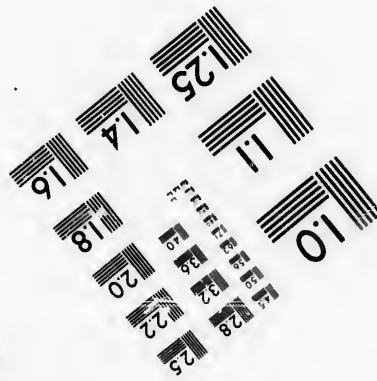
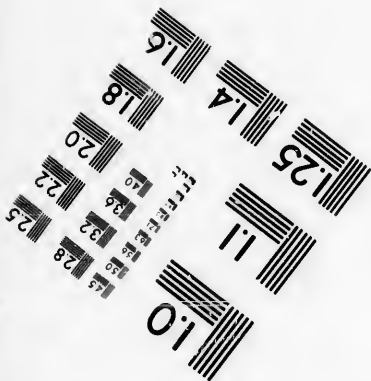
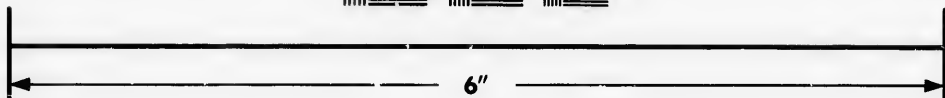
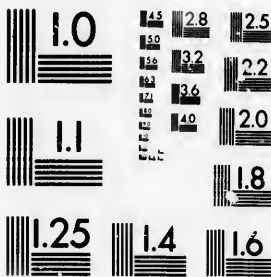


**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBST., N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

1.5
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0

**CIHM/ICMH
Microfiche
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH
Collection de
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

10
01
05
07

© 1986

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/
Pages de couleur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/
Couverture endommagée | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/
Pages endommagées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/
Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/
Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/
Pages détachées |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire) | <input type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/
Transparence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur | <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/
Qualité inégale de l'impression |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/
Comprend du matériel supplémentaire |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distorsion le long de la marge intérieure | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/
Seule édition disponible |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may
appear within the text. Whenever possible, these
have been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata
slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to
ensure the best possible image/
Les pages totalement ou partiellement
obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,
etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à
obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires: | |

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

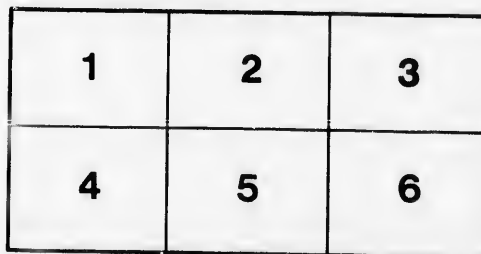
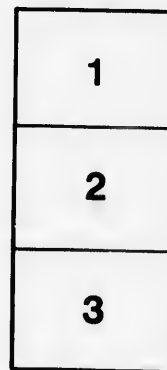
Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

ire
détails
es du
modifier
er une
filmage

es

errata
to

pelure,
n à

32X

New South Wales
 New Zealand
 South Australia
 Tasmania
 Cape of Good Hope
 Honduras
 Leeward Is.
 Labuan
 Zambesia
 Jamaica
 W. African Setts
 Hong Kong
 Fiji Islands
 North Borneo
 Falkland Is.

England
 Scotland
 Dominion of Canada
 Newfoundland
 Ireland
 Wales
 Victoria

Queensland
 W. Australia
 Ceylon
 Natal
 Guiana
 Windward Is.
 Trinidad
 Bahamas
 New Guinea
 Straits Settlements
 St. Helena
 Bermuda
 Brit. E. Africa
 Sierra Leone

Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

The Colonies
 and
 Maritime Defence.

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE,
 LONDON, W.

Cyprus
 Malta
 Aden
 India
 Perim
 Gibraltar
 Mauritius



1894

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 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.

1894
(122)

THE COLONIES AND MARITIME DEFENCE.

IN view of the fact that Parliament has just (April, 1894) unanimously voted a sum of £17,000,000 as the annual provision for the service of the Navy, and whereas the whole of this large sum will be paid by the tax-payers of the United Kingdom only, the IMPERIAL FEDERATION (DEFENCE) COMMITTEE invite attention to some facts not generally recognised, which have an important bearing upon this and future votes for the maintenance of the Navy.

The Commerce of the Empire.

The annual value of the commerce of the Empire carried upon the high seas was, in 1891, **970 millions sterling.**

696 millions of this belong to the United Kingdom, and **143 millions** belong to the self-governing Colonies.

Of this last sum **95 millions** represent trade done by these Colonies with countries other than the United Kingdom.

From these figures it will be seen that about **one-seventh** of the commerce to be protected is that of the self-governing Colonies in Australasia, North America, and South Africa ; and that **two-thirds** of this trade is carried on with other countries, the United Kingdom not being concerned with it in any way.

What the United Kingdom Pays for its Protection.

The Navy which protects this commerce is, nevertheless, paid for *almost entirely* **by the people of the United Kingdom.**

The ordinary annual expenditure by the United Kingdom

upon the Navy may be put at **15 millions**; in addition to this no less than **33 millions of extra expenditure** has been provided by the United Kingdom for increasing the strength of the Navy since 1882.

What the Colonies Pay.

The self-governing Colonies during the year 1891 spent upon sea-going forces the following sums :—

* North American Colonies	... 5,000,000 people	... Nothing.
Australasian Colonies	... 4,250,000 ,,	... £85,000.
South African Colonies	... 2,000,000 ,,	... Nothing.

The small sum spent by the seven Australasian Colonies is for ships of their own, for coast and harbour defence. These Colonies have also undertaken to pay a sum not exceeding **£126,000 per annum** towards the maintenance of a certain number of ships of the British Navy on the Australian Station. These ships are not available for the general protection of commerce, as is the Navy provided by the United Kingdom.

But allowing these sums to stand on the same footing as the United Kingdom expenditure, it appears that **38 million people** in the United Kingdom spend on the general protection of the Empire and its commerce **£18,000,000** a year, while **11 million people** in these Colonies spend **£200,000 only**.

With Half the Revenue of Great Britain.

Comparing the revenue of these countries, we find that the self-governing Colonies have a revenue of **43 millions** sterling, almost half that of the United Kingdom, which is **91 millions**: yet they contribute to the maintenance of the Navy which protects them and their possessions but **a ninetieth part of its cost**.

A "Twopence-three-farthings" Contribution.

Of every **£1** spent on the Naval Defence of the Empire these Colonies provide **twopence-three-farthings**.

The contribution of the Colonies per head is **fourpence-**

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 372, 1893.

halfpenny, against **nine-and-sixpence** per head contributed by the United Kingdom.

If the area of these countries be compared with that of the United Kingdom, it will be seen that the extent of territory to be defended is **fifty times greater** in the case of the Colonies than in that of the United Kingdom.

A Manifest Inequality.

In short, 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 11 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.

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.

This is an offer which no Englishman need object to make.

Where the Responsibility Lies.

If the Colonies, or any of them, after full consideration, decide to decline the offer, they will, in effect, be taking upon themselves, with their eyes open, the full responsibility for any

deficiency there may be in providing for the safety of their countries and their commerce. At the same time, having thus once put the case before the Colonies, the United Kingdom will be relieved of the moral responsibility which, until that has been done, still devolves upon it, of itself making complete provision for their defence.

Objections have been Raised and Answered.

Attempts have been made in various quarters to show that by erecting **fortifications** in their own countries, and providing **Militia**, the Colonies are contributing to the general defence of the Empire, and thus to fasten the burden of the cost of the Navy for ever on the United Kingdom.

These and other arguments of a similar character are fully set out and replied to in the notes which follow.

The Committee recommends the discussion of this question during the ensuing Session by the political organisations, parliaments, and debating societies of the United Kingdom, in order that it may be understood in all its bearings, as it is inevitable that some action should be taken in the matter before long.

“PROS AND CONS.”

THE following are some of the arguments which are occasionally used in favour of the continuance of the present anomalous state of things, together with the answers which common sense, common knowledge, and the plain facts suggest in reply :—

1. “*The Colonies having fortified certain ports in their own countries and established a Militia, have made a proper contribution to the defence of the Empire, and should not be called upon to do more.*”

This is *not* a question of local defence, but of the general defence of the Empire and its commerce on the high seas.

The United Kingdom has also fortified its ports, and has not only a Militia, but a standing Army. Where the Colonies spend thousands upon these objects, the United Kingdom spends millions.

Moreover, in many of the Colonial harbours which claim to be fortified—as Esquimaux, King George’s Sound, Thursday Island, Cape Town, etc.—the United Kingdom has had to provide the guns for these fortifications, probably the most expensive part of the work.

2. It is often said, “*Canada has built the Canadian Pacific Railway—‘an Imperial highway’—an important contribution to Imperial Defence. Is not this enough?*”

The **Canadian Pacific Railway*** belongs to the Company

* *Canadian Pacific Railway.*—“The Company was incorporated in February, 1881, for the purpose of constructing a line of railway to connect the sea-board of British Columbia on the Pacific Ocean with the railway system of Canada, and of operating the same for ever.

“The Dominion Government gave a subsidy of twenty-five million dollars in cash, twenty-five million acres of land and sections of railways, some built, others to be built, to the extent of 713 miles. To compensate the Company for the extra expense incurred in anticipating by as much as five years the contract time for the completion of the road, further material assistance was subsequently given by the Government, the most important thing being the purchase back of a large portion of the land grant at one and a half dollars per acre; and in 1888, as compensation for the surrender of the monopoly clause in its charter, which protected the Company for twenty years from competition in the North-West, the Government guaranteed the interest on fifteen million dollars 3½ per cent. land-grant bonds.”—*The Stock Exchange Year-Book*, page 156.

of that name, as much as the London and North Western does to its shareholders.

The C. P. R. was built as a commercial undertaking to pay dividends to its shareholders, and its construction was subsidised, encouraged, and supported by the Canadian Government of the day in order to increase the prosperity of the country, and to make a real union of the provinces of which the Dominion is composed. The Imperial Government has no authority over it, and pays for its servants who use it occasionally, like anyone else.

The **Suez Canal** is used for British purposes a thousand times more than the Canadian Pacific Railway, yet we recognise no obligation to France who made it, beyond that of paying when we use it.

3. *"The Australian Colonies are going through a period of depression, and should not be asked just now."*

Have the Australian Colonies a monopoly of depression? Is there not depression in Great Britain?

Both New Zealand and Queensland Treasurers have recently declared a **surplus** of revenue over expenditure. Canada has done so for a long time. In the United Kingdom the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to meet a deficit; yet we find the extra millions needed for the Navy, while *they cut down their expenditure upon Naval Forces by one-third*, and enormously reduce their votes for Military Defence.

4. It has been claimed that *Canada contributes seven million dollars per annum to the defence of the Empire, because certain canals and railways have been made in Canada, because Canada maintains a Militia, a permanent Militia, Mounted Police and Police Boats for the protection of inshore fisheries, and because Canada subsidises a line of Steamers which place her in communication with Japan.*

If these be contributions to Imperial Defence, there must be added to Great Britain's expenditure for that purpose the cost of the **Manchester Ship Canal** and fifty others, some £900,000,000 sterling spent upon railways in the United Kingdom alone, the cost of **Militia, Standing Army, Reserves, and Volunteers**, the cost of **Irish Constabulary, City and Metropolitan Police**, and **subsidies to all the Steamship Lines** which carry her mails; and still the British taxpayer pays

nineteen and ninepence in the pound on the cost of the Naval Defence of the Empire, and **Canada nothing**.

But, of course, the fact is that it is idle to put forward any of these matters as contributions to Imperial Defence. They are **purely local matters** which every country has to provide for itself if it claims to be civilised. The general defence of the Empire is entirely outside such considerations.

5. Australians have said, "*We do not need your Navy. We are so far away that nobody will attack us. We can deal with a stray cruiser, and that is the utmost danger we are likely to incur.*"

But this is what **Mr. Service**, *Ex-Premier of Victoria*, said, when the Minister of Defence was despatched to this country at the end of 1893 :

"It would be well for Mr. Reid to take every opportunity of backing that party in the Mother Country who are striving, tooth and nail, to put the Navy of Great Britain on a proper footing. It would be difficult to say what would be the position of Australia if war should break out ; but if the Navy of Great Britain was kept at its proper strength, relatively to the Navies of other countries, the Colonies would have nothing to fear."

Mr. Patterson, speaking as *Premier of the same Colony*, said on the same occasion, "The control of the ocean is of importance to every man who grows a bag of wheat in the Colonies. What is the good of producing and exporting if the produce is not to be secured a safe transit across the water ?"

6. Others have said, "*The Navy is maintained for the defence of English commerce ; defence of Colonial commerce is only incidental. If England were without her Colonies, she could not reduce her Navy by one ship.*"

This involves a fallacy. It might as well be said by Kent or by Cornwall that they need not contribute to the cost of the Navy, because if they were submerged the Navy would still have to be kept at its present strength. **The argument therefore proves too much.** Every part of the Empire that enjoys the advantages of defence is under an equal obligation to contribute to its cost.

7. It has been objected that "*England maintains a squadron in every sea to protect her own commerce. It would be as reasonable to ask the United States or China to contribute to the expense of the Navy because a British squadron was maintained upon their coasts, as to ask the Colonies.*"

Neither the coasts nor the commerce of America or China are defended by the British squadrons, but on every sea the British squadron there protects Colonial as well as British commerce, and it protects their coasts and harbours also.

8. It has been suggested that "*Perhaps it may offend the Colonies to ask them to pay anything to the Navy. This is how we lost the American Colonies.*"

The circumstances are totally different. Then, a war had been fought on their behalf, and it was sought to make them pay for its cost, without giving them a voice either in the raising or in the expenditure of the taxes required for that purpose. Now, it is proposed to call the attention of the Colonies, before the war, to the necessity for providing a system of defence for their countries and their commerce, and to invite them to share in the cost, in the ownership, and in the administration of the finest Navy in the world.

If such a proposal should cause them to secede from the Empire, it must be admitted that the connection which now exists is hardly worth having, and that the chance of their being with us in time of trouble is reduced to something very small.

9. Lastly, it has been said that, "*Rightly or wrongly, the Colonies think they are taxed enough already.*"

Possibly. "Rightly or wrongly," this view is somewhat generally held in other parts of the Empire, and not least in the United Kingdom, where the people have to bear the burden of so much Imperial expenditure in addition to their own internal expenses.

Copies of this pamphlet 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—30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

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 Colo- nies	£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.

Opinions of Colonial Statesmen.

"Britain's Fleet is the instrument of power and the symbol of her unity. British ships of war are the safeguard of Colonial liberty, and the natural chain which holds the scattered communities together. The Fleet, therefore, ought to be one. Division is weakness, and the old story of the bundle of sticks has here its proper application. Let there be one Navy, under the rule of a single Admiralty—a Navy in which the Colonies shall be as much interested as the Mother Country, which shall be theirs as well as hers, and on which they may all rely in time of danger."—The late Right Hon. W. B. DALLEY, Chief Secretary of New South Wales.

"It would be difficult to say what would be the position of Australia if war should break out; but if the Navy of Great Britain was kept at its proper strength, relatively to the Navies of other countries, the Colonies would have nothing to fear."—The Hon. JAMES SERVICE, Ex-Premier of Victoria.

Melbourne Argus, December 19th, 1893.

"The control of the ocean is of importance to every man who grows a bag of wheat in the Colonies. What is the good of producing and exporting if the produce is not to be secured a safe transit across the water?"—The Hon. J. B. PATTERSON, Premier of Victoria.

Melbourne Argus, December 19th, 1893.

"I do not think the Colonies would be disinclined to contribute towards the cost of the Imperial Navy on well-defined terms. . . ."

"I believe an able Government of the United Kingdom would, if it tried, succeed in bringing the whole of the outlying possessions to a satisfactory agreement with the Mother Country."—Sir JULIUS VOGEL, K.C.M.G., Ex-Premier of New Zealand.

The Times, April 7th, 1894.

