Unitary party under Rivadavia. At the head of the Federalist leaders and their gaucho armies, he had no difficulty in defeating the forces of Buenos Ayres under the patriotic General Paz. With the view of establishing his position he now hastened to conclude what is called the *quadrilateral treaty*, being a federal alliance between Buenos Ayres and the Riverine Provinces of Corrientes, Santa Fé, and Entre Rios, Buenos Ayres retaining all its old privileges. With the assistance of Quiroga and Lopez, Rosas next completely defeated the remains of the Unitary party in the provinces. He retired from the Presidency in 1833, but in 1835 the Assembly, packed with his creatures from all the provinces, vested all public powers in him as dictator, and declared him Defender of the Confederation. Rosas, forgetting the wide difference of circumstances, now avowedly took the famous Francia for his model, and endeavoured to reproduce in Buenos Ayres the oriental despotism of Paraguay. Rosas was a tyrant of the old type: he was energetic, patient, subtle, treacherous, and cruel. Finding it indispensable to have in each of the fourteen provinces a governor completely under his own power, he did not scruple to get rid of his old allies in the Riverine Provinces, Quiroga and Lopez, one of whom he caused to be

assassinated and the other to be poisoned. He organised his power in Buenos Ayres with a completeness which reminds us of the military tyrants of ancient Greece. His advent to power had thrown all the best citizens into discredit, and so little was he supported by public opinion that he had to govern by means of a club called the *Mashorca*, composed of all the scoundrels in the province. The *Mashorqueros* wore a red riband with the legends *Rosas or death*, and *Death to the Unitaries*. These went round about the city, assassinating those whom *Rosas* marked out, forcing all the people to wear the *Mashorca* badge, and hailing the tyrant by the names of Saviour of his Country and Restorer of the Laws. Though the clerical party was not here of much importance, he followed the other South American reactionaries in trying to revive it. At one blow he effaced all the ecclesiastical reforms which had been effected by Rivadavia. He restored the convents, and brought back the Jesuits, who had been banished for seventy years. A rupture with France seemed in 1838 likely to check his tyranny : and a French squadron sailed up the river. Taking advantage of the conjuncture, Rivera threatened him from Monte Video, and the Unitary general Lavalle even advanced within a few leagues of the capital. But *Rosas* made terms with the French : and the event made him stronger than ever. Many people who despised him heartily now gave him their support. He was the first man who had shown himself capable of maintaining a strong government, because he was the first who applied to the government of the nation the principles on which an *estanciero* governed his horde of *gauchos* : and he always had before him, as a lesson, the career of Quiroja. *Rosas* now declared a reign of terror against the Unitaries throughout the provinces, and despatched an expedition to reduce the Uruguay republic, which was the head quarters of the party. Between 1829 and 1843 *Rosas* is calculated to have destroyed over 22,000 of his fellow-creatures, of whom nearly 6,000 were shot or assassinated in cold blood in the frightful massacres of April and October, 1841. The Uruguay province was easily overrun by the troops of *Rosas* ; but the town of Monte Video was gallantly defended, chiefly by a legion formed from among its French inhabitants, and by a handful of Italians commanded by the intrepid young colonel Garibaldi. France and England, having vainly remonstrated with *Rosas*, now declared war upon him. Their united squadrons block-

aded Buenos Ayres and opened the navigation of the whole river as far as Paraguay : but they abstained from attacking the tyrant in his own stronghold. Uruguay was thus once more saved, and the way to Paraguay, which had in the meantime been set partially free by the death of Francia, was permanently opened to Europe. The rest of the dictatorship of Rosas was occupied in the attempt to suppress the growing discontent of the Unitaries of the Riverine Provinces, to which at length he succumbed. The chief men, even of the Federalist party, in the provinces were now weary of the tyranny of Rosas : and, in 1848, a determined rebellion was commenced against him by Urquiza, the provincial governor of Entre Rios. Urquiza was one of the richest estancieros in the country. As the head of the province, he had no difficulty in raising an army of 2,000 men : and though he was partly actuated by motives merely personal, the Unitaries now rallied round him. Monte Video had now become the last stronghold of the Unitary party : and it was here that the standard of a great civil war against Rosas was now raised.

10. *Fall of Rosas.*—The states of Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay also entered into a treaty for the deposition of Rosas and the opening of the Plate river. The Brazilian fleet maintained the blockade of the port, from which France and England had desisted, after a naval parade lasting over several years, and at length Rosas was defeated by Urquiza in the battle of Monte Caseros (February 3rd, 1852), and fled in disguise to Europe. This is the most important event in Argentine history. With the tyranny of the dictator passed away also the long commercial and political preponderance of Buenos Ayres over the neighbouring confederated provinces. But the party of Urquiza had still great difficulties to overcome. Urquiza, who was as much of a despot and Federalist as Rosas, having destroyed the enemy, was willing to let matters rest. The Unitary party of Buenos Ayres, however, consisting of all the intelligent and statesmanlike people in the colony, were determined not to let a second Rosas slip securely into power : and finding that Urquiza was beginning to govern in the manner and through the instruments of Rosas, they had no resource but a revolution. In September, 1852, when Urquiza had gone off to the Congress at Santa Fé, this took place, and Dr. Alsina was elected governor of the province in the place

of one Lopez, a creature of Urquiza's. Buenos Ayres now declared itself independent of the Argentine Confederation. The prime mover in this great revolution was Bartolomeo Mitre. After being a merchant, a journalist, and a member of the Assembly, Mitre had acquired reputation as a soldier all through the campaign of liberation. He now became minister of the interior : and he had more than any one else to do with the reconstruction of the Plate Confederation.

II. *Triumph of Unitarism.*—Thus at the end of 1852, the two Argentine parties had become for the time two distinct nations, the Unitaries, in the Province of Buenos Ayres, under Alsina and Mitre, and the Federalists, in the rest of the provinces, under Urquiza. The seat of the Federal government was now transferred to Parana. Urquiza advanced into the territory of Buenos Ayres, but was obliged to retire to Entre Rios in July, 1853. The thirteen provinces in vain flattered themselves that they could get on without Buenos Ayres. The independent state continued to grow faster than all the rest : and its internal economy, under such men as Alsina and Sarmiento, soon showed a great change. Perhaps the most fruitful thing done by Sarmiento was the establishment of a new system of education, exactly copied from that of New England. Buenos Ayres was rich : it had twenty times the revenue of the government of Parana : and it had credit in Europe, which Urquiza had not. Urquiza in vain charged goods imported through Buenos Ayres with very high duties. Nothing could ruin this great state : whereas the Confederation without Buenos Ayres was clearly a state without revenue or commerce. The federal government finding itself unmistakably on the decline, sought to renew itself by one more attempt to crush the Buenos Ayreans. Year after year, however, the influence of the liberal principles of Buenos Ayres had been spreading all over the provinces : the people of the latter could see with their own eyes the difference between the two systems of government : and when the war was declared in 1859, the Federalists found themselves very ill supported, and Buenos Ayres likely to be more than their match. It was now important to the Buenos Ayreans, who were fast in the ascendant, to have the matter finally settled. Either the Federalists, as represented in the government of Parana, must accept the radical changes which they proposed, or the war must go on. The former

alternative prevailed, and in 1860 Buenos Ayres re-entered the Confederation. The state constitutions had in the meantime been reorganized in 1856, so that the work which had been begun in 1816 was at last on the way to completion. Only one more thing remained to be done. The obstructive old government at Parana still subsisted : and the new President of the Confederation, Derqui, proved himself to be entirely under the influence of Urquiza. He foolishly tried to use the Federal troops in support of what proved to be an insurrection of the Federalists : and Mitre therefore marched against him and defeated him at Pavon in December, 1861. The government of Parana was now dissolved. Buenos Ayres, having completely re-established its ascendancy, but on the most liberal principles, became once more the Federal capital : and Mitre was elected President of the Confederation.

12. *Opening of the Plate River.*—The opening of all the waters which discharge into the Plate River was decreed before the secession of Buenos Ayres. The event was not very pleasing to the Buenos Ayreans, but there is no reason to suppose that it had really anything to do with their secession. But this secession forced on the activity of the Federal government of Urquiza at Parana. The river was now completely opened to commerce ; vessels of all nations began to explore it ; and under Urquiza's government fresh ports were established, such as Rosario, which in six years became a city of 20,000 inhabitants. Rosario was intended to rival Buenos Ayres, and was made a free port. Railways were now planned, and the great one between Rosario and Cordova was commenced ; immigration from all parts of Europe which had been checked since the time of Rivadavia, began anew. But the working of all these measures tended to show that the Plate States could do nothing without Buenos Ayres : they were like a body without a head. Notwithstanding the differential duties, Rosario became a mere tributary to Buenos Ayres. The Federalists, as we just have seen, were really crushed as a party by having this brought clearly home to the minds of the people, and by the reunion with Buenos Ayres, the opening of the Plate River and its tributaries began to produce for the first time its full effect in the year 1862.

13. *The Two Lopez in Paraguay.*—After governing Paraguay for twenty-six years, the old Dictator Dr.

Francia died in 1840, and was succeeded by one Carlos Antonio Lopez, who came to possess the same power in the same way. The people at first made a show of electing two consuls, of whom Lopez was one: but he was soon declared President for life, and for twenty-two years he exercised just the same despotic authority as Francia. But the time was now come when the prosperity of Paraguay required that it should be opened to the rest of the world. As early as 1845, Lopez invited foreigners to settle in Paraguay, though he did not permit them to become landowners. Being a man of some breadth of view, he joined with the neighbouring Riverine states in opposing the tyranny of Rosas, who prevented them from reaping the full advantage of the opening of the river. It is true that Rosas had refused to recognise the independence of Paraguay: but Lopez was not entirely influenced by this. He made commercial treaties with France, England, and the United States, constructed roads, railways, and public buildings, made some provision for education, and greatly improved the defences and revenue. A new era for Paraguay may be said to have thus begun with Lopez, and until its progress was checked by war it was a rising power in South America. The government, however, was still in a wretched condition. All the exports were taxed by Lopez, in one way or another, up to more than a third of their value. The government was absolutely oriental in character: and all that can be said is that the first Lopez was not so odious a despot as either his predecessor or his successor. Carlos Lopez died in 1862, bequeathing the Presidency to his son Francisco. Francisco had been sent, when a young man, on a mission to Brazil and Europe. Unhappily, he arrived in England and France about the time of the Crimean war, and ideas of imperialism and military glory seem to have then fixed themselves indelibly in his mind. He came back to Paraguay resolved to be an emperor and a conqueror; and during the rest of his father's time he constantly devoted his attention to organizing the military forces of the country. The exorbitant taxation and the slavery of the people enabled him to raise a large army; immense supplies of military stores passed up the Plate river; and strange tidings soon reached the outer world from its banks. The people of Buenos Ayres, who looked on Paraguay as an American Japan, could not believe what

they saw and heard. But events soon proved the truth of the report that Lopez was preparing a war of conquest. He prudently resolved to begin with the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, where no resistance was possible. Availing himself, as a pretext, of the interposition of Brazil in the affairs of Uruguay, he declared war on the Empire and invaded this province. Mitre, rightly surmising the intention of Lopez, and knowing that sooner or later the free citizens of Buenos Ayres must reckon with the despotism of Paraguay, allied himself with Brazil, and at once assisted Flores to hasten the impending revolution in Uruguay. Flores was soon master of Monte Video : and Lopez suddenly found himself face to face with three enemies instead of two. Such were his ignorance and his pride that he flattered himself he might yet call himself Emperor of America: and for above three years he actually maintained the war with some success. The history of the Paraguayan war, and of Paraguay during the war, is one of the most shocking episodes in history ; and it illustrates but too well the judgment that threatens all nations which are not true to themselves. The Paraguayans, partly out of ignorance, but partly out of sheer meanness of spirit, had allowed themselves to fall under a foolish and cruel despotism : and now, though they knew the situation of their tyrant, they durst not make a stand against him. Lopez, however, never ceased to dread a revolution: and under the influence of fear, which is often more cruel than revenge itself, he committed atrocities without any parallel. Never before was the real character of the Paraguayan despotism known : and, happily for humanity, it was now swept from the face of the earth. The length to which Lopez's resistance was protracted arose from the scattered character of the operations of the war ; but his invasion of Corrientes was repulsed, and in 1868 the frontier fortress of Humaita fell. Brazilian ironclads now passed up the Paraguay river, and the capital was next evacuated. Lopez, however, would never submit, though his army was almost totally destroyed ; and on March 1, 1870, after being severely wounded in a disastrous skirmish, and refusing to yield himself a prisoner, he fell, pierced by a Brazilian lance. Paraguay now fell into the hands of the allies. As the male population at the close of the war stood to the female in the proportion of one to seven, Paraguay may be looked on as a destroyed nation : and such history

as it has, since the death of Lopez, is melancholy indeed. An English "colony," sent out to establish itself on the Argentine system, proved a disastrous failure. In the first year of Jovellano, the succeeding President, there were three revolutions, and the government was besieged in the capital. The Brazilian Government then interfered, and in 1874 Paraguay was placed under a Brazilian protectorate. This, however, could not be of long continuance. The Paraguayans must work out their political regeneration for themselves: and the assassination of the new President in April, 1877, followed by the outbreak of a new civil war between the government and ex-President Rivarola, show at any rate that the country has not sunk into the old apathy, and that the days of the Francias and Lopez are over.

14. *Growth of Colonization.*—No part of South America has within the past twenty years advanced so fast as the River Plate. Emigrants continued to arrive in increasing numbers, not only from England, but from France, Belgium, and Italy. It is calculated that the Argentine Republic would support a population of 300 millions of people, and at one time the tide of immigration, in spite of the superior attractions of the United States, rose to 40,000 a year. The fourteen cities of the plain are in course of being connected by a network of railways; and as the railways are made, colonization steadily follows them. A system of small agricultural settlements has been introduced, in which the lands given to immigrants are grouped together in villages, each immigrant having eighty acres of land allotted to him, which are so laid out that all the land of the village may be cultivated on the same system. Besides his eighty acres, the government provides each immigrant with a hut, a plough, two oxen, and a year's rations. Unlike the forests of North America, there is no labour and outlay in clearing the land: and in three years the labourer has generally repaid everything. An Argentine "colony," as these villages are called, very much resembles the primitive country townships which were once common in England, and are still to be seen in remote parts of Europe, there being a large scattered township, with a common pasture, and several very large fields, one of which is sown with maize, another with wheat, another with barley, and another with grass seeds. Besides this, the growth of flax has been introduced with success. In

the village there is a church and a school. The "colonists" of each village are generally of the same nation and religion: one may consist of Swiss Calvinists, the next of Welsh Wesleyans, and the next of Italian Catholics. In 1872 no less than 152 square leagues, chiefly in the provinces of Santa Fé and Entre Rios, had been covered with such colonies. In addition, many people of some capital, among whom the Irish and Scotch predominate, have become estancieros; and besides breeding horses and cattle, the breeding of sheep has been introduced so largely that the Argentine provinces rival Australia itself in the production of wool. In different parts of the provinces almost all colonial produce—sugar, cotton, tobacco, rice, coffee, and indigo, are obtained. Lastly, the Argentine territory includes thousands of leagues of metaliferous mountains: so that it has every possible element of prosperity.

15. *General Remarks.*—Since the termination of Mitre's term of office there have been no more military presidents. Dr. Sarmiento, one of the most distinguished of Argentine statesmen, was elected President in 1868. Sarmiento had studied modern civilization in Chile and the United States: and the progress of the Argentine provinces will perhaps be more connected with his name than with any other. Education, and the increase of the means of communication, are the cardinal points of Sarmiento's policy. It is not easy for the provinces to reconcile themselves to the supremacy of Buenos Ayres. Entre Rios, the largest of them, refused, under the influence of Urquiza, to join in the war against Lopez: and though Urquiza was assassinated in 1870, the rebellion of the province was kept up under Lopez Jordan until 1872. A more extended revolt which occurred in 1874 on the election of President Avellaneda, was suppressed with no great difficulty, though so influential a statesman as General Mitre lent it his assistance. As the means of communication year by year improve, we may expect the Plate States to become a greater and more united nation. Since the close of the Paraguayan war no great change has taken place in the relations of the states concerned in it. The Uruguay will perhaps always remain an independent state, for neither Brazil nor the Argentine Confederation could see it pass into the possession of the other. The future fate of the unhappy land of Paraguay must be for some time to come uncertain.

There can be no doubt that of all the peoples of Spanish America the Argentine nation has the most flourishing career before it, from its immense extent, the natural facilities which it affords for every species of colonization, and its comparatively mild climate. In the next chapter we shall trace the fortunes of a smaller state, which enjoys only the last of these advantages, but which, owing to the prudence and enterprise of its people, has already raised itself to a position which for its size far exceeds that of any other South American state. Chile, as we shall now see, has educated the rest of South America.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHILE.

Introductory (1)—First Revolution (2)—San Martin Liberates Chile (3)—First Years of Independence (4)—Reign of Conservatism (5)—Gradual Triumph of Liberalism (6)—Spanish Aggression (7)—Chilean Progress (8)—General Remarks (9).

1. *Introductory.*—The Spanish provinces on the Pacific coast of South America present the quite unique feature of an almost even coast-line extending from the equator to the polar regions, and offering in regular succession a specimen of almost every climate on the earth's surface. Before the epoch of independence, very little was known of the southern parts of this coast. The attention of Spain was always chiefly taken up with the great viceroyalty founded on the ruins of the kingdom of the Incas, to the neglect of the southern coasts of Peru and those of Chile. These neglected parts were too poor, to all appearance, in themselves, and too thinly peopled, whether by the Spaniards or by native races, to be worth much attention, but they provoked more than once the covetousness of other powers. The Dutch, when at the height of their power, had already attempted a settlement here; the English had formed plans for a conquest; and when we consider that about the time of the Definitive Treaty, Chile, which now numbers two millions, had scarcely a hundred thousand inhabitants of all races, it is strange that efforts to conquer it were not made more decisively and on a greater

scale. Chile was a poor but not an obscure colony. In the middle of the last century it was already famous for everything that makes it famous to-day : for its clear, healthy, and equal climate ; for its gold, silver, copper, lead, quicksilver, coffee, and coal ; for its hides, tallow, and salt provisions ; for its corn, of which it even then exported enough to maintain a population equal to its own. The smallness of the Spanish population, the strength of the fortifications, and the greater distinction which was maintained in Chile between the European and the native races, gave the officials of the Spanish government a stronger hold on the place than on the eastern coast : and from what we know of Chilean history we may be sure that the Spanish yoke would never have been thrown off without foreign assistance. It was not, in fact, until the cause of the revolution had definitely triumphed on the eastern coast that it succeeded on the western. The first struggles of the independents were repressed : and it was a Buenos-Ayrean general who ultimately established the liberties of both Chile and Peru. Though Spain had a strong hold in Chile, there were many elements in this colony which made it rather like the Plate River than Colombia or Peru. Even more than the Plate River it was a place of hard work ; the African slaves were few ; the land-owners themselves were no race of idle hidalgos, living on their dependents, ready to form a stubborn and selfish oligarchy as soon as the country became independent. The Indians were more civilised, though less mixed with the Spanish population ; for in the south there was a labouring population of almost pure Spanish descent. These people had come from the least Spanish part of Spain. The first Chilean colonists had been mainly Biscayans, and this fact has, no doubt, something to do with the steady character which we shall observe in Chilean history. This Biscayan element, kept down by poverty until the epoch of independence, soon began to spread and multiply rapidly. It furnished labour for mining, farming, and navigation ; and as soon as its ports were thrown open Chile began a new career. Chile thus resembles North America even more than do the states of the Plate River, and it is as far as can be from the political condition of Peru or Mexico. In Chile, as we shall see, the vast estates of the great proprietors have been cut up and either sold or let out in small lots, and in this way a class of small but prosperous cultivators has arisen. It

is to the growth of this class that the prosperity of Chile is mainly due, and it is because the mining and labouring classes of Chile have always remained conservatives that Chile has never undergone any very severe revolutions.

2. *First Revolution.* — The successful revolution of Buenos Ayres made that which soon followed in Chile comparatively easy. The chief difficulties of the revolution arose from the rivalries of the caudillos who were concerned in it. In spite of the control exercised by the officials, it proved that the Spanish troops in Chile were not strongly attached to the home-government: and in July, 1810, they removed the captain-general, and replaced him by one more favourable to the revolution. In September a junta was established at Santiago, supported by the junta of Buenos Ayres. Six months afterwards, taking advantage of the excitement which prevailed on the occasion of the first popular elections, an officer named Figueroa attempted a counter-revolution, but the movement was easily suppressed. The congress met in June, 1811. It enacted the opening of the Chilean ports, and was the first of the South American congresses which at once took measures to abolish slavery. But Chile was soon distracted by the strife of parties. José Carrera, a popular caudillo, declared himself dictator in 1812. He wished to revolutionize Chilean society, but his party quickly dwindled, and his plans failed completely. Spain was still strong in Peru: and in 1813 the Viceroy of Peru despatched a considerable force to attack the Chileans. General Bernardo O'Higgins, a son of the Ambrose O'Higgins who had treated with the insurgents of Colombia and was afterwards Viceroy of Peru, was now in command of the Chilean army. O'Higgins, whom the Chileans regard as the Washington of their nation, had been educated in England. He had studied mathematics under Miranda, when the latter was a French refugee in London, and he derived many ideas from the famous Colombian. At first O'Higgins succeeded in negotiating a compromise with the royalist general. But Spain soon sent reinforcements, and gave orders for the unconditional subjugation of the provinces. The new Viceroy refused to ratify the convention, and in August 1814 sent a second attacking force of 4,000 men under General Osorio. The Independents were now obliged to abandon the capital and flee over the mountains to Mendoza in the Argentine provinces. In November 1814 Osorio established a reign of terror in

Santiago : and thus the revolution of Chile, like that of Venezuela, terminated in a terrible re-action. La Serna, a year or two afterwards, attempted to pursue the advantage of the Royalists by invading the Argentine provinces from Chile. He penetrated to Salta, but soon had to return over the Andes. The Spanish captains, believing that they had done with the independents of Chile, now returned to Peru. They little supposed that two armies, composed of the gauchos of the Argentine pampas, would shortly pour over the ice slopes of the Andes, and carry the flag of independence through Chile into the capital of Peru itself.

3. **San Martin Liberates Chile.**—In the meantime the Argentine leaders, having secured their own independence, turned their attention to their neighbours on the other side of the Andes. Three thousand Chilean fugitives had already found refuge on Argentine soil, and San Martin, a native of Entre Rios, the general in command of Cuyo, one of the Upper Provinces, whither the Chileans had fled for refuge, now undertook the liberation of Chile. Early in the year 1816 he crossed the Andes by the pass of Los Patos at the head of 4,000 men. This was a force far inferior to the royalist army in Chile; to say nothing of Peru itself, and the dangers and difficulties of this march over the Andes were enormous. But San Martin had a great help in O'Higgins, who served under him; and in less than a month he had won the battle of Chacabuco and entered Santiago in triumph. A second junta was now formed, and O'Higgins was made Supreme Director. A year elapsed before Osorio advanced a second time upon Santiago: and on April the 5th, 1818, the decisive battle of the Maypo was fought near the capital. In this engagement Osorio was completely defeated, and the independence of Chile was thus secured. Though the Chilean revolution was brought about by a general rising of the landowners, followed by their peasantry, the battles on Chilean soil were fought by armies of foreigners on both sides, for in Chile itself there was no military party either Spanish or revolutionary, as in Mexico and Peru. Nor was the revolution complicated by the varying habits and interests of different parts of the colony, as on the Plate River; it was comparatively a simple matter, and easily accomplished. San Martin now intended to push on and liberate Peru, leaving Chile under the government of O'Higgins. But the domestic troubles of Buenos Ayres

summoned him home : and for two years after the battle of the *Maypo* the cause of independence seemed to make but slow progress. The last fight against the Spaniards in the south was fought in 1822, but it was not until 1826 that they were driven from the island of *Chiloe*, by a strong expedition from *Valparaiso*. In the meantime Lord *Cochrane*, a brave but eccentric Briton, who had been obliged to quit the service of his own country, came to *Chile*, and took command of the fleet. The *Chilean* sea captains soon found themselves able to beat the Spanish squadron, and even to sweep the *Peruvian* seas. We shall see in the next chapter how important a part *Cochrane* played in the liberation of *Peru*, and also see more of the career of the great general *San Martin*.

4. *First Years of Independence.*—What happened in *Chile* is unlike anything which we have already noticed elsewhere. The establishment of independence was elsewhere the first and easiest step in the path of political progress. Here there was not much more to be done. There has been no ultra-democratic party in *Chile* since the first years of the revolution. The two brothers *Carrera* had tried to organize such a party, but they found few followers, and every man's hand was against them. They were both taken prisoners and shot three days after the battle of the *Maypo*, and their adherents degenerated into bandits, and kept up a mere disorderly guerilla warfare for a few months longer. The landowners remained masters of the situation, and considering the Spanish reaction as the worst evil which could threaten the land, they seem to have had no objection to the revolutionary general making himself a dictator. But *O'Higgins* became the mere tool of some designing politicians. He governed *Chile* for five years without a constitution. Finding that this would not be borne any longer, he then called a congress, which was elected in a very corrupt way by the municipalities, for the purpose of organizing a regular assembly, but this congress immediately took to itself new rights, and continued to sit as the governing body of the country, nominating *O'Higgins* Supreme Director (October 1822). This at once provoked a general rising throughout the country. This rising is unlike anything else in American history. It was the spontaneous cry of the whole nation for that Constitution to which it had a right. *O'Higgins* and his minister *Rodriguez* were now obliged to fly to *Peru*, where the *Chilean*

Washington lived in exile for twenty years, and died. General Freire, the leader of the insurrection, who was in command of the southern province of Concepcion, now succeeded him as Supreme Director. The unpopular policy of O'Higgins had been mainly guided by a determination not to follow in the steps of the rest of South America. Freire promulgated a constitution on the model then fashionable. He dissolved the monasteries, and confiscated their valuable estates: but, as soon as he proposed direct taxation, in imitation of the Argentine Provinces, a revolution in popular feeling took place. He dissolved the congress in 1825; and in the next year, being unable to carry on the government, he resigned the office of Supreme Director. He was succeeded by Admiral Blanco, who soon resigned and made way for Freire once more: and though in 1827 General Pinto became head of the republic, Freire still continued to be really the directing spirit. Though Chile was all this time advancing in the organisation of its government, it had, as yet, no real constitution. Those of O'Higgins and Freire are hardly worthy of the name, and for several years the country was in a condition of agitation which at length broke out into civil war. Few things are more curious than to watch the growth of a moderate constitutional party in Chile from the midst of the O'Higinists or Pelucones (Whigs) as they call themselves, the *estanqueros* or commercial party, the "pelagians," or *pipiolos*, who sympathised with the radical movement under Carrera, and the small number of intellectual people who, without desiring a revolution, saw clearly the necessity for large measures of social reform. The war of parties in Chile was short. The victory of Lircay threw power into the hands of the *estanqueros* and *pelucones*, and Chile has since proved that the spirit of patience and compromise is yet to be found in Spanish America.

5. Reign of Conservatism.—The prosperous period of Chilean history begins with the Constitution of 1833, which is still in force, and the Presidency of Prieto, which lasted from 1833 till 1841. Prieto was a soldier of the war of independence, who had distinguished himself by restoring order in the midst of the troubles which followed the promulgation of the liberal constitution in 1829. In Chilean politics he was a *pelucone*, or Whig, but we should call him a Conservative. Without reversing what had been done, Prieto was able to govern with a strong hand.

He reduced the regular army, and organised the militia, a measure which stifled wanton insurrection. Chile prospered so well under his rule, that in 1836 he was re-elected for a second term; and in 1841 he was succeeded by his nephew, General Bulnes, who maintained the same policy, and was also re-elected in 1846. For twenty years Chile enjoyed peace and prosperity under their conservative rule. Prieto's principal minister was Portales, an energetic and sagacious politician. Portales had framed the Chilean constitution. He now reformed the whole organization of the country, and placed it financially in the honourable position it still occupies on the bourses of Europe. Under him Chile became an aristocratic republic, the chief power in the state being a senate composed of experienced statesmen, judges, and generals. But the people and the soldiers often rose in arms against the government: and in one of these risings Portales was slain, while his country was threatened by a serious external danger. Santa Cruz, an ambitious Peruvian general, had succeeded in uniting Peru and Bolivia in a pretended confederation under him, and to this he now aspired to add Chile. He provoked aggression by a decree threatening serious injury to Chilean commerce; and in 1838 General Bulnes, Prieto's nephew, landed in Peru with 4,000 men. The forces of Santa Cruz were superior, but Bulnes completely defeated him at Yungay, and once more established the independence of Chile. Santa Cruz was driven from the country, and the young Chilean general divided the union of Peru and Bolivia and set up separate presidents in each. We thus see how the smallest and least military state in South America was able to dictate terms to its neighbours twenty years after the epoch of independence.

6. *Gradual Triumph of Liberalism.*—Bulnes, as we have seen, became President in 1841. Signs of a change in the feelings of the government are traceable in the first five years of Bulnes: and they were hastened on by the agitation of 1846. Gradually some of the liberals were conciliated by the government, while many of the old Pelucones passed into the ranks of the opposition. In Chile the liberal opposition first gave themselves the name of *progresistas*. The *Progresistas* never came into power: but their demands soon began to shape the policy of the country. This was the case to a still greater extent during the succeeding presidency. Bulnes had

found a worthy successor of Portales in Manuel Montt, a young politician who had distinguished himself in the employ of the former, and when Bulnes' last term expired Montt, who had been minister of justice for Bulnes, succeeded him in the Presidency. But the election of 1851 was the occasion of a formidable resistance on the part of the radicals. Two generals, Urriola and Cruz, took the field against the majority; the former was defeated and slain at Santiago in April. The revolt of Cruz, who had been Montt's rival for the presidency in September, was more formidable. At first the insurgents gained ground everywhere; but after an obstinate contest, in which 4,000 men are said to have fallen, the government gained the day. They used their victory mercifully; and this forbearance greatly contributed to strengthen their power. Montt maintained so well the policy of his predecessors, which was to keep the conservative party together, and employ it in executing progressive measures, that in 1856 he also was re-elected for a second term. In the same year, alarmed by the invasion of Walker in Nicaragua, Montt formed the league with Peru, which was afterwards joined by Ecuador and Costa Rica, for the defence of South America against the incursions of the Northern filibusters. The conservative party remained firm in spite of the occasional demonstrations of those who wished to see constitutional reforms, and of a considerable number of European socialists. Meanwhile political steadiness reacted on social prosperity. Mining for coal now began to a large extent; and rich copper mines absorbed much of it, but immense quantities were also exported. Railways were made, and immigration from Europe commenced on a scale unknown elsewhere in South America. Large numbers of Germans settled in the south of the republic. The ultra-liberal party attempted another insurrection in 1859 which was readily suppressed. In 1861 Montt was succeeded in the Presidency by Jose Joaquin Perez. The new President appeased the liberal party by finding places for some of their leaders in his cabinet; and the strength of his government was scarcely shaken by the difficulties into which it was thrown by the aggressive policy of Spain. Perez, like his predecessors, was elected in 1866 for a second term; and was succeeded in 1871 by Federico Errazuriz. Under Montt's direction the whole of the legal system of Chile was reformed, public banks were opened, the tithes were secularized and a fund formed out

of them for education, local government was organized, and most of all the Jesuits were kept out, in opposition to a strong movement for readmitting them in 1854. Trade was opened by the abolition of differential duties ; and the coinage was reformed.

7. *Spanish Aggression.*—We have by this time seen enough of South American history to justify those who did not know exactly what causes had troubled it in supposing that Spain, having recruited her strength, while her revolted colonies had been exhausting themselves, might make a successful effort to recover them. The United States, who would have defended the Spanish nations of America, were in the midst of a terrible civil war ; and the designs of Spain were no doubt prompted in part by the sinister counsels of the Emperor of the French, who had just invaded Mexico. Spain was mainly tempted by the riches and weakness of Peru : and there is good reason for supposing that Pezet, the Peruvian President, was willing to throw his country into the hands of its old tyrants. Notwithstanding the revolution which unseated Pezet, Spain might have perhaps gained a footing in Peru, but for the resistance of Chile. The smaller republic is the key of the greater one ; and in Chile, as we might expect, the pretensions of Spain excited the greatest indignation. Foiled in her attempt on Peru, Spain executed a dastardly revenge on the Chileans. Before quitting the Pacific in 1866, the Spanish Admiral Nuñez shocked the world by bombarding, without any reason or notice, the city of Valparaiso. The success of liberty in Spanish America had by this time reacted upon the old Spain, just as in the United States it reacted upon England ; and to the tyrannical advisers of Isabella the republicans of both hemispheres were equally detestable. Retribution speedily fell upon the Spanish government for these outrages, for in 1868 the revolution was proclaimed in Spain itself ; though monarchy has since been re-established, there is no doubt that Spanish ideas have in both hemispheres been thoroughly leavened by the progress of Spanish America : and perhaps the Latin race in the Peninsula itself will in time learn the political lessons which Spanish America has in several places wrought out.

8. *Chilean Progress.*—Within the last twenty years the Chilean government has effected many reforms of an important character. Religious equality and the account-

ability of the clergy to the law have been established : and the criminal laws have been reformed. Besides this, commerce and agriculture have made very great strides. No South American nation has made such progress in filling up its boundaries, in proportion to its size, as Chile. The land almost all of which was formerly in the hands of a few landowners has been much subdivided. A small farm of from twenty to fifty acres is called in Chile an *hijuela* ; and many large estates have been cut up and sold or let as *hijuelas* (*hijueladas*), just as in France many great estates were cut up and bought by the peasantry after the revolution. Chile now contains above 20,000 landed properties valued at less than 100 dollars a year, and it is easy to see how powerfully this system, as in France, acts on its prosperity. Land in Chile has enormously risen in value. The great "Hacienda de la Compania," or Jesuit estate, is now valued at between three or four hundred times what it fetched a hundred years ago when the company was disestablished. Of late years great progress in practical agriculture has been made in the country. Chile was the first South American government which had an emigration agent in Europe. In 1845 a colonization law was passed for granting to intending settlers a hundred acres of land at a low price, payable by instalments, and in 1853 a million acres in the South of the country were laid out for attracting emigrants. The plan adopted by the government proved most effectual, and the "colony" of Llanquihue, with its capital of Port Montt, soon numbered as many as 2000 German emigrants. Chile has of course enjoyed a great advantage in the proximity of its soil to the sea, so that its agricultural progress has not depended on making railways, as in the Argentine States. In another important respect the growth of Chile has been forced on by its shape and geographical situation. If we sought on the map of the colonies for a country which must depend for its home trade as well as its communication with Europe on ocean-going steamers, and where steam navigation would therefore be likely to develop earlier than elsewhere, we should certainly choose Chile with its fifty-three ports. The growth of Chile in this respect is due mainly to the enterprise of a North American named William Wheelwright. He had come by accident to Buenos Ayres in the time of Rivadavia, and he adopted many ideas which were cherished by the Buenos Ayreans in the time of that

remarkable statesman. The first great work of Wheelwright's life was the establishment of a line of steamers between Panama and the other South Pacific ports : and he afterwards planned the system of railways which have been put in execution in the Argentine States, and their connection with Chile by means of a Trans-Andine line. Wheelwright, by bringing English capital and North American ingenuity into each other's service, and securing the co-operation of the South American governments, brought the new Spanish nations much nearer to themselves and to Europe. In him we see satisfactorily exemplified a principle which has often been asserted in different forms, that the English race is destined to ripen the germs which have so long been lying dormant in the Latin colonial nations. Some idea of the growth of the country of late may be formed from the fact that the population, which now numbers over two millions, was thirty years ago only 600,000, and that the revenue has increased in a much larger ratio. Chile, though one of the smallest, is the most prosperous and solvent of the South American nations. Its credit stands high on the European Stock Exchanges, and all its internal public works are carried out by loans raised in the country itself. The aims of the various political parties in Chile, as is usual in a country where progress is steady and peaceable, have been greatly modified with the course of time. The Conservatives have become more liberal, and the Liberals and Natives have reconciled themselves to the permanent ascendancy of the conservatives, on the understanding that their interests shall be fairly considered in the shaping of the conservative policy.

9. *General Remarks.*—In comparing the progress of Chile with that of the rest of South America, we must not forget how great have been the advantages which she has enjoyed. For the first time in South American history we have here a state which has been free from the distracting contest of Federalism and Unitarism. No grand political conceptions have discouraged the Chileans by their collapse ; the country has modestly advanced in its own obscure path, as an English colony might have done in the same place. The path of progress has itself been obvious and easy, and has not conflicted with the old institutions of the country. There has been no military party under rival chiefs fired with greedy ambition ; no powerful clergy ready to coalesce with all other elements

of obstruction, and to maintain its unjust privileges with sword and malediction. The landowner, the merchant, the miner and the peasant, have been equally interested in securing reform without violent revolution. In Chile all that was good in the old Spanish life, instead of being swept away or lost in an influx of French ideas, has been preserved; and political opinion has never lapsed from one extreme to the other. From its comparative isolation an unusually clear and comprehensive view of South American politics is to be met with among Chileans. Chile produces more economists and lawyers than poets, and all the useful arts and sciences are here cultivated in a way which reminds us of England and North America. We must not, however, suppose that Chile will long retain this pre-eminence over her neighbours. The rest of Spanish America is becoming year by year more Anglicised; and as the growth of the Argentine States and Peru goes on it will be seen that Chile has only led the way because her circumstances were exceptionally favourable to progress. Almost all these circumstances have been reversed in Peru, and we shall now find that Peru, with all its wealth and population, is half a century behind the rest of Spanish America.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PERUVIAN REPUBLICS.

PERU AND BOLIVIA.

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I. Introductory.—It was to be expected that the great viceroyalty which occupied the place of the empire of the Incas would become the last stronghold of Spanish authority in South America. Lower Peru, as we have abundantly seen, was the base of Spain's operations against the independence of the Argentine Confederation and Chile

Of all the Spanish colonies Peru had always been the most remote from European intercourse. Since the establishment of independence the history of Peru, more than that of any other republic, has been affected by antiquated ideas. This republic, if that can be called a republic which always remained merely a monarchy without a head, has always claimed the same ascendancy among its neighbour provinces which was enjoyed by the old viceroyalty : but it has never made its claim good : and it has, on the contrary, been at the mercy of its neighbours whenever a political crisis has arrived. Peru could not throw off the yoke of Spain. The troops and generals of all the rest of South America, of Colombia, Chile, and the Argentine Confederation, had to come to its assistance before its independence could be assured : and its progress in the path of political liberty has been slow indeed. The Bolivian Republic, formed out of Upper Peru, can, perhaps, show a history more calamitous than any other in the annals of mankind. Here, indeed, there prevailed a keen spirit of independence. It was among the inhabitants of this mountainous province, and at a distance from the seat of government, as we shall now see, that the first outbreaks against Spanish authority took place. In Lower Peru, the struggle for liberty did not commence until it had been carried to a successful termination almost everywhere else. The people of Upper Peru, on the contrary, maintained a guerilla war of fifteen years duration : and the rude military ideas which the incidents of their history impressed upon them have only slowly been giving place to others better suited to social and civil progress.

The history contained in this chapter differs from those contained in the three previous chapters in not being the history of a people. The Peruvian people has no history; and the history of the Perus, at least until very recently, is a history of military rivalries. Since the wanton attack made on the country by Spain in 1864 the people have shown more determination to assert their rights : and perhaps the final organisation of Peru may prove to be none the worse for having come later than that of its neighbours.

2 First Revolutionary Struggles.—The slothful character of the Peruvian nature is illustrated from the beginning of its revolutions. The impulse to independence was never general : it painfully forced itself into notice in

isolated parts of the country. In Upper Peru it was more active. The ineffectual revolt of Ubaldo, the assessor of Cuzco, in 1806, has been already mentioned. The insurrections of Quito, though made on the old Peruvian soil, belong to the history of the Colombian revolution: and very shortly after the first outbreak of Quito a similar one took place in the district of La Paz in Upper Peru, when the inhabitants in a body bound themselves by an oath to renounce the Spanish authority. This outbreak was easily crushed by the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres: but when the military revolution of Buenos Ayres happened in 1810, the movement was renewed at several places in Upper Peru. The Argentine generals Castelli and Balcarce invaded the country, and met with some successes: but Goyeneche defeated them at Huaqui, and drove them back. A remarkable feature in these struggles is the part taken in them by the Peruvian women. When Cochabamba, where the insurrection had been already once crushed, again surrendered to him, most of the women enrolled themselves in the ranks, fought as bravely as the men, and shared their fate. This incident greatly impressed the Peruvians, and when the roll-call was read in the Peruvian battalions they always finished with "the Women of Cochabamba:" to which a sergeant as regularly replied "They have perished on the field of honour." Pezuela, the new Viceroy of Peru, made them a special object of persecution: and by his orders many unhappy ladies were thrown into prison, where some perished. Others were transported from the country. In the meantime, Lower Peru remained quiet under the fear of the Spanish army, except in a few places like Arequipa, which has always been at the head of revolutionary movements. But Pezuela repressed the insurrection, and by 1816 Lower Peru was quiet.

3. Peru Liberated by San Martin.—We have already seen how the Argentine leaders planned the liberation of all the rest of South America, and how the liberation of Chile was effected by the brave general San Martin, in 1818. San Martin did not at once advance upon Peru. This country was the last and strongest centre of Spanish authority, and it was quite incapable of liberating itself. As we shall soon see, even the resources of Chile and the Argentine States were not equal to the completion of the task, nor was it finished until the whole forces of revolutionized South

America had been concentrated for its accomplishment under Bolivar. San Martin found himself obliged to spend two years in recruiting and equipping his army before he ventured to attack Peru : and when, in August 1820, he sailed from Valparaiso, he had no more than 4,500 men, to encounter the royalist army of 23,000 who occupied the great viceroyalty. But many of the soldiers stationed in Peru, like most of the inhabitants, were really ready to embrace the independent cause ; the daring exploits of Lord Cochrane, who commanded the Chilean fleet, especially his famous cutting-out of the frigate *Esmeralda* under the very guns of Callao, struck terror into the garrisons ; and the invasion was made easier by the dissensions of the royalist leaders. San Martin, of course, did not risk an immediate engagement. He landed in the north of the country, where the cause of independence was likely to meet with the strongest support : and the revolutions of Guayaquil and Truxillo and the desertion of a whole battalion of European soldiers almost paralysed the action of the royalist generals. Increasing his strength week by week through the winter, San Martin found himself in the spring in a condition to march upon the capital, which was abandoned in the summer by the viceroy. The liberating army entered Lima, where the independence of Peru was at last proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1821. San Martin now declared himself Protector of Peru : and under his government slavery and the forced tribute and labour of the Indians were at once abolished. The royalist generals, however, still kept the field. They were headed by a clever French soldier named Canterac, who gained many successes. On the other hand, the Peruvian military party, formed mainly by desertions from the old Spanish service, could not endure the supremacy of San Martin. Thwarted in every way by the jealousy of the people and the authorities, this brave and sagacious man returned to Chile ; and the affairs of the new republic soon assumed an unpromising aspect. The chief of the independent party in Peru was now General Santa Cruz, who had been Peruvian general-in-chief under San Martin. While Santa Cruz was busy establishing independence in the south, Canterac steadily made way in the centre of the country : and notwithstanding the arrival of reinforcements from Guayaquil under the Colombian general Sucre, the capital had to be abandoned to the royalists. The possession of Lima, however, as has been already shown,

was of but little military importance. The royalists evacuated it a second time, and drove Sucre to the sea from his position. They gained strength afresh, and the cause of the revolution was thus nearly lost, mainly through the folly of the Peruvians themselves, who had driven away one of the only two men who were capable of establishing the independence of the country. The loss of San Martin, however, was now compensated by the intervention of the famous Bolivar. It was impossible for the Colombian president quietly to behold the suppression of the Peruvian republic. The Peruvian Congress besought his aid : and though the proud and ignorant officers of the army at first threatened to resist his entry into the country by force of arms, Bolivar set out for Peru, entering Lima on the 1st of September, 1823.

4. **Triumph of Independence through Bolivar.**—Had not the Colombian Liberator come to the rescue, the independence of Peru must have been completely crushed. Bolivar had scarcely taken the field, when the Chilean and Argentine garrison of Callao mutinied, unable to bear with the Peruvians, and hoisted the Spanish colours ; and the royalists once more occupied the capital and port. The tide of desertion now set strongly in favour of the royalists : and the campaign which ensued needed all the skill and decision of the Liberator and his lieutenants. Both sides were equally anxious not to risk what was evidently a battle which would decide the fortunes of South America. The battle of Junin, though gained by the insurgents, was not decisive : but at length on the 9th of December, 1824, the two armies, under the Viceroy La Serna and General Sucre, met on the field of Ayacucho, where Sucre won a complete victory, and finally established the independence of South America, after a struggle which, in various places, had lasted about fifteen years. The Viceroy and his generals, with most of the army, were made prisoners. The royalist general Tristan now assumed the title of Viceroy : but he shortly afterwards surrendered at Arequipa. Upper Peru, where Oleñata was still at the head of 4,000 men, was now the last stronghold of the royalists, as it had been the scene of some of the earliest struggles for freedom. The royalist garrisons there, however, declared for the cause of independence ; and the task of liberation was finished early in 1826 by the surrender of General Rodil at Callao, after an obstinate defence of nearly thirteen months, during which the

remains of the old Spanish party had slowly perished of famine and pestilence, in the vain hope of relief from home. But Spain was now ruined and powerless. Even for Mexico she made no further effort : and her last blow for America had really been struck years before in Colombia. She was now a bankrupt on the European money-market : for every one knew that with Mexico and Peru she lost the only source of her wealth and power. The Peruvians could never reconcile themselves to the dictatorship of Bolivar. They suspected him, only too justly of a design to consolidate his successes by a military monarchy ; and in 1826, as we shall now see, the government of Bolivar gave place to a constitution framed on the model of the United States.

5. Bolivia.—Upper Peru, as we have seen, had been detached from the government of Lima in the previous century to form part of the newly-constituted Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. The fifteen years' struggle for independence was here a sanguinary one indeed. There is scarcely a town, village, or noticeable place in this vast region where blood is not recorded to have been shed in this terrible struggle, waged by above a hundred patriot caudillos against the troops of Spain. Nine only of these caudillos survived the struggle : the rest were either slain in battle or shot in cold blood. The Spanish army afterwards succumbed to that of the independents of Peru : and thus Upper Peru gained, not indeed liberty, but independence under the rule of a republican army. This vast province was incapable of governing itself. The Argentines laid claim to it as a province of the confederation : but they already exercised too great a preponderance in the South American system, and the Colombian generals obtained the relinquishment of these pretensions. Sucre assumed the government until a congress could be assembled : and under the influence of the Colombian soldiery Upper Peru was erected into an independent state by the name of the Republic of Bolivar, or Bolivia. The congress voted to Bolivar a million dollars in recognition of his services, which the Liberator accepted, on condition of being allowed to apply it in compulsorily purchasing the liberty of about a thousand negro slaves who were found in the new republic. Bolivar's famous lieutenant, General Sucre, was elected President for life ; and as Bolivar himself was again prevailed upon by the Peruvians to accept the

dictatorship of the northern republic, and was at the same time President of the United States of Colombia, he was by far the most powerful man on the continent of America. For a time it was supposed that the balance of power on the southern continent was falling into Colombian hands, and Chile and the Plate States foresaw the time when they would stand in the way of a Napoleonic empire. But the power of Bolivar, even in his own country, rested on a tottering basis. Much more was this the case in the greater Viceroyalty. The Peruvian generals, who ruled the opinion of the country, were incurably jealous of him and his army, and got rid of the latter as soon as they could clear off the arrears of pay. They looked upon the Code Bolivar itself as a badge of servitude, and were not sorry when the domestic disturbances of Colombia summoned the Dictator from among them. The Peruvians, who owed a heavy debt, both in money and gratitude, to Colombia, now altogether repudiated Bolivar, his code, and his government; and the Bolivians followed their example by expelling Sucre and his Colombian troops (1828). The revolution which expelled the Colombian element was mainly a national and military one: but it was no doubt assisted by whatever of liberalism existed in the country. Bolivar had now shown himself in Colombia to be the apostle of military tyranny, and he was not likely to assume another character in Peru. The ascendancy of Colombia in the Perus was thus of short duration; but the people of the two Perus only exchanged Colombian dictatorship for that of the generals of their own nation. How Peruvian progress might have fared under Bolivar and Sucre it is impossible to guess: but it could not have fared worse than under its own military leaders. The Peruvian generals were followers of the independent party only by necessity, and of liberty for America they had as little idea as the Spaniards in Europe. Nothing was really independent in the two Perus but the army: and nowhere else in America have we the disheartening spectacle of two abject nations trodden under foot by rival caudillos, and endless civil war scarcely tempered by any political principle. In Peru and Bolivia we have no strife of Federalism and Unitarism. We have no strictly political elements at all; nothing but a slothful, degraded, and divided people of mixed race, partly crowded in large towns, and partly spread over vast rural districts isolated from each other by barren deserts. Agriculture had long been checked, and all

other forms of industry prevented by forcing a dwindling population to increased labour in mining. The colonial government had been an unmitigated tyranny ; and this tyranny, as was natural, was now scrambled for by the military leaders who succeeded.

6. *Santa Cruz and the Confederation.*—On the expulsion of the Colombians, Santa Cruz, a Peruvian general who has already been mentioned, had been elected President of Bolivia⁶ but he really exercised the power of a Dictator. His authority spread fast into Peru itself : and under his auspices La Mar, a Peruvian general of some repute, had been already elected President of that republic. La Mar was succeeded by Gamarra, another of the lieutenants of Santa Cruz. It would be a profitless task to follow all the complications of military intrigues which fill up this period of Peruvian history. It is enough to say that Orbegoso, who was elected in 1833, was driven from power by the liberal leader Salaverry : and being pushed to extremity, he solicited the help of the powerful soldier to whom he owed his elevation. Salaverry, who was thus on the point of beginning for Peru an era of progress, is a noticeable character in American history. This brave young man was a poet as well as a statesman and a soldier ; and his verses have always served to keep up some thoughts of liberty among the Peruvian people. The deeds and aims of the brief dictatorship of Salaverry, his projected reforms, his alliance with Chile, and his new Constitution, stand out brightly against the dark mass of contemporary incidents. But Salaverry's movement, though destined to bear fruit after many years, soon ended in failure. The Bolivian president had long been watching for this opportunity. Peru was now practically divided into three separate governments : Orbegoso was master at Arequipa, Salaverry at Lima, and Gamarra, the ex-president whom Orbegoso had succeeded, maintained himself at Cuzco. Santa Cruz was thus able to crush the opponents of his ambition one by one. He entered Peru in 1835, and Salaverry was defeated at Socabaya, and soon afterwards shot. Having established peace in Peru, Santa Cruz formally divided it into two provinces, Lima and Cuzco being the capitals, and forced upon them a federal alliance with Bolivia. Lima became the capital town of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation. Santa Cruz, like most of the Peruvians, looked on the republic as the legitimate heir of the old Viceroyalty, and sought to win for Peru that

military lead in South American affairs which Colombia had lost. He fomented discord in the Argentine States : he opened relations with the unitary faction in Uruguay : he even sent bucaneer expeditions by sea and land to harass Chile and the Argentine Confederation : and the latter were at last provoked into a declaration of war in 1836. The Chileans, who were seriously injured in their trade as well as politically menaced by the confederation, invaded Peru : and in neither of the Peruvian republics was the union popular enough to excite the people in its favour. The victory of Yungay (Jan. 20, 1839), won by the Chileans, and one of the most desperate engagements ever fought in South America, was in fact hailed by the Peruvian people as a deliverance from the ascendancy of Bolivia ; and Santa Cruz was now obliged to abandon all his projects and to flee to Guayaquil. Santa Cruz was to some extent the expression of a principle. Like Bolivar, he represented the shadow of the old Spanish domination, seeking to reunite the independent fragments of the old colonial empire by military force. On his defeat and exile, a new era of military turbulence commenced for the Perus. After the victory of Yungay, General Velasco, under Peruvian influence, became President of Bolivia, while Gamarra took the same office in the Peruvian republic. Velasco was soon deposed in favour of Ballivian, a lieutenant of Santa Cruz : and this of course led to an invasion of Bolivia by Gamarra. Ballivian defeated Gamarra at Ingavi, where the latter fell in 1841 ; and thus established his authority in Bolivia. After the death of Gamarra, Menendez, the president of the council, became head of the government : but the chief power lay in the hands of two rival generals, Lafuente and Torrico. A revolution had placed the latter in possession of Lima in 1842 : but he was defeated by Lafuente, who now set up a very unpopular government, which was soon afterwards replaced by one more liberal, under the young and popular general Vivanco. Ballivian, justly fearing the results of Vivanco's policy, put himself in communication with the exiled generals Torrico and Castilla, and by his help the latter made himself master of Peru. Santa Cruz, thinking that his own opportunity was now come, landed in the south, but only to find himself too late and Castilla in possession of the field. Santa Cruz was taken prisoner, and liberated on condition of his quitting America for ever. Castilla, supported by Ballivian, was now made master of the south

of Peru, and Vivanco gradually lost ground in the north, and had to flee to Central America in 1844. With the election of Castilla as President in 1845 the disputes for the government of Peru seemed to come to an end. These petty caudillo wars show better than anything else the defenceless and abject condition of the Peruvian people. Centuries of sloth and misgovernment had now produced their full effect. Since the Spaniards came to Peru the population had been steadily diminishing. With the removal of Spanish tyranny it had begun to recover; and the military leaders into whose hands the government had fallen had before them the task of governing the wretched and ignorant proletariat out of whose ranks their troops were recruited. It would be hard to find a more hopeless condition of things in the whole range of history.

7. *Bolivian Revolutions.*—The flight of Santa Cruz left Bolivia without a head. Two rival factions disputed the Presidency: but when Gamarra, the Peruvian President, entered the country for the purpose of settling the dispute, they united against him. In his retreat, Gamarra, as we have seen, was killed: and the Bolivians would have invaded Peru, but for the intervention of Chile. Ballivian governed Bolivia for two years, when his despotism was overthrown by his own war minister General Isidore Belzu, who got himself elected President, and until the expiration of his term in 1855 ruled the country with the power of a dictator. Belzu, under the semblance of a demagogue, seems to have been an able statesman. To keep mere outward order as far as possible, and to cajole the turbulent and benighted populace into a belief in their despot, was perhaps the only policy that could be pursued. Belzu pursued it with great skill; but the accounts of his government have an odd and almost farcical air. In one of his harangues to the mob of Cochabamba, he told them that all they saw belonged to them, because it was the fruit of their labours. When the mob acted upon this view, and plundered and burnt the houses of the Conservatives, his minister Bustillos defended their outrages in the assembly as being acts of the impartial justice of the people. Yet his government undoubtedly restored Bolivia from complete anarchy and confusion. Belzu was deified by the Indians, for whom he procured equal privileges with people of mixed descent. The opposition in the time of Belzu, consisting mainly of the landowners, and moneyed classes, was headed by an advocate named Dr. Linares,

Belzu reduced the suppression of insurrections to a systematic art : and, often as his life was attempted, he transmitted the government to a successor of his own choosing. Belzu, like Rosas and Santa Anna, reproduces almost exactly the type of the popular tyrants of Greece. At the end of his term, Santa Cruz hastened from Paris to become a candidate for the presidency : but he was outvoted by General Cordova, Belzu's son-in-law and chosen successor, who next became President. Cordova was as great a favourite with the Cochabambinos as Belzu himself. He used to assure the populace that everything belonged to them, that they were "lords of life and land," and ought to show no mercy to "frock-coat people." Here, indeed, we have military despotism reduced to its simplest and lowest terms. But Cordova had not acquired the arts of tyranny so thoroughly as his father-in-law; and Dr. Linares, who was at the head of this reactionary or upper-class party, succeeded in displacing him in 1857. Linares was himself removed by another revolution in 1861, and was succeeded by a triumvirate of his own ministers, of whom the most powerful was General Hacha. Hacha succeeded in crushing the violent opposition to his rule, which chiefly proceeded from the partisans of the popular ex-president Belzu. He ruled but a short time, for Belzu invaded the country in 1864, defeated him, and took possession of La Paz. In the meantime Colonel Melgarejo, one of Hacha's own lieutenants, had brought about a new revolution at Cochabamba : and Belzu was assassinated by him before he could make himself master of the country. Bolivia now submitted to Melgarejo, who was elected President. His four years' term of office expired in 1869, and he then followed the example of Rosas, abolished the constitution, and declared himself Dictator. Towards the end of the year, however, a new revolution broke out against him in Potosi : and after a desperate struggle, in which Morales, the insurgent leader, armed the Indians against Melgarejo, the latter was driven into Peru, and Morales was elected President in June, 1871. Morales was himself shot in the next year by his nephew in the same room in which Belzu had fallen a victim to Melgarejo. He was succeeded by Adolfo Ballivian, on whose death, in 1874, Dr. Frias succeeded to the presidency. Among the communities of the new Europe Bolivia perhaps presents the lowest political form and the least encouraging prospects. The Haytian Republic alone can rival it. In both we see a slothful and

degraded populace, fast increasing in numbers, apparently fit for nothing but a benevolent despotism, affording on all sides a ready instrument in the hands of any ambitious demagogue.

8. *Castilla rules in Peru.* — For sixteen years, with one intermission, the government of Peru was directed by the successful general Castilla. Castilla, like Carrera, the famous caudillo of Guatemala, was of mixed Indian and Negro descent: and this may have enabled him to understand the wants of the country better than his predecessors. Under Castilla Peru enjoyed peace, if not prosperity. In his time Chinese labour, which bids fair to do so much for the country, was first introduced. The presidency of Peru lasts for six years: and accordingly Castilla had to resign the chair in 1851. Echenique, his successor, began his presidential term with many advantages: but his government committed great public frauds, engaged in a war with Bolivia, and fell from power in consequence of the financial collapse which ensued. Castilla, assisted by Belzu in Bolivia, excited an insurrection in the south, and returned to power in 1854. The Peruvian people about this time began, though late in the day, to bestir themselves. Under Echenique they had indulged hopes of constitutional reforms: and as soon as Castilla came back, they met and decreed them in a convention. Though Castilla did what he could to make the constitution a dead letter, this constitution, as modified in 1860, is a durable monument of his administration. It is indeed the first sign of progress that Peruvian history affords. Castilla was at first engaged in suppressing an insurrection headed by his old rival Vivanco. He next became embroiled with the state of Ecuador, and dictated terms of peace at Guayaquil in 1860. Repeated attempts were made to assassinate him; but he survived them all, and his presidency lasted until 1861, when he was succeeded by San-Roman, another popular general. San-Roman died in the next year, and the Vice-President, Pezet, thus became President in his stead.

9. *Results of Military Government.* — When the jealousies of the Peruvian officers drove San Martin from Peru in 1822, that sagacious general had clearly predicted what would happen. A successful army, he said, disinterested as may be its intentions, is a perilous thing in times of constitutional change. The withdrawal of San Martin left Peru at the mercy of its caudillos, and threw back

both republics for more than forty years. It is obvious how much this army has strained the resources of the country. Peru, with a population of less than two millions, had to support, until the Spanish revolution of 1868, no less than fifteen thousand men, with two thousand officers, all on full pay. From the first, the army was a mixed body, including natives of Spain deserted from the royalists, Peruvians, Indians, Argentine gauchos, and guasos from the mountains of Chile. As was the army, such was the government. Military governments are not always a misfortune to a country; often enough, as in the case of the famous ones set up by Buonaparte, they prove in the end to be an undoubted benefit. But governments like these are not to be compared with the miserable administration of Peru. Here, instead of using its force to effect reforms, the military government abused more than ever the wretched old laws, the effete economical system, the rotten social institutions, which the Spanish monarchy had bequeathed to it. In Bolivia, in spite of all its troubles, some important reforms had been achieved: but Peru was still stifled under the old colonial code administered by a degraded oligarchy. Some signs of a change, as we have seen, had been manifested in the time of Castilla: but the impression all over Europe and America continued to be that the Peruvians were a thoroughly worn-out and worthless people, who must in the end either relapse into the hands of Spain or be overrun by new races from North America and China. Spain, as we shall now see, acted on this persuasion, and invaded the country; but the effect was to give an unexpected stimulus to public spirit. The victory of Callao, on the 2nd of May, 1866, was the greatest event that had taken place in Peru since Ayacucho: and this led, through the revolution of Spain in 1868, to the first victory of the populace over the military party, won at the cost of the life of Balta in 1872.

10. Peru attacked by Spain.—We have now arrived at the period of intervention by foreign powers with the view of profiting by the weakness and divisions which were universally believed to have been engendered during the revolutions of South America. This intervention began further north, by the filibustering invasion of Walker in Nicaragua, and the French expedition to Mexico, of which we shall speak in the following chapters; and the attempts of Spain to recover the Dominican republic,

which have been already mentioned, prepared the way for an effort to recover her old ascendancy on the South American continent. America, however, was less demoralized than Europe had willingly believed : and in the case of Peru the aggressor was gloriously repulsed from American soil. Pezet, the last-mentioned Peruvian President, had himself been much in Europe, whence, in fact, he had to be recalled upon the death of San-Roman. At the time of his accession to power, the whole South American world was profoundly alarmed by the Mexican and Dominican expeditions. Pezet was suspected of favouring the American pretensions of Spain : and when in 1864 the Spanish government, availing itself of trifling pretexts, took possession of the Chincha Islands, which were valuable on account of their stores of guano, Pezet negotiated a treaty in terms very favourable to Spain, but very humiliating for Peru. This was naturally the signal for a revolution, which was successfully set on foot by Colonel Prado, the prefect of Arequipa. The government of Pezet had indeed disgraced the name of Peru : and in view of the attitude of Spain it was natural for Prado to become dictator towards the end of 1865. In 1864 a general congress of all the South American states had been called at Lima for the purpose of devising some general scheme of resistance to European intervention. This congress separated without coming to any important conclusion : but a treaty of alliance against Spain between Peru and Chile was concluded by Prado immediately upon his entering on office. Ecuador and Bolivia soon joined in this treaty. The Spanish government now planned its last struggle with the Pacific colonies. The Chilean blockade came to nothing : it is not easy to blockade a country with fifty-three ports. The Spanish captains now concentrated themselves for a grand attack upon Callao. The sea-fight off Callao, May 2, 1866, where the Spanish fleet, after a contest of five hours, retreated in disorder, proved the hopelessness of the invasion : and about the middle of 1866 the flotilla left the Pacific. Nothing ever stimulated the Peruvians so much as the repulse of the Spaniards from Callao. It proved not only their strength, but the absurdity of maintaining the standing army which had so long been the curse of the country. Prado, however, tried to take advantage of the Spanish invasion in another way. The repulse of the Spaniards had strengthened his reputation

as a soldier. He was on the road to a dictatorship for life : and in August, 1867, he promulgated important changes in the constitution, and was elected President. These measures provoked the determined resistance of the liberal party. The people of Lima rose in insurrection : Prado fled to Chile, and the constitution of 1860 as finally modified by Castilla was restored. The attack of Spain thus produced an important popular reaction. People began to believe that Peru would yet rise to the standard of her sister republics ; and the events which have happened since are enough to prove that public spirit has at length been in some measure awakened.

II. Balta and Pardo.—The election of Colonel Balta as President in August, 1868, marked a fresh turning-point. Such measures as opening the internal navigation of the country to all vessels and the recognition of the insurgents of Cuba as belligerents show a decided liberal tendency. But Balta was resolved to go further than this. Though a soldier, he felt, as every patriotic Peruvian felt, that the standing army had been the curse of the country. It was this, as we have seen, which had at the same time drained its resources, facilitated and tempted revolution, and checked all social and civil progress : and Balta, following the general impulse to reform which at this time was spreading over the whole Spanish world, began to make important reductions in the military expenditure. There was no pretence for maintaining it. The Spanish monarchy, the only power that Peru had to dread, was fallen : and in reducing the army Balta had the approval of the mass of the Peruvian people. But the soldiery revolted, and Balta lost his life. He was deposed by a military revolution in July, 1872, and murdered by the soldiers of Gutierrez, who now proclaimed himself Dictator. But the people rose in arms, and Gutierrez was shot. The policy of Balta was maintained. Under his successor, Pardo, elected in 1872, there is reason to think that the country has continued to make real advances. Pardo, who must not be confounded with Prado, is the first citizen President of Peru. He first came into notice during the dictatorship of Prado, as minister of the exchequer ; and in subordinate positions he steadily won the approval of the Peruvian people. There is no lack of problems which will task for many years to come the intelligence of Peruvian statesmen. Peru is one of the richest, and might undoubtedly become one of the

foremost countries in the world. The first task that has to be done is to educate and organize by some means or other its existing population. In the Peruvian people there is a larger admixture of Indian blood than anywhere in America. The Indians are sufficiently numerous to afford an ample supply of labour without the competition of any foreign element: and there seems to be no reason why Peru, after a generation of rational government, should not rival the prosperity of Chile.

12. *Growth of Trade and Colonization.*—Hitherto Peru has progressed rather by the discovery of new sources of wealth than by the extension of its cultivated area. The most valuable of its products is its famous guano. The qualities of this extraordinary manure have been known ever since the discovery of the country, and for above two hundred years it has been an important article of commerce. Former governments disposed of it in vast quantities and applied the proceeds to revenue, so as to reduce taxation: but this wasteful process has been checked by President Pardo. Besides this, Peru has of late years been found to contain immense stores of nitrate of soda, a most valuable product, which is being exported in greatly increasing quantities. Bolivia, producing copper, nitre, and guano, partakes of the resources of both Chile and Peru; and if the internal communication of the country could be improved, great commercial results would certainly follow. A peculiarly fine wool has been of late years produced in Peru, which is the base of the great European alpaca manufacture. Peru was always famous for the long fine wool produced by the llama and vicuña, two species of long-necked sheep; but about thirty years ago a poor country curate named Cabrera made a discovery which bids fair to become as important to Peru as the discoveries of Macarthur were to Australia. He had found one day a little alpaca lamb, which from pity he kept and domesticated; and he was struck by the fineness and richness of the wool which resulted from crossing the alpaca with the vicuña. Like Macarthur, he continued his experiments, and soon had a herd of this mixed race, which produces a wool of such quality that it can be so manufactured as to assume almost the appearance of silk. When more and better roads are made in Peru, and railways are farther extended, the production of this valuable wool will no doubt greatly increase. Colonization has not hitherto been greatly promoted in Peru. Some

attempted German colonies proved failures in consequence of the difficulties of access : but of late years a great system of railways has been laid out by American engineers, and many have already been constructed and are successfully at work. But the impulse to progress in Peru is too recent as yet to enable us to judge of its strength and probable results.

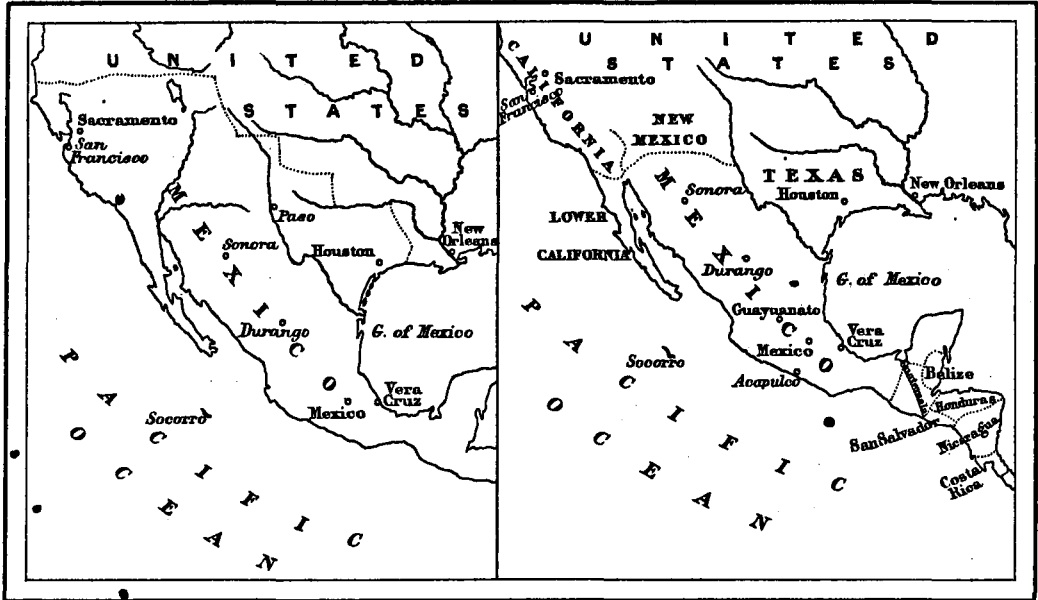
13. *General Remarks.*—Peru, the old empire of the Incas, has hitherto had less of the colonial character about it than any other part of Spanish America : and we see from the above history how little it has had to do with colonial progress. The two great kingdoms of the New World in fact come last of all in the list of European colonial nations. Peru is fast awakening from the slumber of ages : but the immense predominance of the Indian and mixed populations, who form here and in Mexico a larger proportion of the total inhabitants than in the rest of Spanish America, must always keep them behind in the race. Bolivia, with its solitary port of Cobija, and its scattered population destitute of the means of communication with each other or the outer world, is the least accessible country in America, and even behind Peru in the development of its resources. As we have now seen, these countries have been behind the rest of South America in the winning of both independence and of constitutional liberty. In the next chapter we shall turn to the most populous of the nations of Spanish America. We shall there see how a Spanish colonial community has been affected by its proximity to the United States and to Europe. In this respect the four Spanish viceroyalties were very differently situated. Mexico and New Granada were nearest to the regenerating influence ; in these countries, accordingly, we find that political change has been going on with more or less depth and rapidity. Buenos Ayres, a new country, was left almost free to organise itself ; but Peru was separated from all modern elements by an impenetrable barrier ; and here the stifling grasp of the Spanish monarchy lay heavily on a degraded people.

CHAPTER XX.

MEXICO.

Introductory (1)—*Deposition of the Viceroy* (2)—*Hidalgo and Morelos* (3)—*First Empire under Iturbide* (4)—*The Federal Republic* (5)—*Santa Anna* (6)—*The Unitary Republic* (7)—*Independence of Texas* (8)—*Political Changes* (9)—*War with the United States* (10)—*State of Parties* (11)—*Triumph of Radicalism* (12)—*Juarez* (13)—*The Second Empire* (14)—*Restoration of the Republic* (15)—*General Remarks* (16).

I. *Introductory.*—We have seen in the preceding chapters how the South American nations made common cause in their great struggle for liberty. The progress of independence north of the Isthmus of Panama has but little to do with this struggle in the South American continent although in both cases the impulse proceeded from the same series of events. The South American conception of "Colombia" had never, at its very widest, included Mexico. Of all the Spanish colonies, Mexico has been the most unfortunate. The United States have repeatedly humbled her, and at last deprived her of half her territory. It is true that the Mexican sovereignty over California, Colorado, Arizona, and Texas was little more than titular. The Spaniards in Mexico had been conquerors rather than colonists: and they scarcely spread except where the ground had been prepared for them by the Aztecs. The absence of any political life whatever under the old system hardly explains why Mexico since its independence has never produced a single great statesman, and the government has always been in the hands of adventurers. Mexico, the heart of Spanish America, the *New Spain* of the Spaniards, has fallen below the level of her sister republics. Ruined by internal and external disaster, she was at length chosen, as the weakest point in the independent colonial system, to be the first point for propagating on American soil the new Cæsarism of Europe. It is common to ascribe the failures of the Mexican nation to the degeneracy of its mixed races, and the influence of its sultry climate. The difficulty, however, appears to lie rather in the original constitution of Mexican society and to have been bequeathed to the country by the Spaniards. Weak and unorganized, the only governing



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force in the country has been the sword. The civil authorities which have been from time to time established have only held their ground by the sufferance of the caudillos. In Mexico, as in Peru, there has always been a strong military party : the Spanish government maintained in this valuable colony a regular force of 10,000 men, besides a militia of twice the strength. Hence the fortunes of Mexico have been to a greater extent than anywhere else, except Peru, in the hands of its generals. The caudillos and the priests have united to preserve their privileges, and their supremacy over the people : and thus the progress of liberty has been here more than usually retarded. Next to the Army, the chief power in Mexico has always been the Church. The Church has everywhere had to yield to modern ideas, and in Mexico the struggle has been harder than even in the most clerical parts of Europe. The political troubles of Mexico unhappily began just as the Roman or Ultramontane party began to make itself felt in Europe, in opposition to those liberal principles which had been recognized by the civil powers at the settlement which succeeded the fall of Napoleon in 1815. The fall of the power of Spain strengthened the Papacy in America ; and in Mexico the Ultramontanes were able to put forth all their strength. The field had been prepared for this new activity by the disappearance of the old lines of demarcation. The *Gachupines*, or Spanish official party, were divided from the *Guadalupes*, or native party, and the opposition was most strongly marked among the clergy, who were the wealthiest and most powerful class in the country. Most of the bishops were natives of Spain ; and nearly all the lower clergy, who possessed the greatest influence over the Indian population, found themselves excluded, as native Mexicans, from high promotion. The lower clergy, therefore, were generally for the revolution, while the higher clergy remained faithful to the mother country. The colleges and monasteries were divided between the two parties, according to their composition. These distinctions of course disappeared at the revolution ; and the clergy became an united party. The importance of the Mexican clergy may be estimated by the fact that besides the tithes, fully one-half of the landed property of the country belonged to them. Their wealth made them the bankers of the agricultural classes : they held immense sums on mortgage of real estate, thus

carrying on a vast system of commerce which was absolutely untaxed : and there was no part of Mexico in which their influence was not considerable. We shall find that the revolution was actually commenced by one of the native clergy acting upon the Indians of a remote part of the country ; and that it was only when the clerical party thought themselves secure in their position by the adoption of the plan of Iguala, that they lent their aid to bring about the establishment of a Mexican nation.

2. **Deposition of the Viceroy.**—The cause of independence in Mexico passed through stages very similar to those through which we have traced it in South America. The first active steps, however, were here taken by the municipal corporation of the capital. In 1808, when the news arrived of the deposition of the King of Spain, the *ayuntamiento* of Mexico boldly called upon the Viceroy to convene a national assembly, composed of delegates from the several provinces. The Viceroy, Iturrigaray, felt unable to resist this demand : and the Spanish officials, indignant at the admission of the native Mexicans to any share in civil rights, deposed Iturrigaray, and formed a junta from their own number. In this they were supported by the judges, who, when appealed to, explained to the municipality that its jurisdiction was limited to the regulation of the beggars of the city. The government was thus vested in a junta of Spanish officials ; and the national party was held in check for two years. The Church, in the meantime, though divided between the two parties, took no open share in deciding the question. During these two years a great ferment was spreading all over Mexico. The Guadalupes felt that whatever might happen in Europe the Spaniards intended to keep them in slavery ; and every American element in the country was profoundly stirred. In the Indian towns and villages the work for deliverance from the white man's tyranny was gradually exchanged for a friendly feeling towards the Mexican creoles ; and the Guadalupe leaders did all they could to awaken in the minds of the Indians a sense of Spanish injustice. They little knew what would happen within half a century. The Mexican people were slow to learn, and slow to be roused ; but we shall see how the example of the rest of the world at length penetrated here also, how the native instinct for liberty and self-government became too strong for a creole oligarchy, defied European invasion, and ended by placing in the presidential chair

a Toltec Indian, one of that primitive race whom the Aztecs, long before the time of Cortes, had reduced to servitude.

3. Hidalgo and Morelos.—The Mexican revolution was commenced by an old country priest named Miguel Hidalgo. Perceiving the general distrust of both the home and the colonial governments which prevailed, he preached a crusade among the Indians and country people, and in September, 1810, marched at the head of 20,000 men against the capital of the country. The provincial towns opened their gates to him, and by the end of October he was in a commanding position at the town of Toluca, only thirty-six miles from Mexico itself. Advancing still nearer, he defeated a party of royalists at Monte de las Cruces; and the fall of Mexico city was thought so imminent that the Viceroy Venegas and his court prepared to retire to the port of Vera Cruz. Hidalgo still advanced. He was now at the head of 100,000 men, and within sight of the towers and domes of the city. The inhabitants had already begun to rejoice at this near prospect of their liberation, when Hidalgo, for some reason which has never been satisfactorily ascertained, drew off his troops. The fact probably is that his white followers, who were however but an inconsiderable minority, fell off as he approached the capital. The royalists now advanced and defeated him with great loss. Hidalgo retreated by the way he had come, his army diminishing by degrees, and his plan seems to have been to retire to the northern frontier and there strengthen his position, in hopes of being reinforced from the United States. He was, however, surprised in his retreat by the treachery of one of his lieutenants; and on the 25th of July, 1811, Hidalgo was degraded from the priesthood, and he and his chief supporters were shot at Chihuahua. Hidalgo is a remarkable figure in American history. Every Mexican knows the picture of the old man, with his thin white locks, bright eyes, and stooping shoulders: and the Mexican people will always revere the memory of the fighting curate of Dolores. In the meantime another priest-general named Morelos had commenced operations with more success in another direction. Morelos marched southwards, and succeeded in occupying nearly all the Pacific coast, whence he carried on for five years an active warfare against the royalists in the north, which gradually led to the appearance of other revolutionary chieftains. Under the auspices of Matamoras, one of his lieutenants, the first Mexican congress

assembled at Chilpanzingo, in 1813. But the insurgents could never get possession of the capital: and the centralized power of the government prevailed against their isolated efforts. Matamoras was taken prisoner and shot in the next year; and Morelos himself met the same fate at the close of 1815, at the village of San Christoval, eighteen miles from Mexico, the Viceroy being afraid to put him to death in the city for fear of the people. On the death of Morelos the congress dissolved, and after the overthrow of the young revolutionary leader Mina, all hopes of independence gradually sank. Xavier Mina was a Spaniard who had been a student at Saragossa when the French armies invaded Spain. After fighting under Palafox, he had been taken prisoner, and escaped into England. Passing over to America, he fitted out an expedition at New Orleans in aid of the Mexican insurgents. A few brilliant exploits deceived him into supposing that it was his destiny to liberate Mexico: but he was taken and shot in November, 1817, only six months after landing. Mina was the last of the insurrectionary leaders. But a guerilla war was still maintained by the people, towards whom the Spaniards now adopted a more conciliatory policy. The obstinacy with which the struggle for liberty in Venezuela and New Granada was conducted, and the successes of Bolivar, had by this time thoroughly alarmed Spanish statesmen. Apodaca, the Viceroy, repressed the insurrection with as little bloodshed as possible: and it is probable that Mexico would long have continued a Spanish province but for the progress of independence in the southern continent.

4. *First Empire under Iturbide.*—The chief person in Mexico, after the Viceroy himself, was now a young native officer named Augustine Iturbide. He had served with distinction in the long war against the insurgents, and in 1821 he was despatched to extinguish what was left of the revolution in the south. Actuated, however, partly by patriotism, and partly by a personal ambition which the course of events in South America tempted him to gratify, he now resolved on putting himself at the head of the movement of independence. Iturbide was well acquainted with the state of the country; and he had contrived a settlement for its difficulties, which, on arriving at Iguala, he announced to the officers of his army. In Mexican history we often encounter the names of places where a popular general has declared in favour of a revolution.

The act of doing so is called a *pronunciamiento*: and the reason for which the *pronunciamiento* is made is called the *grito*, or "cry." The *grito* is usually a simple formula like "Religion y fueros:" but sometimes it embraces a political scheme of some complexity, in which case it is called a *plan*. Thus we have the Plan of Casa Mata, of Tulancingo, of Jalapa, of San Luis, and many others. The strategy of troops who thus "pronounced" was various. Sometimes they retired to some mountainous position, as the Roman plebs used to retire to the Aventine, but more often they stayed in their quarters, or marched and countermarched in the neighbourhood of other troops in hopes of either defeating them or procuring their adhesion to the plan. Iturbide's famous *pronunciamiento* is known as the *Plan of Iguala*; its twenty-four articles chiefly related to three points, which were called the *three guarantees*. 1. The independence of Mexico as a separate kingdom, under a resident Bourbon constitutional prince. 2. The maintenance of the Catholic Church, which had been threatened by the reformers as the cause of the worst evils of the country. 3. The equality of civil rights among all actual inhabitants of Mexico, whether of Creole or European descent. The guarantee which Iturbide thus yielded to the Church secured for the revolution the aid of the most powerful element in the country. It added the Gachupin clergy to the Guadalupe party: and the Spanish party were not ill content with the first guarantee, which would have practically secured their ascendancy for some time to come, notwithstanding the promise conveyed in the third. Nearly all Mexico soon agreed to this plan; and it was even accepted by General O'Donoghue, who had just arrived as the sixty-second and last viceroy of New Spain, on the 24th of August, 1821, and referred for consideration to the Spanish government. Six months elapsed before the answer of Spain was given: and meanwhile Iturbide had greatly strengthened his position both with the army and the people. The plan of Iguala was rejected by Spain, as Iturbide had calculated; and in May, 1822, the Mexicans proclaimed their popular general Emperor, by the title of Augustine the First. His success, however, was of short duration. Guerrero, who had been at the head of the republican party, had not joined with Iturbide for the establishment of an Empire: nor was Iturbide's ambition more acceptable to the Bourbonist officers. Santa Anna, one of Iturbide's own lieutenants, placed

himself at the head of the republican party, and aroused the whole people against him ; so that Iturbide, finding himself deserted on all sides, had to resign the crown ten months after assuming it. He submitted to what does not seem a very hard fate, to live in Italy on a pension of £5,000 a year, and in May, 1823, he set sail with his family from Vera Cruz. In the meantime Echavarry had originated the Plan of Casa Mata, December 6, 1822, which affirmed the sovereignty of the nation to reside essentially in the nation itself. A federal republic was now proclaimed ; but Iturbide, believing that the Mexicans would soon welcome him back, expressed his determination to return. In spite of all warnings, he landed in Mexico in the following year, when he was at once arrested and shot. The policy and influence of Iturbide helped to unite the Mexicans in a time of extreme difficulty, and this unfortunate chieftain is worthy of a place among the heroes of American liberty. Several years afterwards his remains were removed by President Bustamente from the cemetery of Padilla, and honourably interred in the Cathedral of Mexico.

5. *The Federal Republic.*—The new republican constitution of Mexico was sworn to by the government on the 2nd of February, 1824. It established one general government consisting of a President, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies, who were to be elected by universal suffrage in the second degree, and in each of the provinces local or state governments, on the model of the Federal Constitutions which already existed in the union of North America and in that of Colombia, the Presidential term lasting four years. The Presidents were of course really nominees of Santa Anna ; and in 1833 he was himself elected President. Nothing better proves the political ignorance of the Mexicans than the framing of this Federal Republic. It was indeed a trifle less absurd than that of Chilpanzingo, which had invested the Federal congress with most of the duties of executive government. But it still aimed mainly at the control of the administration, instead of striving for the improvement of the people and the abolition of clerical and military privileges. In North America the Federal government had proceeded naturally from the circumstances of the time ; there were thirteen independent states, each having its own constitution and laws, and long trained in the arts of self-government. The *Congress* of these states was really a conference of several

independent powers : and the central government, which afterwards supplied its place, was invested with very limited authority. All this was reversed in Mexico : the states had never governed themselves, and the power of the central administration in Mexico had been subject to no control except that of the home government. Mexico was thus from the very first committed to a false political system, and the vast extent of the country, which, after losing half its territory, is still four times as large as France, made it impossible to reintroduce the unitary system in any effectual shape. We have thus a reproduction of the political conditions that we have already observed in the early history of the Argentine confederation.

6. *Santa Anna*.—As might be expected in a country where military authority had always dominated, after the establishment of the republic the history of Mexico continued to follow the fortunes of its chief military leaders. After the death of Iturbide, by far the most powerful person in the nation was the Creole general Santa Anna, who at the age of twenty-four had already destroyed the military empire of his chief. Santa Anna at first interested himself in the visionary project of Bolivar for framing a general confederation of the new nations of South America. This project, as we have seen, failed completely ; and for several years he settled down as governor of Vera Cruz, reconciled himself to the Federal Republic, and took no part in public life. In 1828, however, the Presidential election led to a civil war in which Santa Anna and his favourite Veracrusanos first found out their capabilities ; and they had an opportunity of testing them again in the next year, when the feeble force of Barrados, the last military attempt made by Spain to reduce Mexico, was cut to pieces at Tampico. From that moment Santa Anna became the sole controller of the destinies of the country : and in 1833 he was elected President. Forty years ago all Europe knew the picture of Santa Anna, with his tall spare figure, sunburnt face, and black hair curling over his forehead ; how he lived on his hacienda of Manga de Clavo, cockfighting, gambling, and horse-racing, occasionally putting himself at the head of his bronzed troops, and either making a dash at an insurrection, or making a pronunciamiento on his own account. Mexican histories tell how gallantly he defended Vera Cruz in 1839 against the French invasion under the

Prince de Joinville; how his leg, having been shattered by a ball, was buried with a solemn service and a funeral oration in the cemetery of Santa Paula in Mexico: and how, in a few years, when Santa Anna was in disgrace with the people, they destroyed the tomb and kicked Santa Anna's limb about the streets with every mark of hatred and contempt. Santa Anna is a thoroughly representative man. He illustrates both the strength and the weakness of Spanish America in its past phases; its bravery and independence and its devotion to high ideas on the one hand, and its indolence, imprudence, and want of self-knowledge on the other.

7. *The Unitary Republic.*—The manifold difficulties of government in Mexico sufficiently attested the weakness of the Federal constitution; and in 1835, after a trial of eleven years, the state governments were dissolved, and the *Republic, one and indivisible*, set up for a time in their place. There was now to be a President, elected by an indirect vote for eight years, a Senate, and a House of Deputies, both elected by a direct popular vote, and an elective Supreme Court. Santa Anna, who was identified with the Unitary principle, was re-elected three times; so that with some intermission he governed Mexico for twenty years. The dissolution of the Federal government naturally strengthened the hands of Santa Anna; and in 1836 Mexico was for the first time recognised by Spain. But the unitary republic was a time of disaster and disgrace; and from the point of view of progress it was a period of reaction. Mexico had now sunk under what was really the old colonial system without the vigour and judgment with which the old colonial system was administered by the statesmen of Spain. While Colombia and Chile were fast pushing forward, Mexico was rapidly degenerating. Peculation and fraud reigned in the government: the new tyranny of revived Rome was fastening itself firmly on the people; intercourse with the United States was forbidden; and Europe looked forward, almost without jealousy, to the time when the great nation of North America would absorb this people of half-civilized Indians mixed with degenerate Spaniards.

8. *Loss of Texas.*—Events which now happened greatly strengthened this impression. Of the two colonizing races, the Teutonic and the Latin, we know which this history has proved to be the stronger: and a collision between the two soon became imminent. Mexico is the

place where the races meet, and the collision of the two was like the collision of the pot of iron with the pot of earthenware. The extensive and well-watered savannahs of New Mexico and Texas, which adjoined the territory of the United States, had by this time tempted many thousands of American settlers. The terms on which they had purchased their lands guaranteed them a state government of their own; and very justly indignant at the recent assumption of all political authority on the part of the central government, the independence of Texas was proclaimed in 1835. It was formally ratified at the Texan town of Washington in the following year; a provisional government was appointed, General Houston being nominated commander-in-chief. The Texans, however, were not allowed to separate themselves from Mexico without a severe struggle. The government declared war against them as rebels, but they appealed to the constitution of 1824, and though only a handful of men, successfully defied the whole military forces of Mexico. Santa Anna marched against the Texans in person, but he was beaten and taken prisoner by Houston at the river San Jacinto (April, 1836). The Texans debated whether to shoot Santa Anna or no; but they released him and sent him home, in the well-grounded belief that the longer he ruled Mexico the weaker the Unitary Republic was likely to become. Texas from this date ranked among the independent governments of America. Its admission into the Union was clearly only a question of time. The severance of Texas from Mexico had one unhappy result. It added one more to the slave-holding communities of the western world; for slavery had been abolished on Mexican soil six years after independence.

9. *Political Changes.*—On Santa Anna's return to Mexico, he found that his rival Bustamente had been elected President. Bustamente, who was a man of some pretensions to statesmanship, was incapable of keeping his ground, and it was not long before he was obliged to exchange Mexico for Paris. The popular favourite found his opportunity in an ill-timed increase of the import duties at Vera Cruz; and after two revolutions in 1840 the Republic of Mexico again fell into his hands. To consolidate his authority, Santa Anna now proclaimed a new constitution on an ultra-democratic basis, embracing equal electoral districts, secret voting, and manhood suffrage,

which fastened once more upon the country the Unitary system which it had been endeavouring, under the government of Bustamente, to shake off. The provinces, however, revolted; and by the end of 1844 Mexico was in a state of armed resistance from one end to the other. Santa Anna was now obliged to resign, and fled to Havana. The congress passed on him sentence of ten years' banishment, and confiscation of property; but as he had already invested about a million of dollars in European funds, there was no great hardship in this. In 1846 the Federal constitution of 1824 was restored; and some attempts were made in the direction of administrative reform. But the Mexican nation still lay powerless under an incubus. The policy of the country was directed by the selfish and tyrannical clerical faction, who made a mere tool of Santa Anna. It was this faction which produced the constant ruptures with the United States, a country with which they repudiated as far as possible all social or political connexion. Unfortunately for Mexico, the reactionary party were supported in this policy by Spain, France, and even England, the latter country being actuated at this time by a deep jealousy of the United States.

10. *War with the United States.*—The independence of Texas had been guaranteed by Mexico on condition of not joining the United States. But it was of course impossible to observe such a condition, and at the close of 1845 the new community was admitted into the American Union. The extension of the boundary of the new State to the Rio Grande being deemed an encroachment on Mexico, war was again declared, and Texas invaded by General Arista. The superiority of the Texans was now so manifest that Santa Anna was recalled to take the chief command; but the Mexican general, whose achievements never equalled his reputation, was beaten by the famous American General Taylor at Buenvista in 1847. The people of the United States were now resolved to take some decisive action, and have done with the Mexican difficulty. They therefore invaded and took possession of California and New Mexico, and in the meantime a third force under General Scott had undertaken the reduction of the capital city itself. Scott took Vera Cruz early in 1847; he soon afterwards defeated Santa Anna, and reached the capital, which was taken in the September of the same year. Mexico was now completely at the mercy

of the United States, and by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, early in the following year, Mexico not only resigned all claims upon Texas, but gave up California and New Mexico, receiving a compensation of 15,000,000 dollars. We have seen that in the meantime the Federal constitution had been restored. But its supporters were too weak in the country to enable it to last. Stripped of her fairest provinces and humbled in her national pride, Mexico now relapsed into her old state of anarchy, and Santa Anna for two years, from 1853 to 1855, assumed the dictatorship, the title of Most Serene Highness being bestowed upon him by congress.

II. State of Parties.—In the latter times of the Spanish domination, the Mexicans, as we have seen, had been divided into a Spanish and a National party (Gachupines and Guadalupes). This division was of long standing; and it speedily disappeared after the establishment of independence. As the difficulties of federation began to be felt, the division into Federalists and Unitaries, which has been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding chapters, made its appearance. Until the constitution of 1857, the question of Federation always entered into every Mexican plan or pronunciamiento. If this took place in the province of Yucatan or Tabasco, the plan was pretty sure to include Centralism among its bases; if in any other, Federalism. Concurrently with this division, however, there now appeared one, derived from a deeper and less controllable principle, which about the same time was shaking to its foundation the frame of society in Colombia. Mexico was a country which still rested on a feudal basis. While the Church and the great landowners absorbed the effective power and the riches of the country, the new social and political ideas of modern Europe had been quietly leavening the masses of the poorer people in the towns and of the Indians in the country. Hence the formation of a class of politicians called *pueros*, or radicals, the name being Spanish for *clear-grit*. A prominent object of the *pueros* was the abolition of the *fueros*, or immunities of the clergy, and their reduction to the same level as ordinary citizens. The clergy, the richest body in the country, were practically untaxed; and this was really the only way to re-establish the social and financial balance. As early as 1847 Farias, then Vice-President, had brought in a bill to carry it out. Besides the *pueros*, or radical populace, the wealthier classes, whose political

organization was mainly carried on in secret lodges, with masonic ceremonies, were divided into the conservative, or clerical, and moderate liberal, parties. The former, from the ceremonies of their lodges being carried on in a form which had originally been Scotch, were called *Escoceses*: the latter, the form of whose lodges had been borrowed from New York, were called *Yorquinos*. It was in 1826 that the strife of these two factions first broke forth. The Yorquinos were fast growing formidable during the supremacy of Santa Anna. Fortified and stimulated by the example of the United States, they never lost sight of their main object of ridding the country of the slavery forced on it by Spanish priests and soldiers three centuries before. Independence had not got rid of this slavery. On the contrary, it had riveted the chains of Mexico anew, by removing the differences which once alienated the Spanish party from the native clergy and aristocracy.

12. *Triumph of Radicalism.* — The general rising throughout the country, which resulted from the second dissolution of the Federal constitution and the assumption of the dictatorship by Santa Anna, at last had its due effect, and in August, 1855, the Dictator's Most Serene Highness fled to Havana for the second time. The plan of Ayutla, which had been proclaimed by General Villareal on the 1st of March, 1854, was now adopted by the capital. The chief power lay with General Alvarez, the leader of the insurgents, who was shortly elected President, General Comonfort being Vice-President. The first congress in which the radical party had ever been dominant now met: and the session was occupied in completely reforming the institutions of the country. The first reform was the famous one of Juarez for subjecting the clergy to the civil law (November, 1855). In March, 1857, the new constitution was promulgated. It was formed, of course, on the Federalist basis; and its extreme democratic and anti-clerical character at once provoked the angry hostility of the still powerful Church party. The Roman Court was already informed of the new programme: and the allocution of December, 1856, had already condemned all legislation interfering (1) with the right of the clergy to be exempt from civil jurisdiction; (2) with the appeal to Rome in clerical matters; (3) with the temporalities of the Church, or authorising either (4) the abolition of perpetual vows,

or (5) the liberty of worship. All these moderate reforms were enacted by the constitution of 1857, which was indeed the first liberal and sensible measure which had been promulgated in Mexico since the abolition of slavery nearly thirty years before. It abolished the *fueros*, or privileges of special jurisdiction which belonged to priests and soldiers; enacted liberty of religion and the press, the reduction of the tariff, and the abolition of all internal custom duties, and declared for a commercial treaty with the United States, and for the opening of every part of the country to immigration. This famous constitution struck at the roots of the chief evils which had hitherto choked the growth and prosperity of the country. Notwithstanding its acceptance by all the chief generals and officials of the Republic, the Archbishop of Mexico at once excommunicated all who should swear to it. There was now a strong reaction of the clerical party; the plan of Tacubaya, reversing all that was involved in the constitution, was proclaimed by Zuloaga in December: and from this time dates the effort to "regenerate" Mexico, that is, to crush the radical element by force of arms. Alvarez, an old man of Indian descent, who had been a lieutenant of Morelos, now resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Comonfort, his Vice-President: the chief articles of the constitution were suspended, and a civil war commenced, in which the scale at first turned in favour of the clerical party. Comonfort, who had been declared Dictator, was driven from Mexico, and General Zuloaga, at the head of the "regenerating army," installed himself in the Government Palace in 1858. Comonfort having fled, the leadership of the radicals fell into the hands of the Vice-President Juarez, who with the officials of his government withdrew first to Guanajuato, and afterwards to Vera Cruz, where they fortified themselves strongly against the clericals. Besides Vera Cruz, the Mexican Liberals held all the other ports in the country. Though they formed the majority of the nation, they were so scattered and deficient in leaders as to be unable to unite against their energetic and cunning enemies, who were making a last desperate effort to retain the supremacy that had so long been theirs. It was here that Juarez passed his famous laws secularizing the estates of the Church, establishing civil marriage, and liberty of worship. At Vera Cruz the government of Juarez had one important advantage. They laid hands on the customs, which still

formed an important item of revenue ; and they were able in this way to support the radical republic until it was assisted from without. This assistance was not long in coming. Vidaurri, a radical general of Indian descent, had made himself independent in the north : the Eastern States formed themselves into a defensive league ; and the United States, who always attributed the misfortunes of Mexico to the ascendancy of the clerical party, now recognized the government of Juarez (April, 1859). This important event decided the issue of the struggle. Zuloaga had meanwhile been succeeded in February, 1859, by General Miramon, another pliant tool of the clergy. The radical cause now rapidly gained ground, and ultimately Miramon was defeated by Juarez at Calpulalpam, December 24, 1860, and the seat of the radical republic was restored to Mexico.

13. **Juarez.**—The overthrow of Comonfort in 1858 had left the field open to one of the most remarkable men of our time. Benito Juarez, a Mexican of Indian descent, a skilled lawyer and shrewd politician, was Vice-President ; and he now succeeded to the presidential chair. Juarez had risen to notice in the municipal government of Oajaca, and in 1856 he had been elected to the Assembly, where he soon came to be leader of the liberal party. Few spectacles in history are more remarkable than that of a swarthy Toltec becoming a European by education and habit, rising above his European competitors, wielding the fierce democracy of Mexico, and rooting out with a firm hand the poisonous growths which had so long overshadowed his unhappy country, and finally becoming the instrument of an inevitable vengeance on an unfortunate prince of the house of Charles the Fifth. On the defeat of Miramon, Juarez entered Mexico in triumph, and was elected President in 1861 for the usual term of four years. He now determined to carry out thoroughly the radical programme of Vera Cruz. He had not been long in office when the Assembly decreed the secularization of the lands of the clergy, and a suspension for two years of payment to foreign bondholders. Church estates to the value of nearly forty millions sterling were now thrown into the market : and this at once sent the clergy on a mission of intrigue to Rome, which seconded but too powerfully the intrigues which had been begun by the conservative exiles in Paris. These measures, taken together with some forced contributions levied by the

Mexican generals, which had accidentally caused loss to Europeans, furnished an opportunity which was soon seized by the designing politicians of Europe. The attention of the European powers had long been fixed on the weakness and disunion of Spanish America: the United States were engaged in a desperate struggle, which was expected to end in a disruption: and Louis Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, sought to acquire reputation in Europe by a successful intervention in America. In virtue of the weakness of Spain, and the prostration of Italy, he claimed a general protectorate over the "Latin" races: and he induced England and Spain to join with him in an expedition to Mexico, ostensibly for obtaining restitution from the Mexican government, but really because he thought the country would fall an easy prey to his arms. Towards the end of the year 1861 the allied troops landed in Mexico. The Mexican government soon came to an understanding with the Spaniards and the English, who had in fact been inveigled by the wily Napoleon into an enterprise which he had plotted for other ends; and the French were before long left to finish it by themselves. Louis Napoleon refused to treat with the government of Juarez, and declared war against Mexico. He soon threw off all pretence, and declared that he had come to put a stop to the spread of the English race through the conquests of the United States, to check the assertion of the Monroe doctrine, to regenerate the Mexican nation, and to save the whole of Latin America. The struggles of the two Mexican parties, one fighting for the constitution of 1857, and the other for the plan of Tacubaya, were thus hidden from the world's eye by the more imposing spectacle of the new empire in France reaching forth its hands to the western continent. The selfish clergy of Mexico, urged on by the Pope, cared not what became of their country, provided they saved their gold and their *sueros*. Immediately after the declaration of war, the French, under Marshals Forey and Bazaine, pushed on to the capital, which they entered without difficulty in the month of July, 1863. A few years before, the troops of the United States had done the same thing. But the United States were now in the midst of a great and terrible civil war: and it was given out that the entry of the French into Mexico was to be a turning point in American history.

14. The Empire.—Louis Napoleon had long fixed on the

young Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria to be the tool of his policy in America. The French were everywhere welcomed by the clerical party; and as Juarez and the Liberal government had retired to San Luis de Potosi, there was no difficulty in convoking an *assembly of notables*, in imitation of the first French Revolution. If we wish to see how low two hundred and twenty at least of the Mexican people had fallen, we must turn to the *Dictamen* or address issued to the Mexicans by this assembly. It painted vividly the national glory, the peaceful beneficence, the enlightened patriotism which had marked the monarchy and the ancient colonial system. A few days after the capital had been evacuated by Juarez, this assembly elected the Emperor's nominee as hereditary Emperor by the name of Maximilian the First. In case this prince should refuse, the "Mexican nation" entreated Napoleon to be "benevolent" enough to "choose them somebody else." The young Archduke, knowing nothing of the real state of affairs in Mexico, believing what this assembly of traitors said, and that in Mexico there were ten millions of people anxiously waiting for the sight of the imperial crown and purple, and relying entirely on the power and promises of the French Emperor, accepted the offer. He had at first refused to go to Mexico unless he were supported by the joint guarantee of France and England: and it would have been well if he had maintained this prudent resolve. The desire of power overcame his hesitation, though he knew that England looked upon the plan with steady coldness. In 1866 Maximilian arrived at Vera Cruz: and he was at once crowned and installed in the government at Mexico; but the nation was really divided into two hostile camps, and the French found the task of conquest utterly hopeless. Juarez easily maintained the republican government, first at San Luis, and afterwards at Monterey. His term of office expired in 1865, but he declared himself President until the next legal election could take place, and continued the struggle against the French with great success. Maximilian had not been on the throne two years when his affairs became desperate. The American government, having conquered the rebel states, gave notice to the French Emperor to withdraw his troops. The expedition had already cost a milliard of francs: and all Europe knew very well of what stuff the United States armies were made. Louis Napoleon, declaring that the object of his expedition had

been fulfilled, now ordered his troops home. The Empress Charlotte set out for France in July, 1866, to beg the Emperor not to desert them: and she never saw her unfortunate husband again. Louis Napoleon turned a deaf ear to her entreaties. It was indeed too late, for Bazaine had already begun the evacuation, and by the end of the year the French troops had gone, leaving Maximilian to his fate. If he had been wise, he would have returned with them. He did indeed resolve to do so at Orizaba in 1866, but the priests came and entreated him to remain. They promised him fresh supplies of money and men: and Maximilian yielded. He must have known by this time that the whole nation was really in arms against him. The venerable ex-President Alvarez, at the age of eighty-six, was at the head of the army in the south; Juarez himself, with the United States at his back, was advancing in the north. As the French withdrew, the imperial garrisons capitulated: and at length, in the beginning of 1867, Maximilian resolved on a last desperate effort. He quitted the capital at the head of all the adherents he could muster, determined to fall sword in hand. At Queretaro he found himself blocked in by the enemy, and by the fall of the fortress on the 15th of May a prisoner in their hands. Four days after, he was shot; and thus perished the second man who had been saluted Emperor of Mexico. Maximilian lost his life by a decree of his own, which condemned to death every man taken in arms. The fact that Maximilian had signed the decree of October, 1865, and that his generals had acted upon it, left no doubt as to his fate at the time, and justified his execution. The Imperialists had shot Arteaga and Salazar; Juarez, even if he had spared for the time the life of Maximilian, could not have saved it, for it is impossible to suppose that, after what had been done since the publication of the October decree, Maximilian would ever have been suffered to quit Mexico alive. Much has been said by the French of the wisdom and beneficence of the administration which Maximilian tried to set up; but the only thing worth knowing about it is that, with the hope of attracting the Southern planters who had been ruined in the civil war, he decreed the restoration of negro slavery. This is of a piece with the whole story, which will undoubtedly go down to posterity as one of the most disgusting and monstrous episodes in the history of the century. Had Maximilian possessed the

talents for arbitrary government of a Tiberius, or a Louis XI., he would have found it no easy task to govern the Mexicans. As he was little qualified for the part he had to act, and totally incapable of meeting the difficulties which beset him, his failure was certain.

15. *The Republic Restored.*—Soon after the execution of Maximilian, Mexico city and the port of Vera Cruz surrendered: and Juarez restored the government to the capital. The new congress at once elected him President. But his ascendancy now began to decline. Many of his adherents had only joined him for the purpose of expelling the foreigners from Mexican soil: and when this was done, the clerical party still remained in full strength all over the republic. During the whole of his presidency Juarez had to defend his government by arms. In 1868 the Reactionist General Vega organized an independent confederation in the north: and in the south the priests excited an insurrection of the Indians. Juarez, however, held his position firmly. At the next election a clericalist rival, General Diaz, beat him by a few votes, though not enough to establish his election without an appeal to congress. Congress decided in favour of Juarez: but he died in the next year: and congress then elected as President General Lerdo de Tejada, who had been the third candidate in the previous year. Lerdo was a Mexican statesman who had served the country unremittingly ever since the fall of Santa Anna in 1855, and had been minister of finance to the famous government of Juarez at Vera Cruz. Lerdo maintained the radical policy, and the clerical insurrection under General Diaz still continued. He gained some advantages, however, over the insurgents, especially towards the close of his term in 1876; but Diaz has since driven him to the northern frontier and installed himself in Mexico. The complete triumph of the Liberal cause will probably be yet postponed for some time: but the resistance of the clerical party is being steadily worn away, and the reforms of Juarez may be looked upon as well established.

16. *General Remarks.*—Such has been the unhappy history of the most populous and important of the Spanish colonial nations. Mexico has suffered from being the outwork of Spanish America in the direction of the United States and Europe. It is here that Spanish America has come into collision with the hard and irresistible North American element on the one hand, and

been paralyzed by the baneful interference of all that is reactionary on the other. If the United States continue to protect the progress of Mexico, and aid her in still keeping off the slavery from which she seems to have at length escaped, all that Mexico lost to Taylor and Scott will be fully compensated. The Franço-Mexican expedition proved once more what was known to clear-sighted statesmen a hundred years ago, that Europe is physically incapable of interfering with the destinies of America, and illustrated on a large scale the deep and culpable ignorance in American masters which prevailed in Europe. The loss of above a milliard of francs and of thousands of European lives, including that of the Archduke Maximilian, was the price paid by Europe for that ignorance. But if this wretched stroke of policy was a loss and a misfortune both to Mexico and to Europe, it contributed very much permanently to discredit everyone concerned in it. Its failure hastened on the fall both of Napoleon III. in France and of the clerical party in Mexico : and we need not fear that the revival of that baneful element will be any other than a temporary one. Internal extension, or "colonization," has not gone on very fast in Mexico : the efforts which have been made to produce it have been mostly total failures, as in the case of the first French "colony" of Guazacoalco, founded by Santa Anna in 1829. It was not until the presidency of Comonfort that the laws were so revised as to encourage the settlement of strangers : and since his time the country has been in too unsettled a state to admit of any considerable effect being produced by the change. In the next chapter we shall deal with a part of Spanish America whose destinies have naturally been affected by those of Mexico. Central America is on the whole the least important of the groups of Spanish colonies ; but its history exhibits, as we shall now see, one or two remarkable episodes.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PENTARCHY.

Introductory (1)—*Independence declared* (2)—*Joins the Empire of Iturbide* (3)—*Federalism in Central America* (4)—*Carrera in Guatemala* (5)—*Honduras* (6)—*San Salvador* (7)—*Nicaragua and General Walker* (8)—*Costa Rica* (9)—*General Remarks* (10).

1. **Introductory.**—The central part of the American continent, extending from the southern boundary of Mexico to the Isthmus of Panama, consisted in the old colonial times of several Intendancies, all of which were united in the Captaincy-General of Guatemala. Like the West Indian Islands, it was a neglected part of the Spanish Empire: and, as we have seen, the English in early times had a settlement here on the Honduras coasts for the cutting and export of mahogany. No other nation, however, trespassed on the Spanish mainland: and the Central American settlements attracted but little notice. The country is traversed in its whole length by the great mountain range of America; but on either slope, excepting along the shores, there is fertile soil and favourable climate: so that the Spanish settlers always thrived both by planting and by cattle farming. All the vegetable products of the West Indian Islands, and many more, besides gold and silver, are obtained in Central America; and the country may be looked on as the connecting link between those islands on the one hand, and Mexico on the other: much as Colombia, to the south of the isthmus, is through its ports the connecting link between the West Indies and Peru. Central America has no history up to the epoch of independence: and its history since independence is not very interesting or significant. The republics of the pentarchy are small and ill-peopled, and it has always been supposed that they must in time be absorbed by some larger state or states.
2. **Independence Declared.**—It was not until the success of the Revolution had become certain on both sides of them, both in Mexico and New Granada, that the Intendancies which made up the Captaincy-General of

Guatemala declared themselves also independent of Spain. The cry of liberty had indeed been raised in Costa Rica in 1813, and in Nicaragua in 1815 : but the Revolution was postponed for six years longer. Guatemala, the seat of government, published its declaration in September, 1821, and its example was speedily followed by San Salvador and Honduras. Nicaragua, on proclaiming its independence, together with one of the departments of Guatemala, declared its adhesion to what was known in Mexico as the "plan of Iguala," the main principle of which was an independent monarchy under a Bourbon prince ; but this, as we have seen, soon fell to the ground. Costa Rica as yet took no part in the movement. As there were no Spanish troops in Central America, the recusant Spanish official party could make no resistance to the popular movement ; and many of them crossed the sea to Cuba, or returned to Spain. The Spanish residents, apart from the officials and the Creoles, were enough to turn the scale. The Revolution of Central America thus stands alone in the history of independence as having been accomplished without shedding of blood.

3. *Central America joins Mexico under Iturbide.*— Throughout Spanish America, as we have seen, the first idea which came of independence was that of political combination on a great scale. Central America, though separate in its administration, had always been under the jurisdiction of the courts at Mexico : and it was a natural thing for the oligarchical party who dominated in the country to wish to join the triumphant government of Iturbide. The Liberals in vain protested against this step. Gainza, the president of the Guatemalteco junta, succeeded in packing an assembly which resolved on annexation to Mexico, though the rest of the provinces, led by San Salvador, rose in arms to resist. But the military forces of Iturbide soon overpowered them. The first Mexican emperor treated Central America quite as a conquered country. He divided it into three provinces, and introduced captains and officials of his own. But the Congress of the little state of San Salvador still continued to meet, and in the meantime the face of affairs was changed by the fall of Iturbide. We have seen that the first Mexican empire lasted less than a year : and on the proclamation of the Federal Republic in Mexico, the whole of Central America, except the district of Chiapas, withdrew from the alliance, and drove out the

Mexican officials as only a year before they had driven out the Spanish officials. The people now had to face the task of forming a government for themselves: and following the example of the States of Colombia and the Plate River, they now resolved on combining in a federation, in imitation of the great United States of North America. Perhaps no states were ever less suited by nature to form a federal union. The petty territories of Central America lie on two oceans, are divided by lofty mountains, and have scarcely any communication with each other: and the citizens of each have scarcely any common interest. A Central American federation, however, was an imposing idea, and the people clung to it with great pertinacity.

4. **Federalism in Central America.**—The first effort for federation was made under the direction of General Filisola. All the Intendancies combined in one sovereign state; first under the name of the "United Provinces," afterwards (November 22, 1823) under that of the "Federal Republic," of Central America. The circumstances in which this was done were very much the same as in the case of the Colombian and Mexican Federations. A constitution of the most liberal kind was voted. This constitution is remarkable for having been the first which abolished slavery at once and absolutely, and declared the slave trade to be piracy. But just as in Bolivar's Colombia, it proved to be of no practical effect. The clerical and oligarchic party set their faces stubbornly against the execution of the constitution, and began the revolt at Leon in Nicaragua. The union broke down in 1826, and though Morazan reconstituted it in 1829, its history is a record of continual rebellion and reaction on the part of the Guatemalteco oligarchy. Of all South American conservative parties this oligarchy was perhaps the most despicable. They sank to their lowest when they raised the Spanish flag in 1832. But in doing this they went too far; Morazan's successes date from this time, and having beaten the Guatemaltecos, he transferred the Federal government in 1834 to San Salvador. But the Federal Republic of Central America dragged on a precarious existence until 1838, when it was overthrown by the revolt of Carrera in Guatemala. From the first the influence of the Federalists in the capital began to decay, and it was soon apparent that they had little power except in Honduras, San Salvador, and Nicaragua. The Costa Ricans, a thriving com-

mercial community, but of no great political importance, and seaprated by mountainous wastes from all the rest, soon ceased to take any part in public business. A second Federal Republic, excluding Costa Rica, was agreed to in 1842 ; but it fared no better than the first. The chief representative of the Federalist principle in Central America was Morazan, of Honduras, from whose government Carrera had revolted in 1838. On the failure of the Federation Morazan had fled to Chile, and on his return to Costa Rica he was shot at San José by the Carrerists. This was a great blow to the liberals, and it was not until 1847 that a third Federation, consisting of Honduras, San Salvador, and Nicaragua, was organized. For some years Honduras, at the head of these states, carried on a war against Guatemala to compel it to join the union. Guatemala was far more than their match : San Salvador and Nicaragua soon failed in the struggle, and left Honduras to carry on the war alone. Under General Carrera, Guatemala completely defeated its rival ; and to his successes are due the revival of the Conservative or clerical party all over Central America. The Conservative rule of Carrera was no blessing to the Central Americans. The government of each state became weaker and weaker : revolutions were everywhere frequent : and ultimately, as we shall see, the whole country was near falling into the hands of a North American adventurer. In former times the English Government had maintained some connection with the country through the independent Indians of the Mosquito coast, over whom, for the purposes of their trade with Jamaica, it had maintained a protectorate : and even a small English commercial colony, called Greytown, had been founded on this coast at the mouth of the river San Juan. Towards the close of Carrera's ascendancy this coast was resigned to Nicaragua, and the Bay Islands, which lie off the coast, to Honduras : and England thus retained nothing in the country but the old settlement of British Honduras, with its capital, Belize. After Carrera's death in 1865, the Liberal party began to reassert itself : and in 1871 there was a Liberal revolution in Guatemala itself. Treaties of commerce have now been made between some of the states as well as with Europe ; and it is possible that in time the effort for Federation may be successfully revived.

5. Guatemala.—With the destruction of the Federal government in 1826 a cruel oligarchy gained ascendancy

in Guatemala. This ascendancy, however, was short. Morazan, having restored liberty in San Salvador, advanced on Guatemala, and here, too, his arms were successful. The best period in Guatemalteco history is undoubtedly the brief time of peace between 1832 and 1837. Morazan abolished the monasteries, and transferred the Federal government to San Salvador, and the Federalist party were able to commence an important series of solid reforms. Education, liberty of worship, trial by jury, the liberty of the press, and the whole code of modern principles for which Spanish America has had to shed more blood than Europe, were now voted; and the rest of the states followed the example of Guatemala. But, just as everywhere else, the reaction was fast preparing, and in 1837 it came into operation in all its virulence. The terrible pest of cholera swept over the country in this year: and the priests spread among the Indians the story that the Liberals, wishing to get rid of the Aborigines, had poisoned all the waters. The Indians now rose in arms, obedient to the priests, under a general of their own race. The fortunes of the principal Central American state are henceforth closely connected with the life of Raphael Carrera, perhaps the most remarkable character in Central American history. Carrera had never been heard of before: but his successes soon caused the retreat of the President into San Salvador, and the withdrawal of Honduras and Costa Rica from the Federation. Carrera was a caudillo of Indian descent. His troops were mainly of the same race, and like most of the Central American Indians they were completely under the control of the clerical party, whose policy Carrera faithfully carried out. The war almost became that most terrible of all struggles, a war of races. The Indian revolution triumphed, and in 1838 the Federation was declared to be dissolved. In 1839 Carrera declared Guatemala to be an independent state. The liberal reforms were annulled, and Carrera then proceeded to turn his successful arms against the neighbour states. The first President of Guatemala, Rivero Paz, was Carrera's nominee; but in 1845 he took the office himself. In 1849, the Radical party, supported by Honduras and San Salvador, drove him out; but he returned in the same year, and in 1851 again became President, with dictatorial powers, which he exercised until his death in 1865. Carrera's main policy was the restoration of the clerical party everywhere else in

Central America : and to the Radicals of San Salvador and Honduras, especially the former, he was an implacable enemy. The clerical reaction and the French expedition to Mexico gave new hopes to the clerical party in Central America. In 1863, though his days were nearly numbered, the old Indian caudillo invaded San Salvador, displaced the Radical President, Barrios, and set up a clerical one named Dueñas ; and a similar revolution was brought about in Honduras. Carrera was succeeded by General Cerna, a man of his own party. But the time of Conservative ascendancy was now over, and Cerna was unable to wield the power of his master. The attempts upon Mexico had failed, Maximilian had been shot, and the Liberal party once more revived all over the country. In 1871 an insurrection against the Conservative government at last broke out : the capital was occupied, and a complete revolution effected. After a time of anarchy, General Barrios was elected President in 1873. In 1876 there was a petty war between Guatemala and San Salvador, in which the latter was defeated. Guatemala is chiefly remarkable in modern times for the complete failure of the Belgian " colony " of St. Thomas, first projected in 1843.

6. Honduras.—While Guatemala represented the Unitary or Conservative element in Central America, Honduras, the native land of Morazan, was always from its geographical position the chief seat of the Liberal or Federalist party. It was here that the idea of Federation survived longest : and it was mainly through the courage of the citizens of Honduras that the neighbour republics maintained their democratic constitutions while the reaction destroyed that of Guatemala. But Carrera, by his influence over the Indians, was always able to thwart the liberal aims of his neighbours. As soon as a movement was threatened which alarmed the clergy, Indian caudillos sprang up on every side and attacked the governments. The state constitutions were all voted shortly after the Federal constitution of 1824. The State of Honduras remained faithful to the federalist idea as long as there was the smallest chance of its being realized. Even after the separate confederation with San Salvador and Nicaragua had failed, and each of these states had made their peace with Guatemala, General Cabañas, the President of Honduras, continued the war with Guatemala in the name of the Confederation, until he

was, in 1855, defeated by Carrera and driven into exile. His successor, Guardiola, pursued a Conservative policy. He joined with Guatemala and San Salvador in attacking General Walker in Nicaragua. Guardiola, who was a man of mixed Indian descent, remained in power until 1862, when the Liberal party effected a revolution, and Guardiola was assassinated by his own soldiers. In the next year, however, the forces of Guatemala, under Carrera, moved eastwards in order to crush the Liberal movement in the neighbour states: the Liberal President fled, and was replaced by General Medina, the Conservative. Medina was re-elected in 1866 and 1869: he ruled Honduras for nine years. After the fall of the Conservative republic in Guatemala in 1871, Medina remained the only representative of the old form of government: and the united forces of Guatemala and San Salvador now attacked him, took the capital town of Comayagua, and forced him to flee in 1872.

7. *San Salvador.*—Together with Honduras, the little state of San Salvador fought as long as it was able for the principle of Confederation. San Salvador had indeed something to be gained, for as we have already seen, it had been chosen by Morazan as the seat of the Federal government when the latter was removed from Guatemala: and after the independence of Guatemala had been established under Carrera, it became the centre of the second and smaller federation. When every chance of Federation had passed away, San Salvador, in 1853, declared itself an independent state: and for some years it continued to assert its principles with success against the conservative ascendancy of Guatemala. But, as we have seen, in his latter years Carrera extended this supremacy over the whole of Central America. In 1863, Carrera invaded San Salvador, defeated Barrios, the President, and set up as president Dueñas, a conservative. Barrios was obliged to flee; but in 1865, after the death of Carrera, he returned. San Miguel and La Union declared for Liberal principles; but Barrios was no match for the forces of the republic under Dueñas, and was defeated, made prisoner, and shot. But after the death of Carrera it was impossible for San Salvador to remain under conservative ascendancy: and soon afterwards the Liberal constitution was re-established under President Gonzales, who was re-elected in 1872. The Liberal allies now freed Honduras, which was groaning under the Conservative

President Dueñas, and, as we have already seen, re-established the old government there in 1872. San Salvador is chiefly remarkable for being the most densely peopled state in Spanish America.

8. *Nicaragua and General Walker.*—The fate of Nicaragua, in the midst of the struggles which have distracted Central America, has been singular. Costa Rica, which lies to the south of it, had soon ceased to take any part in the contest; and Nicaragua practically followed its example, though it nominally took part with Honduras and San Salvador on the Federalist side until all hopes of federation had disappeared in the face of the hostility of Guatemala. But its geographical situation gave another kind of importance to Nicaragua. It contains a great lake, which is approached from the Atlantic by the river San Juan: and from the west end of the lake there are only twenty miles to the coast of the Pacific. Ever since the time of Cortes there have been projects for connecting the two oceans through the lake of Nicaragua, and since the acquisition of California by the United States, among other projects for making this connection, plans have been proposed for the construction of a Pacific canal from the lake of Nicaragua. Hence Nicaragua has always been thought of great importance to the United States. The political struggles of the state, ever since the failure of the confederation, had sunk into a petty rivalry between the two towns of Leon and Granada. Leon enjoys the distinction of being the first important town in Central America to raise the cry of independence in 1815, and it had always maintained the liberal character which this disclosed. Castellon, the leader of the Radical party, of which Leon was the seat, called in to help him an American named William Walker. Walker, who was born in 1824, was a young roving American who had gone during the gold rush of 1850 to California, and become editor of a newspaper in San Francisco. In those days it was supposed in the United States that the time for engulfing the whole of Spanish America had come. Lopez had already made his descent on Cuba; and Walker, in July, 1853, had organized a band of filibusters for the conquest of Sonora, and the peninsula of California, which had been left to Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This wild expedition, though it was in accordance with the pressure of the Californian interest, in the States, and with the policy adopted five years afterwards

by President Buchanan, was a total failure; but when Walker came back to his newspapers after an absence of seven months, he found himself a hero. His fame, as we see, had reached Central America; and he at once accepted Castellon's offer. In 1855, having collected a band of seventy adventurers in California, he landed in the country, captured the town of Granada, and, aided by the intrigues of the American consul, procured his own appointment as General-in-Chief of the Nicaraguan army. Walker was now master of the place: and his own provisional President, Rivas, having turned against him, he displaced him, and in 1856 became President himself. He remained master of Nicaragua for nearly two years, levying arbitrary customs on the traffic of the lake, and forming plans for a great military state to be erected on the ruins of Spanish America. One of Walker's first objects was to seize the famous gold-mines of Chontales, and the sudden discovery that the entire sierra of America is a gold-bearing region had a good deal to do with his extraordinary enterprise. Having assured himself of the wealth of the country, he now resolved to keep it for himself, and this proved in the end to be his ruin. The statesmen of the United States, who had at first supposed that he would cede them the territory, now withdrew their support from him: the people of the neighbouring states rose in arms against him, and Walker was obliged to capitulate, with the remains of his filibustering party, at Rivas in 1857. Walker, still claiming to be President of Nicaragua, went to New Orleans, where he collected a second band of filibusters, at the head of whom he again landed near the San Juan river towards the end of the year: this time he was arrested and sent back home by the American commodore. His third and last expedition, in 1860, was directed against Honduras, where he hoped to meet with a good reception at the hands of the Liberal party. Instead of this he fell into the hands of the soldiers of Guardiola, by whom he was tried as a pirate and shot, September 12, 1860. The temporary successes of Walker, and especially the recognition of his government by the United States, had much to do with the European intervention soon afterwards in Mexico and Peru. After Walker's exploits, Martinez, a conservative, became President: and he naturally fell under the influence of Carrera. Under him, the republic joined in Carrera's crusade against the remains of Liberalism in

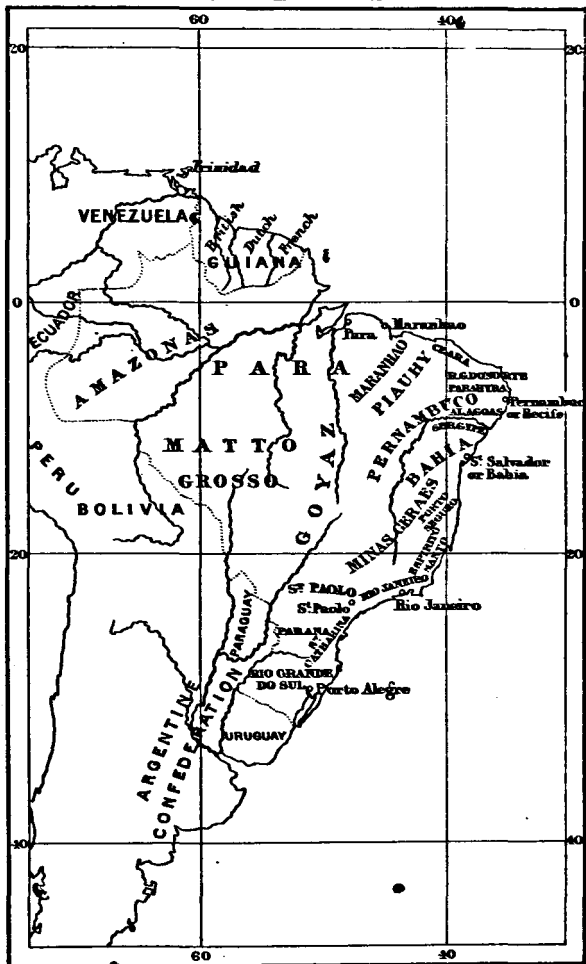
San Salvador and Honduras. Under his successor, however, a Liberal revolution took place.

9. *Costa Rica*.—Of all the Central American states, Costa Rica, which is the least populous and the furthest from the seat of the Federal government, has always been the most prosperous, and its good fortune is no doubt owing to its remoteness from the centres of disturbance. Under its local President, Mora, it took little part, either in the movement of independence, or in the affairs of the first confederation; and it took no part in the struggle of the other states against Guatemala. In 1831, after the triumph of the Liberals, Costa Rica again joined the union for a time. But it was too much separated to have much weight in the confederation, and it is chiefly remarkable in history for having been the scene of the last short triumph of Morazan, which ended in his capture and death. We have seen that after the complete ruin of the Federal cause in 1840, Morazan fled to Chile. Two years afterwards, he again landed in San Salvador: but finding himself unable to make much progress, he resolved to make Costa Rica the basis of his operations. There were many Liberals in Costa Rica: and the Conservative President, Carillo, under whom the prosperity of the country had greatly increased, was unable to hold his ground. The Legislative Chamber now elected Morazan President, and repealed the act which separated them from the confederation. Morazan raised the standard of the confederation, and proceeded to coerce Nicaragua into rejoining it. But the opposition occasioned by the expenses of the proposed war soon overthrew him. The Costa Ricans were unwilling to see their country run the risk of the same poverty and anarchy as their neighbours: a revolt took place, and Morazan was defeated, taken prisoner, and finally shot with his two sons at San José, September 18, 1842. Carrera was afraid to let the bones of this great patriot rest in the grave; he had them dug up and cast to the winds. The blood of Morazan cemented that alliance between Costa Rica and Guatemala. Costa Rica regained its conservative institutions, under which it continued until the invasion of Nicaragua by General Walker in 1857. The crusade against this daring adventurer was led by the troops of Costa Rica. As in Chile, the former prosperity of Costa Rica was very much due to the skill and sagacity of one or two intelligent men. The most famous of these, Raphael Mora, became

President under the new constitution of 1847, and was re-elected in 1853 and 1859. But Mora's third term proved fatal to himself and to his policy. Though Mora had been peaceably elected, he was seized one morning by a band of conspirators, and at once sent out of the country by sea. Montealegre, a physician of San José, who led the Liberal party, now became President: and on Mora's return, at the head of a few hundred troops in the following year, the Conservative leader was defeated, tried, and shot. Since the fall of Mora, Costa Rica was for some years the sport of revolutions, during which, however, it maintained its commercial prosperity. Of late years, the government of Costa Rica has been steadier: and it is still, though the smallest, the most prosperous and important of the Central American states.

10. *General Remarks.*—From the history of the Central American pentarchy we see that its progress has reached about the same stage as in Mexico. The colonial system of Spain, with all its accompaniments, had here struck the deepest root. European emigrants were few, the Indian population, protected by a paternal despotism, and swayed with complete ease by the priests, were vastly in the majority. In Central America the true character and functions of a republican government are only even now dawning on the mass of the people. The seeds of Liberalism sown by the Honduras reformers of 1834 fell here upon a worse soil than in the Argentine states in the time of Rivadavia. The intestine wars of Central America are perhaps the least interesting part of the struggle to realize the republican idea which has been going on all over Spanish America. Yet we have in this history three typical characters brought out with singular distinctness in the persons of Morazan, Carrera, and Walker. Many of the separate, insurrectionary movements in the several provinces, which it would be impossible to detail at length, are figured by the antagonism of the two first. Most of them, however, were headed by idle and ambitious caudillos: and the general character of the mass of episodes in Central American history is mediæval rather than modern. With the pentarchy we finish the history of independent Spanish America, and turn to that of independent Portuguese America, which completes that of the Latin colonial nations.

BRAZIL AND GUIANA



CHAPTER XXII.

BRAZIL.

Introductory (1)—*Contrast with Spanish America* (2)—*Conspiracy of Tiradentes* (3)—*Emigration of the Portuguese Court* (4)—*United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil* (5)—*Policy of Portugal* (6)—*Independence* (7)—*Political Parties* (8)—*Pedro the First* (9)—*The Constitution* (10)—*The Regency and Majority* (11)—*Pedro the Second* (12)—*Colonization* (13)—*Opening of the Amazon* (14)—*Republicanism in Brazil* (15)—*General Remarks* (16).

I. *Introductory.*—The history of Brazil, considered as a colony, is divided into two very different periods. During the first of these, it makes up, together with the West Indies and the Southern States of North America, that group of settlements which mainly depended on slavery for their prosperity. The long line of Portuguese settlements on the west coast of Africa gives some idea of the extent of the Brazilian slave-trade. In no plantation colony were the imported slaves so short-lived: and the prosperity of the great *fazendas*, or plantation estates, depended altogether upon the maintenance of a constant supply. In its earlier times Brazil was merely a large plantation colony. The beginnings of a change may be traced to the discovery of gold and diamonds in the southern districts. Since the beginning of the last century mining and stock-farming have been steadily pursued in this part of the country: it has come to exceed by far the rest of the colony in wealth and population, and to take the lead in the general policy of the nation. The town and province of St. Paul, of which we have spoken in giving an account of the Jesuit Missions, thus became the leading element in Brazil. It was the Paulists who explored the districts of Goyaz, Cuyaba, and Matto Grosso. Here, as fast as they discovered new mines, they built new towns; and the whole of the southern and interior districts thus assumed a character of their own. The process which has taken place on the parallel coast of Australia has here been exactly reversed. In the latter case, the colonists began in the south with agriculture, mining, and sheep-farming, and advanced northwards

into the latitude of sugar and cotton : in Brazil they began with sugar plantations near the West Indies, and advanced south towards the Plate River. The Rio Grande, which is the southernmost province of Brazil, has far more in common with Uruguay and Entre Rios than with the northern provinces of the empire : and these northern provinces, which were once all that was understood by the old name "the Brazils," have quite lost their old importance. The culture of coffee, at present the main staple of Brazil, belongs to this later period. It was first introduced in the province of Para, by a maroon from Cayenne, in 1723 : but the southern coast was soon found to be far more favourable to its growth. A great step in this gradual change is marked by the substitution of Rio Janeiro as the capital, in the place of Bahia, which was done by Pombal, in 1763. It is difficult to imagine how large a country the empire of Brazil really is. Roughly speaking, we may say that it is about as large as the whole of Europe together. By far the greatest part of it is covered with primeval forests, inhabited only by wild Indians ; and it is only in the south that any great advances have hitherto been made into the interior. The various provinces of Brazil are really so many separate European colonies, each having its own local history, which has seldom had much to do with that of the central government, whether at Lisbon or at Rio. These European colonies present a vast and miscellaneous gathering of social elements : nor is there any whose condition it is more difficult to estimate, and whose future it is more hazardous to forecast. Brazil, notwithstanding the activity and intelligence displayed in some of the large towns, is on the whole the most backward of the European colonies ; and, as we shall see, the struggle for social reorganization has as yet scarcely begun. Brazil was the last country in the world to abolish the slave traffic : down to the year 1850 the Brazilian slavers, though hunted as pirates by American and English cruisers, still carried great numbers of wretched Africans to its shores. Brazil has even now scarcely forgotten that less than thirty years ago it continued in this way to be a standing offence to the humanity and the policy of Europe. Too much blame, however, must not be attached to the politicians of the empire. So vast a country as Brazil cannot be expected to arrange itself completely in half a century : and the Brazilians were late in coming into their natural inheritance of European ideas. To how great a

degree this was the case, we may best gather from a comparison with Spanish America.

2. **Contrast with Spanish America.**—The Spanish government in America exhibited to the full most of the cardinal vices of Latin policy. It governed too much : there was scarcely any retreat from the administration in any department of social life. For setting-up in business, travelling, changing abode, marrying, and many other matters of every-day life, permits had to be obtained and fees paid ; taxes in one form or other were laid on almost everything that was consumed ; the Church competed in extortion and despotism with the State ; from his cradle to his grave, a man found his life regulated for him by the government, and heavy burdens laid on him in return for the benefit. The Portuguese government was never so much centralized. It was formed rather on the French model, as we have seen this exemplified in Canada. The great *fazendeiros* resembled feudal barons ; and though their government might still be described as paternal, it was untainted with officialism. Besides, the rule of the Dutch had taught the Portuguese a lesson : and in general it may be said that the government had made the great political discovery that the secret of governing people is to let them alone. A century ago abuses and difficulties had indeed grown up in great numbers ; but they happened to fall into the hands of one of the wisest statesmen of the time. Pombal's reforms, which mainly tended to limit the power of the Church and the landowners, checked the abuse of a ruling caste without introducing a paralyzing centralization. On the other hand, at the epoch of independence, the Brazilian creoles were below the average of the corresponding class in Spanish America. They were more thoroughly subordinated to the Portuguese ; and on them the tidings of the French Revolution, which so profoundly stirred the people of New Granada and Venezuela, seem to have had but little effect. In the south, this distinction is less noticeable. The rude and wealthy Paulists were far less obedient to Portugal than the people of Bahia and Pernambuco : and as we shall now see, even before the French Revolution the natural impulse to liberty asserted itself openly in another of the southern provinces.

3. **Conspiracy of Tiradentes.**—About the time of the French Revolution, a surprising event happened in Brazil. The gold-production of the province of Minas Geraes had

during the latter half of the century been on the decline. The tax of a fifth on the produce of the gold-mines had been commuted for a fixed tribute, which the miners were now unable to pay : and an order to enforce payment of the arrears of this tribute led to serious discontents in the province. The effects of the American Revolution were now being felt ; and a plan was formed for separating Minas Geraes from the rest of Brazil, and making it a Republic, of which the capital was to be St. John d'El-Rei. The flag of the new state bore a genius breaking its fetters, and the motto *Liberty, although late*. This motto has never been forgotten by the Republicans of Brazil. A valiant officer named Xavier, better known by the nickname of Tiradentes, or Draw-tooth, was at the head of the movement : and the conspiracy soon spread widely. The Liberators, indeed, made little pretence of concealment ; and in 1789, Tiradentes and several of his accomplices were arrested. They were all condemned to death by a special commission, which was sent out from Portugal to try them : but only Tiradentes was executed, the rest being transported to Angola (1792). The execution of Tiradentes was kept in Rio as a national festival, lasting three days. His house was razed to the ground, and a pillar, commemorating his crime, erected on the site. Though it needs no monument to keep the memory of Tiradentes fresh among the Brazilian people, a memorial of another kind was erected to his memory in 1867 in the principal square of the town where he suffered. The revolution of Tiradentes was only a premature expression of that spirit of liberty which now pervades the whole of America.

4. *Emigration of the Court.*—The policy of Napoleon produced in Brazil a strange result. The French Emperor invaded the mother country, and the Portuguese Court, with all its belongings, was driven to the colony. The immediate pretext for the occupation of Portugal was the inability of the old ally of England to execute Bonaparte's schemes for the destruction of British commerce. It was ruin to Portugal to exclude the British from her ports, and to confiscate the property of the British merchants. But the despot was inexorable : Portugal was occupied by a French army, and a plan was settled for the partition of both the mother-country and its great colony. The Prince Regent of Portugal, afterwards King John VI., acting under British advice, now left the defence of his European kingdom to England, and emigrated to Brazil, which was

by far the most important and secure part of his dominions. On November 29, 1807, the same day on which Junot planted his batteries on the heights round Lisbon, the Portuguese fleet, carrying the Prince Regent and his imbecile mother the Queen, together with a large convoy of troops, left the Tagus for America. Fifteen thousand Portuguese followed the fortunes of the house of Braganza, carrying with them, it has been calculated, half the circulating coin of the country. The project of transferring the government from the mother-country to the colony was not a new one. As early as the death of John IV. in 1656, a paper had been found in his cabinet, directing that in case his descendants should be unable to maintain the struggle for independence they were to emigrate to Pernambuco. The idea was never lost sight of by the Portuguese: and it was revived by Pombal when Lisbon was destroyed by the earthquake of 1757. The winter storms drove the fleet fast to America: and early in 1808 the Prince Regent landed at Bahia, where by the charter of January 28th he proclaimed the opening of the Brazilian ports. In March he arrived in the bay of Rio, and was everywhere hailed with delight as "Emperor of Brazil." This singular event is without a parallel in colonial history. It destroyed at once the colonial system, which here survived in its most exclusive form, for Portugal had seen none of the reforms which the Spanish colonies had obtained in the previous century. There were many Spanish colonial books and newspapers at the time of the French Revolution; but Brazil never had even a printing-press until the emigration of the court. But under the direction of England lost time was now speedily made up. The government at once ordered a printing-press, with its appurtenances, to be bought in England, voting for this purpose no less a sum than £100 sterling. The general use of the printing-press was now sanctioned, and in Bahia the production of the first number of a newspaper called the *Golden Age* was accompanied by extraordinary public rejoicings. On this occasion an enthusiastic priest delivered a solemn oration, describing John's toleration of the press as a "sublime favour, meriting eternal gratitude." The inquisition was next abolished: manufactures of every kind, which had hitherto been strictly prohibited, now sprung into being of themselves. It is not easy to realize the vast change that must have been produced in Brazil by the novel intercourse which henceforth sprang up with

all parts of the world. But the progress made was of course very unequal : and in the general arrangements of government the model of Portugal, which was far from answering the requirements of the colony, was copied too closely. The new state was encumbered from the first with offices created for the Prince Regent's numerous followers. It was a great mistake not at once to offer the colonists a proper constitution. From the first they expected it : and they soon came to demand it.

5. *United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil* (1815—1822). The total ruin of the French empire restored Portugal to her old place in Europe. Meanwhile, it is easy to see that the gain of Brazil during the past seven years had been the loss of Portugal. A struggle was really impending, not unlike that which we have already traced to its issue in the case of Spain and the Spanish colonies : but strong efforts were made to stave it off. The most obvious plan was to consolidate the kingdom with its colony, on the principle which had been adopted in the case of the French West Indies, that the colony is an integral part of the mother country. In 1815 Brazil and Portugal were incorporated into one kingdom by a royal decree. But as the king did not deem it prudent to return to Europe, the mother-country thus practically became the dependency of the colony. It was quite impossible for such an arrangement to last. The progress of the political changes which had been foreshadowed in the outbreak in Minas Geraes was only temporarily arrested : and in 1817 the revolution broke out in the province of Pernambuco. The motive of this revolution was the forecast, which proved only too correct, that the so-called union of Portugal and Brazil meant neither more nor less than the re-establishment of colonial slavery. The example was quickly followed by Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Alagoas. It failed, however, in Ceara and Bahia ; and in the last named city the revolutionary emissary, Father Roma, was tried and shot by the governor, who took prompt measures to crush the insurrection in its centre. It was soon suppressed ; and the retaliation exacted by the military commission which tried the rebels was as cruel as that wreaked at the same time by the Spanish general Morillo in New Granada. This incident proved to the new government that there were in Brazil dangerous elements to be reckoned with. Pernambuco was jealous of the ascendancy of Rio, which all the

recent changes in policy were calculated to increase. The demands of the Brazilians were at length precipitated by the constitutional revolution of the mother-country in 1820. All over Europe the fall of the French system had been succeeded by the restoration, as far as was possible, of the old conservative ascendancy: and against this the Liberal elements both of Spain and Portugal had revolted together. The General Cortes assembled in Lisbon in 1821 for the purpose of reforming the constitution: and the Brazilians determined not to lag behind their compatriots. The revolution broke out at Para, at Bahia, and at Rio, in quick succession. The king was now obliged to promise the people the same constitution as that of Portugal. But the people of Portugal had interests which were to be served, if need should be, at the expense of Brazilian liberty. They thought that John had played them false in granting Brazil its independence. Most of the trade of the colony had now passed into the hands of the English: its trade with Portugal had diminished by two-thirds since the emigration, and was still diminishing; and the mother-country was fast going to ruin. The aim of the Portuguese Cortes, seconded by a strong Portuguese party in Brazil itself, was nothing less than to reverse the history of the past ten years, and to reduce Brazil to its original dependent condition. As a first step they demanded the return of the king and court to Lisbon. John, fearing that the Portuguese would actually abolish the monarchy, proposed to send home the Crown Prince, Don Pedro, who had taken an active part in reconciling the king and the colonists on the question of the constitution. The English envoy, however, as well as the chief Brazilian minister, recommended that John should himself return home. Accordingly the king, foreseeing that he must make his choice between the old kingdom and the colony, sailed for Portugal on April 26th, 1821, leaving Don Pedro as regent in his place. The scene now rapidly unfolded. Pedro was not unwilling to exchange the doubtful heritage of two antagonistic kingdoms for the immediate monarchy of that which was incomparably best worth having.

6. Policy of Portugal.—The Portuguese Cortes, auguring well for their cause from the return of the king, now decreed the abolition of all the offices of the central government at Rio. They declared the provinces independent of this government, appointed military provincial

governors, responsible to the Lisbon Cortes, and not to the provincial assemblies provided by the constitution, despatched troops to Rio and Pernambuco, and fixed a time for the return of the Crown Prince himself, on pretence of completing his political education in England and France. The location of central authority at Rio, before governing powers were vested in the provincial assemblies, always provoked great opposition in Pernambuco and Bahia, which had hitherto communicated directly with the mother-country; and in these provinces decided Particularist tendencies had appeared. The action of the Cortes, by disuniting the provinces, fostered these Particularist tendencies, so that what they gained on the one hand they lost on the other. Their policy was to work upon the jealousy and self-interest of the distant provinces, and to prevent the formation of a Brazilian national feeling. But they could not prevent the formation of that general determination to be free from Europe which gradually spread throughout Brazil. The first outcry was raised in the province of St. Paul, always foremost in political and social movements, by the famous brothers José and Martin Andrada-e-Silva: and Minas Geraes and Rio soon followed. The junta of St. Paul, however, took the lead all through the movement of independence. Joseph Andrada was in many respects a typical man. A native of St. Paul, born in 1764, he had spent most of an active life in Europe, where he became famous as a mining engineer and a practical economist. In 1819 he had quitted the university of Coimbra, the scene of his labours, and returned to Brazil. Andrada, at the head of a troop of Coimbra students, had helped to drive the French out of Portugal; and he now headed the movement which liberated Brazil from the Portuguese domination.

7. Independence.—The Crown Prince, like his father, now had to elect between Portugal and Brazil; and the Brazilians were not slow to put this before him in plain terms. If he obeyed the Cortes and returned to Portugal, leaving the colony to its fate, it was easy to foresee the disunion and disruption of Brazil, and a war of subjection perhaps undertaken, notwithstanding the examples of England and Spain. The junta of St. Paul, under the direction of Andrada, besought him^e to remain. The neighbouring provinces joined in the cry; and Pedro at length adroitly put himself at the head of the popular movement and told the Cortes that he meant to stay in

Brazil. The commander of the Portuguese regiment stationed at Rio now resigned his office, and the men threatened to use force : but, outnumbered by the national troops, they at length capitulated and returned home. The Cortes now ordered the Portuguese consuls in foreign parts to stop the shipping to Brazil of any arms and munitions of war. The Brazilians rightly interpreted this as a declaration of war. Pedro was now invested with the title of Perpetual Defender of Brazil : public affairs were placed in the hands of Andrada, who re-established the connexion between the central government and the provinces ; and a general constituent assembly was summoned. The expectation of an invasion from Portugal now made all the south of Brazil forget provincial differences of opinion ; and in September, 1822, the cry of independence was formally raised at St. Paul, and the Portuguese cockade discarded. In the succeeding month Don Pedro was proclaimed in all the southern provinces of the colony as Constitutional Emperor of Brazil, and his coronation took place at Rio on the 1st of December, being the hundred and eighty-second anniversary of the restoration of the house of Braganza in Portugal. In the north the Portuguese interest was still strong ; the old " Brazils " refused to send representatives to Rio, and civil war broke out both in Pernambuco and Bahia. With the aid of Lord Cochrane, whom the success of the independent cause in Peru had now set at liberty, the last of the Portuguese troops were driven from the latter town in July, 1823. The permanence of the empire was shortly afterwards ensured by the general recognition of the independence of South America, which was pronounced by the British government under Mr. Canning : and in 1825 Portugal by treaty recognized the independence of her former colony.

8. Political Parties.—In Brazil, as in the old European monarchies, there might at this time be distinguished three main groups of political partisans. The first consisted of the supporters of the old Portuguese system with all its belongings : these were the *Squaremas*, *baronistas*, *restauradores*, or old tories ; the second, the *moderados*, included the disciples of the French eclectic school, who thought that liberal principles might and ought to be united with a monarchy ; the third was the republican or *exaltado* party. The hopes of the first of these parties grew faint, as we shall now see, in the time

of Pedro the First. The *restauradores*, like their contemporaries of the French restoration after 1815, thought that the people had no natural rights, and that any privileges with which they might be invested ought to be tendered to them as a matter of grace, by means of a charter, like that of Louis XVIII. in France. The events of the Regency convinced them that such a doctrine was untenable even in Brazil: and after that period the *restauradores* disappeared as a separate party, and reinforced the *moderados*. The main body of the people of Brazil had little enough to do with any of these parties. The vast majority were negro slaves, wild natives, and descendants of immigrants of the poorest class, destitute of intelligence or education, and under the control of the Church. In Brazil the priests have never taken so active a part in politics as in Mexico. The interests of the Church here have not until very recently been threatened by the progress of legislation. A civil marriage law, passed shortly after the changes of 1857 in Mexico, has now been in force for nearly twenty years without producing any revolt of the clerical interest. In general the Brazilian people, even in the towns, have hitherto been an inert mass, and stirring incidents have been the work of a few enthusiastic politicians. In this they resemble the other Latin races both of Europe and of America.

9. Pedro the First.—The events of the reign of Pedro I. shed but little lustre on the rise of the Brazilian nation. The first Brazilian emperor was a true son of the House of Braganza. He had scarcely begun to reign when he dismissed the counsellors who raised him to power. So little was known of constitutional politics that the patriotic Andrada and his friends, on their uniting into a Parliamentary opposition, were arrested and shipped off to Europe. Andrada spent seven years of exile near Bordeaux, where he employed himself in scientific and literary pursuits. Here he wrote some striking poems, many of them inspired by the cause of liberty in the old Europe. The province of Bahia elected Andrada, though in exile, for its representative in the National Assembly: and the pathetic poem which he addressed to them in reply is a curious monument of the early days of the empire. Pedro now committed a second great mistake. Anxious to signalize his establishment of the empire by a gain of territory, he yielded to the cry for annexing the Banda Oriental, thus involving himself in a long and

exhausting war with Buenos Ayres, which ended, as we have already seen, in the independence of the province in dispute. The spirit of territorial conquest was never more misplaced than in the vast Brazilian empire. A constituent Assembly was now called. It proved a disorderly and not very enlightened body; and Pedro was perhaps justified in dissolving it, telling the people that he would give them a much better constitution than this body was capable of concocting. The news of the dissolution lighted up once more the flame of rebellion at Recife. The Republic was once more proclaimed, and Pernambuco was declared to be united with its neighbour provinces to form the Confederation of the Equator (July 2, 1824). In this movement it is easy to trace the influence of the Colombian idea. The Pernambucans fought with some bravery, but succumbed at last, deserted by their President, Carvalho, who escaped on board an English corvette.

10. *The Constitution.*—Meanwhile Pedro and his advisers adopted a constitution of their own invention, which remained unaltered for ten years. The government was completely centralized: the provinces had neither budget nor assembly of their own, only a President with his council, subordinate to the central government, which fixed their expenses, and arranged their business, at its discretion. The constitution of Brazil was sworn to by the emperor on March 25th, 1824. There was to be a central general assembly, consisting of senators elected for life, and representatives of the people elected for four years, both senators and representatives being elected by universal suffrage in the second degree. Assemblies were also established in each province for purposes of local legislation and taxation. A curious difficulty soon arose with reference to the throne of Portugal. John VI. died in 1826: and the crown descended to Pedro, who accepted it only for the purpose of abdicating in favour of his daughter Dona Maria. His brother Dom Miguel, however, claimed to be the next in succession, and Portugal was involved in a civil war. Nor was the home policy of the emperor more successful. Seeing from the example of Portugal the results of constitutional policy, and the necessity of conciliating the old Portuguese or conservative party, Pedro transferred his sympathies to that party, provoking in this way most justly an ever-increasing and indignant opposition. He everywhere favoured the Portuguese. His

civil list was exorbitant, and he refused to reduce it. His finances became disordered: he refused all the reforms that were proposed: and ultimately, through the ruinous failure of the war with Buenos Ayres, he became so unpopular that the people began to call out once more for a Federal Republic. The elections of 1829 went against him. Civil opposition and military revolt were rife in the northern provinces; the revolution of July in France greatly stimulated the advanced (*exaltado*) party in the south: and at length, in 1831, the emperor, finding his new ministers wholly without support in the Assembly, and his personal unpopularity rapidly increasing, and fearing a military revolution which might altogether displace the House of Braganza, abdicated in favour of his son, a child five years old. This event is known in Brazilian history as the Revolution of the 7th of April (1831.) Pedro, however, adroitly recalled the exiled Andrada, and having committed to him the care of his son, set out for Europe, where he spent his last days in setting his daughter on the Portuguese throne. Having accomplished this, he died at Lisbon in 1834. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks of Pedro's reign, Brazil certainly advanced more during the ten years of its duration than in the whole time that had elapsed since the first settlement.

II. The Regency and Majority.—After the abdication of Pedro the empire was administered by three regents, who were elected by the general assembly. Andrada, to whom the education of the young Emperor had been entrusted, showed himself disposed, as was perhaps natural in a man of his years and experience, to defend the monarchy from the encroachments of democracy; and in 1833 he was deprived of his charge. The beginning of the regency was signalized by revolts in Para, Maranhão, Ceara, and Bahia; and that of Pernambuco, which took place in September 1831, is well remembered by the Brazilians under the name of the *setembrizada*. In the same province a civil war, lasting three years, was now begun by the peasantry of the interior. Nor was the South free from similar troubles: and there were massacres even in the capital of remote Matto Grosso. Most of these attempts were fostered by the *restaurador*, or Conservative party; but moderate policy and forbearance enabled the Liberals to keep in the ascendant. In some, however, of the troubles of the regency, the democratic

element was plainly at work. The proclamation of the Republic of Piratinim, in the Rio Grande do Sul, was of this kind. In the meantime, important constitutional reforms were now effected. By the "Additional Act" of 1834, assemblies were organized in each province: the government was decentralized, and the duties of the imperial and provincial governments were adjusted on the principle which prevailed in the United States. The triple regency was also abolished; there was henceforth only one regent, holding office for four years, so that the government of Brazil came very much to resemble that of the United States. The legislation of the Regency was a curious compound of modern and antiquated principles. The naturalization law of 1832 greatly facilitated the settlement of strangers: but the law of 1835, punishing refractory slaves with death, and that of 1837, establishing a permanent difference in civil rights between the Brazilian and the immigrant labourer, show how narrow are the limits of Brazilian liberalism. These laws are still in force. The regency, considered as a political institution, was a complete failure. The regents, who never commanded strong majorities, were driven from power one after another; and when the emperor came to the age of fourteen, in 1840, the democratic party, by a bold stroke of policy, declared him to be of full age. This clever measure was suggested by the last revolution of Bahia in 1837. In that year a Republic was proclaimed provisionally, until the young emperor should attain his majority. Meanwhile the democratic revolution was progressing successfully in the Southern Rio Grande; while from the capital of the northern province of the same name, and in Maranhão, fresh disturbances were announced. The young emperor was now fourteen years of age; and the democratic party determined that the regency should come to a speedy end. The government made a long struggle, but were at length overawed by the menaces of the populace. The senate and the young emperor were not unwilling to accept the doctrine of the majority; and at length, after a series of incidents very much resembling a revolution, it was publicly proclaimed in the name of the nation, and the emperor invested with the government (July, 1840).

12. **Pedro the Second.**—Since the revolution which placed him on the throne in 1840, the Emperor Pedro has ruled Brazil until the present time. At his accession to

the throne the revolts of the north ceased : but the war of independence continued in the Southern Rio Grande, where it was only terminated in 1845, after lasting nine years. On the whole the reign of Pedro II. may be said to have been marked by steady progress. Emigration had already begun on a small scale from all parts of Europe, especially from Germany, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy. In 1851 the intervention of Brazil in the affairs of Uruguay became even more necessary, and the tool of Rosas, who had usurped the government, was triumphantly ejected. Brazil, by the depression which overspread the Spanish nation, had now acquired a vast preponderance among its neighbours, and a position faintly resembling that of the United States in North America. The steam communication with all parts of Europe rapidly increased : navigation and colonization began on the Amazon river : and in 1854 the first railway was finished. In 1858 a law, permitting civil marriages, forced on by the requirements of a mixed population, was passed. But the transformation of Brazil, of which this law is an indication, was now for a time arrested. A reactionary ministry began to dread the task of governing a vast democracy, mingled out of all the disorderly elements in Europe : the silly cry was raised of "Brazil for the Brazilians," and from the year 1860 colonization was discouraged. Shortly afterwards occurred the Paraguayan war, of which some account has already been given. The weight of this war fell mainly upon Brazil. The conclusion of this war was soon followed by the final blow being given to what has always been Brazil's greatest curse. By far the greatest event in the reign of Pedro II. has been the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery. The slave-trade had been abolished in theory by the Constitution, and in 1826 a treaty was made with England by which the traffic was to be extinguished in 1831 ; but by the use of legal fictions the law was evaded, and slaves continued, as we have seen, to be brought into the country for many years afterwards. It was not until the stringent law of 1850 that the Brazilian slave-trade was extinguished. In 1871 the law of the 28th of September was passed, based on that passed by the Spanish Cortes for the colonies of Spain, enacting the freedom of all children henceforth born of slave mothers. The Benedictine monks had come to a similar resolution with regard to the slaves on their estates five years before. Besides this, the law of September

absolutely emancipated all slaves who were national property. The same year saw the establishment of compulsory education for the poor in the province of Rio.

13. Colonization.—We have already noticed in the history of the Plate River States the great extension in recent times of small “colonies” or village settlements. Since the epoch of independence a great number of similar “colonies” have been founded in Brazil, especially in the southern provinces. Many of them have been undertaken at the risk of the imperial and provincial governments, and as the best situations have been chosen for these, they have been the most successful. Some, like the Swiss and Belgian “colonies,” have been founded by arrangement with foreign governments. Others have been founded by companies formed for the purpose, and by private individuals. The great majority of the Brazilian immigrants are Germans and Swiss; for the attempts of France to procure the exclusion of the German races have been in vain. These “colonies” are gradually revolutionizing the system of Brazilian agriculture. In the old times Brazil was entirely in the hands of the great land-owners, who either cultivated their domains by the labour of their slaves, or let them out to a poor population of coloured squatters. The better class of these were called *lavradores*, or labourers, who cultivated the soil on what is termed the *parceria*, or partnership system, by which the landlord advances money to the tenant for producing the crop, and the produce is equally divided between the landlord and the tenant. Half of the *lavrador's* canes were therefore harvested by the landlord and taken to his own mill, and the other half were probably sold to him at a low price. But the vast majority of the Brazilians consisted of people called *moradores*, who are poor squatters, or cottagers, of mixed race, paying rent for liberty to hold a hut and cultivate as much land around it as they can. The ordinary *morador* is but too much like the negro of the West Indies. A very little labour produces him enough manioc to live upon: and under this system the people of rural districts grow up for the most part in idleness and ignorance. It was expected that an entirely new era for Brazil would begin with the year 1850, when the new colonization law, based on the land law of Australia, came into operation. It enabled immigrants to become landowners at once, on payment of a very moderate price, and set apart a considerable sum every year for surveying and laying out new settlements.

Communitic "colonies" have been tried in Brazil, like those in the United States : but in Brazil they have proved failures. Nor has the system of absolute sale answered so well as might have been expected : and most of the numerous German coffee "colonies" of the province of St. Paul, which contains more of them than any other, are founded on the *parceria* system, which was introduced on a large scale soon afterwards by Senator Vergueiro. The greatest "colony" in Brazil is St. Leopold, in the province of St. Pedro, which was founded by the imperial government in 1824, and now numbers, with its dependencies, as many as 21,000 inhabitants. Next to this comes Petropolis, near Rio Janeiro, founded in 1846, and the country residence of the present emperor, which has about half the population of St. Leopold. In both these cases the land has been absolutely granted to the colonists : but the system most in use is that of the "*parceria*." The new "*parcerias*" are, however, very unlike the old sugar plantations which have been already described. They are chiefly devoted to the production of coffee, which is so profitable that the *lavrador*, with good luck, may in three years' time become an independent man. Coffee, the culture of which was only practised on a very small scale at the establishment of the empire, has since become its chief product. Brazil produces as much coffee as all the rest of the world put together, the United States being its chief market. In some of the settlements a small amount of purchase money has been paid for the land ; but the old system of free grants is now seldom practised. Sometimes the colonists buy their lands upon credit from a company or proprietor, and gradually pay for them by cultivating the plantation of their creditor a certain number of days in the week. A remarkable example of this system may be seen in the colony of Dona Francisca, in the province of St. Catherine, formed by a Hamburg company on the lands which were granted as a dowry to a Brazilian princess, the wife of the Prince of Joinville, after whom the capital town is named. Another colonizing system was tried by a company at Rio Novo, in the province of Espirito, in the year 1855, founded on the system of free grants at a small quit rent. Here the company not only built a house for the immigrant, but dug and planted a fifth part of his land, besides paying his expenses from Europe, finding him rations and agricultural imple-

ments, and allowing him seven years to repay the loan. We may easily see from this that great inducements are still needed to attract people to what is perhaps on the whole the most attractive country in the world. The fact is, that slavery and free "colonization" cannot go on together. While the former subsists it practically degrades and discourages free labour: and we may be sure that Brazil will never thrive as it ought until that hateful institution is completely extinguished. Nor are respectable immigrants encouraged by finding themselves ranked among the vagabonds and incorrigibles who are packed off to Brazil by the Swiss municipalities. Many a promising colony has been abandoned, to the ruin of all concerned in it. All is done that the government can do to open fresh channels for agricultural industry. It has lately succeeded in getting the tea-plant to grow in the province of St. Paul; and the culture of silk, which can be carried on over at least one half of Brazilian territory, has been introduced with success. Bee-farming has also been practised on a large scale, and is said here to return large profits. One great defect of Brazilian colonization is the petty scale on which it is carried on. The Latin nations are all addicted to what they call "petty culture," to distinguish it from the system of comparatively large farms which prevails in England and Belgium. A Latin colonist takes a small portion of land, such as he can cultivate without over-working himself. An English colonist will take a large portion, and will toil unremittingly himself, and make great sacrifices in order to procure the labour of other hands on his land. Hence Canada and Australia show the same results as England, while in Brazil and Peru we see the petty culture of France and Spain accurately reproduced. This system, at its worst, not only makes it impossible to employ the great improvements in machinery which have told with so much effect where the great scale of farming prevails, but forces work that ought to be done by the horse or the ox upon women and children. Another defect is that the Brazilian nationality seems incapable of assimilating such foreign elements as have hitherto been attracted to it. The German settlements here remain German, whereas in Australia and America they become English. As the same thing happens to the German settlements which have been founded in Southern Russia, in Transylvania, and in Sweden, we may conclude that English society is the only one which possesses that

transmuting and assimilating power which is necessary to the grounding of nations out of many dissimilar elements.

14. *Opening of the Amazon.*—The commercial development of South America depends mainly upon its great rivers. We have already seen the historical effect of the opening of the Plate river in 1852. The republic of New Granada had already opened its waters to the ships of all nations : and the example was now speedily followed by Ecuador, Paraguay, and Bolivia, by all of whom a similar measure was adopted in the course of 1853. The government of Brazil would no doubt have shortly opened the Amazon river, which receives the chief waters of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. But in 1853 an American naval officer published at Washington a very exaggerated account of the country watered by the Amazon river. The American government ordered fresh inquiries to be made : and in the end the people of the United States conceived so intense a desire to go in and possess this wonderful land, which was said to be richer in gold than California, that the Brazilian government found it expedient to erect a strong system of forts at the mouth of the river, and made great efforts to strengthen their fleet. The recent conquests from Mexico very reasonably excited alarm ; and the exploits of General Walker soon afterwards are enough to explain why the government of Rio Janeiro now rigorously excluded from the Amazon the ships of all nations except Peru, with which republic a treaty for its joint navigation had been concluded in 1851. Gradually, however, under the pressure of England and France, these apprehensions disappeared ; and in 1867 the navigation of the Amazon and its five principal tributaries was opened to the whole world.

15. *Republicanism in Brazil.*—In considering the question of the stability of Brazilian institutions, the Republican party must not be confused with the old party in favour of dismemberment, born of the struggles between the colony and the mother country. This party can hardly be now said to exist ; and if it were a question of organizing the republic in Brazil, the Unitary party, in spite of all difficulties, would probably predominate. In spite of the enormous extent of the empire, and the time occupied in the transit from one part of it to the other, the last half century has deepened the feeling of Brazilian nationality : and it has been sharpened by the constant collisions of the

Brazilians with the citizens of Spanish America. But all over Brazil there have been from time to time indications of a strong Republican feeling, ever since the time of Tiradentes and the "Federation of the Equator." The Rio Grande do Sul, adjoining the Republics of the Plate River, is full of people who are "South Americans" and nothing else in politics, and who naturally gravitate towards the Argentine Confederation. As lately as 1845, the Rio Grande was the scene of a determined struggle for independence which had then lasted nine years. Hardly had peace with these republicans lasted three years when the great European revolution of 1848 broke out, followed at once by a Republican revolution in Pernambuco. Though the imperial government has done its best to govern with a mild sway, it is often impossible to abstain from severities: and the Republicans of Brazil can display a goodly catalogue of saints, from Father Roma and the martyrs of the "Federation" down to Pedro Ivo in our own times. It is to be feared that the settled complexion of Brazilian government is calculated to stimulate Republican feeling. If we may believe the voice of the Brazilian people, the whole of their provincial organization is still as vast a sham as was for twenty-five years the abolition of the slave-trade. Officialism, based upon the influence of a court faction, pervades the machinery of the empire. No training for politicians, such as we see in North America, is to be had in the provincial Assemblies. Besides these political relations, Brazilians cannot but contrast the social condition of their country with that of their near neighbour, the United States. In Brazil religious liberty is still totally wanting. Protestant sects are not allowed to build churches, though they may worship in private; and only Catholics are eligible for public offices. Public justice is unquestionably abused. The provincial assemblies have the power to control political and religious gatherings; and these are entirely under the influence of a venal oligarchy. The same inveterate evil preys upon the imperial government itself, and worst of all, saps the strength of the national representative body. The parliament of Brazil is thoroughly subservient to the government, and is said, so far as the country is concerned, to be really an expensive sham. Many of the most conservative of Brazilians are weary of the corruptions of court government. Three-fourths of the free population of Brazil live in great poverty and misery. Desolating famines, as in India,

sometimes sweep over the provinces : and as the government is now obliged to make some provision for the prevention of absolute starvation, the evils of dependence on a paternal government are closely forced on the attention of the provinces whose abundance makes them able to contribute ; and if Brazil should ever have to defend her frontiers on a large scale against such a coalition as the United States and the Argentine Confederation, the capacities of the empire would probably sink under the burden.

16. *General Remarks.*—Though a great show of “colonization” has been made, it is clear from what has been said that the industrial progress of Brazil has relatively been far slower than that of Chile and the Argentine Confederation, while its political progress exhibits the polar opposite of that which has taken place in Mexico and Colombia. The empire politically is a vast, feeble, and torpid body, that seems to await some destined impulse, either life-giving or destructive ; but it seems doubtful whether any such impulse is to be expected from without. Of late years colonization in Brazil has fallen off. Colonies of English descent, not to speak of the rivalry of the Plate River on the one hand and Venezuela on the other, have advantages to offer which are so indisputable that free labourers, aware of the facts, are not long in choosing between them ; and free labourers are never willing to emigrate to a land where slavery, though doomed, is still in existence. With the extinction of slavery in the next century, Brazil, if not ruined in the transition, will have entered on a new stage of existence. On the whole, then, Brazil fitly brings up the rear in the muster of colonial nations. Nothing now remains but to see what relics of the old European colonial system have survived the great convulsion of the “Half Century of Transition.” That convulsion did not extend to the east, nor, except in one instance, to the American islands, so that there the remains of the Portuguese, Dutch, and French oriental empires, as well as the fortunes of their West Indian possessions, ought to be worth our notice. We shall, however, find that these empires have really altogether disappeared in the convulsion, and left but a few half-sunken relics. The duties of the British Colonial Office have been greatly curtailed since the year 1850 ; but the British Colonial Secretary has still the weight of empire and the welfare of some millions of Englishmen

on his shoulders. The colonial duties of the French Ministry of Marine and the Spanish Ministerio de Ultramar, scarcely, as we shall now see, do more than keep up the memory of the great questions which engaged the attention of Colbert and Galvez. So far as Continental Europe is concerned, colonies are a thing of the past.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NON-BRITISH DEPENDENT COLONIES.

Introductory (1)—*Dutch Indies* (2)—*Spanish East Indies* (3)—*Portuguese and French East Indies* (4)—*Portuguese and French Africa* (5)—*Spanish West Indies* (6)—*French West Indies* (7)—*Dutch, Danish, and Swedish West Indies* (8)—*New Caledonia* (9)—*Oceania* (10)—*General Remarks* (11).

I. *Introductory.*—The independence of the principal European colonies is so great and portentous a fact that it completely dwarfs the petty relics of the old colonial system. We have seen how the *absolute* independence of the United States and the nations of South America has been followed by the acquisition of *virtual* independence on the part of the three groups of English colonies in America, in Australia, and in South Africa; while the fact that some of those West Indian colonies which had free governments before Australia or South Africa had come into existence had resigned them and accepted "crown government," sufficiently indicates that no great matter is now thought to be involved in the change. It is however curious that while England has been introducing crown government in the place of free institutions, France has been going in the opposite direction. All the remains of the old colonial empires have in fact been drifting into a condition of practical independence. Even the Spanish West Indies, as we shall now see, can hardly be said to be dependent on the home government: and if the interests of the home government should happen to clash with their own, even in a small matter, their independence would be accomplished at once. Dependent colonies, since the general establishment of free trade, have become a drug in the world's market: nor do European peoples apparently any longer desire the distinction of founding new nations.

It is in France alone that this conception has survived : and the efforts of France, so far as we are able to see at present, serve only to illustrate its futility. Everywhere else it is seen that it is better to direct the surplus strength of Europe into one of the many competing outlets which already invite it. Thus, not only is the old colonial system gone, but there is practically no effort to get it restored, or to supply its place. All that really remains to the European nations is their Eastern possessions. Like British India, the Dutch and Spanish East Indies are not really colonial ; but it is impossible altogether to separate colonial from Indian history. The Spanish East Indies may indeed at some time be occupied by real colonies : but the Dutch Indies are not only thickly peopled, but lie in a climate extremely unfavourable to European health and activity.

2. *The Dutch Indies.*—The Eastern Archipelago, like India, contains three kinds of territory : (1) immediate possessions, including the great island of Java, with Madura, the greater part of the shores of Borneo, and the islands of Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, with the half of Timor ; (2) the possessions of native sultans, including the little Sunda islands, the Batta district in Sumatra, some others in Borneo and Celebes, the Sangir, and the Moluccas ; (3) independent territories, such as the sultanate of Achin in the north of Sumatra, and the territory in the north of Borneo belonging to the Sultan of Sulu. The third description includes about one-sixth of the whole ; so that five-sixths of the great Eastern Archipelago are under the immediate or mediate sovereignty of the Dutch. Of the absolutely Dutch territory, Java with Madura forms a central or home district, all the rest being reckoned “beyond seas.” Java and Madura are the only parts of the Dutch Indies that afford land revenue to any large amount, and the extensive possessions beyond seas only produce about a twentieth of the land-rents of Java and Madura. As we shall presently see, it is only of late years that the whole of Java has become Dutch soil ; and parts both of Java and Madura are still nominally subject to native sultans (*Vorstenlanden*). The Dutch have been extremely successful in working the resources of these native principalities by means of residents. Directing with European sagacity the labour of the natives, given by way of rent or tax, they are able to pay the native sultan a larger revenue than he could get for himself, to

secure a higher degree of prosperity to the labourer, and to make a very large return to the mother-country. The islands are densely peopled, and since the rule of the Company has come to an end the number of inhabitants has greatly increased. The Company, as we have already seen, had long been decaying; and after the rupture with England, in 1780, its losses could no longer be disguised. The capture of the Dutch homeward-bound Indiamen by the English cruisers not only made it impossible to pay its dividends, but even necessary to apply to the States-General for a loan. The States-General, as was to be expected, granted the loan only on condition of a strict inquiry being instituted into the Company's affairs; and as early as 1789 it was resolved to send out commissioners to Batavia to remedy the evils which had grown up during just a century of Conservatism. Six years elapsed before the commissioners made their report; and as in the meantime Holland had once more become a power hostile to England, the condition of affairs had become very much worse. The Company now entirely ceased to control its own affairs, though it continued for some time to have a legal existence. Until 1808, after the loss of Ceylon and the Cape, the Dutch Indies were administered by a committee of the States-General; and in that year the government was formally vested in the nation. Louis Buonaparte, now King of Holland, sent out to Java a military officer named Daendels. It had long been settled that coffee was the most promising staple for Java: and Daendels at once enforced its culture to such an extent that he was able to boast of having had 40,000,000 coffee-trees planted. This vigorous system might in time have led to good results; but it lasted only until 1811, when it was suddenly overthrown by the English invasion. Batavia was taken in that year by Auchmuty: Daendels exchanged his coffee-planting for a commission in Napoleon's expedition to Russia: and the Dutch Indies for five years remained in possession of the English. The change to the English rule, which was far less oppressive than that of the Dutch, especially in its last phase, when the powers and resources of the government had been strained in order to recover past losses, seems to have been grateful enough to the inhabitants of the Dutch Indies; and there were many, both in the colony and at home, who

supposed that the conquest was to be permanent. This, however, was not to be the case. In 1816, the Dutch Indies were restored to Holland: and the epoch was signalized by revolts in several parts, finally culminating by that of Dipo Negoro, in 1825, in the heart of Java itself, which lasted five years. Famine and pestilence had in the meantime swept over the colony, and the necessity became clear for changes of a sweeping character, if the Dutch Indies were ever to be made worth keeping. Besides, since the English merchants had obtained the free navigation of the Dutch seas, their rivalry with the Dutch almost bade fair to renew the animosities of two hundred years before. English vessels often touched at the islands and made treaties with the natives, who were always readier to trade with them than with the Dutch. The English, however, saw that it would be more advantageous to them to have one or two large free ports, where the natives could come and bring their goods; and by the treaty of 1824 the Indian disputes of the English and Dutch were definitely settled, on the principle that the English should keep the mainland, and the Dutch the islands. All the Dutch possessions on the continent, including their numerous settlements on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and the port of Malacca, were ceded to England, and the English gave up to the Dutch all their settlements in the islands. England, besides this, obtained the island of Singapore, which, as the centre of English commerce, has become one of the greatest marts of the Eastern seas. By this treaty the Dutch possessions were greatly concentrated; and they were soon extended on their new basis. The occupation of the vast island of Sumatra was begun in 1838. The result of an administration immediately dependent on the home government has been most beneficial, for the Indies now do far more than merely to defray all their own expenses. They furnish Holland with an average net revenue of three millions sterling a year surplus, which the Dutch government invests in its own public works at home. The improvement in the Dutch Indies has been very much due to the new system of efficient administration. The Indian officials moreover, since 1842, have been carefully educated in a college at Delft, specially constituted for the service. The year 1869, which was the 250th in the history of Batavia, was marked by important changes in the direction of decentralization.

Beyond this feature of general improvement, the history of the Dutch Indies during the last half century affords no special feature. The world sometimes hears of a war carried on to subjugate the Sultan of Achin, in the northern corner of the island of Sumatra. This war has been going on ever since the Dutch established themselves in the East, and its successful conclusion, if it should ever happen, would therefore be an historical event worthy of notice.

3. *Spanish East Indies.*—The Spanish East Indies, consisting of the Philippine Islands, with their capital town Manilla, form perhaps the greatest curiosity in the whole colonial world. Here may be seen the old Spanish paternal government of the Indies exactly preserved. Unlike the Dutch Indies, the Philippines were never a source of revenue to their owners; but up to 1784 the deficit their accounts showed was made up out of the budget of Mexico, with which colony such trade as they had was carried on. In 1785 the islands were granted to a commercial company: and after that time they gradually became known to the world. In 1809, during the alliance with England, an English commercial house was even allowed to establish itself at Manilla: and in 1814 the same liberty was allowed to all foreigners, so that a new era for the islands may be said to have commenced with the present century. The year 1834, which witnessed the cessation of the company's charter, was an important epoch in their history. In 1855 four new ports were opened, and in 1869 a reduction in the tariff caused a considerable increase of trade. The staple produce of the Philippines consists of rice, sugar, and tobacco, the latter remaining a government monopoly. The vast majority of the natives remain in a condition of semi-barbarism; and the labourers are mostly either Chinese or Malay immigrants. The former were for many years very unjustly treated by the Spaniards. A heavy special taxation, which still subsists, was the least of the evils under which they groaned. As the growth of the Philippines depends entirely on the supply of labourers, this has been but a bad policy. The hold which Spain keeps upon this promising possession is slight indeed: and it is possible that they will ultimately fall into the hands of some community of English descent. At present the Philippine villages are very much as they were when the Spaniards came, except that they mostly have Christian

churches and schools, which are due to the efforts of the Jesuits, whose expulsion in 1768 is the chief historical fact connected with them. After the Revolution of 1868 the Spanish people seemed at length to be awakening to the necessity of doing something to preserve their colonies. The republican minister Moret in 1870 formed a scheme for teaching Philippine officials the native language, as well as something of the Indian and colonial policy pursued by England and Holland.

4. *Portuguese and French East Indies.*—Until 1862 nothing was included under these heads except a few of the ancient trading settlements mentioned in the earlier chapters of this history, Goa, Daman, and Diu on the Malabar coast being the only remaining possessions of Portugal, and Mahé on the same coast, with Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanaon, and Chandernagore, on the Coromandel coast, being all that England had spared to the power which had once been her competitor for the Indian empire. A few shiploads of Indian goods carried from these ancient settlements to Oporto and Saint Nazaire, are thus all that remains of the great visions that were more than half realized by Castro and Dupleix. The Portuguese Indies have long been absolutely insignificant: and the French ports were only preserved from oblivion by opening them to ships of all nations in 1816, after that long war in which French commerce was for the time destroyed. Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Yanaon once possessed a flourishing trade in cotton goods, designed for sale in the populous island of Bourbon, and in the West African settlement of Senegal. The protection granted by France to the textile fabrics of its Indian settlements having ceased in 1864, their trade has been since assimilating itself to that of the rest of India. All these possessions ought to be acquired by the Anglo-Indian government, as those of Denmark were in 1843. The insignificance of the French in the East was long a matter of dissatisfaction to the late emperor, and in 1862, at the conclusion of a petty war with the Sultan of Annam, in Cochin-China, a portion of the territory of this dignitary was annexed by France under the title of French Cochin-China. This district grows considerable quantities of rice, and its capital, Saigon, might possibly become an important place of trade. French Cochin-China was further increased by conquest in 1867; so that France can now boast of an Eastern Empire containing at least a million

of inhabitants. Besides these possessions on the mainland, France also has the island of Bourbon or Réunion, in the Indian ocean. Its fortunes, however, belong rather to the West than the East Indies: and its history naturally connects itself with that of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

5. *Portuguese and French Africa.*—Like the possessions of these nations in Asia, the few trading settlements belonging to France and Portugal which fringe the African coast are totally insignificant. Those of the Portuguese have suffered little or no change since they were first made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. French Africa, however, has been far from standing still in the same way. The first African settlements of the French, like many others made by other nations, had been made on the Western coast, and chiefly served for the purchase of slaves to be transported to the West Indian plantations. The French always had a liking for their West African settlements: and since 1857 they have been rearranging them to more advantage by treaties with England. We have seen how in the great European wars between 1793 and 1814 the English took from the French all their colonies and possessions that were worth taking at all. The poor figure which was made after the peace of 1815 by the French colonial empire greatly chagrined the French nation, who as we have seen had at one time in their history shown real genius for colonial enterprise. Under Louis XIV. France had been a great colonial power: under the Regency it had in this respect fast declined, and its ruin was completed by the wars of the Revolution and the Empire. But the French, always an elastic people, resolved to redeem their colonial reputation: and in 1821 they made a fresh beginning on the coast of Madagascar, by taking possession of the island of Sainte Marie. The natives forced them to abandon an attempted settlement on the mainland of Madagascar; but they still persevered in their colonial ideas. After the regeneration of the nation under Louis Philippe in 1830, great efforts were made to fill up the place of what had been lost. A favourable chance offered in the very year that inaugurated the monarchy of July. The Dey of Algiers committed an outrage on a French consul: and as he deemed it beneath him to make restitution a French army soon landed in his territory, and took the capital. The war became one of conquest, and by

1837 the French armies had occupied Constantine. The whole of this large tract was now added to France. The history of a Mediterranean state, however, hardly comes under the denomination of Colonial history, though France has always treated Algeria as a colony in the true sense, and done the utmost to procure emigration thither. Some other acquisitions in the West and South of Africa soon followed: and it might have been supposed that Louis Philippe had formed a plan for making himself master of the whole continent. The French world was delighted to find that the government had annexed the territories of Grand Bassain, Assinée, Gabon, and Dabon, all on the Gold Coast, together with the islands of Mayotte and Nossi-Bé, near Madagascar. But Grand Bassain and the rest were found to be quite worthless, and were speedily abandoned: while Mayotte and Nossi-Bé, both of which lie far out of the ordinary route of navigation, have only been preserved from the same fate by great efforts to plant them with coffee and sugar. Sainte Marie is useful as a roadstead for vessels leaving Réunion, as well as a *dépôt* for the trade of Madagascar, which the French have always looked on as peculiarly their own, though they have never made much of it. We shall see further on that Louis Philippe's government succeed no better in the Pacific islands. It is interesting, nevertheless, to see efforts so strenuous made in every quarter of the globe to recover what France has lost. This policy was continued by the succeeding government of Louis Napoleon.

6. *The Spanish West Indies.*—The great empire on which the sun was truly said never to set has shrunk to very narrow proportions: and the more closely we examine them, the narrower do they become. The business of the Spanish "*Ministerio de Ultramar*" has now only three divisions. Of one of these, the Philippines, we have already spoken. As the Philippines are at present, they are a mere relic of the past: and the same may be said of the second, the island of Fernando Po, near the coast of Africa, in the gulf of Guinea. This island was taken from the Portuguese in 1777, and was employed for the purpose of the slave trade. After the prohibition of the slave trade, it ought to have lost all its importance. But the contraband trade still in slaves went on to the Spanish West Indies: and the English therefore formed a station on this island in 1825, to be at once a means of checking

the traffic, and a refuge for the released negroes. Fernando Po, therefore, is also a mere relic of an extinct system. The two islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico are thus really the sole remnant of the Spanish colonial empire. We have seen in a former chapter, not only how the continental Spanish colonies obtained their independence, but how the Dominican Republic has been established on the third of the great Spanish Antilles : and the question naturally arises why the rich and prosperous islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico are not independent like the Dominican Republic. The history of Cuba since the beginning of the present century proves that the Spanish government has not been altogether so blind and senseless as might be supposed from the history of Spanish America in general. It would indeed have been extraordinary, if the course of events in the neighbouring island of Hayti, the landing of the French in 1807, the proclamation of Ferdinand the Seventh by the Spaniards in Cuba in 1808, the terrible rising of the slaves under Aponte in 1812, and the successive revolutions which were convulsing Spanish America, had not taught even the Spanish government an obvious lesson. Cuba had always been thought a valuable colony. Its value was at once increased manifold by the ruin of the trade of Hayti, and the Cadiz regency would have been blind indeed not to see that it was worth preserving. In 1813, Cuba was liberated from the bonds of the old Colonial system. Her ports were thrown open, the Constitution of Cadiz was proclaimed, and Cuban representatives were summoned to the Cortes. The representation, which was of little use, was abolished : but the other concessions were afterwards confirmed by the monarchy. A change of hardly less importance took place in 1815, when the government monopoly of tobacco was abolished. This, as we have seen, had been one of the most keenly felt grievances in all the Spanish colonies. The tobacco trade soon developed amazingly : but its progress was not so surprising as that of the sugar cultivation. For the rest of the famous old West India sugar colonies the present century, as we have seen, has been a time of misfortune and decay : for Cuba it has been one of growth and prosperity. About the time of the French Revolution Cuba produced annually about a quarter of a million hundredweights of sugar : by the year 1820, this produce had increased fourfold ; and the produce at present is above twenty million hundred-

weights a year, or eighty times as much as at the time of the French Revolution. The effect of the abandonment of the old Colonial system will be understood when we consider that 75 per cent. of this enormous sugar crop goes to the United States, 15 per cent. to England, and less than 2 per cent. to Spain itself. The reason of this extraordinary prosperity is obvious. In the first place, all the causes which, as we have seen, have depressed the British West Indies, have stimulated the growth of Cuba. Cuba still enjoys the benefit of slave labour. Its vast plantations employ something like half a million slaves, whose value has gradually risen to from 700 to 1,000 dollars each. Besides this, all the stream of Peninsular emigrants, who in former times spread all over Spanish America to trade on the privileges which the Spaniard enjoyed to the exclusion of the Creole, has been for fifty years directed to Cuba and Puerto Rico. These islands, and especially Cuba, have thus been placed with regard to Spain in an entirely new relation. While the distinction between the Spaniards and the Creoles is still kept up, as strongly as it ever was in Mexico or Peru, the Spaniards far exceed the Creoles in wealth and political influence, though not in numbers. Cuba is really a republic of the resident Spaniards, holding the island by a volunteer force raised among themselves, and owing allegiance to the mother-country not because the mother-country is able to keep them under control, but because this nominal connexion with the mother-country enables them to keep the Creoles or "Cuban" party under control. The island, like French Hayti in the old times, is thus divided between the Spanish and "Cuban" parties. The "Cuban" party, as in Hayti, consists largely of mulattoes and negroes, and is in favour of the abolition of slavery; and it is probable that if the "Cubans" should ever gain the upper hand, establish the republic, and abolish slavery, the Spaniards would leave the island, as the French planters left Hayti after the abolition of slavery by the French Assembly, leaving the Creoles of all shades of colour to fight out the same battle which we have witnessed in Haytian history, with much the same results. Unfortunately for humanity, the cause of slavery and of unequal civil rights has thus become in Cuba the cause of law and order: and during the whole of the century the "Cubans" have been more or less in a state of revolt. When an insurrection breaks out, there are always plenty of runaway

slaves ready to enlist for the pleasure of shooting their masters ; and as the central and eastern departments afford an ample cover of forest and mountain, it is impossible for the Spaniards, with their limited army of volunteers, to put an effectual stop to it. The turbulence of the "Cubans" has of course led to increased stringency of government ; and in consequence of the formidable risings of 1823 and 1829, the island had to be placed under what was almost a military despotism. Under the Captain-General Tacon (1834-8) there was an unusual degree of peace and prosperity : but the time of his successor, O'Donnell, was marked by the well-organized conspiracy of 1844, for participation in which the famous Cuban poet Placido was executed. The European revolutions of 1848 were soon followed by risings in various parts of the island ; and in the next year it was threatened by filibustering expeditions from the United States. In 1850, Narcisso Lopez, at the head one of these expeditions, landed and took the town of Cardenas. He was forced to retire ; and on returning in the next year, he was seized and executed. In the meantime the idea has gained ground in Spain that it would be well to mitigate the despotism of Cuba, and to endeavour to get rid of slavery by encouraging emancipation and immigration. In 1851 a governing Council was established in Madrid : and in the time of Pezuela (1853) the first attempts were made at the systematic introduction of free labour. The "Cubans" readily responded to these efforts, in the belief that their cause was gaining ground ; and tidings of the revolution of 1868 had no sooner reached the colony, than the standard of independence was again raised by Cespedes and Diaz. The Spanish party, however, soon proved to be unmistakably in the ascendant. The massacres of Havana in 1869 checked all participation in the movement on the part of the inhabitants of the capital : and the volunteers soon cleared the whole western province of the insurgents, though several thousand men under arms, chiefly runaway negroes, still continued to haunt the mountainous districts of the centre. In 1870 the Cortes of Madrid, bent on liberal measures, passed the "Moret law," abolishing slavery for all negroes born after 1868, and emancipating all who at that date were sixty years old and upwards. This law, however, has not been carried out. The old negroes are still made to work as hard as ever : and as no provision, such as exists in

Brazil under the law of September, 1871, has been made for bringing up the little free blacks who have been born since, the Moret law bids fair to remain a dead letter altogether. There was nothing in common between the Spanish party in the colony and the leaders of the revolution: and General Prim unsuccessfully endeavoured to sell the island to the United States. Puerto Rico is happily free from that slave question which is the main difficulty of Cuba. Of its half million of inhabitants, not more than 30,000 were slaves; and here the Moret law was soon followed up by total abolition. This island is much smaller than Cuba, and has a much denser population: the sugar estates are comparatively small, and employ but few labourers, all of whom are now free men; and as there is little or no waste land, every one in the island, as in Barbadoes, must either work or starve. There is here no question of separation from Spain, because the inhabitants, having the example of Hayti before their eyes, are anxious above all things to avoid disturbances which would perhaps end in ruin. By independence they would now gain little except the trouble of self-government, and perhaps the risk of defending themselves at some future time from foreign aggression.

7. *The French West Indies.*—The Colonial Empire of France in the west has shrunk to even narrower dimensions than that of Spain. Nothing of North America, New France, of Canada, Acadia, and Louisiana now remains to the French people except the little fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, whither the hardy sailors of Granville and St. Malo still ply in the summer time: while the wealth and civilisation of St. Domingo are but feebly represented by the decaying islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Martinique was saved from the fate of Hayti by the English invasion in 1794; but in Guadeloupe the war of races had already broken out, and the English were driven from the island by the colonists with the assistance of the French troops. After a second struggle between the colonists and the French troops, the latter were temporarily driven from Guadeloupe, and a republic was proclaimed: but the English conquered the island in 1810. In 1816, both islands, with their dependencies, were restored to France. For some years the island maintained a certain degree of prosperity by the aid of slavery. There was a slight

relaxation of the *Pacte Colonial*, which answered to the Act of Navigation, after 1826 : but, as in the British West Indies, it was not until after the abolition of slavery that the total abrogation of the old colonial system became necessary. Slavery was swept away by the Revolution of 1848 : and the French planters in 1855 followed those of Trinidad, British Guiana, and Cuba in organizing a supply of Coolie labour. In 1861 these colonies were allowed to trade with foreign countries ; in 1866 they were removed from the fiscal control of the home government, and local assemblies, on the model of those which had been founded under the Charter of 1830 on the basis of the colonial councils established by that of 1814, were allowed to impose their own customs duties ; so that the French West Indies practically enjoy independence. Since that date their prosperity has decidedly increased. The Isle of Bourbon, situated near Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, has had much the same fortune as the West Indies. The sugar colonies of France had suffered greatly since the time of Napoleon from the competition of home-grown beet-root sugar, notwithstanding the tax laid upon the latter in 1843. After the emancipation of the slaves in 1848, Réunion, as the Island of Bourbon was now named, would have been ruined without further protection : and a bounty was therefore granted, to diminish every year until it became extinct in 1870. In the meantime, preparations were being made for the extinction of the bounty. In 1861, together with the West India sugar colonies, Réunion was emancipated from the control of France by the total abolition of the *Pacte Colonial* ; the people were soon empowered to fix their own customs duties, on condition of providing for their own defence, and the colony thus became practically independent. Besides the sugar islands, French Guiana remains a melancholy relic of the old West Indian Empire. This colony has never thriven since its first occupation. It now contains less than a thousand free white people, and the only places in it of any importance are the two penal settlements in the Iles du Salut. French humanity at last, protested against the despatch of European arrivals to this dreary and pestilential region : and in the time of the late Emperor, as we shall shortly see, a new penal settlement for European convicts was formed in the Pacific Ocean, Cayenne being henceforth

reserved for Arab or negro desperadoes from Algeria and Réunion.

8. *Dutch, Danish, and Swedish West Indies.*—The Dutch West Indies lie in three different groups, St. Eustace, Saba, and St. Martin, among the Leeward islands, Curassao, Aruba, and Bonaire, off the coast of Venezuela, and Dutch Guiana. As we have seen, down to the French Revolution, the Dutch West Indies were in the hands of commercial companies; since that time they have been in the hands of the Dutch government, and the administration has been centralized in the hands of the Governor of Surinam. The Dutch Leeward islands have shared the fate of the English and French: and the barren islands on the Venezolan coast, as we have seen, having derived all their importance from the contraband trade carried on with Spanish America, have sunk into insignificance since its independence. Nor is the story of Dutch Guiana more interesting. It is chiefly remarkable as the scene of the long and desolating servile war which lasted for sixty-two years (1715—1777), and was only terminated by an armament of European troops. Since that time, Surinam has been heavily in debt. The abolition of slavery was delayed until every other species of misfortune had done its worst in Surinam, and only effected in 1863. The colonists, however, have done their best to secure a supply of free labour, and Surinam still exports considerable quantities of sugar, as well as producing increasing crops of cocoa and coffee. The government is an official autocracy: for though some elected members sit in what is called the House of Assembly, they have no power of initiating any measure, nor control over the government expenditure. The history of the Danish island of St. Thomas is quite unlike that of any other part of the West Indies. During the troubled times which succeeded the French Revolution, the loss of most of the American colonies was generally the gain of St. Thomas. The island has one of the finest harbours in the West Indies; and the neutrality of Denmark made St. Thomas an important place in time of war. In 1755 the Danish Company was bought up by the government: and its trade had become so considerable that after the Definitive treaty it was made a free port. During the wars of the French Revolution, St. Thomas continued to thrive faster and faster: but Denmark could now no longer maintain its neutrality, and the Danish West Indies came

twice into possession of the English (1801-1802 and 1807-1815). St. Thomas flourished more and more during the wars between Spain and her colonies; and it even paid a large yearly tribute to the mother country long after the other West Indian colonies had been hanging like a dead weight upon Europe. The abolition of slavery in 1841 was effected without disaster: but by the opening of all the other islands to general trade St. Thomas of course gradually lost much of its peculiar position in the West Indies. It was not exempt from the calamities which often befall those islands: and after an unusually heavy visitation of pestilence, earthquake, and hurricane in 1867, the Danish government, unable to obtain their tribute, and believing the island to be utterly ruined, offered it, together with the adjoining island of St. John, to the United States for 7,500,000 dollars. This bargain, however, was never completed; and the islands still remain Danish. Denmark also possesses in the West Indies the little island of St. Cross, near the Virgin Islands in the Leeward group, which was bought of the French in 1733. The tiny Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, bought of the French in 1784, and at once made into a free port, rose and fell in much the same way as St. Thomas. With the establishment of free trade in the rest of the West Indies, St. Bart's ceased to be worth keeping. In 1868 the Swedish parliament resolved to sell it: but they have not yet found a buyer.

9. *New Caledonia.*—We have already seen that Louis Philippe signalled his advent to power by laying hands on Africa. The French people have always been profoundly disappointed at the constant failure of their colonial schemes, and as any movement in favour of fresh colonies is therefore popular, new governments naturally look round for an opening. The map of the world, since the time of Captain Cook, has been pretty well known, and the ministers of Louis Philippe, in their search for new colonies, had been obliged to seek as far afield as the middle of the Pacific. At the time of the accession of his successor, Napoleon III., the sudden rise of Australia through the gold-fields of Victoria was the talk of the whole world. Not a great distance from Australia there was a barren island which the English had named New Caledonia, but had never thought worth occupying, though it had been more than once included in a colonial commission. The new Emperor saw in this

island the germ of a future Australasian France, and as the French were really in want of a healthy and remote site for a penal settlement, the English made no objection to its occupation by the French government. New Caledonia therefore became French soil in 1853. The new settlement was to be developed on a plan exactly similar to that of New South Wales. The convicts were to be partly employed on government farms, and partly distributed among the free settlers, who were expected to emigrate in large numbers. These expectations have not been altogether disappointed, for at the end of a quarter of a century New Caledonia has been proved to contain at least a thousand white settlers, besides a certain number of Chinese and Malays; and both sugar and coffee are exported to Sydney from the port of Nouméa. The land is granted out to applicants of all nationalities at a small redeemable quit-rent; but New Caledonia can hardly compete with the immense advantages now offered by the neighbouring colonies on the Australian continent, and shows at present no sign or promise of great prosperity. Only one melancholy fact is certain with regard to this island. The arrival of the European has been the signal for the speedy decay of the black population. Disease and drink on the one hand, and natural hostility on the other, have begun to do their work; and the wretched aborigines of New Caledonia are year by year rapidly diminishing.

10. *Oceania.* — Ever ready to seize new ideas, the French have been foremost among the nations of Europe in taking up ground in the islands of the Pacific. We have already seen how Cook first made the Pacific world known to Europe about a century ago. Since that time English and American enterprise, without losing sight of the islands, has been sufficiently occupied with the continental lands of Australia and North America. The French have, in the meantime, just as in North America, been acting as the pioneers of the rest of Europe. Side by side with the English and Americans, their whalers gradually became acquainted with the natives of the most important groups, and the whalers were soon followed by missionaries and petty traders. Wherever these establish themselves a certain amount of political influence follows: and in this way the English, Americans, French, and Germans have made many isolated beginnings. In a few cases the influence of a European nation has been

already extended over a whole island group. In this way, as we have already seen, the English have lately taken possession of the Fiji islands. The Marquesas islands were annexed by the French under Louis Philippe in 1842. Like the settlements taken by him in Western Africa, they have proved of no value, for they have absolutely no trade with Europe. The ministers of the monarchy of July assumed at the same time a protectorate over the Society islands and one or two other adjacent groups: so that, reckoning the Marquesas, the French nation counts among its subjects between thirty and forty thousand Polynesians. Tahiti and Morea, among the Society islands, alone contain any considerable number of European settlers, who raise, by the help of native labour, small quantities of sugar and cotton for export. These may be small beginnings: but there is no doubt that these groups of islands are destined to rise vastly in importance with the growth of America and Australia. By whom the fruits of the germ which the French are thus fostering will be reaped, is a different question. The English race seems destined sooner or later to enter everywhere into the labours of the French: and either Australian or American influence must in the end prevail in the Pacific settlements. This has already happened in another important group of Pacific islands. The Sandwich group, lying halfway between North America and Asia, has, since Cook's time, been more familiar than any other to European sailors: and French settlers were among the first to take up their abode in a climate which proved peculiarly inviting to Europeans. For two or more generations, Europeans have been settling in the Sandwich islands; and by the operation of what seems an unfailing natural law, the native race has been all this time quickly diminishing. Long since it was obvious that the Sandwich islands must at no very distant time become a purely European colony; and French politicians lost no opportunity of attempting to secure the upper hand. Their chief obstacle lay in the influence of the American Protestant missionaries. The leanings of the reigning family of the Kamehamehas were rather American than French: and the first constitution, promulgated in 1852, was framed on the most liberal scale, and gave a decided preponderance to American principles and interests. But soon after the establishment of the Second Empire in

France, the princes of the Sandwich Islands visited Europe. They felt highly complimented by the attentions of so important a monarch as Napoleon the Third, and permitted him to despatch some French politicians to take the command of their affairs at home. These men were in constant communication with the subtle Emperor : and, incredible as it may seem, there is no doubt that he planned a *coup d'état* in the Sandwich islands with the same views as the more famous and disastrous one of Mexico. No sooner were the States of America involved in the Civil War, than the French politicians, taking advantage of the opportune death of King Kamehameha IV. in 1864, abolished the old liberal constitution, and promulgated a new one on a far narrower basis, disfranchising all the floating population and Chinese. Trivial though this stroke of policy may seem to Europeans, it was disastrous in its effects on the Sandwich islands. The people soon began to clamour for the Constitution of 1852, and on the death in 1872 of the last of the Kamehamehas, a kinsman of that family was elected on the understanding that the constitution should be restored. One of King William's first measures was to establish an alliance with the United States, and to invite the Americans to construct a dockyard and fix here a permanent naval station, so that we may be sure that the "Latin protectorate" is at an end as regards the Sandwich islands. France can pretend to no interest here whatever : for during many years no French whaler has ever been seen in these seas. This fitful grasping at the shadow of a new colonial empire on the part of France, whether in the Pacific, in Cochin-China, in New Caledonia, or on the coasts of Africa, illustrates more than anything else the importance which the great colonies of England possess in the eyes of Europe.

II. General Remarks.—We can now see clearly that for the colonial interest and empire of every European power, except England, the period of history since the French Revolution has been a period of decline and fall. In the preceding chapters this fact has been illustrated on a large scale : in the present chapter the illustrations have been gathered from the minutest remnants of the old system. No exception to this conclusion is otherwise than an apparent one. The Dutch Indies are not in the true sense a colony, any more than British India is a colony. They resemble British India in almost every

respect, and may, in fact, be looked upon as its local continuation. The system of government, and the relations of the Europeans to the natives, are much the same. Though one of the two great India-holding nations has about ten times as many Eastern people under its sceptre as the other, the Indies of each are about equally important in the eyes of the people at home. The systems of government, though one is far milder and more beneficent than the other, throw light upon each other: and both are quite distinct from the great world of New Europe. Much the same may be said of the Philippines. But the Spanish Indies, far less thickly peopled than the Dutch and British, actually invite colonization: and when the colonial nations of English descent have energy and population to spare, this will probably follow, unless, indeed, the whole archipelago should first fall a prey to the Chinese. Portuguese and French Asia and Africa have nothing to show, as we have seen, beyond the fossil relics of an extinct system. The Spanish and French West Indies are practically independent; the Dutch West Indies are no longer of any importance; and the Danish and Swedish islands are all for sale. We have thus accounted for all the old colonies of the European powers; and the new colonial empire laboriously conjured up by the recent monarchies of France bids fair to be as ephemeral as the monarchies themselves. We shall endeavour, in the next and last chapter, to ascertain what general conclusions are to be drawn from colonial history as a whole.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION.

Different Views of the Politician and the Historian (1)—The Two Problems (2)—New Europe only in its Beginnings (3)—Its Unity (4)—Less Asiatic than the Old (5)—Its Reaction on the Old World (6)—Its Political Relations (7)—Canada, the Australias, and South Africa (8)—Present Colonial Empires (9)—Emigration (10)—Summary (11).

1. **Different Views of the Politician and the Historian.**
—The main deduction to be drawn from the events which have been sketched out is obvious. For the European

politician the preceding history is the history of a long and unbroken series of failures. All the military force and statesmanship of the old world combined have failed to keep up its hold on the new. Feudal grants, military garrisons, church establishments, mercantile companies, acts of navigation and colonial codes—every device of the politician in every age, have broken down alike. Colonial history is, in this respect, distinguished in a marked manner, from Indian history. Europeans can rule the East, whether for their own advantage, as the Dutch do, or for the advantage of the Eastern people, as the English do; they cannot rule their own descendants. In the attempt to keep up a real subordination of the new to the old Europe, the subtlest intellects have been baffled; and the attempt has been finally abandoned. To the European historian the preceding history is more satisfactory. It is no history of failures: it is a history of grand and extraordinary successes. The field of events which are interesting to him has been suddenly enlarged: he escapes from a confined space to one which seems to have no limit; instead of the narrow Asiatic peninsula, he finds himself dealing with an European world which encircles the globe. He sees that Western Europe has laid a firm grasp on the East, and has in the West spread the most perfect social developments in the world more or less over a space which may be called twenty or thirty times as great as itself. In both of these vast fields two national types, traceable in a clear course through ages of stagnation and confinement, suddenly found themselves contending for the first place in the race, and ultimately for mastery. The victory of the Teutonic type, in the nationalities of England and Holland, was soon apparent. The real Indies, the great prize which Columbus and Gama toiled to secure, fell ultimately, in unequal proportions, into the hands of the English and Dutch: and in their hands it still remains. Like the real Indies, the new world which has been formed by settlements and conquests fell at first mainly into the hands of the Latin races. The Teutonic races wrested it piecemeal from them. The English made the beginning on the American shore of new political communities as free as their own: and the banner of liberty, once raised, drew all other nations unto it in the course of time. This wresting of America out of the hands of the Latin governments, commenced by actual seizure and

occupation, was completed by the effect of example. By a series of changes, sometimes coming slowly, but more often in swift succession, colonies have disappeared, and a vast family of new nations has been formed and organized. The history of these nations, early as is the stage in which it even now stands, exhibits a great variety. Sometimes it has been a history of great and deep internal conflicts, sometimes of vague and shifting external combinations : sometimes it has been affected by great moral principles, long disregarded, and at length established after bloodshed and anarchy : it has reflected the worst social evils of the old Europe, yet we find it on the whole yielding new growths from the old germs, which prove themselves to have been fed from a soil of virgin strength, and from an air purged, or purging itself, of the old moral malaria. The historical student will find here in abundance the authentic traits of types which he has been accustomed to realize only in imagination. He can study the patriot hero, and see how he develops into the military tyrant : watch the painful growth of infant communities : see how the satisfaction of one social want generates another ; how climate acts upon the human type, and what are the limits of its action : how sometimes a people slowly disabuse themselves of a false idea, and how at other times they start up and cast it suddenly from them : how times wait for men, and men for times : how the heart of man, and the greater heart of bodies of men, is the same in all ages, bold, subtle, variable, and inscrutable to the wisest. The history of new Europe, moreover, stands alone in being a history which invites the inquirer with a complete array of materials. Here is little or no place for conjecture : all that is wanted may be found, for new Europe has grown up since the invention of the printing-press.

2. *The Two Problems.*—In the eyes of the political philosopher this history is reducible to the successive attempted solutions of two remarkable problems. The old Europe interrogated the new, with the view of solving the problem *How to organize the colony* : the new Europe has replied to the old Europe by *organizing the Republic*, and by showing the old Europe how to do it also. In the organization of the colony, that is, the formation of a new community essentially contributory and subordinate to the mother country, the old world failed suddenly and completely. In the organization of the

Republic, for various reasons, the old world had not been hitherto very successful, and its successes had only been achieved upon a small scale. The new Europe has shown how the organization of the Republic may be secured by a people spreading over a million of square miles. This has been done by means of the federation. The federation, like the colony, is an idea derived from the old world. The old world knew the federation and the colony on a small scale: the new world has taught us to know them both on a great scale. The new world will perhaps go far beyond this, and teach the old world not only how to organize the colony, but how to apply the federation to old states. The nations of the old world are being forced more and more together, sometimes by necessities from within, sometimes by pressure from without. The recently achieved unions in Germany and Italy may be looked upon as proceeding from the spirit of federation in a modified form: and we may expect yet more exemplifications of the same principle on the soil of the old Europe. Some have even predicted that a federation of nations of Western Europe, in spite of all differences of language and manners, will be forced on by the increased aggressiveness of Eastern Europe: a federation of peoples inspired by the modern spirit of commerce and industry against those which are yet filled with the mediæval lust of conquest. Without trespassing on the uncertain, we may safely say that the new world has greatly contributed to the spread of that principle of Nationality on which the unions of Italy and Germany have been founded. The new Europe has also contributed much to the advancement of the science of political economy, to which the attention of thinking people in the old world began to be drawn just when the new world was rising in importance. People saw clearly going on before their very eyes such processes as the growth of population and wealth, the exchange of colonial and European products, the export of capital and of labour: and the observation of these things had a great deal to do with the opinions which were put forth by Adam Smith and Jean-Baptiste Say, the founders of the science of political economy.

3. **New Europe only in its beginnings.**—To the observer of our times, the new Europe appears like a land of promise, lying in hazy outline before his gaze. He can have no doubt of its reality: but his interest in it is

checked by the feeling that he is not permitted to enter into it. Fifty years hence, the United States alone will contain two hundred and fifty millions of English-speaking people : and we may judge from this how great is the promise of the whole. As we have abundantly seen from the preceding pages, its promise is not unmixedly hopeful. Most of the retarding and pernicious principles which hamper the old world have been transplanted to the new, and they have there coalesced with ill principles of native growth. In Latin America the great masses of Indian, negro, and mixed races adapt themselves only very slowly to European notions of industry, organization, and the proper direction of public spirit. The new world must therefore look for its mainstay to the European races. But here, again, the contributions which the old Europe has long been making, out of its own numbers, to the peopling of the new have been mostly from the elements which were least worth keeping : and the statesmen of the new world have enough to do in preventing the population which is ever streaming to their shores from lowering their civilization. The real strength of the new Europe is not in immigration from the old, but in the multiplication of its own sons. In only one or two of the nations of new Europe, in the older portions of the United States and in Chile, has it experienced the tension and force which are gained by the recoil of an expanding population. Elsewhere, the population born in the new world is still spreading on its native soil by an important process, which may be called Internal Colonization. It is mainly to this process, not to immigration, that the great growth of the United States is due : and this process is equally the mainspring of extension in Canada, the Australias, and South Africa. The United States show us clearly the model on which the development of the three lesser groups of British Colonies is almost certain to proceed. Spanish and Portuguese America are striving for the same ideal with a success that varies according to circumstances. Many observers have noticed what they think to be signs of failure in the struggle. They think that the Latin colonies are fast relapsing into weakness and decay, and will at length be practically abandoned to the native races, or at least to a mixture in which the native races greatly predominate. In the success of leaders like Juarez and Carrera we have evidence which seems to favour this belief. But when we consider

how slow all progress has been in the Latin colonies, we shall hardly think it wise to come to any conclusion of this kind. Colonial history is full of surprises: and there seems no reason why the whole of Latin America may not one day attain the degree of progress which is so remarkable in the Republic of Chile.

4. **Unity of New Europe.**—Small as is the portion of the history of new Europe which has as yet been unrolled to our view, it enables us to correct a great error which prevailed half a century ago. At that time historians, following the notions of those who had supposed that the English would conquer all the Spanish colonies, augured a vast antagonism between the English civilization of North America and the Latin civilization of South America: an antagonism of Protestantism and tolerance on the one hand with Catholicism and intolerance on the other: of a republican nation with one inveterately monarchical: of stability with anarchy. South America was to engage in a grand struggle with the North; the North was to conquer it, and then to fall to pieces by its own weight. Such was the belief of men as acute as Hegel and Humboldt. These auguries have been proved erroneous. North America has conquered South America, but not by arms. The leaven of North America has thoroughly entered into the best and greatest part of South America; and it will in time certainly leaven the whole lump. Year by year the Spanish and Portuguese nations in the south are getting accustomed to consider themselves "Americans." The belief gains strength among them continually that they ought to be as far ahead of Europe as Europe is ahead of Asia. America has thus become a great social idea, if not a political one, implying an unity, a physical grandeur, and a progress which is supposed to be peculiar to the Western continent. Australia and South Africa, especially the former, have shown traces of a similar feeling on a different scale: and we may say of the whole new Europe, that it is becoming a great social and political unity, reflecting with increased splendour all that is really bright and good in the old. This has been done by means of English colonial ideas. Of the many types of colonial life the English seems to have been for some time extinguishing all the others on the physiological principle of the survival of the fittest: and this extends even to the English language. Throughout South America, the chief

part of the new Europe where English is not the native tongue of the colonist, English is becoming spoken more and more : and we may safely measure the progress of a "Latin" colonial community, as we may that of an Asiatic community, by the extent to which the English language is used. By means of the English colonies English has superseded French as the *lingua franca* or common tongue of the world.

5. **The New Europe less Asiatic than the Old.**—New Europe has left Asia much further behind it than old Europe has done. The old Europe clings with great tenacity to some Asiatic ideas. In politics, it clings to the kingdom and the empire ; but in new Europe those old things have passed or are fast passing away. Here we find for the first time in history the organization of commonwealths on a scale commensurate to first-rate national existence. In society, the old Europe clings to caste. This feeling grows weaker as we travel westwards in old Europe itself, and is being destroyed in new Europe by the contact of races. In the new world the bonds of race are suddenly dissolved, and man becomes a social unity, capable of combinations of a new kind and on a new scale. The religious ideas of the new and the old Europe present an equally marked diversity. The old world was intolerant, the new world is tolerant. New Europe, following Holland and England, has happily mingled the spirit of liberty with that of religion. The law of the new world is simpler and more liberal ; and in this matter the old Europe has been forced for very shame to imitate it. Even in England most of the legal and political reforms which have been adopted have been first tried in the new Europe. America is the only part of the world where Mahomedanism has not penetrated. Yet the new world has suffered from the taint of both slavery and polygamy, the two great Asiatic social evils which the Mahomedan law fosters and protects. But slavery is everywhere being gradually rooted out : and the polygamy of the Mormon community in the United States bids fair to be a transitory phenomenon.

6. **Reaction on the Old World.**—We have just said that the best nations of the new world tend to become an abstraction of the soundest elements in the old. As years go on, the old Europe cannot but conform itself more and more to the model of this abstraction of its own best elements realized on a large scale : and the old

Europe thus may be said morally to become the satellite of the new. The history of the political and social changes of the past century in the new and the old Europe alike is almost like the dream of the King of Babylon, in which the great image was smitten by a stone cut out without hands, and its iron and clay, and silver and gold, were broken to pieces together, and made like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors: while the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. Those great monarchies of Western Europe, out of which the new Europe sprang, have been completely metamorphosed. It is true that this is not entirely attributable to the new Europe; but the new Europe unquestionably had a great share in the work. France is a republic, Spain has been a republic, and will be so again; England and Portugal are notoriously republics in a monarchical guise. Oddly enough, the Dutch Republic, to which, as we have seen, the re-organization of the old Europe may be traced, has outwardly become a monarchy: but it is really a republic with an hereditary president. In deciding one of the most important issues in the history of our time, the fate of South-eastern Europe and Western Asia, the reaction of the new world will probably be very apparent. These parts must be practically colonized over again: and this can only be done under free political systems. Liberty and colonization have in fact already begun to do this great work in Servia, Roumania, and Greece: and the next steps will perhaps be taken in Bulgaria, Crete, and Asia Minor. We have in one place of this volume briefly traced the connection of the growth of the colonies with the growth of the mechanical arts in Europe. The vastness and variety of nature in the new world has given an extraordinary stimulus to physical science. Men of science have interrogated nature in a more patient spirit: they have unlearned the narrow dogmas of a half-Asiatic philosophy. In the new world, where the imagination enjoys an ampler air than in the old, there have been formed many strange and wide aspirations. Few of them, perhaps, have been realized; but there is no doubt that here the great Christian dogma of the practical fraternity of mankind has taken for the first time its true meaning. In the new world all men are equal, and have equal rights: and as the new world is conterminous with the spread of Christianity, leaving Mahomedanism, Hinduism, and Buddhism to Asia and Africa, so it is con-

terminous with the spread of political and social liberty, leaving to Asia the system of castes and dynasties. Turning to a more homely aspect of history, we shall still find the new and the old Europe on the same basis of progress. We have seen that this history is concerned not only with a larger area, but with a wider series of facts, than most histories. The growth of the colonial nations is inseparably connected with the growth of wealth, enterprise, science, public spirit, and general enlightenment in the mother countries. This is why England and Holland have beaten the Latin nations in the colonial race : and colonial growth has reacted powerfully in all these respects upon the old Europe. The growth of inventions in machinery, one of the great distinguishing features of the last hundred years, has had much to do, both with colonial progress and with the progress in the old Europe produced by the reaction of colonial progress. Without the steamboat and the railway, the new Europe would never have become what it has become : and it is the power-loom, the cotton-gin, the wool-combing machine, and such like inventions, which have given to the most flourishing colonial trades their present magnitude and importance. The new world has had a most important effect on the well-being of the poorer people in the old Europe. It has produced materials for their work : it has afforded them an opportunity of escaping from a narrow field into a land where labour has every advantage on its side, and it has also made food of all kinds much cheaper. The new world has more food than it wants : from its abundance of productive land, it overflows everywhere with the necessaries of life, and the old world of course feels the benefit. Not only our coffee and sugar, but our very bread and butter, flour, cheese, lard, salted meat of all kinds, and even within the last few months our fresh meat, are brought to our tables from the new world. This illustrates perhaps better than anything else how close and real the ties between the old and the new world are becoming.

7. **Political Relations of New Europe.**—With regard to the great mass of the new European nations, that is, to those of the American continent from the St. Lawrence to Patagonia, their relation to each other and to the nations of old Europe is precisely the same as that existing in the nations of the old continent. They are independent, and connected by no necessary ties whatever.

The new world has thus increased the absolute number of the great European family of nations. Most of the new members of that family may not be at present worthy of comparison in point of strength or wisdom with the old, but, as we have seen, they have been both strong enough and wise enough to establish their independence, and to organize themselves on an uniform basis, setting their faces stedfastly towards progress; their capacity for development is unlimited; and succeeding generations will see the result. Asia and Africa themselves will perhaps be gradually Europeanized through the preponderance given to European ideas by the independent forces of the new world. The new Europe increases in population in a greater ratio than has ever been known: and it is impossible to guess what may be the exact effect of this upon the balance of national power on the globe. The new Europe embraces about twenty sovereign states, and may possibly break up further, so as to yield a greater number of political units standing towards each other in independent relations. These independent relations at present only exist in their perfect form in Europe itself, in the United States, and in Spanish and Portuguese America. The three great groups of English colonies which have been so often mentioned are at present in a state of semi-independence, which, if long continued, could not fail to hamper their progress without conferring either on themselves or on the mother country any benefit in exchange. They occupy a position so anomalous as to constitute a class of their own in the new world.

8. *Canada, the Australias, and South Africa.*—These three groups of colonies bring us back to a difficulty which was familiar to English statesmen a century ago. The Canadian and Australian Parliaments make their own laws, and raise their own taxes, just as the Parliament of the United Kingdom does for Great Britain and Ireland. Their sole connection with the mother country is through the crown: and though they have been mainly peopled from the United Kingdom, in no sense can they be considered as sharing in its nationality. They do not wish to stand alone in the world, and they feel that they are not strong enough to do so: besides this, there is a natural and irresistible desire for peoples speaking the same tongue to unite in forming large and powerful combinations. Year by year the world is learning to unite its forces more and more closely. Every citizen of a

great nation bears reflected upon himself some part of the reputation of that nation. The Englishman and the Frenchman, the citizen of the United States and of united Germany, are proud of their title ; but no one at present could be very proud of being an Australian or a South African, because these nations have not as yet produced great men or done great deeds. The people of these lands will sooner or later desire to attach themselves to some great nationality. Now the English-speaking world is divided into two rival nationalities, those of the old country and the new country ; of Britain and the United States. At present, Canada, Australia, and South Africa belong to neither. The first and last have quite lately been endowed with local organizations of their own, and we may expect to hear that the voice of these great groups of colonies will be raised for a substantial federative union with one or other of the great powers which divide the English-speaking world. Unless these loose groups are attached by some such firm tie to England, one of them is quite certain, and even the others are very likely, to attach themselves to the United States. In the political as well as the physical world, attraction is a mighty law. The statesmen of the latter nation have from the beginning regarded as a certainty the accession of Canada to the Union. The United States do not desire to conquer Canada by force, but no one can foresee the effects of a political rupture with England : and the same relation extends to other British colonies. British Columbia and Australia both belong to the great world of the Pacific, on either shore of which America and Russia are rapidly extending their naval stations. The United States already have their grasp on the Sandwich islands, which are nearly half way to the Fiji group. The defences of all these colonies are in the condition which might be expected from their relation to one another and to the mother country. They do, in fact, not exist at all ; the British colonial empire, as it is called, is in this respect totally neglected. On the other hand, many able politicians have thought the empire a mere figment, and if it possessed reality, not worth maintaining. This, however, is not so clear. England is the only colonial nation which has a population which is ever exceeding its narrow geographical limits. The overflow of England now peoples states which, though English-speaking, are not part of England. Most of it peoples the United States ; and it

will continue to do so as long as the present anomalous condition of things continues. If an actual union with the colonies were accomplished, there is no doubt that they would grow much faster. The overflow of her population would then enrich her own soil. A closer union with her colonies would certainly tend to secure for England that weight in the world which is imperilled by the scantiness of her geographical limits, ever diminishing in comparative size and importance with the increase in size and importance of the nations of the new world. Without her great Indian Empire, England would have far less weight in the world's balance of power. The weight which her colonies are capable of adding to her substantial power is of a different kind: and it is no doubt true that it is impossible for English statesmen to wield the political force of her colonies as they wield that of India. But it is by no means clear that some real tie of union might not be adopted which, without increasing the complexity of the imperial government of England, might add to its forces the fast-growing forces of the great groups of English independent colonies, or at any rate to prevent them from drifting away, and becoming rivals, if not enemies, as the United States of America have done.

9. *Present Colonial Empires.*—This history has been to a great extent a history of the decline and fall of colonial empires. We have seen the outlines of a great French empire in North America, of which the Canadian Dominion claims to be the natural representative, fade away almost before they were recognized by the world. We have seen the fall of the British Empire in North America, and traced the break-up of the great Spanish empire in South America. In the course of the wars of the half-century of transition, we have seen the colonial empires of France and Holland utterly destroyed by the British arms. We have seen the Portuguese colony, through a singular combination of circumstances, reverse its natural relation to the mother country, and finally cut itself adrift. We have seen the settlements of all Europe on the coasts of India overshadowed by the growth of the great Indian military empire of England. Europe, however, has still some relics of the old system to show. We have seen in the preceding chapter the complete insignificance of the shadow of colonial empire which now exists. The Spanish West Indies are really the only

fragment of the old colonial systems that remain in notice ; and we cannot suppose that they will long remain in their present relations to Spain, France, and the British colonial empire, excepting Algeria, which belongs to the old world, is a mere phantom. Colonial empires, it is easy enough to see, are now a thing of the past. The United Empire of Great Britain and her colonies, at which we have hinted in the last paragraph, would not be a colonial empire in the true sense at all. It would be a Federation of independent States.

10. Emigration.—The growth of the new Europe, as we have seen, has greatly, though by no means entirely, depended on the outflow of the superfluous population of the old. Before the epoch of independence this outflow was considerable ; but it took an entirely new start after the peace of 1815 : and the last half-century has been a great era of movement for European peoples. Many things have concurred to promote it. Steam navigation, the invention of machinery employing fewer hands, a reformed policy on the part of government in dealing with the poor, the diffusion of increased knowledge of the new world, have all tended in this direction. The main sources of this outflow of population from old Europe have been the United Kingdom and Germany ; and the former has always taken the lead. Religious persecution at home and toleration in America greatly promoted English emigration in the seventeenth century : and as early as 1710 emigration became a direct policy. In that year Queen Anne's government offered a free passage to America for distressed labourers and their families : and the superfluous agricultural population of England has ever since poured into America in a steady stream. Special causes have in late years made Ireland its chief source. The destruction of the small holdings and villages of Ireland for the benefit of the landlords and large farmers, in the middle of last century, was one : the unjust penal laws were another. These laws drove the Irish Catholics to the new world in a larger proportion than the Protestants : and when this cause ceased to operate, it was succeeded by one even more effectual. The introduction of potato culture caused a great subdivision of the land, and doubled the density of the poor country population ; the failure of the potato crop in 1846 and 1847 suddenly drove between one and two millions of Irish to seek their subsistence in

the new world. A spirit of adventure, rather than actual injustice or necessity, has always promoted emigration from the island of Great Britain, especially from its northern portion. Wherever we go, whether in the new world or in the trading settlements of the East, we find the Scotch to be the leading people among emigrant Europeans. Notwithstanding that depopulation of the Highlands which was once mercilessly pursued by the landowners, Scotland has never equalled England, with its large teeming cities, as a source of population for the new world. England is the centre of news for the whole globe; and as soon as new chances offer in any part of it, a spontaneous emigration, not altogether of poor people, but of the large class of people of trading and industrial pursuits, who have saved a small capital, and of enterprising young men from the middle and upper classes, at once begins. Wherever these people go, the poorer emigrants, who have nothing to depend on but their labour, find the way made plain for them: and it is their pioneering that puts British emigration in a rank above that of the rest of Europe. Germany comes next to the British Isles as a source of population. Ever since the twelfth century the miners and artizans of Germany have been spreading into the bordering countries. From Spain to Lapland, from Lapland to the Black Sea, German settlements are everywhere to be found. Germans accompanied the English to Virginia, the Dutch to New Amsterdam, and the Swedes to the Delaware: and they formed a large proportion of the people settled by William Penn in Pennsylvania. Early in the last century German communities began to spring up in the state of New York and the Carolinas. Tempted by Law's famous scheme, they settled on the Mississippi: and as early as 1750 the German element in North America began to rival that of the British themselves. The great stimulus given to British emigration since 1815 acted powerfully on Germany also. If we look at the tables of figures in which these facts are registered, we see that at every sudden push which British emigration makes German emigration rises and falls with it, like its shadow, following it not only to the United States, but to Canada, the Australias, and South Africa. The Germans, as we have seen, have also gone in immense numbers to the nations of South America, especially those in its southern latitudes. Though the Germans have helped to colonize almost every nation of

old and new Europe, they have never formed a national colony, because at home they have never been a solid nation, but a group of loose peoples. Moreover, the laws under which they have lived at home have not been such as they have wished to re-establish elsewhere ; they have been glad to attach themselves to communities where the laws were juster, and the society more equal. Conscription, governments oppressive in the minutest details, restraints upon marriage, forced labour, privileges of the classes above them, laws either producing a mischievous subdivision of a soil universally mediocre, as in the Rhineland, or practically preventing it altogether, as in Austria, have impelled the poor people of Germany to seek a new life in a new world by a thousand inlets. If the German governments had been wise in the beginning of the last century, they might have founded somewhere a New Germany, which would have rivalled the New Britain. Certain wise men pressed Frederick the Great to buy ships and found colonies ; but he answered that a ship cost as much as a regiment, and that he preferred regiments. This answer tells us why some European nations have made solid offshoots from themselves in the new world, and some have not. The Germans come next to the Scotch and English as successful emigrants. Their patience, prudence, and love of work are unrivalled. The German States have contributed to emigration in different proportions. Austria has large thinly-peopled countries belonging to her in Europe, as Russia has in Asia : hence the surplus population of Austria, like that of Russia, has generally emigrated to new seats in the old world instead of wandering to the new. Bavaria and Prussia are the chief sources of German emigration : but it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which it really goes on. One remarkable thing about German emigration is that it has for the most part been carried on against the will of the German governments. Looking on the people as their slaves, only born to fight their battles and till their lands, these have naturally thought it unfair that the people should want to forsake their fatherland for ease and liberty ; it is only when pauperism has been rife that they have favoured the movement. The new world has been to modern Germany what the great free cities were⁹ in former times, a place where liberty and honest labour could find a refuge from political and social oppression. The French have never been a great emigrating people.

The poor starved peasantry of France in the last century could not emigrate as the Irish and Germans have done because they were under a strong centralised government, because there were no free towns to serve as outlets, because they knew less of the new world, because many French colonies had disastrously failed, and because they had a strong and famous nationality, which they loved, in spite of everything, at home. French emigration of any extent dates from the present generation. Most of the new South American nations have been glad to take French immigrants: and tens of thousands have within the last thirty years gone to Algeria. Belgium, with its very dense population, and perfect liberty of emigration; has contributed greatly to peopling the United States, and in a less degree to that of South America. In Holland the main causes of emigration have been wanting, and adventure has taken a mercantile rather than an agricultural direction. Since the loss of its own colonies, Holland has contributed to swell the general European outflow; but the usual destination of the Dutch emigrant is still South Africa. The Swiss and Italians have helped to people the United States, Brazil, and the Plate River; the Italians preferring the latter district. The surplus poor population of one or two districts of Spain spreads chiefly over the neighbouring parts of Europe and Africa. Many thousands have gone to Algeria: and this has proved a great help to the French government, for the Spaniards have been taught by the experience of centuries how to deal with the Africans. The Portuguese emigrate chiefly to Brazil. In Eastern Europe, where the population is very thin, there is no impulse to emigration. On the contrary, it is a field of immigration, and under wise governments might seriously compete as such with the new world. Southern Russia, Western and Central Asia, and all the countries which have lately freed themselves, or are now freeing themselves, from the blight of Turkish domination, would, under favourable circumstances, irresistibly attract western labour and capital.

II. *Summary.*—The chief points in the history of the European Colonies, or, as it is better to call them, the new Europe, are as follows. This history is divided into two main periods, separated by a half-century of transition (1775—1825). Previously to the said half-century, all the European colonies, except the solitary settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, were in America. “The Colonies.”

in those days only meant America, with the West Indian Islands: America was a colonial continent belonging in unequal proportions to several European nations. Setting aside for the moment the Plantation colonies, up to 1674 there were *five* America-holding nations; from thence until 1763 there were *four*; and from thence until 1775 there were *three* of these nations. Between 1775 and 1825 the power of all three of these nations, after three more or less obstinate struggles, was completely extinguished, excepting only in the colonies conquered at different times by England from France: and instead of the colonies there were now independent nations in the whole length and breadth of the American continent. The only parts of their colonial empires which the five European nations retained were the West Indian Plantations; and these have been for the most part decreasing in importance ever since, so that altogether we may say that Europe has no longer the same kind of interest in the Western Continent that she had a hundred years ago. Since the half-century of transition, each of the independent states of America has a history of its own: and we have endeavoured to show in what way the history of each has been affected by the special circumstances which have attended it. The fall of the colonial empires in America made the European colonial nations turn their attention in other directions: and England has now attached to her three groups of colonies, most of which have already reached a stage quite corresponding to that of the United States at the epoch of independence. The Canadian and the South African groups are already united by confederations of their own: and perhaps the same thing will some day take place in the Australian group. As for France, about the beginning of this century England took away every one of the rest of her colonies, just as she had already taken Acadia and Canada; but most of them were restored, and since 1815 the French have been as busy as possible in getting up a new empire, partly colonial, partly Oriental, which includes a population of between two and three millions, mostly of native races. The Dutch have concentrated themselves in their rich Oriental Archipelago, where they have been supreme ever since the massacre of Amboyna, excepting the short period, nearly seventy years ago, when the English took away all their colonies because they were allies of the French. Nor have the Spaniards and Portuguese made any new colonies. They

have striven to do the best with what is left them of the old; but colonial empires are practically a thing of the past. No European power would now think of going to war for the sake of winning its neighbour's colonies, because colonial commerce is now in the main subject only to nominal restrictions, and greater benefits than were derived in the last century by each nation from the exclusive commerce of its colonies now lie open to all, in the free-trading system which is adopted by most nations in proportion to their enlightenment. We have thus seen the colonial system fall, and groups of free nations spring up in its place. This is the whole history of the new world. We must not at present look for any great or material change in the relations of these groups of free nations: we may safely look upon the whole system of them as settled, and wait for them to fill up their outlines. New members may perhaps be added to the system before very long in the world of the Pacific, but they can hardly affect the main scheme of the colonial world. Altogether, it is plain that the changes and growths which make up this history are on a larger scale than any others that have been known: and it is this circumstance enhanced by the sense of a great and unknown future, which gives to colonial history its peculiarly impressive character.

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