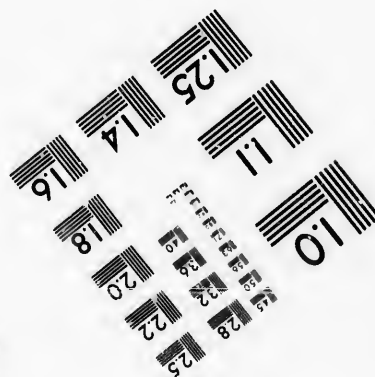
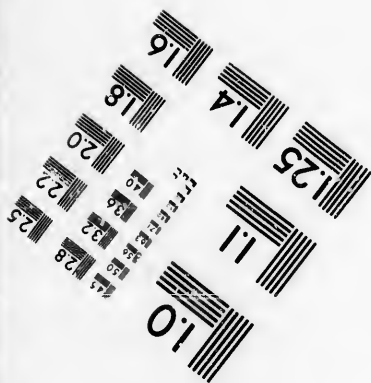
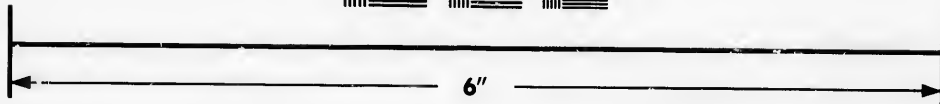
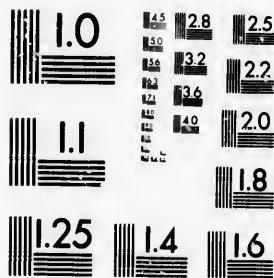


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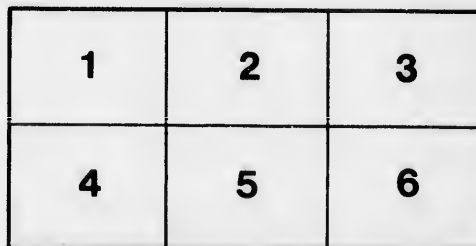
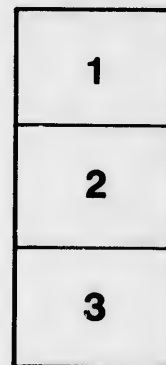
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7
Pamb. 184



New South Wales

England
Dominion of Canada

Scotland
Newfoundland

Victoria
Wales

New Zealand

Queensland

South Australia

W. Australia

Tasmania

Ceylon

Cape of Good Hope

Natal

Honduras

Guiana

Leeward Is.

Windward Is.

Labuan

Trinidad

Zambesia

Bahamas

Jamaica

New Guinea

W. African Set^{ts}

Straits Settlements

Hong Kong

S^t Helena

Fiji Islands

Bermuda

North Borneo

Brit. E. Africa

Falkland Is.

Sierra Leone

Cyprus

Malta

Aden



India
Perim

Gibraltar

Mauritius

Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

UNDER FIRE.

25, OLD QUEEN STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

1895

Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

THIS Committee adopts the following Resolutions passed by the Conference which founded the Imperial Federation League in 1884 :—

- That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

It also adopts the expansion of the principles of those Resolutions by the Special Committee of 1892, as expressed in the summary taken from the Report adopted by the Council of the Imperial Federation League in the same year.

In particular, the Committee recognises as the lesson to be drawn from the experience of the nine years' working of the late League—

1. That an adequate system of Maritime Defence is the primary necessity common to all parts of the Empire.
2. That such a system of defence does not exist under present conditions.
3. That if the self-governing Colonies take their share in the cost of such a system of defence, they must have a proportionate share in its administration and control; and if those Colonies are not willing to take their share in a common system of defence, it is evident that Federation is not practicable, whatever arrangements may be proposed or adopted, as regards interchange of commerce, means of intercommunication, monetary standards, etc.
4. That, given a common system of Maritime Defence, provided and controlled by a body in which all parts of the Empire are represented, the Federation of the Empire is attained, so far as essentials are concerned.
5. That combination for the defence of common interests is therefore—as was recognised in 1884—the one essential point, and the test of the practicability of Imperial Federation.
6. That proposals involving participation by them in the cost of general maritime security, which has hitherto been enjoyed without expense, cannot be expected to come, in the first instance, from Colonial Governments.

It will therefore be the first aim of the Committee to call the attention of the people of the United Kingdom to the anomalous and precarious state of affairs now existing, and to induce Her Majesty's Government to make to those Colonial Governments, in an official manner, such statements as to the present means by which defence is provided, and such proposals regarding the future, as will elicit from them an expression as to their willingness to take part in such a combination.

In order to narrow the issue as much as possible, and thereby to concentrate effort upon this one essential point, it is specifically declared that the objects of the Committee do not include any proposal involving an alteration of the fiscal policy either of the United Kingdom or of any of the Colonies.

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Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

No. 3.

UNDER FIRE.

LONDON :

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1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

No metal can be assumed to be sound and true until it has been proved and found capable of bearing the stress and strain of rough usage, and in the same way no case based upon argument can be held to be established until those arguments have been subjected to searching and, it may be, hostile criticism. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that the case which is set up by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee has gone through the ordeal of a searching and not over-friendly criticism. It is for the readers of the following correspondence to form their opinion as to how far that correspondence has weakened or established the propositions laid down by the Committee in their earlier publications as true, important, and worthy of acceptance.

It is not necessary in these introductory remarks to attempt a detailed analysis of the arguments which are used on either side of the correspondence which follows. The letters speak for themselves, and some attempt has been made, by adding a brief summary at the foot of each letter, to guide the hasty reader to the principal points in each communication.

But on the main issue the Committee venture to believe that only one conclusion can be arrived at by the impartial student of this controversy, namely, that the facts as originally laid down by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee are absolutely true and unimpeachable; that they have not been impeached; nay, more, that they have been, without a single exception, admitted by the critics of the Committee as matters which cannot be controverted or denied.

We reprint for the convenience of our readers the "Summary of the Case" which appeared in No. 1 of the publications of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee. Having passed through the fire of criticism, the figures given in that Case stand correct and unimpeached.

SUMMARY OF THE CASE.

The Royal Navy protects the Commerce of the entire Empire. The value of this commerce is £970,000,000.

The Commerce of the United Kingdom is £696,000,000
 The Commerce of the self-governing Colonies is £143,000,000
 Thus it will be seen that Colonial commerce forms ONE-SEVENTH of the total trade of the Empire.

For the Naval protection of the trade of the Empire there is paid an annual sum of £18,200,000
 Of the above total the United Kingdom pays £18,000,000
 Self-governing Colonies in North America, Australasia, and South Africa, pay £200,000

Thus it will be seen that the Colonies, which possess ONE-SEVENTH of the trade, contribute ONE-NINETIETH only of the cost of protecting the trade. EIGHTY-NINE NINETIETHS are contributed by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom.

The following table shows the revenue and population of the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies respectively :—

	REVENUE.	POPULATION.
United Kingdom... ..	£91,000,000 ...	38,000,000
Self-governing Colonies	£43,000,000 ...	11,000,000

It will thus be seen that though the Colonies contribute only ONE-NINETIETH part of the cost of the Naval Defence of the Empire, their population is more than A QUARTER of that of the United Kingdom, and that their revenue is NEARLY HALF that of the United Kingdom.

Having reached this important point, and having obtained an admission from its opponents that the premisses of its case are correct, the Committee now invites readers of the present pamphlet to ask themselves whether, granted that those premisses are correct, the conclusions to be drawn from them are not apparent and indeed obvious.

The more closely the letters of Sir Frederick Young and Mr. de Labilliere are examined, the more clearly does it appear that the idea of regarding the questions raised by the Defence Committee as matters which in the slightest degree concern the United Kingdom has never entered their minds. From first to last, the gentlemen referred to regard this enormously important question as one which must be examined and dealt with solely from the Colonial standpoint.

It may be said, in passing, that the Committee has the best possible reasons for believing that the extraordinarily selfish and childish views which are so readily imputed to the Colonies are not, in fact, entertained by any section of Colonists. There is not the slightest reason to believe that men of common-sense in Canada or Australia are so sensitive that they cannot bear to hear plain facts stated, or to see figures transferred from a Blue Book to a pamphlet. Nor is there the slightest reason to believe that if asked to take a proper share in the burdens of the Empire, which by common admission are now borne almost exclusively by the United Kingdom, the Colonies would refuse to do so. The Committee, indeed, has assumed throughout that a perfect willingness *does* exist on the part of the Colonies to take a reasonable view of the situation, and it is one of the principal points of its programme to give the Colonies an early opportunity of declaring their views.

But be this as it may, it is necessary to bear in mind that, whatever may be said by such self-constituted representatives of the "pay-nothing," "do-nothing" school which is supposed to exist in the Colonies, the matters raised by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee are of most vital importance to that not inconsiderable section of the inhabitants of the Empire who happen to live within the United Kingdom. If it be true that the taxpayers of the United Kingdom are at this moment paying

the cost of eighty-nine-ninetieths of the Naval defence of the Empire, that is a matter which the taxpayers of the United Kingdom have a perfect right to discuss and, if they can, to alter.

It is fair to say that Sir Frederick Young and Mr. de Labilliere may be taken as the best and most thoroughly qualified representatives of the school whose opinions they represent. It is but justice to those two gentlemen to say that if there be anything weak or unsatisfactory in the case which they have propounded, it must be due to the inherent weakness of that case, and not to any want of ability, goodwill, and industry on the part of those who set it forth. It may be fairly assumed that all that could be said by the opponents of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee has been said, and is to be found in the interesting letters contained in these pages.

In view of these facts it is a matter of great satisfaction to the Committee to note that the whole sum and substance of the case against it is—not that the facts are untrue, not that its facts are unimportant, not that the matters to which it desires to draw public attention are not of vital interest to the Empire, not that the proposals it makes are unreasonable or unjust, but that, in the opinion of Mr. de Labilliere, the “iteration of the facts is painful,” and that Sir Frederick Young, though he does “not object to any of these things *per se*,” does “energetically protest against the mode in which they are put forward.”

This may seem a strong and even an extreme way of summarising the correspondence, but we confidently appeal to our readers to examine the correspondence for themselves, and, having done so, to say whether such a summary is not absolutely justified by the correspondence itself.

The Committee claims that its case, having been exposed to the full brunt of hostile criticism, has not only stood the trial, but has come out absolutely unscathed, and it is with the greatest confidence that it submits the whole of the hostile criticisms which have been made against it to the judgment of the public.

UNDER FIRE.

IN a letter which appeared in *The Times*, 9th August, 1894, Lord Wemyss pointed out that in his opinion the question of Imperial Defence was one of the greatest importance, and that the formation of some body charged with the work of promoting it was exceedingly desirable. In reply to this letter, the honorary secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee wrote as follows:—

No. 1.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—The letter of Lord Wemyss in *The Times* of Thursday shows how strongly the need for some effective combination of the resources of this rapidly-growing Empire for the purpose of common defence is making itself felt by all who have given thought to the subject.

A system which concentrates upon the inhabitants of only one out of the four great self-governing countries of the Empire the burden of the cost, and, consequently, the entire control and disposition of the means of defence upon which the whole Empire relies, cannot, it is evident to such men, be perpetuated without the gravest danger—first, to the actual safety of the Empire, and, secondly, to the preservation of its unity.

Either means must be found for including the great self-governing colonies—containing eleven millions of our own race—in the system by which the Navy is provided and administered, or they must be fairly warned that this cannot be done and that they must see to their own safety.

The present position is consonant neither with their dignity nor with their security; and the responsibility for the lives, the interests, and the possessions of eleven millions of self-governing people is one which the United Kingdom cannot be expected to bear for an indefinite period. Such a responsibility is entirely contrary to British instincts,

and opposed to that system of representative government which is found to be necessary to the English race all over the world.

I am glad to be able to inform Lord Wemyss that there is in existence a body which has for its object the combination of the self-governing countries of the Empire for the purposes of defence. The Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee is concentrating its efforts at present upon the task of uniting the resources of these countries for the provision and maintenance of a common navy.

In order to effect this it will be necessary to induce these colonies to contribute to the cost of naval defence, and the people of the United Kingdom to admit the colonies to a share in the ownership and the administration of the Navy.

That this course is obviously advantageous to both sides does not, unfortunately, secure its immediate adoption. It is evident that there will have to be overcome, on the one hand, a natural reluctance on the part of the people of the colonies to begin to pay for that which has hitherto been provided without their assistance; on the other hand, the people of this country will be disposed to think more than twice before they part with that absolute control which they have hitherto enjoyed over their first line of defence.

These are the difficulties which the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee has to surmount, and they will not be increased by looking them fairly in the face.

The committee has issued several publications bringing out the main facts which bear upon the question. Any of these I shall be glad to forward to your readers upon application.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Hon. Secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

30, Charles-street, Berkeley-square, W.

Summary of Letter No. 1.

(a) There is a body already in existence, viz.: the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, actively engaged in endeavouring to promote the object which Lord Wemyss has at heart, viz.: the common defence of the Empire.

(b) The whole cost and responsibility of defending the Empire falls upon a portion of its inhabitants.

(c) It ought to fall upon all its inhabitants.

(d) It cannot be expected that the present unequal incidence of burden and responsibility will be indefinitely borne without protest.

1894
 On the 24th August a letter appeared in *The Times* signed by Mr. F. P. de Labilliere, which is printed below :—

No. 2.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—I am always most unwilling to say a word against the modes of action of anyone seeking to promote the good cause of Imperial federation or defence, and I specially regret to have to take exception to the course pursued by one who has rendered such valuable service as Mr. Loring ; but I fear he is now on a path which may lead to his undoing much of the good he has done. In justice to many of the members of the late Imperial Federation League, as well as to the cause itself, I hope you will allow me to reply to his letter which you inserted on Wednesday, Aug. 15.

Mr. Loring writes, as hon. secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, from the old address of the late league, calling attention to the objects of the new organisation, whose publications he offers to forward to your readers. Now, its programme, issued three or four months ago, had on its cover the exact device used by the Imperial Federation League ; and, no doubt, many people have made the mistake of identifying the supporters of that body with those of the new society, although numbers of federalists may, like myself, decidedly object to the methods of the new society. In the programme to which I refer—produced almost word for word in an article in the *National Review* for July, but in ordinary print—the shortcomings of the colonies in not supporting the British Navy are glaringly set forth with italics, capital-letter type, and heavy underlines.

No doubt the colonies have not yet risen to a full sense of their Imperial responsibilities, nor does the mother country yet fully realise the vital importance of naval supremacy, and all friends of the unity of the Empire—all who are at all anxious about its very life—must desire to arouse the old and new countries to a conviction of the necessity of speedily making its defences absolutely proof against hostile attack. But there are right and wrong ways of putting every question, and I submit that nothing could be more indiscreet than to have a society in London with the special object of finding fault with the colonies, and circulating literature in this country exposing their backwardness in matters of defence. The Defence Committee has already done harm. Sir William Harcourt was only too glad to quote its manifesto in the House of Commons, in answer to its objections to his proposed death duties on property in the colonies, before he abandoned that part of his policy ; and the publication I refer to has already called forth some unpleasant comments in the Colonial Press.

The colonies have done much already in performing what was in the first place required from them—the establishment of defences in their own territories—and there is every reason to believe they will

not be backward in performing their Imperial duties if properly approached. One or two more colonial conferences like that of 1887 and that just held at Ottawa will do much to bring about an equitable adjustment of the burden of defence, unless in the meantime the question is pressed with want of tact, which is peculiarly unwise at a period when the colonies are passing through an unprecedented financial crisis.

There is a story with a moral which the Defence Committee would do well to weigh. Two dealers in a production periodically treated with a certain buyer—the one always with success, the other seldom or never. At length, one year, the former succeeded in selling a whole cargo, whereupon the latter went to the buyer and said, "How is it that though we are such old friends, and you and the other dealer comparatively strangers, you always buy from him and seldom make even a small purchase from me?" The reply was—"To be candid, he has a way of getting round me without appearing to press me, and somehow he invariably leads me to make a purchase. But you always make such a dead set at me, and try to force me, so that you stir up in me a disposition to refuse." This is just the way in which the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee seems to be going to work.

Your obedient servant,

F. P. DE LABILLIERE.

Harrow.

Summary of Letter No. 2.

- (a) Mr. de Labilliere fears that the Honorary Secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee is on the wrong path.
- (b) Mr. de Labilliere and other federalists decidedly object to the methods of the new society.
- (c) The Colonies have not yet risen to a full sense of their Imperial responsibilities, but nothing could be more indiscreet than to have a society in London circulating literature in which the backwardness of the Colonies in matters of defence is explained.
- (d) The Colonies have already done much, and there is every reason to believe they will do more.
- (e) The Colonies will only take their share in defending the Empire if they are coaxed into doing so.

On the 7th September the Honorary Secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee replied to Mr. de Labilliere in the following letter :—

No. 3.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—I have only to-day seen Mr. de Labilliere's letter in *The Times* of the 24th of August, and I feel compelled to ask you to give me an opportunity of replying to it.

I do not think that I need deal at great length with Mr. de Labilliere's unpleasing suggestion that the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee is passing itself off as the Imperial Federation League, which was dissolved at the end of last year. It will suffice to say (1) that, though it was open to anyone to adopt the name of the Imperial Federation League, the committee made a point of selecting a name which, though including the words "Imperial Federation," should be clearly distinguishable from that of the league; (2) that in all the publications of the committee reference is made to the "late league," and it is narrated that the fundamental resolutions of that body have been adopted by the committee; (3) that though the design on the cover of these publications is the same as that used by the late league, the distinctive title of the committee is by far the most prominent part of the design.

I have not heard of any instance of the mistake which Mr. de Labilliere assumes to have been made by "many people"; if, however, there has been such a mistake, the party in error need not feel seriously aggrieved, as the committee has adopted in their entirety and without alteration the resolutions upon which the late league was founded in 1884, and its operations are being carried on absolutely within the lines of those resolutions.

Mr. de Labilliere goes on to complain that in the publications issued by the committee the "shortcomings of the colonies in not supporting the British Navy are glaringly set forth." That the "shortcomings"—the word is Mr. de Labilliere's, and it is excellent—are glaring cannot be denied; and it may well be thought that the "italics, capital-letter type, and heavy underlines" which Mr. de Labilliere dislikes are not needed to emphasize such a statement as the following, which sums up the case of the committee in the publication in question :—

"The Navy, employed and relied upon for the protection of the whole Empire is provided and maintained entirely at the cost of the people of the United Kingdom, though there are eleven million people of the same race, inhabiting some of the richest countries of the world, under the same Sovereign, and enjoying the same privileges, who contribute practically nothing to that expenditure. Though the colonies contribute only one-ninetieth part of the cost of the naval defence of the Empire, their population is more than a quarter of that of the United Kingdom, and their revenue is nearly half that of the United Kingdom."

However, Mr. de Labilliere will, no doubt, allow the publishers their own way in the matter of type and display, upon which tastes differ very much.

If there were any glaring inaccuracy in the statements made in those publications I should be the first to admit Mr. de Labilliere's right of complaint and to thank him for pointing it out. This, however, does not seem to be suggested.

But, because the shortcoming is a glaring one, is that a reason for covering it up? Is it not rather a reason for calling attention to it and getting it amended? And is there any body which can more fitly do this than the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, whose object, as defined by the resolution of the late league which it has adopted, is to "combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights?"

Mr. de Labilliere refers, apparently, to the committee as "a society in London with the special object of finding fault with the colonies," and he tells us that "nothing can be more indiscreet" than the existence of such a society. Now, I see no reason why the committee should not find fault with the colonies if it thinks fit. This is a free country: the year is 1894. The people of the colonies are our fellow-subjects, and we are engaged in an effort to provide for their remaining so. If we are to dwell together in unity it is absolutely necessary that we should be free to criticise one another's actions, and I feel that the colonies set us an excellent example in that respect. Of course, if we are to regard them as foreign countries it would be desirable to maintain that cautious reserve and prudence of speech which Mr. de Labilliere seems to advocate.

But the remarkable thing about Mr. de Labilliere's complaint is that the committee has found no fault with the colonies; on the contrary, it has expressly exonerated them from such blame as is implied by his use of the word "shortcomings." The following paragraph appears in both Nos. 1 and 2 of the committee's publications in all the prominence of "capital-letter type and heavy underlines":—

"Not the Fault of the Colonies.

"This inequitable state of affairs is not primarily the fault of the colonies referred to. They have not been asked to contribute. Until they have been asked to do so in such a manner as to let them feel the full weight of their responsibility in replying, no reproach can justly be levelled at them in this respect.

"They need to be Asked.

"It is for the people of the United Kingdom to call upon their own Government to afford to their countrymen in the colonies the opportunity of taking their just share in the cost and in the administration of the finest defensive force in the world."

Mr. de Labilliere must have written without due consideration.

What the committee has done is to state in a popular manner

certain facts regarding the provision of the maritime defence of the Empire, all to be found in the "Statesman's Year-Book" and Parliamentary returns; but, nevertheless, facts to which for various reasons public attention had not been called. These facts reveal a grave and dangerous anomaly—namely, that the Empire is relying for its defence upon a Navy which is paid for and, consequently, owned and administered by the people of one country of the Empire only—the United Kingdom; that the people of the United Kingdom are, therefore, tacitly responsible for the defence of the lives, the interests, and the vast possessions of eleven million people of their own race who have independent Governments and who contribute practically nothing to the cost of that defence.

The committee regards it as the duty of the Government of the United Kingdom to take the first step towards redressing this anomaly, and in its opinion this step should be "to make to those Colonial Governments, in an official manner, such statements as to the present means by which defence is provided, and such proposals regarding the future, as will elicit from them an expression as to their willingness to take part in such a combination" (for defence).

If the reply to these proposals should be favourable, no doubt the next step would be to hold a conference for the purpose of agreeing upon the proportions in which the necessary funds should be provided by the different countries concerned, and upon the manner in which they should be represented in the control of expenditure. It can hardly be said that there is anything extravagant in these proposals. They are such as would be indicated by any careful consideration of the position. Neither do they involve any extraordinary effort of statesmanship to carry out, provided always that the willingness of the colonies is present.

Upon this head Mr. de Labilliere assures us that the colonies "will not be backward in performing their Imperial duties if properly approached." As for the committee, its whole case rests upon the assumption that when the people of the colonies become aware that they are dependent for their safety upon a navy solely provided by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, they will be ready and anxious to take their share in its cost and in its administration, and thus redress the existing anomaly. Mr. de Labilliere and others to whom he refers "object" to the "methods" of the committee in calling attention to these facts and thus affording an opportunity of testing the accuracy of both his belief and the assumption of the committee.

It is not necessary now to discuss the steps to be taken in the alternative case of the colonies deciding after full consideration that it is to their advantage to decline the proposed offer; but it will not be denied that it is of immense importance to us in the United Kingdom to know for certain whether or not we are to have the co-operation of the colonies in the national work of maritime defence.

Mr. de Labilliere says, "if properly approached," but what is the "proper" way of approaching the colonies upon this subject if it be not by representations made by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of the colonies as advocated by the committee?

Mr. de Labilliere makes another effort to prevent his belief, that the colonies "will not be backward," &c., from being put to the test by

referring to "an unprecedented financial crisis" through which it would appear that he believes the colonies to be passing. I do not know of any financial crisis which has affected either South Africa or Canada for many years. If it has occurred, the Press has been silent upon the subject.

On the other hand, books of reference will show that South Africa was never in a better financial position than at present. As for Canada, we heard from the High Commissioner of the Dominion this year that since the year 1882 taxation had been actually reduced by some 30 millions of dollars, and the process had been repeated this year. With regard to Australia, Mr. de Labilliere is a member of the council of the Royal Colonial Institute; he must have frequently heard at the meetings of the past session how rapidly and triumphantly the Australian colonies are leaving their depression behind them. In the same capacity he cannot fail to be aware of the inexhaustible sources of wealth with which these colonies abound. If he reads the Australian telegrams in *The Times* he will have seen that the Treasurers of both New Zealand and Queensland have declared this year a surplus of revenue over expenditure.

The unprecedented financial crisis through which the colonies are passing, then, amounts to this—that, of the three great self-governing countries, one, Canada, has for the last 12 years been steadily reducing its taxation; another, South Africa, has never seen better financial days; while of the third, Australasia, colonies representing two-fifths of its population are declaring surpluses. The remaining three-fifths of a third of the colonies are all that is left for the purposes of an unprecedented financial crisis.

But those who, like Mr. de Labilliere, urge that, on account of poverty, depression, or financial crisis, this country or that should not be asked to consider the question of providing for their maritime defence seem to forget that such defence is not a luxury which can be afforded or dispensed with as times are good or bad with its inhabitants. Means of defence are a necessity to the existence of every country in the Empire; and if one section of the Empire does not pay its share the burden falls upon the others.

In this case the whole demand falls upon the people of the United Kingdom. This country has been passing through a long period of commercial and agricultural depression from which it is, as yet, hardly beginning to recover. Its people have shared with Australians, if they have not borne the brunt of the losses occasioned by the Australian bank failures of last year. Reduction of taxation, to which Canada has apparently grown accustomed, is unknown here. A heavy deficit had to be dealt with this year; yet no plea of bad times was allowed to avail when money was wanted for the Navy. The extra millions had to be provided by additional taxation, as we know but too well. Why, then, when this subject is brought so forcibly home to the people of the United Kingdom in such times should the committee be required to refrain from even mentioning it where the colonies may hear of it?

The fable which Mr. de Labilliere relates is characteristic of his way of looking at the matter. He likens the United Kingdom to a commercial traveller calling upon a possible buyer (the colonies) and begging him as a favour to purchase goods of him, or, in other words,

to contribute to the cost of the Navy. Both as an Englishman and as a member of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, I repudiate the suggestion that bagmen's tactics should be introduced in the treatment of this question. The offer which the committee desires to see made by the United Kingdom to the colonies—that of partnership on equitable terms in the means of maritime defence—is not one which should be accompanied by honeyed words designed to warp the judgment of the colonies as to their best interests.

I can conceive of nothing more certain to insure failure and disaster than that the colonies should be induced by any kind of bagman's cajolery to enter into so momentous an arrangement without being satisfied that it was to their advantage to do so. The proposition should, in my opinion, be set before the colonies in the plainest and most naked manner possible. No responsibility or liability which it involves should upon any consideration be concealed from them, and ample time—two years at least—should be given them for its full discussion in all its bearings before coming to a decision. The responsibility of the decision must be absolutely theirs, or future disagreement and recrimination will be the inevitable result.

I apologise for the great length of this letter, which is due to the number of points upon which I have been called upon to defend the action of my committee. Will you allow me to make my acknowledgment of the very kind way in which Mr. de Labilliere has referred to my previous connection with this subject, and to remind him that it is not uncommon to find many roads leading to the same point? At such a point I shall hope some day to meet him.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Hon. Secretary Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W., Sept. 2.

Summary of Letter No. 3.

(a) The suggestion that the Defence Committee is "passing itself off" as the Imperial Federation League is altogether without foundation.

(b) It being an undoubted fact that the Colonies make no practical contribution to the defence of the Empire, it cannot be either unreasonable or unwise to state that fact. The contribution by eleven millions of British subjects amounting to one-ninetieth part only of the cost of the naval defence of the Empire is inappreciable.

(c) The facts contained in the previous publications of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee may be set forth glaringly with italics and in capital letters, but whether that be so or not, they are absolutely and indisputably true.

(d) It is not the object of the Defence Committee to find fault with the Colonies, and it is an absolute error to state that the Committee has found fault with the Colonies. On the contrary, it has been specially stated in the Committee's publications which are now attacked, that the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs is

“NOT THE FAULT OF THE COLONIES.”

“This inequitable state of affairs is not primarily the fault of the Colonies referred to, etc.”

(e) Mr. de Labilliere says that “if properly approached,” the Colonies will be willing to make some reasonable contribution towards Imperial Defence. It is one of the principal objects of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee to ensure that the Colonies shall be properly approached.

(f) Mr. de Labilliere is of opinion that the Colonies will not be backward in taking their share. It has not been suggested that they will be backward; it is only pointed out that hitherto they have not come forward.

(g) It is only partly correct to say that the Colonies have been suffering from exceptional financial depression; but the United Kingdom, which contributes 89-90ths of the Naval Defence of the Empire, has undoubtedly been suffering very severe depression.

On the 11th September Sir Frederick Young contributed letter No. 4 to *The Times*, and on the same day there appeared a letter (No. 5) from Mr. F. Faithfull Begg.

No. 4.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—The question of Imperial defence, which has formed the subject of a recent lengthy correspondence in your columns between my friends Mr. F. P. de Labilliere and Mr. Arthur Loring, cannot fail to be regarded as one of paramount importance. On its ultimate successful solution depends the future of the British Empire. It is emphatically a national one. I fervently hope that all who take part in endeavouring to draw public attention to it may approach it in a wise and prudent spirit.

Although I have no idea at present of trespassing on your space at any length myself, I venture to crave your indulgence in making a few brief remarks on the letters of your correspondents to whom I have referred.

For many years past I have worked in cordial co-operation and hearty sympathy with both Mr. de Labilliere and Mr. Loring (in connection with the great national object to which, I believe, they are equally sincerely devoted) as a prominent member of the Imperial Federation League, as long as it continued to exist.

I am far from wishing to enter into any elaborate criticism of the arguments used by Mr. de Labilliere, on the other hand, to protest against the action and the policy of the recently-formed Imperial Defence Committee, or by Mr. Loring, as its official representative, in defending them. But I frankly confess that, without endorsing all the words which the former has addressed to you in his letter, I cordially sympathize with him in its general tenour and tone, and differ with the latter in the mode adopted by him and the Imperial Defence Committee for launching the question of Imperial defence before the British public at home and beyond the seas. It was on this account that, when invited to join it, I declined to become a member of the Imperial Defence Committee.

In a brief but expressive phrase I think this committee is "putting the cart before the horse."

The vital and cardinal principle of the "Imperial Federation," which I and those who agree with me have long persistently and consistently advocated, is that if the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire, the government and control of its foreign policy must first be shared by the Empire. Hence it follows that prior to asking the great self-governing colonies to contribute directly to the maintenance of national defence they should first be invited to join in a fair and equitable share in its control, and when their consent to this invitation has been obtained and the proper conditions for its fulfilment guaranteed to them, then that the natural and necessary consequence would take place—viz., their acquiescence in a proper participation in the cost of maintaining the national defence, to the control of which they themselves would be parties, as forming parts of one united Imperial and National Government.

I pass by the point raised by Mr. Loring in his somewhat elaborate and plausible contention, that the colonies at present contribute nothing to national defence. This can only be explained on the supposition that they do not contribute directly to the maintenance of the British Navy and Army. He is, of course, aware that there is considerable difference of opinion as to the interpretation to be given to this line of argument. Perhaps the colonies, in the aggregate, may not yet contribute enough; but those who speak on their behalf are entitled to point to the fact of the very large amounts they have already expended in local defensive works in Australia, in South Africa, and in Canada, all of which are fairly and fully entitled to be taken into consideration in connection with determining the question of pecuniary contributions, as well as of substantial military aids, to the general defence of the Empire. In the concluding paragraph of his last letter, Mr. Loring says, "it is not uncommon to find many roads leading to the same point." No doubt this is true; but there is a straight and

direct as well as a roundabout and indirect one, either of which may be followed by those who wish to meet at last.

It is because I prefer travelling by the one I have briefly indicated, and because I consider the one advocated by Mr. Loring and the Imperial Defence League to be both impolitic and essentially the wrong one, that I decline to follow them in pursuing it.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

FREDERICK YOUNG.

St. Andrews, N.B., Sept. 8.

Summary of Letter No. 4.

(a) Sir Frederick Young thinks that before the Colonies are asked to contribute to the defence of the Empire, they should be given a fair and equitable share in the control of the Empire, for whose maritime defence they have incurred no cost or responsibility.

(b) Sir Frederick Young "passes by the somewhat elaborate and plausible contention that the Colonies at present contribute nothing to national defence."

(c) Sir Frederick Young believes the road followed by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee to be impolitic and essentially wrong.

No. 5.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—Mr. de Labilliere is not the only one who feels aggrieved because of the action of Mr. Loring's new association. The name chosen may be clearly distinguishable from that of the old League, as Mr. Loring asserts. But only by experts; the general public cannot so distinguish; and, seeing that the "fundamental resolutions" of the old League have been adopted and the design upon the covers of the publications, as Mr. Loring admits, is the same, it is not to be expected that they should. The whole plan is simply a colourable imitation such as one would expect of a foreign manufacturer counterfeiting British goods.

Into the further questions discussed by Mr. Loring in his letter to you of 2nd inst. I do not propose to enter further than to say that the assumption contained in his argument—namely, that an organisation confining its attentions to questions of defence fitly embodies the spirit of the fundamental resolution of the old League—is unwarrantable.

The old League split upon the simple issue of whether or not it was possible in the language of the resolution in question to "combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire" for certain defined purposes without including the trade problem. By a narrow majority the party which Mr. Loring represents decided that it was, and the League fell to pieces. The minority held and still holds that it was not, and that the original basis of the League and the scope of the resolution in question were broad enough to admit of the widest application.

The action of those whom Mr. Loring now represents has given grievous offence to many, notably the members of the Imperial Federation League in Canada and of the City of London branch. I appreciate Mr. Loring's devotion to the cause of Imperial unity as highly as any one. I deplore that he and those associated with him should not have been content to work for a common object without assuming an attitude certain to provoke criticism, and manifestly liable to stir up strife.

I am, &c.,

F. FAITHFULL BEGG.

Bartholomew House, E.C., Sept. 7.

Summary of Letter No. 5.

This letter being chiefly, if not entirely, composed of personal allusions, does not require detailed examination.

On the 15th September the honorary secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee wrote to *The Times* letter No. 6.

No. 6.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—You kindly allowed me to state the case of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee so fully in *The Times* of the 7th inst. that I must not trespass at any length upon your space; but I should be grateful if you would allow me to reply very briefly to a few of the points raised in the letters of Sir Frederick Young and Mr. Faithfull Begg. The Imperial Federation League did not, as Mr. Begg asserts, "fall to pieces"; it was deliberately wound up at the end of last year in accordance with a resolution adopted by the council some time previously after months of careful consideration. The league having ceased to exist, a number of those who were its members have adopted the resolutions upon which it was founded without modification, and have called themselves the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

It is openly stated in every publication that these resolutions have been adopted from the "late league." Where, then, is the foundation for Mr. Begg's rather offensive statement that "the plan of the committee is a colourable imitation, such as one would expect of a foreign manufacturer counterfeiting British goods." No charge of plagiarism can lie where there is a full acknowledgment of the source of inspiration.

Both Sir Frederick Young and Mr. Begg were for years members of the Imperial Federation League, and must have been well acquainted with its principles as laid down in the resolutions referred to, yet neither of them has pointed out one single particular in which the action or the publications of the committee have gone outside the lines laid down by the Imperial Federation League for its own guidance.

Vague charges of "giving offence" without any particulars it is, of course, impossible to meet, and they can only be answered by a denial of any desire to offend. I do not believe that the committee has given any cause of reasonable offence in anything that it has said.

Mr. Begg, having criticized the committee to his own satisfaction, concludes by "deploring that its members should have assumed an attitude certain to provoke" that "criticism." But the committee has no object in avoiding honest criticism of its principles, its statements, or its actions. We believe that both our facts and our arguments will stand criticism and should be glad to see them tested.

Unfortunately, your correspondents have so far occupied your space mainly with criticisms of "general tenour," "attitude," and "tone," and with general charges of "impolicy," "want of discretion," &c.; these must inevitably be matter of opinion and even of taste, which they cannot claim to regulate. Their object seems to have been to prevent the facts and arguments set forth by the committee from being used and to discredit those using them rather than to expose the errors in the facts and the fallacies involved in the arguments.

It seems to me that the subjects named at the head of this letter are worthy of better treatment before your readers.

My friend, Sir Frederick Young, whose lifelong devotion to the interests of the colonies entitles any observations which he may make on this subject to respectful consideration, does, indeed, approach the real question. He lays it down that "if the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire the government and control of its foreign policy must first be shared by the Empire." Sir Frederick Young gives no reasons in support of his contention; but this is no doubt because he perceives that before we arrive at the question whether the colonies are to get their representation or to commence their contributions first—a question which has not been raised by anything that the committee has said and which could be easily settled by making the two events simultaneous—that "if" with which Sir Frederick Young commences his *dictum* has to be removed. It has to be determined whether "the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire" or not.

This is precisely the question which the committee desires to see authoritatively settled, and to that end all its efforts are at present directed.

Will you allow me to state, for the information of your readers who may wish to judge for themselves of the committee's publications, that they can be obtained from Messrs. P. S. King and Co., King-street, Westminster ?

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Hon. Secretary Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

Summary of Letter No. 6.

(a) Vague charges of "giving offence" without any particulars are impossible to meet. No charges supported by particulars or facts have yet been made.

(b) The Committee entirely agrees with Sir Frederick Young in believing that before we decide how the Colonies are to contribute to the defence of the Empire and to share in its control, it is necessary to decide whether the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire, and the government and control of the Empire be shared by all parts of it.

On the same day as the last letter appeared, Sir John Colomb contributed to *The Times* letter No. 7.

No. 7.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—Sir F. Young and Mr. F. Begg—whose letters appear in your issue of 11th inst.—need not be so dreadfully frightened.

Let them read Mr. Loring's letter again and carefully read the publications of the committee of which he is the able honorary secretary, and they will find they are "frighted with false fire" of their own imaginations.

All Mr. Loring said and all the defence committee have done is to publish—

1. Statements of facts regarding the maintenance of the fleet.
2. The declaration of an opinion that in view of such facts the Governments of the self-governing colonies should have their attention officially called to these facts by the Imperial Government, and be invited to consider, at a conference, what arrangements can be made by which they can take an equitable share in the responsibility and maintenance of the imperial fleet, which we at home now pay for, and which protects them, though they do not pay for it.

I would ask Sir F. Young and Mr. F. Begg to come out of the fog of generalities and state clearly—

1. Why they object to the publication of facts?
2. Why they object to calling the attention of the self-governing colonies to facts?
3. Why they object to the suggestion of a conference to consider a practical mode of adjusting the burdens and responsibilities, between the several self-governing portions of the Empire, of maintaining that world-wide sea supremacy upon which each and all depend?

May I add that the action of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee is strictly confined to questions relating to maritime defence, and the figures and facts relied upon are, in the main, taken from the Parliamentary paper which I moved for and obtained as an annual return, an extract from which you published on 7th inst.?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN C. R. COLOMB.

Dromquinna, Kenmare, Sept. 12.

Summary of Letter No. 7.

This letter is so brief and concentrated that it scarcely needs to be summarised. Sir John Colomb asks the following questions :—

- (a) Are the facts published by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee true or untrue?
- (b) If they be untrue, why do not Mr. de Labilliere and Sir F. Young point out the error or errors?
- (c) If they are true, are they important?
- (d) If the facts stated by the I.F.D.C. be both true and important, what possible advantage can be gained by concealing them?

On the 15th September Mr. F. P. de Labilliere sent a further letter (No. 8) to *The Times* :—

No. 8.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—As Mr. Loring's letter, published in *The Times* of the 7th inst. in reply to mine inserted on August 24 calls for a rejoinder, will you kindly admit this to your columns? Mr. Loring apologizes for writing at such length; but I know how clear and concise he can be when he has a good case. The position of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, however, needs much defending.

I neither suggested that that body "was passing itself off as the Imperial Federation League," nor did I charge it with otherwise intending to mislead. Mr. Loring would never be a party to anything of the kind. But, with the want of caution and discretion which have marked its proceedings, the committee has not been careful enough to avoid the use of names and imprints which may lead to the supposition that it is practically the old league. But "the party in error," says Mr. Loring, "need not feel aggrieved, as the committee has adopted in their entirety and without alteration the resolutions upon which the late league was founded." But I wrote about its members, who, heartily endorsing the principles of the resolutions, may well "feel aggrieved," if supposed to be approvers of the methods of the Defence Committee.

To my objection to the indiscretion of the course it is taking Mr. Loring replies, "I see no reason why the committee should not find fault with the colonies if it thinks fit. This is a free country, and the year is 1894." I am no more disposed to dispute the two first than the last of these statements. In matters of indiscretion I would never interfere with the liberty of the subject, in any case short of dangerous lunacy.

Mr. Loring says that I "liken the United Kingdom to a commercial traveller calling upon a possible buyer (the colonies) and begging him as a favour to purchase goods of him, or, in other words, to contribute to the cost of the navy." Mr. Loring tries to turn the point of the story away from his committee, of which I was speaking, and not of the United Kingdom, into which I never dreamed of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee being expanded; and I am sure that no Ministry, of any party representing the people of the Mother Isles of Britain, will ever put any question to the colonies with such disregard as is exhibited by the committee of, I will not say diplomacy—for that is a word only to be used in dealing with foreigners—but of the right ways of putting things to the nearest of kin.

The Imperial Federation League—founded with the broad object of dealing with the whole question of the unity of the Empire in all its bearings—has been killed because latterly its executive had not eyes for measuring the due proportions of things—some looking only at trade relations, others at the question of defence—the latter, the most important, I admit, naval supremacy being the very life of the Empire; but still other Imperial considerations must be weighed with these and all be treated by our statesmen as a whole. And now we have got, in the place of the league, a body trying to struggle into life out of its ashes, not even mainly to devote itself to the general question of defences—a small society for showing up the shortcomings of the colonies on the subject. I rejoice to think that the cause has struck such deep root throughout the Empire that it can now dispense with an organization, but it is to be regretted that the one it had was not preserved.

Every federalist holds that there must be equitable contribution to the Navy and to all Imperial purposes from all parts of the Empire. I have always contended for this cardinal principle, but it can be best advocated in the colonies by men like Mr. D'Esterre Taylor, whom I quote in "Federal Britain" as giving strongest expression to it. He, a born Australian, was a very able member in Victoria of the Imperial

Federation League. Better far to have kept that organisation alive, and to have got such men in its branches in the colonies to have powerfully put the question to their fellow-colonists, than to have this committee preaching to the people of these isles, not against their own sins of omission, but against those of their colonial brothers.

Granting, for the sake of argument, or as established to demonstration, the accuracy of all the figures of the committee, is it necessary that such a body should permanently exist in order to keep such statistics up to date and to produce an annual budget showing the deficits of the colonies in their contributions to the Navy? The inequalities once pointed out, do not need to be repeated with such painful iteration. They can be most satisfactorily adjusted at the baize tables of conferences. Subsidies or sources of taxation—death duties, for instance, about which it may be difficult to decide as to whether they should, in fairness, be paid to one Exchequer or another—can easily be set apart to supply Imperial revenue without interfering with provincial finances. Grant equitable share in control of revenues, defence, and foreign policy (in a word, representation), and equitable contribution (in a word, taxation) will be constitutionally established for the Empire. This means, to any one with clear conceptions of practical politics, some organisation of a federal kind—a Parliament and Executive like those of Canada, the United States, and Germany being the most highly-developed forms, a conference like that of 1887 or the one just held in Ottawa, meeting annually, being the most elementary. The great question must be regarded as a whole.

This is also practically the view of my friend Sir Frederick Young, to whom I am indebted for the valuable support, in my present contention, of his letter, which you insert to-day.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Harrow, Sept. 11th.

F. P. DE LABILLIERE.

Summary of Letter No. 8.

(a) Mr. de Labilliere considers that finding fault with the political action, or inaction, of the Colonies is an indiscretion which he is not prepared to interfere with, as it falls short of "dangerous lunacy."

(b) Mr. de Labilliere admits that "Naval supremacy is the very life of the Empire."

(c) Mr. de Labilliere is of opinion that the object of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee is to show up the shortcomings of the Colonies.

(d) Mr. de Labilliere granting, for the sake of argument, that the figures of the Committee are established to demonstration,

does not consider it right that a body should permanently exist to keep such statistics up to date. He considers that the iteration of the fact that the United Kingdom pays 89-90ths of the cost of the naval defence of the Empire is painful.

On the 19th September, Sir Frederick Young made a further contribution (No. 9) to the correspondence. Sir Frederick refers to a letter by Admiral Colomb in which the Admiral had dwelt upon questions of much interest in connection with Imperial Defence, but not strictly speaking connected with the main arguments of the present correspondence.

No. 9.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—The vigour of the discussion which, by your permission, is taking place in your columns on the question of Imperial defence sufficiently illustrates its national importance. I should like to make one or two brief comments on the letters of your correspondents which appear in *The Times* of Saturday.

I regard it as a decided advantage to the solution of the intricate problem involved in Imperial defence, that a paragraph in my letter of the 11th inst. has evoked from an expert like Admiral Colomb the very interesting and important criticism on the strategy to be adopted for the protection of the British Empire in case of war. But, while I entirely agree with him in his contention that the main object of an Empire like our own is to keep the British sea frontier inviolate, by means, of course, of an overwhelmingly powerful Navy, I do not think he can consider that, for the purposes of Imperial defence, no fortifications on land are necessary in order to supplement and support the action of the Navy itself. Admiral Colomb, quite unintentionally, I feel sure, misrepresents my meaning in mentioning the vast sums already expended by Australasia, South Africa, and Canada in local defence, as being, in my judgment, a substantial contribution to Imperial defence. I alluded to it merely for the purpose of showing that the expenditure of all this money did practically constitute a contribution to Imperial defence as forming part of the recognised military aid to the Empire as a whole, for every nation adopts the necessity of having land fortifications as well as naval forces, to protect it. This was in reply to Mr. Loring's Imperial Defence Committee, who deny that the colonies contribute anything to Imperial defence.

The point, after all, which I contend for must be kept distinctly in mind. It is this—that, whether it be much, or little, or nothing which the colonies contribute at present to Imperial defence, before they are asked by the mother country to do so they should be guaranteed a fair and equitable participation in the control and foreign policy of the Empire itself. When this has first been granted to them in a proper

constitutional manner, then they would be as ready as the people of Great Britain to contribute their just quota to its defence. This is emphatically my idea of "Imperial Federation."

Sir John Colomb calls on me "to come out of the fog of generalities." My friend, I hope, will excuse me for saying he is in the fog himself, not I. Round me the air is perfectly clear. I have given distinctly my reasons for objecting to the policy of the Imperial Defence Committee. I think there can be no question of ambiguity about them. Sir John asks me "to state clearly why I object to the publication of facts," to calling the attention "of the self-governing colonies to facts, and to the suggestion of a conference to consider a practical mode of adjusting the burdens and responsibilities between the several self-governing portions of the Empire, of maintaining that world-wide sea supremacy upon which each and all depend."

I reply categorically that I do not object to any of these things *per se*. What I do most distinctly object to is the use which is made of them and the arguments based upon them, by which an erroneous and misleading impression is created in the minds of those to whom the appeal by their publication is made. It is the mode of putting them forward that, to my thinking, is most injurious to the great cause of Imperial Federation, and therefore I energetically protest against it.

One word with regard to an important "if," which Mr. Loring refers to as occurring in my own previous letter. In answer to him I say at once that I certainly do think that the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire; and so far the "if" "in my dictum" I trust may be regarded as removed. But then it must be, in my judgment, on certain conditions. It is in their attempts at carrying out these conditions that the Imperial Defence Committee and myself are apparently entirely at variance.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

FREDERICK YOUNG.

St. Andrews, N.B., Sept. 17.

Summary of Letter No. 9.

(a) Sir Frederick Young admits that questions raised in the correspondence refer to a matter of "national importance."

(b) Sir Frederick Young disagrees with Admiral Colomb as to the value of fortifications as a protection to the ocean highways.

(c) Sir Frederick Young does not regard the sum expended by Australasia, South Africa, and Canada, in local defence as being "a substantial contribution to Imperial Defence."

(d) Sir Frederick Young repeats his opinion that the Colonies should be given a control over the defence and foreign policy of the Empire before they have signified their willingness to bear

their share of the cost of the one and their share of the responsibility of the other.

(e) Sir Frederick Young does not object to any of the things proposed by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, but he "energetically protests against the mode in which they are put forward."

The correspondence has for the present been closed by a letter (No. 10) from the honorary secretary of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, which appeared in *The Times* on September 21st.

No. 10.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Times*.

SIR,—Sir Frederick Young's announcement that he "certainly does think that the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire" does not actually settle the question whether the 11 million people of the colonies are willing to undertake their share of the cost of maintaining the Navy which defends us all alike. He will, I am sure, pardon the committee for feeling that it is desirable to ascertain this fact even more authoritatively before it advocates the dislocation of existing machinery in order to introduce the system of representation which, it is admitted, must accompany their contribution.

Though it may be reasonable for the purposes of argument to assume the willingness of the colonies to share with us in the cost of maritime defence, it will not do to take action upon such an assumption. If Sir Frederick will read No. 1 of the committee's publications he will there find set out under the heading "Pros and Cons," nine different reasons which have been advanced in order to show that the colonies should not contribute towards the maintenance of the Navy. It is true that these reasons are answered on the same pages; but the answers may not be convincing to Canadians and Australians, though they are sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case for asking them the question as to their willingness to contribute.

To obtain an authoritative answer to this question is the object which the committee has set before itself, and this is as far as the committee deems it prudent to go at present. If an answer in the affirmative is obtained, as we are led by Sir Frederick Young to expect, it will then be possible to proceed to consider the conditions under which the colonial willingness to contribute may be made use of.

If Sir Frederick Young wishes the colonies, in addition, to relieve the heavily-burdened British taxpayer of some of the cost of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic and Consular Services, it is, of course, perfectly open to him to advocate this considerable extension of the committee's programme, and to endeavour to attain these objects before the committee attain theirs, but it scarcely constitutes ground for an "energetic protest" against the committee's own more modest operations.

Sir Frederick Young has twice stated in your columns that I have said "the colonies contribute nothing to national defence" or "Imperial defence." This has never been said either by me or by the committee; every statement upon this subject has been definitely limited to maritime defence.

The issue is becoming a very narrow one when Sir Frederick Young states that he does not object to the publication of the facts brought out by the committee, and when Mr. de Labilliere admits that "every federalist holds that there must be equitable contribution to the Navy and to all Imperial purposes from all parts of the Empire." If Sir Frederick Young allows the committee to publish the facts, I have little doubt that we shall soon attain to Mr. de Labilliere's federalist ideal.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Hon. Secretary Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

30, Charles Street, London, W.

Summary of Letter No. 10.

(a) The fact that Sir Frederick Young "thinks that the defence of the Empire is to be undertaken by the Empire" does not settle the question of whether the Colonies are in fact prepared to take their share. This is a matter which can only be ascertained by asking the question. It is time the question was asked.

(b) It is possible that the Colonies are willing to take their share, but they have not yet said so. The Committee desires to give them an opportunity of expressing the opinions which Sir Frederick Young is confident they hold.

(c) Sir Frederick Young is in error in attributing to the Committee the statement that "the Colonies contribute nothing to National defence" or "Imperial defence." The Committee has never gone beyond the statement that the Colonial contribution to the "Maritime" defence of the Empire is inappreciable.

(d) The honorary secretary notes that Mr. de Labilliere admits that "every federalist holds that there must be equitable contribution to the Navy, and to all Imperial purposes, from all parts of the Empire." It is the desire of the Committee to give effect to Mr. de Labilliere's wish.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

No. 1.

Price 2d.

THE COLONIES and MARITIME DEFENCE.

“Pros and Cons.”

No. 2.

Price 2d.

THE CONFERENCE AT OTTAWA.

“The Colonies and the Death Duties.”

“The Colonial Side of the Question.”

No. 3.

Price 6d.

UNDER FIRE.

“Correspondence Published in the ‘Times.’”

Copies of these pamphlets may be obtained for distribution at the rate of 5s. per hundred, by application to the Hon. Secretary, who will also be glad to supply further information upon this subject and to receive promises of support on behalf of the Committee.

Address—25, OLD QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER.

Expressions of Opinion.

"I confess, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, nothing would be pleasanter to me than to see the taxpayers of this country relieved of some of those gigantic sums for naval defence which they almost alone contribute at the present time. I am bound to say that the amounts contributed by the Colonies towards Naval Defence in its broadest sense are extremely insignificant. The cost of defence has increased enormously; every gun, every article of war, has increased in expense to an alarming extent, and this country bears almost the whole of that increase, while we do protect our Colonies, and they know that they can rely on our Navy securing the highways of commerce, and that access to all parts of the world to which our fellow subjects in the Colonies believe themselves entitled. Therefore I should be only too glad that Colonial statesmen should approach the idea that there should be a wider area over which our Imperial Defence should be spread, and nothing would give me greater pleasure personally than if representative men connected with the finances of the various Colonies conferred together as to what changes, if any, might be made on both sides."—The Right Hon. G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P., in Parliament, February 17, 1891.

"From one end of the Empire to the other there is no subject who does not recognise to the fullest extent that it is his duty to contribute to the defence of this great Empire. . . .

"There is no Colony so eager as Canada to do its part in defending the Empire."—Sir CHARLES TUPPER, Bart., G.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Canada, April 23, 1894.

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