

thousand whites? Why do we see the negro freely permitted to cast his vote in a British colony in which he forms a majority of the electorate? Why is the majority of the legislature in such a colony composed of colored men, the white population quietly acquiescing in the arrangement?

The statements implied in the foregoing questions indicate the existence of strong elements of cohesion in the British Empire. What are those elements? To deal only with the more obvious ones, it seems to me that we must claim predominance for four distinct factors—the high sense of personal loyalty to the sovereign, the absolute incorruptibility of British justice, the swift and strong executive power behind the colonial administrators, and the universal honesty and almost universal efficiency of the British Colonial Civil Service.

As regards the first, it is impossible for any one who has not lived in the British colonies to realize what a mighty force this loyalty is. I have seen a man almost torn to pieces for refusing to drink the Queen's health at a banquet in Melbourne; I have seen a drunken French sailor in St. Lucia soundly thrashed by a negro porter for spitting on a picture of the Queen in an illustrated paper. One must understand that there exists throughout the British colonies that sentiment which in these days is driving London wild over the abominable and vile attacks made on the Queen by the French "yellow press." It is in neglecting to count in this element of personal devotion to the sovereign throughout the colonies that Continental Europe falls into an absurd error when it congratulates itself on the smallness of the British army.

It may be said that the feeling is ridiculous, that it is incapable of bearing a logical examination. What if the Queen dies? What if you get a sovereign who is unworthy of the throne? Why should all these millions have any such feelings for a woman whom they have never seen? Such questions are idle. We may not be able to explain this loyalty on any scientific theory; but there is the fact. That the Queen must some day die we English realize with sad hearts. I, for one, am proud to be able to say that I know no Englishman who would not cheerfully lay

down his life that hers might be spared a while longer. But after her death we shall be bound together as closely by our common grief as during her life by our common love.

I have placed loyalty to the Queen first among the cohesive elements of British imperialism because the other factors which I have named are intimately associated with her reign, and are to a large extent the product of her influence.

Of the incorruptibility of British justice in England there is, I believe, a very general recognition. That the same quality marks British justice in the colonies, and more particularly that it is a characteristic of its administration in those colonies where the inhabitants belong to the inferior races, is not, I think, so universally appreciated. I give two instances which fell under my notice when I was in the West Indies. In British Guiana the labor supply consists chiefly of contract laborers imported from Calcutta. One of the conditions of the contract is that no deduction from the wages of the laborers can be made by an employer for any reason whatever. One night the watchman in a sugar-factory went to sleep while on duty, with the result that a fire occurred ending in the loss of thousands of dollars' worth of property. The planter in his anger refused to pay the watchman his wage for that night, on the ground that he had been hired to watch and he had not watched. The man appealed to the courts. The judge gave a verdict for the laborer and delivered a severe reprimand to the planter, whose action he characterized as an outrage.

Another instance which is instructive occurred last year in one of the West Indian islands. The Administrator of the island, the highest resident official, a man who had been in the British service for many years, committed a violent assault on a negro. There were some unpleasant details in the affair, and a woman was involved. The negro sued the Administrator before a magistrate, and obtained a conviction against him. There was no attempt to hush the matter up, and the Administrator stood convicted before the whole community. The outcome was that the official was dismissed from the colonial service.

I could quote a score of cases which