

and largest of the world's Mediterraneans—scene of final struggle between the institutions and ideals of the East and the ideals and institutions of the West.

The real question raised in such a discussion, and the one which will be met frankly is, plainly : What part is British civilisation to play in the world-revolution in process around its shores ? And this, of course, is only a part of the larger question of the White Man's Burden, which does not refer to those remote problems of physics, as to the relation between certain rays of light and the epidermis of the individuals of a race, but something far beneath it and otherwise far deeper. It is a question of race message, race mission, and race destiny—nothing less.

The problem of the New Pacific outlook is race conflict. Disguise it how we may, conceal the fateful issues if we will, juggle with ugly facts and stifle friendly warnings, and cover our cowardice under a sentimental *cosmopolitanism* as the Germans might call it, or under a cosmopolitan *sentimentalism* as they do call it—this misshapen and persistent fact protrudes through all our shams : the problem of the new era is the problem of the New Pacific and New Asia, and the problem of the New Pacific and New Asia is that of the struggle of the white and yellow peoples for world supremacy.

Fortunately there is still a goodly sprinkling of old-fashioned folk clinging to the belief that by far the greatest achievement of mind and will in the history of the world has been the pre-emption and development of so many of the continental areas of the temperate zone by the Anglo-Saxon race, and the establishment there of its racial root ideas and ideals. But to-day not only is our supremacy challenged, not only is our advance disputed, but our very race fibre is flouted when even the question is raised as to whether we are equal to the expectations of our forbears—whether we have the sense to keep what they had the nerve to get.

To begin with, I wish to say that in the large outlines in which we shall have to consider such a subject no progress can be made until we understand that the issues of the New World era are bound up in the proposition that when we speak of Greater Britain we must speak of the whole English-speaking race ; and I will go further in saying that no headway can be made toward the continuance of the white man's supremacy upon the earth until that entire race is not only considered as a unit, but in some substantial way will act as a unit in the championship of the ideals which have made it what it is. And with this race must be affiliated the other races which are of vital kin, whether of bone and blood or of political institutions and religious principles.

There are several great factors in our Imperial outlook. Two of these I shall have time to discuss briefly, while two more will call for but a suggestive outline. The two factors I wish to speak of are the Panama Canal and the awakening of Asia, and both of these demand the further consideration of the Imperial problems of defence and of migration.

We cannot go far in the understanding of our subject without first considering the most important influences which are to determine our future on the Anglo-Saxon frontier where I belong. Plainly the most important are the two geographical events now in process of changing the face of the world and the maps of the world and all the relations of the inhabitants thereof. I speak of the cutting of the Panama Canal and the awakening of Asia, which I heard Professor Herbertson say at the School of Geography at Oxford two years ago would exercise a profounder influence upon the destinies of mankind than the discovery of America by Columbus. The cutting of the Canal, in comparison with the awakening of half the human race and