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AN IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

C. REGINALD ENOCK

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AN IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

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AN IMPERIAL COMMONWEALTH

*Being a Discussion of the Conditions and Possibilities
underlying the Unity of the British Empire;
and a Plan for the greater Conservation,
Development, and Enjoyment of its
Resources in the Interests of the
British People, and for the
Advancement of their
Civilisation*

BY

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"THE GREAT PACIFIC COAST," "FARTHEST WEST," ETC.

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Royal Geographical Society, etc.*



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PREFACE

THE word "Empire" is much on the lips of the people of British race to-day ; and the time has come to inquire into its real meaning. The Empire is a noble conception, but in some respects its great heart lies in doubtful health. It is the purpose of this book, first, to draw up an arraignment against it, and second, to venture to indicate the way in which its healthy development might lie. All thoughtful men have marked how the impatient century is shaking the fetters that society has borne, and how it is obsessed by the cry of developing humanity for a fuller life ; and they believe that the true value of "Empire" is in the measure of its approach to such a fulfilment for its people. The coming Imperialists hold that a new departure, unselfish planning, vertebrate action, are, under heaven, the proper remedy to apply to this imperial case, and among these, impatient of the selfish ills, and hopeful of their cure, there inscribes himself,

THE AUTHOR.

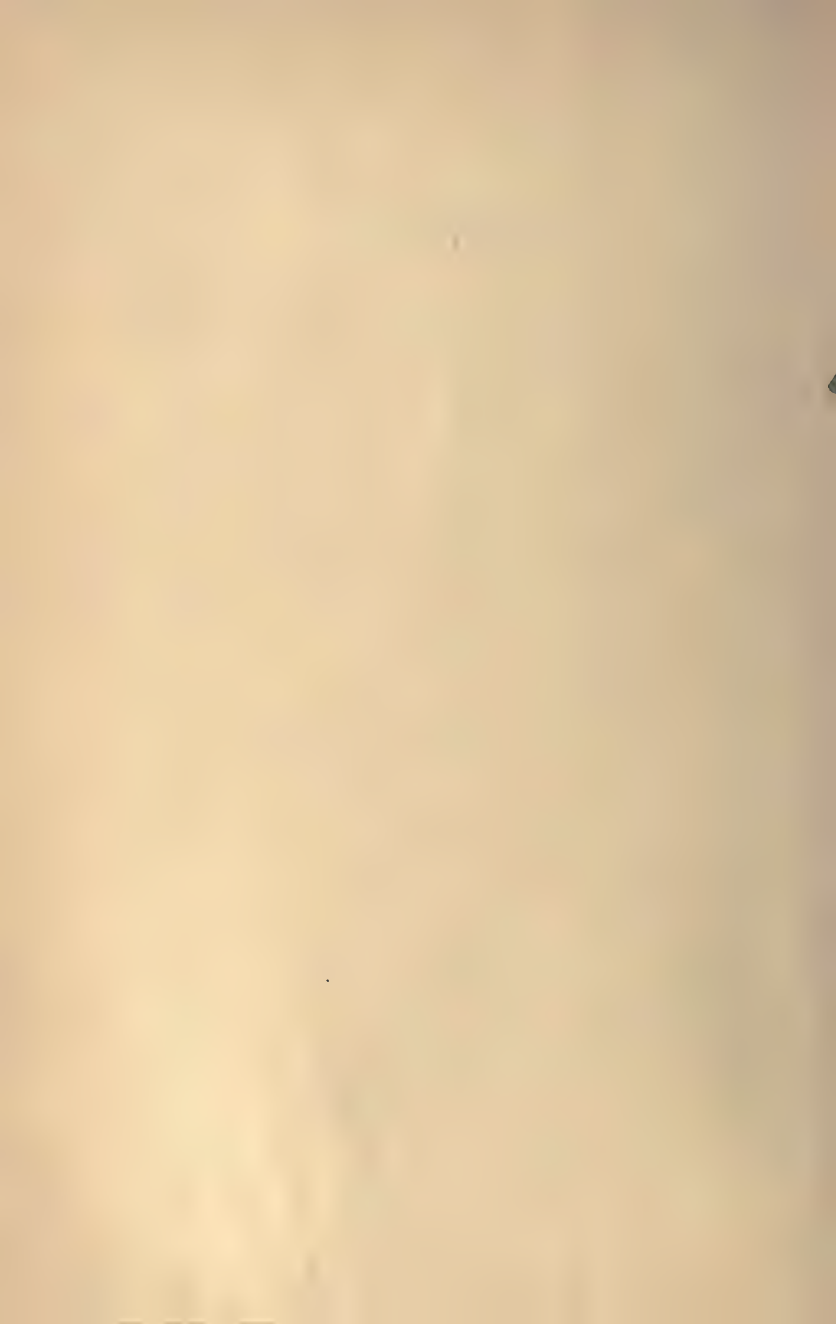
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I

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE AGES

BEFORE the men and women of British race to-day lies the most splendid opportunity that history has ever offered to any people. The past ages of geographical and political evolution which have reached, in the British Empire, the unique phase which we of these first decades of the twentieth century are privileged to witness, are they to culminate in the establishing of an improved and enduring civilisation, or are they to fail of fruition and fall away to decadence ?

England, from the first beginnings, has added to herself state after state, from Scotland and Ireland, to Canada, Australia and Africa, and in our not unjustifiable pride we have held it to be the foremost empire in the world's history. Now we are bidden to ask ourselves if this great structure is to endure. To the true imperialist, imbued with any knowledge of life and time, the first reply comes quickly to the lips, as another interrogative : Do we deserve to endure ?

For it has been written of all structures that, un-

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less certain eternal principles which are contained in the name of Providence are found in them, the labour of those that would build them is in vain. Thus, the consideration whether the empire is worthy to endure, whether its power and development are to do good, to benefit its own people and mankind, to alleviate human suffering and to advance the world's civilisation, these must be the first thoughts of those who would be the empire builders of to-day. If its ends are only selfish, selfish for class, party or community, it will be labour lost. Nor is it enough to say that this empire is better than the empires of the past, all of which have suffered disintegration. Of those to whom much is given, much is demanded. England has been in the main a sober and righteous nation, and her colonies are following in her footsteps; but are one and all working unselfishly towards the perpetuation of the great power and property they hold, or are their actions only such as will warrant, as regards an empire, the turning over of a page in evolution?

These are the questions that the new generation of imperialists, home or overseas, before whom the empire is to be remade or unmade, must frame, whether they be those who govern, or those who are simple citizens. The consolidation of the empire is the most vital matter at present before Great Britain and her colonies; and we hold we

are not mistaken in thinking it a matter, in addition, of broad importance to the world at large. To the imperialist the consideration as to whether consolidation is necessary has given place to that, whether it is possible. We believe it to be necessary, and we think it possible. Many are resolved to bring it about. Our concern must be to beware of setting up only the outward form of empire, unsustained by a real and enduring bond.

The hearts of men of British race should throb with legitimate intensity to-day, in contemplation of the great possibilities which lie before the empire. The broad areas of our colonial lands are developing under a strong tide of men and affairs, which the allurements of opportunity and the magic of property are bringing to a flood. Though they leave us and our splendid, but overwrought, islands, these migrants of our stolid race still turn their faces hither, for there is an enduring tie in character and blood, and a magnetism born of time and paternity on England's shores, an asset and a legacy which, if they will preserve it, is as of much value to them as the new riches upon whose possession they enter. And elsewhere we see great subject races, whose ways are not our ways, nor whose lives nor religions are ours, united and grateful under the sway which centres in the genius of these island people of ours.

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But we shall not be lost in contemplation of these heights of imperial splendour. Questions which demand difficult solutions have to be attended to, and they are questions which will early show us whether we are worthy to endure or not. These great matters of territory and opportunity have been given to us for a purpose. The apathy and insufficiency and the lagging civilisation which eat at the heart of England are the things we have now to look to. The rich man and the poor man, both, are having laid before them the requirements which will have to be fulfilled if our civilisation is to advance. Those who are surrounded by apparently impregnable circumstances of comfort and plenty, and those whose life is a daily struggle against adversity are having their parts and duty pointed out to them in a way such as society has never witnessed before. We of England have talked much of civilisation; we are now being asked to define it, with a consequent searching of hearts and overhauling of institutions. We are being forced down now to contemplate the bedrock of humanity, and it contrasts strangely with the half-intoxicating upper world of imperialism. In this comfortable imperialism of a favoured class we may well pause at times and ask ourselves if all these aspirations, these fanfares, these leagues, dinners and pageants of ours are in vain. Is all the effort, noble or

sincere, spasmodic or time-serving, which we term imperialism, only a froth to be blown away to-morrow ? Is empire to be a handsome toy for a leisure class—perhaps to be broken thereby—a field of distraction or occupation for the clever and the fortunate only ; or is it to benefit the grey mass of life in whole ? The possession of empire has not come from democratic elements ; can it be fashioned thereto ? Can imperialism be made democratic ? Can democracy be made imperial ? We believe they can be fashioned to each other. If not, even these words would be an idle dream. Time will show us if we are wrong, but we shall not be wrong if into the structure have entered those elements which Providence and philosophy have told us must enter.

These considerations must weigh equally with our people who have emigrated to or were born overseas in Greater Britain. They also have to combat their growing vices of self. In Canada and Australia the selfish spirit of exclusion, whether on the part of jealous governments, land monopolists, or Labour parties, is one which cannot enter into the building of an imperial structure.

The splendid opportunity which lies before the people of British race to-day is in bringing to being a new and enduring civilisation based on unity. But not simply a union at all hazards. That might be done to-day or to-morrow in paper

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form, and might last a short or a long time. The opportunity lies in producing an organisation such as the world has not seen yet—not only because of its extent in land, or its wealth and population, wheat-fields and mines, armies and navies, but because, in embodying all these things, it has based them on a new civilisation, and has become, not a scattered empire of selfish units, but a united, Imperial Commonwealth.

What these principles are which must underlie an organisation worthy of such a name as that of an Imperial Commonwealth it is the purpose of these pages humbly to endeavour to set down. The empires of the past were founded upon conquest and subjugation, or had underlying them some form of unreasonable oppression of other people or their own citizens, and it has been seen that they could not endure. The empires of to-day are not necessarily founded on conquest, but the mainspring of their being is a system which in its extreme is oppressive and selfish, and must prove equally vain as the basis of a society. Commercialism is a phase in the evolution of communities, whether we call them empires or republics, but in the next stage society will have got rid of the basis of selfish commercialism or industrialism, just as commercialism superseded primitive bloodshed and oppression. Then the real Commonwealth will arise. So far no prac-

tical scientific organisation for the enjoyment of the kindly fruits of the earth has ever come to being, to the end of finishing with the insufficiency and selfishness which drags on progress. Notwithstanding that our most primitive axiom is that the world is capable of supporting all its people in plenty, this phase of practical adaptation still hangs in the future. The reiterations, both of Holy Writ and of common philosophy, that the earth and its fulness are the inheritance of its people, have never yet been translated by geographers, scientists, landholders, governments and people into their real common-sense terms. It is time that "the meek shall inherit the earth"—that is to say, the great burden-bearing people. It remains for an Imperial Commonwealth to adopt these principles, and to render itself enduring in so doing. The civilisation which would endure will be that which demands a certain standard of life for all its people and which has so disposed the national resources as to secure and maintain that standard.

With this spirit as a motive Britain and her empire might inaugurate at once a constructive imperial policy, based upon economic considerations. Without it there can be no permanent coherence. This economic basis must rest in the main upon the imperial lands and their resources, and their proper organisation for, and possession

and development by, the people. Industrialism alone must always be changing and evanescent. Sheer authority alone will be vain. The land is that which primarily gives stability and stamina to the body and the mind. The fields, the mountains and the forests, and all they contain, are the primal basis of all life, and—"there is no speech or knowledge where their voice is not heard."

Thus it is that we have adopted as our motto in these pages that *the time has arrived for the systematic and scientific conservation and development of the resources of the empire in the interests of its people*. What this motto embodies we hope to set forth, in all due reverence of spirit and respect of institution, but with the insistence born of long-wrought-out conviction.

II

PRESENT BONDS OF EMPIRE

FIRST as to the necessity for the continued association and strengthened confederation of the motherland with her colonies. To most imperialists it would scarcely seem necessary to argue that such is essential. Yet it must be borne in mind that there is a large body of British people who do not think that England has much to gain by a closer association with the colonies, just as an element for separation exists Overseas. It must not be forgotten that the traditional attitude of British statesmen in the past has been to devise means to "get rid" of the colonies. The granting of so full a measure of autonomy, upon which the mother country now so greatly prides herself, was, it is only straightforward to recollect, done partly to rid herself of responsibilities as well as out of generosity towards the new people. But it has proved itself, whatever the motive, wise in the main, although the considerations upon which we shall enter later, of the entire loss of control of the land, and of immigration and trade regulations, were far from

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being wise. Further, there is a great body of people in Britain who are absolutely indifferent to the matter of imperial consolidation—a huge class who have little knowledge of and no share in the empire, as will be discussed later. Lastly, there is the element for indifference or separation in the colonies themselves, small, but probably destined to grow. It is necessary, therefore, to state the case for imperial unification.

Great Britain, as an island nation, stands to-day at the parting of the ways of industrial supremacy, a fact evident enough to those who have considered our circumstances. It is scarcely our fault that we are in this position ; the very conditions of geography induce it. Small territorially, in comparison with other nations, England has brought to being a vast population, dependent in the main for a living upon commerce and manufacture, with a landed property too small to maintain the people, and for whose possession or distribution there are not wanting signs of impending domestic dispute. England is in a remarkable position to-day as regards her population. From one point of view there are too many inhabitants in the country, but, on the other, no nation wishes to decrease her population. The strength of nations at present is measured by numbers. France deplores her sinking birth-rate. Germany rejoices in her increasing citizens. England can-

not provide for hers. Her commercial system, her land system, both appear to be at fault. Her people cannot all eat and dwell on this island in sufficiency under present conditions. There is not enough "property" for them. Probably many of them are living in a fool's paradise. A mute reply is heard already in England, in her own declining birth-rate.¹

We have affirmed that the evils of insufficiency from which the country is suffering—poverty, high cost of living, unemployment and the like—are due to a lack of sufficient "property." In olden times, in the nomadic life of pastoral peoples, when one locality became insufficient or worked out, men wandered naturally away to another. Those conditions in one form or another are as inevitable now as then. Men, it is true, do not live in temporary structures; they have established permanent property, but the moving-on process still applies to that great majority of the community who do not happen to have established for themselves such permanent property. If sheep are kept too long on a crowded pasture they sicken and must be moved on, and the same holds good with men; those whose pasture is not sufficient must move on. The term "moving-on," however, as regards men is capable of certain adaptations depending upon intelligence and

¹ The lowest on record is given for 1910.

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organisation. For men are not sheep. They have divine intelligence. The great pasture ground of the world has been given them, and knowledge and science have been given them, so that they may apply science to nature, and all live in sufficiency as a result. No man has a right to live on a greater part of the pasture to the exclusion of others. Man has not yet applied knowledge to the true development of natural resources such as shall afford a general means of sufficient life for all. He is only just thinking about it. The piteous bleating of the sheep whose pasture is insufficient is reaching the ears of the more fortunate sheep whom circumstances have given a good and permanent share of the pasture. To translate this philosophy into everyday terms, we have advanced in this book the formula that *the time has arrived for the systematic and scientific conservation and development of the resources of the empire in the interests of its people.* The principle holds good equally for any nation in the world.

It is perfectly clear that conditions and circumstances in Britain are overcrowded. There is not sufficient "pasture" or "property" for all. Our land is all owned and developed, our buildings are built, our railways, docks, churches and other public works are completed and a great part of those workers who performed the work now have

nothing to occupy their hands. The trades demands are insufficient, the professions are being starved, and like the sheep a large surplus are sickening and require to be "moved on." The answer springs perfectly clear to this statement—we must create more "property." Moreover, we must endeavour not to create again that kind of property which will belong to only a few, and which would force us again in the future to perform another "moving-on." There is a physical limit to the process, which we must bear in mind, the limit of the available land of the globe. It is the vast and peculiar fortune of the British Empire to possess a huge area still available, but we must beware of squandering it. In one sense we cannot squander it; nature provides for that. We may allot it to private individuals, and say it belongs to Tom, Dick or Harry, whether in acres or thousands of acres, but this is only a temporary arrangement, which will be changed by the natural physical pressure of increasing population in times to come. But we can squander it temporarily (as indeed is being done by its custodians in Canada and Australia), creating for ourselves difficult conditions which, if temporary, may be long and bitter, judging by the life of nations. These difficulties can be avoided in great part now, however, by prompt and intelligent action in making use of the great areas and resources

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which are not under private ownership, or which can be recovered from such ownership by purchase at a low price, as set forth later.

At present the custodians and inhabitants of the empire are striving to work out their own salvation from independent or selfish points of view, and in too much parochialism or too much greed the bond of humanity, which will have to underlie imperial life, is likely to be forgotten. At home we have apathy and insufficiency ; in the self-governing colonies too much self-aggrandisement. Traders are loud in their point of view of what will benefit themselves. England is neglecting her vast army of silent, oppressed people. Canada and Australia think little, except at rare moments, of anything beyond the welfare of their immediate communities. Is this sufficient to weld an empire ? We seem to see in the future, as its outcome, a series of separate peoples, strictly minding their own business, and careless of what goes on outside their own borders. They are under the British flag, or modification of it perhaps, but beyond that they are but units. The barriers of geography, the barriers of selfishness have been too strong. This is not the picture we want ; and there is time to paint another, if we will.

What, now, are the present imperial bonds ? Imperial unity has, so far, been considered both

at home and in the colonies, mainly from those points of view which might be classed as commercial, sentimental and protective.

The first advocates a more general and expansive system of inter-colonial and imperial trade, under which the component parts of the empire shall be drawn together by the powerful instincts of buying and selling. To regard each other as "markets," and to supply each others' commercial wants, is the basis of this system; and the strength and prosperity of the empire and its people are held to be measured by the volume of its trade.

The second, the sentimental bond, advocates the "silken cords" of mutual esteem and race affinity as the principal basis of imperial unity. It holds that the cultivation of a sense of pride in our possessions, and reverence for our flag and the crown are sufficient, either alone or in conjunction with the commercial bond. The protective bond considers as paramount the confederation of the empire for defensive purposes, under which the motherland and the colonies should combine, in one form or another, their naval and military armaments against the menace of any common foe.

That all these bonds of empire are necessary the conditions surrounding us to-day show plainly enough, notwithstanding that they have been

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made the subject of political strife at home. But the thoughtful imperialist will not find in them alone a sufficiently enduring basis to provide lasting stability or to create out of a politically disjointed and geographically scattered empire an imperial commonwealth.

The hard common-sense of to-day, and the things which are happening now, will soon force us to consider the relative value of these bonds in this great plan of empire-forming, and although we say they alone are not enough we shall not neglect them as the great factors which have led to any conception of empire at all.

To consider these imperial ties in some detail, without political bias or exaggeration, must be the first task to be entered upon here.

III

THE COMMERCIAL BOND

THE commercial bond must always be a powerful and essential tie between England and her outlying states. To commerce England owes her wealth and strength, in the main. Whilst commerce and manufacture, grouped under the name of "business," are, philosophically speaking, a "predatory" system they are at least free from bloodshed and clear of cant. To buy and sell legitimately between each other has brought all nations on a vast step towards civilisation, and has endowed the world with energy and wealth which the more virtuous, pastoral life of the past would never have created. Commerce, the great buccaneer, has opened up vast seas and mighty desert places to the use of man, and carried civilisation, or at least the necessary forerunner of civilisation, to the ends of the earth. Whether or not commercialism is only a phase in social evolution, it has not yet begun to work itself out.

The plan to consolidate the empire by means of a system of preferential inter-imperial trade is

the foremost, almost the only, method advocated at the present time, and with it has been bound up, politically, the question of free-trade *versus* protection for the mother country. In the fierce controversy which waged upon this subject neither party had mind or time to weigh the real truth, nor to see that there can be no adamant system either one way or the other. The peculiar geographical and industrial conditions of Britain demand a middle course ; a free access to many kinds of raw material and a judicious protection for manufacture. As to the bearing of protection upon imperial unity, that England should have created new markets by her colonial development and not enjoy them as far as were possible for the benefit of her own race is intolerable, and does but give rise in the imperial mind to the spectacle of a doting old man whose loose pockets are open to any alien hand, whilst his own children live in insufficiency.

A splendid opportunity was lost when the door of imperial preference was historically “banged, barred and bolted” in the faces of the colonies, who were desirous of entering it ; and with the sanction of at least half the British nation. It was shown that no compromise was effected. At this period of intense industrialism it would have been (and may yet be) a powerful bond of union. The buying and selling instinct of our race is strong,

and at present so necessary that there is no greater factor for friendship ; so strong that many exclaim that its disappointment may be the signal for drifting apart. Probably if, when the foundation of the empire was laid and autonomy granted, statesmen had made some trade preference a condition of self-government, it would have resulted in a great development of inter-imperial trade. It is too late now, and conditions must be made the best of, for, as in the matter of land tenure, the custodians of the empire gave away England's valuable rights, in cheerful idiocy or criminal "generosity." It is too late partly because organised labour in the colonies is not likely to sacrifice itself to any idea of imperialism.

But there is another aspect to be considered in the matter of trade preference. In the first place, business is a selfish system, or it could not exist. The spirit of business is to buy and sell where most advantageous, regardless of patriotic considerations. Business must be regarded apart from philanthropy. The object of manufacture is to turn out finished articles at the lowest possible cost in the least possible time and to sell them to other people. Civilisation has reached a stage when men live by making things and selling them to someone else. They are partly things of value and necessity to mankind, and partly things we really do not want, these manufactured

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articles ; but we are obliged to do it under our present social system. Under this system there has grown to being a huge population in Great Britain. England invented modern commerce and manufacture : she was the world's workshop ; she grew rich and educated upon it ; everyone bought from us. But these conditions show signs of changing now, and it is possible they might decline as rapidly as they sprang up. Many of the nations who bought manufactured articles from us are making them for themselves, having learned, in part, inevitably from us ; and so they will require to buy from us in less and less degree. Moreover, the nations are obliged to protect themselves with high tariff walls against outside manufactures. Economic conditions are forcing the nations at present to become great manufacturing cave-dwellers. In the New World, where it might have been expected that a new and more humane system would have evolved, we find, in a commercial sense, the greatest " troglodyte " nation of all—the United States.

Another phase of imperial commerce there is which must be considered. It is true that a vast trade is done between Britain and her colonies, but it is a remarkable fact that its *percentage* as regards the whole volume of British trade has not increased during the last half-century. In 1854 colonial imports formed 22·4 per cent. and foreign

imports 77·6 per cent. In 1908 these figures were almost constant—they had, in fact, slightly decreased—at 21·9 and 78·1 per cent. respectively. This is ascribed by some to free trade.¹

The cynic may reply to this that it is not a question of the flag, and may even sneer at such a “you-buy-from-us-and-we’ll-buy-from-you” sort of imperialism, such as trade preference within the empire might, in his view, be termed. All those things we sell to our colonies and all those we buy from them could be bought or sold with equal advantage if they existed under another flag, he states. If our manufactures can retain a demand by reason of their excellence there is no necessity for preference on the colonial part, and it would not be natural for the colonies to make trade arrangements which would involve them in business sacrifice. In any case we could not expect them to buy from us alone, and when, as growing manufacturing nations, they make all they require themselves, what object would there be in letting in goods from England at the sacrifice of their own labour markets? Such might be the arguments of those who oppose imperial preference, and time must show whether they are true or not. With the growth of the population of the colonies it will be inevitable

¹ For an interesting review of this subject see *The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (Hannon, May 1910).

that the conditions of over-production will come to being in Canada, Australia and Africa. Indeed, their conditions of labour are already similar to ours, and they are beginning to exclude labour from Britain which is not of a land-working character. No sentiment of imperial patriotism bids them welcome British immigrants to their shores unless they are those for whom there is a demand, such as farm labourers and domestic servants. More, restrictions against immigrants are growing, whilst a large number of British immigrants have positively been deported and returned to England. This matter is discussed in a subsequent chapter, and it is sufficient to indicate here that the colonies, having the power to exclude both British men and British merchandise, are not likely to make any particular sacrifice in either matter for imperial unity. Their policy in this respect is dictated by self-interest principally, although it is true that the colonies have shown their willingness to facilitate trade preference with the mother country, which, so far, the latter obstinately refuses to avail herself of. The restriction against British immigrants is a much more serious matter, involving a breach of the imperial constitution and directly affecting the matter of imperial unity. It cannot be confounded with trade rights, although even to-day it is seen how too-rabid political desire blinds at

times the best authorities in England, as the quotation given below from one of the premier newspapers¹ of London shows. Men and merchandise, in this view, are equally pawns in a political game! Fortunately leading articles are evanescent.

There is a further condition affecting the interchange of material and products between countries, whether foreign or colonial; and it is one which in the near future must weigh more largely than any matters of tariff walls. It is this: a time must arrive, and soon, when every nation will require all its food products and raw materials for its own consumption. This is already beginning to take place in the United States, where the export of wheat and beef is being curtailed by reason of home consumption due to growing population. Cotton, timber and other staples

¹ "Still less can those who refuse, in the alleged interests of their own country, to discriminate between Canadian and foreign imports complain if Canada refuses to discriminate between British and foreign immigrants — the regulations being applied to all countries alike. If there is no obligation on this country to recognise imperial unity by fostering trade within the empire, why should there be an obligation to recognise it by fostering migration within the empire? But logic does not rule, and the bitterest critics of the Canadian regulations will be found among the bitterest opponents of Tariff Reform."—*Morning Post*, 3rd June 1910.

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must follow suit. Indeed, we shall soon be face to face with the fact that only those countries will be able to predominate, or in brief to live at all, who own large areas of territory for the production of food and raw material. This fact gives added poignancy to the contention advanced in these pages that the time has arrived when a systematic development of our imperial resources should be inaugurated, combined with the creation of new "property" for the inhabitants of this island country.

Thus we have endeavoured to look at the great matter of imperial trade from several points of view, and probably our last thought concerning it will be that an active and vertebrate system of preference, with due consideration to geographical and other conditions, would work greatly for the consolidation of the empire.

The aspect of commercialism and trade upon which we now enter is by no means secondary to the foregoing, and is one which, whilst it concerns Britain in the main at present, will concern all nations in more or less degree.

This is the great but little recognised fact that commerce and manufacture alone cannot support a nation adequately, nor ever will. They can only support a portion of a nation, and would only support part of an empire.

A single glance at the condition of England

(or any other manufacturing nation to-day) is sufficient to prove the assertion. What do we find? Under the commercial system Britain has brought to being a huge population upon a relatively small island. This population has a prosperous and highly civilised upper strata, largely rendered so by its earnings from commerce, but the main bulk is composed of people (numbered by statisticians at nearly three-quarters of the total) who are labelled as dwelling near or below the "poverty line." Twelve or thirteen millions of these, moreover, are described as being "always on the verge of starvation." Between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 annually are relieved out of the public purse as paupers, whilst, at times, 1,000,000 able-bodied workers are out of work.

These circumstances are very largely due to the commercial system, although the fact is not yet sufficiently acknowledged. Nearly all these people are endeavouring to live by commerce, or by industries arising from commerce, and experience shows that destitution is an inevitable result of a system purely commercial. This huge bulk of people is, in the main, crowded into workshops and rows of small houses, living more or less from hand to mouth, dependent for their living upon trade, and plunged into privation with its fluctuations. As a basis

¹ Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman:

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of life for the majority of a population, it must be considered an artificial, savage, and dangerous condition. It is evident that trade and manufacture will not be able to support the nation in the future. The measure of trade has been the measure of expansion of the population in a sense. But trade cannot expand indefinitely, and certainly foreign trade cannot be expected to do so. It is more likely to diminish, in view of the general spread of manufacture over the world and the supplying of their own wants by other nations. Whether home trade can expand much more is also open to question. We manufacture and buy and sell to each other at present a great number of comparatively useless articles, which, with a tendency to a simpler and more sincere life, must in time become eliminated. Meretricious furniture, foolish and elaborate clothing and adulterated food products, whose manufacture and sale forms a good part of our work, will not always be in demand in a growing civilisation. The tide of manufacturing commerce may begin to recede. Indeed it might appear that this natural happening has already begun, leaving a large number of our workers stranded on the sands of no work, no room to live and general insufficiency. A marked ebb of this tide would bring an appalling condition upon us, but it would be a natural incident, and it behoves us to pre-

pare for it. Nature has her own terrible and inscrutable ways of dealing with inflated conditions. War, famine, pestilence are her methods of adjusting populations to their geographical environment at times. A rapid fall in the demand for our manufactured articles would lead to a condition of much gravity, if we are not prepared in other fields. That road to national supremacy which has come over the shop counter would be blocked, with grave congestion as the result. These dangers can be averted if the situation is grasped in time. It is in the power of the British Empire more than all the nations of the world to accomplish it, as will be shown.

There are mute but terrible replies to the system of commercialism, in evidence day by day in our modern press and current thought and statistics. One of these is the declining birth-rate, which in the half year of 1910 was given as the lowest on record. This is associated with the condition known as "race suicide," partly. Another reply is socialism, with all that the term conveys. Slum life and overcrowding, sweated workers, unemployment are other replies.

Will it be possible, then, to consolidate the empire as one nation, as concerns its function of buying and selling? It could scarcely be forced on by statute. We shall not forget that one of the causes for disruption of the Spanish Empire was

the enforcement of arbitrary trade monopolies by the motherland. We have had recently evidence of tariff difficulty in Canada.¹ If preference is brought about it must be under the most reasonable and natural conditions. It is useless to pretend that trade can be measured by matters other than pounds, shillings and pence. If these principles can be found compatible with imperial preference—and we believe that in part they can—then the empire might become a mighty trade-engine. Of raw material and food-products the various states can provide everything; and there is a glamour of geographical and commercial romance shrouding this attribute of the empire.

¹ The protest of the farmers in the Canadian West, and their desire for reciprocity with the United States. It must, however, be recollected that the Canadian Government have been actively engaged in inviting settlement of these provinces by American farmers. A penalty and a menace may be the price of this proceeding in the future.

IV

THE BOND OF SENTIMENT

ONE of the best ideals that has appeared among the British people is that for the consolidation of the empire on grounds of race-affinity and duty towards a greater patriotism. But it embodies more than mere selfish considerations of race and language or personal gain. The men of England believe that they have a mission to perform in the scheme of evolution, and the ideal partakes of the nobler fire which inspires to betterment not only of individuals or communities, but of the whole empire of man. Be strong and purposeful else you cannot accomplish, is the lesson which is read daily in the lives of men and nations.

The practical point to be taken into consideration is, can the tie of sentiment be made sufficiently strong or general to form, either alone or in conjunction with the commercial bond, a permanent basis of political unity for the empire? Has it the basis in it of an Imperial Commonwealth?

To begin with the motherland. We find

that at present the idea and ideals of empire actuate only a relatively small portion of the population of Great Britain. We are a practical people not prone to expressing sentiment; imbued with the commercial spirit and with the habit of inquiring what we are getting for our work. Moreover, we are a busy people, with little time for discussion and experiment.

In considering the effect of this sentiment on our forty-three or more million people we may divide them into three classes: the leisured class, the great class of "ratepayers" and the poor class. The effect of the new imperialism is most marked among a portion of the leisured class. They have time, means and influence for its consideration. It has brought to being a fine race of governors and proconsuls, such as no other country possesses, or has ever possessed. The disinterested patriotism of men who, throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods, have directed the remarkably diverse and external oversea interests of Britain, is one of the noblest features of our civilisation. Incapable of corruption, careless of personal gain, and beyond reproach in the things of public and private life, these men of British production have been the main elements in our imperial life and progress.

More, we shall find a hundred institutions

dealing with this or that aspect of imperial affairs at home — leagues, organisations, societies, all formed for the advancement of patriotic work and national betterment, and they are literally crowded with the names of distinguished men and women, titled or untitled, of Britain's upper class. No other country, it is not boastful to say, possesses this element, and the colonies have not yet produced anything like their due share of it.

The next class, the great body of "ratepayers," cherish the imperial sentiment in less degree, although with tolerable strength. They form a very practical class, and naturally are inclined to inquire as to the practical benefits which will accrue to them in these imperial plans. As to the less prosperous classes, although they show marked strength of imperial sentiment on occasion, they are, from the very circumstances surrounding them, accustomed to put what they would consider academic questions far below those dealing with their present needs, or, if they nourish them at all, to reserve them for holiday occasions.

To pretend that, under present circumstances, the sentimental bond can permeate the great population of Britain strongly enough to secure imperial unity upon that basis alone would be vain. Is it possible to arouse lasting enthusiasm

for an imperial ideal in a community of whom more than 30,000,000 dwell near or below the "poverty line"? The pride of his nationality has always been strong in the Englishman, however poor he were: it is a natural heritage. But can this sentiment be stretched to include distant oversea states which, although under the Union Jack, he knows little about and owns nothing in? The great class of ratepayers, who, although they do not suffer from hunger, are nevertheless oppressed by taxes and the high cost of living, are prone to ask what benefit they derive from imperial institutions. The poor and workless will exclaim, in their own forcible way, that the waving of the Union Jack will not fill an empty belly or find them a job.

The great bulk of British people, working from day to day, have no sense of ownership in the empire at present. It seems a far-scattered and stupendous thing when they think about it at all, not much more than a name to them, and something in which they have no part nor tangible possession nor benefit. We may tell the ordinary man that he is a citizen of this glorious empire "upon which the sun never sets," but he will not quite see the practical value to himself. The poor clerk, shop assistant, labouring man, even the middle-class householder and the professional element, will not deny

their citizenship, but they will heave a sigh and wish this vast property brought some alleviation of rent, bills, and taxes, and opened up a broader life than their ordinary grey horizon presents. The many indirect benefits accruing to him from the empire are too subtle for his comprehension.

There are many agencies at work in England at present for the education of the people upon imperial matters. The flag, and all that it embodies, is being more prominently brought before them, both adults and schoolchildren, and some awakening of effort is apparent for the distribution of a wider knowledge of the geography and history of the empire. Also a much more intensive dissemination of knowledge concerning the resources and possibilities of the colonies is being brought about by the official advertisements in the English press, lectures, etc. These are principally instituted by the agents of the various Dominions, mainly with the object of attracting "desirable" settlers to the colonial lands. The advertisements are often set forth in a highly coloured fashion, picturing a semi-paradise for the agriculturalist overseas, such as the experienced traveller will smile to see. These well-meaning if exaggerated endeavours are of imperial value in disseminating knowledge of these great possessions, which are alluring enough

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without necessity for exaggeration. But it is probable that the general education of the people of Britain upon imperial matters, resulting from these campaigns, may have a first effect not altogether expected. "What use are these great possessions to us?" this stolid people may ask when they are aroused. How is it that we enjoy nothing in it? Do our great provinces of Canada, Australia, Africa, which our forefathers and ourselves bled and suffered to obtain, confer any benefit upon us? Does the possession of this world-wide property which we have manned navies and sent forth armies to protect render the hard conditions of our life here any easier? Does it yield us any income, help to lessen our heavy taxes, lower our high rents, cheapen the necessities of life, or lift the growing burden of the struggle for existence in this overwrought island? It seems to be a splendid heritage, these boundless plains and forests and mineral wealth. Does it help to find better pay for our sweated workers, or provide for the appalling army of unemployed which throngs our cities year after year?

Such are the sentiments which a more intensive education upon imperial matters may possibly raise in the mind of the 30,000,000 British people who inhabit the region of the poverty line. How shall we who strive to be

disinterested imperialists reply ? Can we say that the burdened taxpayer, the harassed housewife, the struggling clerk, the poor shopkeeper, the ill-paid labourer, the sweated worker, the slum-dweller, the unemployed, the unemployable and the pauper draw any direct benefit from the empire ?

It is socialism rather than imperialism that is more likely to flourish in such a field. The forces of socialism are at work already among the working classes, and socialism is anti-imperial.

There are other matters concerning unity of feeling, or the reverse, between Britain and her colonies. Chief among them may arise that dealing with emigration. The colonies have taken upon themselves to restrict the entrance of British immigrants into their shores, and even to deport Englishmen, due to circumstances which are fully discussed in another chapter. This unconstitutional measure has aroused some bitter feeling, especially against Canada, whilst Australia has also shared therein. It remains to be seen how these intolerable conditions will affect the bulk of the stolid, patient British people.

Thus we have seen how varied are the conditions affecting the bond of sentiment at home, and there can be no doubt that much remains to be done, and that interests have yet to be

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more clearly defined, before great reliance can be placed upon mutual regard as an enduring bond of empire. A greater and more practical interest must be aroused both by our people and our institutions in the oversea possessions. This aspect is further discussed in the chapter dealing with imperial government.

To turn now to the consideration of the sentimental bond as it concerns the colonies. Here we find a keen regard for the imperial ideal. The loyalty of Canadians and Australians to the Crown and the traditions of British civilisation are in some of their aspects so strong as cannot be comprehended by the Englishman unless he has visited the dominions. It is not that they have as a rule any particular admiration for Englishmen, but that they respect and love the British institutions, and jealously draw towards themselves some of the glamour which surrounds our great past, our freedom, prestige, honesty, and all that has gone to make the name of Britain respected throughout the world. It is not a sentiment of gratitude, but rather the regard of a child for a father whose stern and superior demeanour has always been impressed as a noble figure upon the developing mind. That our civilisation and traditions are their heritage is much more to them than that we gave them the land they live on, their laws and language,

and that we are their bankers.¹ All the distinction which is embodied in the indefinable word "imperial" as used to-day, as contrasted with sheer democracy or republicanism; all the association with revered ceremony, conservatism, with ancient walls and family names and with all the old glory of a prestige more powerful than ever Roman was, and all that is of good report in this long-wrought-out regime of England serves as a powerful bond with those who claim kinship of England, even though they be scattered on distant western plains, separated by mighty Cordilleras and roaring seas. What magic is there in royal purple and rampant lion on a shield, what breath can battlemented turrets send, and what magnetism is there in St George's Cross and all that it conveys that turns the faces of Englishmen and Scotsmen overseas towards this sea-girt island? Whatever it may be it is still a strong and even a growing bond. It is so strong as to leaven large lumps of humanity even in the United States.

¹ From 1905 to 1909, five years, it is stated that Canada alone has borrowed from Britain more than 600,000,000 dollars.

V

THE BONDS OF LOYALTY AND DEFENCE

ONE of the most potent bonds of empire is the Crown.

It might have been supposed (and doubtless is supposed by some) that in the twentieth century, and for the establishing of a "commonwealth," the idea of monarchy would seem antedated. Those who cherish such an illusion, however, may briefly be advised to take a journey and inquire into the social and political conditions of the principal republics of the world.¹ He will not find in France, the queen of nations in some respects, the healthy life and thought of England and Scotland. He will not find in the United States the political and commercial honesty, nor the real liberty, of the Briton, and if he bends his steps to Mexico and distant Peru, and the republics of Spanish America generally, he will see military despotisms and oligarchies of a small upper class monopolising the wealth and education of the community, under which

¹ The author writes from years of travel and observation in the principal republics:

the ideas of a commonwealth make scarcely perceptible growth. Republicanism neither is, nor shows signs of being, at present, the state of government most conducive to the welfare of a people, and certainly it could never conduct an empire.

Nothing stands out with greater emphasis in the consideration of the present condition of the British Empire than the fact that allegiance and reverence to the Crown have been one of the strongest bonds in the holding together of its geographically scattered parts. Canadians and Australians have no particular regard for Englishmen and Scotsmen, whilst the attitude of Englishmen for "Colonials" has been, until recently, often one of thinly veiled superciliousness. To go further, what regard could Canadians or Australians have for each other, or either of these for South Africans, if they were not united on a common field of St James' Court. They would be little more than friendly—occasionally jealous—nations.

Notwithstanding this attitude of colonial loyalty generally, it must not be forgotten that there is a party for separation and independence in Canada. Sentiment, indeed, in some cases strongly, has been recently displayed upon the non-imperial side, and it might not be unreasonable for the Englishman to ask regretfully how far

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Canada is only loyal until such time as it serves her purpose to separate. It is one of those matters upon which it is impossible to dogmatise. We may even, at doubtful moments, ask ourselves in England if separation is not inevitable. Also there is a party for annexation to the United States, small possibly, but the turn of events who can predict? These matters are alternately admitted and denied. Utterances made from time to time reassure us as to the loyalty and affection of our Canadian and Australian kinsmen, and again some fresh pronouncement shakes—we strive to feel only momentarily—our faith in them again. Only the future can show. Here are some expressions which may help the British reader to form his own ideas on the subject.

At a banquet of the Canadian Society of New York, December 1909, the orator of the occasion, a Justice of the High Court of Ontario, said: "Until within a very few years there did exist among us [Canadians] a number of citizens, some of influence, who held secretly, if not openly, that it was the manifest destiny of Canada to become part of a greater union with the United States. Such a feeling does not now exist. We cling to the British connection with sincere affection and our whole heart. The tie that binds us is not simply a legal and constitutional

bond, but also the heartfelt conviction that there exists in the world no single agency for good at the present time greater than the British Empire." Here is an extract from another Canadian paper of recent date in a similar strain :¹

"Whether there is a Liberal or Conservative Government in power at Ottawa we are Britishers still; whether the Liberals or Unionists are in power at Westminster, Britain is mother still. The size of our sales to or purchases from Great Britain does not determine our political affiliations. Admiration for British institutions, affection for the land, which has done so much for peace, progress and civilisation, ambition to play an enlarging part in the greatest of modern empires—these are the influences which determine our loyalty." Yet another quotation to show the sentiment of the Australian people. At a lecture given before the Imperial Colonial Club this year the Australian representative² said: "Australia is entirely British in settlement and sentiment. We are Britishers transplanted, working out a destiny free from the hampering restrictions of vested interests and class privileges, but inheriting and taking pride in the great traditions of our race. At the same time we are fired with a passionate desire not

¹ *Canadian Courier*:

Captain Muirhead Collins.

to see reproduced in this new land of ours the hopeless want and misery and degrading condition of life alas! so frequently before our eyes in this older land. Our ideals do not differ from yours. We have a clean slate on which to write our future, and though we may make mistakes our aims are high, for they are to keep the land for the white race of British descent as far as possible, maintain a high standard of living for our workers, and to be the bulwark of the empire in the Pacific, and one of its principal assets."

Could Britain ask more noble or friendly sentiments than these, which are but an indication of the regard displayed towards us by our oversea kinsmen, whether of Canada, Australia, Africa or elsewhere? Can we not legitimately hope that they spell unity and breathe anathema to that most bitter of failings—ingratitude. For England has need of her dominions, and in an Imperial Commonwealth they will be a new source of life to her, as she is to them.

But there is from time to time a sinister note from overseas which is struck at intervals.¹

¹ "The *Montreal Gazette* publishes an interview with Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas, who, after a journey through the West, sailed on Saturday for England. Sir Archibald is reported to have said that, while the West was extending a hearty welcome every day to

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Although this "interview" was subsequently denied, the British reader, in view of the matter of the restrictions against British immigrants, and even their deportation, as well as in the encouragement of a great flow of Americans to take up Canadian homesteads, will not unnaturally ask himself how much of it is true.

We believe, however, that the great body of educated Canadians regard their common possession of British loyalty as an asset of value for them, not necessarily in a material sense but in a moral sense also. Under a president, or even a governor general of Canadian origin, the tendency would be to adopt the political methods

thousands of Americans, who, whatever their ideas on the subject of money-making might be, were not and never would be British subjects in the real meaning of the word, the authorities here in the East were making it increasingly hard for Englishmen or, to use a broader term, Britons, to come to Canada and carve out heritages for themselves.

"The crux of the whole matter appeared to him to lie in the fact that while annexation to the United States was not openly spoken of it was none the less at the bottom of many men's hearts, and men at that who were holding responsible positions under the Crown. As long as that feeling existed in the minds of those who were responsible for making and enforcing the laws of Canada, just so long did he think that the American would be welcomed to the exclusion of the Britisher."—*London Daily Mail*, 28th June 1910.

of the United States, with all that that conveys. At present the appointments of governor generals from England are regarded with general favour by Canadians of all parties, and this has been reiterated by one of Canada's foremost statesmen recently.¹ More recently loyal utterances concerning the future Canadian navy have been enunciated also.²

Colonial sentiment towards England is in general a fine and noble thing, and there have been instances of disinterested sacrifice made for it. At present the balance of altruism and self-interest is about evenly held; the future will show if this equilibrium can be sustained where they appear to clash.

Strongly connected with imperial sentiment is the matter of imperial defence. No question more acutely occupies the mind of the sane imperialist. It is perfectly certain that only the "strong man armed" can adequately protect his property and his hearth, and no copy-book maxims concerning peace can disprove the fact

¹ Sir Wilfred Laurier, Ottawa, May 1910.

² Referring to the Canadian navy, Sir Wilfred said that if Great Britain was ever in danger the heart and brawn of Canada would be ranged on her side against her enemies, no matter whence those foemen hailed, —Ottawa, 13th July.

"The King of England will be the King of Canada's navy, and the Canadian Parliament itself is a Parliament of the King of England."²—Winnipeg, 14th July.

that the world has temporarily entered upon a disturbed period, due partly to the ambitions of sabre-rattling nations, and partly to the fact that nations are growing bigger and hungrier; and that they become avid of the undeveloped lands of others is natural.

Hostile pressure from the outside tends to consolidate the British empire, as recent history has shown us. Nothing remains more gratefully on British memories than the way in which the colonies hastened to the aid of the mother country in an hour of need. It was one of those refreshing acts in which sordid and self-serving humanity redeemed itself by a sudden grasp of a noble ideal and the call of the blood. The offer of dreadnoughts by Australia and New Zealand followed a similar sense.

As regards defence there are several points of view in which it concerns the empire: defence of their own land by the people of Britain, defence of the colonies by Britain and defence of each and every interest by the colonies.

In the first place there is something of a new element arising in democracy. The spread of "labour" ideas, and even of socialism, and also of peace societies, has brought about a strong feeling against war in any form. This feeling in its present development halts between the

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reasonable and the pusillanimous. "We have no homes, let those who own the land defend it" was the sinister but significant cry heard a short time ago at a London East End meeting to discuss armaments. "What difference would it make to me if the Germans were to come in and run the country?" exclaimed a sturdy mechanic, who, rendered fierce and callous from unemployment, with a starving wife and family at home and tramping from London for a job, was relieved of his immediate necessity by the author on the king's highway during the German "scare." Some justification for these statements may be found in the chapter dealing with destitution, and that of the bond of sentiment, and if the comfortable ratepayer and property-owner, secure from the sufferings of an empty stomach and purse, will endeavour to put himself momentarily in the place of these unfortunate, propertyless millions of England—for let us not forget that they are millions—he may be able to understand their point of view.

As regards the "labour" (and socialist) element, there can be little doubt that their influence more and more will be felt against war, and this may be good in some cases and dangerous in others. It is not inconceivable that the organised labour of England, Germany and France should, in the event of declared hostilities between

any other countries use a strong influence to prevent the enrolment of troops.¹ As a matter of fact the working-class element has little to gain and much to lose by war for whatever purpose. Between the labour associations of various countries, moreover, there is a growing sense of fraternity, not necessarily only that of the "red cap," and labour is—and in some of its aspects we may gladly accept the fact—becoming more and more a power in the land. Similar conditions underlie socialism to some degree.

Be it, however, as it may, the future of democracy will certainly show that a great body of propertyless people are hardly likely to spring with enthusiasm to defend a country in which they own nothing more than a bare and insufficient daily wage, and in which it is becoming more and more difficult to obtain even that. The strongest incentive to take up arms is that furnished by having something to defend, and if Britain is to be united against outside attack her citizens

¹ "The Congress of the Unified Socialist party was opened at Paris yesterday, 15th July. A proposal was also voted conferring powers upon the International Socialist Bureau to communicate its decisions to the proletariat of the various countries interested, in order that the resolutions passed by International Congresses may the more rapidly be put into execution, particularly in cases of international conflicts."—*London Press*.

must be prosperous and contented, and have some tangible stake in the empire.

As concerns the defence of the colonies by Britain it might be expected, as discussed elsewhere, that a period might come when the great majority of British propertyless and poor would exclaim that they cannot contribute, either in taxes or in service, for the protection of distant lands under the flag, from which they reap no measure of personal benefit. The patriotism which might avail to defend their own immediate shores would decline to be stretched to cover Canada, Australia or Africa. Such a situation might involve the loss of these colonies to some strong predatory power. Were it once known abroad that such disaffection was an element to be reckoned with, increased menace might assail the Dominions. This is a situation which calls for remedy.

Without the power of England's name to support them Canada and Australia would be ripe for attempted conquest. This point of view is perhaps but little considered by these dominions. They have something of the arrogance of all unfledged organisms, and at times talk loudly of their rights, of commerce, immigration and other matters, as if they were in a position to drop off from the motherland whenever they deemed it advisable. They do not know their

own weakness. Could Canada, isolated, withstand the pressure of her great southern neighbour, the United States? A much smaller power could inflict injury upon her. Chile, for example, could send her squadron up the great Pacific coast and lay waste her seaboard, and if there were the semblance of a just quarrel the United States would lift no finger in her defence. The Canadians are not a military people. They are engaged in breeding cattle, building grain elevators and lines of railway under British protection; and how many of her people could carry efficient arms against such an attack? They are a people brave with the same old Anglo-Saxon courage of Britain, to a great extent, and have some of the constancy of the Swiss, but they have never fought against modern armies. No one who knows the Canadians would doubt that, to a man, they would rally to the defence of their country and stand to the last drop, but, even if they retained their independence against a powerful foreign foe, they would inevitably lose vast slices of valuable territory. Across the Pacific Ocean lies Japan, avid of territory for her emigrants. Could British Columbia fail to pay toll to a Japanese fleet, or what would be the price to be paid the United States for the exercise of the Monroe Doctrine in a war with Germany? With England indifferent, or even hostile before

a separated Canada, what would prevent the German fleet entering the St Lawrence ?

Australia presents conditions even more vulnerable were she separated from Britain, even though the "labour party" of Australia may not always recognise it. Could she withstand, with her empty, unprotected north, an attack from Japan ? Even under present circumstances she is exposed. The gallant and thick-skinned Australians, no less brave than the Canadians, and perhaps more British in character, would rally to a man in defence of their territory, but the "heaviest battalions" would be against them. As to South Africa, there are menaces of "mailed fist," and others, which would arise immediately if it were not for Britain's protection. It is unnecessary to enlarge on these matters, they must be palpable to all. Canada and Australia might work out their destinies alone if they were fortunate enough to escape hostile aggression by an armed power, just as the lesser states of South America and elsewhere live in comparative peace, but that danger of molestation grows more and more with the advancing need of European and Asiatic peoples for land and food-products for their increasing populations. The plain fact remains, that in times of danger the Canadians and Australians would have to call upon Britain's navy, which is only another name for the British taxpayer.

Whilst Britain, so far, has had to bear the entire burden of their defence, and has scarcely received the due recognition of her daughter states for it, the beginnings are now being made for a Canadian and Australian navy. These will be of the utmost value to the empire, such as it is scarcely necessary to expatiate upon. The ensign of Britain will appear in the Pacific again, whence it has practically been banished of late years.¹ The colonial support, both moral and active, will be, as it has been, of the greatest value to the mother country, and constitutes, in more ways even than arms alone, one of the staunchest bonds of empire. The natural corollary, however, to this condition is that there shall be an empire to protect. At what moment menace might arise we know not, but if we are wise we shall refuse to be lulled into a fools' paradise by well-meaning but pusillanimous politicians. There may be bloodshed and suffering, stress and famine before this peaceful island and her colonies to-morrow; and disaffection would be fatal.

¹ See the author's "The Great Pacific Coast."

VI

IMPERIAL INSUFFICIENCY

THE conditions of widespread insufficiency in the British Isles has already been touched upon, and its important bearing on imperial consolidation. We shall be obliged to reflect that, sooner or later, the matter of imperial federation will have to be referred, in some form or another, to the great bulk of the people of Britain, and upon their frame of mind will rest the result. The imperial-minded upper class, whilst their endeavours to leaven the whole are of the utmost value, cannot, in the inevitable lapse of time and circumstance, expect to bring about imperial unity of themselves alone—that is, they might bring it about, or its externals, but upon the great heart of the whole nation must depend its permanency.

It is necessary here to dwell more particularly upon this insufficiency which is oppressing the people of this country, for, whilst it exists, with no organised effort to remedy it, we shall be constrained to look upon the possession of our world-wide empire, as concerns them, as a vain shadow.

We have heard so much of taxes, poverty and unemployment, and so much political use has been made of the words, that at times they tend to lose their significance.

The number of people termed "poor" in our population of 43,000,000 has been computed by statisticians at the huge total of 38,000,000 men, women and children, of whom 12,000,000 were described by a late Prime Minister of England as always living on the verge of starvation.¹ It has been calculated that in London alone there are more than 1,000,000 persons who live upon sixpence a day.² These figures, whilst they fluctuate, represent more or less a normal condition, and, together with those that follow, can only be characterised as astounding for the richest and greatest nation in the world. The Poor Law returns show 23 in every 1000³ to be paupers, in whose relief 20,000,000 pounds sterling per annum are spent, requiring 24,000 Poor Law Guardians to distribute it.⁴ Let us recollect in passing that this huge expenditure is mainly a *dole*, with no permanent benefit. Two million

¹ Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, quoted in *The Standard* of December 1909.

² Poor Law Report.

³ 122,000 paupers in London, or 25 per 1000, April 1910.

⁴ Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission.

persons are relieved every year out of the rates, a number equal to the entire population of some of the South American republics, or twice the population of New Zealand. The total expenditures in Great Britain in these matters, adding those of charitable institutions and hospitals, has been given as the huge sum of 31,000,000 sterling per annum; all of which comes out of the British tax-paying pocket or charitable purse. To come to a still more concrete instance. It is shown that to maintain the poor of London costs every person in London nearly 17s. per annum; the cost of maintaining each pauper being £27.¹ Another "imperial" item is furnished by the London County Council in the number of free meals provided for the children attending their schools, which are amounting to something like 9,000,000 per annum, and increasing rapidly. These free meals give an appalling indication of the state of the cupboard of the poor. Such relief is but a sorry substitute for better measures to improve their condition. Those who have been brought into actual contact with this matter² will see

¹ Quoted by *The Daily Telegraph*.

² The author serves on a Care Committee of the London County Council, whose work is to hear applications from necessitous parents, and decide upon their free feeding. In one of these schools, at midsummer 1910, out of 1100 children 150 were being fed.

how impossible it is, now that the system has begun, to refuse the genuine appeals of the parents; and they will rather hope that the evil will lead to a remedy, such as it is the purpose of these pages to bring forward.

In 1909 trades unions returns gave 8 per cent. of their members as out of work, equal to 60,000 able-bodied, trained men, and whilst unemployment has decreased during the present year the condition must be looked upon as recurrent, under present conditions. The work done by the employment bureaus shows how widespread is the evil of unemployment, and although they have afforded valuable service it is more in the nature of organisation than in the creation of work for those who require it. But the public may well agree to and accept these matters of feeding and help, which, consciously or unconsciously, are a beginning of imperial organisation. It is recorded that at Stepney there were nearly 1500 applications for work in ten weeks. As to the Central Unemployed Body, it has done valuable work, but cannot deal adequately with unemployed problems. It registered 40,000 in the year requiring work and was able to supply only 11,500 with employment.

It is in the poorer districts of London that the conditions of unemployment are most appalling.

A typical account¹ was that published by the Vicar of St Peter's, London Docks, last year. He said "the conditions in the East End have been going from bad to worse, and unemployment going up. Nobody could really foresee how much longer the people would last without breaking out into open rebellion. Scores of men, tired of applying to the local distress committees, without a possibility of securing work, now refused to sign the register. Cupboards were bare, and men, women and children never looked so hungry. In times gone by the district had recovered from periods of depression, but of late this had been impossible. Many strong men and women had gone to their graves through starvation, and many were still going to their graves from the same cause."

In addition to these labouring people, whose condition comes so palpably before us, we must recollect that there is a large class of educated people who shrink from exposing their necessity to the press or public, but whose privations are none the less hopeless and acute. One of the results is the condition of "race suicide," or limitation of family, which is increasing in England. Further, the price of food is, in some cases, becoming almost prohibitive. Fruit, bacon and other commodities are becoming almost luxuries,

¹ Rev. L. S. Wainwright, in *The Daily Mail*.

and are already out of reach of the poorer rate-payers.¹

The charitable institutions continually bring under our notice the condition of the poor with whom they deal. Dr Barnardo's homes, for example, stated that 12,500 applications were made to them (1909) to receive destitute children, that they have rescued 70,000 children from the streets in their time, and have emigrated to Canada 22,000. It speaks well for this splendid organisation that 98 per cent. have been successful. The Salvation Army shelters 8000 starving and penniless persons every night in the year

¹ "At the annual meeting of the shareholders of Liptons Limited, the high price of food was brought forward. Sir Thomas Lipton, the chairman, in explaining a diminution in the profits of the concern, ascribed this falling-off as in the main due to the dearness of many of the staple articles of food. It might at first glance be assumed that these high prices would assure greater, rather than less, profits to retailers generally, but this does not appear to be the case ; for the inevitable curtailment in the demand, especially in those articles which have advanced most in cost, more than counteracts the possibilities of gain. The effect of this is seen, in the case of Liptons Limited, by a diminution in the dealings in bacon alone of over two thousand tons within twelve months. In the past twelve years, an article in such widespread use as sugar has risen in price by nearly fifty per cent., and cheese in the same proportion ; hams, bacon and lard have more than doubled ; while butter is

throughout the country, its officers state, and it has 4500 trained officers labouring among the poor at 1500 centres. They also are doing splendid and successful emigration work, of true national and imperial character.

Other institutions are doing similar work as regards rescue and emigration. We are a charitably disposed people, and the self-appointed ministers of the submerged strata are always endeavouring to alleviate poverty, even if they do not attempt to prevent it. Their appeals seem to show an almost hopeless state of affairs. Here are some quotations from these imperial

also much dearer. Outside these items, with which the company is especially concerned, the head of every household is painfully aware, as he gazes at the swollen size of his weekly or monthly bills, that meat is also much dearer than of old, while poultry threaten to join pigs as luxuries, or even rarities. It is easy to see that an increase in the prices of commodities which, like these, are, or have been in the past, in universal demand affects every member and every class in the community. True, it affects them in different degrees, hitting with greatest severity the poor and that numerous middle-class which finds it a matter of extreme difficulty either to expand its income or contract its expenditure. Should the present condition of affairs prove permanent, it needs no prophet to foresee that a general readjustment of the standard of living will, for the great majority of the population, soon become unavoidable," quoted by *Public Opinion*, July 1910.

poets of winter time, from our daily papers: "Starvation in England," "Poverty and suffering are widespread," "Sad cases of distress and suffering," "An appeal for coal," "An appeal for bread," "An appeal for blankets," "The present exceptional distress," "Starving poor," "Fireless homes and empty cupboards," "Hungry and homeless thousands," "Shoeless school-children," "Gifts of money, food, or clothing thankfully received," and others, *ad nauseam*. Scores of institutions are represented: homes for aged poor, London missions, convents of mercy, societies of day nurseries, Christian missions for the poor, Poor Children's Society, free meal tickets, soup kitchens, Embankment shelters, ragged school missions, the Church Army, the Salvation Army, Dr Barnardo's Homes, Mr Fegan's Homes, Decayed Gentlewomen's Institution, Society for Providing Shoes for School-children, and lastly—the Anti-Suicide Bureau!

All these are dealing with the grim struggle for life in our cities. They are private institutions doing, in many cases, public work, which the legal custodians of the empire have shirked so far. All these poor people ministered to are British citizens, let us recollect, entitled to a share in the empire. They would not require charity if we could apply our common-sense and our imperial resources to an organisation for giving them justice.

Figures of Blue book or charitable returns, and percentages of unemployment, however, do not perhaps create much impression upon ordinary persons. These matters are brought more emphatically before us when we recollect that we can scarcely go outside our own homes without being accosted by some able-bodied beggar for a coin, whilst a good part of our domestic servants' time is taken up in answering appeals from the back-door from hopeless-looking hawkers of unnecessary articles, or from some poverty-stricken wretch for a meal! Our morning mail brings us constant requests from this or that charitable institution for help, whilst there are whole columns in our daily papers containing special appeals, such as described, for similar purposes. Is this state of things to be called civilisation? The meanest tribe of unclothed savages in the Amazon forests,¹ do not suffer from such conditions. There is always a handful of bananas to fill an empty belly, and a roof of boughs overhead to keep out the rain. It is partly our system of commercialism which has brought this condition upon us. We own the richest empire in the world, but fail to make use of it except in a commercial sense, for the benefit of the few. The homeless people of London alone would

¹ Where the author has travelled.

form a small colony,¹ and there is no more terrible reproach to the community than to permit this state of affairs.

One of the most phenomenal evils to be dealt with is that of overcrowding. In London slums in some cases there are 300 people to the acre, and families living and working in crowded tenements and rooms, accounts of which, issued from time to time in reports and the press, harrow—momentarily—our imperial feelings. The mean streets and congested areas of London and of our large manufacturing cities might well weigh upon the minds of social reformers like a leaden pall. The teeming children of the East End streets—splendid imperial material running to waste—might make the Englishman blush

¹ On the 18th February 1910, when the night was fine and not very cold, a census of homeless persons in the county of London was taken by officers of the London County Council, and the result of that census is embodied in a report. It shows that on that night there were found homeless in the streets, on staircases, or under arches 2510 men, 220 women and 17 children. Of the men, 1778 were accommodated for a few hours in shelters, but were not provided with beds. Other figures are given, which show that 5742 men, 860 women and 42 young persons were provided for by various agencies; and it is pointed out that there was that night vacant accommodation for 7680 persons in common lodging-houses and for 685 persons in casual wards.—*The Daily Mail*.

for the name of civilisation, if he will take the trouble to traverse them and observe the wretchedness they embody.

The traveller and observer, who studies this fearful picture of twentieth-century industrialism, and whose mind reverts to the great lands lying unpopulated in other parts of the globe, such as he has traversed, might well wish that some genius of Moses might be given him, wherewith to lead the people out of the house of bondage. In the oversea territories of our empire, which—we boast—cover nearly one-fourth of the area of the globe, we have boundless plains of wheat-growing and cattle-raising capacity, endless mountain ranges full of iron, gold, coal and all other minerals, vast forests of valuable timber, rivers and seas teeming with fish, lands uncultivated, forests uncut, mines unworked, rivers unfished, railways and roads unbuilt, and tenantless town sites, extending over entire continents. Yet a large proportion of our people at home are in the condition of semi-beggars wasting their manhood and womanhood, when they ought to be profitably employed in increasing the wealth and strength of the empire, and in living prosperous, civilised lives. What is the empire for, if not to be a contented prosperous community? *Every citizen of Britain, man or woman, is entitled—from the very fact of being a British*

citizen—to a tangible share in the imperial real estate and resources. If he has not got it, it is simply because the custodians of the empire have not bestirred themselves to give it to him. Each citizen is entitled to participation and actual ownership in and profit by the resources of this empire. If he is not, then it is not an empire but one small island crowded with people, and numerous half-empty outlying lands separated by seas, without geographical or political coherence, and united in little more than name, and probably only for a brief period longer. For people to send up a bitter cry of “no room to live” in the heart of an empire with a land area of nearly 11,500,000 square miles; for men to be unable to obtain work when we have whole continents lying idle for lack of population; for men, women and children to be starving when we have at our command every food product and every kind of raw material from the equator to the Arctic circle, is something more than negligence, it is a national crime, and, instead of asking ourselves if the British Empire is likely to retain its predominance in the world, we should rather ask if it deserves to endure whilst these things be. Notwithstanding this magnificent heritage of our empire, no government has ever arisen to profit by it. No statesman has ever yet raised his eyes to the horizon of a true Imperial Common-

wealth to see there the plain solution for our evils of insufficiency. These conditions are the feet of clay of England and her empire, and if not remedied must cause her fall. Our poets have told us, and keep telling us, that "the sun never sets" upon the realms of the empire. It were more true to say that the sun has never risen upon it yet, in the sense of possession and benefit for the great heart of the people

Let us turn from these considerations for the moment and see what this great estate consists of.

VII

THE IMPERIAL RESOURCES : THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES

THE total area of the British Empire is about 11,500,000 square miles, covering more than one-fifth of the land area of the globe. Among its population of 400,000,000 people there are 55,000,000 whites, of whom about 43,000,000 are the inhabitants of great Britain and Ireland. This great estate embodies land under every kind of climatic and topographical condition, and produces everything in the form of food products and raw material known to man.

The lands of the empire resolve themselves naturally, as concerns their further development by the white race, into two classes. First are those countries whose areas are fully occupied by or allotted to their native populations, such as Great Britain and Ireland, India, part of Egypt and other dependencies thickly peopled by coloured races. Second, are the great self-governing states of Canada, Australia, South Africa, Newfoundland, New Zealand, etc., together

with numerous dependencies and Crown colonies. The second division is the only one which it is necessary to consider here, and a brief description of the conditions and resources of these splendid new states will remind us of what we own.

The huge Dominion of Canada extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the United States border to the Arctic. It is something like 3000 miles in breadth, with an area of nearly 3,500,000 square miles, being larger than the United States, with a population of about 6,000,000 people. Thus it is 40 times as large as England, with about one-seventh of our population. A simple calculation shows what an enormous population it might sustain in comparison with England. The land surface of Canada may be divided into three classes: (1) land already occupied and commercially developed; (2) land waiting development; (3) land requiring special condition of cultivation and that which is unproductive or useless (if the word "useless" really exists as regards land). The first division, the occupied and developed land, forms a mere margin on the southern border of the Dominion, running along the St Lawrence, the great lakes, the great plains of the middle west, and extends to British Columbia, the whole forming a southerly belt from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this great belt wheat, cattle, dairy

products, timber, fruit, minerals, fish, etc., are raised or produced and extensive, valuable industries have come to being under a busy, contented people.

The second division, the land waiting development, forms an area many times greater than the first. In fact the greater part of the Dominion of Canada is embodied in it, vast new territories, full of natural resources and possibilities which do but await the coming of population, of men of enterprise and forethought who shall possess themselves of it. The region runs west to the Pacific coast of British Columbia, and north beyond the line of wheat and grain, beyond the line of timber, and extends in one place up to the very snows of the Arctic circle. Its possibilities are wheat, barley, cattle, dairy products, fishing, timber, gold, coal, copper, petroleum, iron, silver and all other of Canada's famous resources.

The third division lies mainly to the north. It is generally beyond the cereal and timber lines, but it contains great store of minerals and other valuable commercial products and possibilities, and though little known at present will be found to have its special value in the future.

Thus in Canada we have boundless wheat-fields, fruit lands, cattle ranges, timber supply, mineral deposits; sufficient, were they more fully exploited, to supply all our wants and leave ample

room for the future. Across this vast continent men have pushed railways, reaching out from lake to river, from coast to coast, penetrating regions never heard of before, building up new towns, in a period of months, where all was desert; digging wealth and revenue from the virgin rocks, such as the conquistadores of Spain never dreamed of, opening up productive wildernesses with that planning energy which itself is a British heritage, and establishing a mighty nation before which our little island of Britain becomes small by comparison. It is a conquest, a revolution, the building of a nation which is taking place there, a nation and a land full of splendid possibilities—for those who have had the wisdom to claim in time their imperial participation in it!

On the other side of the world lies Australia. Here is a vast island-continent not much smaller than Canada, with a total population only somewhat more than half that of London. Australia is nearly 3,000,000 square miles in area, with some 4,000,000 people. Like Canada its land surface may be divided for the purpose of this paper into three classes: (1) land already occupied and commercially developed; (2) land waiting development, and (3) land requiring special conditions of cultivation, and that which is unproductive. The first division, the developed land, occupies a border on the eastern coast and a mere

fringe on the western. The second, the land waiting development, covers huge belts of territory east, north and west, whilst the third occupies the whole interior of the continent. Grain, sugar, wine, fruits, dairy products, cattle, meat, wool, gold, silver, copper, tin, coal and numerous other products are raised or extracted in the worked areas, products ranging from the temperate to the tropic zones. The present inhabitants are merely scattered round the edge, although even they occupy territories a good many times the size of England, with some of the finest cities and public buildings in the world. Nearly everything that man requires is found in Australia, and its future seems full of alluring possibilities.

Australia possesses, perhaps, the largest empty tract of colonisable land in the world, in her great northern territory, and, empty and undefended at present, it is "a source of grave anxiety to imperial statesmanship which invites reproach in times of peace and invasion in times of war."¹ This enormous piece of valuable imperial territory has scarcely ever been heard of by the ordinary British citizen, notwithstanding that it is full of riches and possibilities, and contains nearly 350,000,000 acres; seven times the size of England. The soil is as fertile as the average of Australia; the rainfall above the average; there is a singular

¹ *Morning Post*.

absence of tropical disease, malaria being almost unknown; the climate has proved healthy to the few Europeans resident there; the mineral wealth is great; the pastoral value enormous, notwithstanding that it has great sterile areas. The proximity to Asiatic markets via Port Darwin is a geographical condition of much value for the future, and, so far, there is no "land problem," as the whole of it practically belongs to the Crown. Here then is a splendid imperial asset lying fallow.

Then we have New Zealand, the world's model community in some respects, full of riches and possibilities. Newfoundland, as large as Ireland, lies near at home, our oldest colony, and one which, at present, has not established any obnoxious immigration restriction towards the mother country. There are splendid resources in this island, untouched in great part, of forest, fisheries, minerals, farm lands; and, when the feverish rush to Western Canada is over, attention will be turned thereto. At present it has a population about the size of an English town!

In Africa, the newest united self-governing community, we find again enormous areas, of territory—heaven knows some of it cost us much of British blood and treasure to secure—consisting of developed and undeveloped lands, full of possibilities. Gold, copper, cattle, sugar, maize,

cotton, tobacco, wheat, fruits, and a score of other products are obtained here, with a small population of white people.

The great picture of our colonial empire is well painted by our brethren who inhabit the various dominions and commonwealths; and the strenuous desire of Canada and Australia to secure settlers is increasingly marked day by day. Advertisements of attractive character appear in the London papers, and alluring pamphlets are distributed by the various colonial agencies. Here are some of the statements which they make¹: "The twentieth century is Canada's." "Canada offers 160 acres of excellent farm land free to every male over eighteen years of age. Millions of acres still available. A home in the land of sunshine and contented people. The best land on earth, low taxes, good markets, free schools." Another runs: "The north land of Ontario is rich in timber, minerals and fertile land. There are millions of acres of first-class land awaiting the settler in a good climate, and covered with merchantable timber." "Newfoundland, rich in forest growth, minerals, and agricultural areas. Crown lands for sale at thirty cents an acre. Licences of occupation of areas not exceeding 6400 acres issued on payment of a fee of five dollars per 160 acres." "Manitoba

¹ *Standard of Empire*:

has 25,000,000 acres of land unoccupied to be homesteaded or purchased. Winnipeg in 1901 had a population of 42,000, now it has 400,000. The province has 3500 miles of railway." Another official notice says, "British Columbia is the orchard of the empire," followed by such alluring descriptions of its fruits as positively make the mouth water, as do the big profits made by the fruit growers. Again: "Province of Alberta, rich in agriculture, minerals, fisheries and timber, area more than 250,000 square miles (two or three times the size of England)." Again: "Why pay rent when you can purchase an improved farm of equal area in Canada for the actual equivalent of the year's rent in Britain! Canada offers you 160 acres each of fat and fertile acres: come and get a piece of the earth!" . . . and so forth.

Australia is no less alluringly set forth by its Government agents as follows:—"The Commonwealth, a land of sunshine and prosperity for the settler, wants emigrants and extends a hearty welcome to those of the white race who will farm her lands and become citizens. A new home for British people under the British flag. The standard of civilisation is as high as in the old world without the terrible poverty that is the lot of so many people in Europe. Come to Australia, where every man who likes to work can have his

own home on his own land, where millionaires are few but people prosperous." Again, "Victoria, the garden state, nearly as large as Great Britain, good soil, splendid climate, abundant rainfall, free education, light taxation. No country in the world offers such advantages for wheat growers, dairy farmers, wool growers, cattle raisers, orchardists, etc. Government gives liberal financial assistance. Advances are made on easy terms up to £250, repayable in twenty years. The Government assists pound for pound in fencing and building. Farmers may be granted £1500 worth of land," and so forth. Next comes "Western Australia, the land for settlers; 50,000,000 acres available for selection, with regular and ample rainfall. The most liberal land laws in the world. Free grants of 160 acres, additional land up to 2000 acres on easy terms of payment extending over twenty years. Assisted passages," etc., etc.

We almost stop to draw breath as we regard these bounties of nature flung before us! They seem to contain everything calculated to make life happy; truly a splendid imperial heritage.

We shall now conduct a brief enquiry into the ownership of this great estate.

VIII

IMPERIAL LAND TENURE

WE have seen how vast is the landed wealth of the empire as concerns the self-governing colonies. What is our position in England as regards its possession? To put it bluntly, the land in the self-governing dominions, embodying the most valuable and extensive part of the empire, does not appear to belong to us at all. It was all given away at the time of granting autonomy to the colonies. We are somewhat in the position of the too-generous King Lear, in having made over our substance to our children.

Whilst it has been a splendid thing to create and endow these new states under our flag, there has been an element of culpable neglect in disposing of what was the property of the British citizen and ratepayer. Nothing has been retained in the self-governing colonies for the need of England's present and future generations. The entire control of these enormous and valuable lands has been handed over, lock, stock and barrel, to the colonial governments, who, at the

time of entering upon possession, represented a mere handful of colonists. The people of England, who groaned for centuries under the feudal system of land tenure in Britain, under which the enjoyment of the land was arrogated to a comparatively few owners, were not protected in this criminal "generosity" by the ignorant or indifferent office-holders of the Downing Street of the period. It would have been easy at the time of giving away control to have retained the title to vast fertile areas for the need of Britain's municipalities, such as would have served as overflows to our land-seeking people and inflated populations. Areas of land ought to have been set aside sufficient to form the basis of a property in perpetuity for every British citizen, and such a proceeding would have been the most natural thing in the world.

As it is, the Canadians and Australians are in the full enjoyment of the land which the English people gave them. How are they disposing of it? In some cases wisely: in others unwisely. Wisely in that great areas have been allotted for homesteading, and a large population of freehold farmers is being built up, forming a fine backbone for the country. Nothing could be better as far as it goes, and in addition areas are reserved for certain community purposes, such as school lands, forest reserves, parks and so forth. Next, vast

areas of land have been handed over to the great railway companies, and this has been a useful stimulant in the construction of the lines which have developed the country. But this liberality has been too prodigal, as the future will show. Vast areas of land have also been acquired by speculators, who are enriching themselves by land sales, and whilst it may be argued that it is a legitimate part of the development of the country, and even a necessary one, it is now being brought home to the governments and communities, both in Canada and Australia, that this too extensive landholding by individuals is inimical to the prosperity of the community. In Australia especially, huge areas were acquired by individuals, and legislation is now being enacted to break up these estates, in order that they may come into the enjoyment of a larger population.¹

But the most remarkable part of the whole matter of imperial land tenure is that nothing has been specially reserved for the direct use of the mother country. No special privilege of any nature exists for the benefit either of the British ratepayers, who in the first instance created the whole property, nor for the British settler and emigrant. It is true that the matter of emigration offers a positive benefit to the inhabitants of Britain, but, extraordinary to say, it is one which

¹ See page 145:

we own *in common with all the nations of the world*. He has to dispute his own heritage with the "Dutchman" and the "Dago."¹ The American, the German, the Slav, the Italian and all else have equal rights with the Englishman, under present conditions.

Further, the growing zeal of the Dominion and Commonwealth governments and agents to people their empty lands, is not sufficiently tempered by a consideration of the rights of the homeland. They forget that the true imperialism is to benefit one and all. Their alluring invitations are underlaid by too selfish considerations. They are almost falling over each other to obtain from us the people which will benefit their particular communities, but which we cannot necessarily afford to lose. Thus, farmer capitalists, farm labourers and domestic servants are the classes they are taking from us, whilst those who do not come under that heading not only are not wanted but are warned to keep out. Further, restrictions² have been enacted to keep them out, of an unconstitutional nature, restrictions which a less patient nation than England would have made a matter for serious disagreement. The dominions have, of course, their point of view

¹ Slang terms in Western America for the people of Teutonic and Latin races, respectively:

² See page 94.

in this, which is considered later; but the most serious point involved is the breach of principle, which nothing can excuse.

The campaign which has been and is being conducted by the Canadian and Australian authorities to take over settlers of non-British race is one which it is time were regarded in England in its true imperial light. Thus, as regards Canada, the number of alien immigrants in the year 1909-1910 was 149,000 as against 59,790 British immigrants, or nearly three to one. Of this great total 103,800 were Americans who simply crossed the border.¹ American settlers and syndicates have acquired in the past years or so tens of thousands of free homesteads, and American syndicates have taken up vast areas of the best wheat lands. An organised propaganda was made by the Canadian officials to bring American farmers over, and in 1909 so great was the press of these who were crowding into Alberta and other Canadian provinces that the Government was obliged to increase its staff of custom officers on the border. "Two-thirds of the land that has passed from the Crown in the Canadian West has passed to Americans or American capital."² As regards the Australians, their ardent and legitimate

¹ First six months of 1910: American immigrants were 90,000.

² *New York Sun*, August 1910.

desire for population is also causing them to adopt methods of obtaining such which must be regarded as inimical to British interests. A plan of "ready-made farms," upon irrigated lands, has been put into execution, and a commission has been sent out, not only to Great Britain, but simultaneously to Europe in general, and the United States, to obtain settlers. This plan of inviting aliens to lands prepared in the British Empire, with funds which have come in one way or another from British capitalists, can scarcely be looked upon as an acceptable measure at home. Our own people demand first attention. The scheme of itself is otherwise excellent.

In Canada so rapidly are the good lands being filled up, due to the extraordinary influx of foreign immigrants, that within a few years all but the most remote territories will have become private property, and, as has been shown, largely that of aliens. If the same policy is to be followed in Australia, and later in South Africa, similar conditions will occur.

In view of these conditions it is time to ask what mandate Britain has given to the self-governing colonies to squander the imperial property in this way. What is the object of such feverish haste to get rid of these valuable possessions? It is time that serious consideration and protest should be given to the matter, and

that a halt should be called in the alienation of British lands to foreigners. *Every foreigner, however worthy, who is permitted to take up land in the colonies before every British citizen has been provided for, is being permitted to rob some equivalent British citizen, present or future, of his birthright.*¹ Our birthright will have been sold for a mess of pottage. Its custodians are ruthlessly squandering it. Measures must be taken to set aside an inalienable property² for the British ratepayer and citizen generally, and then the good people of other nations can be welcomed, just as England has always welcomed the foreigner, and ever will, to her shores or possessions. It is not imperialism which throws open these lands so freely to all the world: it is done mainly for selfish purposes. It benefits real-estate speculators and causes a rapid increase of business, and this sheer commercialism will simply have the effect of *reproducing in these new worlds the defects of the old*, from which we are suffering to-day. What will it benefit a community to have given away everything it possessed to private ownership? What will it profit the

¹ The author brought forward this statement at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in May 1909, and it was received with applause.

² The plan advocated by the author for this is set forth in a subsequent chapter.

45,000,000, 50,000,000 or 100,000,000 people of Britain, if Canada, Australia and Africa have become populous, practically independent countries, if we have retained none of the land and its resources for the benefit of our overburdened people at home? It is the fatuous policy of King Lear over again, and if measures are not taken in time to avoid it John Bull may yet have to exclaim, as he contemplates the results of his own pusillanimity and of the selfishness of his daughter states: "Blow winds and crack your cheeks!"

The reply of the colonial governments to such protests is that they must have population, at all hazards, first to develop their vacant lands and create wealth, second because being weak numerically exposes them to danger of conquest, and this has a measure of truth in it. But there can be no logical reason for filling up these valuable lands, with such haste, with an alien element. It would be better to proceed more slowly and securely. It would be better to provide adequately for every British citizen, to create conditions such as will draw the British people to those lands, rather than to stuff them with aliens who will take long to assimilate, or who may never become assimilated. From the British point of view it is more desirable to improve and multiply the citizens that we have rather than, in indecent

haste, to create new ones out of Americans, Germans, Italians and others. No sane person would desire to exclude the foreign element altogether, and we are well aware of its useful qualities, but at present there is a dangerous lack of proportion.

The dominions reply that the people of England do not wake up to the value and opportunities of the land, and do not hasten to avail themselves of it. But they must reflect that we are a slow, apathetic people in these islands, not kindled with the champagne of their new environment. It takes a long time to instil knowledge of these conditions into our people. It takes longer still to provide them with the means to get there. Geographical barriers are hard to overcome. The American farmers live next door to Canada, with only an imaginary boundary of a parallel of latitude between them. Time is necessary ; organisation is necessary and will undoubtedly be brought about, for many imperialists at home are working towards it. But whilst we do these things the imperial heritage is being eaten up by aliens who have no right to it. It is time to call a halt. We must bid our colonial kinsmen, in a fraternal spirit, to recollect that they are holding the imperial property in trust, and that its disposal should be a matter of mutual consultation.

IX

NON-IMPERIAL CONDITIONS

THE subject of the movement of population from overcrowded Britain to the great open spaces in the colonies is one which is of the utmost importance in the scheme of empire unity. At present this migration has not proceeded upon any organised plan, but upon so-called "natural" lines. That is to say, a general invitation has been issued to the world by the Dominion Governments to send over these people who showed certain capabilities for emigration. The invitation has been responded to freely, and those from the Old World whom the pressure of circumstance forced outwards, or those of enterprising and pioneer spirit seeking fortune, have gone in millions to people these new worlds under the British flag.

Having regard to the natural law of haphazard upon which all movements in human affairs are conducted, until man's intelligence upon the particular subject is aroused, it is not to be expected that any other method would have been initiated earlier. But a study of the general

conditions involved shows with striking emphasis that organisation of these elements is necessary now, either to replace or to supplement them. The old system is a sort of survival of the fittest. Those with money were in a position to go out and perpetuate their wealth, those with energy and no money had the opportunity of betterment, and the system has resulted in a considerable flow of population and the establishing of ordered conditions. But that vast majority of ordinary people who go to make up the British stay-at-home nation draws no advantage from the field. Only organisation could secure this advantage for them, and the time has arrived now for this organisation.

The two main points for consideration are, first, that the empire has at disposal great areas of unoccupied land whose main necessity is labour and capital, and second, that in the heart of the empire are great masses of population suffering by reason of a lack of land and industries arising therefrom. On the one hand is the manless land, on the other the landless man, as it has been tersely put. In Britain we have a congestion of population, and a partial paralysis of civilisation due to insufficiency of resources and property; in the colonies a surplus of resource and a retardation of development (in certain regions) due to the lack of human element.

In theory it might seem an easy matter to remedy the one condition by applying the other to it, to transport the surplus population to the unoccupied land. In practice it involves difficulties so considerable that no organised plan, so far, has been put into practice as against the haphazard or so-called "natural" method. These difficulties, however, great as they are, are little excuse for the apathy with which the subject has been regarded by those in whose hands the power to bring about organisation has lain. As we have exclaimed elsewhere, no statesman has ever set his hand to what might have been—and what still may be—the corner-stone of an Imperial Commonwealth. So greatly have men's minds been obsessed by geographical and political barriers, especially the latter, as to give rise at times in some minds to the thought that possibly all plans of imperial unity must be in the end of the stuff that dreams are made of.

The difficulties in the way of organised emigration (or migration, as it were better termed) have been rendered sharply apparent by the actions of the Canadian and Australian governments. A culminating point was reached when, in May 1910, new restrictions were suddenly enacted by the Canadian authorities, and caused a strong feeling of resentment in England, and some hardship to emigrants who had embarked recently. It was

at this moment that an important conference¹ upon the subject of emigration had been called by the Royal Colonial Institute, and nearly fifty societies engaged in the work of emigration were represented, showing the considerable private activity, mostly of a philanthropic nature, which exists in the country. Speeches made by representatives of some of these societies showed deep resentment of the Canadian attitude, and it was significant, moreover, that the High Commissioner and agents general of the colonies, although they had been invited, and had promised to attend, failed to appear. There was not a single representative of the colonies present. The closing words of the Chairman² of the Institute Council were that he "hoped the audience would put it on record" that these gentlemen had failed to appear.

It has soon become evident that there is a home and a colonial point of view in emigration matters, and that at present they clash. As shown in a previous chapter, the governments of the colonies desire to have only the elements which they consider useful to themselves, whilst Great Britain

¹ 30th and 31st May 1910. At the meeting the author brought forward again briefly the plan which is described in a later chapter, as being that which might obviate the difficulties which had been raised.

² Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G.

desires to send its surplus population, irrespective of their particular profession or status. Not only have the dominions created restrictions against the entry of people from Britain, but they have positively deported several thousands of British people in recent years,¹ who have gone to the colonies either in ignorance of the condition of entry, or from being unable to comply therewith. As to Australia, Australian employers have been severely criticised of late for instances in which they have repelled, instead of welcoming, immigrants with "encumbrances."² That is, emigrants *with children* were discouraged, and married couples without were desired as employees. This matter aroused much comment at home.

In the Canadian action a grave principle is involved. The question immediately arises whether the dominion governments have the right to exclude people of white British birth from entering their shores, whatever their status. This exclusion or deportation of British citizens from Canada or Australia must be regarded as a breach of the constitutional law—written or unwritten—governing the empire. Theoretically it should be sufficient for a British citizen to present himself at the entry-port of a colony and proclaim that he is such, to secure immediate

¹ Canada has deported 3500 in the last few years.

² *The Times*, 24th May 1910.

entry. If a passport of any nature is required the relations at once become those of a foreign country. If the empire is one and indivisible, the dominions have no standing to exercise this exclusion. But if the principle is admitted in the affirmative then a line of cleavage is created at once, which may interfere seriously with imperial unity. Not even the reasonable arguments which underlie the action of the dominion governments can weigh against the breach of principle involved. It behoves all men of white British race to oppose these regulations with all their power, whether they be home or colonial inhabitants. It is a mischievous and arbitrary enactment which must at once be grappled with, or injury in the future may result. The author has maintained in the press and in his lectures on imperial matters² that the principle is indefensible, that the colonial governments have no more right to exclude people from Britain than have the municipalities of London to keep out people from Birmingham or Edinburgh. The question was raised in the House of Commons, and the reply given by his Majesty's minister must be considered unsatisfactory to imperialists at home. It was in fact tinged with what, for want of a better name, might be termed "colonial flunkeyism,"—that is to say, a tendency to truckle to colonial

¹ Royal Society of Arts, February 1910.

desires to the detriment of the British people, such as has become apparent in various quarters of recent time.

Apart from the legal aspects of the question is the effect upon the minds of men who know or care nothing for law. The recent restrictions have caused a good deal of bitterness of feeling and speech against the dominions, some of which was freely expressed at the conference before-mentioned.¹ The effect upon the great body of the working classes at home may be far-reaching, and cause the growth of a spirit of antagonism which will not be easy to remove. The working-class British are jealous of what they consider their rights. At present they know but little about the colonies, but what they do know has at least embodied the idea that they were untrammelled British possessions, where a Briton might go without let or hindrance. When they know about the restrictions, and when they discuss them with their returned deported countrymen, the colonies are likely to be placed, in their minds, in the same classic category as "Meriky," or "furrin parts." Probably the sentiment will not act as a deterrent on those resolved to emigrate, and with full means of so doing, but it will

¹ "The Canadian Government has done a ridiculous and outrageous thing," said Sir C. Kinloch Cook, M.P., of the Central Emigration Board.

weigh against the growth of imperial sentiment and solidarity.

This feeling, moreover, will not be confined to the lower class. The British ratepayer will, no doubt, have something to say in the future as to the effect of selection of immigrants upon his tax-paying capacity. If the good element is to leave these shores and the inferior to be thrown back upon him, it will not be conducive to the lowering of poor rates in the future. The imperialist, moreover, will also see a menace ahead. It must be disastrous in the long run for a nation to be drained of a certain amount of its best agricultural element and to have to retain all its artisans, as well as the dregs of its population. Carried to any extent, the system would send up a good many of the more sinister of our yearly statistics. The imperialist will ask further, "Are the colonies to bear no share of the imperial burden? Are they to take all the advantages and shirk the disadvantages?" For this is what the principle of immigration restrictions amounts to. Because unemployment has reared its head in colonial cities, and wastrels from Britain have been found in colonial streets, is legislation to be enacted against the mother country, who, in the first instance, supplied the land, the cities and the streets? Under the growth of such a principle imperial sentiment becomes hypocrisy. It is not,

moreover, a test of capacity or worth but a test of money which has been set up.

More, it is unwise, even in colonial interests alone, to discourage the artisan class, a point of view which has been brought forward even in the Canadian press recently.¹ These restrictions show

¹ *Industrial Canada*, the organ of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, quoted by *The Standard of Empire*, 1st July 1910, said: "A policy of restriction has been adopted by the Canadian Government against all classes of artisans wanting to emigrate to Canada. This has been done in the face of a general shortage of labour in most lines of manufacturing industries. The labour trust has made its influence felt. By maintaining a supply that will be at all times inadequate to the demand, the agitators figure that their requests will be met, however extravagant they may be. As a result, regulations have been enforced making one condition of admission to this country, for a man other than a farmer, that he shall have in his possession, and belonging to him, the sum of twenty-five dollars, and if he is accompanied by wife and children, further sums to cover their cases. It would be interesting to know how many of the citizens of foreign birth we now have who came to Canada without twenty-five dollars in their pockets. We fancy that it would be no small percentage of the whole. This country needs artisans, it needs carriage-makers, boiler-makers, machinists—men who can produce through their labour enough to make it profitable for employers to pay them three, four or five dollars a day; this country needs these men as much as it needs farmers: Why should there be a discrimination against a man

great ignorance by the Canadian authorities of conditions in England. It is not possible for poor labourers to save five pounds in addition to their

because his labour is not that of tilling the soil? It requires all classes of men to make a nation. Through their energetic and aggressive advertising methods the Government have turned the stream of agricultural immigrants towards these shores. Must not the other walks of life be increased to keep pace with this development? During the past three years Canada's population has increased by over six hundred thousand. Does not this call for more shoe-makers, more cabinet-makers, more textile workers? But whence are they to come?

"Our Government has seen fit to close the door on Great Britain—to the extent, at least, of making immigration of artisans from there well-nigh impossible. A man who is doing well does not readily pull up anchor and move for a country thousands of miles away. In England to-day there are many men out of employment, men of sturdy character and British skill and responsibility. They are a burden on the country which has no work for them. They would be wealth-producers in Canada, where their services are required. How can such men gather together twenty-five dollars in addition to their cost of transportation? Twenty-five dollars! To men of small employment and low wages the idea is absurd. We would take the men who won't come. We turn back the ones who are willing. Yet those Britishers whom we refuse are worth, to be mercenary, much money to us. We talk of forest preservation and the conservation of our natural resources, but our vision is narrow. It has been estimated that a boy represents an investment of one thousand dollars—clothes and food and education.

passage money. The assumption, moreover, that those who require assistance to emigrate are necessarily "undesirables" is monstrous. The Canadian authorities absolutely fail to understand the poverty prevalent in the mother country of its worthy workers. From other sources it is evident also, that the acts and ideas of the Canadian Government in this respect are not necessarily those of the Canadians, who of themselves would scarcely inaugurate a policy of exclusion against any man of British birth. We prefer to think they will recollect, that whilst they have been

Here we have another country paying all these bills and turning over to us a well-equipped workman. What does it mean? From the lowest, most practical standpoint, each immigrant represents an elaborate machine, presented to the nation, the output of which will add so much to the actual wealth of the country. The Government says that Canada's citizenship must be kept up to a high standard. Certainly it must. But is the possession of twenty-five dollars any test of the desirability of an immigrant? What this country has need of is men with skill and stamina enough to do a day's work. The only test of a man's fitness should be of these, his character and his skill. This country has, with signal crassness, omitted these essentials and has set up the truly Western standard of excellence, the possession of a specified number of dollars, forgetful of the all-important fact that labour is the commodity of commodities in a young and naturally rich country—labour directed by honest intelligence.⁴¹

growing big, rich and fat, the British ratepayer has been nursing them, and the great bulk of the British nation—poor themselves—have been protecting Canada, a distant land from which they draw no direct benefit.¹ But we are also aware that the exclusion movement is due to those who desire to see labour scarce, and so to keep wages up, for their own selfish ends. It might not be out of place moreover to remind those of our Canadian kinsmen who occupy the seats of the mighty that some of them, in their own persons, were of such a status when, as boys, they reached the country that had such restrictions been in force then, they would not have been allowed to enter. They might be advised to study the moral of a certain cartoon which appeared in a New York comic journal some years ago during the enactment of American exclusion laws. Upon the wharf were depicted four prosperous-looking plutocrats, with broad bellies and large gold watch-chains, repulsing with outstretched hands a boat-load of half-starved immigrants from Europe. Behind the four comfortable plutocrats were depicted the ghostly shapes of four starving pallid immigrants—their own ancestors! Where is the milk of human kindness in these conditions?

¹ Some slight modification has resulted—August 1910—of the immigration restrictions.

X

IMPERIAL MIGRATION

IF Canada and Australia were independent countries the purpose they advance in their restriction of British immigrants to their shores would be reasonable enough. The Canadian Government, and some among the Canadians themselves, state that they wish to retain a certain standard of citizenship, that they desire to obtain from Britain her useful citizens and to exclude those they do not consider come under this heading. They resent the idea of any "inferior" element being landed on their shores, and state that the immigrants of an earlier time were "picked men" of great energy and determination, who overcame the conditions of long voyage and arduous travel and difficult conditions of pioneer settlement. It is put forward as an excuse for the "half-shut door" that, as a result of the assisted emigration of the unemployed and others in the past few years by the numerous organisations in England established for the purpose, that the result was brought about of "flooding their cities in every time of distress

with persons who are unemployed, and, outside of certain limits, unemployable,"¹ and putting Canada to the expense of "maintaining and caring for criminals and insane whose moral and mental misfortunes are the work of another society." But how much of sheer cant and how much of truth there is in the supposition that present-day emigrants are inferior to the pioneer it is impossible to say. There are no means of judging the failures of that early period. It is very doubtful if they are inferior.

The Canadian authorities have set themselves against emigrants who have been assisted by the societies in England, and it is towards these that discrimination has specially been directed. England is the only country which assists emigrants in this way.² The Canadian governments underlying idea is that an emigrant who requires assistance is, from that fact, undesirable in that he must have been a failure in his own country. The iniquity of such a theory, however, will be palpable to any disinterested person.

The restrictions have had the effect of reducing British immigration into Canada very consider-

¹ Canadian correspondence of *The Morning Post*, June 1910.

² The number of assisted migrants to Canada in 1907 were 12,336.

ably, although the decline cannot be ascribed to the restrictions alone.

The following figures¹ show the immigration into Canada from British, Continental and United States sources for the last five years.

	British	Continental	United States	Total
1905-1906	86,796	44,349	57,919	189,064
1906-1907	55,791	34,217	34,659	124,667
(nine months period)				
1907-1908	120,182	83,975	58,312	262,469
1908-1909	52,901	34,175	59,832	146,908
1909-1910	59,790	45,206	103,798	208,794

By this it is seen that in 1905-1906 the British greatly exceeded the Americans, and formed nearly half of the total ; whilst in 1909-1910 they formed only slightly over *half as much as the Americans*, and somewhat more than *one fourth* of the total.²

The American immigrants are mainly of the agricultural element, and possessed of considerable capital and it is stated they have "taken the popular fancy" in Canada, whilst the inferior class of British immigrant, which, it is alleged, rightly or wrongly, the immigration societies have sent to Canada, tends to bring obloquy upon

¹ From Canadian sources, quoted by *The Morning Post*.

² See also p. 86.

the British name. "The American immigrants are largely farmers, for the most part accustomed to prairie life, and have considerable sums of money. In 1907-1908 the 58,000 emigrants from the United States took in more than £10,600,000 in cash and settlers effects. Moreover their virtues have been loudly advertised, and possibly have been exaggerated."¹

It is remarkable that the Canadians should not recognise in this great influx of Americans, however good citizens they may be, a danger to the integrity of Canada. Have they forgotten the example of Texas? Are these Americans likely to give any allegiance to the British flag, or even to Canadian citizenship in the long run? It is quite true that many of them may find they prefer the conditions they enter upon to those they left, and even that some of them were Canadians formerly, who crossed the border in the lean years gone by; but those who know the American character will doubt if they would forswear their allegiance to their own flag. If Americans people Western Canada largely, the most natural inference is that the West will drop off.² Canada is already divided geographically,

¹ Canadian correspondent of *The Morning Post*, *ante*.

² From the editor of a paper in a small town in Alberta the author recently received a letter stating that the writer was endeavouring to stir up the people to their imperial responsibilities, but that it was a difficult matter,

and if the British-Canadian bond be not maintained from ocean to ocean the plainest inference seems that of dismemberment. It may be that we are wrong; that the American is returning, if not to an old allegiance at least to a state of society which partakes of that of traditional and conservative England, from whom he parted long ago, but towards whose character he is displaying some leaning as he grows older and wiser, and that it may be the American has changed his temperament with his skies in the great Canadian West. We trust it may be so, but we doubt it.

The more rapid population of Australia is a matter of vital necessity, and Australian statesmen are alive to the fact, even the Labour Party, as shown on another page.¹ The great empty spaces are held to be a menace to the integrity of the continent, and an organised system of emigration from Britain is vitally needed at the present time.² Western Australia and Northern Australia, as has been shown elsewhere, urgently require more population.³

as they were largely composed of Germans, Americans, Norwegians, etc.

¹ See page 146.

² The plan advocated by the author for a fuller settlement appears on page 158.

³ The Prime Minister of Western Australia at a speech in London, June 1910, said: "We are but a handful of

There is a great drain of British blood from Britain to countries outside the empire, which no effort has been made to stop. Statistics show that, in 1909, 110,000 emigrants went from the United Kingdom to the United States, and only about 85,000 to Canada, 37,000 to Australia and New Zealand and 22,000 to South Africa. It is in reality somewhat difficult to obtain exactly reliable returns regarding Canada. But the figures show that there is still a great flow of British blood to the United States, and one of the questions recently brought forward in connection with

people even now—less than 300,000, or about the population of a medium-sized English provincial town, say Bradford or Hull. When gold was discovered in 1893 at Coolgardie we hadn't even the population of an ordinary provincial suburb. Yet this handful of people, with the assistance of English capital, have added to the empire's wealth 661 tons of gold of a value of £92,000,000.

"I hear of farmers in this country paying £1 an acre a year rental for farm lands, and generation after generation tilling the land yet never owning, and never hoping to own, a foot of it. Wheat-lands in Western Australia, within 200 miles of the chief port, may be had for 6d. per acre per annum (not rental, but purchase price), and at the end of twenty years the land is the farmer's own freehold.

"If we Britishers and Europeans do not populate Western Australia some other race will. Without settlement progress is impossible. Our very existence depends on population."³

imperial migration is whether these could not be absorbed under the British flag. Probably the reply is that, until organised conditions are brought about, of a fair and stable plan of imperial ownership and development of imperial lands, this great contingent will continue to be lost to the empire. No sane thinker would desire to divert the whole stream. It is an invaluable matter for us that British settlers should continue to leaven the United States, but the contingent is too large as matters stand.

From New Zealand a singular phase in immigration appears.¹ The dearth of domestic servants

¹ *The Standard of Empire* (Wellington, New Zealand, 13th July): "The great demand for domestic servants in the dominion was emphasised very strongly here when a deputation of ladies and members of the medical profession waited on Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister, and pointed out that the scarcity of domestics had a most adverse influence on the birth-rate, as mothers were forced to do all housework themselves in many cases. Sir Joseph promised that there should be legislation on the subject. He also gave a conciliatory answer to a deputation from the trade unions, and promised that domestic assistance should be given to workers' wives in maternity cases. It is urged by students of our conditions who are best qualified to pronounce an opinion that the fact of wives being unable to obtain domestic help leads them to regard the rearing of children as a practical impossibility, and that while these conditions continue the birth-rate must be most seriously affected. The

is urged as a reason for that tendency towards "race suicide" with which British Australasia—especially Australia—has been reproached. Doubtless it will supply an imperial want to export domestic servants to the colonies, all of which are calling for them. But the British housewife at home wants them as well, and it might not be sarcastic to insinuate that the falling birth-rate in Great Britain is influenced by this matter also. Further, to the imperialist, there is something repellent in the idea of British women going out to be serving-maids in the colonies. If they go out to Greater Britain it should be—we cannot help thinking—to a more independent destiny, and more democratic conditions.

There is another point of view which concerns the dominions as regards the class of immigrants they admit. A state which mainly imports farm labourers and domestic servants, and gives no facilities for other classes, will create for itself a national character of hewers of wood and drawers of water. A type of intellectuality will grow which will be far inferior to that of Europe. Indeed, the materialistic and undistinguished

conditions here for domestic servants are about as good as they could be, and a liberal and active immigration campaign for the attraction of this class of immigration is urgently needed."

character found so freely in the United States, where men rise at present little above the general level of mediocrity, is partly due to the great low-class immigration of non-British origin which has been pitchforked into the country without organisation in past years. The medium is a fertile one for such new-world evils as "graft," "lynch law," "unwritten law," "train-robbery," "Tammany," and so forth, which are marked features of American civilisation.¹ There is evidence of the beginning of the sinister features already in Canada, in some instances, although fortunately in small degree at present. But it is a matter of common knowledge that "graft" has taken root in Canadian cities.² These matters are foreign to the purely British character, and especially to the upper-class British character, and it behoves Canada and Australia to obtain every British citizen that they possibly can secure, poor or rich. British Columbia at present, due to its numerous settlers of English origin, is almost free from these undesirable matters, and stands in distinction to the American state across the border. The law-

¹ See the author's "Farthest West," "Life and Travel in the United States."

² The press of Ottawa, June 1910, gives an account of the frauds perpetrated by Government officials in that city, which have been growing seriously of late. Montreal has suffered from similar conditions.

abiding character of the Canadians, so far, is in extremely sharp contrast with the mob law and cynical disregard of political and commercial honour which breaks out at times in the United States. In Canada human life is held in some sanctity ; in the United States nothing is cheaper, whether in industry, whether in the cold-blooded habit of murder for purposes of robbery or revenge. The dynamiting of trains and " holding up " of banks ; and the executive of the revolver in private affairs, which have made the western and southern states of the Republic so notorious, are happily unknown in that part of America where flies St George's Cross.

The people of Canada at present are a sober, God-fearing people, giving an impression of earnestness and purpose. There is something of the constancy of Northerners about them. They are a community of hard workers, not in the American sense so much as in their alliance with the soil rather than with the office. They owe these qualities to their predominance of English and Scottish stock, and to their healthy climatic and topographical environment. Wood and water, mountain and plain, sunshine and snow ; these have made some imprint on their growing character, and we look for the typical Canadian in the country and the farms, just as we find the typical American of to-day in the cities and the skyscrapers.

How this native character is to be moulded in the future remains to be seen. The flow of aliens into the Dominion, due to the haste and greed with which its government is striving to fill up the vacant soil, must undoubtedly influence it. Also, the Canadians will awaken to the fact that a people cannot live by wheat alone. Refinement is a national asset of equal value; and this is a plant of slow growth, under present conditions, in North America. Every effort should be made to encourage the immigration of people of British stock, and especially of the upper class. Small colonies of educated English families in Canadian provinces are of as much value as grain elevators. But educated people cannot be expected to endure the pioneer conditions which present methods of settlement offer, and only under some reasonable method of organisation ¹ will they settle overseas.

Nothing appears to have aroused such a spirit of prejudice against the English emigrant in Canada as the habit he frequently displays of saying "that is not the way we do it in the old country." The colonial appears to be peculiarly sensitive to what he regards as reflecting on his own methods. The classic legend, "No English need apply," is partly the outcome of this. There is no doubt that the Englishman often shows a

¹ Such as brought forward in a subsequent chapter;

lack of adaptability to his new surroundings. There is a good deal of excuse for him. It comes from what has been an "imperial" characteristic, traditional with the Englishman, of considering himself superior to all the world. All the world knows it, and knows, moreover, that there has been some foundation for the arrogance, and had not Englishmen acted up to the assumption Canada would not exist to-day under the British flag. But the Canadians know which are the best methods for their own soil and climate, and it is irritating for new-comers to pretend to instruct them, especially if the new-comers belong to that useless class which has in some cases been shipped from home, to the detriment of the British name in Canada. It must be recollected that Canadians are sensitive, like all American people, and that they have generally no means of judging Englishmen except by those they meet in Canada. Patience and kindness are necessary on both sides. The Scotsman, on the other hand, seems to possess either a greater adaptability, or greater powers of dissimulation, for these complaints are rarely heard about him.

The matter of "selection," so much to the fore in immigration at present, cannot be maintained. The draining of England of her agricultural element must fail either by exhaustion, or by legislation at home against it. We shall see then

how erroneous the haphazard method has been, and come to a knowledge of the real value of our human raw material, and to measures for preventing the present terrible waste of life in Britain. We have an enormous reserve of excellent human material in our towns, of people who happen to have been divorced from the soil for one or more generations. These people, the bulk of our population, have been dubbed "undesirables" by our colonies, and in a sense perhaps they are. It is useless to send them out unorganised. We shall have to organise and train this material, and the colonies must help us practically in the work. Britain is a marvelously fecund land for the best human material in the world. Our youths, girls, men, have in them all the possibilities of superior citizenship, given opportunity. The children of our poorest districts who flock to school in their bright-headed numbers, with English faces and hair, and English honesty and fairplay in their hearts, are such as no other country produces. However poor their parents may be they themselves are rich.

Canada and Australia require all they can get of this human asset of the empire. They want English and Scottish blood in profusion, both the working class, and above all the educated class, especially women, to introduce greater refinement in their midst. No Toronto, Melbourne,

Winnipeg, Johannesburg or other colonial city can produce this element yet, or generate human material having the attributes which time and environment have given to the British people; and, unless there is a constant leaven of it into Canada, Australia and Africa, the Union Jack which flies over those broad territories will become but a distorted shadow of its original.

XI

THE IMPERIAL RESOURCES : THE CROWN COLONIES

THAT portion of the imperial real estate which we have termed land capable of colonisation and development, because not already developed by its inhabitants, falls into two classes: the self-governing colonies, which have been considered in the last chapter; and the Crown colonies, or lands under the more direct control of Great Britain.

The distinction is an important one. Whatever might take place in the future with regard to the confederation or separation of the self-governing dominions, the Crown colonies at least would remain a part of the empire, and, under a systematic and scientific regime of development, would both give outlet to Britain's surplus population and provide her with vast quantities of food product and raw material. It is true that a large part of these possessions lies in the tropics, and has native inhabitants, but, at the high elevations at which some of the territory lies, latitude is negated by altitude. Moreover, we are beginning to learn that the white man can

colonise and labour in the tropics. There may, indeed, be a future for tropical regions in conjunction with white colonisation whose importance is undreamed of yet.¹

The rule ought to be laid down now, that no further self-government be granted to any colony without adequate provision being made for the possession of the Crown lands by the people of Britain, and full immigration rights. Further, Crown lands should not be disposed of in these colonies in private sale to anyone at all. They should be looked upon as an imperial heritage for the enjoyment of communities, not individuals.

Absolute possession should be retained now of all our outlying areas, and in the future the people will be able to say to the imperial government "What are you doing with these imperial assets?" They must not be handed over to the handful of white men who have gone there. It is not permissible to hand over their great possession to absolute self-government which excludes their enjoyment by the people of Britain; and, further, it is not enough to permit their exploitation by purely private interests. Gold, rubber and other companies with a Stock Exchange

¹ A recent instance occurred in Queensland, where a greater production of sugar has resulted on white labour.
—*Geographical Journal*, June 1910;

basis are of much value in their way as developers of empire, and need not be discouraged, but they are not enough: we must work our riches more systematically, for the good of the people. Moreover, private companies will never do more than merely scratch the resources available; they can only work mere patches, whilst a systematic plan of imperial development¹ would, in time, turn to account all our most remote possessions. Every square foot of the empire, whether under a Libyan sun or Arctic snows, will have its value in the future. On the other hand, these valuable possessions must not be run in the interests of nepotism. They must be looked upon as an immediate and permanent asset for the Imperial Commonwealth, and developed for and by their real owners; and the sooner this is done the sooner will a great link of empire have been created. Science and system are now needed in their development, as against the amiable, haphazard and nepotic methods in vogue at present.

It is a remarkable state of affairs that, notwithstanding the fact that England is labouring under dire insufficiency due to lack of land, unemployment, the high price of food, the increase of taxation, no statesman has ever made an effort

¹ This point of view was strongly advocated by the author in his address to the Royal Society of Arts, February 1910.

towards utilising the resources of the Crown colonies, and by this means providing a larger field of action and supply for the people at home. In nothing is the criminal apathy of the self-appointed custodians of the empire more poignantly shown. A less patient, a more strenuous and scientific people than the English would have remedied these conditions long ago. But it is by no means too late.¹

Let us see what this property consists of: it is an empire in itself.

The dependencies of Britain under her more or less direct control, which for the sake of brevity are here termed "Crown Colonies," consist of huge areas of territory in every continent and islands in every sea. The total area of the empire is 11,500,000 square miles. Taking out of this the self-governing colonies of Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, South Africa (except Rhodesia) and Great Britain, India and Egypt, there remains the enormous area of the "Crown Colonies," distributed as follows:—

¹ The author has proposed to the Royal Society of Arts (April 1910) the calling and establishing of a conference formed of members of all public, learned, scientific and commercial societies, to take action in this connection. See page 246:

	Area in sq. miles (approximately)
Africa (East, West and Rhodesia) .	1,609,960
Africa (The Soudan) . . .	950,000
America (West Indies, South America, etc.)	116,290
Australasia and the Pacific . .	111,000
Total	<u>2,928,400</u>

Or, in round numbers, 3,000,000 square miles under the British flag and immediate control.

It would be tedious to enumerate all these dependencies in detail, but some of the principal ones may be described, very briefly.

That splendid land of promise Rhodesia is larger than France, Germany and Belgium put together. It is a "white man's country," moreover. The whole of Rhodesia—which includes the vast territories of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia lying to the north of the Zambesi River, an aggregate of 460,000 square miles—is under the administrative control of the British South Africa Company, commonly spoken of as the Chartered Company, incorporated by Royal Charter in 1889. Southern Rhodesia, comprising Mashonaland and Matabeleland, is rapidly becoming recognised as one of the most attractive of our colonies. Few indeed are better suited to European settlement. Being

within the tropics, there are no unpleasant extremes of temperature, whilst the altitude of this great plateau, ranging from 3500 feet to 5000 feet above sea-level, counteracts most of the disadvantages usually associated with a tropical country. The government is conducted under the supreme authority of the Crown, by the Company's administration, assisted by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council of nominated and elected members. The ordinances approved by the Legislative Council are subject to confirmation by the High Commissioner, as representing the King.¹ The climate is a splendid one, the only drawback being light malarial fevers, which modern methods of sanitation are overcoming. These, it is to be recollected, are found in other countries of this character, such as California, and are not serious. Maize is the staple crop. Tobacco, fruit, cotton, rubber, cattle raising, mining are some of the resources. Cheap land, easy terms of payment, magnificent pastoral and agricultural capabilities are some of the attractions of Southern Rhodesia. The colony is not part of the South African Union.² Possibly

¹ See *The Times*, 24th May 1910.

² At the second annual Rhodesia dinner in London, on 22nd June 1910, the chairman, the Marquis of Winchester, said, in the course of his speech: "It might be said that as the union was an accomplished fact, why

it will never become so, and perhaps it may best serve the empire by remaining outside. It should be seen now in what way areas of its land can be made of direct benefit to the British people. The title to the land, to some extent, is in question between the company and the community; but it should be inquired into on behalf of the British ratepayer, and areas allotted according to the plan outlined in a subsequent chapter. In this way its intensive development should be assured by people of British stock, and under such auspices it might be the cornerstone of the empire in Africa.

Bechuanaland is a great territory of 275,000 square miles area, with a population of only was not Rhodesia included in it? The answer was simple. Rhodesia could only join the Union at the express wish and desire of the people of Rhodesia. The statesmanship which prevailed at the time preceding and during the conference provided that machinery should exist not only for the inclusion of Rhodesia in the union but also other native territories. The map of South Africa would be complete with the inclusion of Rhodesia in the union, but that could only come about by the express desire of the Rhodesians. They felt at present that with a board of directors in London and their own form of governing they were perhaps nearer the centre of government than if their headquarters were in Capetown. They realised that they had at present a Government with a soul which could be damned and a body which could be kicked.²¹

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some 135,000 natives and a handful of whites. Cattle rearing and agriculture are the chief industries.

The West African colonies and protectorates include Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast Colony with Ashanti and Northern territories, Sierra Leone Colony and the Gambia Colony. The areas of these huge territories are as follows :—

Northern Nigeria	.	.	256,400 square miles
Southern Nigeria	.	.	77,260 „
The Gold Coast, etc.	.	.	82,000 „
Sierra Leone, etc.	.	.	4000 „

These enormous possessions have a population somewhat under 15,000,000 inhabitants, of which a mere sprinkling are of British or European race. In general the cost of their administration is not nearly met by their revenue, and a large imperial grant-in-aid is made, which would seem to be an argument for a more systematic development of their great natural resources. These embody agricultural and mineral products of wide range, cattle, forests and numerous industries resulting therefrom. The chief products and resources at present are, live-stock, hides, feathers, rubber, ivory, the usual African nuts and oils, cotton, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, maize, yams, mahogany, etc., whilst tin, gold, silver, lead, lignite, coal, iron, etc.,

are found and worked, and considerable exports made. The cotton industry is becoming important. On the Gold Coast valuable supplies of cocoa are now produced.

British East Africa and Uganda have an area of about 318,000 square miles, with about 8,000,000 inhabitants, a few thousands of which are of white race. This enormous territory is rich with all the varied, natural resources and products common to Africa, and capable of great development. Some advance has been made by Government railways. In the lowlands rice, maize, and other grains are grown, and cotton and tobacco are grown and rubber collected. In the highlands—which form an excellent field for white population—wheat, barley, potatoes and coffee are produced, on a small scale so far. These uplands contain enormous pasture grounds available for cattle. Forests and forest products are valuable, and the mineral resources, as yet scarcely known, may prove of great importance. In Uganda the soil is extremely fertile, and sugar and cotton are being cultivated. Iron, gold, coal, copper, etc. are found.

The Soudan is a vast territory extending from Uganda to Egypt, with an area of more than 1,000,000 square miles, and a native population computed at 2,000,000. Only about 1,500,000 acres are under cultivation. Wheat and other

cereals and cotton are capable of great extension ; there are vast forests along the river banks ; rubber, gold and ivory are produced, and numerous other matters valuable to commerce. A great part is desert land, but the areas susceptible to irrigation and cultivation are nevertheless enormous. Great unsuspected wealth and opportunity lie in the Soudan, only awaiting capital and engineers.

Egypt, lying to the north of the Soudan, has an area of 400,000 square miles, but the cultivated and settled area, the Nile Valley and delta, covers only 12,000 square miles, and supports a population somewhat under 12,000,000. Egypt can scarcely be included in this argument, except that undoubtedly a greater development will be brought about. The splendid work which has been done in the Nile barrage and resulting benefit to the people of the country, might lead us to suggest once more *that something should be done in our Crown colonies for the benefit of the British ratepayer*, on similar lines.

The huge country of India, under British rule, has an area of 1,097,900 square miles, and a population of 232,000,000 people. India is a country which offers no field for colonisation, and no attempt to exploit it should be countenanced. Anglo-Saxon industrialism has already injured its home industries. But the wonderful development

works carried out for the benefit of the people will again lead us to suggest that in our Crown colonies we might make *an equal effort for the good of the British ratepayer!*

Ceylon has an area of 25,232 square miles and a population under 4,000,000. Its varied resources are capable of much more extended development.

British North Borneo has an area of 31,106 square miles, with a native population of 160,000. Among its numerous resources are tobacco, tapioca, rubber, cocoanuts, coffee, timber, sago, rice, fruits, spices; coal, gold, iron and petroleum have been found.

Sarawak, on the north-west coast of Borneo, has an area of 52,000 square miles, and a population of 500,000. Coal exists in large quantities, as well as gold, silver, quicksilver, diamonds, etc., with a varied range of agricultural products.

The Straits Settlements, comprising Singapore, Penang, Malacca, etc., have an area of about 600 square miles, and produce many valuable articles of commerce, prominent among which are tin and rubber.

The Federated Malay States occupy a large portion of the Malay Peninsula, with an area of nearly 27,000 square miles and a total population of about 750,000. The resources of these regions are varied and valuable.

In America our West Indian Islands are of the

utmost value and importance, both for their geographical position and their products. Sugar, bananas, cocoa, timber, minerals, petroleum and a host of matter valuable to commerce are produced here. In Central and South America we have British Honduras, British Guiana and the Falkland Islands—small dependencies, nevertheless of great value, both politically and as regards their resources, and all capable of great development. An instance of wasted resources in the Falkland Islands occurred in the speech by the governor on a recent occasion. He said: "I should like to see our surplus stock of sheep utilised. Every year nearly 100,000 sheep are boiled down simply for their tallow. Such waste, when one thinks of the well-nigh starving thousands in the great cities of the United Kingdom, seems to be sinful."¹ Some of the "starving thousands" of our imperial homeland, if they grasped these conditions, might to be tempted to suggest that the negligent custodians of the empire should be "boiled down," instead of the sheep!

Trinidad is an imperial possession of great value, both as to its geographical position and its products. It is on or near great ocean routes between two hemispheres, and with the Panama Canal opening this value will be increased. Among its

¹ *Standard of Empire*, 7th January 1910:

natural products is petroleum, an oil-bearing field of 500 square miles having been shown to exist. A supply of valued fuel for the navy is one of the possibilities of this imperial property, and indeed an endeavour was made to supply the *Dreadnought* with oil fuel for her voyage home from the West Indies some time ago.

Of the numerous smaller territories and islands mention cannot be made here, but they form possessions of great potential value to the empire.

Thus we see that we have an enormous property—the property of the British taxpayer—under our own control, with which we are doing very little at present. A great part of these possessions have never been heard of by the ordinary British ratepayer, and he positively does not know what he owns. The ordinary “man in the street” would not be able to say where many of these places are, it is safe to say. But they are capable of yielding up to Britain, under organised exploitation, a stream of wealth such as might banish destitution for ever from the United Kingdom. It is time for a systematic and scientific organisation of these resources, in the interests of the British ratepayers.

But this use and development will never be brought about under existing conditions. The handful of the governing class who control them, the handful of imperialists who know anything

about them, and the few traders who deal with them are not sufficient. We must train a larger part of our British youth to take an interest in them and to learn practical things which will enable them to carry out this imperial development. No Society in England does this. All our royal societies are occupied with some special scientific line of research, and occupy themselves little with our national possessions,¹ whilst our Chambers of Commerce are pursuing their own purely commercial ends. We want an institution for the enlightenment and instruction of the British ratepayer and his sons as to how he shall make use of these great possessions, and obtain a share in all this wealth for the good of the community and the advancement of its civilisation. The author has suggested² the calling of a great Conference, which might form the nucleus of a permanent body, drawn from our numerous learned and commercial institutions and societies, such as those enumerated under the proposals for an Imperial Council³: and the matter of such a Conference is under consideration. The author also proposed (1909) the forming of a special section of the Royal Geographical Society to deal with colonial geography and the development of colonial resources.

¹ Except the Royal Colonial Institute.

² To the Royal Society of Arts, May 1910.

³ See page 246.

It is remarkable that the British ratepayer should be so apathetic as regards the great possessions which might yield him so much of benefit. With his nose constantly down to the commercial grindstone it might have been supposed that the commercial benefits to be derived from the exploitation of this property would have occurred to him. But if his horizon is too much limited by the shop counter it becomes more and more the duty of the administrative class to act.

In the subsequent chapter on "Imperial Development" the plan for a systematic development of the colonies is put forward, but corollary to it the proposal is here made that a national association should be formed for the industrial exploitation of the resources of the Crown colonies in the interests of the ratepayers. For such a purpose capital is required, and it is conceivable that the enterprise might, in this respect, be conducted on the lines of a public company. A share capital, for example, of £10,000,000 or more might be created, the issue being made in five-shilling shares in order to facilitate acquisition by as many persons as possible throughout the kingdom: and these shares would, in addition to the dividends which should result, be looked upon as an imperial holding, creating a sense of possession and interest in the empire on the part of the shareholders. The subscription of the

capital should not be difficult, when it is recollected that, in the first six months of the current year, £131,000,000 were subscribed in new issues of rubber and oil companies. The council of such an association would be drawn from well-known imperialists and business men, whose names would be a guarantee for the conduct of affairs. Chambers of commerce should take special interest in the enterprise. An honourable service would be created, employing numerous engineers, officials and workers generally, who would not be fattening as mere bureaucrats upon the community, but would be engaged in creating wealth therefor. Such a service should be formed on more accessible and patriotic lines than the Civil Service. A great fund would be created after payment of dividends, for certain national purposes, designed to ease the burdens on the ratepayers, such as old age pensions, state insurance against illness and injury, hospitals, and even possibly part of the cost of Dreadnoughts and territorial armies. A vivid interest in our Crown colonial possessions would thus be created, and with the official character or royal charter which should be bestowed upon the association an honourable and permanent service would grow to being, free from red tape and nepotism. New sources of food supply and raw material would be tapped, and new markets created.

The author, as already shown, has urged this principle of systematic development of imperial resources as emphatically as a single voice may, upon numerous occasions, especially in his address to the Royal Society of Arts in February 1910, and there is a growing interest being displayed upon the subject. One well-known imperial voice ¹ has been raised already to urge a greater interest in these possessions, on the part of the ignorant public. The Associated Chambers of Commerce,² moreover, have also awakened to the necessity for some sense of possession and share of benefit in these great assets the Crown colonies, for the British ratepayers. The reply of the Colonial Office to the representations made by this body show once more how tinged with timidity and "colonial flunkeyism" are those who are at present the custodians of the empire. If these officials would but stand up and hit out occasionally we should all feel more like Englishmen; colonies included. As it is, the fact is borne upon us that the ratepayers must look to themselves for imperial organisation and self-government.

¹ Lord Milner at the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce in June 1910.

² A deputation waited upon the Chief of the Colonial Office (July 1910) "to recommend that some system should be adopted whereby, when money was advanced for the development of a Crown colony, a share of any

At the risk of repetition it must be affirmed that the basis of these immediate possessions should now be inquired into, their resources and possibilities tabulated, their lands developed upon scientific lines and business and industrial principles, in order that they may be made to yield up profit and benefits to the people of Britain whose property they are. These territories will be of enormous value in the future, such as neither the man in the street nor the custodians of the empire dream of at present, and their ownership should now be fully settled upon the British ratepayer and citizen.

increment resulting should be devoted for the benefit of the British taxpayer." The reply of the Chief of the Department was that "they were getting on to somewhat dangerous ground. It had never been the custom of the country—at least, it had not been attempted for many years—to make any money out of the colonies except through the indirect benefits of trade. On one occasion when they did try to obtain what was a very reasonable contribution from the American colonies towards the defence of the empire, it did not come off very well, and he thought he was speaking on behalf of a great number of people when he said he rather dreaded the idea of attempting to enforce a moral claim of that kind upon the Crown colonies. He did not think they ought to attempt, without a great deal of consideration, the principle of receiving grants in aid in respect of imperial defence from the colonies."—*Vide* the press, 16th July 1910.

XII

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM

IF imperialism is an active force in British life, and might become much more so, no less is socialism, and powerful organisations are being created to "fight" it.¹ Whilst no doubt organised opposition is necessary to socialism, as far as the supposed sinister aspects of the creed are concerned, the true imperialist will decline to think that socialism need be a destructive force if conditions such as simple justice and common-sense demand were brought about for the amelioration of the class to whom socialist propaganda appeals. The antidote to socialism is "imperial socialism." The imperial wise man will look upon socialism as a natural malady to be cured, rather than an enemy to be strangled.

In all countries socialism is a growing force, and an anti-imperial force. In England it is none the less strong because it works more quietly. In Germany socialism is a very strong element, as any student of the times is aware. It is only

¹ Such as the Anti-Socialist Union.

overshadowed, not crushed, by the particular kind of imperialism of the German Empire. The Germans have been a people long repressed by feudal social conditions, such as the Briton never tolerated, or threw off long ago. The treatment of their underlings by Germans, and the oppressive exercise of power—petty or great—by Germans to-day is such as is ever a matter for astonishment by the Britisher who witnesses it.

In the United States socialism, although possibly under another name, is as strong as, or stronger than, in Europe, and perhaps more terrible than in Germany. Industrialism and oppression, and the growing knowledge of the people for their rights, and their hatred of "trust" capitalism and other abominable forms of New World chicanery, have aroused volcanoes of democratic wrath which must always be overflowing, even suppose there be not one violent and final eruption. Nothing can ever bring quiescence to these states, just as nothing can ever bring full prosperity to Britain, and unity to her empire, except the adoption of the principles of the "Imperial Commonwealth." When we recognise that there is plenty for all; that Nature has provided the possibilities of food for every mouth and a measure of contentment for every citizen, and has required nothing from man but

organisation to secure them, then will England, Germany and the United States enter upon periods of real progress in their civilisation, and the principles of Christianity take real and flourishing hold.

The view of the anti-socialists in Great Britain is well set forth in a speech made at one of the meetings of the influential body bearing that name by its chairman.¹

¹ The Earl of Dunmore. He said: "Socialism is a more pressing and immediate danger in this country than in any other country in the world, because on the Continent they had at least a large number of peasant proprietors who formed some obstacle to Socialistic feeling, because they had a stake in their country and were therefore not so amenable to the promises or fallacies of socialism. Unfortunately, this was a nation of town dwellers, and the economic conditions were therefore more favourable to the growth of socialism. Machine labour and our effete system of free imports had led to the depopulation of our rural districts. They had given the British workman the dominant power, but had not yet educated him to its wise use. Popular education had done very little for him, and had left him at the mercy of the demagogue. The English socialist taught that all evils, including poverty and unemployment, were due to private property and could be cured by its abolition. Socialism, according even to its advocates, meant strict subordination. People would be slaves under a huge army of officials. But the practical socialist did not deal with what the ultimate end must be. Unemployment was increasing at the present moment owing to the spread of socialism,

Whilst there is a great deal that the imperialist will agree with in the anti-socialist view, there is also much that is the result of political prejudice. The evils are deeper seated than appears in their criticisms. They contain, however, a great truth, which has been made evident in these pages : that men and women are likely to become socialists if they have no stake in the country. But it would scarcely be possible in the bounds of this island to make all people who are unable to live in sufficiency by trade peasant proprietors. As shown, this class is enormous ; it might reach 25,000,000 or more. But the total area of Great Britain is only about 56,250,000 acres, and of this, mountains and woods occupy nearly 16,000,000 acres. What could our inhabitants do with so small an area as a general division would give them ; and what, moreover, would

which frightened the captains of industry and prevented their embarking on great undertakings. The socialists were defeated at the recent London County Council Election by only one vote. That was due to the apathy, indifference and the ignorance of the educated classes. The socialist was getting all he wanted very much quicker than he ever expected, and he was doing it by the Parliamentary vote. There was no need for him to use revolutionary methods. The masses of this country were impregnated with socialist doctrine, and unless they were up and doing they would see the empire disintegrate and disappear."

they do in years to come when the population has doubled? ¹ Clearly the private ownership of land can scarcely be more than a temporary arrangement in England; and it seems only a question of degree, and not of principle, elsewhere. The essential fact seems to be that it does not matter to whom the land actually belongs, so that it is worked systematically for the good of the inhabitants. The prime necessity is that each community should control a sufficient area for its needs,² and that can best be assured, as far as Britain is concerned, by assigning areas of colonial lands both to British and colonial municipalities, *before the mistake of too much private ownership is perpetuated* in the at present free areas which providence has given to the British Empire. If we cannot all live by making and selling things, we must have some possession in the land, and if there is not enough land here we must have it in our outlying provinces or "parishes" overseas in the colonies. It is easy to raise objections to such a plan, and even to talk of "absenteeism," "spoliation" or "interference" with the colonies, but if the subject is examined it will be at once seen that no one would be despoiled in obtaining the land. It is a new imperial property which would be *created*

¹ If such a condition as doubling be possible in England.

² Such as it is the purpose of this book to advance:

by the enterprise of the community. The proposed system might bid many reflect on what is termed "land nationalisation" in Britain, and the only comment offered here is the philosophical one that, in the lapse of time, private ownership of land can scarcely be possible, from purely physical reasons. For the question will arise, when the population has increased enormously, if anyone is to own the land, who is it to be, as they cannot all do so, and the natural result will be ownership by the community.

That time, however, is doubtless some way off in England. It carries with it some unpleasant reflections. Would it involve the breaking up into small holdings of all the beautiful parks and forests which are a source of delight to all civilised people, or demand the destruction of those noble mansions which give dignity and refinement to the landscape and are of value to more than their mere owners? Would the *demos-picnic-maker* leave, as marks of his ownership, sandwich papers and empty beer bottles there at his will? We hope not, and, as a matter of fact, these systems of creation of "property" in the colonies advocated here would, by giving an outlet for the people and their energies, have the effect of preserving the existing systems in England, as far as were reasonable, for many years to come. One of England's greatest assets in imperial

unity is the educative influence of her traditions and institutions, and these must be zealously preserved. They are the work of time and talent, and not all the multi-millionaires of America, Australia or Africa could reproduce them, nor all the centuries of penance afterwards serve to restore what a blatant socialism might have destroyed.

But the growth of socialism should cause the property-owners to think seriously, both in a humanitarian spirit and in their own self-defence, by what swift and practical methods they can create contentment and prosperity for the people, and give them a fuller life. There is no doubt that landowners have taken alarm at the attitude of legislators as regards the land, and if they are wise they will see in a true imperialism the security they desire.

Let us impress upon the country, the governing powers and the people themselves, the principle which we have ventured to bring forward in these pages previously, that: *the civilisation which deserves to endure and predominate will be that which has demanded a certain standard of living for all its citizens, and has disposed the national resources to secure it for them.*

The beginning of the acceptance of this principle, if unconsciously, has been shown, as set forth elsewhere, in various social reforms recently instituted.

The most dangerous side of socialism is not that of a general distribution of capital and property

without regard to natural or economic law. This would only affect the community in a domestic sense. The menace lies in the attitude towards national defence, a mixture of ignorance, cant and pusillanimity, coupled with some legitimate desire for economy, in the demand for reduction of military and naval armaments. This, were it carried out, would expose the nation to defeat or spoliation by some outside power, in which all classes alike would suffer, first from hunger, by stoppage of supplies, and then by the payment of vast indemnities. The greatest weakness of democracy lies here; it is seen in Britain and in the United States, where the people and not the Government rule. Socialism would only carry the weakness to a final disaster, and in this, as in all other ways, a strong imperialism is its only antidote. It is a primitive axiom enough that to enjoy anything we must be able to defend it, and at present there is little more altruistic sense of fairness among nations than there is about a couple of dogs squabbling for a bone. The bone will go to the "heaviest battalions," in the present stage of international development.

Our social evils arise largely from the lack of organisation of our resources. At present in Britain we are face to face with the condition where men are able and willing to work but there is no work for them. There is something cold-

blooded and savage in the condition, and many simply turn their faces from its consideration. The casual labour market, which some hypocritically maintain, along with a certain amount of unemployment, to be not only inevitable but "necessary," is an evil feature which must be abolished. One of the most unfortunate conditions in industrial life at present is the lack of a hopeful, permanent future for children. The great mass of working-class children, when they leave school, are put to earn money at any job which brings in some small addition to the family income. Thus, without further training they soon grow out of boy labour into precarious, casual labour and unemployment. It is an abominable feature of work that boy labour should often be a cheap substitute for man labour, to the ruin of both. These conditions must be remedied.

Closely associated with the problem of empire unity is the subject of the high, growing cost of living in Britain. It is becoming "impossible to live" is the impatient exclamation constantly made by the middle-class ratepayer, and as to the poor, the amount and variety of their bodily sustenance will perforce be decreased more and more. Whilst it is difficult yet to assign the exact cause of this growth of prices it will not be far wrong to put it down to our system of commercialism. Possibly we are on the eve of an awakening,

where home industries, intensive cultivation of the soil, a more pastoral life, and possibly the beginning of a system of exchange of handiwork as supplementary to currency, are to be features of social life in Britain. Under present conditions there can be no doubt that the cost of rent, taxes, food, clothing and education come to a total greater than the yearly income of a large portion of the people. This, however, is not peculiar to the United Kingdom, for the evil is asserting itself in the United States.

Indeed, whilst these conditions are the product of an old country mainly, it must not be forgotten that the social evils under which England is labouring to-day are also being created in Canada, Australia and Africa. The supply of labour in the towns already exceeds the demand. They have got no further than we in the Old World in the problem of adaptation of man to the earth, or in the cure of unemployment and poverty. Taxation, insufficiency, unemployment, declining birth-rates, race suicide, sweating, the drift from country to town—all these exist there. They have evolved nothing new,¹ and if they are better off than England it is largely because they are able at present to squander the imperial wealth of unoccupied lands which we of Britain have provided them with. Old World conditions are

¹ Except perhaps New Zealand.

already appearing there. Already their Torontos, Melbournes, Johannesburgs (as do their New Yorks and Chicagos) echo with the cries of the needy, and daily extend their areas of mean streets and hopeless citizens.

The nations have yet to awaken to the true value of land. In Britain's colonies, as in Britain, it has yet to be learned that the more people can be got to the enjoyment of the land the more prosperous will be the country. The day is coming when the cry of the nations will be "Land, land"—to grow food products and raw material upon. The meretricious life of cities is bound to dwindle in the future, the yearning for truth, manliness and the simple life must awaken soon in the people. The hatred of sham and idle pleasure must appear in England again; and it is more than probable that a revival of religious thought is imminent; though we may scarcely suspect it. All these things will make for a more intensive occupation and cultivation of the lands, with a fuller, freer life therewith.

There is now some awakening in Australia to the effects of too much land monopolisation. Thus the recent Closer Settlements Act in the state of Victoria is bringing about compulsory sale by the large landowners and a greater distribution of land among the people. The Labour Party in Australia, which triumphed at the polls, has been considered

generally antagonistic to immigration, but this is now denied, and their "Commonwealth Labour Programme"¹ is brought forward in evidence. Of this new Commonwealth ministry it is interesting to note that two members are Scotsmen, one Welsh, one Cornish, one Canadian, and three Australians. Land monopolisation in Australia is, in fact, attracting general attention, and an article² in *The National Review* recently, speaking of the

¹ "A progressive land tax, the advocacy of which largely helped to win the elections, will be the principal measure of the session. The Labour Party consider this all-important. They expect that the yield from town lands will help considerably to recoup the expenses of the defence scheme, while the impost on country lands will be heavy enough to enforce the utilisation or splitting up of large fertile areas now used only for pasture or not used at all, and will thus open land for settlement to a great number of immigrants. The Labour leaders declare themselves deeply impressed with the urgent need for immigration on a large scale, and are pledged to foster it directly the lands are open. Probably, if the land tax measures go through unimpeded, the whole attention of Parliament for some years will be devoted to a settlement of the questions of immigration, defence and industrial unification, leaving the nationalisation of all the monopolies to be dealt with by a future Parliament."—*The Australian World*, May 1909.

² "These taxes are not the product of socialistic or communistic thought: the passing of them does not mean that Australia is in the hands of an anti-capitalistic gang. They are the fulfilment of a people's demand,

policy of progressive land taxes which put the Labour Party into power there, may be quoted. We shall not, however, be blinded to the fact that there is a section of the Labour Ministry and Labour Party hostile, whether openly or secretly,

not a party's, and are the only possible remedy for the disease with which greedy and lazy land accumulators have afflicted the Commonwealth. Yesterday I was in a town which you will find marked on most maps of Australia ; on a map of New South Wales it would have the dignity of capital letters. Yet it has not enough population to pay for lamps in the streets. Outside the central batch of hotels and shops, which use acetylene gas, the town at night is as dark as nature chooses. And the last fifteen miles of the railway journey which took me there were through one man's property—90,000 acres of good chocolate soil, with a rainfall quite adequate for wheat-growing—on which one saw nothing the whole way but a woolshed with its huts and some sheep. Right up to the town itself the station runs ; on one side of a fence is the empty land, on the other the stifled town. But single instances prove nothing—though I could fill a year's issues of *The National Review* with instances I prefer to quote from *The Sydney Morning Herald* :

“ ‘ Almost every town is landlocked, suffocated and at a standstill . . . surrounded by thousands of acres of rich land, suitable for cultivation, capable of supporting thousands of families, but at present given over to stock and stations . . . Whether we go west or south, the story is much the same. Here and there a splash of brighter colour marks the advent of the closely settled area, but the bright spots are only sufficient to

to the immigration of British labour: and the same may be said of Canada.

An interesting Land Act is being brought into operation in New Zealand for the acquisition of land and its closer settlement and utility. "Groups of purchasers will be enabled to buy an estate for subdivision among them, and to raise the purchase money by means of a loan guaranteed by the Government. For this purpose any five or more persons may, by agreement, form an incorporated land settlement association, and purchase any estate of not less than 250 acres. On the confirmation of the agreement, the association, acting through the public trustee as its agent, is empowered to raise the total purchase of the estate by the issue of debentures throw into bold relief the cold, grey masses of unpeopled lands.'

"That is New South Wales. Much of Victoria is as bad. Tasmania is very badly diseased, indeed. The other states are better off. But we want more population; and you in England are crying out upon us for not welcoming more population; and the lands that would support for us a vastly increased population are held useless by men who tell you blandly that labour is responsible for our lack of settlement. Immigration as a defence measure, as a means of establishing new British communities in healthy, expanding life, does not appeal to this type of landowner; he thinks only of 'the subject of importing labour from across the seas, colloquially known as immigration.'"

under the guarantee of the Government. On the completion of the purchase each purchaser gives a mortgage to the association to secure the purchase-money of his allotment together with interest to cover the interest on the debentures and incidental expenses."

If there is one fact becoming more apparent than any other in social conditions and the life of nations, it is that the efficiency of the individual must be the basis of a nation's efficiency, and that this efficiency is connected somehow with the land. It is not only a humane or religious motive which will underlie this, but one of national self-defence and existence. Not only does that nation who fails to provide adequately for all its citizens not *deserve* to endure, but it cannot endure from natural causes. The fight in the future—the social fight—will be between efficient citizens, and it will shortly be borne in upon nations that they cannot *afford* to have a single citizen hungry or idle. He must be putting forth his best powers. He is an asset of empire, and statesmen and rate-payers both will—when the scales have fallen from their eyes—marvel that only now have they grasped this eternal fact. To secure this efficiency a systematic development of our imperial resources must now be made, and the evils of socialism would disappear. The disease and the antidote exist side by side.

XIII

IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT

WE have argued in these pages that the present bonds uniting the empire are of themselves alone insufficient to secure permanency. The fostering of imperial trade, whether by a system of preference, or whether by other and all means, is of the utmost value, with the proviso that trade is a cosmopolitan affair and that the "business" spirit does not dwell happily in exclusive regions. Also commerce alone cannot support more than part of a nation. The bond of sentiment, splendid and essential as it is, cannot be expected to exist among a great body of citizens who reap no measure of personal profit from the empire. We have argued that if the citizens of this island centre of a far-scattered empire are to have any common bond with the empire as a whole it must be that of a tangible share in the organisation, yielding them positive "property"; that no political organisation can be expected to endure which has not at its base the principle of legitimate self-interest. When all is said and done, it is that

element, as far as it goes, which keeps the empire together at present. We have submitted that a civilisation which permits a great portion of its people to dwell in poverty and distress when there is sufficient for all to exist in plenty is an unworthy organisation and cannot be expected to endure. In brief, we have endeavoured to show that the only basis of a lasting political and geographical organisation such as it is hoped to make of the British Empire, which would be practically and morally worthy to endure, is that of an Imperial Commonwealth.

For the basis of the formation of such a commonwealth we have taken the expression : " The time has arrived for the systematic and scientific conservation and development of the resources of the empire in the interests of its people." This argues, it is seen, no political plan or change.

As regards Britain there is an awakening of social spirit favourable to such a commonwealth. The Old Age Pensions, Tariff Reform, the new Labour Exchanges, the new land taxes, the feeding of school-children, the Small Holdings Act, the Unemployment Act, the reformation of the Poor Law, the Personal Service Movement, and other matters all show that there is a distinct movement and desire in the body politic towards some attempt for a more righteous and practical adjustment and organisation of society. These

measures show a hopeful sign—that they are not of one political party, but of both. But so far they resolve themselves principally into a turning over of existing ways and means and of existing property. This principle is far from being sufficient. What is essential is the creation of new “property”; and we have now to consider the best method to put this plan of systematic and scientific development and ownership into practice. We have seen what this Estate consists of. There are the great self-governing colonies or dominions, still offering great resources of “unowned property.” There are the numerous and diversified Crown colonies and other dependencies not set apart for their native inhabitants. The Crown colonies of themselves form an empire of no mean extent, let us recollect; and these great unused resources will be of the utmost value to Britain. What we have now to do is to put these lands into the practical use and enjoyment of the British people. This involves work, action, organisation, the expenditure of capital. It can only be done by a sustained, scientific, natural effort. It must be the work of the joint action of the home country and of the colonies, both Government and people. Out of unproductive land “property” must be created. The great valuable spaces of colonial lands, those vast regions which are the empire’s storehouses for to-morrow, and which, thank

God, we possess, must be rendered fit for enjoyment by organised work. They must be prepared for fruition and assigned to the use of the people, but in their settlement, allotment and use the evil of too much private ownership of the Old World must not be reproduced. To do it requires energy, and above all initiative. How can this best be given? By the people or the Government? If the right man were found, and the right spirit brought to prevail, a Minister of Colonisation, or a Department of Migration, would be no unworthy institution for the greatest colonising nation of the world. What an opportunity for such a man of genius! But whilst it may be argued with reason that a department of emigration ought to be created, and very possibly the matter will be discussed at the next Imperial Conference, it must be inquired how this would fulfil the object of a closer ownership of the empire. It might not fulfil it. The question, as has been shown, goes much deeper than mere emigration. It might be a useful measure to sort out and send overseas our people in a mechanical fashion, such as by a Government bureau system, but that would not serve to retain any benefit in the operations for the home country, nor to cherish any ties therewith. Nor would it necessarily be well for the colonies. It is very evident that these new communities require to

be leavened as much as possible by the spirit of individualism and old-fashioned honesty of Britain, with pride of locality and love of tradition to break up the growing mass of materialistic population, all of a dead level of mediocrity and thought. A striking example is furnished by the United States. Great "plains" of humanity will be as dreary as great plains of land, like those in the American (and Canadian) West, unbroken except by corn-cribs, over vast expanses; and the hillocks of thought and old-world action, retained by special communities from Britain, will be of the utmost value. The Canadians have not yet grasped this,¹ and are only at that stage when they think all should be subservient to a Canadian nationality. They forget that the greatness of Britain was partly brought about by the diversity of its people, from the Highlander and the Yorkshireman to the Devonian. A department of migration therefore might tend—judging by Government departments generally

¹ In criticising the author's proposals as brought forward in the address to the Society of Arts the Canadian representative (Lord Strathcona) said: "When immigrants settled together they set up their old systems of life instead of assimilating themselves to the new conditions of Canada. They did not get the experience that they would gain in mixing with the general life of the community, remaining, as it were, isolated islands in the stream of national life."²

—to become a soulless bureau, which might help to build up a dead level of population in the colonies, and this without benefit to the motherland.

Any system of migration and land-holding designed to benefit Britain as well as the colonies, and to have imperial value rather than parochial, must be underlaid by the principle here advocated of joint ownership. The despatching of emigrants to the dominions, no matter how good the conditions for them individually, will not directly benefit England. Established in the new land they would retain doubtless a kindly sentiment for the motherland, but no contribution will be made by them towards her necessities. The mother country has, in more or less degree, equipped them, sent them out at her own expense—whether by private or State effort—but retains no hold upon them as citizens nor benefit from the new properties which she has been instrumental in creating. This is the fault underlying all the emigration societies so far, and in greater degree all the plans and methods of the dominion governments. It shows a neglect of the geographical considerations attending the structure of the empire. In England it would be an advantageous matter to get people on to the land and make them prosperous citizens whether at public or private cost, because they would become rate-

payers themselves, helping to share the rates, paying their way and so not thrown on the poor law relief; and would be increasing the wealth of the community. These conditions scarcely hold good when British people equip and send out emigrants to the colonies. They are parting with their own resources, both of man-power and capital, without laying the foundation of any direct return. The plan brought forward in this book is to obviate this, and to bridge over the inevitable geographical separation of the seas. Most of the existing emigration societies work on the principle of *getting rid* of our surplus citizens in one form or another. The purpose here advocated is that of *retaining them*, as a part of our own community equally with the colonies, and of forming a strong bond of empire as against territorial divisions.

The numerous emigration societies represented at the Emigration Conference have been doing excellent work, but the fatal principle of *selection and separation* underlies their operations generally. Some of them are for purposes of child emigration, and indeed this was one of the subjects largely discussed at the conference. The advantages claimed for this system are that, exported young, the child grows up in the atmosphere and knowledge of the new land of his adoption and makes a better citizen than the adult immigrant,

who perforce has to adapt himself at a mature age to his environment, a process, especially in the case of the Englishman (or so it is claimed by the colonials), sometimes difficult. There is much that is true and reasonable regarding children in this view, and experiments in some cases have shown the value of the system. But there are other aspects of the question. In the first place it seems remarkable that a civilised country should continue to have so many children without parental ties, under state control,¹ which it is eager to spare and send away in batches overseas to be handed over to the tender mercies of colonial farmers. This would scarcely appeal to the motherhood of England, and would argue a grievous reproach to our civilisation. "State children," we have, and great quantities of waifs, strays and ill-paid child labour² to our lasting disgrace; and the whole subject should cause us to recognise that this youthful British humanity (the product of 1500 years of civilisation!) is really an imperial asset of great value, and must now be made of value, to itself and the state which gives it birth. This is provided for in the present plan. To plough fields and feed pigs for colonial farmers by our "imperial" children is an improvement on being London street arabs

¹ These number about 8000, it is stated.

² See page 187.

or wasters in "blind alley" employment, but the improvement will be greater if we can give a co-operative interest in the field or the pig; such as here proposed.

We require, therefore, a method of settlement and ownership of the imperial estate which will avoid creating a dead level, which will retain old ties and traditions of a thousand years' growth and which, above all, will not be a mere shifting of blocks of population from one place to another, with a dead loss to the heart of the empire. We require the positive creation of new property, whose increment will be both for the benefit of the home country and the colonies. Above all we desire the people to help themselves and give personal service, rather than to depend on Government officials.

The plan which appears to fulfil these conditions has been advocated diligently by the author for some years¹ as a "new imperial doctrine," which provided for the positive and

¹ This was first brought forward by the author in 1907, and published as a pamphlet in 1908, with the title "Assets of Empire," followed by a second termed "Your Share of Empire: A new Imperial Doctrine." It was enlarged upon at the address to the Royal Society of Arts under the name "Imperial Colonial Development," etc., and in various other pamphlets, articles in the press, and speeches at the Royal Society of Arts, Royal Colonial Institute, etc.

tangible ownership of their share of the imperial estate by the people of the home country, expressed as follows :—

Let the inhabitants of every municipality in the United Kingdom acquire areas of land in the colonies, hold them as a perpetual property and develop them for their benefit, creating new centres of industry and new sources of revenue upon them, thus forming offshoots of themselves and enduring bonds with the colonies.

The enunciation of this doctrine or plan as made by the author has aroused widespread interest and controversy, both at home and in the colonies, and arguments, both for and against it, have appeared in the British and Colonial press. It is only to be expected that a new principle of this nature should arouse discussion, and that of course was its purpose. In the more solid imperial quarters at home it has been received as a practical and sound plan. In the self-governing colonies it was received with interest by imperial colonial thinkers and the press, but was opposed by some of the agents-general in London. This is not a matter for surprise, as these representatives, in some instances, are jealous of what they might consider any "encroachment" on colonial circumstances. Their immediate business is to look after the interests of their particular states, which of itself calls for an

inevitable tinge of parochialism, excusable, but which is not broadly imperial. On the other hand the premiers of several of the self-governing states showed great interest in the plan and are desirous of considering its bearing upon the dominions they control. In general terms, therefore, it may be taken that the plan will receive consideration, when practically set on foot, of an imperial character.

The next point of view is that of the municipalities at home, followed by the aspect from "business" considerations. These will best be replied to by the unfolding of the plan itself, in its practical bearings.

The first question which arises is, should the land be acquired by the municipal authorities or by bodies of the ratepayers irrespective of municipal control? There are legal and financial difficulties in the way of municipal acquisition of imperial real estate, and even more formidable is the conservatism and shrinking from any new enterprise upon the part of city fathers. The spectre of possible added rates, too, arises. It would be difficult at first to persuade them that any outlay incurred in the plan would be in the nature of a paying *investment*. They would be acquiring a valuable property for next to nothing. The fact that it is across the sea, and not in the same or adjoining parish, might

appal them. If some wealthy landowner under their own jurisdiction were to offer them a gift of his great park and farms for the use of the town on condition that they paid the legal expenses of transfer, would they decline ? They would not, and the ratepayers of that town, ever afterwards, would be eased of the burden of their rates due to the civic income, whilst the workhouse would disappear and the unemployed become absorbed in the cultivation of the city property. But if a great valuable area of undeveloped land were offered them in Canada or Australia there would probably be hesitation in accepting it. In any case they would scarcely make the preliminary effort to obtain it. As a matter of fact they could obtain such areas at once, if they could wisely overcome their first tremors. Of course, it must be recollected that the idea has never occurred to them, until, in a few instances, the plan was put before them by the author.¹ But, as ever the case, the barriers to enterprise raised by man are more formidable in some respects than those raised by geography, and these must now be overcome.

¹ The author has approached several of the county councils and municipalities on the subject, including those of London, Birmingham, Glasgow, etc.

XIV

EMPIRE-OWNERSHIP

PENDING the awakening of the city fathers to the possibilities of benefit from municipal empire ownership, we must consider the adoption of the plan by the ratepayers and inhabitants generally of the municipalities of the United Kingdom apart from official control. For this, no new legal methods or machinery would be necessary.

The first step would be in the calling together of meetings of influential ratepayers in each city—London, Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh and all others—and the forming of organisations and appointing of committees, or boards of commissioners for each. The first necessity that would arise would be that of preliminary funds, and this would have to be provided by contributions from all who enrolled themselves. That being done, and the organisations established, they would be in a position to obtain the property. There would, of course, be many of these organisations throughout the United Kingdom; each to acquire territory.

The details of this plan call for careful consideration. How is the territory to be acquired, how held and administered, and by whom, how developed, settled and worked, how is working capital to be obtained, and what advantages will accrue and what profits will be possible? All these are questions which would immediately be asked. The more imperial-minded among the organisations might, with too much enthusiasm, tend to overlook the business side of the affair; the too commercial-minded might, recollecting the principle of their own counting-houses, tend to overlook the value and necessity of the "Imperial" element. Both elements must be employed, to leaven and counter-check each other. On the one hand, the enterprise must be conducted upon a business basis and made to pay its way, or it will be a dismal failure. On the other, imagination and enthusiasm must be admitted lest a sheer commercial plan should fail of flourishing. The organisations would recollect the ideals of Columbus, Penn, Rhodes and others, as well as those of the shop counter and Stock Exchange. But philanthropy and sentiment on the one hand must be curbed, tempered by the exactitude of business. Equally should any tendency to socialism be discouraged, as also the methods of red tape, or nepotism, between the people and their new property when obtained.

The next step is to obtain the property. The committees would approach the Dominion and colonial governments in order to learn under what most advantageous condition large tracts of territory would be conceded. Would they be as free grants, or would payment be required? They ought to be, in the present stage of empire development, free grants, and some of the self-governing colonies are prepared to give this.¹ The benefit would be mutual. The organisations would be offering capital and population, and in return for these valuable elements, so greatly needed by the colonies, free lands should be forthcoming. If, however, payment in some cases were found advisable, there are vast areas which can be obtained at a low cost amounting in some cases to a few cents per acre. The obtaining of the land, once the principle were established, should be the least of the difficulties. But it would be done on scientific principles. Having a choice of regions, a commission of engineers and experts would be sent out by the organisations to report. Land embodying as wide a range of natural resource would be selected, and of as large an area as were procurable or desirable. The territory should contain agricultural land, forests, minerals, water-power, fisheries, and, in brief, as

¹ The author has already sounded the governments of some of the self-governing colonies on the subject.

many conditions for industrial development as it were possible to obtain.

The titles to these lands would be vested in the various boards of commissioners (in conjunction possibly with the municipal authorities). They would be non-transferable and non-saleable, remaining in perpetuity for the communities which created them. Every inhabitant of the municipality or district which an organisation represented would be *ipso facto* a part owner in the property, and so would become *ipso facto* a shareholder in the empire. It might even be found well to give shares or script (as in a joint stock company), so that the feeling of imperial possession and tangible ownership might be brought home to every citizen. The properties thus obtained would increase in value *immediately after their acquisition*. The tract of hitherto unowned land in Canada, Australia or elsewhere would acquire a rising value directly it was selected, by the mere fact of being owned. It would acquire an "unearned increment" immediately the organisation of a British ratepayer or municipalities set eyes and hands upon it, and thus *the inhabitants of each municipality will have come into possession of a landed property of great and growing value, unencumbered, by the mere act of organising themselves into a body and reaching out for a portion of their imperial heritage.*

They would have obtained a splendid freehold of their own, for themselves and their children for ever. The possibilities of obtaining such a possession and heritage, even if it be in a distant "parish" of the empire, ought to be sufficient to fire the mind of the most sluggish urban committee or the most obdurate Little Englander. It could scarcely fail to appeal to the intelligent ratepayer.

Having the property, the next most vital matter is that of working capital. How is this to be obtained? Two methods are to be considered. The first is that of a special tax, levied either officially or voluntarily. The other, the commercial method, of the emission of shares. In the case of taxation by a special rate this would of course require proper authority, and would have to be carried out by or in conjunction with the councils and the Local Government Board. It might be difficult to put this into practice. To many the wisdom of the step would be readily apparent; others would exclaim that the community is already taxed more than it can bear, forgetting that such a tax would be an *investment*. Officialdom, moreover, would have to be overcome, and the conservatism, generally prudent, of governing bodies, is stirred with difficulty. Party feeling might be aroused, and self-constituted economists would arise in their wisdom to denounce the plan. Even those "progressive" members

of councils who have seen no evil in losing the public money on low-priced electric tram fares would scarcely be expected to espouse an imperial enterprise of this character, for it is a remarkable fact that those authorities drawn more closely from democratic elements do not raise their eyes to matters imperial. Their instincts are, from their surroundings, naturally parochial. Whatever the wealth of Britain overseas, they do not see beyond the immediate horizon of their parish, and their main hope always seems to be to share more equally in the existing property, rather than in creating new property. However, a course of education on the point might arouse their generally well-meaning efforts.

This class of authority is generally far more ready to do practical good to the community than the more "imperial" class, even if their methods are not always acceptable. It would be shown them that any tax raised for the purpose of working capital to develop these new estates *would be in the nature of an investment and not a dole*, as is the case with the present heavy taxes for poor relief, and kindred matters. As has been shown, the yearly expenditure on poor relief, charities, hospitals, etc., amounts to more than 31,000,000 sterling. The disbursement of the greater part of this huge sum should become unnecessary as time went on under the new plan, for,

as discussed later, poverty and unemployment would be eliminated with the development of the new estates, and charitable institutions be rendered self-supporting or unnecessary. The £20,000,000 sterling per annum spent on relief of paupers in the country at present, requiring 24,000 Poor Law Guardians to distribute it, should become unnecessary. With such an inducement it should not be difficult to divert, temporarily, a sufficient portion of funds to the new enterprises. Further, there is also the method by means of a loan, and probably few cities of Britain would find difficulty in raising a loan for this purpose were it approved, and with the basis of the imperial property. This also leads on to the alternative of voluntary taxation. Meetings of the ratepayers would discuss whether it would not be a wise policy to submit to a voluntary tax for the development of the property. Their contributions could be secured, if necessary, under some form of debentures, and they would reap a double dividend as time went on from their investment : the elimination of the poor rates, and the earnings from the estates.

The method of raising working capital by the issuance of shares is worthy of full consideration. The enterprises, with their imperial and valuable basis of real estate, should be attractive as an investment for private and municipal capital,

far more so than some of the numerous "wild-cat" schemes constantly before the public. The possession of land and its resources, and the employment of labour upon it, is the most solid and enduring source of profit, and there can be little doubt that increasing dividends would be forthcoming. Associations of this nature might be constituted under ordinary company law, with a large nominal share capital (say £10,000,000 for London), half of which might be subscribed as five-shilling shares (for working capital), permitting ready acquisition by all classes, and which would take first profits on an established scale. The other half would be the *ipso facto* shares, vested in trustees for every registered member of the community, non-dividend-earning, but carrying the right of employment or settlement on the property under established wage and profit-sharing conditions, and so absolutely insuring against starvation or unemployment. Thus, the "right to work" would be established under rational conditions and would constitute a tangible, inalienable "share of empire." Then the old argument that if all the wealth of the country were divided among the people equally to-day, to-morrow one half would have possessed themselves of the share of the other half, could never be realised. The *ipso facto* shares would constitute a perpetual, imperial heritage, entailed

from parents to children, or reverting to the community in case of extinction of the family.

As regards the financial results attending the development of colonial lands upon business methods, that they may be profitable will be rendered evident to anyone who takes the trouble to read the reports of some of the public companies engaged in this work with headquarters in London.¹ There is a vast amount of private capital invested in this way.

¹ One instance may be given of the Southern Alberta Land Co. Ltd. of London, and an extract from the address by the president (Major-Gen. Sir R. B. Lane) and others at a shareholders' meeting in June 1910: "The question of selling land was becoming increasingly important as the works got nearer completion. It was obvious that the longer they held on to their lands, pending completion of their irrigation works, the better price they must eventually obtain, and, as they knew, land values in Southern Alberta were rapidly and steadily increasing. They had, together with the proper authorities, laid out a town site on the company's land at Suffield, situated on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the first sale of town lots last month had resulted in 241 lots being disposed of for their account, for \$45,000, with which the Board were perfectly satisfied. This sale represented an area of something under 30 acres sold at approximately £300 per acre. Already stores, lumber yards, etc., were springing up there, and they might look forward in due course to a thriving population.

"The Board were entirely satisfied with the work

This is merely an example, and the areas available for profitable development throughout the colonies are still so great that an unlimited number of enterprises of this nature can be established.

These considerations bring us to the matter of the land tenure of the proposed imperial estates ; and this requires thoughtful settlement and freedom from old-fashioned prejudice. In the first that had been done during the past twelve months. Their most optimistic estimates of land values were being already surpassed, and promised to be entirely eclipsed. There was no longer any doubt that the company had assets of great potential value, and he did not think anyone would be bold enough to attempt to put a figure on their ultimate value. Already they had one town started with 30 acres of land selling at an average of £300 an acre, lands which stood in the case of their property at less than £1. Of course, he did not mean to suggest that this would be an average price which they might expect for their lands ; but in an estate of 650 square miles there was room for several towns, and it would not take many towns to pay them pretty handsome returns. They would remember that the company had not only their lands to sell, some of which would realise high prices as irrigation lands, but their water rights were expected to pay them good interest on the whole of their capital. Apart altogether from their land sales they had as subsidiary undertakings town sites, natural gas—which meant cheap power—cheap light, cheap fuel, and a charter for a railroad that only awaited the proper encouragement from the provincial government for pushing ahead.”

place, there could be no private ownership of the new lands. The lands are to be the perpetual heritage of the community which creates the new properties. To sell them or to allot them would be simply to duplicate the conditions of land tenure in England, which are admitted to be one of the causes of national insufficiency, and to escape from which is one of the objects of the present enterprise. A great deal is written about the "magic of property"; and there is a magic in it. The creation of a race of farmer-proprietors, or of small holders even, is very desirable in some cases, and the great lands of the Canadian West are being filled up with citizens of this class. But there is also a "magic" about property when it is held on a lease or other tenancy, whether of years or for life. The absence of freehold does not prevent the suburban dweller of English towns, under a three, five or seven years' agreement, from making a little paradise of his flower garden, nor the farmer who leases his lands from doing all in his power to make his farm prosperous. Further, the working of the Small Holdings Act in England seems to point, it has been stated, to the preference of the holders for a lease rather than a freehold, although this has been made a political matter and the truth is not yet quite apparent. The ownership of the land, moreover, at times leads to the very opposite of energy and prosperity. An

instance may be cited of the "poor whites" of South Africa,¹ squatters who, from lack of organisation, capital and thrift, have drifted into squalor and hopelessness. There are plenty of these, moreover, in Canada and Australia, and

¹ The following extract from a London paper, 23rd June 1910, headed "A South African Tragedy," is instructive in this connection :—

" You can see it plainly enough as the boat train pants heavily up the long incline. Out on the vast expanse of empty veldt a little mud-walled house, its roof of ancient corrugated iron weighed down by a dozen large stones. It is a study in brown—and hopelessness. In front lolls an unkempt man in a dilapidated slouch hat and clothes of no particular shape or colour. From the glassless window peers a woman's head, half concealed in a dirty sunbonnet. A few bare-legged and rag-clad children roll in the dust. There are thousands of these dusty brown shanties scattered over South Africa occupied by dusty-looking and helpless families. The house you saw from the train is the home of a family of poor whites. But it is something more. It is a monument of a tragedy—a tragedy of the unfit. The appearance of the tiny settlement tells its tale. There is no flower garden in front, no vegetable plot at the side, such as one would see at the home of even the poorest rural labourer in England. The unturned veldt laps the very walls. There is nothing to show that a spade has ever been put into the soil. For the poor white in South Africa has the home he deserves, the home he makes for himself—or perhaps it would be more charitable and more just to say the home which his upbringing and his environment have made for him."

indeed the fringe of poor population and wretched habitations of Canadian towns, and those of the United States, are amongst the most depressing objects to be encountered in any part of the world. Let us beware of creating squalid conditions in England, in Small Holders who have no civic obligations and no means of co-operation. There is, logically speaking, no more reason why a farmer should inevitably own the soil he works on than a shopkeeper should own his shop. The matters that concern him principally are the fairness of his rent, and the possibilities of business. Lastly, under this system of Imperial Settlements we shall have but transferred the magic of property from the individual to the community, or, rather, caused both to share it.

The land would, then, be held upon some system of lease. It might be found well to inaugurate a system of payment of rent in produce, rather than currency. This would have the effect of stimulating the whole community co-operatively, both in the Settlements and in Britain, towards the securing of markets for the produce. It is to be recollected, moreover, that the whole system would be really a co-operative one, by the holding of the *ipso facto* shares of the community.

A system of co-operation would be the most natural underlying feature for the disposal of the products of these imperial settlements. That

nothing can be done anywhere in small farming without co-operation is becoming a well-established fact. The extraordinary prosperity of the Danish farmers, especially the dairy farmers, has been brought about by their efficient co-operative system, under which they have captured the English home markets and created prosperity for themselves on not particularly fertile lands. They *own* their holdings, it is true, but it is to their energy and co-operative measures that their success is shown to be due in the main. In England the principle of co-operation is now being recognised as essential to the success of the Small Holdings System.¹

¹ The following extract is from a recent debate, a speech by a Unionist member in the House of Commons, in June 1910 :—"The Small Holdings Commission emphasised the enormous importance of the co-operative principle among small holders if small holdings were to be made an economic success. We ought to have moved in the matter of developing co-operation before or simultaneously with the development of small holdings. He feared that many small holdings which had been created artificially under the Act would fail because the small man without adequate capital could not put his produce on the market in competition with the large holder without suffering loss. He hoped a considerable proportion of the Development Fund would be devoted to giving instruction in the principles of co-operation and developing co-operative methods throughout the agricultural districts."²

XVI

THE IMPERIAL "SHAREHOLDERS"

THE properties and the necessary adjunct of working capital being obtained, the development and administration would be entered upon. This would be carried out absolutely upon scientific and business lines. Any idea of establishing "labour colonies" would meet with the disaster which has always befallen such. They are not labour colonies that would be established but properties, being developed and cultivated for the benefit of their owners. They are not "dumping grounds," either for the unemployed or for unemployables. They are estates or Imperial Settlements in whose welfare every person should take pride and give effort. The lines of procedure must be carefully laid down, after consideration of the causes of failure or very partial success of previous settlement schemes. Even such splendid enterprises as the Chartered Company of Rhodesia¹ leaves a good

¹ Which, although an attractive and prospering concern, from an imperial point of view, has not yet paid a dividend.

deal to be desired. The work would be redeemed from the mediocre by the interests and effort to be displayed in it by the upper class "shareholders" at home, men and women who would find in it a field for the activities, whether financial or social, of themselves and their sons and daughters. The boards of commissioners would be watched by the "shareholders," and their periodical elections would form a check such as even the most well-meaning boards require at times. The commissioners should draw directors' fees, moreover.

The first operations would be those of establishing efficient managers and engineers upon the properties, distributed according to their extent. These officials should be paid salaries and given a co-operative share (in addition to their *ipso facto* share, should they be of the home community). There is a great deal of good engineering talent going to waste at home for lack of outlet,¹ which would be at once obtainable. An element of pioneer enthusiasm would be encouraged in these operations and expense avoided wherever possible at first, in making use of material on the spot, such as in the construction of log houses for the first few years. The main idea to be kept in view would be to get as many people on to the land, and as soon as possible, but other industries

¹ See the author's paper in *The Journal of the Society of Engineers*, July 1910.

would have to be outlined before too many artisans came in. Farms would be laid off, houses built, roads and light railways surveyed, town sites and factory location decided upon, and the basis laid of a community whose work should be the cultivation of the soil, growing of food products, cattle raising, cutting of timber, not forgetting planting, also dairy work, opening and working of minerals and mines, and all the manufacturing industries arising from every resource to which the particular region lent itself. The labour for the work would be drawn as far as possible from the home district, under terms of agreed pay. The admission of this labour, as well as all subsequent, would have been arranged for in taking up the property with the colonial governments so that any clash with possible "contract labour laws," if such existed, might be avoided. For the transport of the labour special low rates should be invited from the steamship lines, or failing that, steamships chartered for the purpose.

The industries to be outlined would be as diversified as possible. The colonies at present are only calling for farmers, but these Imperial Settlements would open up a field for men of all trades, as far as in reason it could be done. The towns to be established would give scope for all the tradesmen found in a British town,

from bootmakers to dairymen and bakers, but the evil, whether of over-competition or of monopoly, would not be permitted to duplicate. Also, *home industries* would be encouraged in the fullest possible measure.

The earliest consideration of the directors would be in the getting in of crops and the breeding of cattle without loss of time, so that the property would become self-supporting at once. Special encouragement would be given to the best farming talent of the British shires from which the particular community was drawn, to go out and instruct, or establish itself in the territory, and good stock would be exported thereto. Above all the imperial spirit of ownership and progress would be encouraged.

We come now to a more detailed consideration of the home people who would form the "shareholders" of these imperial enterprises. These may be divided into the following classes :—

(1) The great body of ordinary ratepayers, who would see in the enterprise a means of alleviation of their taxes, especially the poor rates.

(2) Wealthy people desirous of assisting in the work, and who would welcome it for their own as an opening for their sons and daughters.

(3) Persons with some money who desired to emigrate and better their position, but who are deterred under ordinary circumstances by fear

of going to some unknown place, and the dislike to breaking off old ties altogether.

(4) Cultured persons without capital, especially women, who hesitate to plunge unaided into immigration and pioneer conditions, but who would go eagerly under the system of co-operation and companionship which the enterprise would afford.

(5) Farmers who find their rent too high and prices too low in England, and who would be desirous of taking up farms in the territory.

(6) Farm labourers whose wage at home is insufficient to live upon.

(7) Artisans, mechanics, clerks, shop-servers and all others of non-land-working occupations.

(8) Casual labourers.

(9) Children, whether "state" (pauper) or others, without means of support at home. Also all children whose occupations at home lead to no future.

(10) The unemployed, many of whom would come under some of the above classes. These would be the object of special treatment, as shown later.

(11) The "unemployables," who also call for special conditions, as described later.

An intelligent grasp of this plan shows what an extensive field it opens for the activities of the British people. At present their energies are confined to one island, as far as the great bulk of the population are concerned. Here they

would be in possession of a new property in which all could take pride and profit. It is not fancy to imagine whole communities taking this pride and making this profit in an estate to which they could point and say it was their own. It should lead to a fuller life for them. They would not be sending away unwilling emigrants into the deserts, as at present, but in a sense would be commissioning settlers to develop the common property. The wealthy among the home community might be expected to take a deep interest, and invest money in the work, and even to create estates under tenure for themselves in the new communities, whilst the middle class would find outlet for their dull times and the poor a better field for their at present profitless labours. It is unnecessary to dwell further upon this aspect, but the matter of the settlement of the unemployed is one which calls for deep consideration.

The new estates, whilst in every way they would be amenable to the ordinary authorities of the dominion in which they were established, would have to be controlled by the officials appointed from home, as regarded their own affairs, just as in an ordinary company. The organisations, however, would be responsible for the maintenance of all labour sent out by them, whilst they remained in the settlement. All those who went out from Britain in the un-

employed class, moreover, would not be permitted to leave the settlements at any period (except with the permission of the colonial authorities of the particular district). The assumption would be that there was no necessity for them to leave, and that they would have settled down entirely to a profitable life therein. To become in any way a charge upon the colonial community outside would not be permitted, nor would it be possible, and indeed one of the objects of the whole enterprise would be to obviate the embarrassment of Canadian and Australian cities by unemployed or unemployables from Britain, as happens at present. Under the system advocated, however, such a thing as unemployed or wastrel immigrants would be rendered impossible, and there need be no barrier, imaginary or artificial, between these new imperial settlements and the rest of the country.

To consider now the class of the unemployed.

It is a fact which is now being recognised, that constant unemployment deteriorates the individual, and in time tends to render him unemployable. The iron enters into his soul, and his mind and body suffer. But the work of the imperial settlements would treat and eliminate these conditions. First of all it must be borne in mind in any scheme of immigration or land settlement that *every individual* will have to be considered sooner or later. It will not do to separate the

sheep from the goats, and to suppose that the latter can be left on the hands of British ratepayers; and a scientific method would be adopted in the treatment of these classes, under the proposed system.

The unemployed probably resolve themselves into three classes: those capable of work immediately work is offered, those who have degenerated temporarily from chronic lack of work and proper sustenance, and those who are absolute wasters and incorrigibles, who will not work at all except under some form of coercion. Conditions must be adapted to meet these cases. Every willing and able worker would be immediately absorbed on the properties. If they were accustomed to the working of the land their labour would be productive at once; if not, and many would be of that character, they will have to learn, and none who are desirous of doing it could fail to earn less than the cost of their living, even at first. Proof of this has already been given,¹ and an example may be quoted in the success of a London scheme recently inaugurated for putting waste land under crops by the unemployed. The establishing of the new industries, manufacturing and other, moreover, would, as they

¹ "There would be a greater number of unemployed men and women in London were it not for the efforts of the Vacant Land Cultivation Society, which, since its establishment last year, has had extraordinary success in

developed, more and more call for the services of the men and women of the various trades.

For the treatment of those who have temporarily degenerated training must be given. Six months of proper feeding and encouragement, together with reasonable hours of work, would work wonders on this kind of humanity, as practice shows. A training farm would be established for this purpose upon the property, and as the workers recovered their normal aptitude they would enter upon the ordinary conditions of the general work.

The incorrigibles offer a much more difficult problem, and the only way to deal with them would be to establish authority to treat them under semi-penal conditions. It is due to this turning both waste land and labour to account. And the society could find profitable work for 250 more people if another thirty acres of waste land could be procured.

"At present 2400 persons of the casual labourer type are deriving benefit from sixty acres under cultivation, and the annual value of the produce is £5000. The society reckons that for every £1 it has spent the plot-holders have had £5 worth of vegetables—vegetables, too, which compared favourably with the best produce of Lincolnshire, as Mr Winfrey, M.P., pointed out when presiding at the society's annual meeting yesterday.

"The secretary stated that there must be 10,000 acres of waste land in London—land from which even a man of the street-corner loafer type had been known to extract £80 an acre."—*The Daily Mail*, 15th July 1910.

element that unemployment has become synonymous in the minds of many with "unemployable," which is both a grave injustice and manifestly an obstacle to rational treatment of the question. These incorrigible wasters have forfeited the right to the ordinary privileges of citizenship when they have wantonly or hypocritically—not through misfortune but vice—sought to live on the community, and they must be treated as offenders. There does not appear to be sufficient authority existing to do this. It will have to be created,¹ and the sooner the better. With it must go also provision for preventing the propagation of the mentally deficient and the reproducing of his kind by the incompetent. There is only one way to regard all these unfortunate citizens—*we must bear with them in this generation; we must eliminate them for the next.* They are partly a product of social conditions for which we are all in a measure responsible. A "training farm," therefore, would have to be established for "unemployables" also, of a semi-penal nature. It would be worse than useless to ship them overseas, to mingle with the other

¹ The Report of the Royal Commission on Vagrancy on the lack of means for the detention of those who purposely will not work, but strive to live on the community, was shown to be a serious obstacle to any treatment of destitution.

workers. This "training farm," of which these citizens would have a life tenure—except, of course, where they showed real possibilities of regeneration, and doubtless this would happen in some cases—should be established at home, and as the local workhouses would have become unnecessary these institutions could occupy their places. *Oliver Twist* would have immigrated to the conditions of happy citizenship, and his place would have been taken by the Artful Dodger. But the ratepayer would have the satisfaction of knowing that the cost of the institutions no longer came out of his pocket, but was defrayed from the working of his imperial property in Greater Britain.

Another great needy class in Great Britain which would be taken in hand in the imperial settlements are the thousands or millions of young men, young women and children who have no fixed occupation and no opportunity of getting into conditions which will give them good permanent pay. It is from these that the unemployed and the incorrigibles are largely recruited. The population of British cities largely consists of people who have come in from the country, in accordance with that movement from the land to the towns which is one of the most serious of social ills at present. There is a great body of youths among these. There can be little doubt that these could be arrested before they left their

native provinces, and given some attractive, disciplined training upon the Imperial Settlements, with the knowledge that they are to participate in the ownership and profits of the property. A great number of children at home are condemned at present to grow up with little or no hope of betterment as they get older. The Post Office dismisses 4400 boys annually, when they pass the age limit of fourteen; we are informed that the children engaged in hawking and street trades, including newspaper, flower and match selling, number many more than 37,000, whilst there are stated to be nearly 8000 "state" children living upon the rates. The street occupations generally lead on to vice and crime,¹ and the condition is a blot upon civic organisation. The dismissal by

¹ Report by Home Office Committee, 9th July, says: "The effect of street trading upon character is only too frequently disastrous. If a match seller, he is likely to become a beggar; if a newspaper seller, a gambler. The evidence was extraordinarily strong as to the extent to which betting prevails among the boy vendors of the evening papers.

"For a few years money is easily earned without discipline or skill; the occupation sharpens the wits without developing the intelligence. Large numbers drift into vagrancy and crime. It tends to produce a restless disposition and a dislike of restraint. Persons specially qualified to speak assured us that when a girl took up street trading she almost invariably was taking a first step towards a life of immorality."

the Post Office of its boys in that fashion, moreover, would not be tolerated if done by a private company. All this might be splendid imperial material under proper training and organisation.

Various schemes for training farms in connection with the colonies have been put forward, and show a useful tendency towards a palliative against unemployment. But they lack the incentive of co-operation and imperial ownership, as has been discussed in the chapter on imperial migration. Also they all depend on the fatal word "selection," under which rigid tests are to be applied, leaving a residue of the less efficient weeded out, and for the British taxpayer to look after. Moreover, these plans are often very one-sided. Under them England is to train and equip her citizens for purely colonial benefit. She is not only to send out her manhood but her money as well. Of course it is recognised that the placing of her people, who under present conditions appear as a surplus, in the colonies, is in one sense an advantage to the mother country, but it is a very temporary and partial advantage, and gives no reciprocal benefit for the expenditure. Moreover, it is necessary to strike at the roots of national insufficiency which cause these conditions of surplus population and unemployment, by increasing the "property" held by the community, as set forth before. Otherwise, we shall simply

be manufactuirng this class as fast as we get rid of it. The valuable material which goes to make up this class, if imperially arrested in its own villages, and so prevented in time from deterioration, and disposed of under this plan of imperial settlement, would remain part of England as well as forming part of the colonies to which the system has *transferred* them ; not *banished* them as heretofore.

To perform this it would be part of the working of the organisations to establish training farms upon the estates, as stated. Upon these farms non-agricultural settlers—men, youths, girls and children—would be instructed in matters essential to success in colonial life. Much has been made in Anglo-Colonial relations concerning emigration, of the obstinacy of the Briton in sticking to his own methods. This difficulty would be removed in a double sense, by the training given, and by the fact that the work on the estates would not necessarily follow colonial methods, except as might be essential. In this there might be a useful element for the colonies, who certainly can learn useful ways from English farmers, and whose methods are far from being perfect themselves.¹

¹ As a practical instance, the author remembers from his own experience in Canada that the Canadian farmer often neglects his machinery and appliances, leaving them outside in the weather in winter, where naturally

These training-farms would largely cover their cost. Food stuffs would be produced, and living costs little in such situation in comparison with England, where it costs £27 per annum to support every adult pauper. On completing their "course," and being of proper age, these learners would be free to go where they pleased, but doubtless generally they would prefer to remain and enjoy the co-operative benefits of their *ipso facto* share of the estate, which, in addition to current wages, they would be entitled to. In this connection it must be recollected that the allurements of "free farms" cannot last much longer, as they will be things of the past on any but inferior land; and to extract profit from these poorer areas co-operation will inevitably be required.

The plan will also provide for the objections of the labour parties in the colonies that an influx of British artisans will lower their own wages, in the fact that no competition with the colonial labour market would occur, as the work on the Imperial Settlements would be independent.

they deteriorate. In other instances Colonials are less thorough than the British farmer, whether in their methods or their buildings.

XVII

THE REAL BONDS OF EMPIRE

WE have argued that the creation of these imperial properties would tend to establish the unity of empire in a way no other method could perform. It is a system of imperial penetration. The magic of actual property-holding in the empire might be expected to arouse a deep sense of practical patriotism throughout all the towns and villages of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Each community could point overseas and exclaim that there lay their own particular portion of the empire, their very own imperial estate. Once the spirit were aroused its results might be far-reaching. The rich might be expected to take an interest in the development of social relations between the home and the oversea communities. A club established in each would prove a social centre and a means of disseminating information by means of lectures, exhibits of products, etc, whilst a constant supply of magazines, papers and books would be sent out from the home centre, and full and interesting information of their doings sent back from over-

seas. A constant interchange of visitors from one to the other would come about as those from home desired to go out, or those from overseas, having become prosperous, returned to visit or to stay. Local pride—a valuable thing which the present system of disseminated immigration tends to kill—would be nourished, and the man from Devon, Yorkshire or Middlesex would remain always in touch with his revered associations. The doings of Tom and Harry “over there” would be followed with interest by the people “over here.” One of the essential bonds of empire unity must be that of close contact and everyday understanding between the people of the empire. A letter from a friend who has settled and is doing well in some remote part of Canada or Australia, and which is handed round and discussed among a circles of relatives and friends in an English country town, brings Canada or Australia before us, and annihilates distance more than all the pronouncements of some well-paid colonial “ambassador”¹ who from the serenity of his London office gives forth statistics of wheat and mineral production and increment of export. The mere exchange of flags between the children of this or that school of some village bearing a similar name

¹ As that splendid journal *The Standard of Empire* somewhat questionably prefers to call these valuable imperial servants.

in the colonies, has been enough in various instances recently to arouse knowledge and kindly feeling in a way no mere geography lesson would ever perform.

Association and admixture with the upper social element of Britain is one of the most pressing essentials for colonial society at present, from reasons which have been set forth in a former chapter. What Canada and Australia want are refined English people as well as workers. But refined English people will not immigrate to suffer pioneer conditions. There must be organised centres—even if only in embryo—for them first. All over England, in a thousand country towns and villages, there are refined people who would go, only too gladly, to the new lands if they were assured of entering upon organised conditions. Amongst them ladies are perhaps in a majority, and these ladies of England would carry an atmosphere of social life and refinement such as Canada herself cannot create in 500 years of wheat growing and forest hewing. They would gladly escape from the cramped conditions of home and go in thousands to organised centres in which they had a stake, and make themselves mistresses of social development in those new crude parishes. They would lead full, busy lives, with the dignity of labour and the joy of a fuller existence, whilst sharing their refinement with the new people around them.

In Britain it is computed that there are a million more women than men, whilst it is a common enough fact that millions of women of all classes are dependent upon their own resources, with an overcrowded labour market and consequent impossibility of prosperity. In the new Imperial Settlements these women could all find an outlet for their energies and a means of livelihood under infinitely better conditions, which would be added to the stimulus of their *ipso facto* share in the property. It is useless to expect Englishwomen of refinement to go out under the present haphazard conditions. Life is rough in Canadian farms, and refinement far from being general. In many cases the ways of life are such as it would be impossible for a refined Englishwoman to endure, and indeed the educated man may well show a difficulty at times in adaptability to customs which are foreign to his class.¹ In general, it may be said, that there is much less refinement in England's colonies than in those countries which were colonised by Spain. Gentle breeding and refinement in general are more

¹ The author recollects farms where the morning ablutions were performed by the whole of the farmer's family and hired man in one small tin basin, one after the other, with *one towel for the whole lot*. He never considered "adaptability" to this sort of thing could be easy, but it was considered an exhibition of pride to use a private towel.

prevalent in Mexico or Peru ¹ than in Canada or Australia, and the United States falls below them all. There are exceptions, of course.

Thus it is that an influx of Englishwomen into Canada and Australia would be a boon for those countries. It is not to be expected that Englishwomen of the upper, or other, class would go out with the purpose of seeking husbands, but marriage would often result, and in every respect this influx of British femininity would make for imperial sentiment and unity. Indeed the matter of the ownership and development of the empire in the interests of its people is one which Englishwomen might advantageously make their own. The women of England have now shown a splendid spirit of organisation. They are demanding their political rights and will undoubtedly obtain them. Their powerful organisation may then turn its attention—or we trust so—towards practical measures for real social betterment for the masses. We could scarcely protest if they told us that men had only played with social reform since the term was first heard, that so far they have failed to effect it, and that now the women are going to try their hands. Perhaps women would see the futility of fighting over the things we own in this island too bitterly, after the fashion of socialists, when in addition we might reach out

¹ See the author's books on these countries.

for a share of our imperial estates of the self-governing and Crown colonies. An earnest organisation of women for social betterment and for imperial advance might be one of the most powerful agents possible.

One condition of successful colonisation in the future must be the establishing of proper machinery of social life. The drift from the country to the towns takes place in the colonies as well as at home, and unless a different system is inaugurated history must repeat itself to the same degree. More social intercourse must be brought about, and this should be easier to establish in the colonies, where the impassable chasm of class distinction as in English country towns does not happily exist. At present in English villages there is a grievous lack of interest in life, due partly to the lack of possibilities of outlet and of a wider horizon. This pall, which weighs upon the English villager and his sons and daughters, might disappear before the possession of his share in the imperial property and all that it conveyed. The lamentable snob-bishness of English country society might tend to decrease. A new interest would have come into its life.

Again, it will occur to us what an enormous amount of misdirected interest and energy there is in our midst, especially among townsmen.

The football mania is a case in point.¹ The great crowds who week after week watch football matches, and follow, night after night, with fatuous eagerness the points of this or that popular player, form a spectacle half-contemptible, half-pathetic to the imperialist onlooker. Crowds of "barbarians" annually descend upon London from the north to watch a final "cup tie," although this has some excuse of two or three hundred miles of travel and novelty. It is a degenerate people who will *watch* games in the manner of the football crowd. Have they no flame of English adventure in their own breasts to be up and doing themselves? Why do they not quit this "seeing," so that they might be "doing"? If it were

¹ Says *The London Sunday Times*, April 1910: "Yesterday was St George's Day, and on this day it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the thoughts of the majority of the democracy were centred on a football match. We would not say a word in derogation of sport, which in leisure hours is one of the best things in the physical life of man. We could wish, indeed, that a great proportion of the sightseers at the Crystal Palace yesterday, having enjoyed what was for many of them an annual holiday jaunt, would during other leisure hours throughout the year give themselves to the playing of football on their own account, and to boxing, wrestling and rifle shooting. But everyone knows that this pious aspiration is not one that will be fulfilled. The football crowd follows the football results to the exclusion of other interests, it talks football, thinks football, to say nothing of betting

possible to lure this latent energy towards ownership in the empire and a pride in possessing it, in carrying out the work of cultivation, planting and development, what an added interest in life they might attain. Go west, young men! Form yourselves into organisations and acquire a slice of territory, the imperial heritage that your worthier forefathers won for you. Under those splendid colonial skies you can work out your way to independence, and become men. Why are you preferring to write other men's letters or sell pounds of cheese and yards of ribbon for a starvation wage over pettifogging shop counters, living out your wretched leisure in stuffy side streets? Think of the splendid life that might be yours

on it, but rarely does it play football. Moreover, the spirit which the crowd displays at the matches towards players it has backed when they fail to come up to expectations is seldom chivalrous and is sometimes brutal. It is not unlike the spirit of the Roman crowd which turned down the thumb in disgust at the vanquished gladiator. Our vaunted educational system would seem to exert little effect upon character. The Japanese, on the other hand, strive to influence character and to inspire their children with the spirit of Bushido, and in the war they showed to the world how great has been their success. Is there no way in which this strange enthusiasm for football can be directed into channels which would be of more advantage to the nation? It is a question well worth the serious consideration of statesmen.''

in Greater Britain, away from the cramped and stunted life you can never escape from at home, where every ounce of food is weighed and grudged, and air and space are the property of someone else. Are you of the noble race of Britons who helped to make civilisation, and upheld justice and right, and worshipped providence in the pride of their strength and power ? Prove it then. Now is the time, claim and betake yourselves to the imperial possessions. The land will not always be available. It is even now slipping through our fingers. We must be asleep to let it go thus easily. Those who are in a position to do so can set forth and, in Canada or Australia, live on a piece of God's free earth, make it their home and their children's, and earn an independent, secure livelihood from the soil in a way such as their motherland, from reasons partly geographical, partly political, denies them. In these splendid new regions "trespassers will *not* be prosecuted," or not yet. Providence and British Empire luck have spread such wealth of land and natural resources in our oversea possessions as no empire in the history of the world has ever possessed, and which, for geographical reasons, no other nation to-day can possess. Canada and Australia offer free land, free farms. In a future generation, when these lands are all taken up, it will seem like a dream of the Arabian Nights!

The bringing to being of these organisations for Imperial Settlements would be to benefit the whole empire. It is true that one of the main objects is to create extensive new "property" in the colonies for the people of Britain, both those who remain at home perforce and form the stock and heart of the empire, and those who settle overseas and yet retain their close connection with the communities at home. But in bringing about these conditions we are equally benefiting the colonies, and indeed *they may have to follow the same system* themselves as time goes on. At present they have ample lands, but they should also endow their own communities with property.

Britain, under the imperial plan, offers the colonies a permanent partnership in her own life, traditions and country, which is, at least, an equal exchange for the land they give, whilst, at the same time, giving them men, women and capital, all of which they lack.

As to Great Britain, it seems no exaggeration to say that, as this work of empire development in the interests of its people developed, the nation would enter upon a new lease of life for all classes. In the course of time, as the Imperial Settlements or municipal estates flourished, it should be possible to clear the country entirely of its ill-occupied or idle element. Beggars, hawkers,

sandwichmen, with all their pitiful degeneration, would disappear from our streets. Casual labourers would have become impossible to obtain. Unemployment would be a thing of the past, and instead of a surplus of labour there would be a premium upon it. Those who formerly employed casual labour would have to organise their affairs so that all work was done by regular employees, or by some system of co-operative hiring which doubtless would grow to being. Overcrowded and useless occupations would come to an end. Shop workers, clerks and others would become thinned out, with a consequent amelioration of conditions for the remainder. The poor would disappear, and consequently the huge organisation of the poor law authorities. Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges, and State Insurance would be provided for, without calling on the State at all.

And what a part the Church might play in this new commonwealth! Have not the Canadians and Australians awakened to the fact that England is full of poor clergymen, who can barely live? In England there are 20,000 livings, only 1400 of which have more than £400 per annum, whilst hundreds of them are worth only £80 per annum. Yet the English clerical class is the most refined and civilised element in the world, because Christian and English; an asset of incalculable value. It ought to be easy to establish many of them in

Canada and Australia, and endow them with land in the midst of the new settlements, where even now their influence is urgently wanted. They would take in a refinement and a leaven of piety to offset the inevitable materialism of a growing democracy, which would be of incalculable value to the colonies in particular and the empire as a whole. These Christian gentlemen would be worth their weight in gold in those new worlds, where there is ever a tendency to cut off the tradition and civilising streams of the old.

Without entering upon great flights of fancy we may endeavour to picture some of the conditions brought about by this system of imperial penetration. Let us take the historic country town of Oldminster, for example, picturesquely situated in England's beautiful rolling landscape. Oldminster has an ancient cathedral, such a poem in stone as not all the millionaires of the new worlds of America, Australia or Africa combined could produce ; it has old buildings, redolent of centuries past ; it has a lovely river, fine timber, parks, and many of England's "stately homes." Around it lives a simple upright peasantry such as you cannot find in any other land. It has an intelligent middle and upper class, with that peculiar refined British manner and customs such as exist among no other nation. It has architectural and ecclesiastical beauties and

literary, physical and humane attributes, such as constantly attract Colonials, Americans and other oversea visitors. But Oldminster, with all these advantages, has some very serious drawbacks. To begin with, it is half asleep. Next it has very considerable areas of mean streets and slums, where a low-class population vegetates hopelessly ; heaven knows how. It has developed an army of unemployed. It is oppressed by ancient vested interests. Its surrounding territory is mostly occupied by the estates of various lords of the manor, and its local papers constantly echo the cry of "no room to live." Its middle-class people are feeling the pinch of high rents, of high taxes, of high prices for everything and the increasing cost of living. Many are asking themselves where it will end. Moreover, Oldminster is somewhat of an Adamless Eden, for the young men have left to seek their fortune elsewhere, and the maidens are left lamenting. Think of it, good colonial kinsmen of Western Canada, and Australia, where wives are scarce ! Think of this splendid English womanhood going to waste, occupying its energies in zenana meetings. You would be lucky to lure some of it over.

But a change comes over Oldminster. An influential body of its residents and ratepayers have got together and formed an organisation for the acquisition of a slice of the imperial heritage.

They have taken up a big tract of land in the colonies; they have raised capital to develop it, established new industries, laid out and inaugurated a smaller Oldminster upon it, a new town whose corner lots were immediately besieged by applicants for leases almost before they were staked out. They have marked out roads, laid out wheat fields, begun to open up mines and quarries, broken up a huge tract of ground for cultivation; absorbed their young men and women,¹ who would otherwise have gone to crowd city offices; and absorbed their unemployed. Their slums are disappearing, their workhouse is empty, rents are falling, the local duke sleeps peacefully in his bed, because the District Council no longer threatens to pre-empt his ancestral estate; the cost of living is being lowered by the produce brought in from the oversea estate—produce which the English rural people will not or cannot grow in sufficiency. The poor rates are no longer “demanded,” because there are no poor, and, in a few years, as their oversea property develops, there will be funds to pay their other taxes. More yet. Not only does the new property pay their poor rates, but it is beginning to return them profits in the form of dividends, which, as time goes on, will benefit every inhabitant of the district, every *ipso facto* shareholder who

¹ It has been shown recently that English ladies can extract profit from farming, even in the colonies.

forms part of its population. Poverty has been banished and prosperity taken its place. Moreover Oldminster has not only benefited itself. It forms a constant centre of attraction for its oversea kinsmen, who visit it constantly, and look upon it as their common property. Is this impossible? All Oldminster has done is to acquire an area of territory which at present is going begging, and has developed it on ordinary business or industrial principles, and it has yielded a return on money and work expended—a matter of the commonest occurrence in the financial life of London companies. The only difference is that an imperial purpose has been added to a business principle. The moral imagined for Oldminster might be applied to every city in Great Britain. If one did but lead the way others would follow, and colonial land and British labour would soon be at a premium, instead of being, as at present, neglected by our capitalists. The real bond of empire would grow to being—a knowledge of possession, a tangible benefit, a power for improvement and a basis of permanent sufficiency for every citizen. Only when these are secured will the empire be more than a name.

Lastly: we seem to be approaching some form of compulsory military service. Let us assign a piece of imperial property for each warrior, and develop it for when he retires or for his widow if he falls.

XVIII

THE REPLY OF THE PRESS

THE foregoing plan for empire-ownership by means of local organisations of shareholders and municipal bodies for the acquisition and working of areas of colonial territory: and the benefits it would yield for the amelioration of our social ills of insufficiency, and the effect that such a system of Imperial Penetration would have on the empire, was discussed by the press at some length upon the delivery of the author's address to the Royal Society of Arts upon the subject. The following extracts are useful as showing the general acceptance of the plan by the press; and although involving some repetition they are given for this reason.

The Standard, perhaps the foremost imperial newspaper, in its leading article, said:

"A wider audience than could be accommodated in the rooms of the Royal Society of Arts may be profitably interested in Mr Enock's paper on 'Imperial Colonial Development,' a summary of which was given in these columns yesterday. The lecturer, who, as an engineer and traveller, has seen much of the world outside these

islands, advocates what he has termed 'a new doctrine' for promoting unity between the mother-country and British dominions overseas. The idea, perhaps, is not entirely novel. Put briefly, it amounts to the suggestion that a visible link should be established between tracts of territory in such dominions and particular parts of Great Britain. A similar principle was an essential feature of the Greek system of colonisation, and the founders of some English colonies had a clear perception of its advantages. To Mr Enock, however, belongs the credit of bringing it into harmony with modern conditions, and of showing, in a practical way, how it might be carried out. He proposes that every municipality or administrative unit in the United Kingdom should purchase or acquire by other means each its particular tract in the oversea states of the empire, and that such districts should be developed as settlements for emigrants from the places with which they would be connected. Under this scheme of 'imperial penetration,' to adopt the lecturer's phrase, each of our large towns would have landed properties in Canada, Australia or Africa, if not in all three continents, to be held in perpetuity as a heritage for its own people. The advantages, Mr Enock maintains, would be twofold. The tide of emigration would be stimulated, to the benefit of British communities in lands now crying for a larger population of their own race. At the same time the ties that unite the empire would be strengthened. Nor is this all. Mr Enock is convinced that, if wisely directed, the plan would not only help to consolidate the empire, but would at the same time more than repay its cost. London, he thinks, might well lead the way, by taking up a large area, raising the necessary capital, and forming a valuable and permanent property from which a new source

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of revenue might be drawn, while an opening was found for a considerable number of superfluous citizens.

“ The scheme, in its main aspects, can scarcely fail to secure the approval of everyone who has formed an intelligent conception of imperial policy. Its chief aim, which is to foster the sentiment of blood-union between widely separated communities of British race, is an admirable one. By thus regulating and, to use a term which if a little uncouth is now common enough, by territorialising emigration, some of its most patent drawbacks would be diminished, if not removed. In a large number of cases it would be possible for the emigrant to choose his new home among people who themselves came from his town or county. The mere fact that the majority of the residents in a settlement were all connected with a particular part of the old country would help to keep alive that instinct of nationality which, under existing conditions, is but too apt to languish and grow faint. Mr Enock claims for his proposed system that it would be superior to any kind of state-aided emigration ; and this consideration alone might incline others to agree with him. That a man should pride himself on being a Canadian or an Australian is an excellent thing ; but whatever discourages an equal pride in being a citizen of the empire is assuredly detrimental to the interests of the mother-country as well as to those, we may still believe, of his own. Whatever tends to conserve this larger patriotism must be applauded. Looked at from this point of view, Mr Enock's new doctrine commands our warm approval. Whether it would provide more than a palliative for the evils of unemployment and overcrowding is another question: Of the English unemployed there is an appreciable proportion of wasters, who are distinctly not wanted in

British dominions overseas, whether in driblets or in territorial battalions, sent out under the auspices of municipalities and urban district boards: Mr Enock, however, would doubtless deny that he proposes to make his experiment on lines which would be fatal to its success. He may even argue, and not unreasonably, that the system, among other advantages, would make it easier to assist the better stamp of emigrant, and that under proper control it would send out to the oversea dominions exactly the class of settlers they require.²

Truth commented as follows:—

“There is something fascinating about the scheme of empire-ownership which Mr Enock is advocating. To the bulk of Britons at home the British empire is little more than a name, signifying nothing in the sense of tangible possession. His idea is to give everyone a stake in the empire by interesting every city and district in the country in the ownership and development of some selected lands in the colonies. The municipal or other local organisation would obtain grants of land which would be available for the settlement and occupation of emigrants from the city or district, but remain the property of the community in the old country, the latter being in effect shareholders in that particular part of the King's dominions beyond the seas.”

The Morning Post gave the following resumé of the address:—

“‘Some might call this a dream. I maintain that it is a probability. I believe it will be a reality.’ These were the concluding words of an address, delivered yesterday evening before the Colonial Section of the Royal Society of Arts, in which Mr Reginald Enock, F.R.G.S., propounded

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a new doctrine for a British commonwealth and its relations to Britain's present needs and future existence.

"As an island nation, Mr Enock contended that we could not expect to advance much more. The Imperial spirit which was awakening in the minds of men of our race was becoming the dominant issue of our time. We were seriously asking ourselves whether we could always endure as a leading nation ; we were noting our own defects ; and we should be soon asking ourselves whether we deserved to endure. We were beginning to learn that predominance could be perpetuated only by the strength of an imperial unity with our Oversea States or colonies. We seemed to be warned that we had reached the limit of our span as a nation, and that we might now have an opportunity of entering into a fuller life as an Empire. An empire, if it was to endure, must be a Commonwealth, by which he did not mean a Republic. The demand for a British Imperial Commonwealth was supported by facts of geography, of common-sense and business, and of common humanity. We were owners of one-fifth of the land area of the globe, and yet seven-tenths of our home population came under the heading of 'poor,' while on the authority of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when Prime Minister, 12 millions out of the 45 millions of people in Great Britain were on the verge of starvation. Many of the nations who formerly bought manufactured articles from us were now making them for themselves, and were protecting themselves against our manufactures by high tariff walls. In fact, economic conditions were forcing the civilised nations of the world to become great manufacturing cave-dwellers. He submitted that the evils of destitution, unemployment, overcrowding, and the sufferings which they entailed on such a large section of

the community had a simple and natural remedy in an organised use and wider possession of our Imperial Colonial lands and their vast resources. Trade and commerce alone were not sufficient as a means of livelihood for the British people, nor an adequate basis by themselves for Imperial unity. It was essential to promulgate a new Imperial doctrine of ownership of empire under which every municipality and urban district in the United Kingdom should acquire an area of free land in the Oversea Dominions or Colonies, and hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for their people, developing it for their needs and creating new sources of industry and revenue. The details of such a plan called for careful consideration. How was the land to be acquired ; how was it to be administered ; how was it to be held and by whom ; how was it to be developed ; settled, and worked ; how was the capital to be obtained and what would be the profits, were questions which would be naturally asked. Valuable material both in labour and in land was going to waste. Let the one be applied to the other, and while our love of dividends and our regard for humanity could be satisfied the growing menace of socialism could be overcome. (*Hear, hear.*) London, rich and powerful as she was, should lead the way in this matter. An association of prominent city men and Imperialists might be formed to take up a large area of colonial land, raise working capital, and form a new valuable permanent property for the benefit of London. If London began other cities would follow, and the first stone of an Imperial British Commonwealth would have been laid. This would lead to the formation of an Imperial Council drawn from all parts of the Empire for its governance, under the Monarchy, as a Commonwealth. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Dr Hillier, M.P., who presided, considered that the problem raised by Mr Enock, complex and controversial as undoubtedly it was, was deserving of the most careful consideration. (*Hear, hear.*) We had in our colonies—the existing fiscal arrangements with which were not such as to secure the maximum of economic advantage—great undeveloped resources and at the same time there was a great deal of distress and poverty existing in our large centres of population. In these circumstances he warmly sympathised with the feelings which had actuated Mr Enock in raising this extremely interesting question. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Sir John Taverner, who was entirely in accord with the object of promoting Imperial unity between the colonies and the Mother-Country, expressed the view that it would be wise policy for the Home Government and the Oversea States to collaborate in the great work of peopling the various parts of the empire. (*Hear, hear.*) He was strongly in favour of the establishment of an Imperial Council representing all parts of the Empire."

The Morning Post, having interviewed the representatives in London of the Dominion and Commonwealth, on the subject of the address, published the following:—

"That the overseas Dominions are not anxious for British emigrants, except of a 'suitable' class, is the general conclusion to be drawn from the statements of their chief representatives in London, sought after the publication of Mr Enock's interesting paper on Imperial development at the Royal Society of Arts. There is full sympathy for the desire to keep British people under the British flag. There is a warm welcome for the 'suitable' type of British emigrant. But there is a notice of warning against the 'undesirable.' The

'suitable' is welcome everywhere, and under any conditions. The 'undesirable' there is no anxiety for, however he is sent, or whatever propping is to be given to him after his arrival by British philanthropy. The suitable immigrant is almost always defined as the man 'used to the land'—the type which Great Britain herself needs to retain, or should need to retain in view of the enormous disparity between her agricultural possibilities and her agricultural production. The 'undesirable' are generally defined as the unemployed of the British cities. It is clear that the self-governing dominions are not willing to take off British shoulders the burden of dealing with the class known as the 'Submerged Tenth,' no matter what the scheme under which that is attempted. This fact has to be faced in considering any system of Imperial development. The abjects of the community cannot be shipped off for regeneration to the overseas Dominions. They must undergo at least some period of training and of betterment here before they will be welcome there.

"Mr Enock's address to the Royal Society of Arts, as reported in *The Morning Post*, did not directly suggest a transfer of British unemployed to the overseas dominions. The marrow of his proposal was this : 'That it was essential to promulgate a new Imperial doctrine of ownership of empire under which every municipality and urban district in the United Kingdom should acquire an area of free land in the overseas dominions or colonies, and hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for their people, developing it for their needs and creating new sources of industry and revenue. The details of such a plan called for careful consideration. How was the land to be acquired ? how was it to be administered ; how was it to be held and by whom ; how was it to be developed, settled, and worked ; how was

the capital to be obtained and what would be the profits, were questions which would be naturally asked: Valuable material both in labour and in land was going to waste. Let the one be applied to the other, and while our love of dividends and our regard for humanity could be satisfied the growing menace of socialism could be overcome.'

"But it is significant that in every case where the representative of one of the overseas Dominions was asked for a view on the project, any expression of opinion was safeguarded with warnings against the idea that 'undesirable' immigrants would be welcome."

This view of the colonial representatives and governments has been fully dealt with elsewhere; and the selfish obsession has blinded them in some respects, to Britain's needs and the imperial aspect of the question.

The Local Government Journal said:

"Mr Enock, in a lecture before the Royal Society of Arts, urged that a new Imperial doctrine of ownership of Empire should be promulgated under which every municipality and urban district in the United Kingdom shall acquire an area of free land in the Oversea Dominions or Colonies, and hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for its people, and develop it for their needs, creating new sources of industry and revenue. In an interview with *The Observer*, Mr Enock gave further details of his scheme. 'My desire,' he said, 'is to bring about the application of the surplus human material here to the colonial lands—not in the form of labour colonies, or by pitchforking out our unemployed, who could not help themselves—but by proceeding on what I will call a really scientific or geographical method, under which every municipal district of city in Great Britain shall acquire a tract of territory free (for there

is a great deal of free land to be had in Australia, Africa, and Canada), or, if not free, there is plenty to be had at only a few cents an acre. I propose that the acquisition should be brought about by an association of the prominent residents of a municipality in conjunction with the members of the public bodies. . . . This, I suggest, should be obtained by a small amount upon the rates, possibly in the form of a voluntary tax. The land would be developed by proper business methods, under managers and engineers, specially sent out for the purpose. . . . The work, if properly carried out, would not only absorb the surplus labour, but would yield in course of time what might be called dividends, which would be applied by the home authorities in mitigating the rates and taxes of the people in the home community."

The same paper returned to the subject in a subsequent issue as follows:—

"In a recent issue we gave an account of the lecture by Mr Enock, describing how the municipalities in the country might acquire land and develop it in the colonies, thus creating new sources of industry and revenue. Mr Enock's proposals have created much interest, and the lecturer has returned to his theme in the columns of *The Observer*, and having replied to his critics, he further enlarges upon his scheme. He advocates the acquisition of a grant or area of free territory in the colonies, and suggests that the influential ratepayers of any given district at home—London, Manchester, Birmingham, and any or all of our towns and cities—could call a meeting and appoint a board of directors. What connection with the municipal authorities the organisation would have would be a matter for decision. Next, the various colonial governments would

be approached—Canada, Australia, Africa, Newfoundland, etc., and the Crown colonies—in order to learn which would offer the most advantageous conditions in the granting of the land. The best selection having been made from those areas available by a commission sent out from home for the purpose, and possession having been given, the next essential is working capital.

‘ Given the . . . support of the wealthy ratepayers and the municipal authorities, it should not be difficult to raise a loan, either by a fraction upon the rates voluntarily entered into, which would assure the interests or even provide a principal, or by “ company ” methods of issuing scrip among the people as shareholders.’ The objects of the exploitation would be to put an actual, tangible share of empire within reach of all our people, irrespective of condition or sex ; to bind the Empire together by the bonds of a legitimate self-interest, which this possession will give ; to afford a remunerative outlet for our private and municipal capital, keeping it in the Empire as far as we legitimately may ; to develop and populate the existing unoccupied areas of the colonies ; to provide a field of activity and profit for our sons and daughters who in Britain are ‘ condemned to the pusillanimous life of stuffy offices or to idleness ’ ; to raise the standard of life of our lower middle class. ‘ We have,’ says the writer, ‘ a great army of shop assistants, petty clerks upon the starvation line and others whose horizon is a very grey one. If we afford them the opportunity of a new field in which their work under such imperial co-operative conditions will bring them more than a poor wage ; a wider field where they can call their souls their own we shall have greatly improved their outlook and position, and consequently our national civilisation. At present they are slaves. I

maintain that we can give them their "share of empire" and make them freemen.¹ The unemployed would be absorbed in the new industrial centres which would be created, and prove a source of profit to themselves and revenue to the community, and Mr Enock maintains that under this system the word 'unemployed' would fall into disuse as time went on. One of the effects of the scheme would be to lift the burden of taxation at home. 'Let us remember,' says Mr Enock, 'that in poor-law relief and charities we are paying out thirty-one millions sterling per annum, which is mainly a *dole*, with no return, whereas under the system I advocate we might be relieved of a great part of it and turn it into an *investment* instead of a *dole*.' In conclusion Mr Enock asks why Socialism is growing, and answers that it is due to 'poverty and discontent in a large measure. Socialism is non-imperial in character. It endangers the Empire both from within and without. As long as seven-tenths of our population—as they are—live under the heading of "poor," so long will dissension grow.'²

Public Opinion brought forward the main points of the subject as follows:—

"WHO SHOULD OWN IMPERIAL REAL ESTATE ?

"HOW TO PRESERVE IT FROM EXPLOITATION FOR THE ENRICHMENT OF THE MOTHERLAND AND THE PEOPLE TO BE

"A remarkable paper was read by Mr C. Reginald Enock to the Royal Society of Arts on a subject which deserves profound attention.

"In brief he suggested that the motherland should secure for herself some share in the real estate (the land) of the Empire, so that, instead of our colonies being exploited for private profit (as now), the citizens of the

homeland should share in the future prosperity of those colonies which owe their existence to her children. He suggests that our municipalities should obtain land in the colonies, and, when this appreciates in value, that value would come to the citizens of the towns owning the land.

“ Here we give some of the main points of Mr Enock’s thought-provoking paper.

An Empire in Name

“ This great problem has occupied Mr Enock’s mind for years, both in his extensive travel in the vast unoccupied lands of the world and among the squalid areas of our ‘ imperial ’ poor neighbourhoods at home. Mr Enock contends that ‘ the empire, for our people as individuals, is little more than a name. We tell ourselves that “ the sun never sets upon it,” but the real fact is that the sun has never risen upon it in the sense of practical ownership. The enormous value of our colonial land resources is overlooked by Britain and we are permitting the land to be given away or sold to syndicates, foreigners, and individuals as fast as it can be got rid of.

“ ‘ This simply amounts to reproducing in these new worlds the defects of the old, from which we are suffering to-day: What will it profit the 45, 50, or 100 million people of these islands of Britain if Canada, Australia, and Africa have become populous, practically independent countries, if we have retained none of the land and its resources for our own benefit at home ? It is the fatuous benevolence of King Lear over again !

Colonies restricting Immigration

“ ‘ More, our colonies are beginning to restrict immigration from Britain ; weeding out and refusing admission

to what they term "undesirables," which is mainly another term for our unemployed: I submit that the colonies have no right to exclude a single British citizen, of whatever status; no more right than the people of London have to exclude the people of Manchester or Birmingham.

" ' I do not, however, think there could be cause for dissension in these matters if we could follow the method I have been consistently bringing forward under what I have ventured to term a "new imperial doctrine." This urges the acquisition of colonial land by municipalities in Britain, to be developed for the benefit of the rate-payers.

Our Cities as Imperial Landlords

" ' " Let every city and municipality of Britain acquire an area of free land in the colonies, hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for its people, and develop it for their needs." Working capital could be obtained by a fraction on the rates, possibly, and valuable new properties created which would form fresh centres of industry and sources of revenue for the communities of this overwrought island of Britain. In practice, I submit that the acquisition of these areas should be made by bodies of influential wealthy ratepayers of every town, and held by them as trustees for the community, with the underlying Imperial purpose which the plan embodies, added to a strictly business régime of development. I believe that in time these new lands would form fields for the activities of our sons and daughters, give us a source of revenue, absorb our unemployed, and tend towards the elimination of the 31 millions of poor rates, etc., which we now pay annually.

" ' It would be an investment we should make in pro-

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viding this working capital, as contrasted with the present endless dole of the poor rates. We must act in this before it is too late, for our colonial property is rapidly being acquired, and a few years will see it squandered without permanent benefit resulting to the mother-country from it.¹

The Cry for a Fuller Life

“ Mr Enock says that he is ‘obsessed by the cry of so many of his fellow-citizens for a fuller life, for room to live, and even for work and bread. I have spent years in unoccupied lands full of natural riches spread out for the taking—fertile valleys, forests, minerals—but almost uninhabited. on the one hand : and, on the other, I have observed the serious insufficiency of life in England, shading off into destitution and no-employment, with a fringe of starving wretches on our city streets. Without any necessity for exaggeration of the gravity of these matters, we are compelled to admit that a great proportion of the people of this country are living under conditions which are not those of a contented people, not those which can go on nourishing a prosperous increasing population, and not those which can continue to produce an imperial race.

The Civilisation of Savages

“ ‘ I submit that the meanest tribe of unclothed savages in the Amazon forests, where I have travelled, do not suffer from such conditions. There is always a handful of bananas to fill an empty belly, and a roof of boughs overhead to keep out the rain. It is our present system of commercialism which has brought this condition upon us. We own the richest empire in the world, but fail to make use of it except in a commercial sense,

for the benefit of the few. But we are a charitably disposed people, and the self-appointed ministers of the submerged strata are always endeavouring to alleviate poverty, even if they do not attempt to prevent it.

Wanted, Shares in the Empire

“ ‘ In our oversea territories we have boundless plains of wheat-growing and cattle-raising capacity ; endless mountain ranges full of iron, gold, coal, and all other minerals ; limitless forests of valuable timber, rivers and seas teeming with fish, lands uncultivated ; forests uncut, mines unworked, rivers unfished, railways and roads unbuilt, and tenantless town sites ; extending over entire continents. Yet a large proportion of our people at home are in the condition of beggars, or semi-beggars.

“ ‘ What is the empire for, if not to be a contented, prosperous community ? Every citizen of Britain, man or woman, is entitled—from the very fact of being a British citizen—to a tangible share in the imperial real estate.

“ ‘ If he has not got it, it is simply because the custodians of the empire have not bestirred themselves to give it to him. Each citizen is entitled to participation and actual ownership in and profit by the land resources of this empire. If he is not, then it is not an empire, but one small island crowded with people, and numerous half-empty outlying colonial lands separated by seas, without geographical or political coherence, and united in little more than name ; and probably only for a brief period longer.

A National Crime

“ ‘ For people to send up a bitter cry of “ no room to live ” in the heart of an empire with a land area of nearly 11½ million square miles ; for men to be unable to obtain

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work when we have whole continents lying idle for lack of population ; for men, women, and children to be starving when we have at our command every food product and every kind of raw material from the equator to the Arctic circle, is something more than negligence, it is a national crime. So rapidly are the available lands of Canada being filled up that we are informed that within a few years all but the most remote territories will have become private property, and, as we see, largely that of aliens:

“ ‘ We are entitled to ask, paternally and respectfully, ‘ Has Great Britain given her colonies any mandate to give away the imperial property in this way ? Why this feverish haste to get rid of these valuable possessions ? ’ ”

“ ‘ How is it to be done ?

How to Begin it

“ ‘ It is to be begun by the taking up by every municipality and urban district in Great Britain of an area of land in the colonies, which shall form the basis of an imperial ownership and development of the empire,’ says Mr Enock. ‘ This new doctrine of imperial penetration may be concretely expressed as follows :—“ Let every municipality and urban district in Britain acquire an area of free land in the oversea dominions, and hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for its people.” ’ ”

“ ‘ Thus the cities, towns, and districts of Middlesex, Yorkshire, Devon, and all others will acquire landed properties in Canada, Australia, Africa, etc. Equally the cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, and all others must acquire great pieces of real estate overseas. The advantages will be mutual. Both Britain and her colonies will be drawing new sources of life from each other, the one in the possession of the land

which she lacks at present, the other in the acquisition of new population and more capital ; whilst the new connection established would form powerful, indelible bonds of unity, and open the way for a real commonwealth. I submit that the purpose is an alluring and practical one.

The Results

“ ‘ Without being fanciful, we can imagine the benefits that might be brought about by this plan. It is reasonable to predict the creation under it of new properties of great value for all our cities—London, Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, and others—and the establishing in prosperity of their surplus people and energy upon them, forming added centres of wealth, and, by fostering local pride in the possession, creating what might practically be looked upon as extensions of their own communities.

“ ‘ Their influential citizens will have awakened to the value of their imperial heritage, and will have formed an association to take up and develop large tracts of colonial land. The result, both in the old towns and in the busy manufacturing ones, will be marked and rapid. The new property created in the colonies will have been developed, and form a field of enterprise for their young men and women who would have gone otherwise to crowd London offices, or to the United States. It will have absorbed their unemployed.”

The Observer published an article as follows :—

“ That it is essential to promulgate a new imperial doctrine of ownership of empire, under which every municipality and urban district in the United Kingdom shall acquire an area of free land in the Oversea Dominions of

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Colonies, and hold it in perpetuity as a heritage for its people ; and develop it for their needs, creating new sources of industry and revenue. : : .

“ That it is time to establish an Imperial Council drawn from all parts of the Empire, to the end of bringing about the formation of such a commonwealth.

“ This is the gist of the important scheme outlined by Mr C. Reginald Enock, F.R.G.S., in his lecture at the Royal Society of Arts, and of which he gave further details in an interview on behalf of *The Observer*.

“ ‘ I am greatly concerned,’ he said, ‘ by the fact of our having on one hand these great resources of nature, especially those in our own possession, unused and calling for labour, and on the other hand by so large a portion of our population here looking for work and a means of subsistence. My desire is to bring about the application of this surplus human material here to the Colonial lands over there—not in the form of labour colonies, or by pitchforking out our unemployed, who could not help themselves—but by proceeding on what I will call a really scientific or geographical method, under which every municipal district or city in Great Britain shall acquire a tract of territory free (for there is a great deal of free land to be had in Australia, Africa and Canada), or, if not free, there is plenty to be had at only a few cents an acre. I propose that the acquisition should be brought about by associations of the prominent residents of our municipalities, in conjunction with the members of the public bodies.

Development of the Land

“ ‘ Having obtained a tract of land—which would be selected for its forests, minerals and agricultural possibilities—the next requisite will be working capital. This,

I suggest, should be obtained by a small amount upon the rates, possibly in the form of a voluntary tax. The land would be developed by proper business methods, under managers and engineers specially sent out for the purpose.

“ ‘ The tract of colonial land thus acquired would absorb by degrees the surplus labour of the particular district in England to which it belongs—not, as I have explained, in the form of labour colonies, which have proved a failure—but as an extension of their own municipality at home, in which local pride would be fostered and the social relations between the home and the colonial district strengthened. The work, if properly carried out, would not only absorb the surplus labour, but would yield in course of time what might be called dividends, which would be applied by the home authorities in mitigating the rates and taxes of the people in the home community. The financial principle would not be different from that of ordinary mining or industrial or land companies formed by English capital in the colonies.

“ ‘ It is part of the plan to try to obviate the too strong tendency to selection in emigration at present employed by the colonies, because we must provide for the lowest of our population as well as the fit, and seek to eliminate them for the coming generation. These would be retained at home or sent abroad under such conditions as would not cause any injury to the colonies, for the management or control of the wastrels would be from home. The colonies might object, but under proper conditions the immigrants could not prove prejudicial to them. It is only fair that, if the colonies absorb our “desirable emigrants,” they should not put obstacles in the way of our trying to provide for our poor out there as well.’

“ Mr Enock emphasised the fact that there would be

absolutely no interference with the existing Colonial political control, the scheme being entirely confined to the respective municipal centres throughout the United Kingdom.

“ ‘It is necessary to act quickly,’ urged Mr Enock, ‘because in Canada the land is being very rapidly acquired by foreigners and private individuals and syndicates, especially Americans, who have recently taken up millions of acres of land, and who are expected in the present year to go into the wheat-growing provinces of Canada in very great numbers.

“ ‘I have even taken the preliminary steps towards the formation of an association for London, with the object of taking up a tract of land on the best terms possible, from one of the colonial Governments, preferably Canada, or Australia or Newfoundland. The working capital would be raised in the City, and a Board of Commissioners formed, consisting of prominent imperialists, bankers and other business men, who would carry out the scheme on strictly business lines, with an Imperial purpose underlying it. I suggest that it might be possible to do this by assigning what might be termed Imperial scrip or shares. Say, for example, a capital of £5,000,000 were raised for the purpose. This could be divided into 5s. shares, which could be freely acquired by the British public, and the holding of these would constitute their possession of a tangible share in the Empire.

“ Mr Enock is well known as a lecturer and as the author of several books of travel, especially in North and South America. His last book was ‘The Great Pacific Coast.’ His profession of engineer has called him to many distant parts of the world. He has travelled untrodden territory for South American Governments, and the scheme he has just made public is the result of many

years spent in new or undeveloped lands, and his realisation of the insufficiency, both of work and space, for the people of this country in their own home land."¹

From the colonial press many criticisms were received. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, said :

"Mr C. Reginald Enock recently read a paper to the Royal Society of Arts strongly advocating the purchase of land in the British colonies by English municipalities who would hold it in trust on behalf of the citizens of their own towns or cities. The enormous value of our colonial land, Mr Enock says, is overlooked by Britain and is being given away or sold to syndicates, foreigners and individuals, with a fatuous benevolence worthy of King Lear. Why, he asks, should an empire with a land area of $11\frac{1}{2}$ million square miles—much of it lying waste for lack of population—have any difficulty in providing work for its people? Working capital could easily be provided for the development of the land, and the unemployed would find an outlet for all their available energy. In fact the double profit of getting rid of the unemployed and of drawing a large revenue from the improved land would work towards the elimination of the £31,000,000 at present paid in poor rates. As things are at present, there is a prospect of all the land being acquired without any permanent benefit to the Mother Country. So rapidly are the available lands of Canada being filled up that within a few years all but the most remote territories will have become private property, a great part of it in the hands of foreigners. Let the motherland, says Mr Enock, secure for herself some share in the real estate of the Empire, to the mutual profit of the citizens of the old

country and of her colonial possessions, who need the capital they would thus acquire."

The *Overseas China Mail*, Hongkong, said :

"DISPOSING OF PUBLIC LANDS

"Hongkong is not the only British colony where an almost too eager tendency is displayed to dispose of Government lands to all and sundry, regardless of the claims of posterity. In Canada, Australia, the Cape, and elsewhere the same tale can be told with wearisome iteration, for all alike are tarred with the same brush. The subject is beginning to arouse attention in England and forms the text of a very thoughtful address to the Royal Society of Arts by Mr C. Reginald Enock. He points out how rapidly in all the colonies the land is passing from the Government into the hands of the people, and how in Canada of late years these sales have been eagerly made to aliens, and he then proceeds to point out the mistake the Empire is making in not retaining possession of some of this land for the benefit of generations yet to come. Or, if the land must be sold, then he suggests that the Motherland should become the purchaser so that the Colonies instead of being exploited for private profit entirely as at present, may provide the sources whereby the citizens of the Homeland can share in the prosperity of the lands for which they have made great sacrifices. He therefore suggests that the municipalities of Great Britain should acquire land in the Colonies, which they should hold or develop as best serves the needs of the particular community. He says : ' In practice, I submit that the acquisition of these areas should be made by bodies of influential wealthy ratepayers of every town, and held by them as trustees for the community, with the underlying imperial

purpose which the plan embodies, added to a strictly business régime of development. I believe that in time these new lands would form fields for the activities of our sons and daughters, give us a source of revenue, absorb our unemployed, and tend towards the elimination of the 31 millions of poor rates, etc., which we now pay annually. It would be an investment we should make in providing this working capital, as contrasted with the present endless dole of the poor rates. We must act in this before it is too late, for our colonial property is rapidly being acquired, and a few years will see it squandered without permanent benefit resulting to the mother-country from it.'

"Mr Enock told his hearers that he had spent many years of his life in unoccupied lands full of natural riches spread out for the taking—fertile valleys, forests, minerals—and had returned to a land where he observes a serious insufficiency of the means for adequately supporting life, shading off into destitution and non-employment, with a fringe of starving wretches on our city streets which makes one doubt at times whether England can long continue to pursue the path of her Imperial destiny. She has at present possession of the richest empire ever known, yet through the faulty methods now pursued it is being wasted in such a manner that poverty and destitution is the normal condition of a large portion of the population. The remedy lies, thinks Mr Enock, in the scheme which he proposes. If the cities, towns and districts of Middlesex, Yorkshire, Devon and other counties were to acquire landed properties in Canada, Australia, Africa, etc., he foresees mutual advantages springing up on every hand. Both Britain and her colonies would be drawing new sources of life from each other, the one in the possession of the

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land which she lacks at present, the other in the acquisition of new population and more capital; whilst the new connection established would form powerful, indelible bonds of unity, and open the way for a real commonwealth.

“ Mr Enock says, in conclusion, that it is reasonable to predict the creation under his scheme of new properties of great value for all our cities—London, Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, and others—and the establishing in prosperity of their surplus people and energy upon them, forming added centres of wealth, and, by fostering local pride in the possession, creating what might practically be looked upon as extensions of their own communities. ‘ Their influential citizens will have awakened to the value of their imperial heritage, and will have formed an association to take up and develop large tracts of colonial land. The result, both in the old towns and in the busy manufacturing ones, will be marked and rapid. The new property created in the colonies will have been developed, and form a field of enterprise for their young men and women who would have gone otherwise to crowd London offices, or to the United States. It will have absorbed their unemployed.’

“ The scheme certainly looks both alluring and practical.”

Such are some of the most typical of the comments upon this plan, and they show that the main idea has sunk into the minds of British people in many parts of the world. A splendid work lies before the press in awakening the people of England and the colonies to the possibility of our imperial heritage.

XIX

THE COMMONWEALTH COUNCIL

FOR the governance of the British Empire, if it is to remain an entity, it is natural to suppose that an Imperial Council or parliament must grow to being ; a body whose members would be drawn from all parts of the King's dominions. Such a council has been imagined, but what form it would take, of what officials it should be composed, what would be its functions and the scope of its authority, still remain nebulous upon the imperial future.

Under present conditions it is no easy task to endeavour to outline the structure and functions of such a body. The first point upon which we could speak with any real meaning would be to say that the nature of such a council would depend upon what the conception of the empire is to be. That is, is the empire to be one as regards its resources and activities, or is it to be simply an alliance of friendly independent states ? At the present time it cannot be affirmed positively which way we are trending, as regards the self-governing states, whether towards unity or severance, and

the half-sinister question whether permanent unity is possible with these still crops up amid our thoughts. The great self-governing colonies will no doubt resolve the situation first. They must be one thing or the other. Either they are to be part and parcel of the homeland and of the whole, or they are to go their own ways. If they are to conduct, independently, their own affairs, as they are beginning to do, in matters which affect the policy of the empire, and simply to send England an "ambassador"—as the Canadian and Australian representatives have been half fancifully, half seriously termed already—then what purpose can be served by the appointing of governors over them from the mother country, or by the pretence of any control? What association beyond that merely of friendly nations could result from this, and what significance will a common flag then have?

Canada is negotiating her own measures of commercial tariffs, of land settlement and of defence, and treats with other powers as if she were an independent entity.¹ This course may

¹ *The Morning Post*, 21st June 1910, says: "Canada's fiscal policy was the subject of a question in the House of Commons last night. The Government was asked if the recent agreements of commercial reciprocity between the Dominion and certain foreign countries had been made with the full knowledge and consent of the Colonial Office. The Government replied in the affirmative, and

be a satisfying one from the colonial point of view but it can scarcely make for imperial unity. If each of the self-governing states were strong said that in similar circumstances the same course would be adopted with regard to other self-governing dominions. The Canadian negotiations have been interesting on account both of their form and of their substance. In form they have represented the furthest development of Colonial independence yet reached, the Canadian Government having, in the case of the United States, carried on the negotiations almost as if the Central Government of the Empire were non-existent. The progress of this development was traced in a paper lately laid on the table of the House. As far back as 1892 Sir Charles Tupper, who was then the Canadian High Commissioner in London, was empowered by the Imperial Government to act with the British Ambassador in Paris in negotiating a commercial treaty between Canada and France. A few years later, in 1895, a circular despatch was sent to the colonial Governments by the Marquis of Ripon, then Colonial Secretary in the Liberal Government, defining the constitutional principles to be observed in such cases. The essential point was that, consistently with the unity of the Empire, every agreement between a colony and a foreign country must be made technically by the Imperial Government. 'To give the colonies the power of negotiating treaties for themselves without reference to her Majesty's Government,' the despatch declared, 'would be to give them an international status as separate and sovereign states, and would be equivalent to breaking up the Empire into a number of independent states.' It was laid down accordingly that the negotiations should always be conducted by 'her Majesty's

enough to defend itself then the imperial association, as far as they were concerned, might come to a natural end. Britain, whilst she could complain of ingratitude, would in a measure have herself to thank for the result. She has handed over all her rights, either directly or by acquiescence, and certainly would never seek to reclaim them by force of arms. Not only self-government has been given but sovereign possession of the land. A handful of colonists dwelling representative at the court of the foreign power,' with whom might be associated a delegate of the colonial Government 'either as a second plenipotentiary or in a subordinate capacity.' But for the purpose of the recent negotiations between Canada and the United States this rule was relaxed. Sir Edward Grey was content that the matter should be left entirely to the Canadian Government, whom he expected would keep the imperial authorities informed as to the progress of the negotiations. The result was that at one stage the Government had to confess that they were without knowledge of important developments which had been reported in the press. The British Ambassador at Washington was, it appears, equally without official knowledge. Presumably it was to this that the Earl of Crewe alluded at the Colonial Institute dinner on 15th March when he said, protesting against the idea of the different parts of the Empire acting independently towards foreign countries, that it was possible to 'march towards the fatal goal of separation down the road of sympathy almost as fast as down the road of indifference.'¹ ²³

on one edge of an uninhabited continent is given a charter, and straightway sets to work to proclaim themselves its master, and to exclude the exercise of rights and enjoyment by the parent state who created them. Possibly the condition may be said to be an inevitable one, but is it defensible on moral grounds ?

It is the question, then, of interdependency which must first resolve itself. Either Britain has authority over the self-governing states, to command certain matters of general policy, or she has not, or cannot exercise it. If she has not it is difficult to see in what unity will consist. It cannot under such a condition be in a confederation like the United States, for example, and there seems to remain nothing but the "friendly alliance." But what would be the value to Britain in an association in which she held no authority nor drew direct benefit, and yet which she would feel bound to protect in times of stress, possibly to her own detriment ? The whole situation, if these developments of somewhat arrogant independence grow, seems one which might suggest that the basis of the empire will have to rest upon its other possessions. Whilst on the other hand it must be recognised that communities, like individuals, must grow up and have their own establishments, the fact remains that the line must be drawn between independence and ingratitude.

But an immediate solution lies open when we come to consider the empire as a Commonwealth, upon the lines which have been sketched in these pages. The empire becomes inter-owned, interdependent. All must protect its every part, all interests are bound up together, and the patriotism and sense of proprietorship of one part is extended over to the other. At present, not only are economic interests diverging but positive antagonism is being aroused, and lines of cleavage appearing; and the fact before us to-day is that our imperial heritage, won by ourselves and our forefathers, is slipping away. But under the spirit and practice of a commonwealth, consolidation would be secured, and governance would become only a matter of arrangement and decision.

If this splendid confederation is to be brought about it will be necessary to arouse both a greater interest in the overseas possession on the part of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, and a greater sense of desire to help and co-operate by the oversea people. In Great Britain more practical interest must be aroused in the oversea territory, both on the part of individuals and on that of the numerous national institutions. It is to be feared that most of these take but a lukewarm interest in the possibilities of the empire at present, whilst some of them seem to develop

signs of senile decay at times. There is also a tendency among some of the English learned bodies to look upon matters of closer union as something entirely foreign to their ideas.¹ Such a phrase as that quoted below, and similar utterances which constantly appear in the press, doubtless have no specific significance, but if the empire is to be looked upon in the future by our representative institutions as a purely political alliance of independent states who send "ambassadors," then is it to be feared the Flag will become but a Platonic emblem.

That this tendency does exist is shown in many ways, and in none more so than by the Imperial Government at present.² There is a lack of self-assertiveness in bringing forward the just position of the homeland towards the colonies and a senile fear of offending them, and lack of backbone in general in our relation therewith. This is fatal to a real adjustment of our relations. The timid cry of "interference" is constantly raised. But good-natured interference in such cases

¹ In a recent address the president of the Royal Geographical Society spoke of the agents-general of the various colonies as "gentlemen who may perhaps best be described as ambassadors representing those great practically independent states which, in confederation with ourselves, we call the British Empire."—7th February 1910.

² 1910. See pages 133, 238, etc.

would be beneficial to both parties. We should welcome at home the preachers of useful doctrines from the colonies. The English people are not very sensitive and are constantly receiving in good part well-meant advice from others.¹ Let our colonial kinsmen come over here and wake us up about Tariff Reform as much as they like, or about our slums, or "decadence," or anything else. We shall, with very small exception, be glad to hear them. Healthy interference with each other's affairs of this nature will show that we are really kin. But with the growth of timorous aloofness on the one hand, or with a disagreeable spirit such as has been described as "you-be-damnedness" on the other, we are likely to drift apart. Instances are not wanting of the growth of these matters. The great subject of immigration has furnished one, in the timidity displayed by the Colonial Office² on

¹ Mr Roosevelt on Egypt and Captain Mahan on the Navy are recent examples.

² House of Commons, 4th July, as quoted by *The Morning Post*. See also page 133, etc. "The Unionist member for Devonport asked the Under Secretary for the Colonies whether he would now consider the advisability, in the best interests of the homeland and of the self-governing dominions oversea, of taking advantage of the resolution passed at the last Imperial Conference to hold a subsidiary conference on the question of emigration and immigration, to which should be sum-

various occasions. These have not received the attention they deserve. The man in the street is still too busy keeping his shops, and the custodians of the empire are at their old work of handing over, lock, stock and barrel, his imperial rights. They appear to forget, moreover, that one of the essential qualities of demeanour with new peoples is that of kindly firmness, which arouses respect and acquiescence. Nothing is so easily produced as the "swelled head," and once brought about it takes at least a century to subside, as regards a nation or a colony. The Imperial Government, as at present constituted, has shown itself all through history, and emphasises it to-day, incompetent to deal with the colonies, and it could never control adequately the governance of an Imperial Commonwealth. In times gone by the home governments of empires saw in their distant colonies means for their own enrichment, which were carried out by unjust methods. Now the swing of the pendulum is the other way, and the sacrifices are made by the mother country.

moned special appointed representatives of all the Governments concerned. The Under Secretary replied that his Majesty's Government is not prepared to consider the possibility of a series of special conferences on emigration unless there is a clear indication that the Governments of the self-governing dominions desire such a course."

The measures taken for the imperial ownership and intensive development of Greater Britain must come equally from the self-governing colonies as from the homeland. If Canada, Australia and the other dominions desire in reality to assist the homeland, to show a sense of elementary gratitude and fairness, a wise appreciation of the teachings of history, and to prove that they possess a spirit of forethought in the building of their society, they should take steps without loss of time :

(a) To remove absolutely all restrictions against the immigration of people from Great Britain of whatever status, so atoning for the serious breach made in imperial constitutional law.

(b) To curtail the immigration of non-British stock within reasonable limits. At no time should an annual excess of aliens over British be permitted.¹

(c) The absolute prohibition of homesteading by non-British immigrants, no foreigners being permitted to take up any free land whatsoever, in view of the enormous body of landless British.

(d) The absolute cessation of the sale of any further state lands to aliens.

(e) The immediate setting aside of the best

¹ In Canada at the present time the proportion is three aliens to one British immigrant.

remaining tracts of fertile lands, to be allocated in fee simple to British municipalities.

(f) The allocation of other rich and extensive areas to national imperial needs, such as the navy, hospitals, asylums, pensions, insurance, etc.

In years to come there can be no question that—if empire unity is maintained—Canada and Australia must arise to great importance in the partnership. The present development of Canada is marvellous, and if so mighty a growth is maintained men still living will see a second great American power arise. As to Canada's future position in the empire, a famous governor-general¹ has said that Canada may become "not only the granary, but the heart, soul, and rudder of the empire." With this enthusiasm, noble in its way,

¹ Earl Grey, at Ottawa, 5th May 1910: "When I reflect on the vastness of your area, on the fertility of your soil, and on the unlimited wealth of your natural resources, which I rejoice that you are determined scientifically to conserve as well as vigorously to develop, when I reflect upon the invigorating nature of your climate and on the strenuous character of your people, when I reflect upon all those great advantages which you possess in such an abundance and exceptional degree—then, gentlemen, I feel as convinced as I am that to-morrow's sun will rise that if you keep true to the highest ideals of duty and disinterested service nothing can prevent you from becoming, perhaps before the close of the present century, not only the granary, but the heart, soul, and rudder of the empire."¹

and considering it partly as a figure of speech, there is no necessity to take issue. Englishmen, however, will never permit the thought that any state but Britain can be paramount in the empire. Moreover, it is not only population and area that can make a nation great. Tradition and character count for more in the real sphere of greatness. The United States is many times larger than England in land and people, but she is not as great, nor shows signs of being so. In some respects she is 500 years behind Britain. Modern civilisation seems to show us that the new nations are obliged to pass through long periods of a non-intellectual materialism and dollar-worship, following on rapid development of natural resources and the easy acquisition of wealth. Such has befallen the United States; such, unless the lessons of history are heeded, must befall Canada, Australia and South Africa. The "get-rich-quick" spirit spreads like wildfire, and brings in its train political corruption and social disorders which in unvarnished terms may be described as robbery and murder. Canada can never—or not for centuries—be as great a force in the Anglo-Saxon world as England. She will require first an Alfred the Great, a Cromwell, a Trafalgar, and a Waterloo, and ancient churches and cathedrals scattered over her land. The "grain-elevator" and the "quick lunch" will not prove

substitutes, and this we say in no unkind spirit, but as a vindication of the very necessity for time upon human affairs before greatness can be secured.

These considerations lead on to the matter of the position of the self-governing dominions in the imperial council. What voice in the imperial policy are they to have? It is obvious that their relations with foreign powers have not, nor can have, the same importance as those of the predominant partner, the mother country. Geographical conditions as well as historical account for this. Canada is a huge compact entity, coming into direct contact with only one foreign power, the United States. Australia is absolutely isolated, and—sufficiently armed—secure in that isolation. South Africa is also remote, and with sea frontiers principally; and, most important of all, all these three great entities are, or could be, absolutely self-supporting as regards material requirements. Britain is in a very different case. A thousand ties and a thousand necessities bring this relatively small island into touch with half-a-hundred foreign nations, all over the world. England could never be self-supporting and independent (in a geographical sense), and she is the only nation in the world of her peculiar class. Her commerce, her investments, her diplomacy run in a thousand channels which supply her

sources of life, and form of her indeed a heart, paramount in importance, but dependent upon other organs, and vitally attached thereto. Thus, in an empire-partnership with the colonies Britain must always be the mistress of foreign affairs. The principle of "equality" such as has been urged in some quarters, could not be established as regards the representatives of the self-governing dominions in an imperial council, in dealing with the imperial foreign policy.

As regards her domestic affairs, as concerns civic progress and the welfare of the people, these, under the confederation or commonwealth, would take on an imperial aspect, and whilst they must be controlled by the home people and authorities, colonial advice should be useful and welcomed. It is more than possible in the future that returning wealthy colonials will take up their residence in Britain and like to stand for British constituencies in Parliament; and this might be a valuable imperial leaven. But before that aspect were entered upon, there is an earlier phase to be considered, which must receive attention. In the first place, let us lay it down as an axiom that *no country is as well governed by its parliament (or congress) as it ought to be*. That is to say, the natural tendency of these institutions is to occupy their time more with political matters than with those which make more intimately for

the welfare and progress of the people. This fact is abundantly evident, in whatever part of the world we examine it. The individual M.P. rapidly loses his individual point of view, and forgets, or is not enabled to bring forward, those matters vitally connected with the betterment of the people with which he entered the national assembly. We observe that great political questions are those which arouse these assemblies to interest, whilst more useful matters of everyday legislation are brought before half-empty benches, and do not receive due consideration.

This attitude is natural, and it would not be wise to attempt to suppress it altogether. Whilst a "pure milk bill," "better housing measure," or other similar matters may be of more relative importance than some fierce political controversy, it is to these broader issues that the minds of men—politically elected—ever turn; and although we may not desire to tamper with this, it is time to supplement it. To restate our axiom that no country is as well governed by its parliament as it ought to be will lead us on to reflect that an Imperial Council, constituted only of members representing high political thought, would equally fail, of themselves alone, of sufficiently directing the interests of the people of the imperial states which they represented. They would not be sufficient, alone, for the governance of the empire: but

should form an Upper Chamber, supplemented by a lower, Expert Chamber, as described below.

The fact is that the people are not sufficiently represented in their parliaments, or rather the thinking and expert people are not. The remedy, and the plan for a more efficient governance of empire, which the author here ventures to put forth, is one which, as far as he knows, does not appear to have been brought forward before. *The affairs of the people must be directed by more expert representatives ; not only by diplomatists or politicians, but by those with special knowledge.* The special knowledge of the country, which has become organised by a process of natural development, is not, remarkable to say, in any way represented in the governance of the country. If this were done, it might be possible to make more reasonable progress in the advancement of the welfare of the community, which seems so lamentably slow. The plan is, to form a supplementary "parliament" of delegates from all the constituted, scientific, learned, commercial and possibly ecclesiastical bodies throughout the country, representing all spheres of national thought and activity. Thus would the expert talent of the country be represented in its governance, which can scarcely be said to be done by the ordinary M.P., who, whilst possessing the valuable quality of detachment, lacks that of expert concentration.

Among the bodies who would represent the expert knowledge of the country are :

The various Imperial leagues, clubs and associations.

The Chambers of Commerce of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and all other cities.

The Royal Society of Arts.

The Royal Geographical Society.

The Royal Scottish and other Geographical Societies.

Royal Colonial Institute.

Institution of Civil Engineers.

Institution of Mining and Metallurgy.

Royal Institute of British Architects.

Society of Engineers.

Surveyors' Institution.

Iron and Steel Institute.

Employers' Federation.

Labour Federations.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

The great steamship companies.

The principal railway companies.

Imperial Institute.

The Educational Unions and Societies.

The Friendly Societies.

The Mothers' Union and kindred societies.

The principal Banks.

The County Councils.

Dr Barnardo's Homes

Sociological Society

Royal Statistical Society.

The Medical Profession

Schools of Tropical Medicine

Law Associations

The principal newspapers

The authors' societies.

The great libraries.

The religious denominations, etc., etc., etc.

In brief, *every constituted body* of importance should send its delegates, and all should draw professional fees. The above is an incomplete list, only given as examples.

A body formed of such elements would not delay long in deliberating upon measures for the practical advancement of social conditions. Business men, geographers, engineers, philanthropists, scientists, financial experts, employers of labour, representatives of labour, experts in transport and production, ecclesiastical representatives and so forth, would speak with a weighty voice upon national matters in so expert a conclave. Neither politics nor foreign policy would directly come within the scope of the body ; remaining as before the field of the Westminster parliament, which however would be influenced by its opinion : and could be thinned out. It must always be borne in mind that a state cannot be run

as a "business concern" alone, notwithstanding the cry to make it such emitted by reformers at times. Its governance depends partly upon matters outside both business and science, but influenced thereby to a proper extent: but native, expert knowledge, it is time should be fully represented in national and imperial governance.

One of the foremost ideals of this body should be that which has been brought forward in these pages, *that the time has arrived for a systematic and scientific conservation and development of the resources of the empire for the benefit of its people.* Its first work would be a scientific, practical tabulation of the land and other resources of the whole empire. That being done, the principle advocated here of the allotment of areas of fertile colonial territory to organisations of ratepayers, or of municipal authorities, or both, would be brought forward actively. Every encouragement and stimulation would be given for the formation of these, and as far as were desirable the way pointed to the raising of the working capital. The machinery for the semi-penal control of the "unemployables" as outlined in another chapter would be urged. The tabulation of the capabilities and defects of the home population would run hand in hand with the organisation and development of the imperial resources.

The active development of the Crown colonies

and other dependencies of the empire would be pushed to the uttermost under this expert governance, the benefit of the people taking precedence absolutely over purely private enterprises which, however, would be fully encouraged in conformity with the new principles of empire ownership. For we must recollect that the present methods—necessary in the past—of working natural and national resources by private effort for private gain, which permit gain to the community only as it filters down through these private sources, is only the fringe or barbaric first stage of the real development of the “fulness of the earth.” The “robber barons” and “trusts” of modern industrial enterprise have had their value in industrial evolution, just as the feudal, robber barons had. Both in their respective spheres created nuclei around which development grew. Thus it is that the resources of the British Empire must, in the future, be worked under some “national” method, which, whilst it embodies the stimulus of gain that has attached to private enterprise, will permit the benefits to the community to be on a much vaster scale and will avoid the necessity for filtration through individual pockets, so giving more direct enjoyment to the imperial “shareholders.”

Before all other matters concerning the enjoyment of the empire must be placed its protection,

but both must run hand in hand. A navy invincible (under providence) to all the wanton outside menace that could be brought upon us is a good test for the British people's worthiness to remain a dominant nation. But the cost of this navy weighs heavily upon us. Our taxpayers are bearing increased burdens. Is there no way by which our great property of empire can help to bear the cost of maintaining the navy? A corps of competent civil engineers, a freely-given working capital and a fertile unoccupied province in Canada, one in Australia, another in Africa, could supply the answer. In brief, large tracts of rich territory, rich in mines, forests, agricultural land should be set apart immediately, and brought into a producing stage, and their revenues held in perpetuity towards the upkeep of the navy, after the plan advocated for the imperial settlements. Why should not the army receive similar support.

The question of food-supply for the people of Britain is the most important matter after defence. It might have been supposed that a far-reaching empire such as ours, producing everything in the way of food products known to mankind, could at least have inaugurated methods to ensure food at a reasonable cost to its citizens. But it is not so. Notwithstanding the efforts of science, in production, cold-storage, etc., and the increase

of railways and steamers, our bread and butter cost us more and more. As shown in a former chapter,¹ common articles are becoming luxuries or are reaching a prohibitive price as regards the great body of ratepayers and citizens. With the price of food rising, and with the well-known (but little-grasped) conditions concerning our dependence upon foreign supplies which might be cut off by a hostile fleet there is no measure so necessary as that for a scientific and systematic control and development of England's food supply. The present authorities display a criminal apathy on the subject which might have a terrible awakening. We can all have plenty to eat if we will set to work to grow it and to take measures to defend and own our empire and work its lands for our benefit. This matter of food supply must be one to occupy the immediate attention of a Commonwealth Council.

In such a council as has been proposed there should be encouraged the talent of younger men than those who at present conduct imperial affairs. Indeed, even among the learned bodies in England, it would appear, young men either do not come forward, or are not encouraged to do so; probably the latter. A glance at both platform and audience at meetings and lectures often shows a preponderance of men far past the prime of

¹ See page 65.

life: and in philanthropic societies, of women and military men. Where is the younger civil element? Moreover, it must be the growing generation of imperialists which will really carry out imperial unity. Probably a great many of the present imperialists, whether home or colonial, beyond a certain age, are too much imbued with parochial ideas. The colonial representatives, notwithstanding the splendid work they have done, are of an old régime, guarding too jealously the interests of their particular states, whilst many of the distinguished men at home are too much of a conservative imperialism, and have not set foot in the field of a new Imperial Commonwealth. The proper generation will soon come to being, if the empire is destined to consolidate and advance.

What part the Crown should play in such a system of governance would naturally develop. The incalculable value of the royal prestige and association to empire unity has been commented on elsewhere,¹ and its vital bearing, especially upon the linking of the colonies one with the other. If royal activity could become a more tangible force, if it were possible for the King actually to visit or hold courts in the colonial capitals, then indeed would petty jealousies tend to become subservient to the higher civic ideals which practice

¹ See page 46.

shows culminate in the throne. It would be a new departure unheard of in the history of empires no doubt. But in an Imperial Commonwealth, embodying new ideals, such new departures would be natural. Here indeed is a new "Field of the Cloth-of-Gold" in a purified and modern sense.

In bringing to being the Imperial Commonwealth, the basis of whose organisation it has been the privilege of these pages reverently to suggest, we shall have become strong in our prosperity, strong in righteousness and civilisation, the community with the individual, the individual with the community. Our geographical conditions will have become a source of strength rather than weakness. Our empire will feed, clothe and shelter all our people, and the stigma of poverty will become a thing of the past. Opportunity and hope will have been created for every man and woman. A mighty organisation for good will have come to being. It is not a dream. It must be done. We are not content to be turned down as a page of evolution: a world's work still lies before us. Men and women of British race, whether of the isles or of the continents, history and geography have given us, under Providence, a mighty opportunity! We must call upon the custodians of empire to take it. But who are these custodians? We are all custodians of empire

who have wealth, or voice, or power, or pen to urge forward the building of the structure upon those eternal principles which will render it worthy to endure. We are all stewards and workers of this great Vineyard, whether high or low, to be told in the end, "Well done, good and faithful servant."





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