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**A SHORT HISTORY OF  
BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY**

A SHORT HISTORY OF  
BRITISH COLONIAL  
POLICY

BY

HUGH EDWARD EGERTON M.A.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

"THE WORLD'S HISTORY IS THE WORLD'S JUDGMENT"

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## P R E F A C E

IN these latter days when the plague of book-making has taken its place, along with influenza, among the blessings of an advanced civilization, the appearance of any volume, not vouched by an author of eminence, requires a word of apology. Perhaps, however, the standpoint of the present work affords it some justification. There are, of course, various books dealing with various phases of Colonial Policy, or with such policy for some particular period, but there is no book which deals with the subject systematically on historical lines, while in the regular histories the subject of policy naturally takes a subordinate and incidental position. The point of view of the book explains its method. Where a narrative of events is concerned, it is the duty of the author to weigh his authorities, and from them to evolve his own story; but, where we are dealing with the history of opinions, it is desirable, as far as possible, to allow the authorities to speak for themselves. This must be my excuse for a plentiful employment of quotations: there appearing little advantage in the method which makes the text a bald summary and throws the living interest of a book into its footnotes.

In dealing with the history of Colonial Policy, there is one preliminary objection which must be met. "Colonial Policy," it is said, "why—there is no such thing! Great Britain has

merely blundered into the best places of the earth and means to keep them." If by "policy" be meant a premeditated advance to a definite goal, the criticism must be allowed. Nevertheless, behind the dim gaze and circumscribed horizon of each individual generation, we recognise forces at work fitting events, apparently fortuitous, into the scheme of a mighty system. The thoughtful student of the past finds himself somewhat in the position of Æneas, when, enlightened by his goddess mother, he recognised the deliberate work of the very gods in what at first had seemed the mere sport of fire and chaos.)

The following pages were in the press<sup>1</sup> before the arrival of the Colonial Premiers in England, and it has been therefore impossible to deal with the lessons of this *annus mirabilis* of Imperial history. This is the less to be regretted, as there can be nothing to add to what has been so well said by various persons of authority. In the face, however, of recent utterances of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and others on the subject of Imperial Federation, it may be well to add a word of explanation of the views maintained in the text. I have not denied—and no one, I think, can deny—that, if the Colonies come to demand Imperial Federation, Imperial Federation there will have to be. Undoubtedly they have a formal and technical grievance in the subordinate position of their Executives and Legislatures with regard to Imperial questions, and, if they come to consider that grievance a real one, some remedy will have to be applied. Further, it is impossible to suppose that the present system can go on indefinitely when the respective proportions of population

<sup>1</sup> In fairness it should be remembered that my introductory chapter was written more than a year ago.

and wealth in the Mother country and the Colonies have become materially altered. All that I have ventured to maintain is that Imperial Federation, if it means a Federal Imperial Parliament, will have its own difficulties, its own occasions for misunderstanding and friction, and that it may after all turn out that the future has in store some more satisfactory solution of the problem to be solved.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the Colonial Premiers themselves unanimously, with the exception of the New Zealand and Tasmanian representatives, have agreed "that the present political relations between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies are generally satisfactory under the existing condition of things."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all that has been recently written on the South African question, I am not without hopes that the portion of this book relating to it may be of some slight use. The subject has been generally approached either from the point of view of the experienced observer on the spot or of the partisan of some particular policy; my aim has been to bring out from the Parliamentary Papers how largely the present is the heritage of the past. *Pace* Mr H. M. Stanley, it does not follow that because we are convinced that Great Britain must remain paramount in South Africa, we need therefore refuse any sympathy to Dutch grievances, which are largely due to the mistakes and hesitations of English statesmen in the past.

In a volume which deals with a long period of time and many scattered events, there are doubtless mistakes and inaccuracies. For such I would pray pardon in anticipation.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Chamberlain's suggestion of "a great Council" for purposes of consultation must be noted. (*Parl. Pap.*, 1897.)

<sup>2</sup> *Parl. Pap.*, 1897.



## PREFACE

With all its faults the book represents much reading and some thought. In writing what is, to some extent, a history of opinion, it has been impossible altogether to suppress my own individual opinions. I trust, however, that I have not seemed to attach importance to them. In dealing with the later periods, I remembered Sir Walter Raleigh's remark on the fate which awaits the treatment of contemporary history; but obscurity may claim its compensations, and at least I am not conscious of having written under the bias of personal or party prejudice.

HUGH E. EGERTON.

*Sept. 1897.*

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Settlement in New England of <i>Mayflower</i> Pilgrims . . . . .	1620
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"    Rhodes Island . . . . .	1663
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	A.D.
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War of the Austrian Succession . . . . .	1740
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Foundation of New South Wales . . . . .	1788
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First Conquest of Cape of Good Hope . . . . .	1795
Formal junction of War and Colonial Departments . . . . .	1801
Abolition of Slave Trade . . . . .	1807
- Beginnings of Constitutional Government in Australia . . . . .	1823 and 1828
Van Diemen's Land separated from New South Wales . . . . .	1825
Foundation of Western Australia . . . . .	1829
Land Regulations and Appointment of Emigration Commissioners . . . . .	1831
Emancipation of Slaves . . . . .	1833
Foundation of South Australia . . . . .	1836
Exodus of Dutch Farmers . . . . .	1836
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Assumption of Orange River Sovereignty . . . . .	1848
Repeal of Navigation Acts . . . . .	1849
Sand River Convention . . . . .	1852
New Zealand Constitution Act . . . . .	1852
Cape Colony Constitution . . . . .	1854
Abandonment of Orange River Sovereignty . . . . .	1854
+ New Secretaryship of State for the Colonies . . . . .	1854
Australian Constitution Acts (Responsible Government instituted) . . . . .	1855
Merchant Shipping Act . . . . .	1855
Foundation of British Columbia . . . . .	1858
Queensland separated from New South Wales . . . . .	1859
British North America Act . . . . .	1867
Cessation of Transportation to Australia . . . . .	1867
+ Responsible Government in Cape Colony . . . . .	1872
Annexation of Transvaal . . . . .	1877
Pretoria Convention . . . . .	1881
London Convention . . . . .	1884
+ London Colonial Conference . . . . .	1887
Charter to Royal Niger Company . . . . .	1886
"    British East Africa Company . . . . .	1888
"    British South Africa Company . . . . .	1889
+ Grant of Responsible Government to Western Australia . . . . .	1890
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x Ottawa Colonial Conference . . . . .	1894

**APPENDIX A**  
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEFORE beginning the direct study of British Colonial Policy, the reader should familiarise himself with the Hakluyt Voyages, and modern accounts of early exploration, such as those of Sir Clements Markham in the *Royal Navy*, edited by Mr Laird Clowes, so as to realise the circumstances under which a Colonial Empire became possible. Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History* shows the conditions upon which alone such an Empire can be maintained. An indispensable introduction to the subject is Seeley's *Expansion of England*, which must serve as the starting-point for every student of colonial policy. (*The Growth of British Policy*, by the same author, though it does not directly touch the ground covered by this book, will be found valuable in suggestion.) Consult also Herman Merivale's *Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies*, 1842, 2nd ed. 1861 (which, in spite of its form, remains of abiding value,) and the interesting introductory volume to Mr Lucas' *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*. In reading Sir G. Cornwall Lewis' *Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, it should be noted that the book deals with none of the later problems of colonial policy. It should therefore be read in the 1891 edition, published by the Clarendon Press, to which Mr Lucas has contributed a valuable introduction, bringing the book, so to speak, down to date.<sup>1</sup> *De la Colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, by M. P. Leroy-Beaulieu, may be recommended as displaying the French gift of combining the comprehensible with the comprehensive. Sir C. Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain*, 1890, deals for the most part with the lessons to be drawn from the political and economical experiences of the Colonies, but it also deals with questions of British policy, such as Imperial Defence, Federation, etc. Among books dealing with these important subjects may be mentioned Sir G. Clarke's *Imperial Defence*, 1897, Sir C. Dilke's and Mr Wilkinson's *Imperial Defence*, 1892, new ed. 1897, and

<sup>1</sup> There are several useful books introductory to the study of colonial history, but I have mentioned those with which I am most familiar.



Mr Parkin's *Imperial Federation*, 1892. For a searching and most unsympathetic criticism of Imperial Federation see Freeman's *Greater Greece and Greater Britain*, 1886. The constitutional and legal aspect of the subject should be approached with Todd, *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*, 1880, and Tarring, *Statutes relating to the Colonies*, 2nd ed., 1893.

Passing from general books, the main authorities on Colonial Policy cannot but be the Statutes, Parliamentary Debates, and, above all, the State Papers. The importance of the Statutes is especially great in dealing with the period of Trade ascendancy. The task, perhaps, awaits some English economist of writing the history of Mercantilism from the point of view of the English Colonial system, on lines similar to those employed by Schmoller, approaching the subject from the Prussian standpoint. Meanwhile, the student can merely fight his way through the jungle of the Statutes at large, assisted by the famous chapters<sup>1</sup> in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and by the sections referring to the subject in Dr Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* should also be consulted. The *Parliamentary History*, the *Cavendish Debates* and *Hansard*, and incidental authorities such as the *Chatham Correspondence*, must be consulted for speeches in Parliament.

With regard to the State Papers, the task of the student is simplified by the admirable summaries which have been made by Mr Sainsbury, and which, since his regretted death, are being continued by the Hon. J. Fortescue. Five volumes<sup>2</sup> of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, have hitherto appeared—viz., 1574-1660, 1661-1668, 1669-1674, 1675-1676, together with addenda, 1574-1674, and lastly, 1677-1680.

Mr A. Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols., 1890, contains almost every document of interest relating to the first ten years of Virginian history, edited in the most satisfactory manner. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, 2 vols., should also be consulted. From the date of the conquest of New York, the collection of *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, 1856-77, are of first-rate importance. Volumes III. to IX. are concerned with the records of English government. Many papers in this collection relate to the Colonies generally,

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. ch. vii. and viii.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the volumes dealing with the East Indies.

and not exclusively to New York. From the time of William III. to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, use has been made of the manuscript papers in the Record Office. Many papers relating to Canada are set out in full in Kingsford's monumental *History of Canada* up to 1841, which has now completed its ninth volume, and in the appendices to Christie's *History of Lower Canada*, 6 vols., 1848-55. A very great number of *Parliamentary Papers* have been read, dealing with the events of this century, but where the mass of material is so great, some important papers may well, by inadvertence, have been overlooked.

Passing to books other than Blue Books, the following list of books, referred to or consulted in the preparation of the text, may be useful<sup>1</sup> :—

Books relating to the American Colonies<sup>2</sup>—

Winsor, J., *A Critical and Narrative History of America*, 8 vols., 1885, etc. (Contains a mine of learning, and most useful for reference.)

Hildreth, R., *History of the United States*, 6 vols., 1849-52. (Contains an admirable summary of the history of the Colonial period.)

Grahame, J., *History of the United States to the Declaration of Independence*, 4 vols. (Perhaps unduly praised by Gibbon Wakefield and others.)

Doyle, J. A., *The English in America*, 1882, etc. Vol. I., Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas; Vols. II. and III., Puritan Colonies. (I have ventured once or twice to differ from Mr Doyle, so I may be allowed here to express my admiration of these masterly volumes.)

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to catalogue the numerous Review and Magazine articles dealing with Colonial Policy; the value of the weekly article on the Colonies in the *Times* has been noted in the Introductory chapter.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Bancroft's well-known history. (It is to be hoped that occasional references in the text to this great work may not seem impertinent, but, in truth, its view is that the history of the beginnings of the United States was an Armageddon, wherein the Mother country consistently represented the powers of darkness, while the colonists were as uniformly on the side of the light. From the original fountain of the History this theory has trickled down into the channels of popular school books, and largely influenced the minds of successive generations of Americans. It is true that among American writers themselves a new way of dealing with the history of the colonial times is becoming general, but the influence of Bancroft has undoubtedly, even in England, been very great.)

Force, P., *Tracts and other Papers relating to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the discovery of the country to the Year 1776*, 4 vols., 1836-46. (A most valuable and, indeed, indispensable collection.)

New England is rich in interesting records. Apart from the story of the Mayflower Pilgrims, there is—

Winthrop, J., *Journal History of Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (His *Life and Letters*, by R. C. Winthrop, 2 vols., 1867, should be read at the same time.)

Hutchinson, T., *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (1628-1750), 2 vols., 1764-7.

——— *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749 to 1774*, 1828.

——— *Collection of Papers relative to the History of the Col. of Mass. Bay*, 1769.

Palfrey, J. G., *History of New England*, 4 vols., 1884. (Apart from the interest of the narrative, an immense amount of learning will be found in the very ample notes.)

Weeden, W. B., *Social and Economic History of New England*, 2 vols., 1890. (A very interesting book, to which I have been greatly indebted.)

Much of interest may also be gleaned from the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

For Virginia and the other American Colonies, besides Mr Brown's work already mentioned, consult—

Neill, E. D., *History of Virginia Company*, 1869.

——— *Virginia Carolorum*, 1886.

Stith, W., *History of Virginia*, 1747.

Bruce, P. A., *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols., 1896 (of very great value).

Schuyler, G. W., *Colonial New York (the Schuyler Family)*, 1885.

Bozman, J. L., *History of Maryland*, 2 vols., 1837.

Proud, R., *History of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols., 1798.

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Rivers, W. J., *History of South Carolina*, 1856.

Carroll, B. R., *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, 2 vols., 1836.

Among books on the West Indies may be mentioned—

Lucas, C. P., *Historical Geography of British Colonies*, Vol. II., 1890.

- Bryan Edwards, *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 4th ed., 3 vols., 1807.  
 Southey, T., *Chronological History of the West Indies*, 3 vols.  
 Bridges, G., *The Annals of Jamaica*, 2 vols., 1827.  
 Long, E., *History of Jamaica*, 3 vols., 1774.  
 Lefroy, Sir J. H., *Memorials of Bermudas*, 2 vols., 1877-9.  
 Ligon, R., *History of Barbados*, 1657.  
 Darnell Davis, N., *The Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados, 1650-1652, 1887.*

For the early history of Canada, consult—

- Kingsford, *History of Canada*, Vol. I.  
 Slafter, F., *Sir W. Alexander and American Colonization*, 1873.  
 Kirke, H., *The First English Conquest of Canada*, 1871.

The struggle for supremacy in the new world between England and France is best followed in Parkman's delightful series of which *Frontenac, The Opening of the Great West, A Half Century of Conflict*, 2 vols., and *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 2 vols., most closely concern the subject of this volume. See also Haliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*, 2 vols., 1829, and J. Winsor, *The Struggle in America between England and France*, 1895.

Birch's *Court and Times of James I.*, and Evelyn's *Diary*, illustrate aspects of colonial policy, and reference must be made to Edwards' *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (with letters), Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, *The Life of Lord Clarendon*, Christie's *Lord Shaftesbury*, and some life of W. Penn.

Among authorities relating to the Mercantile System may be mentioned in addition to those already cited—

- Mun, T., *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, 1664 (written earlier).  
 Coke, R., *A Discourse of Trade*, 1670.  
 Child, J., *A New Discourse of Trade*, 1698.  
 Brewster, Sir F., *Essays on Trade*, 1695, and *New Essays on Trade*, 1702.  
 Davenant, C., *Dissertation on the Plantation Trade*, 1775.  
 Holroyd, J. B. (Lord Sheffield), *Observations on American Commerce*, 1784.  
 Huskisson, W., *Speeches*, 1831.  
*Select Tracts relating to the Colonies* (1029 E 15 in British Museum Catalogue).

See also Schmoller, *The Mercantile System*, . . . being a chapter from the *Studien ueber die wirtschaftliche politik Friederichs des Grossen*, 1884. Econ. Classics, 1895.

Articles in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, and references in general histories and works on political economy.

For the obscure period of the first half of the eighteenth century, Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 4th ed., 1768, should be consulted. Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, and of the *Pelham Administration* have been referred to. Much light is thrown on the subject so far as relates to proprietary governments by the very valuable *Logan Correspondence*, Vols. IX. and X. of the publications of the Philadelphia Historical Society.<sup>1</sup>

For the important years between 1750 and 1783, the following books are of value—

*The Chatham Correspondence*, 4 vols. -

*The Bedford Correspondence*, 3 vols.

*The Grenville Papers*, 4 vols.

Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George II.*, 3 vols.

*Memoirs of Reign of George III.*, 4 vols.

*Journal . . . from 1771 to 1783*, 2 vols.

Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne*, 3 vols.

Donne, *Correspondence between George III. and Lord North*, 2 vols.

Albemarle, Lord, *Life of Lord Rockingham*, 2 vols.

Hutchinson, T., *Diary and Letters*.

Historical MSS. Commission, *Dartmouth and Sackville Correspondence*.

The books and pamphlets dealing with the controversy between England and the American Colonies are endless in number.<sup>2</sup> Among them may be mentioned—

Pinkerton, *Travels*, Vol. XIII. (Contains accounts of Kalm and Burnaby.)

Dummer, J., *A Defence of New England Charters*, 1766? (Written at an earlier date.)

Franklin, B., *Numerous Papers and Letters, Works*, 10 vols., ed. by T. Sparkes, 1840.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find that the publication of the *Logan Correspondence* has been continued.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Coit Taylor's *The Literary History of the American Revolution* did not appear in time to make use of.

Adams, J., *Works*, 10 vols. (Especially Vol. IV., which contains "Novanglus"), 1856.

Tudor, W. *Life of J. Otis*, 1823.

Leonard (Massachusetts), *Origin of the American Contest*, 1775.

Dickinson, J., *A Farmer's Letters*, 1768, and *A New Essay, &c.*, 1774.

Bernard, Sir F., *Select Letters on Trade and Government of America*, 1774.

Galloway, J., *Examination by Committee of House of Commons*, 1779.

Knox, W., *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies*, 1769.

— *Extra Official State Papers*, 1789.

The chapters in Lecky's *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* are of especial value.

Vols. II. and III. of the collection of Dean Tucker's *Tracts* should also be consulted.

Coming to more recent times, apart from Parliamentary Papers, the more important books on the subject generally are—

Wakefield, E. Gibbon,<sup>1</sup> *View of the Art of Colonization*, 1849. (Contains his matured views and may be considered to supersede his earlier works.)

Grey, Lord, *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration*, 1853. (Contains the formal apologia for one system of Colonial Policy.)

Adderley, Sir C.,<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Policy and History*, 1869.

Blachford, Lord, *Letters*, edited by G. E. Marindin, 1896. (Invaluable for the light it throws on *laissez-aller* views.)

(The reader may be warned against S. S. Bell's *Colonial Administration of Great Britain*, 1859, which appears written in haste and under the influence of prejudice.)

Turning to the separate Colonies, Canada, Australia, and South Africa have all historians of authority. The great work of Dr Kingsford has been already mentioned. Among shorter histories are—

Macmullen, J., *History of Canada*, 2nd ed., 1868.

Dent, J. C., *Canada since 1841*, 2 vols., 1881.

Bryce, G., *Short History of Canadian People*, 1887.

Bourinot, J. G., *Canada* (in *Story of the Nations Series*) 1897.

<sup>1</sup> A life of Gibbon Wakefield by Dr Garnett is in preparation. Should the material allow, the book should be one of singular interest.

<sup>2</sup> Now Lord Norton.

On constitutional questions consult—

Bourinot, *Federal Government in Canada*, 1889; and Mr Wheeler's great work on the North America Act.

Along with the History should certainly be read—

Scrope, G. P., *Memoir of the Life of Lord Sydenham*, 1843.

Kaye, Sir J., *Life and Correspondence of Metcalfe*, 1854; and *Selection from Papers of Metcalfe*, 1855.

Walrond, T., *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*, 1872.

Dufferin, Lord, *Speeches and Addresses*, 1882.

On Newfoundland there is the exhaustive *History* of Mr Justice Prowse.

For Australasia, Rusden, *History of Australia*, 3 vols., 1883; and *History of N. Zealand*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., 1892; abound with quotations from State Papers and are of great value. The author has, no doubt, strong opinions which he is not afraid to express, but he is careful to give the grounds on which such opinions are based. Jenks' *History of the Australasian Colonies* is an admirable short history. See also Swainson, W., *New Zealand and its Colonization*, 1859. (There are many books on the New Zealand Controversy, but the leading authority must remain the Parliamentary Papers referred to in the Text.)—

Denison, Sir W., *Varieties of Viceregal Life*, 2 vols., 1870.

Parkes, Sir H., *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History* 2 vols., 1892.

Rees, W. L., *Life of Sir G. Grey*, 2 vols., 1892; should be read, though it must be admitted that the last is not executed with too great tact.

Turning to South Africa, Theal, *History of South Africa*, of which three volumes (1795-1834, 1834-1854, and 1854-1872) refer to the period of English rule, is a work of the highest authority. The very clear and impartial narrative of Mr Lucas, Vol. IV. of *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, appeared too late to make much use of. Cloete's *Lectures on the Dutch Emigration*, and Mr Worsfold's *South Africa* should be consulted; and use has been also made of Greswell's *Our South African Empire*. Mr Martineau's *Life of Sir Bartle Frere* has been generally recognised as a satisfactory vindication of a great man. Mackenzie's *Austral Africa* tells the story of the beginnings of British Bechuanaland.

The books occasioned by recent events in South Africa are too numerous to specify. Attention may be called to the light thrown on the pretended race difficulty in South Africa by Mr Selous in *Sunshine and Storm in South Africa*. On the subject of Chartered Companies consult *The Early Chartered Companies* by G. Cawston and A. H. Keane. *South Africa as it is*, by F. R. Statham, may be taken to represent the official Boer views of the history, but its statements should be verified by reference to the Parliamentary Papers. M. Mermeix, *La Transvaal et la chartered*, represents the opinions of an impartial onlooker on the Uitlanders' position. Molteno's *A Federal South Africa* sets forth the claims of the more advanced Afrikaner party. South Africa is to be practically independent, while England is allowed the privilege of protecting her from German interference. The recent biography of Mr Rhodes would have been more valuable had it given authorities and been written in a tone of less unmixed eulogy.

The story of the scramble for Africa is of course admirably told in Mr Scott Keltie's well-known book, *The Partition of Africa*.

No student of Imperial development should fail to read Sir H. Johnston's very valuable work on *British Central Africa*, although the scope of this book does not include the subject.



## APPENDIX B

### ON COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

(Compiled from the *Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series)*, Vol. III. of *Documents relating to Colonial History of New York*, and the *Colonial Office List*.)

## ON COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

Although the subject of the early administration of the Colonies is dealt with in the text, it may be convenient to summarise certain conclusions here.

1. The first Virginia Charter appears to contemplate a separate Privy Council for colonial affairs.
2. With the failure of such a scheme the Privy Council was the natural authority to deal with colonial business.
3. The Privy Council would naturally act by committees, and so the transition is easy to the Commission (appointed April 28, 1634), to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Lord Keeper, the Lord High Treasurer and some other officers of State, "for making laws and orders for the government of English colonies, &c. &c."
4. The names of the Special Commissioners appointed by Parliament in 1643 to deal with colonial matters should be noted.

Lord Pembroke and Montgomery.	John Pym.
Lord Manchester.	Oliver Cromwell.
Lord Saye and Sele.	Dennis Bond.
Lord Wharton.	Miles Corbet.
Lord Roberts.	Cornelius Holland.
Sir G. Gerard.	Sam. Vassall.
Sir A. Haselrig.	J. Rolles.
Sir Henry Vane (junior).	Wil. Spurstowe.
Sir B. Rudyard.	
5. At the Restoration a new Council of Trade and Plantations was instituted, which was intended to be, to some extent, representative of trade interests.
6. This Council of Trade and Plantations continued till the end of 1674, when its commission was revoked and its business transferred to a committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Lord Treasurer, the Privy Seal, and seventeen other members.

[Note that John Locke was secretary of the Council of Trade and Plantations from Oct. 1673 till its dissolution.]

7. In May 1696 a new system was introduced by the institution of the new Board of Trade. The first Board consisted, in addition to certain officers of State, of the Earl of Bridgewater, the Earl of Tankerville, Sir P. Meadows, W. Blaythwayte, J. Pollexfen, J. Locke, A. Hill and J. Methuen. George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, was President of the Board from 1748 to 1761. Lord Shelburne was President for some months in 1763, and Lord Hillsborough from Sept. 1763 to 1772. The Board was finally suppressed by Burke's Act along with the American Secretary of State.
8. Under the Stuarts, although there were two Secretaries of State, there does not appear to have been a regular allocation of the work connected with the Colonies to one of them. Under James I., Sir Robert Cecil, Sir R. Winwood, Sir Robert Naunton and Sir G. Calvert<sup>1</sup> were among the Secretaries of State. Under Charles I. we find Sir Dudley Carleton and Francis, Lord Cottington. In the reign of Charles II. Sir H. Bennet was Secretary of State between 1663 and 1674, Sir J. Williamson between 1674 and 1678, and Lord Sunderland between 1678 and 1681.
9. The following is a list of the Secretaries of State for the Southern Department, which dealt with the Colonies, from the beginning of the eighteenth century till the creation in 1768 of a separate secretaryship for the American Department.
- 1702—Lord Nottingham.  
 1704—Robert Harley.  
 1707—H. Boyle.  
 1710—H. St John.  
 1714—Lord Townsend.  
 1717—J. Addison.  
 1718—T. Craggs.  
 1721—Lord Carteret.  
 1724—Duke of Newcastle.  
 1748—Duke of Bedford.  
 1752—Lord Holderness.  
 1754—Sir J. Robinson.  
 1755—H. Fox.  
 Dec. 1756—W. Pitt (resigned April 1757).  
 Reappointed June 1757—W. Pitt.  
 1761—Lord Egremont.  
<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Baltimore.

1763—Lord Halifax.

1766—Gen. Conway.

Aug. 1766—Lord Shelburne.

10. The Secretaries of State for the American Department were—

1768—Lord Hillsborough.

1772—Lord Dartmouth.

1775—Lord G. Sackville Germaine.

11. In 1782 the American secretaryship was abolished by Burke's Act, together with the Board of Trade, and between 1782 and 1786 colonial affairs were dealt with by the Home Office. Their management was transferred in 1786 to a committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations established pursuant to Burke's Act.
12. In 1794 the new Secretary for War became also nominally Secretary for the Colonies, but the Departments were not actually united until 1801, by which time the Committee for Trade and Plantations had ceased to act.
13. The following is a list of Secretaries of State from 1801 to 1854, when the Departments of War and the Colonies were separated :—

1801—Lord Hobart.

1804—Lord Camden.

1805—Lord Castlereagh.

1806—W. Windham.

1807—Lord Castlereagh.

1809—Lord Liverpool.

1812—Lord Bathurst.

1827—F. Robinson (afterwards Lord Ripon).

1827—W. Huskisson.

1828—Sir G. Murray.

1830—Lord Goderich (afterwards Lord Ripon).

1833—E. Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby).

1834—T. Spring Rice.

1834—Lord Aberdeen.

1835—C. Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg).

1839—Lord Normanby.

1839—Lord J. Russell.

1841—Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby).

1845—W. E. Gladstone.

1846—Lord Grey.  
 1852—Sir J. Pakington.  
 1852—Duke of Newcastle.

14. The following is a list of Secretaries of State for the Colonies :—

1854—Sir G. Grey.  
 Feb. 1855—S. Herbert.  
 May „ —Lord J. Russell.  
 July „ —Sir W. Molesworth.  
 Nov. „ —H. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton).  
 1858—Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby).  
 1858—Sir E. B. Lytton.  
 1859—Duke of Newcastle.  
 1864—E. Cardwell.  
 1866—Lord Carnarvon.  
 1867—Duke of Buckingham.  
 Dec. 1868—Lord Granville.  
 July 1870—Lord Kimberley.  
 Feb. 1874—Lord Carnarvon.  
 „ 1878—Sir M. Hicks Beach.  
 1880—Lord Kimberley.  
 Dec. 1882—Lord Derby.  
 June 1885—Colonel Stanley.  
 Feb. 1886—Lord Granville.  
 Aug. 1886—E. Stanhope.  
 Jan. 1887—Sir H. Holland (afterwards Lord Knutsford).  
 1892—Lord Ripon.  
 1895—J. Chamberlain.

It thus appears that in a hundred years there have been forty-two appointments to this office. The longest holders were Lord Bathurst (15 years) and Lord Grey (6 years).

15. The following is a list of the permanent Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies :—

1825-1836—R. W. Hay.  
 1836-1847—Sir J. Stephen.  
 1847-1859—Herman Merivale.  
 1860-1871—Sir F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford).  
 1871-1892—Sir R. Herbert.  
 1892-1897—Sir R. Meade.  
 1897 —E. Wingfield.

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