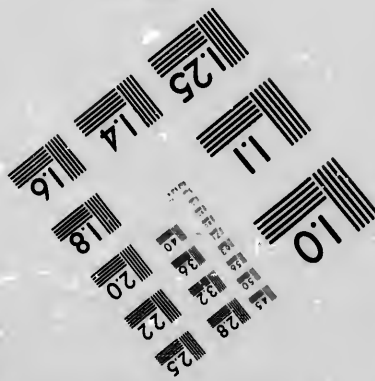
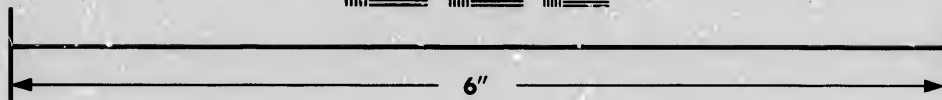
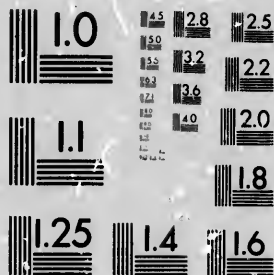


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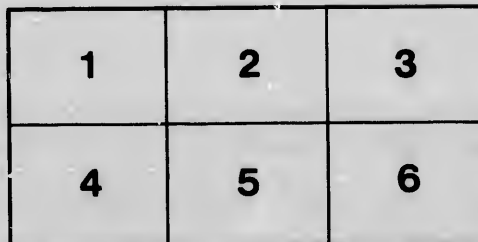
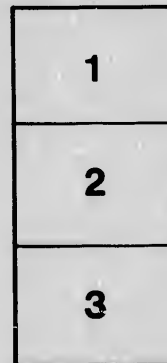
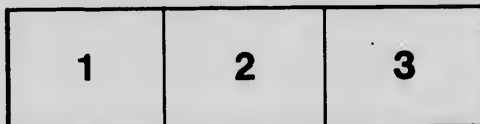
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**Committee.**

**COLONIES**  
 AND  
**CRISES.**

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

1896  
(47)

# 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, given a common system of Maritime Defence, provided by all parts of the Empire, the most essential point in the Federation of the Empire is attained.
4. 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.
5. That if the self-governing Colonies take their share in the cost of such a system of defence, they must have such a representation as will enable them to exercise a supervision over the disposal of the fund to which they contribute ; and if those Colonies be 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.
6. That proposals involving participation in the cost of general maritime security, which has hitherto been enjoyed by those Colonies 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.

## COLONIES AND CRISES.

**"In my opinion no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."**—*Speech of the Earl of Beaconsfield, June 24th, 1872.*

THE expressions of loyal attachment to the Mother Country and to the Imperial connection on the part of the great Colonies, evoked by recent crises in Foreign Affairs, recall vividly the statesmanlike words that have been taken as the text of this pamphlet. Happily, there is good reason to hope that the present opportunity will not be neglected, but that the statesmen who now sway the destinies of the British Empire will not fail to recognise it as their duty to avail themselves of the favouring breeze of popular sentiment, by making an earnest and practical effort to transmute the existing patriotic feeling and language of our Colonial kinsmen into correspondingly patriotic and useful action.

The time, therefore, seems fitting to gather up in a few pages those gratifying utterances of statesmen and politicians, of press-writers and publicists, that have come to us from Canada and Australasia during the crisis of the Empire that had a part of its origin in South Africa; to see how these have been received by public men and the press in the United Kingdom; and to examine briefly into the direction that may be given to events by the combination of these two great forces of public opinion.

### I.—COLONIAL ADDRESSES.

#### AUSTRALASIA.

ON January 12th, within less than a fortnight of those events in South Africa which came so close upon the heels of the grave national crisis arising out of President Cleveland's Venezuelan Message, a telegram from Sydney announced that the Hon. G. H. Reid, Premier of New South Wales, had, on behalf of his



own and all the other Governments of Australia and Tasmania, addressed the following telegram to Lord Salisbury :—

“The Governments of Australia and Tasmania view with satisfaction the prompt and fearless measures adopted by her Majesty’s Government in defence of the integrity of the Empire. We desire to convey our united assurances of loyal support. The people of Australia are in full sympathy with the determination of the Mother Country to resent foreign interference in matters of British and Colonial concern.”

Some twelve days later a Melbourne telegram informed us that Mr. Chamberlain’s imperially-minded speech, delivered on the 21st of the same month (of which presently), had been

“received with enthusiasm throughout Australia. His name was greeted with ringing cheers on the Melbourne Stock Exchange, followed by the singing of ‘Rule Britannia.’”

At the beginning of February it was announced that the Earl of Glasgow, Governor of New Zealand, had forwarded to Mr. Chamberlain a telegram received from the Prime Minister of that Colony containing a resolution passed by a meeting of colonists at Auckland, to the following effect :—

“Recent statesmanlike and patriotic conduct of Imperial Government, with reference to the Venezuela and Transvaal Republics has been such as to intensify loyal sentiments to the Queen of England, making us prouder than ever to belong to the Empire of Great Britain.”

#### CANADA.

CONTIGUITY to the United States has always had the effect of bringing the question of the Imperial connection home to the minds of Canadians more vividly than elsewhere as an actual matter of practical political application. The Liberal party in the Dominion has contained within its ranks men of great weight and influence, whose loyalty to the British connection has not been always quite unquestioned in the face of difficulties and temptations besetting them from across the border. The manifesto from which the following extracts are made is the more significant, therefore, inasmuch as the Hon. J. W. Longley, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, is a distinguished member of the Liberal party in Dominion politics. Referring (shortly after the Venezuelan Message) to the deplorable possibility of war between England and the United States, Mr. Longley said :—

"Nevertheless, there must be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of Canadians in the event of such a war. Every man of sense and wisdom in Canada will deplore such a war, will hope that all possible means will be taken which prudence can suggest to prevent it, and will pray that its evils and horrors may be averted. But if come it must, Canadians as one man will be on the side of the Empire. Let there be no misconception. Canadians will be practically a unit. There will be no parties, no divisions. The invading foe will confront five millions of Britons whose hearts will be true to the Empire, and who will not shrink from any sacrifice necessary to maintain the national honour.

"But what of French Canada? The answer is easy—Loyal to the core. French regiments raised in Quebec and officered by French-Canadians would stand side by side with the English regiments of Ontario in defence of the country, and no braver men would march to battle than the pious descendants of heroic and glory-loving France."

On the same authority we have it that the very day after the crisis occurred the *Morning Chronicle*, one of the oldest and most influential of the Liberal organs of Canada, used these editorial words:—

"We are Britons. We believe in the rectitude and justice of British statesmen. We are as much concerned in the honour of the Empire as the inhabitants of the British Islands, and therefore, if war must come, let it be distinctly understood that all Canadians stand side by side with Great Britain in this contest from the beginning to the bitter end. Whatever resources of men and money we possess are at the service of the Empire, and in this view our counsels are united, and our voice is the voice of one man. That we are not directly interested in the originating cause of the war has nothing to do with the case. The honour of the Empire is at stake, and the honour of the Empire is ours."

The Toronto *Globe* (we further read), one of the greatest newspapers in Canada and the great Liberal organ in Ontario, uttered editorial sentiments equally ringing. The Montreal *Herald*, the leading Liberal paper in Montreal, was equally clear and emphatic. The London *Advertiser*, the Ottawa *Free Press*, the Hamilton *Times*, the Kingston *Whig*, the St. John *Telegraph*—every one of them daily Liberal organs of influence and power—spoke out in tones most patriotic and devoted to the Empire. Indeed, there was but one voice from the entire press of Canada, English and French, and that was, "Britain's honour must be maintained, and Canadians must help maintain it." In a speech delivered before an immense Liberal meeting at Montreal while the President's Message was the leading topic, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Premier of Nova Scotia and one of the Liberal leaders of Canada, declared amid

prolonged cheers that if war came Americans would face not a party, but five millions of united Canadians.

The above have been printed first because they are prior in date to what follows. No less entirely satisfactory are the more official parliamentary utterances of many of the leaders of politics in the Dominion House of Commons. On January 16th, replying to Mr. Laurier, the Opposition leader, who criticised the proposal of the Government to strengthen the Defences of Canada, Mr. G. E. Foster (Minister of Finance, and leader of the House of Commons) said in his place in Parliament :—

“No person can in the present circumstances, whatever may be said at other times—no person in Canada who loves his country and desires its peace and prosperity—can think of breathing a spirit of defiance or jingoism. It is the furthest remove possible from the sensible and well-meant sentiments of this country, which, while it respects other countries, feels evidence of its own strength in its arms, feels in its heart a full purpose to defend the country, and stand by it whenever it is threatened ; but he would read the signs of the times not aright, in these somewhat troublesome days when the great mother Empire stands

#### SPLENDIDLY ISOLATED

in Europe, with interests stretching over the wide world, with a commerce the greatest that any nation of the world ever possessed, and vulnerable in every quarter of the sea, who did not feel, as Great Britain feels to-day and is showing, that the country's weal, the country's progress, the country's stability, and all the country's pride and glory must be based upon the strong arms and willing, loyal hearts of the citizens of that Empire from one end to the other. (Cheers.) It is the right and duty of Britons, of Britain herself, and of every dependency that belongs to her, to be ready, aye ready, as well as steady in their sentiments of loyalty and admiration for the Empire as a whole. It is in that spirit, and not in any spirit that asks for war or trouble, that that modest reference was placed in the Queen's Speech, and in pursuance of that it is the determination of this Government to put the militia and the defences of this country, as far as it possibly can be done by Canada, into a state which is adequate to the feeling, interests, and security of this country in itself and as a portion of the Empire.” (Loud cheers.)

On the same date Mr. M'Neill, an Ontario member, gave notice of the following important resolution :—

“That, in view of the present threatening aspect of foreign affairs, this House desires to assure her Majesty's Government and the people of the United Kingdom of its unalterable loyalty and devotion to the British Throne and Constitution, and of its conviction that, should occasion unhappily arise, in no other part of the Empire than in the Dominion of Canada would more substantial sacrifices attest the determination of her Majesty's subjects to preserve unimpaired the

integrity and inviolate the honour of her Majesty's Empire ; and this House reiterates the oft-repeated desire of the people of Canada to maintain the most friendly relations with their kinsmen of the United States."

Mr. McNeill's motion came on upon February 5th, when thirteen members took part in the debate. All the speakers, Ministerialists and Opposition members alike, were in accord in their expressions of loyalty to the Empire, and there was not one unfriendly utterance respecting the United States. In the course of his speech, Mr. McNeill said :—

"How has England, our own England, borne herself in the midst of the menace and anger which compass her about? She has borne herself like the mighty mother of heroes that she is. The great heart beat fuller and prouder in the hour of danger, and the spectacle of England's composure and unflinching self-reliance in the presence of the undisguised and altogether unexpected hostility of so many of the great Powers of the world has sent a thrill of admiration and pride through the veins of every loyal subject of the Queen. (Cheers.)

"We wish the people of England and of Ireland and of Scotland to know that the people of Canada are no mere fair-weather friends. We want our kinsmen in Australia, some of whom we welcomed here so recently, to know that we are with them in this issue, heart and hand. We want the people of the world to know that, come what may, in whatever part of the Empire they may happen to reside, the British people are one people, animated by one spirit, and determined to stand as one man in defence of their common rights and in the maintenance of their common interests. We desire peace before all. We regard war with horror, but we are prepared to accept it with all its consequences, come from what quarter it may, if it be necessary to do so, in order to maintain and defend the honour and integrity of our own Empire." (Prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Davies, leader of the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces, seconded the resolution, and in the course of his remarks said :—

"As part of Great Britain, Canada, more than any other part, is open to attack. With thousands of miles of continuous frontier, and divided only by an invisible line from the United States, with many exciting international questions calculated to cause bitterness and strife, it becomes doubly our duty so to conduct ourselves that we shall lessen and not increase Great Britain's difficulties. Recent troubles have accentuated our determination to remain part and parcel of the Empire. The splendid dream of Imperial Federation has never yet presented itself in such practical form to the Colonies as to command their adherence, but its underlying sentiments evoke hearty sympathy from many who could not openly support a scheme."

Sir Richard Cartwright's speech was noteworthy. He said that

he was not accustomed to make profession of loyalty, but he thought that the resolution was appropriate. He did not think war with the United States was possible, but in slightly different circumstances there might have been real danger in President Cleveland's Message.

"But," continued Sir Richard Cartwright, "while we desire, as long as we are part of the Empire, to do our duty to the utmost, while we are prepared to shrink from no proper sacrifice for the purpose of assisting the Empire to the best of our means, yet as a Canadian I take leave to tell the country that there is not a question of obligation between Canada and the Empire, or if there be a question of obligation the obligation is by no means confined to our side. Among her hundreds of Colonies, Britain has but one which was founded and created by men who did not leave the shores of England to benefit themselves, but who gave up all they had for the purpose of maintaining their loyalty to England, and the name of that Colony is Canada." (Cheers.)

Two French-Canadian leaders, Sir Hector Langevin (Conservative) and Mr. Laurier, leader of the Opposition, heartily endorsed the resolution. The latter spoke with his usual eloquence. He eulogised the achievements of Great Britain whether in war or in peace. In conclusion, he said:—

"When England should have to repel her foes, I am quite sure that British subjects all over the world would be only too glad to give to her what help they could—British subjects all over the world, not only British subjects of her own blood, but British subjects who are not of her own blood, but who have received from her the inestimable blessing of freedom." (Cheers.)

Mr. Foster, leader of the House, expressed the concurrence of the Government with the resolution, and it was adopted unanimously amid prolonged cheering.

In February the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, also, on the motion of Sir Oliver Mowat, the Premier, seconded by Mr. Marter, leader of the Opposition, adopted the following resolution:—

"That an Address should be sent to the Queen, in view of recent events, affirming the unalterable love and devotion of the people of Ontario and declaring that, in the event of any troubles affecting the interests of the Empire, no sacrifice that circumstances might demand would be considered too great for the people of the Province, should they be called upon to repel an invasion and defend the integrity of the British Empire."

The motion was carried by acclamation, amid great enthusiasm,

the members rising in their seats, raising cheers, and singing the National Anthem.

## II.—THE ENGLISH RESPONSE.

### WHAT STATESMEN HAVE SAID.

THESE hearty and robust expressions of opinion and support did not fail to awaken an echo in the Mother Country. Appropriate official acknowledgments of the loyal addresses from Australasia were of course made. In reply to Mr. Reid's telegram from Sydney, Lord Salisbury cabled :—

“Her Majesty's Government heartily thank you, and through you the Governments of Australia and Tasmania, for your patriotic assurance of sympathy and support. Nothing can give us greater confidence in maintaining the rights of our country than the knowledge that we have the full approval and goodwill of our fellow-subjects in the great Colonies of the Empire.”

And upon receipt of the New Zealand message, Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to the Governor :—

“Convey cordial thanks of her Majesty's Government to your Prime Minister and people of New Zealand for their message.”

But the most important and far-reaching declaration on this side of the water has been the great speech which Mr. Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, seized the occasion to deliver at a complimentary banquet given on January 21st to Lord Lamington, on his departure to take up his appointment as Governor of Queensland. Mr. Chamberlain in proposing the toast of the evening—the health of the new Governor—said :—\*

#### The Solidarity of the Empire.

“I think that I see before me a representative gathering of British subjects, whose chief, or, at all events, one of whose principal, interests lies in that great group of Australian Colonies, whose present greatness and importance give us but a faint indication of the splendid future which awaits them. (Cheers.) For of one thing I am certain, whatever may be the fate of the old country—and even as to that I have sufficient confidence (cheers)—no man can doubt that our vigorous offspring in the Southern Seas are bound at no distant time to rival the older civilisation of the Continent of Europe in wealth, in population, in all the attributes of a great nation. (Hear, hear.) But, although, as I have said, your interests lie in this direction, I have an

\* The Committee have to thank the Secretary for the Colonies for personally revising the following report of his speech for this publication.

instinctive feeling that to-night you are thinking not so much of Australian politics and of Australian progress as you are of events that have recently occurred (loud cheers) in another quarter of the globe, and of their connection with Imperial interests. And if that be so, I hail the fact as another proof of the solidarity of Imperial sentiment in making it impossible that a blow can be struck, or a chord sounded, in even the most distant part of this Empire without an echo coming back from every other part. (Cheers.) It would be inopportune in me, it would be improper, if I were to dwell on the incidents which have diverted attention to South Africa. Those incidents will be the subject of judicial inquiry in this country and in Africa, and I assume that, with the fair-mindedness which distinguishes them, my countrymen will wait to hear both the indictment and the defence before they pronounce a judgment. (Cheers.) But, in the meantime, I will venture to say that I think there is a tendency to attach too much importance to sensational occurrences which pass away and leave no trace behind, and not enough to the general course of British policy and the general current of Colonial progress. I have heard it said that we never have had a Colonial policy: that we have simply blundered into all the best places in the earth. (Laughter.) I admit that we have made mistakes. I have no doubt that we are answerable for sins of commission as well as for sins of omission; but, after all is said, this remains—that we alone among the nations of the earth have been able to establish and to maintain Colonies under different conditions in all parts of the world, that we have maintained them to their own advantage and to ours, and that we have secured, not only the loyal attachment of all British subjects, but the general goodwill of the races, whether they be native or whether they be European, that have thus come under the British flag. (Cheers.) This may be a comforting assurance when we think of occasional mistakes; and when we are rebuked even for our misfortunes (laughter) we may find some consolation in our success. (Cheers.)

#### Splendid Isolation.

“There is, gentlemen, another consideration which I think is not inappropriate to such a gathering as this. A few weeks ago England appeared to stand alone in the world, surrounded by jealous competitors and by altogether unexpected hostility. Differences between ourselves and other nations which were of long standing appeared suddenly to come to a head and to assume threatening proportions; and from quarters to which we might have looked for friendship and consideration (cheers)—having regard to our traditions and to a certain community of interest—we were confronted with suspicion, and even with hate. We had to recognise that our success itself, however legitimate, was imputed to us as a crime; that our love of peace was taken as a sign of weakness, and that our indifference to foreign criticism was construed into an invitation to insult us. (Loud cheers.) We had to admit that the prospect of our discomfiture was regarded with hardly disguised satisfaction by our competitors, who at the same time must have been forced to admit that we alone held our possessions throughout the world in trust for all (cheers), and that we admit them to our markets as freely as we admit our own subjects. (Cheers.) I regret that such a feeling should exist, and that we should be forced to admit its existence; but as it does exist, I rejoice that it







found expression. (Cheers.) No better service was ever done to this nation, for it has enabled us to show, in face of all, that while we were resolute to fulfil our obligations, we were equally determined to maintain our rights. (Loud cheers.) Three weeks ago, in the words of Mr. Foster, the leader of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 'the great mother Empire stood splendidly isolated.' And how does she stand to-day? She stands secure in the strength of her own resources, in the firm resolution of her people, without respect to party, and in the abundant loyalty of her children from one end of the Empire to another. (Loud cheers.)

### The Moral of Recent Events.

"The resolution which was conveyed to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Australian Colonies and the display of patriotic enthusiasm on the part of the Dominion of Canada came to us as a natural response to the outburst of national spirit in the United Kingdom, and as a proof that British hearts beat in unison throughout the world, whatever may be the distances that separate us. (Cheers.) Then let us cultivate those sentiments. Let us do all in our power by improving our communications, by developing our commercial relations, by co-operating in mutual defence (cheers), and none of us then will ever feel isolated, no part of the Empire will stand alone, so long as it can count upon the common interest of all in its welfare and in its security. (Cheers.) That is the moral I have derived from recent events. That is the lesson I desire to impress on my countrymen. In the words of Tennyson—

' Let Britain's myriad voices call,  
 "' Sons, be welded each and all,  
 "' Into one Imperial whole,  
 "' One with Britain, heart and soul !  
 "' One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne ! "'

(Loud cheers.) And in the time to come, the time that must come, when these Colonies of ours have grown in stature, in population, and in strength, this league of kindred nations, this federation of Greater Britain, will not only provide for its own security, but will be a potent factor in maintaining the peace of the world. (Cheers.) Our guest to-night goes out to take his part in this work of drawing tighter the bonds which unite us to our children at the Antipodes. . . . I say that the relations between these Colonies and ourselves are questions of momentous import to us both, and I hope that our rulers and our people will leave no stone unturned to show the store that we all set on the continued amity, the continued affection, of our kindred beyond the sea. That is the message we ask Lord Lamington to take with him, and we wish him health and prosperity in the Colony over which he is about to preside." (Loud cheers.)

Subsequently, in replying to the toast of his own health, and referring to some observations made in the meanwhile in the speech of Sir James Garrick, late Agent-General for Queensland, Mr. Chamberlain made the following very definite and significant statement. He said :—

“Sir James Garrick has kindly attributed to me motives in seeking the office which has been conferred upon me. He is perhaps not far wrong in thinking that I have long believed that the future of the Colonies and the future of this country were interdependent and that this was a creative time, that this was the opportunity which, once let slip, might never recur for bringing together all the people who are under the British flag and for consolidating them into a great self-sustaining and self-protecting Empire whose future will be worthy of the traditions of the race.” (Loud cheers.)

#### WHAT THE PRESS HAS SAID.

THE same note that characterises Mr. Chamberlain's speech has been heard also in the press. The extracts given under this head are useful in so far as they testify, if testimony be wanted, to the fact that the admirable sentiments expressed in the Colonies meet with a universal response in the public organs of opinion at home. The views that find expression on the more prosaic but more practical aspects of these questions will be more fittingly considered under the next head.

*The Times*, 27th Jan., said :—

“The immediate effect of the outbursts to which we have been suddenly exposed has been to draw the whole nation closer together, to determine them to increase their preparations for defence, and to bring to them once more abundant proofs of the affection and the loyalty of their children beyond the seas. That is the chief result.”

*The Morning Post*, 22nd Jan., said :—

“The resolution recently conveyed to the Prime Minister by the Ministers of the various Governments of the Colonies of Australia, and the display of patriotic enthusiasm on the part of the Dominion of Canada, were unmistakable and gratifying proofs, if proofs were needed, that the pulse-beats of the offspring of the Mother Country all over the world keep time with the heart-throbs of the nation from whose loins they have sprung.”

*The Standard*, 27th Jan., said :—

“The unlooked-for manifestation of hostility by Germany has passed away, leaving little behind it except the proof which it has evoked that this country is as ready for a war of self-defence as ever she was, and that in her belt of Colonies, all eager in their promises of support, she has a source of strength unknown to her in any of her former great struggles with European States.”

*The Daily Graphic*, 22nd Jan., said :—

“The spirit that will make Canadians, Australians, and South

Africans stand ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with Britons at home in defence of the common Empire, is something more than a theme for after-dinner speeches. It is this spirit which gives the Empire its strength, and justifies the policy of the Mother Country in keeping clear of European entanglements. It justifies still more the splendid, the almost reckless, liberality which has been the dominant note in our treatment of our Colonies for nearly half a century."

*The Yorkshire Post*, 25th Jan., said:—

"Through Great Britain and her Colonies the patriotic sense of unity is now producing an enthusiasm hardly less than would be experienced if we had annihilated some dangerous foe in battle, sinking his fleets and bringing him to sue for peace. Mr. Chamberlain's recent speech has been received . . . with a fervour which must suggest to the Government that the time has arrived for furthering materially the great work of Imperial consolidation. . . . He is well aware that the federation of the Empire—better still, were it attainable, the federation of all the English-speaking peoples—is the great work of an Imperial kind which our statesmen will have to undertake. . . . Mr. Chamberlain's words were the more important because never before had a British Minister used language that could not fail to be recognised as pledging a Government, though indefinitely, to the policy of Imperial Federation. . . . Mr. Chamberlain was very guarded in his committal of the Government; but it is impossible to doubt that he intended to intimate that nothing shall be wanting on their part or on his to promote so noble an end. Is not the present a splendid opportunity for doing something?"

*The Western Daily Mercury*, 23rd Jan., said:—

"We have recently seen something of the splendid loyalty which animates the British race in all parts of the world. A short time ago it seemed as if Great Britain stood alone against a forming confederacy of antagonists. What a noble sentiment the danger has evoked in Canada, in Australia, and even in India! . . . The events of the last few weeks have demonstrated our power in several ways, in finance, in resources, in coolness, and in determination. But no feature has been more agreeable than colonial loyalty and the quick sense of brotherhood all over the British Empire."

*The Bristol Times*, 22nd Jan., said:—

"The new Governor of one of the more important of our Colonies will be able to carry out with him, to his distant sphere of Imperial work, the assurance that the Colonial Office and the management of Colonial affairs were never in safer and stronger hands than they are at present, that the ties which bind the Colonies to the Mother Country have been immeasurably strengthened, and that everything will be done to enable and encourage them to play a more important part, as belonging to a great Empire, than they have ever played before."

### III.—DEEDS NOT WORDS.

It will not have escaped remark that, so far, sympathy and goodwill and promises of support in general terms have been proffered on the one side and accepted on the other, as though nothing more were wanted. But fine words, as the gnomic saying has taught us, have but a limited power of producing material results. Not that these agreeable interchanges of friendly pledges are meaningless or altogether unfruitful. They are even necessary precursors of negotiations of a more substantial and business-like character. Only, we have heard the same thing, more or less, in different forms, pretty frequently during the past ten years, and an increasing number of people are beginning to think the time has come when these flowers of rhetoric should ripen into the fruit of action.

This view has been making itself heard during the past two years, and is voiced here and there amid the general chorus of the past two months. Said *The Western Daily Press*, for example, on 22nd Jan. :—

“Meanwhile it is wise to turn from swelling periods to sober reflection, and to realise that an enormous Empire makes us vulnerable in many places. . . . Are Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Bombay, Hong-Kong, and innumerable smaller places absolutely safe? If not, then does it not follow that the whole matter of Imperial defence should be a joint undertaking, carefully divided between the Mother Country and the Colonies, whose loyalty it is so pleasant to note? The British Parliament is ready to do its duty in the matter of the navy; will the Colonial Parliaments do theirs?”

*The Pall Mall Gazette*, on 3rd Feb., puts the matter in a nutshell when it says, in speaking of congratulatory telegrams, and so forth :—

“Resolutions are all very well in their way, but they will not build a jolly-boat or equip a single rifle corps. We should like to see the Imperial defences made impregnable, and to that end Colonial contributions are necessary. Now that Australia and New Zealand have weathered their own little crisis, they might come forward with cash down.”

Take again the following from *The Belfast Evening Telegraph* of 30th Jan. :—

“We are ready for such an emergency, should it come our way,

but at what a cost to the people of the United Kingdom ! Not that those who bear the burthen are so unpatriotic as to grudgingly dole out the money necessary for the upkeep of our army and navy. No sacrifice would by most people be considered too great a price to pay for the protection which these afford in the hour of danger, but the question is being asked, Are we using our enormous resources to the best advantage? . . . Our army and navy, with the exception of the Indian and West Indian forces, may be said to be entirely recruited at home, and supported by home taxation. The Colonies share in the benefit and privileges which the possession of these ensure, and they are prepared to participate in the outlay which their upkeep renders necessary; are prepared even to equip and man military and naval forces of their own. In some measure the offer has been accepted, but not to anything like the extent which probable circumstances may ultimately be found to demand. We may with justice, as with pride, lay claim to the possession of the greatest empire on the face of the earth. Why not utilise its enormous resources; and why drain the British taxpayer with an ever-increasing expenditure in times of depression, when the no less loyal Colonist is willing to share it with him?"

Or this, from *The Liverpool Daily Courier* of the same date, which supplements what goes before by pointing out how the desired end is to be attained :—

"Sir Michael Hicks-Beach says that if Canada is prepared to fight for us, we must be ready to fight for Canada. Quite so. The sentiment is excellent. Just now—thanks to foreign bluster—it is exceptionally warm, and it points towards the right goal. But the thing required is a thorough organisation of all the resources of the Empire. All the elements of invincible strength exist, but they need form, order, and cohesion in a grand system of Imperial defence.

"'The Colonies are ready to help the Mother Country.' This, in reality, means that they are thoroughly willing. It is much to be sure of that. But how could they help us? Just at present no one of them would be able to defend itself. A place, a duty, a proportional obligation should rest on each. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that any member of the great group is indisposed to bear its share. But in order that any plan of Imperial defence may be complete and effective a Council of the Empire is essential."

More recently *The Whitehall Review* said :—

"A writer in one of the magazines recently assured the people of this country that the real bond of union with the Colonies 'consists in mutual affections deeply felt, which are an assurance to ourselves, to our sons in the Colonies, and to the whole world, that in the hour of trial all British subjects will stand shoulder to shoulder for the defence of the Empire.' An excellent sentiment this, but we must have something more practical than this 'shoulder to shoulder' talk. What that something ought to be seems clear enough to us, and the present appears to be an extremely appropriate time for settling the matter. The Government is now, if we are correctly informed, about to create

a new standard of strength for the Navy. Having determined that standard, the constituent parts of the Empire should be invited to proportionately defray one-third of the estimated annual future cost of the Navy, the remaining two-thirds being borne by Great Britain. If any of the Colonies declined to contribute, we should not, of course, dream of coercing them to that end, but they should be given clearly to understand that if they do not consider the protection afforded them by the British fleet worth paying for, they must not expect it either in peace time or during war."

In the Colonies also there is to be found some recognition of the necessity of following words by deeds. We have already seen that the Canadian Government is alive to the necessity of strengthening the defences of the Dominion, and it is a coincidence, which we prefer to regard as pathetic rather than ridiculous, that on the very same day that the cable gave us the report of Mr. Foster's speech on the subject in Parliament, a message came from Toronto to the effect that—

"A number of captains of steamers on Lake Ontario held a meeting here last night, and unanimously adopted a resolution expressing their readiness to place their services at the disposal of the Imperial Government should any occasion arise."

At about the same date, too, Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, was reported to have announced the pleasing intelligence that that Colony was "fully equipped to resist any invader"—which may perhaps be news to the naval and military authorities of the Imperial forces. And in order that the 15th and 16th Jan. might everywhere be red-letter days in the calendar, a Melbourne telegram of the latter date told us that—

"Yielding to pressure from experts, the Government has restored the permanent artillery force manning the forts at Port Phillip Head to the strength at which it stood before a retrenchment was made."

South Africa was too much occupied with its own share in the crisis to join in the recent chorus. But it is noteworthy that the expressions of readiness to *act* that came not long ago from that quarter of the Empire showed more than any others an appreciation of the true nature of Imperial Defence, and a recognition of what Colonial co-operation really means if it is to be anything but a sham. The three following extracts have already appeared in a previous publication (No. 6) of this series; but they are too apposite not to be repeated here:—

"Cape Colony ought to, and could, in conjunction with the other Colonies, contribute to the cost of the Imperial Navy."—*The Hon. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, K.C.M.G., Treasurer of Cape Colony, September, 1895.*

"It is to the Navy that the Empire will look in time of need, and the Colonies should contribute their share to the heavy expenditure involved."—*Cape Argus, August 13, 1895.*

"Not only have the aims and objects of the Navy League met with hearty approval, but we have gone further and have confirmed the principle (*laid down by the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee*), that the Colonists should in equity, as well as self-interest, contribute to the cost of maintenance and further expansion of the Imperial Navy by an annual subsidy."—*The Mayor of Durban, Natal, August 31, 1895.*

Perhaps the most outspoken utterance on the Colonial side is that in the *Daily Northern Argus*, a Queensland paper, which, in a leading article on the Message of the Australian Governments to Lord Salisbury, said:—

"To those who have a lively recollection of the debate upon, and the difficulty Sir S. W. Griffith experienced in passing, the necessary enactment authorising the payment of Queensland's small share towards the maintenance of the Australian Auxiliary Squadron, this Colony's action in joining in such Message can only be regarded as a thoughtless piece of impertinence. 'The people of Australasia,' says the Message, 'are in full sympathy with the determination of the Mother Country to resent any foreign interference in matters of British and Colonial concern.' Surely this is a very cheap and tawdry piece of sentiment coming from a people whose Legislature, but a few years ago, flouted the Imperial Navy, and talked boastfully of the Imperial duty to protect Queensland's commerce on the deadhead principle. Of course, there is to some extent a practical value in the sentiment that blood is thicker than water, but an expression of it, at a time like the present, comes with a very bad grace from a community who have always claimed the advantages of the relationship in a very determined spirit of economy. . . . Sentiment and fact show great inconsistency, and Jingo telegrams are, under the circumstances, more ludicrous than patriotic. . . . That eloquent orator, the late William Bede Dalley, when Chief Secretary of New South Wales, said, '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. . . .' But though Mr. Dalley contributed the Soudan goat to the collection of the Colony's curios, New South Wales has never dipped very deep in her pockets for contributions to the support of the Imperial Navy. Queensland through its public men has characterised any contribution to the cost of Imperial defence as 'crushing out the natural life of the Colony,' 'taxation without representation.' It was said 'that there was a spirit of independence in Australia, and that they were quite able to take care of their own interests,' and a lot more of what was doubtless nonsense. But the fact remains that all Queensland could be induced to pay towards the maintenance of the British Navy, as proof of what



it now cables as its 'united assurance of loyal support,' is £15,000 per annum. For that contribution it expects the Imperial authorities to be grateful. . . . Senseless inconsistency from a country too weak to protect itself, and too mean to pay for its protection, could scarce go further."

What, then, is lacking? Let the answer be looked for from the same source that has supplied both questions and answers throughout this pamphlet—in quotations from recognised exponents of public opinion. *The Liverpool Mercury* said on January 30th:—

"The enthusiasm with which the British Colonies rallied to the side of the Mother Country, when she seemed to be left without one friend in Europe, is possibly nothing more than an ebullition of sentiment; but it need not be despised on that account. It would be unwise to count upon it for assistance in a time of actual danger, but it would also be ungrateful to underrate their loyalty, for it must be remembered that it has not been put to the test.

That is the key of the position. "It has not been put to the test." The Colonies, with all the willingness in the world, are absolutely powerless to render substantial and effective aid to Imperial Defence, because it is only by organisation that the help they are ready to give can be turned to account. To create such organisation a complete scheme of common Imperial Defence is necessary. Any such scheme can become operative only after full consideration and discussion by the Governments representing the various countries of the Empire that would be called upon to take part in carrying it out. All concerned need to be placed in complete possession of the requirements of Imperial Defence, as properly understood, and all must have an opportunity of discussing the question from their several points of view, to the end that the scheme to be adopted may have the general agreement and consent of all. For this purpose the obvious and, indeed, the only course to take is to summon an Imperial Conference *ad hoc*. The readiness of the Colonies to join in such a scheme "has not been put to the test," because they have never been invited to come together and consider one. Will the Queen's Government give them that invitation? We hope and believe they will.

*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.*

## SUMMARY OF THE CASE.

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The Royal Navy protects the Commerce of the entire Empire. The value of this commerce is ... .. £955,000,000

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The Sea-borne Commerce of the United Kingdom is ... .. £625,000,000

The Sea-borne Commerce of the self-governing Colonies is ... .. £146,000,000

Thus it will be seen that Colonial commerce forms ONE-SEVENTH of the total trade of the Empire.

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For the Naval protection of the trade of the Empire there is paid an annual sum of ... .. £20,220,000

Of the above total, the United Kingdom pays ... .. £20,000,000

Self-governing Colonies in North America, Australasia, and South Africa, pay £220,000

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.

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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.

## Revenues and Taxation.

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"The Canadian Finance Minister has been able to show that since 1882 taxation had been reduced by 29 millions of dollars, or an average of about 2½ million dollars per annum; and meeting Parliament with a sufficient surplus, the new tariff had further reduced the taxation by 1½ million dollars per annum."—Sir CHARLES TUPPER, Bart., G.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Canada, 2nd July, 1894.

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"I may draw your attention to what the Revenue of New South Wales is. The direct land revenue in 1892 was £2,206,000—partly from rentals and partly from sales; the revenue from the public services was £4,416,000, and from taxation £2,206,000; that is to say, of the total of ten millions sterling required for working the country, three-fourths came from public property and one-fourth from the taxpayer."—Lord CARRINGTON, G.C.M.G., late Governor of New South Wales, 10th April, 1894.

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"I am bound to say, with reference to the financial condition of the country, that, in my belief, in the growth of the expenditure of the country [the United Kingdom] you have very nearly reached the limits of tolerable taxation. . . . You have reached a point where you cannot afford to go on increasing the expenditure of the country at the rate at which you have been going on in recent years: and if you do go on, you will find yourself face to face with a burden of taxation which the country cannot and ought not to bear."—The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in the House of Commons, 2nd May, 1895.



