

dependent for life, the right to live, and the means of livelihood on any one other than one's self. Is it possible at the present day for a small people among great nations to be independent in this true sense? Is it possible for a small people to be free and self-governing by the strength of its own arm?

There can only be one answer now, there has only been one answer in the modern phase of great nations. When modern history was young, when science was young, when great and small nations alike were young, when the resources of greatness and the shortcomings of smallness had not been fully developed, it was possible for the small to win their liberties from or to hold their liberties against the greater. The United Netherlands shook the yoke of Spain from off their necks, the English broke up the Spanish Armada. But, as the world has gone on, the small people have existed more and more on sufferance, their liberties being guaranteed by the greater nations, safeguarded in large measure not so much by the generosity of the great as by the jealousy which the great ones of the earth have of one another.

It was the Empire which delivered England from living on sufferance. It was the fact that England grew and insisted on growing "pari passu" with the growing power of France. It was the wars with France which brought the British Navy to excellence; it was the fighting in all parts of the world that trained English soldiers. The fisheries of Newfoundland were in fact, and were officially recognized as being, a nursery for sailors. Fortresses, like Gibraltar, were taken to safeguard the trade which made England grow, and to be a check on the growth of competitors. Had England taken no concern in these things, could she have held her own with a continental power equipped with great armies and many ships? Would not her passive attitude have invited attack? When the attack came, would she have been able to meet it? Nations, like men, cannot stand still; they grow or they decline; there could have been an England if there had been no English Empire, but it would have been a dependent England. If England has made an Empire, equally the Empire has made England.

#### NECESSITY OF GOING FORWARD.

ONE step leads inevitably to another, and the last motive or cause of the Empire which need be noticed is the irresistible pressure which circumstances of place and time exercise upon a people having once entered upon the path of overseas enterprise or dominion, the impossibility of standing still, the extraordinary difficulty of retracing steps, and the disaster which usually follows upon any attempt to do so. This is illustrated by the history of the English in India. They went to India as traders pure and simple, with no thought of dominion or rule. Their representative, Sir Thomas Roe, who stood for England at the Court of the Mogul, in the year 1616, strenuously warned them to confine themselves to trade. Nearly forty years of their existence as a Company passed before they owned a yard of soil in India, and when they acquired the site of Fort St. George, at Madras, they acquired it by grant, not by force. Yet they had to go forward, driven on by the competition of other Europeans and by the anarchy which followed in India on the decline of the Mogul power.

The first British annexation of the Transvaal, in 1877, was not due to any

desire to own the Transvaal, but simply to the fact that the State and its Government had collapsed, and the collapse was endangering the whole of South Africa, including the British colonies. The English, as we all know, shortly afterwards retired from the Transvaal, a case of going back for which there had been precedents in British history in South Africa,

half years of the last great South African War. In Egypt, England intervened simply to restore order, as being one of two powers specially responsible in the matter. The intervention was avowedly intended to be temporary only. But, having once intervened, the English were compelled to stay, and not to stay only, but to take full control alike of Egypt and of the Sudan.

#### EMPIRE RESULT OF GROWTH.

WRONG conceptions of the Empire arise from regarding it as the outcome of deliberate purpose, that purpose being always to gain more land and more peoples and more material advantage. It should be regarded rather as a growth. Professor Seeley's term, the Expansion of England, most truly expresses the nature of the Empire and the kind of forces which have made it.

It has grown with the growth of a particular race, a race whose power to replenish the earth and subdue it—the soil of the earth, its mountains, forests, and waters no less than its manifold inhabitants—and whose capacity for administration account for the Empire at least as much as its aptitude for making money.

If French-Canadians or Dutch Boers were asked whether they would prefer to be part and parcel of some other empire than the British, they might answer that they would like to be an empire of themselves, but they would beyond question, unless in a moment of irritation, refuse to exchange their present position for a place in any other empire or group of communities. In India, nationalist feeling is emphatically the child of British rule. The effect of that rule has been to consolidate India, to make it into the guise of a nation out of a number of discordant dynasties and peoples. A rule of force would not have created the difficulties which face the administrators of India to-day, but then it would not have given life. Ask the natives of India whether they would prefer the rule of overlordship of another European people to that of the English. The answer might be difficult to give, because they have not known other European rulers, but it can hardly be doubted that it would be in favour of England.

#### EVIDENCE OF PRESENT WAR.

TAKE the present war, one of the most momentous in which England has ever been engaged. What has been up to date the attitude of India? Is there any evidence that the defeat of England is desired? Is there not abundant evidence that the Indians wish to take part, as they are taking part, in ensuring a successful issue, and thereby securing the maintenance of the Empire? Is it not certain that the one main apprehension in India was lest they should be given no part to play in the war, in which they feel that, as members of a common Empire, they can claim a rightful share? Is it to be supposed that princes and people are giving their lives and their princely gifts without any heart behind them? If so, it is contrary to the teaching alike of history and of common sense.

The same story comes from Canada. It is reasonable to suppose that French-Canadians are, in part at any rate, attracted by the alliance of England with their old motherland; but, whatever be their motive, they are sending their sons side by side with English-Canadians to fight for the cause as partners in the Empire. This partnership is the theme (Concluded on page 18.)



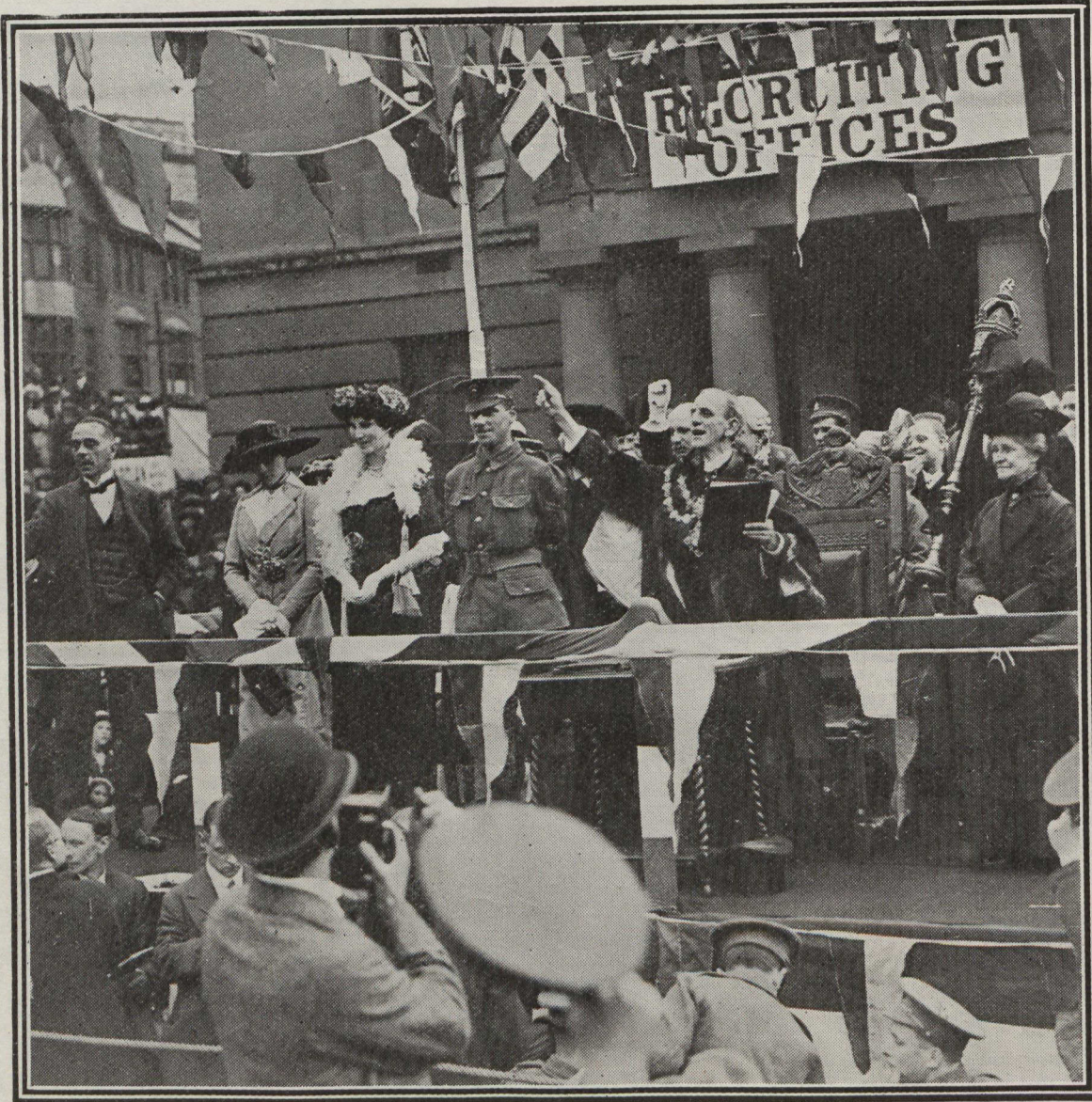
THE LIONS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

How the Empire has rallied to the defence of the flag and the interests of John Smith.

(This cartoon, by Newton McConnell, was first published in the Courier on August 29th, 1914, and afterwards reproduced in a London illustrated daily. What was then mainly a sentiment has since become a great Imperial fact.)

sufficiently noticed already. All this going back in South Africa had but one result, confusion and bitterness at the time, which is the inevitable result of undoing and eventually moving forward again. The price of undoing in South Africa was two and a

been to consolidate India, to make it into the guise of a nation out of a number of discordant dynasties and peoples. A rule of force would not have created the difficulties which face the administrators of India to-day, but then it would not have given life. Ask the natives of India whether they would prefer the rule of overlordship of another European people to that of the English.



WHAT ONE BRITISH SOLDIER DID TO HELP SAVE THE EMPIRE FOR JOHN SMITH.

Corporal Fuller, of the Grenadier Guards, was given the Victoria Cross, and a public testimonial by the Mayor of Mansfield for his heroism in capturing 50 Germans singlehanded at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle.