

SCAN OF ORIGINAL:

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A PARLIAMENT OF THE PRESS  
THE FIRST IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE  
1909  
ILLUSTRATED  
WITH PREFACE BY THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G.

[Photo Preceding Title Page]

Lord Rosebery's Message to the Oversea Peoples. Sir Hugh Graham. The Archdeacon of London. By Courtesy of "The Graphic."

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Preface

Mr. Harry Brittain, the consummate deviser and manager of the Imperial Press Conference, has asked me, as an impartial observer who was present at none of its regular meetings, to write a few words of introduction to its record.

We are accustomed in these days to congresses of all sorts and descriptions. No month passes without one. They all have their presidents, orators, and entertainments; the universe is, perhaps, somewhat weary of them. But they are a phase of the evolution of society, and have as such to be endured until in turn they become intolerable and exploded.

But this Press Conference stands out by itself; it makes a distinct epoch in the history of our Empire. It occurred to a man of energy and initiative to collect at the heart of our dominions the scattered representatives of their Press, and this was accomplished in June [1909] this year. Now, we are accustomed to meetings of the ministers and politicians of the Britains. These no one can underrate; for their periodical convention constitutes what is called Imperial Federation. They are of the essence of that ideal, and for long years to come it will take no other form.

But this was a new and original assembly. It summoned to London the men who permanently reflect and influence the opinion of their Commonwealths. It was of vital

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moment that they should see for themselves the old home, and that they should bring with them the latest judgments of their own people. A high and pregnant exchange of thought was what was designed, and what has taken place. These shrewd and vigorous journalists have frankly told us what they have to say; they return to their abodes with vivid impressions of our national spirit and complicated circumstances.

To my mind, then, this fertile and original conception promises more for the unity of the Empire than any of the forms of Imperial congregation that have preceded it. It is the

gathering of the tribes to the ancient shrine. God grant that it portend, as I believe it does portend, union daily closer and dearer, until it shall override geography and consolidate our scattered peoples. ROSEBERY.

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IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE.

President:

LORD BURNHAM, K.C.V.O.

Hon. Treasurer:

LORD NORTHCLIFFE.

Chairman, Executive Committee:

C. ARTHUR PEARSON.

Hon. Secretary:

HARRY E. BRITTAIN.

General Committee:

W.A. ACKLAND, Daily Graphic.

ROBERT ANDERSON, Aberdeen Journal.

Sir JOHN ARNOTT, Bart., Irish Times.

\*T. CANNING BAILY, Western Morning News.

R. H. H. BAIRD, Belfast Evening Telegraph

MOBERLY BELL, The Times.

R. D. BLUMENFELD, Daily Express.

JOHN BOON, Exchange Telegraph Company.

W. BRIMELOW, Bolton Evening News.

PERCY BUNTING, Contemporary.

S. S. CAMPION, Pres. Inst. Journalists.

D. DALZIEL, Dalziel News Agency.

A. J. DAWSON, Standard of Empire.

D. DAVIES, South Wales Daily Post, Swansea.

WILLIAM DAVIES, Western Mail, Cardiff.

H. C. DERWENT, Bradford Telegraph.

Sir W. E. CLEGG, Sheffield Independent.

F. W. DICKINSON, Reuter's Agency.

\*ROBERT DONALD, Daily Chronicle.

\*J. NICOL DUNN, Manchester Courier.

W. J. EVANS, Evening News.

RUSSELL ALLEN, Manchester Evening News.

HAMILTON FYFE, Daily Mail.

ALFRED G. GARDINER, Daily News.

J. GENNINGS, Central News.

J. L. GARVIN, Observer.

\*H. A. GWYNNE, Standard.

THOMAS GRAHAM, Wolverhampton Chronicle.

MAJOR GRATWICKE, Exeter Gazette.

H. BARRETT GREENE, Staffordshire Sentinel.

HAROLD HARMSWORTH, Amalgamated Press.

HILDEBRAND HARMSWORTH, The Globe.

Sir J. HENDERSON, Belfast News Letter.

GEO. B. HODGSON, The Shields Daily Gazette.  
EDWARD HUDSON, Country Life.  
E. HULTON, Manchester Daily Dispatch, &c.  
\*BRUCE INGRAM, Illustrated London News and Sketch.  
A. G. JEANS, Liverpool Post and Mercury.  
\*KENNEDY JONES, Associated Newspapers, Ltd.  
HENRY KING, Southern Daily Echo, &c.  
PETER KEARY, C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd.  
ALEXANDER KENEALY, Daily Mirror.  
Sir C. KINLOCH-COOKE, Empire Review.  
PERCEVAL LANDON, Daily Telegraph.

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T. LAW, Scotsman.  
\*Hon. HARRY LAWSON, Daily Telegraph.  
W. C. LENG, Dundee Advertiser.  
\*C. D. LENG, Sheffield Daily Telegraph.  
E. T. LEWIS, Hull Daily Mail.  
LOVAT FRASER, The Times.  
J. LE SAGE, Daily Telegraph.  
EGBERT LEWIS, Bath Herald.  
SIDNEY LOW, Standard.  
\*FRANK LLOYD, Daily Chronicle, &c.  
W. F. MACHRAY, Liverpool Courier.  
J. V. MADDICK, Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News.  
H. H. MARKS, M.P., Financial News.  
F. C. MACASKIE, Yorkshire Evening News, Leeds.  
THOMAS MARLOWE, Daily Mail.  
LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU, The Car.  
J. V. MORTON, Birmingham Gazette.  
\*Sir GEORGE NEWNES, Bart., M.P., Messrs. George Newnes, Ltd.  
\*FRANK NEWNES, M.P., Messrs. George Newnes, Ltd.  
JOHN O'HARA, Hull Eastern Morning News.  
ERNEST PARKE, Morning Leader and Star.  
JASPER PATTERSON, Bradford Argus.  
Sir WALTER PLUMMER, Pres. Newspaper Soc.  
\*J. S. R. PHILLIPS, Yorkshire Post.  
D. L. PRESSLY, York Herald.  
G. RIDDELL, News of the World.  
T. P. RITZEMA, Jun., Northern Daily Telegraph, Blackburn.  
Sir H. GILZEAN REID, North-Eastern Daily Gazette.  
H. READ, South Wales Daily News, &c.  
\*Sir EDWARD RUSSELL, Liverpool Post.  
\*ALFRED F. ROBBINS, Ex-President Institute of Journalists.  
\*E. ROBBINS, Press Association.  
Sir DOUGLAS STRAIGHT, Pall Mall Gazette.

C. P. SCOTT, Manchester Guardian.  
 G. R. SIMS, The Referee.  
 W. T. STEAD, Review of Reviews.  
 J. A. SPENDER, Westminster Gazette.  
 J. ST. LOE STRACHEY, Spectator.  
 SAMUEL STOREY, Evening News, Portsmouth.  
 J. MURRAY SMITH, Glasgow Evening News.  
 OWEN SEAMAN, Punch.  
 FRANK K. SPEDDING, Glasgow Daily Record.  
 \*H. HUGH SPOTTISWOODE, Sphere and Tattler  
 E. C. TEBBUTT, Newcastle North Mail.  
 L. GOODENOUGH TAYLOR, Bristol Times and Mirror.  
 W. CARMICHAEL THOMAS, Graphic, &c.  
 G. TOULMIN, M.P., Lancashire Daily Post.  
 \*W. WALLACE, Glasgow Herald.  
 R. A. J. WATLING, Western Daily Mercury.  
 M. T. WHITTAKER, Scarborough Evening News.  
 Sir FREDERICK WILSON, East Anglian Times  
 ROBERT WILSON, Edinburgh Evening News.  
 J. S. WOOD, The Gentlewoman.  
 E. WRENCH, Over-Seas Mail.  
 \*Executive Committee.

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For convenience of perusal and reference, the special full report of the Business Sessions of the Conference is collected at the latter end of the volume, from page 133 onwards. The earlier section is a narrative of the Conference proceedings and tours, with a brief summary only of each day's meeting of the Conference. Most of the speeches have been revised by their authors, but this is not the case with the speeches of Lord Morley, Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., and Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P.

In preparing the book, the newspaper reports of some of the events in which the delegates took part have been of much assistance—in particular, those of the “Times,” “Daily Telegraph,” “Standard,” “Daily Mail,” and “Daily Chronicle”; and in connection with the Provincial and Scottish tours, the “Sheffield Daily Telegraph,” “Manchester Courier,” “Glasgow Herald,” and “Scotsman.”

For permission to reproduce photographs and drawings, thanks are due to the Illustrations Bureau and the proprietors of the “Illustrated London News,” the “Graphic,” the “Sphere,” the “Sheffield Daily Telegraph,” the “Nottingham Guardian,” and the “Daily Sketch;” also to Lafayette, Ltd., Messrs. Elliott and Fry, and other firms.

[Photo Preceding Page 1]

Imperial Press Conference. Where The Overseas Guests Came From.

## A PARLIAMENT OF THE PRESS.

### CHAPTER I. THE ORIGIN AND WORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

Time and again in history men bent upon accomplishing some particular object have “builded better than they knew.” What they regarded as meeting a need of the moment has proved of permanent value, and been incorporated with institutions or influences of lasting force.

In this category may be placed the Imperial Press Conference. When first outlined, the significance of the idea, useful and stimulating as it appeared, was not, perhaps, generally appreciated. The proposal to invite to this country, as the guests of their journalistic colleagues of Great Britain, the editors and conductors of the principal newspapers in the great Dominions oversea, certainly appealed to the imagination. Its appeal was heightened by the recollection of the hospitality that several of the sister nations—and notably Canada—had extended to organised bodies of English journalists, who had returned laden with information and impressions of inestimable value in the way of improving mutual understanding.

To repay in some degree, that hospitality, and to give those who direct the newspapers of Greater Britain the opportunity of seeing England at first hand and as it really is—its institutions, its public men, its national services, its ancient seats of learning, its hives of modern industry, its historic homes, its commercial and engineering enterprise, its rural quietudes, and its busy populations—was a design eminently natural and laudable. Coupled as it was with arrangements for the discussion of topics of interest to newspapers throughout the Empire, the plan took on a practical business aspect that greatly enhanced its importance and elevated it above the level of a mere pleasure trip. Subjects of serious import to the oversea Press and the home Press alike called for earnest consideration and reformatory effort, and lent weight to the mission of the invited delegates.

Far surpassing the early expectation, at all events, of those who failed to grasp its full potentialities, was the development and actual outcome of the Conference. It amply fulfilled its functions as a consultative body for the consideration of Press problems and the advancement of Press interests. It carried out on lavish lines the hospitable intentions which were a leading

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feature in the original scheme. But it went very much further. It expanded into a great demonstration of Imperial kinship and national solidarity. It proved how much thicker is blood than any quantity of separating water. The delegates, from whatever part of the Empire they came, brought with them one stirring, unqualified message of the love and loyalty of the young nations oversea—of their part and pride in the motherland; of their resolve to stand beside her in peace or peril; to share her burdens and her triumphs. From the native of India, the Boer delegates from South Africa, the French-Canadian from Quebec, equally with the “Sons of the Blood” from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, this avowal of unity of interest, purpose, and sympathy came spontaneously and wholeheartedly.

Britain had been a great awakening to them. Their coming cleared away many misconceptions, doubts, and misunderstandings. The heartiness of their welcome meant much. The teeming, cordial populations, the abounding evidences of vigorous industrial, intellectual, and social life, surprised and cheered the delegates. But more than all, perhaps, were they impressed by the oneness of feeling which brought men like Lord Rosebery, the Premier, Mr. Asquith, the ex-Premier, Mr. Balfour, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Mr. Haldane, Lord Cromer, Mr. Birrell, Lord Milner, Lord Morley, and other leading men on both sides of politics into line, to speak to them on Empire topics with one Imperial tone and voice. It was a revelation, carrying the inspiration of a greater and higher confidence in the destinies and invincibility of Great and Greater Britain.

Acknowledging the presentation made to him by the Oversea Delegates at their leave-taking "At Home" on the closing day of their official sojourn in London, Mr. Brittain, the Hon. Secretary, said: "The Conference had taken the greater part of two years to organise, but if it had taken ten times two years it would have been worth doing."

This was no empty figure of speech. Had the results been no more than the concessions promised by the Pacific Cable Board, and subsequently by the Committee of Telegraph Administrations transmitting telegrams "Via Eastern" and "Via Teheran" between Great Britain and India, Australasia, and South Africa, in the matter of cable charges for Press messages; the establishment of an Empire Press Union, to advance Press interests throughout Great and Greater Britain, and of a permanent Committee to arrange for future Imperial Press Conferences; and the truer acquaintance formed by the delegates with the facts and conditions of existence in the Motherland, they would have fully justified the trouble and labour involved. But the closer drawing together of the bonds of unity, the fuller mutual understanding and liking, the dramatic but sincere recognition of the silent, unobtruded potentialities of strength and greatness in Great Britain, and of the duty of the Sister Communities across the sea to take their share in the great work of keeping her strong and impregnable—these are effects that will not evaporate in two years, nor ten times two years.

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Three weeks earlier, it is noteworthy, Lord Rosebery concluded his speech to the delegates at the Banquet of Welcome given on their arrival, by hoping and predicting that they would return to their homes "missionaries of Empire." It was an "intelligent anticipation," entirely justified by events. The private, equally with the public, utterances of the delegates place that assurance beyond question.

So much, by way of preface, for the outcome of the Conference. Its origin may be briefly related. It was while in Canada, enjoying Canadian hospitality, that the idea occurred to Mr. Harry Brittain of a "return visit" on which not only the great Dominion, but practically all other parts of the Empire should be represented. Earl Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, to whom he mentioned the project, was approving and sympathetic; Canadian journalists endorsed that approval. Returned to England, Mr. Brittain placed his plan before some leading newspaper owners and editors; the consequence being the



formation of a small but influential Committee to consider and arrange preliminaries, including Lord Burnham (as President), Lord Northcliffe, the Hon. Harry W. Lawson, Sir Edward Russell, Bart., M.P., Mr. C. Arthur Pearson, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. Kennedy Jones, Mr. Frank Newnes, M.P., Mr. E. Robbins, Mr. Frank Lloyd, and Mr. C. D. Leng. This Committee was rapidly extended until it comprised the editors and many proprietors of the principal morning and evening journals of London and the provinces, and the leading illustrated "weeklies," the Presidents of the Newspaper Society and the Institute of Journalists, and other representative men. A ready response was made to the appeal for a guarantee fund; and in due course invitations were issued from the Committee, on behalf of the Press of Great Britain, to the daily Press in each city of importance in every part of the British Empire, asking for the nomination of one or more representatives of the newspapers in that city to the Conference.

Said the invitation: —"We want your representatives to be our guests from the moment they leave their own country, during the period of the Conference, and for their journey home. . . . We hope to welcome them in London on Monday, June 7, [1909] and to entertain them for about eight or ten days, followed by a visit to various parts of the country, to last about the same time. . . . We feel that we have much to learn from our colleagues of the great Sister Nations, and we also believe that during their stay here we may be able to show them some aspects of Britain, both at work and at play, which will greatly interest them. We further feel that, whilst learning to know one another better, we shall make some small return for that thorough hospitality which so many of us have enjoyed on our journeys through Greater Britain."

Between fifty and sixty was the number of guests the Committee aimed at entertaining, and fifty-seven was the precise number nominated. Two of the Canadian delegates, however, as well as one from Australia, had to forego

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the visit. Thus the total number of visitors from overseas was fifty-four, constituted as under: —

Canadian.

Sir HUGH GRAHAM, The Star, Montreal

G. LANGLOIS, Le Canada, Montreal

J. S. BRIERLY, The Herald, Montreal

J. A. MACDONALD, The Globe, Toronto

J. E. ATKINSON, Daily Star, Toronto

D. WATSON, The Chronicle, Quebec

H. d'HELLEN COURT, Le Soleil, Quebec

P. D. ROSS, Evening Journal, Ottawa

J. W. DAFOE, Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg

M. E. NICHOLS, Winnipeg Telegram, Winnipeg

A. F. MACDONALD, Morning Chronicle, Halifax

W. J. HERDER, Evening Telegram, St. John's, N.F.

E. W. McCREADY, Daily Telegraph, St. John's, N.B.

L. D. TAYLOR, The World, Vancouver

JOHN NELSON, Victoria Times, Victoria  
Indian.

E. DIGBY, Indian Daily News, Calcutta

Hon. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE, The Bengalee, Calcutta

STANLEY REED, Times of India, Bombay

G. M. CHESNEY, The Pioneer, Allahabad

F. CROSBIE ROLES, Times of Ceylon, Colombo

A. E. LAWSON, Madras Mail, Madras

J. STUART, Rangoon Gazette, Burmah

Major W. G. St. CLAIR, Singapore Free Press, Straits Settlements  
West Indian.

LEWIS ASHENHEIM, The Gleaner, Jamaica  
Australian.

J. O. FAIRFAX, Morning Herald, Sydney

F. W. WARD, Daily Telegraph (also represents Brisbane Courier), Sydney

C. BENNETT, Evening News, Sydney

E. S. CUNNINGHAM, Argus, Melbourne

Hon. THEODORE FINK, Herald, Melbourne

Dr. G. A. SYME, Age, Melbourne

R. KYFFIN THOMAS, Register, Adelaide (also representing the Advertiser, Adelaide)

Hon. J. W. HACKETT, LL.D., West Australian, Perth

Hon. C. E. DAVIES, Hobart Mercury, Hobart

HUDSON BERKELEY, The Herald, Newcastle

N. CLARK, Ballarat Courier, Ballarat

A. MACKAY, Bendigo Advertiser, Bendigo

THOMAS TEMPERLEY, Richmond River Times, Ballina, Bathurst

J. W. KIRWAN, The Miner, Kalgoorlie

New Zealand.

GRESLEY LUKIN, Evening Post, Wellington

H. BRETT, Auckland Star, Auckland

W. S. DOUGLAS, New Zealand Herald, Auckland

GEO. FENWICK, Otago Daily Times, Dunedin

MARK COHEN, Evening Star, Dunedin

R. M. MACDONALD, The Press, Christchurch

[Photo Following Page 4]

LORD BURNHAM, K.C.V.O., President.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, Hon. Treasurer.

MR. HARRY BRITTAIN, Hon. Secretary.

MR. C. ARTHUR PEARSON, Chairman Executive Committee.

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South African.

R. F. PHILIPSON STOW, S.A. News, Cape Town

MAITLAND PARK, Cape Times, Cape Town

G. H. KINGSWELL, Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg

GEOFFREY ROBINSON, The Star, Johannesburg  
A. E. RENO, Pretoria News, Pretoria  
Dr. F. V. ENGELBURG, The Volkstem, Pretoria  
C. WOODHEAD, Natal Mercury, Durban  
E. B. WALTON, Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth  
P. DAVIS, Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg  
F. BLAKE, The Post, Bloemfontein  
CHAS. FICHARDT, The Friend, Bloemfontein

In the meantime, considerable progress had been made with the arrangements for the entertainment of the visitors. From every side invitations and offers of hospitality showered upon the Committee, so great was the interest aroused in this unprecedented gathering of Editors of the Empire's Press in the heart of the Empire. The Prince of Wales, with characteristic graciousness, extended invitations to the delegates to a Garden Party at Marlborough House. The Government exhibited its interest by arranging a variety of engagements for their delectation and information, including a military display and sham fight at Aldershot, a naval review at Spithead, and a Government banquet, with the Premier, Mr. Asquith, as Ministerial spokesman. The journalistic and literary members of both Houses of Parliament invited them to a luncheon; the Lord Mayor bade them to a similar function at the Mansion House; and prominent hosts and hostesses gave garden parties, dinner parties, and receptions, in order to have themselves, and provide for their friends, the fullest opportunities for meeting the delegates under intimate and unrestricted conditions.

Provincial cities and resorts of industrial, picturesque, or historic interest competed to be included in the places to be visited on the country tours, and owners of country houses and ancient castles offered courteous attentions.

It was possible to take advantage only of a small proportion of these abounding manifestations of goodwill and interest. But from them a series of visits was devised well calculated to give a comprehensive view of the widely contrasted phases of life "at home," as seen in University city and manufacturing town, in castled hall and by smiling countryside. So it was that, into the limited duration of their stay, the delegates were enabled to compress a variety of experiences and a mass of information, gained under the most authentic conditions, such as could not have been obtained in many months under other circumstances.

All of this involved an enormous amount of labour and organisation—greater than could have been foreseen in the early stages of the movement. With an honorary secretary so enthusiastic and resourceful as Mr. Harry E. Brittain, however, officials so influential and helpful as Lord Burnham (President), Lord Northcliffe (Treasurer), and Mr. C. Arthur Pearson (Chairman of the

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Executive Committee), and an Executive comprising workers of the experience and energy of the Hon. Harry W. Lawson, Mr. Kennedy Jones, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. H. A.

Gwynne, Sir George Newnes, Bart., M.P., Mr. Frank Newnes, Mr. T. Canning Baily, Mr. J. S. R. Phillips, and others, the growth of the enterprise was only a spur to further exertion to make the issue worthy of the occasion. The full Committee, being distributed all over the kingdom, was too scattered and too large to call together as a body, especially as much of the work had to be done quickly as questions arose by small sub-committees; but the assistance given and publicity ensured by the members of the full Committee was a substantial factor in arousing public opinion to the full significance of the Conference and ensuring its success.

To the efforts of Mr. J. A. Spender, Chairman of the Conference Sub-committee, was largely due the brilliant list of public men, Ministerial and Opposition, who took part in the sittings of the Conference as chairmen or speakers, and contributed so much to their weight and authority. It was a misfortune that Mr. C. Arthur Pearson was compelled by an operation upon his eyes to withdraw from the work at its most crucial stage; but Mr. Robert Donald, who took up his duties as Chairman of the Entertainments Sub-committee, was a most efficient successor.

There was another direction in which the Conference developed in a manner not originally contemplated. As the time for the gathering approached, the Honorary Secretary was informed by a number of the delegates that they would be accompanied by their wives or daughters; and the increase of lady members of the party was such that the question of providing some entertainment for them had to be considered. The result was the appointment of a ladies' sub-committee, consisting of Miss Balfour, Mrs. Godfrey Baring, Mrs. Moberly Bell, Lady Brassey, Mrs. Harry Brittain, Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, The Countess of Crewe, Mrs. Robert Donald, Mrs. Herbert Gladstone, Mrs. H. A. Gwynne, Mrs. Kennedy Jones, Lady Constance Hatch, Lady St. Helier, The Marchioness of Lansdowne, the Hon. Mrs. Harry Lawson, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, the Viscountess Midleton, Lady Northcliffe, Lady Northcote, Mrs. C. Arthur Pearson, Mrs. A. F. Robbins, The Marchioness of Salisbury, Mrs. J. A. Spender, Mrs. St. Loe Strachey, The Hon. Lady Talbot, and Lady Clementine Waring; with Miss Brooke Hunt as honorary secretary; and by this means a series of entertainments was arranged for the wives of the delegates, including many of the social functions to which the latter were invited. In addition, the ladies were made guests of the Conference on both the Provincial and Scottish tours—a privilege which was very greatly appreciated and enjoyed.

So, gradually, were evolved the complete details of the long and elaborate programme of the Conference sittings and entertainments, the first sight of which caused many of the oversea guests to gasp in mingled appreciation, dismay, and wonder as to how they were going to get through it! Settled, too, were the manifold arrangements for the booking of the various guests by

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rail and steamer over the thousands of miles that separated Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and the West Indies from the capital of Empire that was waiting to bid them "Welcome Home!" Some little apprehension would perhaps have

been justifiable on the part of the officers and Executive Committee when the 5<sup>th</sup> of June [1909] arrived as to whether all their plans would work out smoothly.

Such doubt, if felt, must have vanished before the success of the first coming together of guests and hosts at the Banquet of Welcome at the Shepherd's Bush Exhibition. No one who was present will forget its tremendous effect, either as a public event, or as a demonstration of *camaraderie* and goodwill between men of the same craft, brought together as strangers, but meeting as warm and assured friends. Its influence was felt from start to finish, in the sittings of the Conference itself in the following week and all the functions in connection with it, and pervaded also the subsequent visits to provincial centres and Scottish cities. Yet on no side was there any surrender of opinion or yielding of principle, where principles were in question. There was, however, a widening of knowledge and an expansion of view which proved, and will prove, of inestimable value.

The delegates, it is worthy of remark, had their own organisation. Each section had its chairman and hon. Secretary, these offices being allotted as shown below: —

Canada. J. S. Brierley, chairman; A. F. Macdonald, hon. sec.

Australia. R. Kyffin Thomas, chairman; J. W. Kirwan, hon. sec.

India. Stanley Reed, chairman; F. Crosbie Roles, hon. sec.

South Africa. Maitland Park, chairman; E. B. Walton, hon. sec.

New Zealand. George Fenwick, chairman; W. S. Douglas, hon. sec.

These officials were constituted, by a meeting of the whole of the oversea delegates, an Executive Committee for the entire party, with Mr. Kyffin Thomas as chairman, and Mr. Kirwan as hon. secretary, while Mr. Hudson Berkeley acted as hon. treasurer.

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## CHAPTER II. LORD ROSEBERY'S "WELCOME HOME."

The inaugural sitting of the Conference on June 7, [1909] was preceded on June 5 [1909] by the Banquet of Welcome at the White City, at which the delegates were entertained by their confrères of practically the whole morning and evening Press of the kingdom. In the name of the hosts, in the name, indeed, of Great Britain, Lord Rosebery extended such a greeting to the visitors as aroused the keenest enthusiasm, and touched the deepest chords of feeling in the great gathering that faced him.

Lord Burnham, proprietor of the "Daily Telegraph" and President of the Conference, received the guests in the Congress Hall, whence they proceeded to the Palace of Music, in which the banquet was served—a vast apartment, thickly hung with the flags of the various countries whose representatives were the guests of the evening. Here they were seated at tables to hold seven or eight, and as far as possible each table had one of the delegates allotted to it, so that a feeling of homeliness and friendliness was quickly established.

The huge proportions of the room placed a heavy tax upon any speaker. But Lord Rosebery, as all present agreed, not only rose to the occasion, he surpassed any previous

achievement. The occasion was not merely historic, but magnetic. Its inspiration was obvious, as the noble earl proceeded with his speech to an audience already attuned for it by such national airs, played by the military band, as “The Maple Leaf for Ever” and “The Song of Australia,” culminating in “Rule, Britannia.” A writer the next day in the “Observer,” who more than a decade before had described Lord Rosebery as the “Public Orator of the Empire,” was disposed to think the speech the most brilliant of his lordship’s career: — “In its humanity, its statesmanship, its tact and its satire, the closing passages of patriotic appeal that now rang like a trumpet, now touched quietly the deepest chords in men who knew what patriotism signifies, and meant it—in all this, the thing was not merely a triumph. It was a resurrection. It was the voice of half a generation ago heard in all the range of its powers, more persuasive, more searching, more various than then. . . . The old magic had returned upon an occasion that might well evoke it, and Lord Rosebery delivered a speech which could have been delivered by no other living man.”

Mr. Foster Fraser, also, describing the scene in the “Standard,” remarked: — “Many a man from distant parts—the Far West of Canada, the inner land of the Australian continent, the beautiful New England of New Zealand, the sweltering cities of Eastern lands—had never heard the voice of a British statesman. Now they were hearing one of the best. . . . The speech inspired them. The song of Imperial patriotism sounded through all the speeches.

[Photo Following Page 8]

The Banquet of Welcome by The British Press to The Empire Editors. Illustrations Bureau.]

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And that was the outcome of the banquet—Imperial brotherhood. It was a night which no journalist will forget.”

No mere description could do justice to the speech. Only the detailed report can do that; and it is therefore appended, first recording that Lord Burnham, who occupied the chair, had Lord Rosebery, Sir Hugh Graham, the Archdeacon of London, Lord Northcliffe, Mr. G. E. Buckle, Lord Faber, Mr. H. A. Gwynne, Mr. Kennedy Jones, Mr. Frank Lloyd, and Mr. J. S. R. Phillips on either side of him.

#### THE SPEECHES.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing “The King,” said: My friends and colleagues, and you who honour us by being our guests and visitors on this memorable occasion, I beg of you to drink with all the enthusiasm of your hearts to the health of one who, I feel sure, would be with us heart and soul in our desire to make a reality of that which to many of us has for some years been but an inspiration and an ideal—the coming shoulder to shoulder of the English-speaking races in times alike of trouble and prosperity. (Cheers.) In this Empire of ours, where self-government is ordered liberty, King Edward is the dignified and illustrious head of the greatest sovereignty the world has ever seen. You know full well how ardently he works for the advancement of the highest interests of the realm and for the promotion of the welfare and happiness of his subjects. Of him it may be truly

said, in the words of our greatest poet: "In his right hand he carries gentle peace. He is just and fears not, and the ends he aims at are his country's." My toast, gentlemen, is "The King."

Mr. HARRY BRITTAIN said: I have to read the following telegram to the King: — "The Over-seas Delegates to the Imperial Conference desire to express their fervent loyalty to your Majesty and trust that you may long be spared to the people and the Empire." His Majesty's reply, which has just been received, says: — "The King thanks most warmly the Over-seas delegates to the Imperial Conference for their kind telegram, and hopes that they will enjoy their stay in England. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Without further preface, let me ask you to drink long life and happiness to our sweet, good and gentle Queen—(cheers) — to whom our love and loyalty go forth unbidden; and next to the health of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family. (Cheers.) I need not tell you that the Prince and Princess of Wales, by constant acts of kindness, generosity, and perfect sympathy with all who are poor and suffering, have endeared themselves to every class of the King's subjects. (Cheers.) Never in history has there been an Heir to the Throne who has seen so much of the Empire as our Sailor Prince. (Cheers.) Thirty years ago, during the three years' voyage of the "Bacchante," he became acquainted with the Indies, South America, with the Cape, with Australasia, with Singapore, with China, Egypt, and many other most interesting regions. Then twenty years later, as Heir-Apparent, accompanied by the Princess of Wales, he visited Australia and opened in regal State the first Parliament of the great Commonwealth. This was, indeed, a vast historical Colonial tour, for it comprised Ceylon, the Australian continent, New Zealand, Mauritius, Natal, the Cape Colony, Canada, and Newfoundland—in all a voyage of 50,000 miles; twice, or more than twice the circumference of the globe. Again, four years ago, he visited India and Burma, and scarcely a year since he visited Canada to celebrate the tercentenary of Quebec. (Cheers.) His Royal Highness, as you all know, has a remarkable faculty for crystallising his observations, or his conclusions, into a few sentences which live in the hearts and minds of the people. (Cheers.) After one of these memorable voyages he compressed his conclusions into three oft-quoted, simple words, "Wake up, England!" If his Royal Highness were here to-night I veritably believe he would feel convinced that we are awake, and would be justified in the belief that we do not mean to rest until there is within our reach the satisfaction of a repose that shall have been well deserved and fairly won. (Cheers.) The

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toast is "The Health of her Majesty the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family."

The toast was enthusiastically pledged.

The CHAIRMAN, rising again, then said: My duty now is very simple. Before I discharge it, let me say that, proud as I am and have always been of the profession to which I have the honour to belong, I have never been so proud of it as at this moment,

when I stand face to face with an assembly such as has never before been gathered together. (Cheers.) Never in the past has any man stood before a compact body of all the most distinguished journalists of the entire British Empire. (Cheers.) Let me, then, say to those who are here to-night, not only on my own part as President, but on the part of the noble Treasurer, Lord Northcliffe, on the part of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Arthur Pearson—who is, I deeply regret to say, through illness, unable to be with us to-night, and who asks me to express to you his regret—we much deplore his absence, and hope that he will have a speedy recovery—on the part also of the Committee, which includes the most distinguished journalists of Great Britain, and on the part, last, but very far from least, of our indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Harry Brittain—(cheers)—to whom, in justice, be it said, the origin and in a great measure the development of this great and important undertaking are due, and who has worked night and day so that a fortunate result may ensue—for all these let me express the intense satisfaction which they feel at the assured success of their invitation and our invitation to the representative journalists of the Press of the Dominions, of the Indian Empire, and the Colonies. (Cheers.) Our fervent hope and belief have always been that nothing but good could accrue from a meeting of those who in Great Britain seek to form and guide public opinion with those who have undertaken a similar responsibility among distant regions allied to the Mother Country. The response to our invitation has exceeded the most sanguine expectations. (Cheers.) We have framed a programme of entertainments, not solely for the purpose of amusement, but with a desire that out of the discussions which must arise there may ultimately be arrived at understandings that before the hour has come to say good-bye may enable us all to comprehend what are the prospects and what the opportunities of closer union and increased sympathy. (Cheers.) But there is one thing that it would be well for us all in this country ever to remember, and that is that in speaking to you we do not speak to you alone; we speak through you to countless thousands of our kinsmen—to men of our own flesh and blood, who may never have seen the land in which their forefathers were born, but who are keen and eager to prove, as they have often proved in the past, but never more forcibly than by their recent actions and offers, that they are animated by a spirit of splendid patriotism, and are absolutely convinced that in closer union lies the secret of irresistible power. (Loud cheers.) These, as it seems to me, are the men who, from the greater Britain beyond the seas, stretch forth their hands to us in the fervent expectation—which, I hope to God, may never be disappointed—that we shall grasp them with all the strength and grip of a loyal and lasting friendship. (Loud cheers.) Now, one thing I am singularly fortunate in. I am enabled to call now on one who has made the closer union of all the distant parts of the Empire, I think I may say, one of the leading ideals of his life. Might I, do you think, venture to congratulate him on the realization, in some slight measure, it may be, upon this as a satisfaction to his patriotic ambition? I venture now to call upon my noble friend, the Earl of Rosebery. (Loud cheers.)

#### LORD ROSEBERY.

The Earl of Rosebery, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said: My Lord Burnham, my Lords and Gentlemen,—I have had the great honour entrusted to me of proposing the health of “Our Guests,” coupled with the name of Sir Hugh Graham, of Montreal. (Cheers.) I confess that I feel overwhelmed by the importance of this occasion.



It is not only that in this vast hall, speaking to so many remote tables, I feel something like a prophet in the desert—a minor prophet—(laughter)—speaking to a number of believers in scattered oases. (Laughter.) I daresay that I shall not be able to make myself heard; I confidently expect that I shall not. But, at any rate, gentlemen, coming from so far, I am sure you will be merciful to one who has to address you under such trying circumstances. There is another reason which fills me with a sense of awe. It is the enormous importance of the gathering I am speaking to. We have had conferences before—many of them;

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conferences of great importance, at which the Prime Ministers and Ministers of the Empire have met together to consult on the great matters of policy which concern the Empire. It is no disparagement to those gatherings to say that I hold that this is more important still. (Hear, hear.) I have the greatest respect for Prime Ministers and Ministers; but, whatever their splendour may be when they are in the ascendant, they are essentially transient bodies—(laughter)—except, I believe, in Canada—(laughter)—while good newspapers are or should be eternal; and the power of a great newspaper, with the double function of guiding and embodying the public opinion of the province over which it exerts an influence, is immeasurably greater than that of any statesman could be. I say, then, that this is a meeting of vast importance. It reminds me, indeed, of one of the few recollections I have of my classical education at Eton. Those who, like me, have pursued the same arduous course may remember the description of the cave of King Æolus—the cave in which all the winds of heaven were embraced, and over which King Æolus held sway. At a touch or sign from him these gales swept out of the cavern, either as hurricanes to spread wreck and devastation all over the world, or in the form of balmy breezes to bring blessing and health wherever they might attain. Well, I to-night am in the cavern of the winds of the Empire. I do not pretend—God forbid that I should pretend—to be the King Æolus who controls these powers. That would rather belong to my noble friend on my right in the chair. (Laughter.) But I may, at any rate, claim to feel as a humble, a timid, and a perhaps—(A Voice: “A Derby winner”). One hardly feels like a Derby winner on this occasion. If the gentleman who has interrupted me has ever been in the position of being a Derby winner, he will agree that you can hardly conceive anything so remote from that as addressing a meeting in this large hall. I would rather claim the privilege of being a humble and unworthy guest of King Æolus. Well, I am quite sure when these winds go forth, when these powers are exerted for the Empire on your return from this island, they will be exerted for the benefit of the Empire. (Cheers.) Now, Lord Burnham, it is my duty, I suppose, to make a speech, and not immediately to sit down, but if I carried out my own sense of the occasion, if I carried out what I believe to be what is required on this occasion, I should confine myself to two words and then sit down. They are the only two essential words. They are the simplest and, perhaps the sweetest that can be heard by mortal ear, and yet they are the only two words in which I would sum up what I have to say to our guests from beyond the seas to-night—“Welcome home.” (Loud cheers.) Yes, gentlemen, that is the motto of this occasion—“Welcome to your home.” (Renewed cheers.) Some of you, many of you, have never seen your home, and you will see something in the course of the next fortnight which I will not boast of, but which in its way is unmatched in the world. (Cheers.) You will see

an ancient and a stately civilisation. You will see that embodied in our old abbeys and cathedrals, built in the age of faith and surviving to testify that that faith is not dead in Britain. (Renewed cheers.) You will see it in the ancient colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and St. Andrews and Aberdeen—shrines of learning which are venerable not only from their antiquity. You will see as you pass about the country—you will see the little villages clustered about the heaven-directed spires, as they have clustered for centuries, and you will see the ancient mother of all Parliaments, the most venerable progenitor of free institutions—the House of Commons. (Cheers.) I cannot promise you an even greater pleasure in seeing the House of Lords, because that will not be sitting during the period of your visit. (“Oh, oh,” and laughter.) And throughout the country you will see those old manor houses where the squirearchy of Great Britain have lived for centuries, almost all of them inhabited long before the discovery of Australia, and some even before the discovery of America—a civilisation, a country life, which I advise you to see on your present visit, because when you next come it may not be here for you to see it. (Laughter.) Speeding onwards from these more rural scenes, from all this which is embodied history, and which represents the antiquity and tradition of a thousand years, go on to the teeming communities which represent the manufactures, the energy, the alertness of commercial life in Great Britain. And, last of all, surrounding all, and guarding it, you will see a prodigious armada, a prodigious but always inadequate armada. All of these, gentlemen, are yours as much as ours. Your possessions, your pride, and your home. What do you bring to us? That is quite as important; it is, indeed,

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more important to us than what you can take from us. You bring, I trust, the youth of your vigorous communities; you bring the candour of acute criticism, the frankness of speech which belongs to your young dominions across the seas; you bring to us, I hope, the freshest news, the most recent information as to all the aspirations and policies of the communities amongst which you live; you bring, I suspect, the same message which you quoted just now, and which the Prince of Wales brought back and condensed in those admirable words, after a tour round the Empire: “Wake up, old country!” I hope you come to tell us all the most recent news about the dominions beyond the seas.

I am aware that there is ample representation here of the different parts of the Empire, including Canada, Australia, the Cape, and India. I am quite aware that there is an ample representation from the Press of India on this occasion, but they will forgive me if I do not address myself to them, because what I have to say to that eastern country, that ancient civilisation, will be of a different scope from that which I address to the representatives of the newer parts of the Empire. But I will say this word to the Indian delegates—I do hope they will not go away without having given some guidance to our democracy as to the right method of governing and guiding that ancient civilisation of India, comprising numberless races, numberless religions, and an inscrutable whole of native populations which seem to understand us much better than we can be said to understand them. But I do hope—and I say this word to the Indian delegation—I do hope they will not go away without having given some guidance to our democracy as to the right method of governing and guiding that ancient civilisation of India, comprising numberless races and numberless religions, an inscrutable whole of native populations

which seem to understand us so much better than we can be said to know about them. Well, gentlemen, after all, the best you can bring us is the knowledge of yourselves and your communities, because we never can know enough about them. (Hear, hear.) The other night I ventured to dream a dream—which is a very favourite practice of retired politicians. (Laughter.) And thinking of that vast armada, the surplus of which is so constantly scrapped at what seem so wholly inadequate prices to the taxpayer—(laughter)—I could not help imagining how admirably some of these large ships might be used, not for the purposes of war, but for the purposes of peace. I thought to myself that, if I were the lay-disposer of events in this country, I should like Parliament to vote supplies for two years, and then pack itself up in three or four of these obsolete warships and go for a trip in order to find out something about the Empire. (Prolonged applause.) You may object at once to my scheme, and say: “But how would the country be governed while all the Ministers were absent?” (Laughter.) I reply with confidence that the people would be governed much as they are now—(laughter)—by the heads of the permanent departments. (Laughter.) And I am not sure that some of us would not feel an even greater confidence in the welfare of the country if it were under that permanent and well-ordered control. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, but should I include the House of Lords in this expedition? (Laughter.) I think the House of Lords might accompany them on condition of paying their own expenses. (Laughter.) For that, I may explain to Colonial visitors, is the great distinction between the House of Lords and the House of Commons—the House of Commons votes the taxes and the House of Lords pays them. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Therefore, I think my proposal would place them on an equitable basis. (Renewed laughter.) Whatever their present relations may be, I should not be afraid of putting them in the same vessels, because I am confident that the wholesome discipline of the ocean would soon shake them down to a condition of parity, if not of amity. (Laughter.) Now, let us imagine how our scheme would shape up. I would take them first to Newfoundland, on a visit of homage to our most ancient and historic colony, where even our legislators would be able to find some constitutional problems which have been solved nowhere else. (Cheers.)

I would take them to Canada, and I would give them many months in Canada—(hear, hear)—partly for the sake of Canada, and partly for the feeling that the holiday should be a leisurely one. I would give them a long time in Canada. They have an immense dominion to rove over there. They might see many things which were new to them. They would see that even under the most advanced democracy a Prime Minister may hold his own against the successive buffets of innumerable General Elections. (Laughter.) They may see that in Canada wealth is not a

[Photo Following Page 12]

Mr. H.A. GWYNNE (*Standard*).

Mr. KENNEDY JONES (*Associated Newspapers*).

Mr. J. S. R. PHILLIPS (*Yorkshire Post*).

The Hon. HARRY LAWSON (*Daily Telegraph*).  
*Chairman, Finance Committee.*

[*Russell.*]

Sir EDWARD RUSSELL (*Liverpool Post*).

*Elliott & Fry.]*

Mr. J. A. SPENDER (*Westminster Gazette*).

*Chairman, Conference Sub-Committee.*

Mr. ROBERT DONALD (*Daily Chronicle*).

Some Members of the Executive Committee.

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crime—(laughter)—because some of the most glowing specimens of that obnoxious creature, the millionaire, have been produced on that soil of liberty. But I will not pause to point out the varieties both of political and physical sport in which our legislators might indulge in Canada.

I would take them on to New Zealand, and there in New Zealand they would see most of the policies at which they aim, and which they are endeavouring to construct for this country, being carried out under the advantages of a virgin soil and the absence—the total absence of tradition and complexity.

I would take them on to Australia—that most marvellous of continents, where everything is abnormal—the marsupials, the duck-billed platypus, and point to the fact that a population of about two-thirds of the population of the capital of this country is able to maintain seven Legislatures, seven capitals, and seven Ministries without any serious inconvenience. (Laughter and cheers.) In our country we have always found one of each of these to be sufficient, and it shows the vigour of the young continent that it could supply such a multiplicity of these onerous blessings; and if my expedition was disposed to take its leisure, it might indulge in the permanent sport of Australia, the hunting for a Federal capital. Then they should return through South Africa, where they would see the greatest success of the Imperial Government of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) The greatest and the most recent success—where a bold and magnanimous policy has healed the seams of war and from the blood gallantly shed on both sides in the recent war, which might well have been a stream of unending division between two contending populations, has extracted the cement which has united a new Empire. And if my excursionists were not tired out, and if they were not too ardently summoned home—which I don't think would be the case—if our excursionists were not tired out, they might proceed northward through Africa, avoiding Uganda, so as not to disturb the privacy of the late President of the United States—(laughter)—and, proceeding northwards, they might take their way home by Egypt, where they would see what British government, wisely directed, can do to rescue order from chaos. (Cheers.) The dream I recently dreamed is, I know, impracticable. I know that the fact that Parliament is sitting, and constantly sitting, is one of immeasurable consolation to every British taxpayer—(laughter)—and I am quite certain nobody could be found in England willing to lose the advantages of the society of our Parliament and of our legislators for a single month, much less the eighteen months which I contemplated in my trip. But there would be counterbalancing advantages with regard to the acquaintance they would make with the Empire with which they have to deal. To pass from that, I notice that you have—of course, I know that you have—solid and practical topics to deal with on this occasion. You don't come here on a coffee-house tour. You have come to see the old home and to do much practical work. I have looked at

the list of your topics, and I must say it was with a feeling of sensible relief that I saw that Tariff Reform was not among them. (Laughter and cheers.) It is not, of course, that I doubt that that interesting topic would have been exhaustively dealt with, but I understand it is desired that this should be a peaceful conference, and perhaps, it is as well with that object that that particular topic should be eliminated. (Laughter.) Then we come to the question of the closer communication between the Empire. That, sir, is one of the most vital of all. (Hear, hear.) It is perfectly certain that if you are to build up the Empire—or a treble Empire bound up in one, as I think it is—if you are to build up the Empire, you can only do it by the freest knowledge of each other's wants and ideas—(hear, hear)—that the whole opinion and the thought of the Empire, which should circulate like blood through the body politic, should, like blood, chiefly circulate through the heart. (Cheers.) I remember, when I was travelling about trying to make myself acquainted with these great dominions, when I was in Australia—which, I am sorry to say, I computed to-day was twenty-five years ago—I thought that cricket bulked a little too largely in the news that reached me from the ancient country; and I remember, when I was in Canada—which, I am ashamed to say, is even longer ago—some thirty-six years ago—I thought that the news which reached Canada from the Mother Country did not, somehow, pass through a wholly favourable and friendly channel. (Hear, hear.) Well, of course, all that is changed now. (Hear, hear.) I do not know the existing state of things,

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but I am quite certain that no such abuses exist as I remember on that occasion. But if you want to bind the Empire close together, your first and your main means must be by the cheapest methods of communication. (Cheers.) The unwearied Mr. Henniker Heaton—(cheers)—has sent me some very interesting papers bearing on this subject, but I do not think they are suited for an occasion such as this, but are more for your serious discussions in conference. I pass, then, from the question of communication, merely making this remark in passing—no one can have lived as long as I have without seeing the enormous improvement in our British Press with regard to the news from the Empire beyond the seas. (Hear, hear.) Thirty or forty years ago you were satisfied with a jejune announcement that some Prime Minister, whose name you had never heard, in some place with which you were imperfectly acquainted, had recently resigned office, and had been succeeded by somebody else; but I think you may give us this credit, as regards our English and Scottish Press, that you will find ample, well-informed articles on all subjects relating to colonial affairs, which show both an interest and an enthusiasm which is extremely gratifying to the Imperialist. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, you will forgive me if I come next and at once to what is by far the most vital topic that you will have to discuss at this conference, or which concerns our Empire as a whole—I mean that of Imperial defence. (Cheers.) I do not know that in some ways I have ever seen a condition of things in Europe so remarkable, so peaceful, and in some respects so ominous, as the condition which exists at this moment. There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which one might almost hear a leaf fall to the ground. There is an absolute absence of any questions which ordinarily lead to war. One of the great Empires which is sometimes supposed to menace peace is entirely engrossed with its domestic affairs. Another great Eastern Empire which has furnished a perpetual problem for European statesmen has taken a new lease of life and youth in searching for liberty and constitutional reform. All, then,

forbodes peace, and yet, at the same time, combined with this total absence of all questions of friction, there never was, in the history of the world, so threatening and overpowering a preparation for war. That is the sign which I regard as most ominous. For forty years it has been a platitude to say that all Europe is an armed camp, and for forty years it has been true that all the nations have been facing each other armed to the teeth, and that has been, in some respects, a guarantee of peace. And now what do we see? And now, without any tangible reason, we see the nations preparing new armaments. They cannot, indeed, arm any more men upon land, so they have to seek new armaments upon the sea, piling up this enormous preparation as if for some approaching Armageddon. And yet this is in a time of the profoundest peace. We live in the midst of what I think was called by Petrarch a “*latens bellum*” —a silent warfare, in which not a drop of blood is shed in anger, but in which the very last drop is extracted from the body by the lancets of the European statesmen. I admit there are features of this general preparation for war which must cause special anxiety to the friends of Great Britain and of the British Empire. But I will not dwell upon this to-night. I will only say this, that I will ask you, while in this country, to compare carefully the armaments of Europe with our preparations to meet them, and give your impressions to the Empire in return. I feel confident in the resolution and power of this country to meet any reasonable conjunction of forces, but when I see this bursting out of navies everywhere, when I see one country alone asking for 25 millions of extra taxation for warlike preparations; when I see the unprecedented sacrifices which are asked from us on the same grounds, I do begin to feel uneasy as to the outcome of it all, and to wonder where it will stop; and if it is merely going to bring back Europe into a state of barbarism, or whether it will cause a catastrophe in which the workmen of the world will say: “We will have no more of this madness and foolery which is grinding us to powder!”

Gentlemen, we can and we will build “Dreadnoughts,” or whatever the newest type of ship may be—(loud cheers)—as long as we have a shilling to spend on them or a man to put into them. (Renewed cheers.) All that we can and will do, but I am not sure that even that will be enough, and I think it may be your duty to take back to your young dominions across the seas this message and this impression: that some personal duty and responsibility for national defence rests on every man and citizen of the Empire. (Loud cheers.) Yes, gentlemen, take that

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message back with you. Tell your peoples—if they can believe it—the deplorable way into which Europe is relapsing into militarism and the pressure that is put upon this little England to defend itself, its liberties—and yours! (Loud cheers.) But take this message also back with you—that the Old Country is right at heart; that there is no failing or weakness in her; and that she rejoices in renewing her youth in her giant dominions beyond the seas. (Cheers.) For her own salvation she must look to herself, and that failing her, she must look to you! (Cheers.)

Well, gentlemen, I would ask your pardon for having detained you so long—(Voices: “No, no!” and “Go on!”)—I know that whatever may be the outcome of this visit you will return strengthened to your high functions as the guides of your communities in

matters of the nation. And you will return, I hope, convinced of the necessity of the mission of that communion of Commonwealths which constitute the British Empire. Having come, I hope, believers in that faith, you will return to your homes missionaries of Empire—(cheers)—missionaries of the most extensive and most unselfish Empire which is known to history. (Cheers.)

I will end as I began. After all, I may speak to you for hours, and I can only sum up what I have to say in the two simple words with which I began, “Welcome home!” Welcome home to the home of your language, your liberties and your race. Welcome home to the source of your parliaments, your free institutions and of this immeasurable Empire. Welcome home to the supreme head of all these dominions, your Sovereign and mine, who is not merely the King of Great Britain, but the King of Hearts. (Loud cheers.) Welcome home to this and to anything besides that we in all brotherhood and affection can offer you. Welcome home! (Loud cheers.) I have to propose the health of our guests, coupled with the name of Sir Hugh Graham.

The toast was pledged with enthusiasm.

**SIR HUGH GRAHAM.**

Sir HUGH GRAHAM, in reply, said: My Lords and Gentlemen,—Whoever are to blame for the selection of a speaker to reply to this toast, the choice shows a keen appreciation of the value of contrast in creating an interest. It can hardly be imagined that you, who have given us from over the seas this warm welcome, appreciate quite how we feel about it. A welcome always warms the heart, but never are we, any of us, so deeply touched as by the welcome home. That has a penetrating quality all its own, which the kindest courtesy of the stranger can never approach. And the United Kingdom is home in a very especial sense to all of us. It is the home of our free institutions, our political ideals, and, what is of more interest to this company, of our conceptions of all that should constitute a free, courageous, and enlightened Press. (Hear, hear.) When we received the invitation from the committee to pay you a visit, to see something of Britain at work and Britain at play, no one could have foreseen that the modest little invitation now supported by all the leading journalists of the United Kingdom, and by leading men in English public life, would develop into a great national demonstration. If the invitation had been restricted to this magnificent banquet, if it had been designed that we should meet only our kind hosts of to-night, and our brothers from every direction over the seas, to shake hands with the journalists and statesmen of today, and the younger men here, many of whom are to be Britain’s editors and statesmen of the future; if it had been intended that we should hear only the ringing words of welcome offered to-night by one of England’s greatest statesmen, we should have felt indebted to you for a precious and never-to-be-forgotten privilege. But when we think of the programme of hospitality you have prepared and the princely arrangements for our amusement and instruction, we are bewildered by your generosity and stricken with a sense of our own unworthiness. There are at least two British institutions that command the respect of the whole world—the British Bench, and, with some unimportant reservations, the British Press. (Cheers.) The journalists of some other countries are a trifle quicker, perhaps, in picking up a new idea. They are less afraid it will bite; but this advantage, if it be an advantage, is largely mechanical and incidental.

For the vivifying principles that give life and health to journalism we must still look to Great Britain. (Cheers.) What I meant to say was that people are more apt to believe what they see in a great British paper than any other. They have more faith in your character. They know that, as a whole, you are not publishing inspired nonsense to help your Government. They feel sure that you are not the paid megaphones of financial buccaneers.

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(Hear, hear.) You have earned this reputation, and it is the earnest hope of the colonists that you will guard it. (Cheers.) You will find that the delegates have come to the Conference with open minds on every question to be discussed, willing to see, hear, and learn, and they will doubtless feel that it will give greater weight to the deliberations if they seek rather to raise the Press in public esteem by enlarging its influence for the good of the Empire and mankind in general than to aim at what might be regarded as mere business aggrandisement. (Cheers.) The delegates are only a few out of thousands engaged in journalism, many of those who could not come being amongst the ablest in the profession. What a few men may see or do in such circumstances might be regarded as of no great importance, especially as they are, for the most part anyway, free from any sort of instruction or restriction, but their words will have a meaning, and a very significant meaning, if they are able to interpret to you the sentiments of the people of the countries whence they come. (Hear, hear.) You are fortunate in having with you from Canada able representatives of the French-Canadian Press—(cheers)—a Press that is making giant strides in everything that reflects credit on the profession; a Press that rivals, if, indeed, it does not surpass, its English contemporaries in Canada in the influence it wields; a Press controlled by able writers who have created a great Imperial asset by promoting cordiality between the races, and who, though not given to frequent demonstration of their loyalty, are at heart, and openly when needed, staunch supporters of the British connection. (Hear, hear.) I trust it will not be considered ungenerous or inconsiderate if I allude to a question that is often asked here and in the Colonies. A great deal has been said and written about the power of the Press. Not in censure, not in reproach, but in a spirit of goodwill, it might be asked if something could not be said about the weakness of the Press, as shown sometimes by a disinclination on the part of journalists to join forces for the good of their country in times of great national crises. It requires only a short residence in this country to see that the loyal people are broadly tolerant of the widest differences of opinion on nearly all subjects discussed, but they deplore, and deeply deplore, disunion on the great question of national defence. (Hear, hear.) It is believed that if the papers of the Empire, throwing party considerations aside, were to agree on a safe policy looking to the absolute security of the Empire, there would be no important opposition to it in the country, and little opposition in Parliament, and you would make it for ever impossible to degrade this sacred question to the level of party politics. (Cheers.) Largely due to the awakening calls of the Colonial Press, a wave of sentiment has recently passed over the outlying parts of the Empire that may mark the beginning of a new and important era in the attitude of the people towards Imperial interests. For long years Canada, under both political parties, has been sponging on the motherland for protection. Both political parties in Great Britain have been too indulgent and too paternal to ask us to pay our share, and we have been too mean to offer it. (“No,



no.”) But a change is impending. Inspired by the pluck of New Zealand and Australia, colonies ever in the van, Canada has agreed to send delegates to discuss the problem with the British government; and it must be gratifying to the whole British world that the Commonwealth, the Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies have offered hearty co-operation. (Cheers.) This movement originated with the Press, was supported by the people, and is now espoused by the political parties. If a wise statesmanship guide the delegates in their deliberations, it means a most important step in safeguarding Imperial interests. It means not that the people are yearning to relieve the British taxpayer—to make any such pretension were hypocrisy—it means that the Colonies are rising to a sense of their responsibilities. It means for Canada that it is no longer to be regarded as an infant colony, to be coddled and pampered by a paternal British Government, but a responsible partner, with interests to protect and responsibilities co-equal with its privileges. It means that the people of the colonies are anxious for a rightful voice in determining what the strength of the British Navy shall be, and to tell you, more effectively than can ever be done by a merely nominal partner, that they regard the British Navy as a form of Imperial insurance under a blanket policy, covering everything that you and we possess that is worth possessing, and demanding eternal vigilance to make it undeniably sure that the date of the policy is ever borne in mind, and that its provisions are ample and beyond dispute. (Cheers.) On behalf

[Photo Following Page 16]

Mr. B. S. INGRAM (*Illustrated London News*).

Mr. C. D. LENG (*Sheffield Telegraph*).

Mr. FRANK NEWNES, M.P.

Sir GEO. NEWNES, BART., M.P.

[*Elliott & Fry*.

Mr. HUGH SPOTTISWOODE (*Sphere*).

Mr. J. NICOL DUNN.

Mr. EDWARD ROBBINS.

[*Rowe, Plymouth*.

Mr. T. CANNING BAILY (*Western Morning News*).

Members of the Executive Committee.

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of the delegates, I thank you for this warm welcome, coupled with the hope that the deliberations of the Conference will redound to the good of the Empire and the credit of the Press. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. S. R. PHILLIPS, proposing the toast of “The Chairman,” said:—My lords and gentlemen and brother journalists from all parts of the world,—I have great pleasure in proposing to you the health of our chairman, Lord Burnham. Before I turn strictly to that, may I for a moment speak of our orator of this evening, Lord Rosebery? The last time I had the pleasure of hearing Lord Rosebery was twenty-one years ago, and I want to say how great an honour I feel it to have been allowed to address this assembly after him. I am not one of his political followers. I do not know where his political followers are—(Lord Rosebery: “Hear, hear.”)—but I know twenty-one years ago when I was on the

“Scotsman” I was sent to write a leader on a speech by Lord Rosebery, his subject being the binding together of all parts of this great Empire. (Hear, hear.) Upon that occasion, early in his speech, Lord Rosebery was stopped. Some ladies came up the platform steps behind him, and he said, “I am like Mr. Pitt on a celebrated occasion, for I have left my party behind me.” (Laughter.) On several occasions since then he has left his party behind him, but when he looks round for it he will find in his sane Imperialism that his party is a very large one indeed. (Hear, hear.) My reference to Lord Rosebery is connected with the toast I propose, in this manner: Lord Rosebery stands for independence in Imperial statesmanship—(cheers)—and Lord Burnham and the “Daily Telegraph,” with which he has long been associated, stand for independence in journalism. Indeed, I remember the young lions of Fleet Street when I was a boy were so independent that they did not know where they would be the next morning. Lord Burnham has always insisted upon independence, and the result is the present high status of the “Daily Telegraph” throughout the Empire. His motto has been, “Oh, a little more, and how much it is.” And the “little more” of the “Telegraph” is very much indeed. We in the provinces look upon it as our only possible rival, and if we have an invasion we hope it is not from the “Daily Telegraph.” We are invaded. The “Daily Mail” and the “Daily News” joined together in a missionary effort to convert the North of England to something or other, but so long as we have no invasion from the “Telegraph” we can sleep both day and night. We have a great admiration for Lord Burnham, and that admiration is increased by the zeal he has shown in bringing about this great Press Conference. He has thrown himself heart and soul into the work, and he has been assisted by Mr. Lawson, his son, who has done a very great amount of detail work. For these reasons I ask you to drink the health of your Chairman. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in response, said: Good friends, you do not want many more words from me. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Phillips for the very kind words he has spoken concerning me, and I am grateful to you for the way in which you have received the toast. He said, I think, that he had some difficulty, in former years, in knowing where the young lions of the “Daily Telegraph” would be the following day. He has no difficulty in knowing where the old lions will be to-morrow. They will be at Hall Barn, charmed to see the delegates who are coming there. I have on this occasion only one regret, and that is that I am not young enough or active enough to be with you throughout all your journeyings. My very active friend our Secretary, backed by the kindness and generosity of the gentleman who lends you thirty motor-cars, backed by the weight of a vast quantity of petrol which, I sincerely hope, will be duty free—(laughter)—you will, I think, by these influences, find that you will move about with very great rapidity. If I am not able to accompany you, if I can only put in an appearance now and then, I pray you to believe that, though I may be absent, my heartfelt wishes are with you, and that I sincerely trust you will have not only a very good time, but that the result of your deliberations will be of such a character that your visit to us in this country will be an event in itself historical—that will never be forgotten. (Cheers.) I thank you.

After this “Auld Lang Syne” and the National Anthem, sung with great fervour, formed a fitting termination to a most memorable evening. But it was some time before the guests dispersed. The spell of the occasion was

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strong upon them; and, gathered in knots and groups, they discussed the great deliverance to which they had listened, or deepened the friendly ties established during the night. Then they returned to London, the echoes of Lord Rosebery's stirring exposition of the European situation, of his clarion call to Imperial patriotism, and of the apt, electrifying phrases of welcome with which he ended, thrilling each one.

As a souvenir of the banquet, the menu card and programme are here reproduced. It should be mentioned that each programme contained a copy of the map in colours printed at the beginning of this volume.

[Photo Following Page 18]

Mr. E. B. WALTON (Port Elizabeth).

Hon. J. W. KIRWAN (Kalgoorlie). Hon. Secretary.

Mr. J. S. BRIERLEY (Montreal).

Mr. WM. DOUGLAS (Auckland, N.Z.).

Mr. R. KYFFIN THOMAS (Adelaide). Chairman.

Mr. A. F. MACDONALD (Halifax).

Mr. CROSBIE ROLES (Ceylon).

Dr. STANLEY REED (Bombay).

Mr. GEO. FENWICK (Dunedin, N.Z.) *Martin & Sallnow*.

Mr. HUDSON BERKELEY (Newcastle, N.S.W.). Hon. Treasurer.

Dr. MAITLAND PARK (Capetown).

[*Elliott & Fry*].

Executive Committee of the Oversea Delegates.

[*See Page 7*].

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Imperial Press Conference

Banquet to the Editors & Press of Greater Britain by Their Colleagues in the Mother Country June V M-CM-IX.

Bernard Partridge, M-cm-ix

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CHAIRMAN: The Rt. Hon. LORD BURNHAM, K.C.V.O.

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MENU.

VINS.

Amontillado.

Gonzalez, Byass & Co.

Hochheim Deanery 1895.

Moët & Chandon.  
Dry Imperial  
1900.

Château Larose 1896.

Hennessy's  
40 years old  
Brandy.

Hors d'Œuvre variés

Consommé de Volaille aux Quenelles

Suprêmes de Soles Américaine

Cailles rosées au Champagne

Mousse de Jambon en Belle Vue

Mignonettes d'Agneau Algérienne

Poularde poêlée  
Salade Romaine

Asperges en Branches, Sauce Vincent

Pêches Orientale  
Friandises

DESSERT

Café

J. LYONS & CO., Ltd.

Page 23  
TOASTS.

THE KING  
Proposed by THE CHAIRMAN.

THE QUEEN, PRINCE AND PRINCESS  
OF WALES AND ROYAL FAMILY  
Proposed by THE CHAIRMAN.

## OUR GUESTS

Proposed by the Rt. Hon. EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G.

Response by Sir HUGH GRAHAM.

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### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF GUESTS.

#### A

##### TABLE

47 Mr. W. A. Ackland  
30 Mr. A. St. John Adcock  
27 Mr. J. Murray Allison  
47 Mr. G. F. R. Anderson  
63 Mr. William Archer  
56 Mr. Edwin L. Arnold  
58 Sir John Arnott  
11 Mr. Lewis Ashenheim  
14 Mr. Hartley Aspden  
11 Mr. Algernon E. Aspinall  
51 Mr. J. E. Atkinson

#### B

##### TABLE

13 Mr. W. H. Back  
42 Mr. Frank G. Bailey  
25 Mr. Herbert T. Bailey  
20 Mr. Robert H. H. Baird  
20 Capt. W. Baird  
62 Hon. Surendranath Banerjee  
6 Mr. John A. Bannister  
57 Mr. J. H. Barnes  
28 Mr. S. A. Bartlett  
1 Mr. Herbert H. Bassett  
1 Mr. W. R. Bassett  
4 Mr. L. Bashford  
13 Mr. A. H. Bate  
53 Mr. George Bateman  
33 Mr. J. M. Bathgate  
47 Mr. Comyns Beaumont  
15 Mr. C. J. Beattie  
36 Mr. T. Beecham  
12 Mr. H. E. Beesley  
30 Mr. Harold Begbie  
50 Mr. Moberly Bell  
16 Mr. Robert Bell  
16 Mr. E. A. Bendall

52 Mr. C. Bennett  
 39 Mr. Charles Benham  
 43 Mr. B. Bennison  
 62 Mr. E. C. Bentley  
 13 Mr. Hudson Berkeley  
 20 Mr. F. C. Beveridge  
 45 Mr. L. Bingham  
 24 Mr. T. H. Bird  
 31 Mr. S. Bishop  
 12 Mr. Gerald Biss  
 10 Mr. F. Blake  
 10 Mr. J. P. Blake  
 16 Mr. J. M. Blanch  
 24 Mr. R. D. Blumenfeld  
 2 Mr. L. C. Bond  
 2 Mr. T. C. Bond  
 18 Mr. F. D. Bone  
 2 Mr. J. J. Booty  
 27 Mr. F. W. Bowater  
 53 Mr. F. Whelan Boyle  
 35 Mr. W. R. Bradbrook  
 50 Mr. Ernest Brain  
 27 Mr. H. Brett  
 33 Mr. Richard E. Bridge  
 48 Mr. J. S. Brierley  
 15 Mr. F. Ashworth Briggs  
 2 Mr. W. Brimelow  
 60 Mr. Harry E. Brittain  
 60 Mr. W. B. Brittain  
 54 Mr. Sydney Brooks  
 30 Mr. Ernest A. Bryant  
 A Mr. G. E. Buckle  
 28 Mr. George Bull  
 15 Mr. W. F. Bullock  
 48 Mr. John Bune  
 41 Mr. Bennet Burleigh  
 A Rt. Hon. Lord Burnham, K.C.V.O.  
 4 Mr. C. E. Burton  
 29 Mr. Pomeroy Burton  
 16 Mr. Alfred Butes

## C

### TABLE

62 Mr. H. T. Cadbury  
 26 Mr. Andrew Caird  
 58 Mr. S. S. Champion

4 Mr. H. A. H. Canon  
3 Mr. G. Heath Cantle  
12 Mr. G. H. Carr  
61 Mr. Philip Carr  
47 Mr. Vivian Carter  
6 Mr. Thomas Catling  
37 Mr. H. W. Cave  
6 Mr. Wade Chance  
6 Mr. Wade Chance's Guest  
15 Mr. R. de Chateleux  
23 Mr. G. M. Chesney  
42 Mr. Bertram Christian  
30 Mr. Lawrence Clark  
39 Mr. N. Clark  
50 Mr. Robert Clements  
63 Mr. Chas. Clifford  
16 Mr. E. H. Clutsam  
53 Mr. Ernest Coffin  
3 Mr. Mark Cohen  
59 Mr. Theodore A. Cook  
54 Mr. E. T. Cook

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67 Mr. N. B. Colcock  
6 Mr. N. M. Cooper  
11 Mr. J. de Cordova  
16 Mr. G. F. Cornford  
58 Mr. Herbert Cornish  
43 Mr. L. Cope Cornford  
25 Mr. M. A. F. Cotton  
18 Mr. A. Courlander  
6 Mr. F. L. Courteney  
41 Mr. W. L. Courtney  
29 Mr. J. Cowley  
23 Mr. Herbert Cox  
9 Mr. F. M. Crisp  
1 Mr. D. O. Croal, F.S.S.  
62 Mr. B. F. Crosfield  
58 Mr. E. S. Cunningham  
6 Mr. A. Curran

D

TABLE

67 Mr. J. W. Dafoe  
8 "Daily Telegraph" (2 reporters)  
12 Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P.

61 Mr. H. G. Daniels  
24 Mr. Sidney Dark  
36 Hon. C. E. Davies  
21 Mr. O. F. Davies  
54 Mr. P. Davis  
46 Mr. A. J. Dawson  
18 Mr. M. Dennis  
32 Mr. George Denny  
56 Mr. J. W. Derry  
20 Mr. H. C. Derwent  
22 Mr. F. W. Dickinson  
9 Mr. Everard Digby  
15 Mr. F. Dilnot  
51 Mr. Robert Donald  
29 Mr. F. J. Dottridge  
42 Mr. James Douglas  
57 Mr. W. S. Douglas  
27 Mr. M. H. Dubbs  
31 Mr. F. E. B. Duff  
12 Mr. Charles Duguid  
22 Mr. J. W. Dunn  
22 Mr. J. Nicol Dunn  
22 Mr. J. Stormont Dunn  
68 Mr. J. T. Dunsford  
68 Mr. P. Dvorkovitz

## E

### TABLE

54 Mr. J. P. Eddy  
13 Mr. Hamilton Edwards  
21 Sir John Ellerman  
23 Mr. John Ellerthorpe  
22 Mr. F. W. Emmett  
42 Dr. F. V. Engelenburg  
4 Mr. W. J. Evans  
55 Mr. Charles Eves

## F

### TABLE

A The Rt. Hon. Lord Faber  
37 Mr. J. O. Fairfax  
24 Mr. F. H. Farthing  
29 Mr. A. W. Faulkner  
4 Mr. W. G. Faulkner  
53 Mr. George Fenwick  
6 Mr. Chas. Fichardt



16 Mr. Gerard Fiennes  
63 Mr. A. J. Finberg  
39 Mr. W. G. Fish  
50 Hon. Theodore Fink  
32 Mr. E. E. Flynn  
9 Mr. W. P. Forbes  
3 Sir George Frampton, R.A.  
45 Mr. Ivor Fraser  
44 Mr. J. Foster Fraser  
46 Mr. Malcolm Fraser  
63 Col. J. F. Free  
53 Mr. H. Frisby  
35 Mr. Charles Friswell  
59 Mr. C. B. Fry  
43 Mr. W. A. Fox  
26 Mr. Hamilton Fyfe

## G

### TABLE

36 Mr. A. W. Gamage  
3 Mr. Harold Garrish  
62 Mr. A. G. Gardiner  
16 Mr. J. L. Garvin  
59 Mr. C. Geake  
42 Mr. J. R. Geard  
9 Mr. John Gennings  
53 Mr. Philip Gibbs  
28 Mr. J. P. Giddings, F.I.J.  
41 Mr. William Gilliland  
55 Mr. T. Lennox Gilmour  
62 Mr. D. C. Ghose  
63 Mr. Frank Glover  
34 Mr. Ernest Goddard  
23 Mr. E. L. Goodman  
15 Mr. H. J. Gough  
59 Sir F. C. Gould  
22 Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower  
63 Mr. Lionel Gowing

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68 Mr. J. Douglas Graham  
A Sir Hugh Graham  
68 Mr. Norval B. Graham  
19 Mr. P. Anderson Graham  
14 Mr. Kingscote Greenland  
35 Mr. Hamar Greenwood, M.P.

61 Mr. R. H. Gretton  
26 Mr. W. E. Grey  
48 Mr. E. W. M. Grigg  
3 Col. Frank Griffith, V.D.  
67 Mr. W. Griffith  
12 Mr. Herbert Grover  
32 Mr. Fred Grundy  
A Mr. H. A. Gwynne

## H

### TABLE

22 Hon. J. W. Hackett, LL.D.  
18 Mr. A. Haddon  
68 Mr. Walter Haddon  
9 Mr. Rudolph Hagen  
14 Mr. W. Haley  
59 Sir Ian Hamilton  
55 Mr. A. E. Hance  
26 Mr. C. E. Hands  
28 Mr. Thos. H. Hardman  
40 Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.  
40 Mr. Harold Harmsworth  
38 Mr. Hildebrand Harmsworth  
29 Mr. B. M. Hansard  
41 Mr. Frank Hare  
31 Mr. Charles F. Hart  
29 Mr. H. Harper  
37 Mr. C. Harris  
39 Mr. Austin Harrison  
57 Mr. W. K. Haselden  
45 Mr. G. Hayward  
35 Mr. Walter Hayes  
35 Mr. James Heilbut  
68 Mr. H. d'Hellencourt  
68 Mr. Fritz Henrikson  
44 Mr. Charles S. Henry, M.P.  
37 Mr. Dennis Herbert  
56 Mr. W. J. Herder  
67 Mr. F. J. Higginbottom  
1 Mr. William Hill  
54 Mr. C. Lewis Hind  
22 Mr. Frank Hird  
24 Mr. P. A. Hislam  
46 Mr. W. E. Hobbs  
7 Mr. G. B. Hodgson  
42 Mr. Stuart J. Hodgson

31 Mr. E. C. Heath Hosken  
19 Mr. Edward Hudson  
19 Mr. Percy Hurd  
52 Mr. George Hussey

## I

### TABLE

52 Mr. Charles Iggleston  
34 Mr. Bruce Ingram  
30 Mr. Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

## J

### TABLE

55 Mr. A. G. Jeans  
10 Mr. W. Jeans  
8 Mr. Wm. Jeffrey  
57 Mr. A. E. Jenkins  
32 Mr. H. J. Jennings  
43 Mr. S. H. Jeyes  
20 Mr. L. O. Johnson  
19 Mr. R. F. Johnson  
21 Mr. E. H. Johnstone  
51 Mr. Harry Jones  
A Mr. Kennedy Jones  
22 Mr. Roderick Jones  
21 Mr. W. A. Jones

## K

### TABLE

42 Mr. Alfred Kalisch  
33 Mr. Peter Keary  
57 Mr. Alex. Kenealy  
24 Mr. Ernest Kessell  
21 Mr. James A. Kilpatrick  
19 Mr. C. T. King  
36 Mr. G. King  
58 Mr. Henry King  
28 Mr. G. H. Kingswell  
33 Sir John Kirk  
40 Mr. J. W. Kirwan  
48 Mr. F. H. Kitchin  
7 Mr. E. S. Klemford  
13 Mr. F. R. Knollys  
31 Mr. F. W. Kohler

## L

TABLE

13 Mr. A. Laker  
23 Mr. Percival Landon  
27 Mr. Ralph Lane  
14 Mr. G. Langlois  
44 Mr. F. Lambert  
33 Mr. F. J. Lamburn  
45 Mr. Boyle Lawrence

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40 Sir Walter Lawrence, Bart, G.C.I.E.  
39 Mr. A. E. Lawson  
60 Hon. Harry A. W. Lawson  
60 Hon. W. A. W. Lawson  
18 Mr. H. Leatherdale  
2 Mr. W. Lefroy  
60 Mr. C. D. Leng  
10 Mr. W. C. Leng  
18 Mr. J. L. Levy  
36 Mr. A. Levy  
14 Mr. John Lile  
33 Mr. H. F. Lipscombe  
53 Mr. S. R. Littlewood  
4 Mr. W. P. Livingstone  
A Mr. Frank Lloyd  
43 Mr. T. Lloyd  
58 Mr. W. Algernon Locker  
A The Ven. The Archdeacon of London  
46 Mr. Sidney Low  
7 Mr. Robert L. Lowy  
37 Sir Henry W. Lucy  
44 Mr. Gresley Lukin  
40 Mr. J. Lumsden  
13 Mr. J. Lyons

M

TABLE

51 Mr. William Maas  
6 Mr. F. C. Macaskie  
44 Mr. G. W. MacAvoy  
41 Mr. A. F. Macdonald  
21 Mr. R. M. Macdonald  
59 Mr. J. A. Macdonald  
51 Mr. T. T. Mackenna  
31 Mr. F. A. Mackenzie  
5 Mr. A. Mackay

46 Mr. H. M. Mackintosh  
 15 Mr. F. Macpherson  
 54 Mr. Walter Mansfield  
 1 Mr. Harry C. Marks  
 1 Mr. Harry H. Marks  
 39 Mr. Thomas Marlowe  
 56 Mr. John Martin  
 55 Mr. G. W. Mascord  
 23 Mr. R. S. Masson  
 33 Mr. S. Mattingley  
 45 Mr. W. Maxwell  
 39 Mr. William Maxwell  
 44 Mr. W. Maxwell-Lyte  
 9 Mr. H. T. McAuliffe  
 27 Mr. J. McBain  
 57 Mr. Adye McCarthy  
 7 Mr. Desmond McCarthy  
 43 Mr. E. W. McCready  
 56 Mr. Donald McDonald  
 56 Mr. R. J. McHugh  
 30 Mr. Arthur Mee  
 17 Mr. F. Meiggs  
 11 Mr. Andrew Meikle  
 55 Mr. Louis Meyer  
 41 Mr. F. Miller  
 51 Mr. James Milne  
 59 Mr. A. Mond  
 12 Mr. F. W. Money Penny  
 17 Mr. F. J. Moore  
 3 Mr. Arthur Moreland

## N

### TABLE

53 Mr. Thomas Naylor  
 24 Mr. John Nelson  
 62 Mr. H. W. Nevinson  
 34 Mr. Frank Newnes, M.P.  
 37 Mr. Frank Newbolt  
 31 Mr. M. E. Nichols  
 4 Mr. G. H. Nicholls  
 12 Mr. Reginald Nicholson  
 A The Rt. Hon. Lord Northcliffe  
 54 Mr. Richard A. Northcott

## O

### TABLE

24 Mr. H. S. Oakley  
14 Mr. G. J. Orange  
19 Mr. A. Ostler  
14 Mr. Herbert Owen

## P

### TABLE

44 Mr. J. Wilson Pace  
2 Mr. Maitland Park  
42 Mr. Ernest Parke  
30 Mr. Percy L. Parker  
7 Mr. George R. Parkin  
50 Sir J. Roper Parkington  
38 Mr. Wadham Peacock  
17 Mr. H. Peacocke  
19 Mr. H. Pemberton  
40 Mr. Max Pemberton  
51 Mr. E. A. Perris  
62 Mr. G. H. Perris  
A Mr. J. S. R. Phillips  
17 Mr. Percival Phillips  
32 Mr. Mostyn Pigott  
10 Mr. Andrew Piggott  
38 Mr. Ernest Platt  
38 Major J. E. Hartford Platt  
38 Mr. John H. Platt

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50 Sir Walter Plummer  
21 Mr. Pollock  
3 Mr. Leonard Pomeroy  
48 Hon. Robert Porter  
46 Mr. F. S. Pountney  
1 Mr. E. T. Powell  
7 Mr. D. L. Pressley  
34 Mr. Melton Prior  
28 Mr. S. J. Pryor  
26 Mr. O. I. Pulvermacher

## R

### TABLE

59 Mr. W. G. Rawlinson  
60 Mr. Stanley Reed  
9 Mr. E. T. Reed  
63 Mr. R. C. Reed  
20 Mr. H. Powell Rees

56 Mr. C. A. Reeve  
 35 Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid  
 63 Mr. A. E. Reno  
 36 Mr. Nelson Richards  
 55 Mr. Arthur Richardson  
 41 Mr. J. Hall Richardson  
 50 Mr. Bruce L. Richmond  
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AT HALL BARN AND TAPLOW.

Sunday—the delegates' first Sunday in London—brought with it a foretaste of the wealth of hospitality that was awaiting them. Lord Burnham had invited them to lunch at his delightful, historic country mansion in Bucks—Hall Barn, Beaconsfield; and afterwards they were to visit Taplow Court, and be taken by Lord Desborough for a river trip through some of the prettiest Thames-side scenery. The fickleness of an English June had, however, to be reckoned with. When the guests left London by motor-cars and special train for Beaconsfield, the skies were heavy and lowering, and rain threatened. These unpromising conditions could not damp the spirits of the delegates and their wives, whose eager enjoyment of the exquisite panorama of typical English country through which they passed was pleasant to witness. Especially were they charmed with the woodlands around Ruislip, Ickenham, Northolt, and Chalfont, the mayblossom and the spikes of chestnut bloom adding a gay note of colour to the scene.

A cheery welcome from their host, who was accompanied by the Hon. Harry Lawson and Mrs. Lawson, and the Hon. Lady Hulse, awaited the visitors, who made the best of their opportunity while the rain held off to admire the beautiful groves, the glowing flowers, and the exquisite lawns of the house which was once the home of Edmund Waller. The famous yew hedges, which owe their survival to the intercession of Sir Joshua Reynolds when they were marked to be cut down in the eighteenth century, came in for special notice. Very keen was the interest shown by many of the delegates in Waller's connection with the mansion, and such memorials of the poet as still exist. Amongst these are a portrait of Waller by Kneller, in the dining-room, and a bust in the hall by Rhysbrach.

To many of the Empire Editors an object of special interest, of which they had often heard, though they probably never expected to behold it, was contained in a glass case in the smoking-room. Rusted and tarnished, here reposed that very dagger which was thrown down upon the floor of the House of Commons by Burke during his historical denunciation of the methods of French Anarchism.

By this time rain had taken possession of the day, but with cheerful hardiness the visitors motored after luncheon to Taplow Court, where another hospitable welcome was forthcoming from Lord Desborough and the Hon. Monica Grenfell. For their edification he exhibited his rowing trophies, including the oar of the eight which he stroked across the Channel in July, 1885; and he also pointed out to them the fine grove of cedars of Lebanon in the grounds, and explained the finds of flint implements, now in the British

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Museum, found in excavating the foundations of Taplow Court, which is built on one of the oldest inhabited spots in the British Isles.

The river trip arranged proved too tempting an attraction to be forgone; so the party proceeded in the waiting launch along some of the most beautiful lengths of the Thames to Cookham Lock and back. Even the pouring rain could not destroy the party's appreciation of the exquisite scenery, especially of the luxuriant foliage of Cliveden

Reach; and it was a very happy and gratified party that, soothed and invigorated after tea at Taplow, travelled back to London, full of kindly thoughts towards their hospitable entertainers.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 40]

Some Members of the General Committee.

Mr. CARMICHAEL THOMAS (*The Graphic*).

Mr. MOBERLY BELL (*The Times*).

Mr. S. S. CAMPION (*President Inst. Of Journalists*).

Mr. ST. LOE STRACHEY (*The Spectator*).

Mr. LOVAT FRASER (*The Times*).

Lord MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU (*The Car*).

Mr. E. HULTON (*Manchester Despatch*).

Mr. J. R. FINDLAY (*Scotsman*).

Mr. MURRAY SMITH (*Glasgow News*).

Mr. H. KING (*Southern Daily Echo*).

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CHAPTER IV.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

The delegates gathered in force on the Monday for serious practical business. A formidable list of social engagements for the afternoon and evening loomed before them; but the immediate matter in hand absorbed all their attention. They were earnest men, assembled for a definite purpose. In the large hall at the Foreign Office the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies, bade the delegates welcome. Mr. Kyffin Thomas, the Chairman of the Delegates' Executive Committee, occupied a place on the platform, where were also Mr. Sydney Buxton (the Postmaster-General), Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., and Mr. Harry Brittain, the hon. secretary of the Conference. Before them were seated the array of Oversea delegates and representatives of all the important journals of London and the country.

For the purpose of this record and convenience of reference and perusal, the detailed reports of the speeches at each day's Conference are collected at the end of the book in continuous form. All that is attempted here is a brief résumé of the principal points of each sitting.

It was interesting to notice the manner in which this Parliament of the Empire's Press, called together for the first time in its history, addressed itself to the consideration of the question before it—"Cable News Services and Press Inter-Communication." Behind the occasional hesitancy affecting some of the speakers, there was visible, as an observer wrote in the "Daily Telegraph" the next day, a feeling that the Press, not of the British Empire alone, but of the whole civilised world, had come into its own. "For the first time in its existence it had brushed aside those conventions that for so long seemed to confine its use and authority to the mere scope of distributing news, or of criticising the actions and opinions of other men. There was not a speaker who did not bring to his task a

strange sense that he was speaking almost in a new tongue, and in unfamiliar accents, to an audience that has known no parallel in the previous history of civilisation. . . . A sense of the reality of that tremendous power of which the claim has been so frequently and often so idly made in a disunited Press was heavy in the atmosphere.”

Lord Crewe’s introductory speech of welcome was happily phrased—courteous, cordial, and conciliatory. Naturally, he explained the difficulty that always attended the proposed action of any Department of State that involved expenditure—a difficulty he laid at the door, solely, of the Treasury; but he expressed the fullest sympathy with the desire of the Conference for cheaper cable communication and more extended facilities for such communication.

When Mr. Kyffin Thomas had appropriately acknowledged the welcome of the Colonial Secretary, the meeting proceeded to the discussion of the resolution

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submitted by Mr. Stanley Reed (Bombay) in favour of cheap and easy telegraphic facilities.

It was a topic that had a direct interest for every delegate present, and this fact was strongly reflected in their speeches—incisive, to the point; with a clearness that admitted of no question. All agreed that the different parts of the Empire must be brought into closer journalistic communication; that people in these days would not wait for a long mailed letter, but wanted quick news; that the rate of 1s. per word for Press cablegrams to Australia, for instance, was largely prohibitive, and that the Empire suffers equally with newspaper interests from this condition of things. Some differences of opinion there were; but the force and authority of the general message was undeniable.

Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Postmaster-General, made out for his Department the best case that he could; and eventually the Conference appointed a Committee of Oversea delegates, to whom were added representatives of British newspapers, to inquire and report to an adjourned sitting on June 25, [1909] upon the topic of cheapening cable rates within the Empire; while another resolution constituted the whole body of delegates a standing Committee, “to organise an Imperial News Service, and secure fuller inter-communication within the Empire.”

Thus the first sitting of the Conference closed with two very definite steps in advance decided upon; and with rising hopes of the practical work the Conference might be able to accomplish.

#### GUESTS AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

From the Foreign Office the delegates proceeded, in the Standard motor cars generously placed at their disposal for the week by Mr. Charles Friswell, to St. Stephen’s, to be the guests at luncheon of the literary and journalistic members of the two Houses of

Parliament. It was an atmosphere in which they quickly found themselves at home, while deeply interested in the traditions and memories which crowded their surroundings.

The Speaker received the delegates in Westminster Hall, whose historical associations and reminders of the great past—such as the tablet indicating where Charles I. stood on his trial—made a strong appeal to men fresh from lands in some of which history is but a thing of yesterday. Describing the luncheon, which took place in what is known as the Harcourt Room, overlooking the Thames, Mr. Foster Fraser wrote that the place “was crowded with politicians who had been associated with literature or journalism. The writers of mere law books had to be excluded; there was no room for them. The Prime Minister was there, not as Prime Minister, but because in his briefless barrister days Mr. Asquith earned welcome guineas by writing newspaper articles on economics. And it was pleasant to look round the room and see the distinguished politicians who had served their apprenticeship to public life as writers for the Press: Lord Curzon, a prince among hard-working

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go-anywhere-and-do-anything special correspondents; Lord Milner, once a writer for a London evening journal: sitting in a corner, modestly, Mr. Winston Churchill, who has done his share of dramatic war correspondence; Sir Charles Dilke, busy editor; Sir Henry Norman, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; whilst among the book writers were Sir Edward Grey, Lord Cromer, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Birrell, Mr. A. F. W. Mason. No lord or commoner had the privilege of being a host unless he could legitimately lay claim to being a writer. It was a gathering which appealed to the imagination of oversea journalists: coming face to face with men about whom they had read, and of whom they had written, and realising—and it was a realisation which affected many—that they were in the very heart of the Empire.”

The speeches were particularly happy in nearly every case, though one or two speakers had a serious moral to point.

The Speaker (the Right Hon. J. W. Lowther) presided, and the company included, in addition to those already mentioned, Mr. L. Harcourt, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Lord Courtney, Earl Winterton, Sir G. Robertson, the Earl of Ronaldshay, Sir Benjamin Stone, Sir Gilbert Parker, Mr. P. Snowden, Mr. W. P. Byles, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Mr. R. C. Lehmann, Mr. P. W. Wilson, Mr. J. H. Yoxall, Sir Charles Dalziel, the Serjeant-at-Arms (Mr. H. D. Erskine), and several representative journalists from the Press Gallery.

A telegram was received from Mr. Balfour, expressing regret at his inability to attend.

The loyal toasts having been honoured, The SPEAKER, on behalf of the House of Commons, offered the delegates a hearty welcome. He said the relations between the Press and the House of Commons were not as cordial at one time as they were now—(laughter and cheers)—in fact, in the recollection of men now living, the Press were not admitted to the House of Commons at all; they were treated as strangers. They knew that the reports of the proceedings used to be circulated by no less an individual than Dr.

Johnson, but he thought that general opinion had now come to the conclusion that there was a good deal more of Johnson than Chatham in the orations which they might now read. (Laughter.) At all events, at the present time the relations between the Press and Parliament were of the very happiest. Members of the House of Commons were deeply indebted to the Press for the manner in which they reported their speeches, whether it was the accurate stenographer or the picturesque and imaginative sketch writer. (Laughter.) He thought also that the press were somewhat indebted to the House of Commons, for they provided a good deal of very excellent copy. (Cheers.)

Mr. BIRRELL proposed “Our Guests.” After all, he said, we who proudly welcomed the colonists to what we called our home were only colonists ourselves. He did not know that we could claim any prouder title than that of colonists of an earlier growth. Where we came from hardly anyone knew, but we came here prompted by those roaming instincts, predatory instincts, which we still cherished as part of our boasted inheritance. (Laughter and cheers.) To those who came from Australia, Canada, and other parts of the King’s dominions beyond the seas we only said we were glad to see them back in the oldest of all British colonies. They rejoiced to see them there. The Press played a great part in the lives of all of them. (Laughter.) Nobody would deny that it often threatened their lives—(laughter)—and he was glad to say that occasionally it prolonged them. (Hear, hear.) The only other observation he would make about the Press was this—he would urge them to be more critical and less partisan. Why, for example, when the leader of a party happened to be stout and stuttering should they describe him as slim and eloquent—(laughter)—or, on the other hand, if a speaker they did not agree with was undoubtedly fluent and well-proportioned, why should they describe him as a Quilp and a stammerer? (Laughter.)

The Press should be critical. They

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should criticise men, their speeches, their policy; they should criticise national character, national aims; they should criticise them freely, independently, fiercely if they liked, with all the aids of sarcasm; and they should do it feeling one conviction only—that they were telling the truth. (Laughter.) Nothing was easier than to tell the truth about other people. (Laughter and cheers.) It presented no difficulty; almost anyone could do it; and yet how rarely it was done! (Laughter.) He hoped they would go back to their own homes to continue the great work of welding this Empire together, sealed by seals which never could break. Let them do so in the spirit not of partisanship but of truth. Let them try to find out what sort of a man a man was, and not what sort of a man they would like him to be, and having done that they would have played a great part and a noble part. (Laughter, and Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. W. KIRWAN (of the Legislative Council of Western Australia), in responding, said that in the self-governing dominions there was growing up a strong spirit of colonial nationalism, but while that spirit was growing strong—the spirit and pride of being an Australian, a Canadian, or a New Zealander—and while there was determination on their part to reserve all their self-governing powers, he felt that there was a change coming over the self-governing dominions and the spirit of the Empire. They felt that they were

slowly but surely tending towards a period of nations in alliance, and that the Empire of the future would be something grander and greater than it had been in the past, inasmuch as it would consist of something altogether different from what it consisted of now; it would consist of a great family of new nations that would be a strength and pride to the motherland. (Cheers.)

The Speaker having to leave to attend to his duties in the House of Commons, the chair was taken by Lord Curzon of Kedleston.

Viscount MILNER, in proposing “The Speaker,” said that whatever the younger nations of the British family might admire or not admire in the old Mother Country, he thought there could be no doubt that they all had a sincere regard for the best side of that British Parliamentary life after which their own institutions had been so largely fashioned. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing better or more characteristic in that life than the relations between the House and the Speaker. The great authority which he exercised, the great influence which he held, tended to preserve the best traditions of Parliamentary fair play, freedom of debate, and respect for the rights of minorities, without allowing that desirable freedom and tolerance to degenerate into turbulent or deliberate waste of time. Whatever dangers might threaten the efficiency of the House of Commons in the future—and there were those of them who thought there might be such dangers, whether from congestion of business or from other causes—whatever dangers there might be, he thought they all felt confidence that the great weight of the Speakership would be thrown into the right scale to obviate or at any rate to minimize them. Referring to the Earl of Rosebery’s suggestion that the House of Parliament should take a long respite from their labours and visit other parts of the Empire, Lord Milner said that no man could doubt that perhaps the strongest attraction in that proposal might be the prospect which it held out to weary legislators of a complete holiday, especially in the case of members of the House of Commons, for he could honestly say that the members of that branch of the Empire to which he himself belonged were in no very great need of one. (Laughter.)

After this luncheon, the prime movers in which were Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P. (a Canadian born, and at one time an Australian journalist), and Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P.—the delegates were taken into the Gallery of the House of Commons, and spent an agreeable hour in watching the Mother of Parliaments at work. They did not see the House of Lords sitting, but they were shown the Gilded Chamber, and were the recipients also of attentions from their colleagues of the Press Gallery before going on to the Royal Garden Party at Marlborough House, which formed their next engagement.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 44]

The Delegates on the Terrace of the House of Commons.

Front Row (beginning with second figure), Dr. J. A. Macdonald, J. Nelson, T. P.

O’Connor, M.P., Dr. Syme, R. Kyffin Thomas, Hon. J. W. Kirwan, P. D. Ross, —, Norman Clark.

Second Row (second figure), H. Berkeley, W. S. Douglas, M. Cohen, —, —, Geo.

Fenwick, —, R. M. Macdonald, M. E. Nichols, Major St. Clair, Crosbie Roles (hatless), Dr. Stanley Reed, J. Stuart, —, A. Mackay (extreme right).

Third Row, Dr. Ward, Dr. Hackett, Dr. Cunningham, J. O. Fairfax, Dr. Engelenburg, W. J. Herder, A. E. Reno, G. H. Kingswell, C. Woodhead, Hon. T. Fink, F. Blake (after gap).  
Fourth Row, L. Ashenheim, Harry Brittain (holding paper), A. E. Lawson (in centre, against line of tower), A. F. MacDonald (left of lamp), E. Digby (right of lamp).

*By courtesy of "The Sphere."*

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OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE GARDEN PARTY.

Brilliant sunshine favoured the Royal function, and the oversea guests saw London at its brightest and best as they motored to Marlborough House through the clear and radiant air. A happily hit-off impression of the scene supplied by Mr. Foster Fraser, in an article contributed to a number of Canadian newspapers, may be appropriately introduced here:—

The distinction about this garden party was the special invitations which were extended to the oversea Britons attending the Imperial Press Conference and their ladies. They came, and they were graciously received; first by the Prince and Princess, and afterwards being separately introduced to His Majesty and the Queen by Lord Burnham, the genial proprietor of the London "Daily Telegraph."

It was a scene which will live long in the memory of those who came from fruitful Canada, wide-stretching Australia, picturesque New Zealand, South Africa with its mighty possibilities, and India gorgeous with its traditions.

There had been rain all the previous day. But this only freshened the trees, made the carpet sward more green, and drew perfume from the banks of flowers. There was a tent set apart for the Royal party. A long marquee, three-sided, was devoted to refreshments for the guests of their Royal Highnesses. A military band crashed valiant music. Officers in crimson coats marched about the grounds. Dames and damsels were in the softest and yet most brilliant of clinging raiments. Their hats were wonders of millinery.

The Prince and the Princess stood by the path, and by their side was the Princess Mary—dressed as the royal children are, in the simplest of white frocks—whilst little Prince John, in sailor costume of duck material, was close at hand. Men bowed their heads and ladies made their curtseys.

But the great event was the coming of the King and Queen. The Prince and Princess entered Marlborough House to receive them. The throng of visitors made a great semi-circle before the main doorway. Then, when the Prince came out with his gracious mother on his arm, and the King followed with the Princess of Wales, all male heads were bared, and all the womenfolk curtsied deep—one of the prettiest sights imaginable. The band played the National Anthem, and the King and Queen, accompanied by many of their relatives, made a little tour of the gardens, and mingled with their friends.



Everyone who comes in contact with the Queen becomes her slave. She has the secret of continuous youth. Her smile might be described as fragrant. She has a quick eye for her friends, and a little inclination of the head brings them to her.

I took an Australian damsel in hand—a bright-eyed young lady who was making her first visit to England—and showed her round and introduced her to some of the celebrities. Her frank, girlish appreciation of the whole thing was refreshing. Sauntering on the path, and chatting to Lord Howe, was Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of England. A handsome man, with something artistic and literary in his features, was Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister. Close by, philosophical, stout, was the serious-visaged Mr. Haldane, the War Minister. A cultured intellectual man, not well clad, with brilliant-hued tie but hat that needed brushing was the great writer, Mr. John Morley, but now called Lord Morley of Blackburn. Tall and handsome was the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Everywhere were distinguished politicians.

Royalties moved among the mass. An amiable smiling lady was Princess Beatrice of Battenburg, mother of the Queen of Spain. That well-set soldier in high boots and glistening helmet was Prince Alexander of Teck, the brother of the Princess of Wales. A man of dignity and royal mein was the Duke of Connaught, brother of the King. A tall, fair, beautiful girl, followed by many admiring eyes, was the lovely Princess Patricia of Connaught. Two modest ladies—shy, as though they were making their first visit to a garden party—were the Duchess of Fife and Princess Victoria, daughters of the King. That fine old man, white-haired and short-sighted, was Prince Christian, cousin of the King. In and

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out and round about ran Princess Mary and Prince John, getting great fun from watching the moving crowd,

Bluff and hearty was heard the laughter of Lord Charles Beresford. Short and sharp was the conversation of the sun-baked warrior familiarly known as “Bobs.” The Archbishop of Canterbury was there in ecclesiastical garb. So was Sir Squire Bancroft and Lady Bancroft, Mr. George Alexander and Mrs. Alexander, Mr. Cyril Maude and his wife, and other favourites of the stage. Artists were there. Writers were there. Famous journalists were to be seen. Duchesses, marchionesses, countesses, and ladies were innumerable.

So the band played. People talked and walked, and the scene was as beautiful as anything you will find in the world.

The King and Queen—after the Royal party had tea—came from the tent. The waiting representatives of the British overseas press, together with their ladies, came forward and were introduced to the King and Queen. There was a handshake from His Majesty and a gentle handshake from the Queen. They said pleasant words to their visitors. The King was delighted to meet those men from the distant parts of his dominions who have done so much to stimulate the spirit of imperialism wherever the Union Jack floats. Again the royalties moved among their friends.

The sun was beginning to set on that exquisite June afternoon—and nowhere is summer so delicious as in London on a young June day—when the garden party came to an end.

Here had been a day sufficiently crowded with interesting events, but it was yet far from ended. For the evening there were dinner parties at many famous houses. At these the delegates, in small groups, met distinguished Britishers under conditions in which they could more easily discuss various matters in which they were interested than at larger gatherings. Amongst the hosts and hostesses were the Earl of Derby, the Countess of Crewe, Lord Ridley, Lady Middleton, Lady St. Helier, Miss Balfour, Mrs. A. Chamberlain, etc. Afterwards the guests went on to a reception given by the Marquis and Marchioness of Salisbury in Arlington Street, which provided a brilliant spectacle. Among those who had accepted invitations to meet the delegates were:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Randall Davidson, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, the Duke and Duchess of Leeds, the Duke and Duchess of Wellington, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn, the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, the Duke and Duchess of Portland, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry, the Marquis and Marchioness of Zetland, the Marchioness of Sligo, the Marquis of Anglesey, the Marquis and Marchioness of Bath, the Marquis and Marchioness of Winchester, the Marquis of Exeter, the Marquis and Marchioness of Lansdowne, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., and Countess Roberts, the Earl and Countess of Lytton, Earl and Countess Fitzwilliam, Earl and Countess Brownlow, the Earl and Countess of Bessborough, the Earl and Countess of Harrowby, the Earl of Selborne, Earl and Countess Beauchamp, the Earl and Countess of Halsbury, the Earl and Countess of Scarborough, the Earl and Countess of Bradford, the Earl and Countess of Meath, the Earl and Countess of Crewe, the Earl and Countess of Donoughmore, the Earl and Countess of Portsmouth, the Earl and Countess of Cavan, the Earl and Countess of Dartmouth, the Earl and Countess of Cromer, Earl Cadogan, Earl and Countess Carrington, Earl and Countess Cawdor, Viscount and Viscountess Ridley, Viscount and Viscountess Cobham, Viscount and Viscountess Middleton, Viscount and Viscountess Halifax, Viscount and Viscountess Esher, Viscount and Viscountess Goschen, Viscount and

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Viscountess Falmouth, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Southwark and the Hon Mrs. Talbot, Lord and Lady Edward Churchill, Lord and Lady Glamis, Lord and Lady Mostyn, Lord and Lady Hindlip, Lord and Lady Llangattock, Lord and Lady Amptill, Lord Lamington, Lord and Lady Brassey, the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., and Miss Balfour, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, and a large number of M.P.'s and their ladies. The house was decorated with choice flowers and foliage from the gardens at Hatfield and a band played selections of music.

The record of the day would be incomplete without a mention of the fact that while the delegates were being entertained at luncheon at the House of Commons, the ladies accompanying them were the guests at luncheon of the Ladies' Imperial Club, and received from Lady Llangattock, who presided, a welcome of much warmth: "We all know the importance and value of the Press in these days, and this great Imperial Conference will, we hope and believe, be the means of drawing together in a closer bond of Imperial unity the members of the Press in all parts of the Empire."

The Dowager Marchioness of Headfort, the Baroness Percy de Worms, Viscountess Midleton, Lady Jackson, Lady Samuel, Lady Spielmann, and the Hon. Mrs. Foster were amongst the members of the club present at the gathering, which was marked by much cordiality.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

The "Press and the Empire" was the topic of discussion for the second day's sitting of the conference. Though it was long after midnight when many of the delegates reached the hotel after leaving the Marchioness of Salisbury's reception, and they found there much correspondence to attend to and much to converse about in comparing the day's experiences, they gathered early the next morning to hear Mr. Reginald McKenna, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Cromer, and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, who were to take part in the debate.

Mr. McKenna's speech was listened to with much care. He laid stress upon the maintenance of a Navy sufficiently strong to keep open the highroad of the seas, "over all the waters our borders touch"—especially in face of difficulties and possibilities which might call upon us to unite our whole strength in common defence. The question of naval defence was one that, for us, covered the whole globe. There was significance in his remark that if any Dominion came to the Admiralty to ask what, in their view, was the best assistance that could be rendered for the purpose of common defence, the answer of the Admiralty would be ready.

The point of Sir Edward Grey's eagerly-followed speech was an avowed endorsement of every word that Lord Rosebery had said at the Banquet of Welcome regarding possible danger to the Empire: — "We are in comparatively calm weather, not in stormy weather; but the extensive expenditure on armaments makes the weather sultry. The seriousness of that expenditure cannot be over-rated." This declaration evoked loud approving cheers. Much appreciated was Sir Edward's definition of the foreign policy of this country; viz.: to keep what we have got, to consolidate and develop it, and to quarrel as little as possible with other people in doing so; also to be moderate in enforcing claims outside what we have got, or there would be no fair room in the world for others. He spoke with special approval of the ideal referred to on the previous day by Mr. Kirwan "of a union of allies of the self-governing Dominions." And he counselled the Press throughout the

Empire to uphold those qualities of national character which have made the Empire what it is.

The discussion that followed, as the detailed report at the end of this volume will show, was remarkable for the unanimity of feeling displayed by men of all nations and politics on the question of national defence. It was the view of everyone that Britain must have an unassailable Navy; and the representatives of the various Dominions made clear their opinion that the time had come for the latter to contribute their share in the work, however the details might be arranged.

A resolution was carried recognising the duty of the Press to do all in

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 48]

An Informal Committee Meeting at Sutton Place.

Dr. Hackett. Mr. J. O. Fairfax. Mr. Moberly Bell.

Mr. G. Fenwick. Mr. Harry Brittain.

Dr. Stanley Reed. Sir Hugh Graham (in chair). Mr. Crosbie Roles.

Hon. J. W. Kirwan. Mr. J. S. Brierley.

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its power to co-operate with the naval and military authorities in organising the defences of the Empire, and in avoiding any injury to the public interests in publishing news during time of war.

Stress was laid during the morning upon the vital importance of populating the Colonies—Dr. Ward's description of Australia as "a great empty continent and a terrible temptation" to colonising Powers, greatly impressed his hearers; and a resolution was approved for concerted action between the Press of Great Britain and the Colonies in the wise direction of the surplus population of the Mother Country.

Mr. Banerjee (the "Bengalee," Calcutta) responded to a semi-challenge contained in Lord Cromer's speech, asking the Indian delegates to say whether the anarchical developments in India were connected with the irresponsible utterances of a certain section of the vernacular Press. His answer was an emphatic negative: — "Newspapers are not infallible; we all make mistakes, and I deplore the irresponsible utterings which have fallen from these papers. But remember, they are very insignificant, and have but small circulations." The better native mind, he said, deplored and condemned Anarchist doctrines; and he denounced Anarchy as "a noxious growth transplanted from the West to the East," a statement received with some amusement.

VISIT TO SUTTON PLACE.

On the Conference rising, the delegates paid a visit to Lord Northcliffe's seat at Sutton Place, Guildford, for luncheon. A special train to Worplesdon had been provided, and the delegates soon reached the old Tudor mansion, in the large hall of which Lord and Lady Northcliffe received their guests. Sutton Place is one of the finest specimens extant of a

mansion built wholly as a peaceful dwelling, and dates back to the early sixteenth century. Of the original structure, which occupied the four sides of a quadrangle, the front, which was seriously damaged by fire soon after its construction, has disappeared. The rest of the building is practically unchanged, and the turrets, arches, and groinings with their artistic mouldings, the deep mullioned windows and terra-cotta decorations, remain almost as perfect as when they were finished nearly four centuries ago. It is just one of those ancient, beautiful English homes which make an instant appeal to people from newer lands. The great Hall in particular, with its fourteen windows adorned with shields and devices of painted glass, fascinated them; while the stately picture gallery and other principal apartments were inspected with feelings of delighted appreciation. It interested the visitors greatly to learn that the original owner of this picturesque pile was one of Henry VIII.'s trusted councillors, Sir Richard Weston, who accompanied his sovereign to the famous field of the Cloth of Gold.

Hardly less than by the dwelling itself were the delegates charmed with the spacious gardens laid out in old English style, the magnificent yew trees,

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the luxuriant close-cropped hedges, and the velvety lawns. They seemed transported to a period far remote from these bustling days amidst surroundings so exquisitely peaceful and rural.

After luncheon, at which the only toast proposed was that of "The King," the guests renewed their inspection of the romantic old hall and grounds, and later returned to London by special train.

In addition to the delegates, the party included Earl Roberts, the Marchioness of Salisbury, Lord Hugh Cecil, Lord Robert Cecil, Hon. H. Lygon, Earl Winterton, M.P., Viscount Esher, Lady Clementine Waring, the Hon. Harry Lawson, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord Desborough, Sir John Ellerman, Bart., Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., Sir Squire Bancroft, Mr. George Alexander, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Mr. Hamilton Aide, Sir Hudson Kearley, M.P., Mr. Lionel Phillips, Lord Lovat, Sir Douglas Straight, Mr. Kennedy Jones, Sir Thomas Lipton, Mr. Beerbohm Tree, Mr. Owen Seaman, Sir Walter Lawrence, Sir Thomas Dewar, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. Harry Brittain, Mr. and Mrs. Moberly Bell, Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. J. Nicol Dunn, Mr. Garvin, Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Harold Harmsworth, Miss Brooke Hunt, Mr. H. W. Lucy, Mr. Marconi, and Mr. W. T. Stead.

The same evening most of the delegates attended a reception at the Grafton Galleries, held by Sir Melvill Beachcroft, Chairman of the London County Council, and Lady Beachcroft. The large and representative assembly included the Duke of Fife, Lord Lieutenant of the County of London, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary for Scotland and Lady Pentland, the President of the Board of Trade and Mrs. Churchill, the President of the Local Government Board, the Secretary of State for War, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the First Commissioner of Works and Mrs. Harcourt, Mr. and Mrs. Lyttelton, the Earl and Countess of Jersey, Viscount and Viscountess Esher, Lord and

Lady Lyveden, the Lord Chief Justice of England and Miss Webster, Lord Justice Kennedy and Lady Kennedy, Lord and Lady Northcliffe, Lord Lucas, the Solicitor-General and Lady Evans, the Bishop of Kensington and Mrs. Ridgeway, the Bishop of Southwark and the Hon. Mrs. Talbot, the Archdeacon of London and Miss Sinclair, the Chief Rabbi and Miss Adler, and most of the well-known figures in political, official, journalistic, literary, artistic, and social life. The London College for Choristers Choir gave some part songs, and Chevalier Bocchi's orchestra played selections of music.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THIRD DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

The subject of the "Press and the Empire" was resumed when the Conference re-assembled on the Wednesday morning, but with Mr. Haldane and Lord Roberts to take part, the discussion was naturally concerned with the military side of national defence rather than the naval side, which had occupied attention the day before.

Mr. Balfour was the Chairman, and he made a significant declaration of agreement with the language used by Sir Edward Grey, which, the ex-Premier avowed "does not go beyond the necessities of the situation. No one can speak of Imperial Defence without a note of anxiety—not panic." Mr. Balfour also said that "Local defence must be subordinate to Imperial defence. The individual parts of the Empire never can be saved, never can be powerful, never can be strong if their defence is only local." The impending Armageddon also found a place in Mr. Balfour's speech:—"The German ocean, the Channel, the neighbourhood of these islands, or possibly the Mediterranean are the theatres in which the Armageddon—if there must be one—will take place." Mr. Balfour, however, had no doubt that the national spirit will be equal to anything it may have to face—"but we must give the national spirit a chance."

Mr. Brierley (the "Herald," Montreal) in a vigorous speech, declared with stirring emphasis that Canada was patriotic to the core, and would spill the last drop of her blood in the cause of Empire; only she desired to have her autonomous rights; and he pointed to what Canada did at the time of the South African War as a proof of her readiness to do her duty to the Empire.

Mr. Haldane's was a weighty contribution to the discussion. He agreed as to the gravity of the situation; he recognized the influence which the Dominion editors could bring to bear upon the Committee of Imperial Defence; but he asked for time. In twenty years, if matters developed as they seemed likely to develop, the British Empire, in military and naval strength, might tranquilly face comparison with any other State in the world. He urged the paramount importance of sea command, and of a long-range striking force; also of every part of the Empire adopting, with local modification, some form of home defence similar to the Territorial Army lately created in Great Britain. Each Dominion must decide whether compulsion or voluntarism was the correct policy for itself.

Lord Roberts, who was received with acclamation, remarked that at his age he would rather see Mr. Haldane's hopes achieved in twenty months than in twenty years. He was oppressed by the difficulty of bringing home, alike to the people of Britain and to the oversea Dominions, the sense of serious danger; and the delegates noted his claim that military training did not imply

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militarism, and that a lifetime spent in arms had made of him a man of peace. But he insisted, in a supplementary speech before the Conference dispersed to receive the hospitality of the City at the Mansion House, that the voluntary system in this country, after half a century of trial, had broken down, and that mere amateur soldiers could not supply the place of trained troops.

For New Zealand, Mr. George Fenwick ("Otago Daily Times") spoke out no less decisively, declaring that the recent offer by their Government of a Dreadnought, in its spontaneity, "was worth more millions than could be imagined; it infused into them a feeling of patriotism and loyalty which did much for the unity of the Empire."

For Australia, Mr. E. S. Cunningham (the "Argus," Melbourne) said the young man saw the time had come to give the "Old Man" a little relief. That was the secret of the Dreadnought offers. In his view, they wanted not so much an "alliance of nations," but an affiliation; the relation of father and son, brother and brother. Australia, he held, should have a local navy, which might be the stepping-stone to an Imperial Navy.

So the discussion proceeded, every speaker making it plain that the Dominions desire to do their share in the defence of the Empire, as well as in strengthening their local defence. A resolution was proposed affirming the desirability of each self-governing Dominion adopting universal training for the male population, but it was not pressed, because objection was taken that the matter did not come within the province of the Conference to discuss, and that its decisions would bind no one. But the general understanding as to the goodwill of the Dominions in the matter was absolute. Mr. J. A. Macdonald (the "Globe," Toronto), while opposing the resolution, asserted that there was enough patriotism in Toronto alone to fill a Dominion, and that in the event of danger to the Empire both British and French-Canadians would defend it to the utmost.

#### DELEGATES AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

The Mansion House is famous for its hospitality, and the Empire editors looked forward with keen anticipation to being the guests of the Lord Mayor in a place renowned for memorable events. They were in no wise disappointed. To most of them the scene was entirely novel, and they took much interest in the famous gold plate, the banners bearing the coat of arms of far past Lord Mayors, the gorgeous uniforms of the attendants on the Chief Magistrate, and the array of City magnates, high officials, literary men, journalists, and artists who assembled. There were present the Sheriffs, the Agents-General for the Oversea Dominions, Lord Strathcona, Lord Northcliffe, Lord Desborough, the Hon. Harry Lawson, the Hon. W. Hall Jones (High Commissioner for New Zealand), Sir

Edward Clarke, Sir Melvill Beachcroft, Sir W. E. Clegg, Sir John Arnott, Sir Frederick Wilson, Sir F. C. Gould, Sir Edward Russell, Sir Squire Bancroft, Sir T. Brooke-

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Hitching, Sir Horace Marshall, Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Joseph Lawrence, Sir Robert Harvey, Sir John Hare, Mr. F. H. Newnes, M.P., Mr. T.P. O'Connor, M.P., Mr. Walter, Mr. H. B. Irving, Mr. Arthur Bouchier, Mr. George Alexander, Mr. Anthony Hope Hawkins, Mr. Owen Seaman, Mr. C. K. Shorter, Mr. H. E. Brittain, etc.

The speeches were thoroughly happy. The welcome tendered to the visitors by the Lord Mayor could hardly have been more skillfully phrased; and he drove home the advantages that must result from this fraternisation, as enabling each Dominion to get a better perspective in relation to the others, and better realise Imperial responsibilities.

The reply of Mr. Stanley Reed ("Times of India," Bombay) was effective in its historical retrospect. He reminded his hearers that British India sprang from the City of London and its "merchant adventurers" from the sixteenth century onwards. Indeed, it was the City of London which made the Empire of India.

Dr. Engelenburg ("The Volkstem," Pretoria) was listened to with the keener interest in that everyone knew he bore arms in the late Boer War against the nation in whose capital he was now a guest. But his frank, appreciative words made it clear that he is not only a friend, but a staunch and proud citizen of the Empire.

The principal points of the speeches are appended:—

The LORD MAYOR, after proposing the loyal toasts, asked the company to join him in doing honour to the guests from Greater Britain. He said he could not vie in eloquence with those who had already expressed the welcome of the nation to these guests; but he could and did vie with them in the intensity and depth of the welcome. They were meeting in the very centre of the Empire. It was the ancient City of London, with all its wealth of splendid traditions, with all the immeasurable interests which she represented to-day, that greeted them in the person of its Chief Magistrate. In the hall in which they met many Imperial questions had had their start. Only a few weeks ago they were dealing in that room with a question with which this Conference had been dealing, that of cheaper cable communication with the various parts of the Empire. With regard to the Imperial aspect of their relations, he drew a parallel from our daily family life. They found the children leaving the parental home and creating homes of their own; and the parents lived in the happiness of their children's children.

It was this which kept the world young. England to-day was living in the happiness of her children's children—(cheers)—and might this ever keep England young and strong! With their Colonial guests a great responsibility was placed. Upon them lay in a great measure the future of the Empire, which they could mar or make. He hoped that this visit to the Home Country would be the means of enabling them to deal with Imperial and home questions with a knowledge of the considerations and conditions under which they were



discussed in this country. He had pleasure in coupling with the toast the name of Mr. Stanley Reed, who represented that great journal, the "Times of India," established so long ago as 1838. He hoped that this fraternisation would be the means of bringing about among them a greater realisation of our Imperial responsibilities. Let them remember the old adage that "Union is Strength"; and he did not think they could take for their motto one better than that which he wore on his breast encircled with diamonds, "*Domine dirige nos.*"

Mr. STANLEY REED, in responding to the toast, said the delegates, since their arrival in this country, had been surrounded by an atmosphere of extraordinary

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kindness. They had been privileged to see sides of English life which were closed to the ordinary visitor. They had been the recipients of extraordinary graciousness from the King and Queen, and also from the Prince and Princess of Wales; but they were touched in no ordinary degree at receiving the hospitality of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress in the home of the greatest city of the world. He was glad it had fallen to the lot of someone from India to respond to this toast, because British India sprang from the loins of the City of London; it was bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood. It was in 1583 that Ralph Finch and John Newberie set out for India by way of Asia Minor and the Gulf of Goa.

Ralph Finch was the second Englishman to visit India, and he gave to England its first picture of the wealth and splendour of India. He was the English Marco Polo; and he described himself as a merchant of London. The British Empire in India really sprang from the audacity and enterprise of Sir Edward Osborne. He was the first of the merchant adventurers who built up that Empire; and he (Mr. Reed) liked to think that the unbroken line of this family to-day was represented by the Duke of Leeds. He, too, was a merchant of London; and it was always the spirit of the City of London which made the Empire of India, and to-day the City of London was as closely associated with India as it was in the days of John Company. India had never looked to the City of London for help without receiving a bounteous and generous response. (Cheers.)

Dr. F. V. ENGELBURG, of Pretoria, in proposing "The Health of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress" said all the delegates knew London even though this was their first personal experience of it. Here they had their business agents and representatives. From Fleet Street they got their news; from the City of London they got their paper, their type, their machinery, and, if they deserved it, the money and the credit which was necessary to extend their business in the Overseas Dominions. He did not doubt that the personal relations which had been formed that afternoon between the Colonial editors and the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London would tend to increase the amount of business between the City and the Overseas Dominions. As the Colonies were prosperous and happy, so the City of London was happy and prosperous. On behalf of his colleagues he wished to say that this day would remain as the most memorable of the days which they had passed in London.

The LORD MAYOR briefly acknowledged the toast.

#### GUESTS AT RANELAGH CLUB.

From the Mansion House, the delegates drove to the House of Commons, where, on the invitation of Mr. Arthur Henderson, they took tea with the members of the Labour Party, the opportunity of meeting and comparing views with whom was especially appreciated. There had been some uncertainty, owing to the absence of leading members of the Labour Party in Germany until that day, and the many engagements of the oversea visitors, whether the meeting could be arranged; and it was a satisfaction to all parties when it became an accomplished fact.

Afterwards the delegates motored to Ranelagh, on the invitation of the club committee, accompanied by their wives and daughters. Some spirited polo contests were a feature in the afternoon's entertainment, and the famous grounds of the club were also enjoyed. The Racing Pavilion, in which tea was served, had been charmingly decorated for the occasion.

In the evening the entire party were the guests at dinner in the Ranelagh Club House of Mr. and Mrs. C. Arthur Pearson. Mr. Pearson was unfortunately unable, through illness, to be present, but Mrs. Pearson, who was

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accompanied by Miss Pearson, presided over a company numbering about 150. The oversea guests and the home guests—among whom were the Marchioness of Donegall, the Hon. Harry and Mrs. Lawson, Sir Gilbert Parker and Lady Parker, Sir Hugh and Lady Graham, Sir Alexander and Lady Henderson, Lady Seton-Karr, Lady Girouard, and Mr. St. Loe Strachey—were seated at round tables in small groups, rendering conversational opportunities plentiful. After dinner Sir Gilbert Parker expressed, on Mr. Pearson's behalf, his regret at being unable personally to welcome his guests, to whom, however, he sent kindest greetings, and the hope that they would carry away agreeable recollections of their experiences of that historic mansion.

The health of Mr. and Mrs. Pearson, proposed by Sir Hugh Graham, was heartily honoured, after which the company sat out in, or strolled about the grounds, which were illuminated with Chinese lanterns, and listened to the band, or chatted in the club until the time came to motor back to town, after an evening of much charm.

Earlier in the day, while the delegates were at the Mansion House, their wives and daughters were the guests at luncheon at the Hyde Park Hotel of the lady members of the Victoria League. The ten tables were profusely decorated with flowers and were presided over by the Countess of Jersey, the Countess of Crewe, Miss Balfour, Mrs. Harcourt, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, Mrs. Herbert Gladstone, Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, Lady Leconfield, Lady Northcote, and Lady Northcliffe.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### FOURTH DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

“Literature and Journalism” was the subject set down for the discussion on the fourth and last day of the first part of the Imperial Press Conference; with Lord Morley—famous in both spheres—presiding, and Lord Milner, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Winston Churchill as speakers. A crowded hall testified to the interest in the topic and its expounders. To the opening address of Lord Morley, who at one time edited the “Pall Mall Gazette,” the delegates listened intently as he laid down what he considered the leading qualities necessary in a journalist—simplicity and directness; and they followed carefully his attempt to define the two callings: “Literature occupied rather the position of a Judge, while Journalism had to be more or less of an advocate.” He recognised unreservedly the great improvement in the temper of newspapers in this country upon that of his earlier days; and especially praised the kindlier and truer standard of literary criticism in Great Britain. While recognising the function of the Press to mould public opinion, and conceding that it was a great centre and foundation of public-hearted duty and moral force, he asked them to consider whether the influence of the Press over the sea and at home was systematically and perseveringly used on behalf of peace among the nations? With this mark of interrogation, Lord Morley concluded—first expressing his pride in having met the delegates, and in having been a member of their profession.

Speakers so diverse and contrasted as Mr. W. Churchill and Lord Milner, Mr. Birrell and Mr. T. P. O’Connor, Dr. Engelenburg and Sir Edward Russell, Mr. Douglas (New Zealand) and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee (Calcutta), followed in a discussion replete with clever touches and stimulating ideas, despite a tendency to linger over attempts to define the difference between literature and journalism. Perhaps none of them was quite so good as Mr. Birrell’s humorously despairing simile:—“To speak about Literature and the Press is as if a man were suddenly called upon to reply for the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.”

Evidently a considerable section agreed with Mr. T. P. O’Connor, that journalism is not precluded from being literature; that the work done under the inspiration and fire of the moment sometimes has in it qualities far greater than those in the polished prose of the man of letters. Lord Milner, like the Chairman, referred with pride to his early connection with journalism, and paid tribute to the value of the training in giving a man perception of the actuality of things. He pointed to the importance of newspapers in the work of maintaining peace; derided as “dreadful nonsense” talk about the rebarbarisation of Europe; and argued that big armies are a means of preserving peace.

Mr. W. L. Courtney claimed that journalism, with a touch of art, becomes

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 56.]

Conference Sitting at the Foreign Office.

Mr. McKenna, M.P., speaking.

Sir Edward Grey, M.P., next to him.

[See page 48.]

Mr. C. Friswell’s Fleet of Standard Cars in Palace Yard.

*Illustrations Bureau.]*

*[See page 48.*

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literature, though the necessity for rapid production was opposed to such a development, and made journalism an industry rather than an art.

Dr. Engelenburg's plea for toleration of newspapers published in the vernacular struck a different note, and one appreciated; and after other speeches the Conference adjourned for a fortnight, and proceeded to luncheon at the Constitutional Club as guests of that institution. In the intervening period the committee appointed on the subject of cable news services was to investigate and prepare a report for the consideration of the adjourned Conference.

#### AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB.

Mr. Balfour presided at the Constitutional Club luncheon, and among those assembled to meet the Oversea visitors were Lord Halsbury, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Curzon, Lord Roberts, Lord Charles Beresford, Rear-Admiral Sir Percy Scott, Lord Northcliffe, Sir Edward Carson, K.C., M.P., Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., Lord Strathcona, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., Mr. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Mr. H. Chaplin, M.P., Mr. E. Goulding, M.P., Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., and Sir A. Henderson.

Mr. BALFOUR, in proposing the toast of "The Guests," said: I doubt whether any one of those to whose public spirit and liberality this Conference is due could have foreseen how great has been the interest excited in this country, and I doubt whether any of us are yet able to measure the effects it is likely to have in the future upon the Empire at large. (Cheers.) Though the hosts on this occasion are members of a political club, they welcome their guests in no political party spirit. (Cheers.) It is as citizens of one Empire that we members of this club welcome you who have come to see us from across the wide oceans.

My neighbour on the left (Mr. J. W. Hackett) has terribly pained me this afternoon by informing me that even in Australia it is currently believed that I never read a newspaper. (Laughter.) To what hasty words of mine this world-wide impression—for so I may regard it—is due I really do not know. But, at all events, let nobody suppose that I underrate the power of the Press; and, above all, let nobody believe that I do not recognise to the full the function which the Imperial Press may fulfil in promoting that mutual comprehension which is the basis of mutual esteem between parts of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

I have heard it said that many gentlemen who come from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand, or from the Cape, are sometimes pained by the ignorance shown by dwellers in this part of the Empire with regard to even the largest of their domestic interests. That ignorance is, perhaps, greater at this moment in these islands of the

colonies than it is in the colonies of these islands. (Cheers.) But that is not going to be permanently the case. (Cheers.)

We are all parochial by instinct. It is natural to concentrate your mind on the immediate controversy in which you yourself and your own personal interests are obviously concerned. But unless we can cultivate successfully among the great bulk of our population wherever it lives, and in whatever quarter of the globe it may be found, that imaginative, sympathetic insight, based on knowledge, which is the only solid bond of unity, we shall certainly deprive ourselves of the greatest of all bonds that can unite a scattered Empire into one organic whole. It is to carry out the end I have thus indicated that I look above all things to the labour of the Press. They can do it as no other force can do it. Inevitably they have great difficulties to contend with. A newspaper, of course, must be written so as to attract readers, and unfortunately it is not always the instructive things which are the amusing things.

It must have been borne in upon every

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man who has listened to the debates which have gone on during this week that the feeling throughout the Empire with regard to Imperial defense—(cheers)—is one which must bring a glow of pride and pleasure to every man with Imperial interests. (Cheers.) So far as I am aware, not a jarring note has been struck on that subject. Differences of opinion on details there not only may be, but must be. Cannot the Press and will it not successfully preach the doctrine which is at the root of all local security, namely, that local security must fundamentally and in the end depend upon Imperial security? (Cheers.) If that doctrine be preached, and if it finds, as I am convinced it will find, ready acceptance among all classes of our fellow-countrymen in every part of the world, will not the Press have been the greatest and the most effective conceivable agent for laying deep and solid the foundations of that unity which it is our business to create out of the scattered and disparate fragments of this world-wide Empire? (Cheers.) No statesmen have ever had before them the task which lies before the statesmen of Great Britain and of the self-governing colonies.

It is our business to see that this great and new experiment shall in our hands succeed—(cheers)—and it is on your cooperation and the assistance of the enlightened organs of public opinion that I would most rely for creating that public opinion which is the very basis of the whole fabric. (Cheers.) Let it be noted that what we want is for every part of the Empire, in the first place, thoroughly to understand the conditions involved in Imperial defence, and then they ought to understand the sacrifices which each part of the Empire is making in that common cause. I am not bold enough to prophesy by what means (if any) a greater organic and constitutional unity—not unity of sentiment or unity of machinery—can be obtained. There was a time when the relations between this country and the offspring of this country were like the relations between parent and child. But no politician of any party in this country holds that view any longer. (Cheers.) Everybody recognizes, so far as I know, that the parental stage is over. (Hear, hear.) We have now reached a stage of formal equality, and nobody desires to disturb it. (Cheers.)

That being understood, I believe that any preparation of public opinion which it is possible for the Press to make in these various self-governing communities, pointing out the common dangers and the common needs of the Empire, will prepare the way for such form of closer organic unity as the wisdom of subsequent statesmen belonging to all these communities may, under the stress of some great necessity, devise. (Cheers.)

I cannot myself even conceive what form that closer organic unity will take. There is another and a different expedient for binding the Mother Country and the colonies together which I personally favour—(cheers)—but which I am precluded from dwelling on this afternoon. I am thinking of some method of organic unity, say, for purposes of defence. It might take the shape of a development of the Defence Committee, on which the voices of men of colonial experience have already proved of such great value. I do not prophesy, but the time may come when some such organisation will be found by all the members of the Empire to be absolutely necessary. (Cheers.) Let the Press prepare the way for that time, if it ever comes, so that when the necessity arises we shall find our citizens, under whatsoever sky they have been born, in whatever form the great heritage of British liberty, British law, and British institutions has come to them, recognising that it is their bounden duty to see that the fact that they are inevitably broken up into these various self-governing units neither is, nor must be allowed to be, a substantial cause of weakness to this Empire, standing in the face of other empires more closely knit and more centralised—not more happily organised for other purposes, but perhaps more happily organised for self-defence. (Cheers.) This is the feeling which lies at the root of the satisfaction with which I have watched the proceedings of this Conference. I think this Empire may look into the future with a gaze of serene confidence, knowing—whatever be the forces marshalled against us—the patriotism, the self-sacrifice, and the public spirit of the British race will not be found inadequate for any trial to which it may be put. (Applause.)

Mr. J. O. FAIRFAX (Australia), in acknowledging the toast on behalf of the delegates, said they had been struck very forcibly during the Conference by the way in which party lines had been, if not obliterated, at any rate completely ignored. (Cheers.) If the delegates had not known it before they came here, they would never have known there was such a thing as party politics in Great Britain.

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Mr. MAITLAND PARK (South Africa), in submitting the toast of “British Proconsuls,” expressed the hope that in the fulness of time they would be able to evolve an Imperial Constitution for the whole British Empire. (Cheers.) He also remarked that the great Proconsuls ought not to be sacrificed in the interests of party. (Cheers.)

Lord CURZON, in responding, said he was afraid Imperial Proconsuls belonged to a class of persons who were regarded with some suspicion, and who were apt to prance somewhat in foreign lands. Only that morning he read some heated criticisms by Mr. Zangwill of Lords Cromer, Curzon, and Milner, whom he described as great Proconsuls who had “governed blacks.” That was a phrase, Lord Curzon continued, which had never emanated from the lips of any Proconsul. (Cheers.) The Proconsuls were behind the

delegates to the Imperial Press Conference as to the importance of letters and cheaper cable communication, and in the demand for a programme of Imperial defence; and they concurred in the hope that the proceedings would not evaporate in a whirlwind of words, but that something definite and practicable would be done.

#### AT THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICES.

The delegates in the afternoon were the guests of the Postmaster-General, Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., at the General Post Office, together with a number of representatives of London journalism. Accompanying Mr. Buxton were the Earl of Granard, Sir H. Babington Smith, Secretary Post Office; Mr. W. Price, C.M.G., Major O'Mara, engineering chief; and Mr. Eames, controller of the Central telegraph office. Various sections of the telegraph office were inspected, including departments set apart for news work, and the cable room. A number of ingenious telegraphic appliances and inventions of Colonial origin were seen; amongst them the Murray Multiplex—a machine which delivers its messages typed in page form—the inventor of which was formerly on the literary staff of the “New Zealand Herald,” and was present to meet his New Zealand friends. The Gell keyboard perforator is the device of another oversea telegraphist—a New Zealander who was formerly in the telegraph service at Nelson. His machine is bringing back into general use the Wheatstone instrument, to which it is an indispensable adjunct, and which commands the highest speed in working.

Other machines shown were the Creed—a combination of telegraphic machine and automatic typewriter, but printing on the “tape”; the Hughes, so widely used for international messages; and the French instrument, the Baudot, which is used in this country, and to some extent in India, with much success. The visitors were gratified by receiving messages over some of the machines as they were inspecting them, sending greetings and congratulations from the Postmaster-Surveyor of Birmingham, and one from the Edinburgh telegraph staff, hoping, as the result of the Conference, for the further strengthening of the friendly ties which have so long existed between the Press throughout the world and a great public service, and assuring the delegates that “A Scottish welcome awaits them in ‘Auld Reekie.’”

#### APSLEY HOUSE GARDEN PARTY.

Another of the engagements of the afternoon was a garden party given by the Duke and Duchess of Wellington at Apsley House, to which a large

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and fashionable gathering had been invited. Once more the weather was unpropitious, and rendered the preparations in the charming miniature garden useless, but compensation was found in the fine suite of rooms on the first floor, where a brilliant company assembled. The Duke and Duchess of Wellington, with whom was Lady Eileen Wellesley, received their guests at the entrance to the library, whence they passed on the stairway, and many of the Duchess's friends devoted themselves to pointing out to the oversea visitors features of the house. The band of the Grenadier Guards played in the

Waterloo Chamber, and tea was served in the yellow drawing-room and the large dining-room, as well as in the marquees on the lawn. The guests included a great number of well-known people, and the gay uniforms of some of the foreign military officers attending the Horse Show gave some especially bright touches of colour to the scene.

#### STAFFORD HOUSE RECEPTION.

From the various small private dinners at which they were guests in the evening the delegates proceeded to Stafford House, St. James's, where the Duchess of Sutherland held a brilliant reception in their honour. Stafford House is world-renowned for its splendour, its priceless works of art, and its superb decorations, and it has probably never looked better than on this evening. Some 1,200 invitations had been sent out to meet the delegates, and diplomacy, politics, society, art, literature, and science were among the many interests represented. The Duchess received her guests at the head of the grand staircase, whence they passed into the Picture Gallery and suite of reception rooms. The music was supplied by the string band of the Royal Artillery, and the scene was one of the most brilliant and animated of any the Conference visitors had taken part in. It was midnight before most of the guests left the gathering, which will be long treasured in their memories.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 60]

The Aldershot Field Day: The Delegates watching the Mimic Battle from Fox Hill.  
*Illustrations Bureau.*]

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#### CHAPTER VIII.

#### FIFTH DAY: WITH THE ARMY AT ALDERSHOT.

Having heard so much of matters military, it was fitting that the oversea delegates should make direct acquaintance with the British Army. An invitation from the War Office to a field day at Aldershot provided this opportunity; representatives of the British Press and the foreign officers attending the International Horse Show in progress in London being also conveyed by special train to the vicinity of Aldershot. Here the first and second divisions and first cavalry brigade of the Expeditionary Force were to take part in a mimic battle. The object of the arrangements made by Lieutenant-General Sir H. Smith Dorrien and the Aldershot headquarters staff was to afford the visitors an idea, not only of the training of the British soldier, but of his physique, equipment, and the conditions under which he works.

The sham battle was the first, and in some respects the most impressive portion of this programme. Situated on high ground, Fox Hill, the visitors had an excellent view over the sweep of country in which the northern or attacking force of Major-General Stephenson with the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> infantry brigades, five brigades of artillery, and a cavalry regiment were set the task of driving from his entrenchment on the hills around the delegates, Major-General Grierson's force, consisting of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> infantry brigades, two brigades of field artillery, a heavy battery, and a cavalry brigade. Perhaps the earlier



part of the operations conveyed no definite impression to the inexperienced spectator beyond the fact that a vast quantity of ammunition was being used. Big guns were heard firing from various points, and the rifle fire was continuous. The situation became more exciting as the attackers were seen stealthily advancing, utilising all available cover; and eventually a large force under General Mackenzie made a dashing advance across the open towards the defenders entrenched on the hills below and around the spectators. They were suddenly met by a counter attack, swiftly and effectively delivered by General Henneker, whose advance was followed up by a superbly executed charge by the 16<sup>th</sup> Lancers and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dragoon Guards. As the lancers and dragoons in line of squadrons swept down upon the foe across the open plains the sight brought exclamations of admiration from the beholders. The attackers had perforce to retire, but heavy reinforcements coming up, it was the turn of the cavalry who were so lately triumphant to fall back. Emboldened by their success, the enemy came forward on both flanks in gathering numbers and resistless force. Two brigades of attacking infantry came rushing onward, followed a little later by the Highlanders and others, who, with a rousing cheer, dashed over the low hills to storm the entrenchments amid a perfect tornado of rifle and gun fire. This was the crisis of the struggle, and as the attackers raced madly forward to engage in

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hand-to-hand conflict with the defenders the “cease fire” sounded, and the whole thrilling scene was arrested.

From the foreign military spectators equally with the civilian visitors came expressions of admiration for the fine bearing of the troops, and the dash and spirit of the operations. An adjournment was then made to another point, where, with Mr. Haldane at the saluting base, there was a march past, on their way back to barracks, of many of the troops which had taken part in the battle, and a very fine show it furnished.

After luncheon, served in a marquee close at hand, came an experience which probably impressed the spectators more than anything else—the parade of a column of Royal Field Artillery, brought up to war strength, both as regards its three batteries and ammunition column. In time of peace a brigade of guns is only seen in skeleton form. A very different affair is it in time of war. For eighteen guns, twelve wagons are required to each gun, necessitating a total of 950 horses. In single file, a brigade would cover a mile and a-half of ground. As there are four brigades to a division, no fewer than 3,800 horses would be required to serve the seventy-two guns. Admiration of men, horses, and guns deepened as they passed by in a seemingly endless line.

Next, the delegates proceeded in motors to the Queen’s Parade at Aldershot, where the long stretch of greensward was lined with sections from troops of all arms—no longer clad in the drab khaki, but wearing the historic uniforms of the different services. Each detachment turned out in review order, thus affording an exhibition in little of the whole British Army. This was a thoughtful idea on the part of General Smith Dorrien, who knew that the great majority of the visitors had not had the opportunity of seeing the British Army in review order, and that even the South African delegates had seen our

soldiers only in khaki. The display included a section of the Chestnut troop of the Royal Horse Artillery, squadrons of Dragoons, Hussars, and Lancers, sections of field and heavy artillery, of the Royal Engineers, the 1<sup>st</sup> Grenadiers, and companies representing English, Irish, Welsh, Scottish, Rifle, Highland, and Fusilier regiments—a truly brilliant array. There were also detachments of the Army Service Corps, Royal Army Medical Corps, Veterinary, Ordnance, and Pay Corps, as well as the Military Foot Police.

When the visitors had walked the whole length of this glittering military display they assembled at the end of the parade, while the whole force marched past at the salute, the bands of the Grenadiers and Gordons playing the men past each to their own regimental tunes. A more gallant and stirring scene it would be difficult to imagine.

From this pageantry of military life the delegates proceeded to take a more sedate, but still instructive, glimpse behind the scenes in the Field Stores, equipped with all requisites for bringing units to a war footing. Colonel R. T. H. Law explained the details in the different departments visited, which comprised the mobilisation wagon sheds, Mowatt's reserve

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stores, which include tents and ammunition—the latter with an awesome array of shells—field hospital and ambulance stores. An interesting sidelight was the fact that the reserves of shirts were all made locally by soldiers' wives. Interesting, too, was the description of the system under which the supply of stores is automatically kept at a certain level, below which it is not allowed to fall.

Adjourning to the gymnasium, the visitors were shown how Tommy Atkins is drilled and trained to physical fitness. In a large hall they saw squad after squad of non-commissioned officers engaged in different exercises. Lieutenant Betts was in charge of the display, which included ladder drill, horizontal bars, chest and limb exercises, the scaling of heights and leaping from them, and an infinite variety of other devices for promoting physical development. The appearance of the men was sufficient tribute to their efficacy. The next move was to the military baths, where the excellent impression produced by the gymnasium was deepened. Exhibitions of swimming, life-saving, and diving, as well as trapeze flights over the water, were given with a dexterity and ease which extorted loud applause. Some of the high diving was especially admirable. The men appeared able to fling themselves into the water from any height, and in any position or at any angle, without the slightest inconvenience, and they came up smiling and happy every time. So pleased were the visitors that they lingered after the display to give a parting round of appreciative plaudits for their clever entertainers.

After a visit to the Officers' Club, where tea was served, the party returned by motor to London. From beginning to end of the day everything had moved smoothly and without a hitch; and warm praises were lavished upon Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, Major-General Lawson, and the staff which had arranged and carried through so successfully the day's varied and instructive programme.

## GOVERNMENT BANQUET TO THE DELEGATES.

At night the Government officially welcomed the delegates to the Conference at a banquet held in the Grafton Galleries, with the Prime Minister as the chief speaker. The function was one of unusual significance, for it was the first occasion on which the British Government has formally recognised the Press as a body, or given an official entertainment in its honour.

The Earl of Crewe, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided over a gathering of a most representative character, at which, in addition to the delegates, there were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Hugh Graham, who was seated next to Mr. Asquith, the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone), Lord Strathcona, Lord Northcote, the Earl of Cromer, Lord Burnham, Lord Northcliffe, Colonel Seely, M.P., Sir Edward Russell, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., the Hon. Harry Lawson, Lord Rothschild, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. C. D. Leng, Sir Douglas Powell, Mr.

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H. W. Lucy, Sir E. Poynter, Mr. Frank Lloyd, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. Le Sage, Sir L. Alma Tadema, Sir F. Hopwood, Mr. W. L. Courtney, Sir F. C. Gould, Sir W. Huggins, Mr. E. T. Cook, Sir E. Cassel, Mr. Andrew Lang, and the majority of the London newspaper editors.

Mr. Asquith did not deal exhaustively with his subject in proposing the health of "The Guests," because, as he said, after the seven days of "aggressive and persistent" hospitality they had endured, and the speeches they had listened to, it was hopeless not merely to find anything new to say, but to find even a new way of presenting what had been said. But that implied no lack of warmth and genuineness in the welcome he extended to them, the feature of which, distinguishing it from those they had had elsewhere, was that this welcome was given to them officially by the Government as an acknowledgment of the significance and importance of their visit. This brought him to the consideration that in an Empire like this there was a sense of inter-dependence, of partnership, between the Government of the day and the Press, which was "the most potent, the most flexible, the most trustworthy auxiliary which, in the performance of its primary duty, every Government in every country could possess." He considered the complete harmony between statesmen and politicians of all parties shown during the Conference as to the duty of the Press in promoting Imperial unity was a happy prelude to the approaching Conference with Oversea Ministers on Imperial Defence.

The replies to the toast by Mr. G. Langlois ("Le Canada," Montreal), Mr. E. S. Cunningham ("Argus," Melbourne), and Mr. Fenwick ("Otago Daily Times," Dunedin), were all on a high plane but nothing stirred the gathering more than the assurance of Mr. Langlois, speaking "in the name of two and a-quarter millions of French Canadians," that they would stand by the Empire, and that all Canadians would unite to defend the common cause.

The health of “The Chairman” was proposed by Mr. Lyttelton, and Lord Crewe, in responding, said the coming of the delegates had “cheered us at a time of some apparent depression.” He expressed his belief that this Imperial Press Conference would have effects as permanent, far-reaching, and beneficial as any conferences ever held in this country in the interests of the Empire.

The speeches are more fully reported below: —

#### THE PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. ASQUITH said;—I have now the pleasing duty, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, of proposing to you to drink to the health of our guests. (Cheers.) I confess, however, gentlemen, I approach the discharge of that task with a certain amount of reluctance—reluctance rising, I need not say, not from any want of cordiality or enthusiasm on the part of the hosts of the evening, but from the human consideration of the highly tried powers of endurance of our distinguished guests. (Laughter.) I think it is now the seventh day—(laughter)—that they have been the patient and, so far as I have observed, the unresisting victims—(laughter)—of an exceptionally aggressive and persistent course of British hospitality. (Cheers.) On every one of these days—I think almost every one of these days—I forget whether they gave you a holiday on Sunday—(“No”)—I thought not—(laughter)—on every one of these days, early and late, whenever and wherever they have been gathered together,

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 64]

King’s Company 1<sup>st</sup> Grenadier Guards Marching Past the Flag.

1<sup>st</sup> Gordon Highlanders March Past: General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien Saluting.

The Aldershot Field Day: Dragoon Guards Marching Past.

*By courtesy of “The Sphere.”]*

*[See Page 62.*

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whether for the purpose of business or of so-called relaxation, they have been harangued by a succession of the most distinguished and responsible of living Englishmen—(cheers)—on the duties and privileges of the Imperial Press. (Cheers.)

He would be a vain and a self-complacent man who could flatter himself that at this, I suppose, the final stage in this unprecedented outpouring of eloquence, always circling around the many-sided but the same topic—he could find anything new to say—that is out of the question—that he could find even a new way of presenting what has been already said. I, at any rate, cherish no such illusions; and if I handle this toast with brevity—as I am going to do—I ask our guests to believe that it is not because I do not realise its true dimensions, but because I am certain that after the experiences of the last week you do not need to be again reminded of the warmth and the genuineness of the welcome which is accorded to your visit from every class and section of British opinion.(Cheers.)

There is, however, one feature which may be said to distinguish our gathering to-night from those in which you have hitherto participated, in that it is officially given to you by the Government. (Cheers.) His Majesty's Ministers felt when they learned of the arrangements for your visit that they would not be doing justice either to their duty or their inclination if they did not find an opportunity for a special acknowledgment on their own part of the significance and of the importance of your visit. As is the case in these days in every democratic community, so is it still more the case in an Empire such as ours—an Empire which is held together by the tie, not of overmastering force, but of common rights and common liberties—I say in such an Empire there is, or there ought to be, a sense of the interdependence—I will go further and say a sense of partnership—between the Government and the Press. For with such an Empire, what is the Government? It is a body of men who represent for the time being the opinions with regard to legislation and to policy of a majority of their fellow-citizens. They are not the chosen vessels of Divine right. They do not hold such power as they possess by the title of force or of inheritance. They are there, and they are where they are by the free suffrages of their fellow-countrymen, and the same authority which brought them into existence will constitute the tribunal which, sooner or later, will measure the length of their days. Such being the Government, what is the Press?

The Press is the daily interpreter and mouthpiece of the tastes, the interests, the ideas—one might go further and say the passions and the caprices—of the same people. (Hear, hear.) How far the Press actually operates as a dominant force in the formation of public opinion is not quite such a simple question as some people seem to imagine. (Hear, hear.) But I am far too cautious to-night—(laughter)—to approach within even a measurable distance of its discussion. But, be that as it may, it is the baldest of truisms to assert that, at any rate in the interval between one dissolution and another, the Press is the only authentic mirror and reflection of the public opinion of the time. I do not know—I am not suggesting for a moment—that any Government, in these days at any rate, which is worthy of the name, which is entitled to its own respect or to the respect of the nation, will trim its sails and shift its course according to the passing breezes and gales of the hour. Such Governments may have been known in other countries and in days gone by, but you may be sure they are quite obsolete here. (Laughter.) But, all the same, there is no one who has held any responsible position in public affairs here who will not admit that the Press, be their shortcomings what they may, is to the Government of the day—which, after all, if it is to be a living Government, must keep in close and constant touch with the national life—the Press is the most potent, the most flexible, the most trustworthy auxiliary which in the performance of that primary duty every Government in every country can possess. (Hear, hear.)

I will not dwell on some other aspects of our relationship which I observe have been touched on in the discourses of the distinguished men you have been listening to. You have been going through what to many of you has been a unique experience, and, I trust, a wholesome and profitable one. (Hear, hear.) You have been, for the time being, transferred from the jury box to the dock—(laughter)—or, if you prefer the metaphor, you have been transferred from the pulpit to the pew. (Laughter.) For a few short

moments you have had the privilege of hearing something of what those whose normal function it is to be criticised think of those whose normal function is that of the critic.

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I am sure you have not heard the whole of the truth—(laughter)—but it must be some satisfaction to you to know at the end of the ordeal that those who are the legitimate and habitual targets of your criticism, while they think that you might be a little more impartial—(laughter)—and a good deal more impersonal—(laughter)—at any rate are united with one consenting voice in acknowledging that the Press of the Empire is direct, straight-forward, and pure. (Cheers.)

There is, however, one special function of the Imperial, as distinguished from the merely local, Press which I should like, before I sit down, to emphasise. It is the business of such a Press to do something more than purvey accurately sifted information, or to criticise and stimulate the Government of the day. It is the paramount and overriding duty at all times and in all conjunctures to promote in its highest forms and for its worthiest purposes the spirit of Imperial unity. (Cheers.) Nothing, I think, can have struck you more in the speeches to which you have listened from Englishmen, English statesmen, during the past week, speeches proceeding from men sitting upon both sides of the Houses of Parliament, and divided in the arena of domestic politics by the sharpest and most definite line—nothing can have struck you more than that, when they came to deal with matters which concern the whole Empire, which belong as much to you over the seas as they belong to us here at home, there was an identity of sense, sometimes almost an identity of expression, which seemed to produce the effect of men speaking with one voice and from one set of convictions. (Cheers.)

That has been notably the case in relation to the serious and urgent topic of our common Imperial defence. There has been, and there will be, in that and in other matters which are common to the Empire not only no uncertain sound, but no discordant voice in the utterances either of hosts or of guests. (Cheers.) It is a happy prelude and an auspicious omen for the Imperial Conference which is to assemble at the close of the month. I venture to lay great emphasis on that fact. And why? For this reason: it is the alliance between this ever growing and penetrating sense of unity and the fullest and freest recognition and assertion of local liberties which is at once the secret and the safeguard of the British Empire. That is, in the old phrase, the *articulus stantis aut cadentis imperii*. And if that be so, to maintain that, to deepen and broaden its foundations, to enrich and dignify its expression, to help to shape always and everywhere the great ends worthy of a great people is at once the bounden duty and the sacred privilege of an Imperial Press. (Cheers.) I give you the toast of “The Guests,” coupled with the names of Mr. Langlois (Canada), Mr. Cunningham (Australia), and Mr. Fenwick (New Zealand). (Renewed cheers.)

#### REPLIES OF THE DELEGATES.

Mr. G. LANGLOIS, in response, said he came from the old province of Quebec. He was a French Canadian, but was born a British subject. He spoke in the name of two million

and a quarter of French Canadians, and he assured them that they would stand by the Empire. They would find that the Canadians would all unite to defend the common cause of the Empire. (Cheers.) French Canadians were proud of the British flag. They loved British institutions because they had brought to their people full liberty and citizenship. They understood the duties, responsibilities, and obligations which Imperialism involved, and were ready to take their share of them. At the same time, they were jealous of their autonomy and their independence. Great Britain could still rely, as it had done in the past, on the self-governing Dominion. As far as Canada was concerned, he pointed out that at the last Federal session a resolution was adopted unanimously by both parties, agreeing to co-operate with the Empire in naval defence. More than that, Canada had increased the expenditure on her Militia by £5,000,000, and had added to the railways and harbours, all of which contributed to the strength of Canada, and in its turn to the strength of the Empire. (Cheers.) With strong, prosperous, and patriotic partners such as the self-governing Dominions, Great Britain might face every occasion with full confidence and security. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. S. CUNNINGHAM (Australia), in his reply, said he wished, before beginning the few remarks which he had to make in responding to the toast, to offer on behalf of his fellow delegates from all parts of the Empire their most cordial thanks to His Majesty's Ministers, not merely for asking them there to that magnificent entertainment, but for those many marks of consideration which they had received since they came there. (Cheers.) As journalists

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they were all conscious of each other's imperfections, but they never felt—and he was now speaking for all of them—they could be the instruments of such a great purpose and object as had been revealed in connection with that Conference. (Cheers.) When they left their homes none of them conceived that it would be possible that the great Imperial City of London or the United Kingdom could be so moved, as they had been, by this great event. Much less could they have been conscious of what must have come home to them all—the great effect that the deliberations of the Conference had had on Europe. That was one of the most startling of the manifestations of the last few days, and for that not one of them could claim the remotest scintilla of credit. That had been due to the fact that the great statesmen of this Empire had seen their way to come to their meetings and to proclaim with a mighty voice the aspirations, the hopes, and the intentions and determinations of empire. (Cheers.) And those speeches, which would go on record and remain for many many years in the memories of those who had heard them, had carried across the English Channel into other lands, and had there set people thinking in a way that they had not been accustomed to think for a considerable time.

The Conference, too, had had one most happy result. It had revealed to them—might he say to the world?—the fact that the two great traditional parties of the United Kingdom were one on the great question arising from Imperial problems. (Cheers.) In foreign affairs they knew that within recent years that unity of thought and action and feeling had been deepened and most pronounced. And he would fain hope—though this was a speculation which he offered with very great diffidence—that that feeling might spread to

domestic questions, and that finally, as a result of the coming together of this Conference, they might find that party differences in Great Britain on all subjects might disappear. (Laughter.) And might he without impropriety give expression to the feeling that until that great day dawned the right hon. gentlemen who now enjoyed the confidence of his Majesty the King and the people might remain in office? (Loud laughter). The people in the overseas Dominions for whom in a measure they were spokesmen required nothing from them to proclaim their loyalty to the Empire, and when he made that remark he spoke of loyalty to the Empire in the broadest sense. They said they were loyal to the Empire just as they felt that the British people themselves were loyal to the Empire. The time had gone by, he thought, when it was expected that they should say they were truly loyal to Great Britain. That was not desired, and if it were he was afraid he would be unable to say that it was the feeling which animated the people of Australia. They loved England, but they were loyal to the great Empire. (Hear, hear.) They were loyal in anticipation of reciprocal loyalty from every part of the Empire, and they knew from their experience of the last few days that that expectation would be realised to the full. (Cheers.) In the development of the Imperial idea they must proceed slowly.

It was not to be expected of them in the remoter parts of the world that they could be hastened into any form of union. It had to grow, it was growing, and it would continue to grow. It would find expression in many ways. It had already found expression within the last few months in a way which he thought would emphasise the feeling of loyalty—(hear, hear)—and the wisest statesmen would seek to mould that opinion, to guide the stream, and not try to force it over the rapids. The young countries—and he spoke particularly of Australia—had the defects of their qualities. They were in some respects like the youth of twenty who thought very little of the old man's views, but when he was forty he went to his father and asked for advice. (Laughter.) Like the young man, the young countries asked that their peculiarities and spirit of independence, which probably they were apt to proclaim with emphasis, might be regarded with patience in this older land. (Hear, hear.) There was still a lingering feeling among his own people that there was a desire still in this country to control their activities and destinies. They had to reckon with that feeling. It was gradually disappearing. It was a legacy of the times that were stormy. But it would be idle not to emphasise the fact that it was there, and that he thought should inspire them all to caution in the way they dealt with great Imperial problems. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LYTTTELTON proposed the health of the Chairman, and referred to the absolute equality between the self-governing dominions and the Mother Country.

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(Cheers.) That proposition was laid down, he thought, for the first time in so unqualified a manner by Mr. Balfour in his speech on Thursday. (Cheers.) As a result of it the representatives alike of the self-governing dominions and of the Mother Country would enter the Naval Conference with this definite fact established, that that defence would be upon the basis of allies, and not of tributaries, and such deference as was paid to the Mother Country by the representatives of the dominions in the matter of defence would be the deference which was shown to long and highly organised training. (Cheers.)



## LORD CREWE.

Lord CREWE, in responding, said that although he and Mr. Lyttelton differed on many subjects, they were in full agreement in this, that the fact that they were fellow students at college, the fact that they had many common sympathies with regard to social improvement, and the fact that they might claim an identity of aim in all matters concerning the welfare of the Empire were no bad basis for a friendship which he hoped would last their lifetimes. Mr. Lyttelton and he had sat in the same chair at the Colonial Office, and he would like to express full agreement with him in all that he said as to the spirit in which, to whatever party they might belong, they endeavoured to administer—so far as it fell to them to administer them—the affairs of the self-governing dominions: they desired to treat them as kinsmen and allies.

He regretted that the duties of his office left him little time to acquaint himself more fully with the newspapers of the Empire. He knew enough of the Imperial Press to say truly and without flattery that in his belief, in ability, in culture, and candour, it yielded place to no other Press in the world. (Hear, hear.)

He believed that the utterances of the various speakers during the past week at their various gatherings had not been inspired by panic. At the same time he might say that the coming of the delegates had cheered us at a time of some apparent depression. We had been passing through one of those phases which might afflict all nations, and which afflicted this nation undoubtedly from time to time—a period of self-depreciation. We had been told that in all the arts of peace and of war, in commerce and in industry, whether it was a matter of battleships, or of airships, or of scholarships—(laughter)—we had fallen behind all the other countries in the world, and that from John o’Groats to Land’s End, from Dan to Beersheba, all was barren.

It had been said that the British people in one of its periodic fits of morality was a ludicrous object. Perhaps it might also be true that the British public in a periodic fit of self-depreciation was a pathetic object. He hoped also it might be true—and that they might have discovered it in the course of the past week—that perhaps we were really more pleased with ourselves than we had been conscious of being.

We had had Imperial Conferences, and he hoped we should have more; we had had, and we should, he hoped, have again what were called subsidiary Imperial Conferences. We had had many, and he hoped we should have more, of what were known as unofficial conferences; but he believed that this Imperial Press Conference would have effects as permanent, as far-reaching, and, he trusted, as beneficial, as any conference which ever had been or ever could be held in this country in the interests of the Empire. (Loud cheers.)

While the banquet was in progress the wives of the delegates were the guests of the directors of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, at a performance of “Aïda.”

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 68]

The Aldershot Field Day: The Lancers in the March Past.

*Illustration Bureau.*

[See page 62.]

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CHAPTER IX.

SIXTH DAY: NAVAL SPECTACLE AT SPITHEAD.

Climax and culmination of all the displays of Britain's greatness and power, the review of the Fleet at Spithead on Saturday, June 12, [1909] surpassed every anticipation that could have been formed. The delegates had looked forward to it as putting the coping-stone upon the knowledge acquired during the week of the defensive powers of the Empire. None the less, the reality outstripped their most ambitious imaginings. In the minds of not a few the Admiralty was on its trial, so many had been the gloomy views they had heard as to the condition of the senior service, and our first line of defence. A few hours sufficed to convert questionings and doubts into enthusiasm and something approaching amazement. Lord Rosebery, one short but crowded week earlier, had spoken to them of the "prodigious armada—the prodigious but always inadequate armada." Prodigious! yes; but after seeing it how difficult for them to believe in its inadequacy! The efforts of rivals for sea supremacy might render additions necessary; but inadequacy seemed an impossible thing so long as those additions were made.

Eighteen miles of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, scouts, and submarines! Impressive as the words may look on paper, they convey no real sense of the overwhelming might represented by the actual spectacle. Most wonderful of all, perhaps was the reflection that this Fleet was practically a new creation since the last great naval review in which Queen Victoria took part.

The delegates, on the invitation of the Admiralty, had left Victoria by special Pullman train half an hour before noon. Crimson roses decked the luxurious carriages, in which luncheon was served during the journey; and all the arrangements were most complete, under the watchful care of Admiral Sir John Fisher, the First Sea Lord, who himself travelled down with his guests. From these cosy and luxurious surroundings to the sight of those long, grim, lines of massive engines of war—so motionless, yet menacing—was a contrast unspeakably dramatic. It was a grey, sullen day, and disposed for rain; but that only added impressiveness to the scene, which not even the gay bunting flying from every vessel, nor the bright spots of colour supplied by the red jackets of the Marine Guards on the different ships, was capable of relieving to any extent.

For many of the delegates it was their first glimpse of Portsmouth. They were thrilled as their eyes sought out Nelson's old flagship, the "Victory," whose guns saluted the Lords of the Admiralty as they passed in the "Enchantress." The "Volcano" on which the Press delegates, accompanied by Admiral Fisher, were accommodated, followed the "Enchantress" past Sally Port out to the roadstead, where the Fleet lay.

The warships spread afar into the distance in three long lines; and yet

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a fourth which was completed by destroyers. The progress down the two further lines gave full opportunity to take in the distinguishing features of the different classes of vessels—the battleships of the “Formidable” and “Russell” class on the left or port side, and the “King Edwards” on the right or starboard. Eagerly the visitors picked out the ships whose names made an appeal to their respective geographical interests—the “Dominion,” “New Zealand,” “Africa,” “Commonwealth,” “Natal,” and so forth. Still as the “Volcano” steamed forward the forest of masts and funnels and tops seemed to stretch interminably over the huge fortress-like warships, their sides dressed with the figures of the bluejackets, silent and impassive. Some miles were traversed down the long street of ships before a turn was made around the “Assistance,” and a course taken to where the submarines—thirty-five of them—lay in orderly lines.

Steaming down between them, and again turning, the “Volcano” passed back amongst the warships, and down the long, wide avenue formed by the second and third lines. Here were enormous armoured cruisers, including the “Invincible,” “Inflexible,” and “Indomitable,” the fastest armed cruisers in the world, unsurpassed by any fighting machines the genius of man has yet created. Speed is theirs, as well as tremendous fighting power, the “Invincible” having a record of 28 knots for eight successive hours, and the “Indomitable” the record of 26 knots for the whole journey from the St. Lawrence to the Needles when bringing home the Prince of Wales. Here, too, were the “Minotaur,” the “Shannon,” the “Defiance,” the “Lord Nelson,” and the “Agamemnon.” Last in the stupendous line were reached the Dreadnoughts—the “Temeraire,” the “Superb,” the “Bellerophon,” and the veritable “Dreadnought,” Admiral Sir William May’s flagship. There was about these gigantic battleships, so monstrous, yet so perfectly under control, and so immeasurably superior for their terrible work of destruction to anything ever yet known, a fearful eloquence that appealed to every onlooker. The “Invincibles” have each eight 12-inch guns, the “Dreadnoughts” have ten 12-inch guns.

Away to the left of this overpowering array of ships of war, in four symmetrical lines, lay the forty-eight destroyers at their anchorage. Long before they had reached this stage, however, the visitors had exhausted every term of admiration, wonder, and amazement at this vast accumulation of naval force. The spectacle deprived them of words. They could only gaze and marvel. But they marveled yet more when reminded that this was only the war head of the Navy; that these 144 vessels, with their 40,000 men, their 1,852 guns, their aggregate cost of £90,000,000, and their total displacement of 771,200 tons, represented but the newest and best of Great Britain’s Navy; those ships only which, month in month out, are kept fully manned and in complete fighting trim, ready for war’s call should it perchance come. Apart from these are the fleets in other waters and squadrons on other British coasts.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 70]

THE FLEET AT SPITHEAD

JUNE 12, 1909.

CHART SHOWING TRACK THROUGH THE FLEET  
DREADNOUGHT TYPE INDICATED BY +

BATTLESHIPS	24
ARMOURED CRUISERS	16
OTHER CRUISERS	8
SCOUTS	4
DESTROYERS	48
SUBMARINES	35
AUXILIARIES	9
GRAND TOTAL	144
OCCUPYING ABOUT 18 MILES	
<i>By courtesy of "The Times."</i>	

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It was a concrete, but overwhelming, illustration of what the three simple words, "the British Navy," really imply.

To the Oversea delegates it conveyed one other striking lesson. It taught them what the Mother Country has done in the way of sacrifice, expenditure, and invention in order to safeguard Imperial interests—to keep clear the ocean highway for the commerce of its own people and the daughter nations, and for the protection of those homes in the distant Dominions which are British homes on British shores equally with the homes of England itself.

Such was the Navy in repose. The delegates were now to see something of it as it might be in action—under unreal conditions, no doubt, and yet not without some teaching and value. A few minutes sufficed to transfer the guests to the "Dreadnought," where they were quickly, under the guiding care of various officers, conveyed to different parts of the battleship. Disposed at different points along the side of the great vessel, they witnessed a variety of operations, as novel to most of them as they were fraught with interest. The lowering of the steel torpedo netting, a task formerly of strenuous labour, requiring almost every hand, but now performed quietly and easily by electrical agency—showed how preparation is made to meet torpedo attacks.

Shortly a line of submarines was observed approaching at carefully-kept distances. Stealthily they came on, little more than the conning tower being visible above the long lithe body. On the frail-looking conning tower stood officers and men, with the water swirling just beneath them as the sinister craft made their nine or ten knots. Three other submarines followed in diving trim, the hatches closed and the periscope—that marvellous eye of the craft when it is under water—a few feet above the waves; otherwise, no sign of life about them. Each boat carries a reserve periscope, in case the other should be shot away. The next three submarines were submerged all but the slender periscope, the effect being most uncanny as it travelled past without apparent connection with anything else. As they came even with the battleship even this disappeared, all save

the very tip. In actual warfare, of course, this, too, would disappear before the boat came near an enemy's vessel.

One of the submerged boats now came to the surface, the water streaming off its conning tower and shiny back as though it were some huge fish, and the other two followed suit. After this they exhibited their capacity for diving and coming to the surface again, to the great delight of the delegates; a delight qualified by a shudder at the thought of the mischief these vanishing craft could wreak while thus hidden.

Next came the turn of the torpedo boat destroyers. These long, low, black-hulled craft are capable of a speed of some thirty knots. At a distance of perhaps 400 yards from the "Dreadnought" they scurried by, a vicious-looking line, at the rate of about 17 or 18 knots. Just as they were level there was a flash of steel, and something that leapt overboard into the sea could be traced by a faint green line, travelling rapidly through the water towards the "Dreadnought." It was a torpedo, which in a few seconds struck with

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desperate force against the torpedo netting—vicious but ineffective. As it struck flames burst from the head, red, yellow, and green; and it butted viciously against the netting as if determined to pierce it. Torpedo after torpedo is discharged by the speeding destroyers, and so accurate is the aim, and so well-timed, that all strike within a yard or two of the spot where the first tried to force its way through. Something almost weirdly suggestive of an active malignity seemed to mark the angry efforts of each torpedo to penetrate the defending netting.

As for the "Dreadnought," it would be impossible to exhaust in the brief space of one visit all the wonders of the internal economy and organisation of that colossal floating stronghold, though the guests, spread around in parties, did their best to master all its features. Some went down in lifts to the engine rooms, where there was a surprising absence of machinery, but an amazing array of dials and indicators. Others clambered down the narrow steps into the gun turrets, and saw how the great 60-ton guns are handled as easily as toys, and watched the smooth-working mechanism which brings up the ammunition, loads the gun, and swings back the huge breech-block after loading. Some penetrated still deeper, and certain adventurous newspaper men discovered the band room, and also, to their joy, the modest printing establishment, hidden away in a dark corner, where all the ship's printing is done. Everyone, it is safe to say, found his way to the wardroom, where the hospitality of the officers had provided tea, which was thoroughly enjoyed after so warlike an afternoon.

There was yet more to see; but this involved leaving the "Dreadnought." Sir John Fisher and his gratified guests returned to the "Volcano," and steamed away for Whale Island, the famous Gunnery School of the British Navy, where they were to witness the mimic spectacle of a hostile landing from the sea. From a covered stand the delegates looked out over land and water. Before them were long lines of entrenchments, a miniature camp, some field guns, and a force of bluejackets. Out on the water were gunboats crowded with an invading force of men and guns—all motionless for a time. Sudden activity was

seen on the gunboats; and there was answering activity on shore as a bugle call rang out, and announced an impending attack. Instantly fire was opened, officers and men rushed to the trenches, and shortly a battle was in full progress.

The space in which the battle was fought was too limited for the genuine thing; yet the conflict was wonderfully realistic and exciting. Shells burst in the trenches, scattering the earth in them, so that the men fell back wounded, killed, or stunned. At one point a gun being rapidly dragged into position to shell the invaders was overturned and wrecked by a sudden shot. All the time shot and shell came faster, and men dropped everywhere, the ambulance parties being kept busy in carrying off the sufferers. Spite of the stubborn defence, the invaders managed to land a great 4.7 gun, which they dragged up a steep bank. When all seemed lost, and the stubborn defenders had been driven

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 72]

The Naval Pageant: Delegates Watching Submarines Pass the Dreadnought.

*Illustrations Bureau.*]

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from the entrenchments, the distant whistle of an engine was heard, and an armoured train arrived on the scene, its maxims and six-pounders delivering a tremendous fire. The foe wavered; the re-heartened defenders returned with a cheer, and became the attackers, and soon pursued the flying enemy down to his launches and cutters. At that moment, a bugle sounded the "Cease Fire," the band played the National Anthem, and the hordes of slain sprang to their feet, and stood at the salute! The battle was over, and the defence had been victorious.

It was an astonishingly brisk, vivid, and well-executed display, in which everyone performed wonders of valour, physical prowess, and acting. The style in which some of the "handy men" brought out the possibilities of the situation was striking and diverting. Some of the hand-to-hand combats would have done credit to the stage of the Lyceum, or the Adelphi in its palmiest days of melodrama.

Although it was a cleverly arranged business—which an adjacent cinematograph duly recorded—and well deserved the plaudits showered upon it by the delighted delegates. As they were driven back to the railway station the visitors, on their passage through the dockyard, saw something of the work in progress there. They saw ships in dock which had not been used to swell the display beyond Spit Fort; they saw the "St. Vincent," another "Dreadnought," in the building, and the "Neptune"—the super-Dreadnought shortly to be launched; along with submarines, torpedo-boat destroyers, and other craft. As they returned to town by their special train, discussing an excellent dinner on the way, they were full of admiration for all they had seen, and the significance of it: an admiration almost too deep for expression. But it found vent when they swarmed out on the platform at Victoria Station in enthusiastic cheers for Sir John Fisher, around whom they made a ring of fervent admirers, and in singing with vociferous thoroughness, "For he's a jolly good fellow." Sir John was almost too much surprised to be able to do more

than smile appreciatively; but he managed to say, “I hope you will all come again”—a remark which elicited lusty cheers, and was followed by much handshaking.

As a matter of record it is interesting to give the details of the great demonstration of organised sea power which had been witnessed. It will be found in the appended table: —

27 BATTLESHIPS.			
TYPE.	NO. OF SHIPS.	MAIN GUNS IN EACH SHIP.	TONS.
Dreadnought	4	Ten 12 in.	17,900—18,600
Invincible	3	Eight 12 in.	17,250
Lord Nelson	2	Four 12 in., ten 9.2 in.	16,500
King Edward	8	Four 12 in., four 9.2 in., ten 6 in.	16,350
Duncan	3	Four 12 in., twelve 6 in.	14,000
Formidable	6	Four 12 in., twelve 6 in.	15,000
Canopus	1	Four 12 in., twelve 6 in.	12,950

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12 ARMOURED CRUISERS.		Tons.	
Minotaur	3	Four 9.2 in., ten 7.5 in.	14,600
Warrior	3	Six 9.2 in., four 7.5 in.	13,660
Duke of Edinburgh	2	Six 9.2 in., ten 6 in.	13,660
Drake	3	Two 9.2 in., sixteen 6 in	14,100
Monmouth	2	Four 7.5 in., six 6 in.	10,850

10 PROTECTED CRUISERS AND SCOUTS.			
Boadicea	1	Six 4 in.	3,300
Arrogant	1	Eleven 6-in.	5,750
Talbot	4	Eleven 6-in.	5,600
Topaze	2	Twelve 4-in.	3,000
Adventure	4	Ten 12-pr.	2,800

9 AUXILIARY VESSELS.			
Fleet repair ships	2		9,600
Submarine dépôt ships	4		11,000
Destroyer dépôt ships	2		—
Despatch vessel	1	Two 6-pr.	1,650

48 TORPEDO-BOAT DESTROYERS.			
Afridi	4	Three 12-pr.	860-90
Amazon	1	Two 4 in.	939
“River” class	31	Four 12-pr.	600
30-knot class	12	One 12-pr., five 6-pr	360

25 SUBMARINES.			
"B" class	11	Two torpedo tubes	313
"C" class	16	Two torpedo tubes	313
"C" class improved	8	Two torpedo tubes	321
Total displacement			771,200 tons
Number of officers and men			40,000
Number of guns			1,852
Aggregate cost		about	£90,000,000

## THE ARMY AND NAVY DAYS.

A pleasing sequel to the Aldershot visit of the delegates was the receipt of a letter by General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien, G.O.C., from Sir Hugh Graham, stating that the Aldershot experience was a day never to be forgotten, and enclosing "as a slight acknowledgment of the pleasure given to the delegates on that occasion" a sum of £100, to be devoted either to the soldiers' orphans, or in any other way General Smith-Dorrien's judgment might suggest.

Sir Horace replied that he was "deeply touched by the most generous gift" and that he was notifying the gift in the Orders for the Day, so that all under his command might become aware of it. He added: "I am sure that all ranks will feel, if possible, more drawn towards their fellow country-men from across the oceans than they were before by this kindly thought for the welfare and happiness of their kith and kin."

A similar donation of £100 was forwarded to the Admiralty by Sir Hugh Graham for the benefit of the sailors' orphans, in appreciation of the success of the naval inspection at Spithead.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 74.]

Naval Pageant: Destroyers Steaming past the Dreadnought and Launching Torpedoes against her.

*By courtesy of the "Illustrated London News."*

[Drawn by NORMAN WILKINSON.]

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## AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

On Sunday evening, June 13, [1909] the majority of the delegates and their wives attended the evening service at Westminster Abbey, where the Right Rev. The Bishop of Kensington was the preacher. In preaching a hospital sermon, he made special allusion to the presence of the Conference delegates. He referred to that aspect of the Press that reflected the compassion of God, that represents the great philanthropic agency of the



Empire. That surely was not the least important office that the Press fills. It was ready always, sinking differences of politics and party, to open its doors wide to any claim on the compassion of man, informing the world of the needs that exist. The Press of the Empire was the great philanthropic agent of the Empire.

An interesting episode occurred at the conclusion of the service. It was noticed that the Archbishop of Canterbury was amongst the congregation, and it was suggested to him that it would be a matter of great interest to the delegates if, after the congregation had departed, they could be taken round the Abbey, and have its leading features explained to them by a guide. His Grace promptly volunteered to fill the part of guide himself; and thereupon, when the other worshippers had left, the delegates were taken through the different chapels and among the Royal tombs, while the Archbishop told the story of the Abbey. As the party proceeded, the twilight deepened, and the whole effect of the surroundings was most impressive. None of the delegates had expected that their evening would conclude with an inspection of the Abbey under the guidance of the Primate of All England.

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## CHAPTER X.

### THE PROVINCIAL TOUR.

#### FIRST DAY: COVENTRY, WARWICK, AND STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Lord Rosebery's hint to the Empire Press delegates concerning the things they might see and learn from a tour through England was turned to practical account when, their London engagements for the time completed, they entered upon their round of provincial visits. Especially happy, as it proved, was the plan prepared for opening day, Monday, June 14, [1909]. Leaving Euston Station in the forenoon by a luxuriously-appointed London and North-Western special saloon train, they reached Coventry all too quickly, and were officially welcomed at the station by the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and Mr. A. E. W. Mason, M.P. Mr. Kyffin Thomas acknowledged the civic welcome, and said with how much interest the delegates were looking forward to their visits to the industrial centres of this country, and to the insight they would thus acquire into the life of the people.

Emerging into the streets, where some forty motor-cars were waiting to convey them to the works of the Daimler Company, the visitors found the town decorated, and lined with thousands of people, who loudly cheered as the cars passed. At the Daimler works, where they were received by the chairman, Mr. Edward Manville, they were shown the various processes connected with the motor-car industry—forging the steel, working, making, and finishing the “bodies,” and testing the engines.

From Coventry the party proceeded by motor-car to Warwick Castle, passing on the way the stately ruins of Kenilworth Castle, of which they had a glorious but fleeting view. Many would have liked to linger for a closer inspection had the time-table permitted. Full amends were made, however, when the party came in sight of Warwick Castle, the noble structure which has played so prominent a part in English history.

The Earl and Countess of Warwick received their guests on the lawn of the Castle courtyard—a picturesque scene to which the surrounding battlements furnished a fitting background. After a round of the state apartments with their many works of art, the party proceeded with their hosts to luncheon in the historic hall of the Castle, where they were joined by Lord and Lady Brooke, Sir Oliver Lodge, the Warden of Studley Agricultural College (Dr. Lillias Hamilton), the Mayors of Coventry, Warwick, and Leamington, and others.

The Earl, in his cordial after-luncheon welcome, humorously expressed the hope that no exigencies of policy on the part of a Chancellor of the Exchequer would compel him to build on the undeveloped land around the Castle, or destroy the amenities of the place in any way.

Mr. Crosbie Roles (Ceylon), in his reply, referred to Lady Warwick's work in establishing the Studley Agricultural College for Women, and said that women trained at Studley would be able to go out to the Dominions across the sea, and take their part in those countries which depended so much on

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 76]

At Warwick Castle: Lord and Lady Warwick Receiving the Delegates.

Mrs. Syme. Dr. Syme. Hon J. W. Kirwan. Mr. A. F. Macdonald. Lady Warwick. Mr. Ashenheim. Mr. Harry Brittain. Mrs. J. A. Macdonald. Lord Warwick. Mrs. Ashenheim. Dr. Hackett.

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agriculture. That was no small part to have taken in building up the Empire.

The Countess of Warwick greatly pleased the gathering by responding in a neat little speech in which, after echoing the Earl's message of welcome, she referred to the great historic past of the place in which they were met. She did not think there was a more suitable place for a common meeting ground than under the shadow of those old grey walls, which had seen nearly every phase of the evolution of English history. In that hall, she reminded them, the barons held counsel in the early civil wars; there Warwick, the King-maker, developed his one-man policy; from the dungeons below, Piers Gaveston was brought for trial, and taken out to summary execution; and in later times Cromwell's Roundheads roamed the surrounding corridors. Turning to the circumstances of the visit, she said that in the hands of the Press lay magnetism and power; and she expressed the hope that they would use that power aright, that they would cast aside the ignoble worship of the golden calf, and make for those things which were lasting—those things that welded nations into common fellowship and brotherhood. This alone could mean "Empire" to the British race.

The toast of the Earl and Countess of Warwick was drunk with enthusiasm on the call of Mr. Kyffin Thomas, and lusty cheers were given for the host and hostess, and for Lord and Lady Brooke. After luncheon, the visitors enjoyed the magnificent views from the

Castle windows, visited tower and moat and Castle walls with the Earl and Countess as their guides, and descended to the lawn to be photographed. It was with much reluctance that they resumed their motor-car journey towards Oxford. The route was by Kenilworth to Stratford-on-Avon, where a halt was made in order to see some of the principal features of Shakespeare's birthplace.

The Mayor, Mr. F. R. Benson—the actor-manager, and one of the Shakespeare trustees—and Mr. A. D. Flower, who welcomed the delegates, pointed out the principal points of interest about the poet's home. In the garden of Shakespeare's house several speeches were made full of reverence for surroundings that mean so much to the whole British-speaking race, that of Mr. Nelson (Victoria, British Columbia), in particular, being a model of felicitous expression in acknowledging the Mayor's welcome.

From Stratford the journey by motor was continued through beautiful country towards Banbury, where a halt was made for tea at the "White Lion." Oxford was reached later than was intended, but there was not a member of the party who did not revel in the delights of the journey and the rural beauties unfolded on every hand, while a charming evening was closed in the grounds of Worcester College, which were prettily illuminated. Hundreds of lights effectively arranged about the grounds and lake made a perfect fairy-land of these old-world gardens, the most beautiful Oxford can show; and the delegates were loth to leave them. They were received by the Dean, and various Fellows of the College and the undergraduates devoted themselves to the visitors, escorting them around, and showing them all the interesting features of the College.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### SECOND DAY: AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

From scenes of rural charm, romance, and poesy the delegates turned their attention on Tuesday to Oxford's ancient shrines of learning, and under beautiful weather the charm of Oxford was fully realised. A cordial welcome awaited the delegates wherever they went. They absorbed eagerly all the information they could about famous men, the past and present, whose student days were passed in the colleges visited. At Trinity, the rooms once occupied by Cardinal Newman proved of the greatest interest; at Balliol, they learned of the past association with the college of the Prime Minister, Sir Edward Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, and many other distinguished men, while at Christ Church the rooms that once belonged to Mr. Gladstone, the late Marquis of Salisbury, and the Earl of Rosebery attracted keen attention. The mediaeval dining-room—the largest of its kind in England—through which they were courteously conducted by the Dean, was greatly admired, one amongst the many portraits of illustrious men on the walls—that of "Lewis Carroll," the author of "Alice in Wonderland"—winning sympathetic attention from the ladies of the party. Nothing, probably, inspired so profound a feeling as the Bodleian Library, with its invaluable literary treasures and atmosphere of scholarship. Magdalen College and New College were also visited.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the Chancellor of the University, on whose invitation the delegates were present, entertained them at luncheon in the great library of All Souls, where heads of colleges, Fellows and members of the University and representative undergraduates, both literary and athletic, were present, as were Sir William Anson, the Warden of the College, and Mr. J. B. Talbot, M.P. for the University.

Lord CURZON, in proposing the toast of “Our Guests,” said: After your first week of fierce and strenuous activity—a week by which I hope you are not altogether exhausted—I welcome you with a pleasure which I hope is mutual to the ancient quadrangles and tranquil lawns of Oxford University. Although this is a place of education, we have no succession of speakers to-day to instruct you in all the high themes with which you have been brought into such close quarters during the past ten days, and the results of which, I suppose, will flow in a fertilising stream of eloquence from your editorial pens for many years to come. (Laughter.) Here in Oxford we give you a holiday, although I hope a useful and a beneficial holiday.

You will wander at your leisure amid scenes that have not been without their effect in the making of English history; you will see those whom the late Matthew Arnold rather irreverently described as “our young barbarians” all at play; you will meet, too, the skilled artificers who are converting that splendid raw material into the finished production; and pray remember that when you see the Oxford tutor, you are gazing upon a product of our ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, unique in the world, and one which foreign universities and institutions with which you are familiar are endeavouring to imitate in distant parts of the world. Then, too, as you wander about under expert guidance through Oxford to-day, you will see those pinnacles

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 78.]

Lord Curzon of Kedleston in his Chancellor’s Robes Receiving the Delegates in the Quadrangle of All Souls, Oxford.

*Illustrations Bureau.*]

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and walls and towers which have fired the imagination, and, I dare say, directed the impulses of many of those who have gone out from here into the world, and have done great deeds for the Empire.

I think, also, there is something not inappropriate in the fact that I have the privilege of entertaining you in the library of this college, for are we not here to-day in that which may be described as the academic sanctuary of British law? Blackstone himself, whose statue you see at the upper end of this room, presides in all the majesty of marble over our meetings. And what is there in the whole history of Imperial expansion that has done so much to mould your institutions and to stamp upon them the peculiar imprint of their English origin as English law? (Cheers.) And what is there in the future that is more certain of a great development, that is more required for the appeasement of conflict and the peaceful progress of nations than the evolution, the harmonizing, and the codification of those principles of international law, the learned oracles of which speak *urbi et orbi*

from their modest shrines within the walls of this college of All Souls? (Cheers.) I venture to think that those who have been responsible for the arrangements of your plans in England, and notably the indefatigable Mr. Harry Brittain—(cheers)—have done well to include Oxford University in your programme. During the last ten days you have been brought into personal contact with all those forces and influences and institutions—aye, and persons, also—who have a voice in shaping the destinies of this Empire, and I should like to ask you, is there among them any one that can compare in antiquity or in influence with this University of Oxford? Oxford is, indeed, part of the life of the nation. She has written her mark upon every age of English history, and every age of English history has written its mark upon her. Here statesmen have been nurtured, and perhaps a good many who were not statesmen. (Laughter.) Here kings have reigned, theologians and schoolmen have contended, reformers have been burned at the stake, and those great ideas have sprung into being which, radiating from this centre, have gone abroad, and have shaken the world. I think, too, I may fairly call attention to the part that Oxford has played in Empire building and in Empire consolidation. We train here and we send out to you your governors and administrators and judges, your teachers and preachers and lawyers. We play a great part in the training—if I may turn for a moment to India—of that splendid Indian Civil Service, which is one of the glories of the British nation. (Hear, hear.) We train also, I think, no inconsiderable number of those Pressmen whom we are entertaining here to-day, and, who, much more than any officials, will be in the future the speaking links, the “live rails”—if the metaphor may be permitted—for connecting the outskirts of the Empire with its heart. I can assure you—if you stand in need of assurance, which I do not believe is the case—that in coming to Oxford you come to no Sleepy Hollow which is drugged with the spell of its own enchantment, or which spends its time drowsing on the memories of the past. Here in Oxford we are very much alive, and it may be that in your excursions to-day you may have heard murmured the words, “Reform from within.” (Laughter.) That is not a subject on which it will be wise for me to descant, but at least I may say that more or less in Oxford “We are all reformers now.” (Laughter.)

Perhaps it would be safer for me to lay stress upon the part that we are playing, and playing, I think, in an increasing degree, in the development of those great and broader conceptions of Empire which you have been discussing during the time you have been in England. Under the munificent bequest of the late Cecil Rhodes—(cheers)—a name to which I think we ought to pay our tribute of reverent admiration to-day, this University is spending a sum of £50,000 a year in bringing here and educating here the best character, the most alert intelligence, and the most vigorous manhood that you can send to us from the Dominions across the seas. The professorship and the lectureship in Colonial History, which were funded by the late Mr. Alfred Beit, and the holders of which are here to-day, have usefully supplemented the original bequest. Do you imagine for a moment that that annual influx from the overseas Dominions can come here to Oxford without leaving, without producing its effect upon us? It is like pumping a new stream of blood into our ageworn but by no means atrophied veins.

These Rhodes scholars who come here win our prizes, they capture our fellowships, they excel prominently in our

sports: incidentally, they have taught us something of the narrowness of our curriculum, and have spurred us to fresh exertions in that respect. But the effect does not stop there. I venture to think that it is reciprocal, that it is equally great upon the Empire as well. Every quarter we turn out a large number of these young men, and in a few years' time there will be some 2,000 of them scattered throughout the English-speaking world, the overseas Dominions, and America as well. These men will become the lawyers who will practise at your Bars, teachers in your colleges and Universities, men who will take high part in professional and public life. They will be the creators of public opinion in the Empire and the real Empire-builders of the future. I hope that we shall succeed in stamping upon them the imprint of the peculiar Oxford culture, that broad and humane and liberal culture which is inseparably connected with our traditions, and which, in an age like this, ever more and more given up to material and utilitarian pursuits, is worth more to nations than much gold and many diamonds. (Cheers.) Above all, I hope that these men, as they go forth from here, will be true to the inspiration which they may have derived in this place of an Oxford ideal, and that they will carry that ideal with them into whatever pursuits they may undertake when they visit or live in the realms beyond the seas. I hope that when you get back to your distant homes beyond the seas you will not forget, and will not regret, the day that you have spent in this ancient but immortal place. I hope that there may be a perpetual stream circulating between the Colonies and England, from the Empire to Oxford and from Oxford back to the Empire, carrying to and fro upon its bosom the best of character and intelligence, the best of loyalty and patriotism that either of us can give. (Loud cheers.)

For the visitors, the Hon. J. W. Hackett (Western Australia), Mr. G. Robinson (Johannesburg), and Mr. C. Woodhead (Durban) acknowledged the toast; and later in the evening the delegates had a most comfortable journey to Sheffield in a Great Central Railway special train.

Before leaving Oxford Mr. Kyffin Thomas received the following message from the Earl of Crewe, in reply to a telegram of thanks conveyed to him on behalf of the Oversea delegates:—

On behalf of the Government I am desirous to thank you cordially for your telegram in the name of the overseas delegates.

It is a sincere satisfaction to have contributed in any degree to the interest and pleasure of their stay in London.

A telegram of thanks had also been despatched to Sir John Fisher, who replied in the following terms:—

Very greatly appreciate kind commendation of overseas delegates conveyed in your telegram. May I venture to hope that I have not seen the last of them. Motto: Last verse of 18<sup>th</sup> chapter of Proverbs.

The verse in question runs: “A man that hath friends must show himself friendly, and there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.”

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 80]

Lord Curzon’s Luncheon to the Delegates in the Great Library of All Souls, Oxford.  
*Illustrations Bureau.*]

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CHAPTER XII.

THIRD DAY: SHEFFIELD’S HEARTY WELCOME.

A busy day had been arranged for Wednesday in Sheffield; but it was entered upon with zest. The delegates found this crowded, grimy, smoke-laden city a great change from the idyllic scenes amid which Monday and Tuesday had been passed. At last they were in the very heart of a typical industrial community, given up to great engineering establishments and forges. Furnaces, chimneys, “shops,” and factories were crowded together in the midst of dense populations. The absence of sunshine did not improve the aspect of these districts.

But Sheffielders gave the Oversea visitors a hearty welcome; and the Town Hall and other large buildings displayed flags in greeting. In the handsome and speedy Standard motor-cars in which the delegates had been conveyed about London they were now, by the kindness of Mr. Friswell, taken to a variety of works in the city. The famous establishment of Messrs. Vickers, Son, and Maxim was first visited. Here, after a welcome from Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Vickers, about two hours were spent in seeing something of the making of a Navy such as had been reviewed at Spithead. In the steel-melting house a couple of furnaces were “tapped” of their contents. From a Siemens’ open-hearth furnace some thirty-five tons of molten steel were run off into a huge bucket suspended from a massive crane, preparatory to being formed into a mighty ingot. Equally impressive was the emptying from a tilting furnace of another stream of liquid fire, intended for similar treatment. Sight of these mighty masses of molten metal, and the ease and certainty with which they were handled, amazed those delegates to whom the operations were novel. Elsewhere they saw one process in making the great 12-inch guns for vessels of the “Dreadnought” and the “Invincible” type—viz., the “shrinking” of one mighty tube of steel on to another after the latter had had from 120 to 150 miles of wire wound around it. In the planing shop was seen how the surfaces of huge armour plates 11 inches thick can be cut as easily as chalk; while the rolling of an armour plate from a white hot ingot of between 20 and 25 tons, taken from a fiery furnace, exercised quite a fascination, especially when great masses of flames and sparks shot high into the air, as bundles of brushwood were cast on the incandescent metal to eliminate the “scale” from the surface. The boring, turning, rifling, and finishing of 12-inch guns were illustrated; also the forging of a 12-inch “jacket” in a hydraulic press that, as the visitors were told, could squash an elephant or crack a nut with equal precision and efficiency.

At luncheon, to which the visitors were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Vickers, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. A. J. Hobson, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford, Mr. and

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Mrs. Leng, and others were present. The toast of Messrs. Vickers, Sons, and Maxim was honoured on the proposal of Mr. R. M. MacDonald (Christchurch, New Zealand), who, speaking as a railway engineer, as well as a Pressman, paid high tribute to the character of the material which reached the other end of the world from the firm's establishments.

Major W. G. St. Clair (Singapore, Straits Settlements), in supplementing Mr. Macdonald's remarks, said he had been a garrison gunner for 16 years, and had the honour of commanding the very first Maxim battery employed in the service of his country—guns presented by the generosity of Asiatic residents in the Straits Settlements. He was proud that they at Singapore were historically the senior Maxim battery in the British service.

Mr. Douglas Vickers acknowledged the toast, which was musically honoured, and expressed the hope that the delegates would entertain pleasant recollections of their visit to the River Don Works. He mentioned, as showing the extent and ramifications of Messrs. Vickers's works, that they had normally something like 22,000 to 24,000 men—5,000 at the River Don Works, from 10,000 to 12,000 at Barrow, 4,500 in the London districts, and about 3,000 men at Birmingham.

The type foundry of Messrs. Stephenson, Blake, and Co. was next visited, and the teeming population around Allen-street assembled in hundreds to greet the Oversea visitors; while from the windows of their humble dwellings flags were flown, and over the street stretched lines of many-hued pennants. One delegate, studying the crowd with a comprehending eye, paid particular regard to the poorly-clad and obviously ill-fed young girls. "Australia wants hundreds of these girls," he remarked to the Sheffield "Telegraph" representative. "When I left home, I asked some of my friends if I could do anything for them in England. 'Yes,' they replied, 'for goodness' sake bring us domestics.' We don't call them servants out there." The visitors were conducted personally by the Lord Mayor (Alderman H. K. Stephenson) over the works—one of the few and one of the most up-to-date type foundries in Great Britain, and the delegates examined closely every detail in the production. The processes include the cutting of the punch, in which the most minute accuracy is necessary; the flying of the matrix with the punch; and the actual production of the type from the mould. Each little letter is, of course, turned out separately; and in the foundry there are rooms of machines which spurt out types in a ceaseless stream. Ornamental as well as plain types are made; also printers' woodwork. The deftness with which the fingers of the girls arrange the types especially struck the delegates.

Next a visit was paid to the admirably equipped offices of the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph," where the visitors were received by Mr. Charles Clifford and Mr. C. D. Leng (directors) assisted by Mr. G. E. Stembridge (general manager). Besides the delegates, other guests were the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, the Master Cutler (Mr. Douglas



Vickers) and the Mistress Cutler, Colonel Sir John Bingham, Bart., and Lady Bingham, Lady Stephenson,

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Sir Charles Skelton and Mrs. Bramall, Colonel Vickers, Colonel and Mrs. Chadburn, Colonel and Mrs. Branson, Alderman Brittain and Mrs. Brittain, Alderman and Mrs. Marsh, Alderman Styring and Mrs. Styring, the Town Clerk (Mr. R. M. Prescott) and Mrs. Prescott, the Rev. T. W. Holmes, Mr. B. G. Wood, Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Blake, and the Very Rev. Dean Dolan.

The pneumatic tube linking the "Telegraph" sub-editors' room with the General Post Office and the private wires connecting the head office with the firm's premises in London were objects of interest, as were the composing room and its battery of 27 linotypes, alongside which the older process of handsetting was carried out by employees who have served respectively 54 and 44 years on the staff. The pigeon loft, with its feathered messengers, used mainly to convey "copy" from the athletic fields; the paper store, with its reels, each containing 3 ¼ miles of paper; the foundry, the machine-room, the lighting installation, the engines, the general printing department, and "process" illustration department all had their points of interest. The inspection over, the delegates were entertained at tea, Mrs. Clifford and Mrs. Leng acting as hostesses. An incident created amusement. One of the guides elaborately explained to one gentleman the linotype machines. At the finish the hearer remarked: "Yes; I guess I've got 30 of them at home."

#### CIVIC BANQUET AT SHEFFIELD.

At night the Imperial Press Conference party were the guests at dinner in the Town Hall of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Sheffield, who had invited a large and representative gathering to meet them. Dinner was laid in the Lord Mayor's suite of rooms, which were prettily decorated. Quite the feature of the after dinner speaking was the powerful and dramatic utterance of Mr. C. Fichardt, one of the South African delegates, who was an enemy of Britain in the Boer war.

His lordship presided, and among those also present, besides the Lady Mayoress and Lady Stephenson, were Lady Mabel Smith, the Master Cutler (Mr. Douglas Vickers), the Bishop of Sheffield and Mrs. Quirk, Mr. A. J. Hobson, Miss A. Hobson, Mr. C. N. Daniels (U.S. Consul), Sir John and Lady Bingham, Sir Charles Skelton, Mrs. Bramall, Sir Joseph Jonas, Alderman H. P. and Mrs. Marsh, Alderman and Mrs. Brittain, Colonel Hughes, Alderman and Mrs. Styring, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Neal, Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Sandford, Mr. R. M. Prescott (Town Clerk), Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Drake, Colonel and Mrs. Chadburn, Colonel and Mrs. Branson, Captain W. J. Symons, R.N., and Mrs. Symons, Lieutenant and Mrs. J. E. Bray, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Bedford, Mr. W. H. Dixon, Rev. Dean Dolan, Mr. E. Willoughby Firth, Mr. W. M. Gibbons, Councillor and Mrs. John Derry, Mr. and Mrs. C. D. Leng, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Clifford, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Stembridge, Mr. and Mrs. J. Dickenson, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Dunbar, Mr. and Mrs. S. G. Harrison, Mr. W. Brimelow (Bolton), Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Byles (Bradford), Mr. and Mrs.

J. S. R. Phillips (Leeds), Mr. T. Whittaker (Scarborough), Mr. Thomas G. Gibson (Warrington), Mr. T. Walter Hall, Miss Alice Hall, Rev. T. W. and Mrs. Holmes, Mr. H. W. Pawson, Mr. F. P. Smith, Colonel Vickers, C.B., Mr. B. G. Wood, Mr. Robert G. Blake and Mrs. Blake, Mr. Arthur Barber, Miss Barber, Mr. E. B. Hanson, Mr. J. H. Cocksedge, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Dowding, Mr. H. T. Cadbury (London), Mr. P. F. Crosfield (London),

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Mr. C. Friswell (London), and Mr. Harry Brittain (hon. sec. of the Conference) and Mrs. Brittain.

### THE EMPIRE'S UNITY.

The MASTER CUTLER, in proposing the "Naval and Military Forces," said there were few things more satisfactory to them than the share that Australia, New Zealand, the Cape, and Canada were ready to bear in holding the seas for the Empire. Though wars were much to be regretted, yet they brought a certain amount of good in their train, and that good they now saw in the results of the late war in South Africa. It had been a welding force for the Empire that they greatly required. The help the Colonies gave us during the war was a great surprise, and came as a much greater surprise to the world, for then, and then only, they knew how the British Empire in time of need was going to hold together. (Hear, hear.)

Lieutenant J. E. BRAY, R.N., replying on behalf of the Navy, remarked on the excellent gunnery records made by battleship gunners nowadays. All credit to them, and to those who trained them to shoot. But there were others to whom credit was due. Gunners could not have made such wonderful shooting without a very wonderful gun. (Hear, hear.) Sheffield, with Sheffield brains and Sheffield labour, as the delegates had seen that day, manufactured such guns. (Applause.) Some of them were present last week at the naval review at Spithead. A large proportion of the material of those naval fighting monstrosities—(laughter)—was made in Sheffield. Sheffield had a very intimate and close connection with the Empire's Navy. (Hear, hear.) Finally, he acknowledged the generous open-handed hospitality always accorded the ships of the Navy when in Colonial waters. (Hear, hear.) No matter how small or how remote the place might be, so long as it was part of the Empire, the Navy had always received that finest of all welcomes, known throughout the Navy as a real Colonial welcome. (Applause.)

Lieutenant-Colonel B. F. DRAKE, R.H.A., replying on behalf of the Army, said our naval and military forces depended one upon the other, and the bond between them should be as indissoluble as the marriage tie. (Hear, hear.) The speaker paid a tribute to "those forces which are raised and maintained in our dominions beyond the seas," and emphasised the importance of every citizen of the Empire recognising fully the sacred duty of defending adequately their hearths and homes.

Colonel HUGHES, in a generous reference to Mr. Charles Fichardt, a South African editor present, who fought against this country in the Boer War, observed that the

conversation he had had with him made one almost wonder what they were fighting for, except that he said they were fighting then and suffering then to achieve the union which we have now. (Applause.) It required a brave man to respond to the Territorial Force at the present time. "It is a child," he said, "I believe a healthy child, of about fifteen months old. What it is going to be I cannot tell you. I can tell you what I think. I think it is going to be a success, and will take its place fairly and squarely as an integral portion of the forces of the Crown."

The LORD MAYOR, in proposing "Our Guests," said the welcome which Sheffield desired to give them was no less sincere and hearty than that which they had received in any part of the country. (Applause.) They in Sheffield felt themselves favoured by the visit of the delegates, and it was a matter of great pleasure to them that Mr. Harry Brittain, the moving spirit of the Conference, was the son of a leading citizen of Sheffield. (Applause.) As a typefounder, said his lordship, he was in a humble and remote way connected with the Press, and he had never felt more proud of that connection than during the past ten days. For he ventured to think that the discussion which had taken place at the Conference had demonstrated not only the power of the Press, but, what was more important, the lofty conceptions of the Press, and the self-restraint of the delegates who took part in those discussions. What must have struck all who had read those discussions was that while there might be differences of opinion as to the best method of attaining the desired end, there was the most perfect unanimity as to the end to be attained—that end was Imperial unity. (Applause.) He liked to think of the members of the Dominions beyond the seas as members of one family, who, while they might have new interests and new ideas, would never forget the old home in this country, and that a warm welcome always awaited them here. (Applause.) He would venture to imitate Lord Morley, and suggest a motto

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 84.]

The Sheffield Civic Banquet: A Cartoonist's Clever Impressions.

*By courtesy of the "Yorkshire Telegraph and Star."*

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which their guests might carry away with them. He would ask them to remember the words, "Quis separabit?" and he hoped they would be engraved, not merely on the walls of the editorial room, but in a corner of the editorial heart. (Applause.)

Mr. J. W. DAFOE, who responded, remarked that the delegates were all British by birth or by descent, and, coming back to England, they had been led to understand that they were not distant relations, but that they were indeed in their mother's house—applause)—and, if it were possible, they were prouder than they ever were before that they had sprung from that Imperial race.

"You have your party divisions here as we have at home," he said, "but with the Dominions overseas there are no party divisions on Imperial questions. (Hear, hear.) During the twenty years in which he had been writing and thinking upon the problems of Empire, he had always recognized that the danger to the Empire came, or would come,

from men who really believed that they were its best friends, men who believed that they could sit in a library in London and formulate a constitution, or a working programme, in which they could compress the life of the nations overseas. The evidence that had been forthcoming at the Conference that no responsible statesman in either party accepted that theory, had done more for the consolidation of the Empire than anything that had happened for many years. (Loud applause.)

In an allusion to the originator of the Conference, Mr. Harry Brittain, he recalled the fact that the inspiration came to him in the tonic and inspiring atmosphere of Winnipeg, and that he had the honour of being the first man with whom he discussed the project. He, therefore, was aware of the scheme from its inception, and now that he saw its culmination he could, perhaps better than most people, appreciate the importance and the value of his work. The British Empire grew and endured because the people who lived in it, whatever language they spoke, believed that the British principles, the British system of government, were the best assurance of that social and political toleration that was in the heart of every good man.

Mr. C. FICHARDT (editor of the “Friend,” Bloemfontein), who also responded, wrought his hearers to a high pitch of enthusiasm. In the course of his speech he said: “England brought to my country war and devastation. She conquered the flag of the country, but she did not conquer the heart and spirit of the race. After the war there was an aftermath of bitterness—the bitterness of a sullen and discontented people, who waited the opportunity to strike a blow for that freedom for which they had given so much. But there was a wonderful day when a wonderful thing happened. In spite of all the cost, in spite of all the millions of money that had been expended, and the precious blood that had been shed, you came to us open-handed, gracious, and kindly, and presented us with the freedom which we asked for—(cheers)—and you then for the first time, and I hope for ever, conquered the hearts of the South African people. (Loud cheers.) What of the future? We in my country have watched with a certain amount of envy what the greater sister Dominions across the seas have been able to do. We are a little country, and we are poor. We cannot present Dreadnoughts, but this I can promise—that if ever a foreign foe attacks the Empire in South Africa it will be the unerring rifle of the Boer which will give Great Britain’s answer on the wild and lonely veldt.” (Prolonged cheers.) Mr. Fichardt concluded by submitting the toast of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, which was suitably acknowledged by the Lord Mayor.

The health of Mr. Harry Britain, the organiser of the Conference, was musically honoured, on the proposition of Mr. Kyffin Thomas, and Mr. Brittain responded.

During dinner an excellent musical programme was performed.

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CHAPTER XIII.

FOURTH DAY: CHATSWORTH AND THE PEAK.

Thursday was practically an open-air day—in strong contrast with the busy hours spent on Wednesday amidst fiery furnaces and noisy foundries and machinery. The programme included a motor-car tour through the romantic scenery of the Peak country, a brief stay at Chatsworth House, the noble mansion of the Duke of Devonshire, and a motor run via Buxton to Manchester, finishing there with a banquet as guests of the directors of the Ship Canal. Again the sun shone brilliantly, and the whole of the delegates started the journey in the highest spirits. A call was made, on leaving Sheffield, at Sandygate, the residence of Mr. C. D. Leng; then the journey was resumed. The motors traversed mountain roads and ravines of surprising beauty, with grand views of craggy and precipitous country, and of villages hidden away in the recesses of the hills. Froggatt Edge, with its moss-covered rocks, and Ringing Low, with its glowing expanse of gorse, were amongst the features that excited admiration.

At Chatsworth, the Duke of Devonshire was on the terrace awaiting his guests, who were introduced by Mr. Harry Brittain. The Derbyshire Imperial Yeomanry were in camp in the park, and the Duke, who is an officer in the force, arranged an unexpected spectacle in a march past of the regiment, numbering nearly 400. It was a touch of martial brightness that was duly appreciated, and both men and horses were admired. Personally conducted by the Duke, the visitors were shown the exquisite French gardens, the great conservatory, the cascades and fountains, some of which throw a jet over 300 feet into the air, and the perfectly kept grounds. The brilliant display of rhododendrons evoked loud praises. Turning reluctantly indoors, the state apartments were next visited, the Duke pointing out the art treasures—pictures by Titian, Raphael, Rubens, Holbein, and Reynolds; sculpture by Canova and other masters—and in the library exhibiting some of the priceless old illuminated manuscripts and other features of a renowned collection, including Lorraine's "Liber Veritatis," for which £20,000 has been offered. At luncheon the Duke made the most informal and homely of hosts, and in a cordial speech of welcome expressed his regret that the Duchess was not well enough to be with them, and his hope that they would thoroughly enjoy their visit. Appropriate acknowledgment was made on behalf of the delegates by Mr. Reno (Pretoria), who proposed the health of the Duke and Duchess; and a little later the motor-cars were once more speeding towards Buxton.

Though time was short, it would have been unpardonable not to call at Haddon Hall, the antiquated mansion to which the romantic story of the elopement of Dorothy Vernon gives a perennial interest. Here the attendants pointed out what they said was the identical aperture through which Dorothy

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made her way to her lover. Further beautiful views were seen as the party proceeded to Buxton, through Bakewell, over Taddington Hill, and onward. Buxton was gay with flags; the streets were lined with people, and the school children, marshalled in military order, gave hearty cheers for the Oversea guests. At the Spa Gardens, where dense crowds of residents and holiday-makers had gathered to cheer the delegates as they drove by, a gratifying surprise awaited the party. They found they had been preceded by the Duke of Devonshire, who again became their host at tea—which was served under the

lime-trees, while a band played—and did everything in his power to increase the happiness and enjoyment of his guests. Followed by the cheers of the Buxtonians—residents and visitors—the delegates resumed their journey to Manchester, which was reached about half-past six, after a day of most pleasurable experiences; the beauty of the scenery on this part of the journey out of Buxton inspiring as much delight as any previously passed through.

#### GUESTS OF THE SHIP CANAL DIRECTORS.

At night the delegates were entertained to dinner by the chairman and directors of the Manchester Ship Canal Company at the Midland Hotel. Over a company of 230 ladies and gentlemen Mr. J. K. Bythell, chairman of the company, presided. He was supported by Mr. F. Ashworth, chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and many of Manchester's leading citizens, including, in addition to the delegates and the hon. secretary of the Conference (Mr. Harry E. Brittain) and Mrs. Brittain, the following:—

Sir W. H. Vaudrey, Sir Bosdin Leech, Sir Frank Forbes Adam, Sir W. H. Bailey, and Alderman Rothwell, directors of the company; Mr. H. C. Cameron, Produce Commissioner for New Zealand; the Dean of Manchester, Bishop Welldon; Mr. J. L. Edmondson, Manchester; Mr. F. A. Eyre, secretary, Manchester Ship Canal Company; Mr. C. Friswell, London; Mr. M. J. Gardiner, postmaster of Manchester; Mr. H. M. Gibson, chief traffic superintendent, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. A. A. Haworth, M.P. for South Manchester; Mr. Alfred Hopkinson, Vice-Chancellor of the University, Manchester; Mr. W. H. Hunter, chief engineer, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. E. H. Langdon, ex-President, Manchester Chamber of Commerce; Mr. H. G. Langley, hon. secretary, Manchester Association of Importers and Exporters; Mr. E. Latimer, general superintendent, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. H. W. Mcalister, President, Manchester Cotton Association; Mr. P. B. Macnamara, Canadian Government Commissioner, Manchester; Mr. Charles Mayall, secretary, Manchester Cotton Association; Mr. John H. Morton, Collector of Customs, Manchester; Mr. John E. Newton, director, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. A. Paterson, Manchester; Mr. H. C. Pingstone, director, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. S. W. Royse, chairman, Manchester Association of Importers and Exporters; Mr. C. H. Scott, director, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. Walter Speakman, secretary, Manchester Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Marshall Stevens, managing director, Trafford Park Estates, Limited; Mr. W. T. Stubbs, vice-president, Manchester Chamber of Commerce; Alderman Wilson, director, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. J. D. Williams, director, Manchester Ship Canal; Mr. W. Tattersall and Mr. J. Cuming Walters, Manchester.

The CHAIRMAN, after the loyal toasts had been honoured, proposed "Our Guests from Overseas." He said it was not altogether inappropriate that those who, to some extent, represented the great trade of which Manchester was the centre were entertaining the Empire editors. Of the many ties that bound the Empire together,

none was more potent than the interchange of trade oversea. He believed their guests would agree in that statement because they consistently advocated the interchange of trade between Great Britain and the other parts of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) As regarded the position, power, and influence of the Press, he did not feel competent to say anything. It was altogether too great a field for him. But he thoroughly agreed with what the Prime Minister had said a few days ago, when he observed that the special function of the Empire Press was to promote in its highest form and for its worthiest purposes the spirit of Imperial unity, and to help to shape always and everywhere the great ends worthy of a great people. He also agreed that the British Press, in spite of some unfortunate exceptions, commanded the respect of the whole world. They were probably all agreed that the Press would not keep that position if it were not free. (Hear, hear.) One of the most powerful factors, perhaps the most powerful, which had given the Press its position was the liberty it enjoys. The port authorities gave them a very cordial welcome, and he included in the phrase not only the 35,000 shareholders of the Ship Canal Company, but the whole of the citizens of Manchester. (Applause.)

Mr. FRANCIS ASHWORTH, president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, supported the toast on behalf of the commercial community. The visit of the Press delegates was far too brief. On the following day they would see the principal local achievement in the Ship Canal. (Applause.) He understood that within a radius of thirty miles of those walls there was produced forty per cent. of a huge total of £300,000,000, the average value of exports annually of British manufactures—(hear, hear)—besides the great production for home consumption. In the cotton trade alone there was machinery sufficient to turn out an annual product worth approximately £120,000,000 sterling if they had the markets for it, and also an abundant supply of raw material. Unfortunately, the markets of the world were not expanding in a corresponding degree with the increase of machinery in this and other markets, and cotton was not cheap enough, at any rate for present needs. They had to contend, moreover, with a growing, steady, and gradual increase in the development of industrial enterprise in foreign countries, and in some of the Dominions which the delegates represented. Lancashire bore no grudge in that respect. (Hear, hear.)

If the Swadeshi line in India had tended to stimulate the development of local industry in the cotton trade, and if the growth of urban population in Canada had a like result, they did not repine. (Hear, hear.) It was all part of the game. (Hear, hear.) Of course they would be glad to see the Colonies extending their custom to them. And here he might appeal to the ladies present. (Laughter.) New Zealand set the example in taking cotton goods to the value of 14s. per head annually. Australia came next with a shilling less, but Canada was a long way behind in only taking their goods to the value of 4s. a head for a much larger population. They had been listening to the consistent beating of the Imperial drum, and it had been accompanied by notes of warning of the possible perils of the future which he thought had been as disquieting to them in the industrial centre of Manchester as to those who represented the great outlying areas of the British Empire. He hoped the state of the political atmosphere was really less unsettled than the statesmen's reading of the barometers tended to indicate. They had the utmost confidence in the loyalty and the support of the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) The dire foreboding of disaffection

in other countries and their dependencies which at one time were so commonly stated by one section of political opinion in this country had little acceptance in Manchester commercial trade. That trade recognised the enormous possibilities of commercial development, and it believed that the Colonies would steadily grow in strength and stability.

After referring to the wonderful changes which had come over colonial journalism in the last forty years, he went on to say that the spirit of antagonism to British rule which had been so conspicuous in the last few years was sufficiently serious to require constant watchfulness and judicious handling by the Government. He knew that journalists fully realised their responsibility. Reverting to the question of cotton, Mr. Ashworth said they long ago realised that their hold on the world's cotton trade in the simplest and coarsest type of cotton yarn goods was leaving them. Old mills were closed, old machinery was scrapped, but they made strong headway with the finer and more highly skilled fabrics, and that was still going on. (Applause.)

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 88]

Guests of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.

*By courtesy of the "Nottingham Guardian."*]

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Mr. F. W. WARD (Sydney), in acknowledging the toast, said they were glad to come to Manchester, and added, "None of us are strangers to the name, and I suppose there is not one of us whom Manchester has not more or less clothed." (Hear, hear.) There was no English name more familiar to Australian and New Zealand ears than that of the city in which they found themselves that night. They were delighted to have that provincial change. London was amazingly incomprehensible. The man who only saw Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane would not know Australia, and he supposed they would carry back from this isle a very inadequate conception of England if they did not see some of the provincial cities. (Hear, hear.) For his own part, he had wanted to see the great manufacturing energy of the provincial centre. Mr. Ashworth had said something about the Fiscal policy. So far in their journey they had avoided these contentious politics. "I will not say on what side I am," he continued. "I cannot imagine the time will come within sight of to-night when the country I come from will not spend a great deal of money in the Mother Country." (Hear, hear.)

It did not matter how they tried to prohibit the importation of goods; they had to buy something. It was no use giving them gold, because it was like wool; it was one of their own products. When they sent out the wool of one hundred millions of sheep, and sent out metals, they must get goods back in return. (Hear, hear.) They wanted to sell, and whatever the fiscal policy might be there was no danger that trade would be seriously diminished in the future, because they had to buy something. (Applause.) Of course, a lot of matters that interested us did not interest them. The whole of our legislation did not interest them. But when in high politics England did a noble thing, she strengthened her ties with her oversea children; and, he added, "I think we see justice and generosity and truth in the national policy all the clearer for the distance." (Applause.) He thought from



that distance they saw a little halo around the living man. So long as England had a sound domestic policy, and did what she could for the bettering of their lot, so long would she command their homage; while so long as her foreign policy was good, she would also have their homage. The existing ties were stronger and nobler than ties that could be created. (Applause.)

They were already of one mind about this Mother Country. Stronger than any trading relations was the moral influence of England's great national policy. So long as Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy was carried out Great Britain might depend on the loyalty of the Colonies. (Loud applause.)

He often wondered whether they would be able to get their native-born population to realise the greatness of this fact of race. His parents used to talk of England as home. At the present time some 80 per cent. of the population of Australia was native born, and would never see England unless some extraordinary revolution took place with regard to transit. How were they going to get them to conceive all their indebtedness to this country? The delegates had had their eyes opened tremendously. London had opened their eyes—to meet our statesmen, and see their habits and hear their speeches, had been an education to them, and all along they had been having the value of Empire borne in on them. But how were they going to make the native born realise it? That was one of the great problems before them, and one which the Press could possibly render great assistance in solving. (Applause.) He was sure they were going back, some of them, with the idea of making their papers do the work more effectively. (Applause.) They had had the opportunity of looking at our defences. Australia was in the most dangerous position of any part of the Empire. The worst that could happen to his Canadian friends was for the Canadian to hold up his finger and say, "Let us rub that line out." (Voices, "No, no.") He repeated that that was the worst that could happen. It would mean their being merged in the United States. If England lost the command of the seas, Australia might fall into the hands of a Power which would tell them to learn another language; and it was as well to know that half the population of the world happened to be their Asiatic neighbors. That possible alternative was always before them, and they were profoundly interested in this question of the command of the seas. They had never had a hostile shot fired on their waters, and he hoped it would always be so, but the open road was life or death to them, and it was time the Navy of the United Kingdom became the Navy of the United Empire, and they did their part in the upkeeping of that Navy. (Loud applause.)

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No British battleship of the latest type had ever been seen in Australia. It was a wonderful weapon of defence, and they who saw it were very proud. He trusted they would see that it was their duty not to let the burden of the upkeep fall altogether on the people of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, there was one thing he would like to say. "In one of their towns I saw one of the saddest sights of my life. I saw the faces of English women and children that I had never realised to exist. I had never seen it in the Southern land, and memory seems to tell me they were the faces that troubled Cobden; and if I am right, if these were the faces that troubled Cobden, then neither fiscal policy has cured one of the most distressing aspects of English life. Some of us looked at these

faces with unspeakable pain. I have never seen such a sight before, and I ask you whether you can lead us in the oversea land in that great social task of bettering the Commonwealth.” (Loud applause.)

Mr. W. S. DOUGLAS also replied, and said he hoped the visit to the Mother-country would be the means of benefiting them in every possible way. The delegates had learned a great deal since they came on these shores. They had learned more of our social life, vast resources, and marvellous industries and manufactures, and they would go back to their homes with a deeper and truer conception of the greatness of their Motherland. (Applause.)

Mr. J. S. BRIERLEY proposed “The Port of Manchester.” He was known to Manchester, he said, for it was just ninety-seven years since his grandfather left the city. (Laughter and hear, hear.) In a peculiar sense, therefore, he was at home. Still, when all was said and done they across the seas were at one with us. Their fathers and his fathers tilled the soil and fought the battles. He thought they all felt there was a work for them to do which was not to be recognised by selfish consideration. The Empire had been founded on liberty, which must be the motto of the Empire of the future. (Hear, hear.) They felt there was a duty on this Anglo-Saxon race to maintain these liberties, which had meant so much to humanity in the past, and by the maintenance of these liberties they would preserve the traditions of that race. They must never suppose that the overseas dependencies depended to any extent on sordid or selfish considerations. Many of them felt that matter keenly. The trade of Canada was two-thirds with the United States and one-third with England, yet the difference was not to be measured. The port of Manchester meant a good deal to them, and particularly those who lived in Montreal. It had brought them close together, and he believed that Manchester was now the geographical centre of the British Isles. He trusted that freedom of commerce which they were trying to create would be a token of that freedom which would be for the prosperity of the Empire. (Loud applause.)

Mr. J. K. BYTHELL, in reply, said the unique feature of the Ship Canal consisted in the fact that it was a waterway cut through the solid earth, and was thirty-five miles from the sea. They had practically a steamer service between Manchester and all the ports of the world, and though it was practically a young port they had, in spite of keen competition, obtained a very large amount of traffic. (Hear, hear.) Last year but one five millions of merchandise were handled; and though there had been a decline through the bad state of trade, they hoped to soon return to a state of great prosperity. (Applause.) The undertaking was under Parliamentary powers, and the Manchester Corporation was now their partner. Mr. Bythell subsequently proposed the health of the Lord Mayor of Manchester.

Alderman HOLT, in reply, said the responsibility of the Press was enormous, and he did not think they really realised its power.

Mr. T. TEMPERLEY, of Bathurst, proposed the toast of the Chairman, and said they must stand shoulder to shoulder in their common defence whenever the hour of trouble arose. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BYTHELL briefly responded.

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CHAPTER XIV.

FIFTH DAY: THE SHIP CANAL AND COTTON INTERESTS.

Friday's programme in Manchester was of the "mammoth" order, yet the delegates would not have had it curtailed in any direction, so informative and interesting was it. As an illustration of the vigour, energy, and prosperity of the great industrial and commercial centres of the kingdom, they declared it to be profoundly impressive and reassuring. The crowded day was started with an inspection of that great engineering and trade-assisting achievement, the Manchester Ship Canal. This was followed by a visit to the Hartford works of Platt Brothers and Company, at Oldham, which provide employment for 12,000 hands in making the textile machinery, by which, in turn, work is found for many thousands of other operatives; and later at the Regent Mill, Failsworth, near Manchester, they saw the processes of spinning cotton as conducted in one of the most recently equipped ring spinning mills. In between was sandwiched a luncheon at the Town Hall as guests of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, with some notable speeches; and the day was rounded off by a return to London, in a superbly-appointed Great Central Railway special train, an admirable dinner being served on the journey. The delegates learned much in Manchester; but they also, as will be seen from the speeches printed below, left matter for Manchester men to ponder over.

Their progress throughout the day was greatly facilitated by a fleet of motor-cars, kindly supplied by members of the Automobile Association, whose secretary, Mr. Stenson Cooke, and Mr. F. W. Hatton, the local secretary, were most zealous in their courteous attention. The cars first conveyed the party to the Ship Canal docks, where the "Acton Grange" was boarded, and a trip made as far as the famous Barton Aqueduct, Mr. Bythell, chairman, Sir Bosdin Leech, Sir Wm. Bailey, and other directors of the Canal Company accompanying the party to point out the principal features in the construction and equipment of the waterway. Sympathetic attention was bestowed on a steamer of 10,000 tons in the Pomona Docks, which was loading cargo for Melbourne, Sydney, and New Zealand. The lairages for cattle and the oil tank-steamers were also seen. Barton Aqueduct proved of special interest. This engineering feature cuts out bodily a section of the Bridgewater Canal, that flows almost at right angles at an elevation above the Ship Canal; and when large vessels are passing down to or up from the sea this portion is swung clear round—often with a barge in it—while the ship below passes on its way. The aqueduct weighs 1,200 tons, yet it is moved easily round with the equivalent of 22 horse power. A barge, with a horse on the towing path, happened to be passing through the aqueduct at the time of the delegates' arrival, and their presence greatly heightened the picturesque effect of the incident.

From the printed statement supplied to them the delegates learned that

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the capital expenditure on the canal and docks was £17,658,000, its length 35 ½ miles, and its depth 28 feet. The dock estate covers an area of 406 ½ acres, including a water space of 120 acres, and quays 6 ½ miles in length and 286 ½ acres in extent. The grain elevator is capable of discharging grain from vessels at the rate of 350 tons an hour, and has a storage capacity of 1,500,000 bushels. The 32 oil tanks will hold 22,000,000 gallons. The canal railways at the docks are 61 miles in extent; the total length of the company's lines at the docks and on the canal side is 132 miles. These lines give the canal direct communication with all the principal railways and by means of the Bridge-water Canal it is linked with the inland canals of the country. There are lines of steamers trading regularly with Canadian, Mexican Gulf, South American, Australian, Indian, and Egyptian, as well as Continental ports, and in 1907 the merchandise imported and exported was 4,927,784 tons, yielding a revenue of £535,585. Returned to Manchester, the party motored to the Town Hall, where they were entertained to luncheon by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress.

#### CIVIC HOSPITALITY.

The Conference delegates were received by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Edward Holt, and the Lady Mayoress in the assembly room. Others present were: Miss Holt, Mr. C. Dempster, Mrs. Dempster, Mr. Thomas Hudson (the Deputy Town Clerk), Vice-Chancellor Hopkinson, Bishop Welldon, Mr. J. K. Bythell, Aldermen Birkbeck, Dixon, Frowd, Gibson, Sir Bosdin Leech, M'Cabe, Turnbull, Sir William Vaudrey, and Wilson, Councillors Abbott, Butterworth, Hornby, Holden, Howarth, Jones, Kay, Makeague, Sir Thomas Shann, Simpson, Thewlis, and West, Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. Alexander Paterson, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Edmondson, Mr. E. Latimer, Mr. W. H. Hunter, Mr. H. M. Gibson, Mr. F. A. Eyre, and Mr. Robert Peacock, Chief Constable. The speech of the Hon. Surendranath Banerjee created much enthusiasm by its brilliant oratory and loyal declarations; and Mr. Nichols commanded no less attention by reason of the strong commercial interest of his utterance.

The loyal toasts having been honoured, the Lord Mayor proposed the toast of "The Imperial Press."

He said he welcomed the delegates because he was welcoming our kith and kin, and those who might possibly help us. (Hear, hear.) The Press all over the country had an important part to play, and it was for the Press to realise its responsibility, which was enormous. There were men not only in this but in other countries who were so busy they had not much time to read anything but their newspapers, and the writers of articles were the men who had to place before the public either the right or wrong thing. He looked to the Colonies to assist in no small degree in the solution of one of the greatest problems in this country—the problem of unemployment, of men who wanted work and men who did not want work. That problem the Colonies had not experienced yet, and he believed they would be able to assist its solution in our own country, because it was to the development

of these new countries that we looked to deal with the excess population of our own country. One very great responsibility that lay with the Press was that of the future, and he added, "I should almost think it is requisite for a

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 92]

Buxton Spa Gardens: At Tea as the Duke of Devonshire's Guests.

Dr. Macdonald. Mrs. Hackett. Mr. Kingswell. Miss Ward. Mr. Ward. Mr. C. Friswell.

Mrs. H. Brittain. Mr. Walton. The Duke. Mr. Harry Brittain.

*By courtesy of the "Daily Sketch."*]

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member of the Press to undergo an examination as to what he thinks is going to be done in 1957, because the Press must look ahead."

Before submitting the toast the Lord Mayor announced amid loud cheers that the University of Glasgow would the next week confer the honorary degree of LL.D. on the following six delegates of the Imperial Press:—Sir Hugh Graham, Montreal; Mr. J. A. Macdonald, Toronto; Mr. E. S. Cunningham, Melbourne; Mr. F. W. Ward, Sydney; Mr. Stanley Reed, of Bombay; and Mr. Maitland Park, of Cape Town.

The Hon. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE (Calcutta) acknowledged the toast, which was enthusiastically honoured, in a speech which made a deep impression by its eloquent tribute to British rule and justice in India, and to Indian loyalty. Having referred to the overwhelming hospitality and kindness the delegates had everywhere met with, he remarked that he had great confidence and assurance in speaking at a place like Manchester, for he remembered that Manchester had always been the home of progressive ideas. It was associated with the honoured names of Cobden and Bright. It was the cradle of that school of politicians whose principles might now be challenged, but whose achievements in the past could not be called into question. They had lately been talking about the Empire. Nothing could be better for an Imperial conference than that, and he added, "Let me claim for my own country a foremost place, politically, for, in the words of a great Viceroy, 'India is a great pivot of the Empire and the brightest jewel in the crown of England.' May she continue to be so." (Applause.) Great things had been said on this Imperial Conference, great results were expected to accrue. For his own part he would not embark on the venturesome task of prophecy as to the future, but he would say that never had the sense of Imperial unity been more forcibly demonstrated than in the sittings of the Imperial Press Conference. (Applause.) This unity, extending from the heart of the Empire, embraced the most distant units of the Imperial system, and not only the self-governing Colonies, but those distant dependencies which had not risen to that political status. He referred to the three hundred million people of India put under the charge of England. These millions had been entrusted to the care and keeping of the people of these isles. No nobler trust, no more sacred function was ever assigned to a great and Imperial race. God grant that this solemn trust, this awful responsibility, might be so discharged to conduce to the permanent benefit of India and the lasting glory of England. (Applause.)

The history of this country had been a history of unexampled prosperity and greatness, for England had been the guide, the leader, and the instructor of mankind in the path of self-government; but if ever a crisis should come—Heaven forbid that it should—he was entitled to say in the name of India that they would never be found wanting in their duty for the Empire. (Loud applause.) Referring to the Pendjeh incident in 1885, in which so many of his countrymen came forward to help the Government for the honour and dignity and renown of the Empire, he said that should there be a repetition of such an outbreak he was perfectly certain the same feeling would exist, and there would be the same outburst of loyalty throughout the length and breadth of the land. (Hear, hear.) But what about anarchism in India? they might ask. They abhorred anarchism from the bottom of their hearts. It was, he said, a passing phase which would soon disappear before conciliation. The secret of the loyalty and devotion of the Colonies to the Empire was self-government, which would broad base the Empire of His Majesty on the gratitude and affection of his people. India self-governing, with the progressive ideas developed under the fostering care and influence of English education, was his first and last request. India in the enjoyment of self-government, happy, prosperous, and contented, would be the most valuable asset of the Empire, and the strongest bulwark of Imperial unity. An Empire resting on the basis of civic rights would be the strongest alliance that could be formed, and would be the best buttress against those vicissitudes which history showed them had in the past wrecked the fortunes of statesmen and of thrones. (Loud applause.)

Mr. E. NICHOLS (Winnipeg) also responded. From the four corners of the earth, he said, they had heard of the ever-rising tide of Imperial unity, and of the singleness of purpose which actuated the oversea States in all questions affecting the Empire's welfare. There was, however, still much to be done. He referred particularly to the manner in which the British manufacturer was being crowded out of the Canadian market. During the past thirty years the import trade of Canada from Great Britain had

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been practically at a standstill, whilst Canada's population had increased at least 60 per cent., and her purchasing power had grown accordingly. To show that the market was there if the British manufacturer had seized it, or rather if he developed what he already had, he stated that in the period from 1873 to 1906 Canadian imports from the United States rose from 45,000,000 dollars to 169,000,000 dollars. In other words, the positions of Great Britain and the United States in respect of Canadian imports were in that period practically reversed; this, too, in spite of their preferential tariff which now favoured the British manufacturer as against the foreigner to the extent of 33 1-3 per cent. So far from the British manufacturer having been asleep all these years he had been very much alive—everywhere it would appear except in Canada. In Australia and New Zealand, in South Africa, and in the Far East, the British manufacturer had, in the face of the keenest competition, fought with true British tenacity, and in most cases had more than held his own. Then why not in Canada? The competition of the United States was keen no doubt, but was there any reason why the British manufacturer should fear it? The merit of the British-made article was recognised all the world over. The Canadian people wanted a good thing, and they had the money to pay for it, but they would not go in search of

British-made articles when the articles of foreign manufacture were brought to their own doors. He was glad some steps had been taken to find a remedy. He understood that British commercial agents were to be appointed to do work such as was already being done by the consular agents of the United States, who were, in effect, advance agents for the United States manufacturers. For years Great Britain had not a single commercial representative in the Dominion, while the United States had no fewer than 137 Consular agents, whose duties were almost entirely commercial. No political device could restore the British manufacturer to his former prestige in the Canadian market. That was something which could only be accomplished by the British manufacturer himself. As to Canadians, with their good wishes to the Mother Country should go as far as possible every dollar they had to spend on goods they could not, or did not, manufacture themselves.

Mr. NICHOLS went on to say that Canada, and, he believed, other parts of the Empire, had had brought home to them lately their responsibilities as partners in the British Empire. There was not the slightest doubt that those responsibilities, in so far as they affected the defence of their common interests, would be cheerfully and manfully discharged. (Hear, hear.) Canada had remained too long in the charity ward of the British Empire. Their population, their wealth and resources, would long ago have justified them in doing something to maintain that naval supremacy which was essential to the peace, progress, and perity of every citizen of the British Empire. But when it did appear that Britain's mastery of the seas might become imperilled Canadians awoke to a real sense of their position as partners in the British Empire. When that moment arrived the people of Canada did not talk about their autonomy; they talked about "Dreadnoughts." (Cheers.) It was quite clear that Canada's interests were as closely related to the adequacy of naval defence as were the interests of the United Kingdom itself. "Autonomy" (he concluded), "the people of Canada value highly, and would in no conceivable circumstances surrender; but the value of our autonomy lies in the preservation of the power from which we derive it; in other words, it lies in the integrity of the British Empire." (Cheers.)

Mr. E. B. WALTON (Port Elizabeth) proposed the health of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress.

The latter, in her response, said that much as she appreciated and valued the power of the Press, she on the women's side felt that that power was not equal to theirs, for the greatest power came from a good woman and a good mother. (Applause.)

#### MACHINE TOOLS AT OLDHAM.

Hundreds of spectators gathered in Oldham to await the coming of the Imperial Press party to the works of Messrs. Platt Bros. and Co., and as the

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cars drove up, and also on their departure, the onlookers cheered them with hearty goodwill. In contrast with the manufacture of weapons of destruction, seen at Sheffield two days before, the visitors now saw the making of commercial machinery; and though

the time available made a complete survey of the great works impossible, enough was seen of the different processes in the great moulding shops, the sawmills, the forges, and the engineering departments to inspire surprise and admiration alike for the workmanship and for the excellent organisation. The surprise was not lessened when they heard that this huge business had grown from a modest beginning less than ninety years ago by Mr. Henry Platt, who had five assistants all told.

To welcome the delegates, the entire board of directors was present, including Mr. John Dodd, chairman; Mr. William Hilton, vice-chairman; Mr. George W. Needham, financial director; Mr. Henry P. Hall, Mr. Thomas R. Marsden, and Mr. John S. Nuttall, together with Mr. Charles A. Hempstock, secretary; also the Mayor of Oldham, Mr. T. Bolton, wearing his civic badge. Mr. Dodd, in his speech after tea, observed that Oldham was the metropolis of cotton spinning and of the textile machine trade. In both it has world-wide relations. In modern industry two great principles dominate: first, the division of labour, and, second, concentration of application. These principles could only be carried out to their full extent in large establishments which had the world at large for their customers. He saw no reason why the positions attained should not be maintained to the mutual advantage of this country and the people of the countries to whom their productions were sent. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he congratulated Mr. Brittain on the admirable way in which he had organised the business of the Imperial Press delegates. (Applause.)

Mr. Angus Mackay, of Bendigo, who replied, said he did not think the tour would have been complete without a visit to the great industrial centre of Manchester and the towns around. Lancashire, one of the most thickly populated of counties, enjoyed the greatest possible commercial reputation. They could understand also how much Oldham was indebted to such a firm as Platt Brothers and Co., possessing as it did a reputation all over the world for its textile machinery. He came from a distant part of the Empire—Victoria—but the company's machines were used out there.

On the return to Manchester the visitors were taken to Regent Mill, Failsworth, where under modern conditions they saw something of the cotton-spinning industry. Work for the day finished at the mill before the delegates left, and all the operatives were at the gates to cheer the Pressmen as they departed. The groups of beshawled and clogged mill lasses were full of interest, and the visitors spoke warmly of their healthy and prosperous appearance. Manchester was reached at six o'clock, and by half-past the party, eloquent in praise of their day's experience in Cottonopolis, had left for London, which was reached with creditable punctuality.

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CHAPTER XV.

A STATELY CEREMONIAL AT WINDSOR.

Saturday, June 21, [1909] will be a landmark in the experiences of the delegates. On that day they were invited to Windsor, where the King was to present colours to representative detachments of the new Territorial Force to the number of 108. No such ceremony on such a scale had ever previously been seen; nor is it likely to be seen again.



The occasion had an historic value which the delegates were quick to appreciate; and it invested with a peculiar significance their visit to Windsor Castle.

Never, probably, had martial spectacle and solemn ceremonial more exquisite a setting. From the Terrace on which they stood the delegates looked out over the East lawn of the Castle—soft and velvety, with the distant trees supplying a background, while behind them were the ornamental gardens, the vista closed by the grey, majestic pile of the castle. On the expansive lawn was set out a military array of rare brilliance, which the fresh green of the lawn threw into high relief. The troops to receive their colours were formed in a hollow square—two long lines running down on the right and left respectively, with the further base composed of the actual colour parties, and the massed bands of the Brigade of Guards. The Regulars, the troopers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Life Guards, and the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the Irish Guards, who kept the ground for the ceremony, added further colour and numbers. Below the terrace, facing the centre of the hollow square, was the Royal pavilion—an Indian canopy of red and gold, set upon four silver standards. Enclosures to the left and right of this pavilion were crowded with bright uniforms and glittering head-dresses and orders. Here were the General Staff and veteran officers, the foreign attachés, and the gaily attired officers of Continental armies who had been taking part in the Horse Show at Olympia; the Lords-Lieutenants and chairmen, vice-chairmen, and secretaries of the Territorial Force Associations, General officers, brigadiers, etc. The Prime Minister and other Ministers and ex-Ministers were also present, including Mr. A. J. Balfour, the Earl of Crewe, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Pentland, Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, Mr. Akers-Douglas, and Mr. Gerald Balfour.

It was a fair and stirring scene—shortly to become even more so. At half-past three the Royal Standard broke on the flagstaff at the saluting base, and simultaneously the Royal party emerged from the Castle to cross the gardens between the Castle and the terrace. Mr. Haldane (the Minister for War), with a group of equerries, preceded the King, who wore the uniform of a Field Marshal and the sash of the Garter. The Queen walked beside His Majesty, and following them came the Prince of Wales (in a General's uniform) with the Princess, Princess Mary and Prince Henry of Wales, the Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden, the Princess Royal and the Duke of Fife, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and other members of the Royal Family. It was a brilliant group, with many high officials in attendance to heighten its effect.

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 96]

The Naval Pageant: Recovering a Torpedo from within the Netting.

*Illustrations Bureau.*

[See page 72.

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When the King and Queen took their stand at the saluting base the long ceremony—they stood there nearly a full hour—commenced with the impressive service of consecration of the colours. The Chaplain-General, with a group of clergy drawn from all the religious denominations represented by the colour parties on parade, advanced to the altar of drums

of the Brigade of Guards, which was within the hollow square. Especially impressive was his recital of the special prayer, which is here reproduced:—

Dearly beloved in the Lord, Forasmuch as men at all times have made for themselves signs and emblems of their allegiance to their rulers and of their duty to uphold those laws and institutions which God's providence has called them to obey, we, following this natural and pious custom, and remembering that God Himself led His people Israel by a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day, are met together before God to ask His blessing on these colours, which are to represent to us our duty towards our Sovereign and our country. Let us, therefore, pray Almighty God of His mercy to grant that they may never be unfurled save in the cause of justice and righteousness, and that He may make them to be to those who follow them a sign of His presence with them in all dangers and distresses, and may increase their faith and hope in Him who is their King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

The colours were then consecrated, and their presentation to His Majesty began. A long line of non-commissioned officers of the Life Guards and Foot Guards stretched left and right of the saluting base, each bearing the guidons or colours of one of the Territorial units. An officer called out in proper sequence the name of each unit, and the colour party into whose hands the colours were to be delivered marched up to where the King stood. The Guardsman lowered the colours, the King touched them lightly with his right hand, and they were handed to their rightful bearers, who marched proudly away to the front of their own special detachment in the square. The first to receive colours were the Yorkshire Dragoons, followed by the other Yeoman regiments, and the last were the 9<sup>th</sup> Highland Light Infantry. In between came every variety of uniform and regiment; some in tunics, some in jackets, some in trousers, some in putties. There were helmets and caps, and plumed Highland bonnets; and the men in kilts and tartan trews won, as usual, special attention.

When the whole of the parties had received their colours and returned to line the inside of the square the order was given: "Salute your colours." This was an impressive moment, but it was quickly surpassed. As the colour parties faced about once more Colonel Bingham gave the order for the Royal salute, followed by three cheers for the King. As the massed bands played the National Anthem, the 200 newly consecrated colours were slowly lowered with their points to the earth, in salutation. It was the climax of a majestic and thrilling ceremony, whose influence all present felt. Then 4,000 men broke into loyal cheers. Shortly afterwards the Royal procession re-formed, returned through the gardens, and disappeared within the grey, imposing Castle, while the brilliant array of invited guests, including the delegates, proceeded to the spacious Orangery on the northern side of the gardens, where refreshments were laid, and discussed the superb spectacle they had seen carried out without hitch or flaw. It was a triumph of organization.

Sunday, June 20, [1909] saw the delegates once more on their travels—bound this time for Glasgow. Again the London and North-Western Railway provided a special train of palatial appearance and luxury, and Mr. Frank Ree, the general manager, came down to see their departure, while Mr. J. Wright (of the passenger department) travelled with the delegates to ensure their having every attention. The day was, fortunately, fine, so that, long as the journey was, the opportunity it afforded of seeing so large a tract of England and beyond the Border was appreciated to the full. The Lord Provost of Glasgow travelled from London to Glasgow with the delegates, and did much to make the journey enjoyable. Luncheon and tea were served on the train, and praise was general of the excellent arrangements. A few of the delegates were absent—Mr. Atkinson and Mrs. Atkinson having commenced their return to Canada, and Mr. Brett and Mr. Blake being absentees through ill-health. Glasgow Central Station was reached at eight p.m., and the company were met by Treasurer Graham, Mr. J. S. Samuel (the Lord Provost's secretary), and others, and conducted to the Central Hotel, which was their headquarters.

Monday brought a programme of generous fulness—typical of Scottish hospitality. The fact that so large a number of the delegates bore Scottish names, being either of Scottish birth or Scottish by descent, may account for it, but certain is it that nowhere did the party meet with more whole-hearted, open-handed hospitality, or with more cordial and enthusiastic welcome. Glasgow, too, added a distinction and dignity entirely exceptional to the reception of the Oversea editors and journalists, in the academic honours conferred by its University on six of the most popular and gifted delegates in the form of the degree of LL.D., bestowed *honoris causa*, with all the usual civic and academic ceremony.

As early as 9:30 the delegates were proceeding to Hydepark Locomotive Works (the whole of which were thrown open to their inspection), travelling thither in thirty-five motor cars placed at their disposal by local owners. They were accompanied by the Lord Provost (McInnes Shaw) and several members of the Corporation, and Professor Biles (the occupant of the chair of Naval Architecture in Glasgow University). These North British locomotive works employ some 8,000 men, and turn out engines for the whole Empire. The delegates lingered long watching the marvellous performances of the complex and ingenious machinery employed. Work was done in a few seconds by an electrically operated appliance that once took squads of workers days or weeks;

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and one machine at a blow converted a mass of incandescent, shapeless metal into a steel wheel.

Next the party proceeded to the Broomielaw for a sail down the Clyde on a steamer which carried—amongst other good things arranged by the hosts, The Glasgow Corporation—a couple of pipers attired in national costume, who were expert performers on their instruments. The Clyde is a superb object-lesson in local enterprise, and its features were duly noted, in spite of the rain and mist that prevailed. All down the river and the firth the vessels lying at the berths and at anchor had spread their bunting in honour of the visitors. At the Fairfield Shipbuilding Yard the steamer put into the fitting-

out basin, where Mr. A. Gracie (chairman of the company), Mr. A. W. Sampson (director), Mr. Hillhouse (naval architect), Mr. Cleghorn (shipyard manager), and Mr. George Strachan (secretary) met the party and conducted them over the works. The Australian delegates showed a special pride and enthusiasm in the building of a destroyer, which is one of three ordered recently on the Clyde by the Australian Commonwealth.

Afterwards the steamer took the party down below Dumbarton, and turned into the Gareloch, where the boys on the training ship "Empress" lined up round the bulwarks from stem to stern, and lustily cheered the delegates, who as lustily cheered back. The old wooden fighting ship was dressed in her most brilliant colours, and both vessels dipped colours, while the boys' band played "Hearts of Oak." Dunoon and Rothesay Bay were next visited, the "Clyde Fortnight" regatta being one of the objects of the visit. The larger racing yachts were to be seen only from afar, but the party passed quite close to several fleets of the smaller craft in full sail. The steamer circled round the bay, and then made for Wemyss Bay, where the party disembarked and entrained for Glasgow.

#### THE GRADUATION CEREMONY.

Considerable interest was displayed in the conferring by Principal Sir Donald MacAlister, of Glasgow University, of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on six of the Imperial Pressmen. The capping was performed in the Bute Hall, and there was a considerable attendance of the general public in the galleries and in the area. The front seats were occupied by the delegates and their wives.

Previously, accompanied by the Lord Provost and magistrates, the delegates were received in the Randolph Hall by the Principal as Vice-Chancellor, who was accompanied by members of the Court and Senate in academical dress.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR, in his speech of welcome, said it was his privilege to offer them, on behalf of the Court, Senate, officers, graduates, and students of the University of Glasgow, a very cordial welcome to that ancient school of learning and science. After their experiences with the counsellors of His Majesty, with the Army and Navy, and in the busy Southern centres of industry and commerce, they had sought, and he trusted they were finding, refreshment of spirit in the simpler and

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less exciting scenes that Scotland had to show—(laughter)—and between banquets, as it were, had given those placid courts an opportunity of receiving and welcoming them as Imperial guests. Had their visit been less brief, they would have been shown the treasures of art and letters they had inherited from founders and benefactors of the past, and their present noble equipment of museums and laboratories of science; but he must be content to relate something of the age-long history of progress to which these things testified. (Applause.) They had a record of service to the nation in its widest sense that dated from the Bull of Pope Nicolas V. in 1451. They could quote with pride from their roll the names of epoch-makers like James Watt and Adam Smith or Lord Kelvin and Lord Lister. (Applause.) The present Chancellor was Lord Rosebery, the public orator of the

Empire; the present Rector was Lord Curzon, one of the great Viceroys of India. (Applause.) They had alumni holding University Chairs in all the great Dominions of the Crown. Their graduates were not home-keeping youths, with homely wits. They heard the East a-calling, aye, and the North, and South, and West as well, and they responded to the call with alacrity—to the advantage they would fain believe of the Empire at large, and occasionally and incidentally of themselves. Indeed, he was credibly informed that there was no remote inlet or island of the ocean where a trace of the Glasgow accent could not be detected among the pioneers of civilisation, be they merchants, mariners, or missionaries, who spoke their common tongue. (Laughter and applause.) The Vice-Chancellor concluded by saying that if, in the adjoining hall, they could not, under the limitations of their statutes and ordinances, create all the delegates honorary graduates, let them to be good enough to believe that in selecting a few from the four great regions of the Empire, in America, Asia, Australasia, and Africa, for their degrees, they desired that they should regard them as representatives of all the members of the Imperial Conference, and look upon the academic honour they offered them as a tribute rendered to the British Press throughout the world. (Applause.)

To the dais of the Bute Hall there was the customary procession of the academic and civic dignitaries, headed by the bedellus carrying the mace. The ceremony was opened with the Latin prayer, said by the Vice-Chancellor. The place of the dean of Faculty of Law was taken by his deputy, Professor Glaister, who presented the several honorary graduands to the Vice-Chancellor.

Professor GLAISTER said the occasion of that convocation of the University was probably unique, inasmuch as they were welcoming to their ancient seat of learning the leading representatives of those who wielded the mighty pen of an Empire Press, and who for the first time had assembled in the homeland in friendly and critical conference. (Applause.) The University joined with the Empire in acknowledging the immense educational value and power of the Press, whose organs were at once the vade mecum and encyclopædia of the poor which communised peoples, and discussed affairs parochial, national, or Imperial. The University hailed with much satisfaction that visit of the leaders of the Press of the Greater Britain beyond the seas to the commercial metropolis of the North and to the University. (Applause.) The University of Glasgow desired to celebrate the occasion of the first holding of an Imperial Conference in London connected with the Press, and more particularly of the visit of its distinguished representatives to the city by conferring on some of those representatives its degree of Doctor of Laws. (Applause.) Among that number it greeted with special satisfaction the return to his Alma Mater of one of her own alumni, who, moreover, spent part of his Press career in their city. (Applause.) The University sought in that manner to signify its sense of the distinguished work done by them and by him. It was worth recalling the fact that the foundation of Glasgow University and the printing of Gutenberg's famous Mazarin Bibles were contemporaneous. At no time in the history of the world, perhaps, had the power of the Press for good or evil been greater than now, and at no time had there existed more the need for a freely critical but sane and loyal Press. It was a glorious thing to think and to know that the sons of the Empire who dominated the Press of Greater Britain were linking themselves more closely than even before to the little land of

these islands—the homeland; and that by their pens and by their influence they were welding together still more firmly the loving bonds of Empire. (Applause.)

Professor GLAISTER then introduced the honorary graduands, as follows:—

Mr. Edward Sheldon Cunningham, editor of the “Argus,” Melbourne.

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Sir Hugh Graham, proprietor of “The Star,” Montreal.

Mr. Maitland Hall Park, editor of “Cape Times,” Cape Town, M.A. of Glasgow University.

Mr. Henry Stanley Reed, editor of “Times of India,” Bombay.

Mr. Frederick William Ward, editor-in-chief of the “Daily Telegraph,” Sydney.

Mr. James Alexander Macdonald, managing editor of the “Globe,” Toronto.

As each was capped, and received the congratulations of the Vice-Chancellor, he was greeted with hearty cheers by the audience.

Mr. J. A. MACDONALD, on behalf of the new honorary graduates, acknowledged the honour which the University of Glasgow had conferred on them. They recognised, he said, that it was not upon them or for what they were or for any work they had done that the University had so marked them. It was but a part of that acclaim and affection and regard which had been shown to them everywhere since they landed on the shores of the homeland. (Applause.) From the King to the boy on the roadside they had been received as sons of the blood. (Hear, hear.) Of all the honours they had received, they regarded none as higher or nobler or worthier than that he (the Principal) and the University, with its great history and noble name, should do that unique thing—absolutely unique in the history of journalism. It was a new thing for them to be received officially by the universities of the Empire. (Applause.) That that University, than which there was none nobler, should do that thing was to them, to all of them, a great honour. They went back with the mark of that University upon them. They went back not to the groves, but to the crowd. Their work was in the midst of the crowd, far from the shades. They must live and serve; but they hoped to go back with a new sense of obligation to serve as men who had been called to be true to the University ideal. They accepted the honour not for themselves alone, but for the Press of the Empire. They would go back, each man of them, called not to strife but to peace—not for the things of faction, but to be true to truth, and right, and freedom. (Applause.) There was no word that he could speak that expressed the sentiments of those associated with him more fittingly than words more than a score of years ago he heard in that hall from the great man whose chair the Vice-Chancellor so worthily adorned. He, peerless among orators of his day, charged the men of that day to seek the great life in those immortal words: “If any would be great among you let him be a servant.” (Applause.) They went back not to lord it over the Empire at home or abroad, but to serve and to stand true to the ideals of that University as men who served the things for which through the century the University had stood. (Applause.)

The VICE-CHANCELLOR said it would be his proud privilege to convey to his colleagues in the Senate and the other bodies of the University the magnificent expression of thanks which had been uttered.

Following the benediction the National Anthem was played on the organ.

#### CORPORATION BANQUET.

The banquet given to the delegates by the corporation was held in the banqueting hall of the City Chambers. To emphasise the Imperial note the hall was decorated with the national and oversea Dominion flags suspended across the length and breadth of the hall. The alcove was filled with palms, and above hung a floral scroll embodying in pink, white, and green Lord Rosebery's words of greeting to the delegates, "Welcome home."

The guests, numbering about 350 ladies and gentlemen, were received in the Satinwood Salon by the Lord Provost and magistrates, who wore their official robes. A fanfare was sounded as the Lord Provost and the ladies and gentlemen allotted seats at the principal table entered the hall. Supporting the Lord Provost, who presided, were the Right Hon. Rev. Lord Blythswood, Mrs. McInnes Shaw, Sheriff Gardner Millar, the Rev. Dr. Martin, Rear-Admiral Adair, Sir Charles Cayzer, Bart., Captain Muirhead Collins, Professor Biles, Mr. James N. Graham, the Officer Commanding the Garrison, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Brittain, Colonel Sir G. T. Beatson, K.C.B.; the Right Hon. Lord Inverclyde, Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart.; Sir John Ure Primrose, Bart., LL.D.; Sir Mathew Arthur, Bart.; Sir Nathaniel Dunlop, Sir William MacEwen, Colonel Robert King, Sir John Neilson Cuthbertson, Bailies Shaw Maxwell, James Hunter, R. S. Brown, Montgomery, Thomas Dunlop, Guest, Borland, and Archibald Campbell, the town clerk, and with few exceptions,

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the members of the Town Council and head officials of departments.

The LORD PROVOST, in proposing the toast of "The Guests," said: Glasgow in common with the other parts of the United Kingdom, had been watching, with the keenest interest, the proceedings of the Imperial Press Conference in London, and it was a very special gratification to the Corporation of Glasgow and himself to share in the entertainment of a body so distinguished, on an occasion so significant and important. From the Prime Minister downwards, the most whole-hearted and spontaneous expressions of welcome and goodwill had been offered to the visitors, and he desired, on behalf of the citizens of Glasgow, to say with what great pleasure the commercial capital of Scotland received them that day.

They recognised that the press was one of the determining factors in the formation of a sound public opinion. The journalist had to address himself to all questions of public polity as affecting the moral and material welfare of the nations, and he did so in a spirit of detachment and with a sense of responsibility that made its guidance worthy of most careful attention. Enabled as the journalist was to carefully consider all the circumstances

attending any movement, the public received in his deliverance the final word of judgment and responsibility.

If the Imperial Press Conference had done nothing else than bring forward, on the same platform, so many leading statesmen, on both sides of Parliament, who had voiced the national feelings on a variety of Imperial questions, it would have abundantly justified their journey across the seas. Such a Conference would do more to solidify the Empire and emphasise the ties uniting its component parts, than any amount of academic writing or polemic discussion. No profession had a greater claim upon the goodwill and encouragement of the people than the Press, especially when they reflected on the enormous power it wielded with such moderation and good sense.

The conference would have the effect of promoting a better and closer understanding between the men across the seas who had it so largely in their power to direct public opinion, and those who in the Mother Country performed a similar function. All would endorse a description he had seen somewhere of the Colonial Press as “independent of unworthy influences, resolute against sensationalism, served by highly cultivated intelligences, and distinguished by care and taste in the use of the language which is our common heritage.” (Applause.)

Mr. P. D. Ross (Ottawa), who, in responding to the toast, addressed the company as “brother Scots,” mentioned that his father and mother left Glasgow for Canada fifty years ago, his father with £6 in his pocket, and a Scottish determination to make more. (Laughter and applause.) That gathering was the largest and most impressive since that first night in London, and he felt it a very high honour and privilege to respond to the toast. Lord Rosebery said he could sum up the feeling of the people of this country in two words, “Welcome home.” (Applause.) There was no place in the British Isles which could use these words with more right than Glasgow—(hear, hear)—because they had in their delegation a larger proportion of men of Scottish stock than any other—at all events in the Canadian delegation. Perhaps that was as it should be. (Laughter.) Something of what Scottish brains, pluck and, enterprise could do they had seen that day on the Clyde. At one time no vessel could come within twenty miles of where now they were building and launching ocean steamships. That was surely a marvellous achievement, and it had inspired similar things elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) He instanced the Manchester Ship Canal and the deepening of the St. Lawrence.

The delegates were approaching the close of their three weeks’ experience in Great Britain. They had seen and heard many of the greatest men of this country; they had seen also in some of the poorer residential districts of their manufacturing cities people whom they could not see in their own lands. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps it was unavoidable. The greater the machinery no doubt the more grime. They were told also that in these islands there were one and three-quarter millions of paupers. That was a terrible figure. He supposed that the most of these—the elder people—were hopeless; but their children were not hopeless, and he hoped that in the wider spaces of the colonies they would have room for hundreds of thousands of them. They had every confidence in Great Britain.



(Applause.) Lord Rosebery had told them that before we would yield to any attack they would spend their last man and their last

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shilling. (Hear, hear.) He (the speaker) believed—and he thought all the delegates believed—that long before that our foe, whoever he might be, would have had the worst of the game. Nevertheless, they realised over the seas that this country was carrying a tremendous burden of Imperial insurance, and the time and the emergency might come when that burden might prove too heavy. He thought they would not have to go far to find succour. (Hear, hear.) He reminded them that they over the seas did not for a moment compare themselves politically or commercially with this mighty island, but they had unlimited confidence in their future and their possibilities. As an illustration he mentioned that the single riding of Medicine Hat, in the Western Province of Alberta, in Canada, had an area of fertile soil sufficient to grow 200,000,000 bushels of wheat annually. Great Britain and Ireland grew 50,000,000 bushels last year, and imported 150,000,000 bushels more. Medicine Hat could supply all the wheat Great Britain required, while two of their constituencies could give Great Britain and Ireland all the bread they ate in a year.

Australia was another Canada, and the numerous constituencies of South Africa in the confederation of their brothers of South Africa—(applause)—averaged in size 20,000 square miles. When they considered such enormous dimensions, started and settled so far by people of the best stock—by people of the English-speaking, French-speaking, Dutch, and Scandinavian races—virile people—when they thought of what might be the future of those lands in partnership with the British Empire, what might not that future be? He was one of those Canadians who joined to a Canadian patriotism, in which they yielded to none—(hear, hear)—the hope, the fervent hope, that the future of Canada would be a part of the future of Great Britain. (Applause.) Those British Isles and Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and all the other British Dominions would grow together hand in hand, partners in a political alliance—the details of which they could not see for the moment, and which they did not need to worry about for the moment—partners in a beneficent Empire that would make for the best that was possible in human civilisation. (Applause.) It was the prayer of himself and his fellow-delegates that the consummation might proceed so speedily that all there that night might see at least the beginnings of its unassailable sway. (Loud applause.)

The Hon. C. E. DAVIES (Hobart) also responded, and said the great resources of the Old Country had formed a great object-lesson to one and all of them. (Hear, hear.) They had been thoroughly delighted with their visit to the great city of Glasgow, and with seeing its wonderful works, especially in connection with shipbuilding. In one yard they saw the stocks laid for what was supposed to be the nucleus of the navy for Australia, which might eventually become, he ventured to hope, a great assistance to the Motherland. (Applause.)

The Hon. THEODORE FINK (Melbourne) proposed the toast of “The Corporation of Glasgow.” He was sure, he said, that the visitors would carry back an abiding sense of

gratitude for the kindness show to them as representatives of the great younger nations which they now realised Britain was fond of and loved and was proud of. To Australia and many other parts of the Empire rejoicing in local self-government Glasgow was much more than the commercial capital of Scotland. It was a place model and ideal in many phases of local self-government. It was a place where the sense of Imperial duty and Imperial citizenship had fructified and strengthened by daily adherence to sound principles of municipal government. Glasgow, he thought, ought to be pleased to know that its institutions were spreading and being imitated. (Applause.)

The LORD PROVOST acknowledged the toast and the company joined in singing “Auld Lang Syne.”

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CHAPTER XVII.

A DAY OF DELIGHT IN THE TROSSACHS.

Glasgow hospitality, so lavishly displayed on the Monday of “the Scottish week,” even outdid itself on the Tuesday. The delegates passed a day of enchantment and pleasure amongst the finest scenery the Highlands can show—scenery that, to many of them, knowing their Scott as they do, was not merely amongst the most beautiful and majestic that can be seen, but was full of romance, in reminders of the great novelist and poet’s deathless characters and descriptions. Luckily, though early indications were suspicious, the sun gradually asserted itself, and the mists rolled away from loch and mountain, revealing all their natural charm and grandeur.

A short railway trip to Balloch Pier under a leaden sky formed the opening of the journey. The company numbered fully one hundred ladies and gentlemen, including Lord Provost McInnes Shaw and Mrs. McInnes Shaw, several of the magistrates and councillors, and Mr. A. W. Myles, Town Clerk. At Balloch the steamer “Princess May” was boarded, and while the pipes skirled gaily the vessel proceeded on her journey among the wooded islands that gem the loch. Many memories of Rob Roy were recalled, and many ejaculations of delight were uttered over the lofty tree-clad hills, the rushing cascades, and the stern, bold rocks. From Inversnaid a delightful coach drive carried the travellers to Stronachlachar, and after a halt they embarked on Loch Katrine, the famous lake from which Glasgow draws its water supply, and revelled in the exquisite features of the journey down the loch. Then came the eagerly anticipated coach drive through the Trossachs, with all its crowding suggestions of “The Lady of the Lake,” and its wild, lonely, and romantic splendour. Amongst other places pointed out was the scene of the combat between FitzJames and Roderick Dhu.

Arrived at Callander, dinner was served, the Lord Provost presiding, at the Dreadnought Hotel. After the loyal toasts Mr. R. Kyffin Thomas (Adelaide) proposed the Lord Provost and Corporation. They had many things, he said, for which to thank the Lord Provost and Mrs. McInnes Shaw—(applause)—and they would retain pleasant memories of their two days’ stay in Glasgow. They had learned something of the Scottish hospitality that was proverbial all over the world.

The Lord Provost, in reply, said the Corporation took it as a great honour that the delegates should have come to Scotland. They had shown them some of Glasgow's great industries and some parts of bonnie Scotland. They in Scotland were proud of their country—"Quite right!"—and he would like their guests to share in that pride. (Applause.) The Lord Provost concluded by reading a telegram from Lord Esher, regretting that he was detained in the South by an engagement at Cambridge of long standing.

Professor Biles (Professor of Naval Architecture in Glasgow University), in

[PHOTO FOLLOWING PAGE 104.]

On the Steamer at Balloch.

Mr. W. S. Douglas. Mr. Ashenheim. Dr. Macdonald. Mr. A. E. Reno. Ballie Shaw Maxwell. Mr. Mark Cohen. Dr. Cunningham. Mr. C. Woodhead. Mr. Kyffin Thomas. Mr. R. M. Macdonald. Mr. J. Stuart. Dr. Syme. Mr. J. S. Brierley. Dr. Ward. Hon. J. W. Kirwan. Mr. Hudson Berkeley. Mr. J. W. Dafoe. Dr. Maitland Park. Mr. Crosbie Roles. Mr. T. Temperley. Mr. F. Philipson Stow. Mr. J. Nelson. Mr. M. E. Nicholls. Mr. W. J. Herder. Mr. P. D. Ross. Mr. Harry E. Brittain. Mr. G. H. Kingswell. Dr. Engelenburg. Mr. P. Davis. Lord Provost of Glasgow.  
*Lafayette, Ltd.*]

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a speech proposing the toast of the new LL.D.'s among the delegates, said they realised how much the Imperial Press Conference was bound up with the Navy and the Empire. Some eighteen months ago he was in Australia, and had an opportunity of discussing with the Minister of Defence and the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth some of the problems that surrounded one of the sister nations. He was very much interested to find that day, and in the days of last week, such a unanimity of interest and of opinion as did not seem to him to be possible when he was in Australia—a unanimous opinion in all the sister nations that the Navy was second in importance to nothing in the Empire. (Applause.) It was so marked to-day as to be to him almost a revelation.

A particularly humorous incident occurred at this point. The Lord Provost said that as there were only a few minutes left before the train would start, he must call upon the six Doctors of Laws to return thanks not individually, but collectively!

Instantly falling in with the Lord Provost's humour, the six LL.D.'s rose to their feet, and commenced to respond all at once. It was agreed, however, that Dr. Macdonald, of Toronto, the genial, fervid Celt, won easily. After a good run from Callander, the delegates, who were accompanied by their Glasgow hosts thus far, reached Larbert, where there was a most demonstrative leave-taking, with cheering, hand-shaking, and the singing of "Auld Lang Syne." The delegates arrived at the Caledonian Station, Edinburgh, about 10.30 p.m., thoroughly delighted with their day in the Trossachs.

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## CHAPTER XVIII. EDINBURGH ENDS THE TOUR.

Edinburgh was the last place to be visited by the Imperial Press Conference delegates, and it called upon them to be stirring betimes, for its hospitality began with breakfast. The hosts were the President and Committee of Management of the University Union, and the company, which numbered over a hundred, included the President of the Union, Mr. J. J. M. Shaw, M.A. (who occupied the chair), Professors Saintsbury, Hudson Beare, Baldwin Brown, and MacGregor; Drs. A. H. F. Barbour, G. H. Syme, George A. Berry, Thomas S. Clouston, George Mackay, Cunningham and Norman Walker; Sheriffs Lorimer and Maclellan; the Rev. Dr. P. R. Mackay and the Rev. J. R. P. Sclater; Mr. H. J. Stiles and Mr. W. M. Gilbert; Councillors Cullen, Macfarlane, Chessier, and Rowson; and Mr. James Walker (treasurer of the Union). The Chancellor of the University (Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P.) sent an apology for being unable to attend.

The Chairman, after "The King" had been honoured, proposed "Imperial Unity and Our Guests." The University Union was, he said, a cosmopolitan Union. On the roll of the Union were the names of students from every part of the British Empire. The Colonial students, being good students—(applause)—brought to the University a fine leaven of wide and free opinion, which did good to those who belonged to the Old Country. The Union and the University, with its wide diversity of students and its common purpose, might be taken as a symbol of the Empire to which they belonged, with its one and great purpose—the maintenance of their rights and liberties, however different members of parts of the Empire might be in origin, in creed, in colour, in manner of life. The future of the Empire depended to a very large extent on the power wielded by the Press throughout the world. (Applause.) After the cheering had subsided the company sang "They are jolly good fellows."

Mr. A. F. Macdonald (Halifax, Canada) said they had received great honour at the hands of the greatest men in the University—the students. (Laughter and applause.) With regard to the question of Imperial unity, they had, he said, happily come to that stage when it was not necessary to say much. The question had been settled. (Applause.) The great Conference at which they assembled served but to emphasise the fact that in all parts of the Empire there was a oneness of purpose and a oneness of ambition. (Applause.)

Mr. E. B. Walton (South Africa) said he was glad of the opportunity of testifying to the high place that Edinburgh University held in the esteem of all South Africans. In South Africa every doctor worth calling a doctor came from Edinburgh University. (Laughter and applause.)

Dr. G. H. Syme (Australia) said it was not inappropriate that one of those to reply to the toast should be one who had been a student and teacher in a

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university for the greater part of his life. (Applause.) The greatest benefactors of Australian Universities had been Scotsmen. Sydney Medical School was almost entirely

composed of graduates of Edinburgh University. (Applause.) Referring to the number of distinguished students who had gone to Australia, he said he should like to see some scheme evolved by which their professors could be interchanged for a time. An interchange of professors and students would tend still further to increase that Imperial unity which was the keynote of this Imperial Conference, and would make still stronger that bond. (Applause.)

Mr. L. Ashenheim, Jamaica, also replied to the toast in a speech of much brightness and humour. He said that when he saw from the toast list that five speakers were to reply to "Our Guests," he realised that at Edinburgh the delegates had determined to do their worst. (Laughter.) When they met together on their first arrival in England, the most distinguishing characteristic of his colleagues was modesty, and a marked unwillingness to speak in public. But after taking a course of lectures in the art of oratory from Professors Rosebery, Balfour, and other distinguished public orators of this country, he regretted to have to admit that all modesty had disappeared, all timidity had been cast to the winds, and each delegate rose with the utmost alacrity to make a speech on the flimsiest pretext. (Laughter.) It was peculiarly appropriate that he should speak on that occasion, seeing it was from that city that his grandfather went out to Jamaica in the early thirties and, with a medical diploma from that University, established a home and family in Jamaica. Fortunately, he (the speaker) was able to mention this fact without any violence to his conscience, but in any event, he would have been compelled to follow precedent, as in every city or town of Great Britain in which the delegates had been entertained, the gentleman replying to the toast of "Our Guests" had always felt able to tell his audience that he, his father, or grandfather, was born in that particular city or town. (Laughter.) This was one of the marvellous coincidences of the tour, and he would not have felt justified in destroying this uninterrupted sequence, even if it had been necessary—which, fortunately, it was not—to sacrifice his conscience on the altar of oratory. (Laughter.) This link, coupled with the extraordinary kindness he had received since his arrival in Scotland a few days ago, had caused him to consider seriously the adoption of some outward mark to emphasise his Scottish predilections, and he had almost determined on the prefix of "Mac" to his name. After earnest consideration, however, he had abandoned the idea, as somehow it did not seem to make a good blend—and Scotsmen, he knew, were above all things jealously particular with their blends. (Laughter.) The Conference must lead to the furtherance of the cause of Imperial unity, and go far to convince any Power which might have been busy in the past assessing the strength of England, that, after all, discretion was the better part of valour. (Cheers.)

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Mr. R. M. Macdonald (New Zealand) and Dr. Stanley Reed (India) also replied.

Dr. Reed said when they were at Glasgow they heard very much of the connection between that city and the great Dependency. The connection of Edinburgh with India was scarcely less intimate, although it was almost entirely intellectual. Those who knew India and Edinburgh would say let that connection grow. (Applause.)

Between breakfast and luncheon with the Lord Provost and Corporation of Edinburgh the delegates crowded in all the sight-seeing possible—including the Castle, St. Giles's Cathedral (with its many military memorials and battle-stained colours)—where they listened attentively while the incident of Jenny Geddes and her stool, thrown at the head of the preacher, was recounted—and Holyrood Palace. At Holyrood the portrait gallery, the chamber in which Rizzio was murdered, with its traces of the crime, and the old chapel and grounds received close attention.

#### A SCOTTISH CIVIC LUNCHEON.

The Corporation luncheon to the delegates was served at the Caledonian Station Hotel, where Lord Provost Gibson presided over a company numbering about a hundred and twenty, including Mrs. Gibson, Sir Robert Usher, Mr. Redford (General Post Office), Mr. John R. Findlay, Mr. James Law, Mr. J. P. Croal, Mr. John Wilson, Councillor Douglas, Councillor Brown, and Councillor Dobie.

The luncheon was Scottish in character, and the haggis which formed one of the courses was introduced ceremonially, three kilted pipers in costume heading the line of waiters bearing the salvers—an incident which was greeted with enthusiasm on the part of the guests. The visitors all partook of the haggis, with its accompaniment of a thimbleful of neat whisky, and all expressed appreciation—of both. The menu card was embellished with the coats of arms of the various portions of the Empire represented.

The LORD PROVOST, after the toast of “The King” had been honoured, gave the health of the guests, and on behalf of the citizens of Edinburgh welcomed them cordially to the city. (Applause.) They were delighted to receive them from the various Colonies they represented. (Applause.) They were, no doubt, beginning to understand this great nation in a way which it was impossible to do merely as observers from a distance. (Applause.) He was glad to find that the general note that had come from those who had spoken on behalf of the guests was that the extending and cementing of the peace of the world was their first object and aim. (Applause.) If anything could be done in that direction in cementing this country and the various interests represented there, they would be amply repaid. (Applause.)

Dr. MACDONALD (Toronto), in replying, said no words of his would convey their sense of appreciation—at least no words in the tongue understood by the most of the members there. There might be some of the elect left in Edinburgh. But in the interest of the men for whom he spoke, he would only use the Sassenach tongue. They wished to thank them for receiving them there. It was no accident or chance, but by the fore-ordination of things, that those who arranged the programme arranged that this tour should end in this ancient city, the capital of the unconquered people of Scotland. (Applause.)

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All matters in their programme were fore-ordained; and by the eternal fitness of things they were there that day, and they would close the tour with memories of Scotland and Edinburgh—the city to which they had been all looking forward, those of them from over

the seas with something Scottish in them yet—(applause)—and as for those who had not, it would put some into them. (Laughter and applause.) Time would fail him to tell what was in the hearts of the men from overseas, and in the hearts of the women, too; for of all spots they wanted to see this was the one. (Applause.) That day in the Cathedral and in the streets they had been reminded what Scotland and Edinburgh had done for the liberty of the world and the strength of the overseas dominion. (Applause.) From Edinburgh the word had come, not of war always, but of peace and liberty. (Applause.) Scotland through her peace as well as her wars had stood for the rights of the average man against the privileges and powers of those who ruled them. So they, inheriting that idea, sons of the crowd, had gone overseas; and they stood, every man of them and every journal they controlled, for the rights of the common man against the power of organisation, even against the crowd itself. Their ancestors sometimes fought against the King. They, in the crowd, sometimes fought against the crowd; for they of the democracy over the seas knew full well there never was a King, a Czar, a Sultan more oppressive, more relentless, than a crowd in a democracy could be. They thanked them for receiving them back, as being worthy sons, to the old home. (Applause.) They had told them in England and elsewhere of their great lands, of the Ganges, the St. Lawrence, and all the rest of them. They had told them of plains and mountains, of streets compared with which that along which they had come was narrow. But they had no mountains with a history like the hill before them, nor streets so paved with passion and tragedy and reminiscence and poetry and heroism. (Applause.) They needed more men from that city; and he wished to tell them that beyond the seas they had a land where the common man had a chance, where they desired to build a democracy free from some of the things that clung to them in the old land, that they had not yet shaken off. They wished to invite them, all of them, and all their children and friends, to come to their great land, to Australia, to New Zealand, India, Canada, and they would give them a chance as the aborigines gave a chance to themselves. They would meet with no question at all about the fidelity of the sons of Scotland and their loyalty to the Empire. (Applause.)

Mr. COHEN (Dunedin) said he reciprocated and endorsed most heartily every word that had fallen from the orator of Canada. (Applause.) Coming as he did from New Edinburgh, Dunedin, a city that was proud of its name and origin, they would take back with them to New Zealand the liveliest recollection of the princely hospitality they had received from all classes and communities of Great Britain. In Dunedin particularly, in New Zealand generally, they looked with veneration on this city. The part of the country he came from was colonised by the best of Scottish men and women. They brought with them some of the best traditions of the country, the purity of home and love of country, those characteristics which would never die so long as the language obtained. (Applause.)

Mr. HUDSON BERKELEY (New South Wales) proposed the health of the Lord Provost. Since they had been in this country, no matter what they wanted, everything had been vouchsafed to them. They thanked them deeply for those gifts. He would like to say, as an Australian, they had something they would like to give them in return. They had a country twenty-five times as big as Great Britain, with a population of only four and a quarter million people; and they were languishing for Scotsmen, Englishmen, and

Irishmen to come to their shores. (Laughter and applause.) Most of the men who were holding leading positions, whether in politics, commercial life, or the Navy or Army—he did not know why it was, but they seemed to come from that little land called Scotland. (Applause.)

The LORD PROVOST said the city of Edinburgh was very dear to him; and while they appreciated the invitation which Dr. Macdonald and Mr. Hudson Berkeley had given, that all Edinburgh should at once emigrate to the various Colonies they represented, he would merely say that they wanted at least some of the men in this country to carry it on. (Laughter.) But as one who had observed his fellow-countrymen in other lands, he could say how true it was that there was an opening there to positions which it was much more difficult to attain to in this country. (Applause.)

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After luncheon the delegates drove to “The Scotsman” office, where they were received in the entrance hall by the proprietors, Mr. J. R. Findlay and Mr. James Law. Under the guidance of members of the editorial staff, they visited in turn the several departments of the establishment, being specially interested in the spacious linotype and machinery halls. In the latter a new process of stereotyping engaged attention. To each guest was given an illustrated souvenir descriptive of the buildings.

#### GARDEN PARTY AT MORTONHALL HOUSE.

From here the delegates drove to Mortonhall House, Liberton, where a garden party was given in their honour by Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Findlay. A large and representative company of citizens were invited to meet the delegates, among them being the following:—

Lord and Lady Dunedin, Lord Provost Gibson, M.P., and Mrs. Gibson, General Sir Edward Leach and Lady Leach, Lord Dundas, Lord Salvesen, Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A., and Lady Guthrie, General Friend, Sir Robert Cranston, the Hon. Misses Hamilton, Colonel Bailey, Sir Oliver and Lady Riddell, Dr. and Mrs. Clouston, Mrs. Wauchope of Niddrie, Mrs. Charles Forbes, of Callendar, Lady Kinross, Lady Susan Gilmour, Sir Hugh and Lady Graham, Lord and Lady Skerrington, Sir Thomas and Lady Fraser, Mrs. Pitman and Mr. A. Pitman, Mr. and Mrs. John Wilson, Greenpark; Miss Auldjo Jamieson, Mr. Campbell Mitchell, A.R.S.A., and Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Bach, Mr. and Mrs. Otto Schlapp, Major Martin, Mr. Robert Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Findlay, Miss Findlay, Mr. E. P. W. Redford, Mrs. De Falbe, Mr. A. K. Mossman, Major McMicking, the Misses Jardine, Bailie Geddes and Mrs. Geddes, Dean of Guild Wilson and Mrs. Wilson, Councillor and Mrs. W. S. Brown, Councillor and Mrs. Dobie, Councillor and Mrs. McFarlane, Councillor and Mrs. Douglas, and other members of the town council; Mr. James Law, Dr. Charles Cooper, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Croal, Mr. and Mrs. F. Cooper, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Croal, Mr. and Mrs. F. Cooper, Dr. and Mrs. W. S. McCormick, Dr., Mrs., and Miss Playfair, Mr. and Mrs. Stewart Clark, Mr. W. Birnie Rhind, R.S.A., and Miss Rhind, Mr. H. J. Blanc, R.S.A., and Mrs. Blanc, Mr. R. Burns, A.R.S.A., and Mrs. Burns, Mr. Percy Portsmouth, A.R.S.A.; Colonel Borthwick, Mr. W. T. Oldrieve, H.M. Board of Works; Dr. and Mrs. G. Macdonald, Major and Mrs.



Thomson, Dr. Hew Morrison, Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Dickson, Dr. Dobie, Royal Scottish Museum, and Mrs. Dobie, Mr. E. A. Walton, R.S.A., and Mrs. Walton, Mr. and Mrs. Morley Fletcher, Mr. James Caw and Miss Caw, Captain Antrobus, Mrs. George Berry, Major and Mrs. Shute, Mr. W. Younger, Mr. Harry Younger, Mr. and Mrs. W. Ramsay, Mr. Falconer Stuart, the Rev. Mr. Dodds, Liberton, and Mrs. Dodds, Mr. Grierson, depute town clerk, and Mrs. Grierson, Captain Walker, members of "The Scotsman" staff, representatives from the Art School, etc.

Mr. and Mrs. Findlay received their guests on the south terrace of the house, and, the weather being fine, the beautiful grounds were seen in all their summer beauty. Refreshments were served in a large marquee. Music was supplied by a band, and by the pipers of the 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion Royal Scots. The delegates enjoyed greatly their pleasant sojourn in these sylvan surroundings.

#### AT PORTOBELLO.

The day was wound up at the Marine Gardens, Portobello, a tastefully laid out pleasure resort, where the delegates were entertained at dinner by the directors, ex Bailie Maxton presiding.

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LORD DUNEDIN, Lord President of the Court of Session, proposed "The British Empire Press." His Lordship said he was sure they all felt, whether they had been in Edinburgh before or not, that there was something familiar to them in Edinburgh. (Applause.) He had no doubt they had heard much about Edinburgh from Scotsmen. They had heard about it in any case from Scotsmen, because the Scot was a plant that had transplanted very well, and had thriven hardily in every part of the world. (Hear, hear.) Edinburgh was familiar to them from literature. They had seen Edinburgh now, and he was glad it had not been wet. A fine day in Scotland was the finest day in the world, but it did not come very often. (Laughter.) The great charm of Edinburgh was that in it, above all cities, they had the power of the realisation of the past. There was only one city which he thought approached it in this kingdom, and that was the city of Oxford. While their impressions of the history of Oxford were, he thought, only general impressions of the mediæval home of learning, with regard to Edinburgh their impressions were much more definite. They were taken back to definite chapters of history which they remembered quite well. The liberty of the pen was an assumed and accomplished fact. There might be abuses which would have to be restrained. He was glad to think that here, he might almost say, they did not exist. The power of the Press consisted in its power to command an audience. Its effect upon the moulding of opinion was enormous, and it was because he held that the public belief was that the Press had worthily wielded that great power, that it had tried to uphold what was right, that it had tried to speak in the cause of progress—it was because the public believed that, that the delegates had had such a warmth of welcome in this country. (Applause.)

Mr. KIRWAN, in replying, said that was the last occasion on which the delegates would be officially entertained, and it was peculiarly appropriate that, as their series of

entertainments began with a dinner in the White City of the capital of England, it should end with a dinner in the White City of the Capital of Scotland. (Applause.) He thought his colleagues would agree with him when he said that the results of the Imperial Press Conference would be far greater and more far-reaching than were anticipated by those who originated the Conference. (Hear, hear.) The real results of the Conference would not be found in the minute books of the Conference. They would be greater in an indirect sense than they had been directly. The influence that had been brought to bear upon the oversea delegates could not fail to have very great effects upon their writings in the future. Coming as they did from isolated parts of the Empire, it was an agreeable surprise to them to find that they had all been thinking Imperially, and thinking in much the same way. (Applause.) While the spirit of nationalism was growing up very strongly, they felt that the spirit of nationalism was in no way out of harmony with the due spirit of Imperialism, and it had been a revelation to the delegates to find the unanimity that existed, not only among the English-speaking people of the Empire, but amongst those who came from different races. (Applause.) They had been helped to strengthen that feeling of Imperial unity in the certain hope that eventually the highest ideals of the best form of Imperialism would be realised; that that form of Imperialism was not associated with the policy of aggrandisement, but was associated with the policy that would tend to promote the peace of the world, and the prosperity and the betterment of humanity generally. (Applause.)

The health of the Chairman was proposed by Mr. E. W. McCREADY, St. John's, N.B.

The following day the delegates turned their faces south once more, returning to London by a special Great Northern train run in conjunction with the North-Eastern and North British Railways. As on all their railway journeys, the party had supremely comfortable travelling and unexceptionable catering, Mr. Crang, of the Great Northern Railway, sparing no pains for their enjoyment. It was with very crowded and pleasant recollections that all found themselves once more in the centre of Empire, with the business of the adjourned Conference immediately ahead of them.

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CHAPTER XIX.

CONFERENCE AND CABLE RATES.

Returned from their Scottish experiences the delegates gathered at the resumed sittings of the Conference on Friday afternoon, June 25, [1909] when, by the courtesy of the Council they met in the theatre of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Great George Street, Westminster. After Mr. J. C. Inglis, President of the Institution, had extended a cordial welcome to the delegates, the Hon. Harry Lawson, who presided, acknowledged his kindly greeting, and then proceeded to outline the work done since the Conference adjourned by the Cable Rates Committee. Various meetings of the committee had taken place, and the Pacific Cable Board had agreed to reduce the rates for their Press messages to one-half—it being understood that the New Zealand Government and the Government of Australia would do the same with regard to their terminal charges. The committee

appeared to be unanimously of opinion that only a general reduction of cable rates for Press purposes would meet the necessities of the case.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss and pass resolutions urging the Governments of the British Empire to take steps to reduce the cost of the electric communication between the different parts of the Empire; and also pointing out to the Governments concerned the desirability of establishing a chain of wireless telegraph stations between all British countries.

Some discussion was aroused by a motion declaring it essential that there should be State-owned electric communication between the British Islands and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State control of electric communication across Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific cable services, several delegates contending that State ownership would place the companies at a disadvantage; but eventually the resolution was carried without dissent, as was a similar resolution affecting South Africa.

Sir Hugh Graham (Montreal) drew attention to the importance of British immigration into Canada, and announced that an organisation of leading journalists and citizens in that country was being formed to ensure the utmost encouragement for desirable immigrants. The conference by resolution recognised the desirability of the Press of the United Kingdom and the Colonies acting in concert in the wise direction of the surplus population of the Mother Country to those Colonies which need additional settlers.

In the evening the delegates were present at a brilliant reception held by the Marquis and Marchioness of Lansdowne at Lansdowne House in honour of His Majesty's birthday. The members of the Russian Duma, then on a visit to London, were also among the invited guests.

#### CONCLUDING SITTING: "IMPERIAL DEFENCE."

At the concluding sitting of the Conference on Saturday, June 26, [1909] at the Institution of Civil Engineers, the subject of Imperial defence was reverted to.

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Lord Esher, who presided, laid stress upon the importance of this subject, as regards the Colonies particularly. While the British battle fleet must for the next ten years be found and controlled by the Government, the Oversea Governments should in the next few years find out the rôle they had to play, and then secure an efficient and trained naval personnel. As to the Army, personnel and material of war should, in order to secure efficiency, be standardised throughout the Empire.

Lord Charles Beresford, who was heartily received, agreed that each Oversea Government must control its own fleet, provided there was standardisation; and he suggested an interchange of ships between the Oversea navies and the British Navy. He contended that a great strategical bureau was wanted at the Admiralty, and declared his opinion that "we are not prepared."

General Sir John French urged the importance of such an understanding in peace time between land and sea forces as would ensure effective co-operation in war time. While there was much to be said in favour of universal national training, our troops were already over one million, and what was lacking was the machinery to weld this army together as a great whole. More uniform methods of administration and training, and for economising our military resources, were needed. For that a great general staff was wanted, and the War Office was now forwarding that great work.

Some opposition was shown to a proposal by Mr. Temperley (Australia) that national defence is, for the Empire, the most urgent question of the day; and it was eventually withdrawn.

Mr. W. T. Stead defined as a necessity of Imperial defence complete loyalty from top to bottom, and caused laughter by stating that he would like to hand Generals and Admirals who intrigued against men trusted by two successive Ministries over to Lord Charles Beresford, who, he knew, would “hang them at the yardarm.”

Mr. Woodhead, Mr. Amery, Mr. Cunningham, and Dr. Macdonald also contributed to the discussion.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Institution of Civil Engineers, and to the English Committee of the Conference; and for the latter Mr. J. A. Spender replied, saying they might congratulate themselves that the Conference had been a very interesting and successful gathering.

At the conclusion, the whole of the delegates and the British Pressmen assembled joined together in singing the National Anthem, and with this loyal observance the Conference separated.

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#### DELEGATES' FAREWELL RECEPTION.

A charming idea, admirably carried out, was a reception held by the delegates on the closing afternoon of the Conference at the Waldorf Hotel, by way of farewell to their hosts of the British Press, and to the many friends whom they had made during their sojourn in London. There was a large response to the invitations issued, notwithstanding the many pressing engagements of a “week-end,” and all were delighted with the proceedings, and with the artistic decoration of the reception room, in which palms, rambler roses, and many other flowers were applied with dainty effect. The guests were received by Mr. Kyffin Thomas, chairman of the delegates, and Mrs. Kyffin Thomas, who was assisted by Lady Graham and other ladies; and during the afternoon tea was served in an adjoining apartment.

The guests included:—

Lord Grey (Governor-General of Canada), Lord and Lady Midleton, Lord and Lady Northcliffe, Sir Geo. Doughty, M.P., and Lady Doughty, Sir Clement and Lady Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Percy Bunting, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. J. A. Spender, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Brittain, Miss Brooke-Hunt, Mr. E. W. M. Grigg, Mr. L. S. Amery, Mr. and Mrs. Nicol Dunn, Captain Muirhead Collins and Mrs. Collins, Mr. E. Brain, Mr. Lefroy, Mr. Edwards, M.P., Mr. A. J. Dawson, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lloyd, Mr. and Mrs. Marston, Miss Brockwell, Mr. Graham Lloyd, Mr. and Mrs. Hurd, Mr. and Mrs. Goodman, Mr. and Mrs. Chesney, Mr. A. B. Tucker, Mr. and Mrs. Clougher, Mr. Nugent Clougher, Mr. and Mrs. Mason, Mr. George Booth, Major and Mrs. Gratwicke, Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver, Mr. A. H. Bate, Mr. and Mrs. Hardman, Mr. and Mrs. Pryor, Mrs. Brett, Mr. Burn, Mrs. Reid, and Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Bennett and Miss Bennett.

### **PRESENTATION TO MR. BRITTAIN.**

During the afternoon Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS, addressing the guests, said that he was desired to read two addresses. He would not make a speech, though he desired, on behalf of himself and the other delegates, to express the great indebtedness they were under to Mr. and Mrs., Brittain and to Miss Violet Brooke-Hunt. He then read an artistically illuminated address to Mr. Brittain, which was bound in the form of an album and signed by all the delegates. It read as follows:—

London, June 26, 1909.

To Harry E. Brittain.

Dear Mr. Brittain,—

As delegates from the Oversea portions of the British Empire, we desire to express our warmest thanks to you, as the originator and designer of the Imperial Press Conference, and for the marked efficiency and courtesy you have shown throughout.

None more than we can realise how heavy and responsible was the undertaking, and how complete the success achieved. To the public men and private citizens of the United Kingdom who aided so conspicuously in the work of the Conference, and who so generously extended hospitality to the delegates, we desire, through you, to offer our most cordial thanks.

We assure you that the great kindness of yourself and Mrs. Brittain will never be forgotten by us, and it is our sincere wish that you may long be spared to enjoy happiness and prosperity together.

The delegates further begged his acceptance of a pair of silver candelabra and a silver rose bowl as a souvenir of what they believed would prove to be an Imperial event of great importance.

Lady Graham handed the gifts to Mrs. Brittain amid loud cheers.

Mr. HARRY BRITTAIN, in his reply, said that he stood before them with

mixed feelings, but the strongest of them all was a feeling of sadness which he could not repress, that they were perhaps meeting for the last time. (A voice: "Oh, no; you must come to us.") Three weeks ago he had the pleasure of shaking hands with ninety new acquaintances. That day he was saying "Au devoir"—he felt they would allow him to say so—to ninety real good friends. (Cheers.) The Conference had taken the best part of two years to get up, but if it had taken ten times two years he thought it would have been worth doing. (Cheers.) That was the first opportunity he had had of addressing them all, and he wished to say how much he owed to his colleagues, who had done so much. It was quite impossible for him to mention them all by name, but he was sure the rest of his colleagues would forgive him if he mentioned the names of three who for the past twenty months had worked, week in and week out, for the success of the Conference. They were Mr. Arthur Pearson, Mr. Kennedy Jones, and Mr. Robert Donald (Cheers.) But for their help, he could truly say there would have been no Conference.

Since the beginning of the year, while they were arranging or beginning to arrange the details of the Conference proper, they had received magnificent help from Mr. Spender, whom they could not thank too warmly, and they all knew that during the last two weeks, while they had been up north, Mr. Harry Lawson had done splendid work in arranging matters with the cable companies. (Cheers.) But there was still one other group he wished most sincerely to thank—he meant the members of his staff, who had most loyally helped him in every way since they began to prepare for the Conference, and had never made any complaint of the hard work which he had placed upon them. Lastly, he wished to thank Miss Brooke-Hunt and the ladies of the committee, and to endorse what Mr. Kyffin Thomas had said about his wife. The inspiration of an Imperial Press Conference arose in the Dominion of Canada; and it was a peculiar satisfaction to him to know that they had with them there the two men with whom he had the honour of first discussing it—one was an Englishman and the other a Canadian. The Englishman was Earl Grey, the popular Governor-General—(cheers)—and the other was his good friend Mr. Dafoe, of Winnipeg. (Cheers.) The past three weeks would always be graven in his mind in letters of gold. He was proud to think that he had, in a small and humble way, been considered to have done something to weld together the nations represented by the delegates. If on any future occasion his services could be of any use, they would be gladly placed at their disposal. (Cheers.)

#### **PRESENTATION TO MISS BROOKE-HUNT.**

Lady GRAHAM, at the request of Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS, then read an address from the ladies of the party to Miss Violet Brooke-Hunt, which was accompanied by the gift of a diamond pendant.

Miss BROOKE-HUNT, who was loudly cheered, warmly thanked the ladies for their gift. On behalf of the committee which she represented, she expressed the delight felt by all its members that they had been able to help on in any way the organisation of their visit to this country. The difficulty they had in connection with the committee was to

keep it small enough. If instead of staying three weeks their visitors had stayed three months, they could not possibly have overstayed their welcome. (Cheers.) If we only understood each other's points of view there should be no difficulty in the problems which had to be solved in the next quarter of a century. The only possible difficulty that could arise was due to want of sympathy, and there could be no want of sympathy if they met and talked over matters together. It was said that the Overseas Dominions needed us to make up their past, but we needed them to help us make up our future. (Cheers.) The great cause for which Empire stood was, after all, righteousness, justice, good government, freedom and toleration, and right throughout the civilised world. (Cheers.)

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## CHAPTER XX.

### CABLE RATES COMMITTEE.

#### REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

Following upon the decisions of the Conference on June 25, [1909] and a meeting of the Cable Rates Committee, held at the Savoy Hotel on June 30, [1909] a deputation, on the latter date, waited by appointment on the Premier at the House of Commons.

The deputation consisted of:—Mr. Lewis Ashenheim, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mr. J. S. Brierley, Mr. Harry E. Brittain (Hon. Secretary to the Conference), Mr. C. Clifford, Mr. Mark Cohen, Dr. E. S. Cunningham, Mr. J. W. Dafoe, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. J. O. Fairfax, Mr. G. Fenwick, Mr. H. A. Gwynne, Mr. G. H. Kingswell, Mr. R. Kyffin Thomas, Mr. A. E. Lawson, Mr. J. Nelson, Mr. E. Parke, Dr. Stanley Reed, Mr. Geoffrey Robinson, Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, Mr. P. D. Ross, Mr. R. F. Philipson Stow, Mr. J. A. Spender, Mr. T. Temperley, Mr. C. Woodhead, the Hon. Surendranath Banerjee, and Mr. J. Hall Richardson (Hon. Secretary to the Committee).

Sir Hugh Graham, Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. J. S. R. Phillips were absent, and sent letters of regret.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by Mr. Sydney Buxton, Postmaster-General; Colonel Seely, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; and Sir H. Babington Smith, Secretary to the Post Office.

The Hon. HARRY LAWSON, in introducing the deputation to Mr. Asquith, said: I have the honour to introduce to you a deputation from the Imperial Press Conference, and wish in the first place in their name to thank you for your ready courtesy in agreeing to receive them. The deputation comprises the Standing Committee which has been appointed by that Conference, and it will continue to exist till the next Conference, to perfect facilities of electric communication, to cheapen the cost, and to secure a better supply. I will not labour to you that facilities for electric communication are essential to the organisation and efficiency of the Empire. You know very well that they promote mutual understanding and prevent mutual misunderstanding. Several of your colleagues pointed out to the Conference the great risk to which any Imperial Government was placed by the want of such communication.

Lord Crewe and Sir Edward Grey, in dealing with the subject, complained of the inadequate and misleading condensation of cabled news, which caused serious inconvenience, and I believe it is also true that on one occasion it was found necessary to cable to South Africa, some time ago, a speech of Mr. Winston Churchill's in order to prevent the sort of misunderstanding of which I am now speaking. It is a Government question, I submit, to secure facility and cheapness of electric communication. At the present moment I believe that the Imperial Government spend something like a quarter of a million pounds—it was so stated, and was not contradicted—in cables to the Dominions. Well, now, for our part, a new service means electric service. Sir Edward Grey said we could not be too much before our time; in the meantime we must not get too much behind our time, but we cannot, as Charles Lamb said, when he wrote his New South Wales letter, write for posterity. Our complaint is that our news service at present is poor, dry, and bloodless, and we want to get something that is better all around. The feeling of the Conference was that we could only get cheap

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electric communication if it is under Government control and in Government hands, and it is admitted, in proof thereof, that it was only the threat of the Pacific cable that brought down the rates in the first instance, and now we have secured—largely owing, I think, to the mediation of Mr. Moberly Bell—who is here to-day—we have secured at once a reduction from the Pacific Cable Board of one-half in the rates for Press services to Australia and New Zealand. You have all had laid before you—and are cognisant of the facts—what that means, and to some extent that will accentuate the anomalies and inequalities which at present exist, because whereas the new service in the future will be passing over the Pacific cable at 9d. and 9 1/2d. to New Zealand and Australia, there will be still the flat shilling which has been imposed as the average rate for South Africa and for India. The delegates will speak—if you will allow them—shortly on the points concerning their several Dominions and the Empire of India. I think I may say that Canada has expressed her anxiety for the co-operation of the Imperial Government, and I understand from a very highly placed official, who is now here, that that enthusiasm has not diminished, and there is a great desire that there should be on the part of the Imperial Government such a concession in regard to the Atlantic cable as will make the concession obtained from the Pacific Board more valuable, and will, of course, deal with the question as it affects the great Dominion of Canada. We do not wish in the least to pre-judge the issue as between wireless and cable communication. Mr. Marconi delivered an address to the Conference, and was good enough to give evidence before our committee, and he said that at the present moment he could transmit words at 2 1/2d. each, and that he will soon be able to do so at 2d., across the Atlantic, and that by the end of August [1909] he will be able to transmit as many as 20,000 words in the day. But I may point out that he is receiving a subsidy of £16,000 from the Canadian Government—so he stated—and that seems to me a valuable precedent for the Imperial Government, not only in regard to him, but in regard to telegraphic communication generally. It may be said that a concession of this sort does not only concern the Press, but that it concerns ordinary customers of the corporation, and that it also affects the commercial and general cable. But I would point out to you that those who have to deal with the cable for the



purpose of commerce are already taking advantage of the cipher and the code to such an extent that they send not one word for ten, but one word for a hundred, and in some cases one word for two hundred. That, in our case, is impossible; it has been tried, and it has been found wanting. We cannot skeletonise to any great extent. Therefore, I submit in the highest point of view it is necessary now to take advantage from our point of view of the meeting of this conference here, in order to obtain a full and adequate supply of news to the Dominions and to the Empire of India, which, I think, is so greatly to the common advantage. Blood flows through the heart to the arteries, and is sent out from the heart again, and we want you to help us to let the blood flow through the Imperial system as freely and beneficially as possible. I will now ask representatives of the various Dominions to address you shortly, and I will call upon Mr. Ross, from Canada, who has been a pioneer in this matter, to speak.

MR. ROSS.

Mr. P. D. Ross said: Mr. Asquith, I will try to be as concise as possible. There are some points which stand out in this matter. The resolution which I have specially in hand reads as follows:—

“That, for the achievement of better and cheaper electric communication in the Empire, it is one of the essentials that there should be State-owned electric communication between the British Islands and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State control of electric communication across Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific cable services, and that this resolution be included in the requests to be preferred by the deputation to the Prime Minister.”

I should like to say first how we passed this resolution; second, why we passed it; third, what we conceive the position of the Imperial Government to be in the matter; and, fourth, what we would like you to do. I will first deal with the point, how the resolution was passed. We have a number of resolutions here which are not of so controversial a nature as this, and which went through unanimously and with comparatively little discussion upon the report of our committee. This resolution, on the contrary, was discussed for a couple of hours. All sorts

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of opinions were expressed about it, but in the end, when a vote was taken, there was no dissentient voice. We would like you to feel, therefore, that, although this is a resolution which concerns Canada principally, it has the whole weight of the Conference behind it. (Hear, hear.) Now I would like to say why. There are two main reasons. The first reason is that there exists a combination among the cable companies which we believe to be unjustly maintaining rates. Our proof of this—our proof that the combination has existed for many years—begins with the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee of your Government in 1902, when the evidence of the managers of the cable companies was to the effect that there was an agreement between them to maintain a certain rate, which no one in the future could abrogate without giving notice to the other. That condition now exists, and one of our members was told—he told us at one of our committee meetings—

Mr. Moberly Bell—that the manager of the Anglo-American Cable Company had informed him a few days ago that he was prepared to reduce the rates, but was unable to do so on account of his entanglements with other companies. That is our first reason for asking such intervention—that there is a combine, and that from the nature of the cable service, if left to alleged private competition, owing to the cost a combination of that kind will probably always exist unless there is some Government check on it. The second reason why we want State action is that it is probably the kernel of the whole cable question. Australia is half-way round the world from England. A State cable, or a State electric connection—for I don't wish to use the word "cable"—if given across the Atlantic, and if it should result, as we believe, in the reduction of rates to Australia, via Canada, will, naturally and inevitably, produce a reduction around the other way to England from Australia, and will give a cheaper cable service round the world and round the Empire. Now, as regards the Imperial Government's position. The argument was used at our meetings that Government action in securing State electric connection across the Atlantic would mean confiscation, in the sense that if it came and the Government did not buy out the companies already established—and that State line would no doubt reduce the rates—that it would reduce them unfairly to the other companies, and that it would be an unjust attack on private capital. I would like to point out that Mr. Marconi is now giving a cable service at one-half the rates of the present cable companies, and he has promised to make that service so extensive that it will become a vital factor of competition. If that is so, the cable companies will have to reduce their rates. We think that the Government has as much right to take action as a private individual, and that these companies should have to face Government competition as they are under the necessity of facing private competition. We do not ask that you should attack them unjustly with public money, or that you should attack them while running any State line or electric connection at a loss. We wish to be on a commercial basis, and that it should pay, before it militates against the cable companies. We wish that if you make that line pay they should be ready to meet your competition, as much as any private competition. Now, I think there is just one point more. Mr. Buxton and Lord Crewe and Mr. Lawson have spoken very forcibly and very completely about the great Imperial value of cheaper news. If you were to lay or to secure a State line of electric connection across the Atlantic it would cost you—if you lay a cable—less than half a million, and if you set up two Marconi stations it would cost you about £100,000 as the initial outlay. You would lose a few thousand pounds a year possibly. You are spending £60,000,000 sterling a year on your Army and Navy—which is an Imperial insurance—and, surely, you can afford to spend, if necessary, £2,000 a year on this cable form of Imperial insurance, which is practically as important in the long run. What we ask is this: that your Government may kindly see its way to make an examination, and not in a year from now, but now, and to take the preliminary steps in this matter, and to decide whether you prefer to think it better to lay a State cable or to deal with Mr. Marconi, who has told us that he is willing to be dealt with; and that you should cooperate with the Canadian Government in this matter. I may say for the Canadian delegates that on our return we hope to persuade the Canadian Government into a favourable frame of mind to meet you halfway. It is said our Government has definitely retired for the time being from anything of this kind. Some of us before we left saw Mr. Lemieux, the Canadian

Postmaster-General, who intimated, we thought, that he had not changed his mind. It is possible that the Government from financial considerations hesitate to go immediately into the proposal. We hope to persuade them that this proposal will not cost them so much. We hope to persuade them to meet you halfway, and that you will be willing to meet them halfway and ready to take the initiative.

Mr. LAWSON: I will now call upon Mr. Fairfax, from Australia, to address you.

MR. FAIRFAX.

Mr. J. O. FAIRFAX said: I would like to say on behalf of the Australian newspaper owners that they are entirely at one with their brethren in the several other overseas dominions in wishing for cheaper and better means of communication. I have seen letters to this effect from the principal newspaper proprietors of Australia before I left home. We have one advantage in connection with our Commonwealth news which may perhaps be worthy of consideration in this matter. In dealing with Commonwealth news over our land lines we get a much cheaper rate for reports of Commonwealth proceedings, ministerial statements, and so on, than we do for ordinary Press news, and it may be worthy of consideration whether in the same way some arrangement could be made for preferential treatment of Parliamentary news, or Ministerial statements, or other highly important political matters, when they are sent from here to the oversea dominions. With regard to the matter of the system of wireless telegraphy, I think it ought to be considered as to how far that wireless system would work in with any steps that were taken for the protection of our trade routes. If our mercantile marine were fitted up with wireless installations they would be able to report immediately if any commerce destroyers were lying anywhere—they could report to the cruisers which would be able to protect these lines. I will not detain you with any further remarks, except to repeat that we are entirely in harmony with the other over-sea delegates in asking for better and cheaper means of communication.

Mr. LAWSON: I will now ask Mr. Fenwick, from New Zealand, to speak.

MR. FENWICK.

Mr. G. FENWICK said: I do not think it is necessary to say anything more on this subject, after the very clear and lucid statement that has been put before you by Mr. Ross. He has explained the whole position with extreme clearness, and I think you must have a very full grasp of the subject from what he said. I would like to say, however, that New Zealand has been in the forefront assisting Canada to obtain an Imperial all-round-the-world cable. She is, as you are aware, a partner in the present cable across the Pacific Ocean. I am certain it is the strong desire, not only of the Government, but of the people of New Zealand, that that cable should be extended across the Atlantic, and that there should be made an Imperial State-owned cable from England to the Colonies and back. Of course, I am in no way warranted in saying that the New Zealand Government would contribute to the cost of this, but from my knowledge of the strong desire of the Premier

of New Zealand and members of the Government to see a State-owned cable encircling the Empire, I am pretty certain that if the question comes up for consideration by the New Zealand Government they would not be behindhand in their desire to help it forward. I don't know that it is necessary for me to say anything more on this subject, except that I am perfectly certain that if it can be brought about that there shall be a continuation of the present portion of the State-owned cable as between England and her far-distant Colonies, it will be a great gratification to the people of New Zealand to see that carried into effect. One further remark I would like to make. Mr. Fairfax introduced a subsidiary element in expressing a desire that there should be preferential treatment accorded to important Government and Parliamentary news. I may say that in New Zealand that principle has been adopted for many years, to the extent of the whole of the Budget being telegraphed to all the papers in New Zealand, and the Public Works statements and other important official documents are likewise put upon a similar footing. These documents are sent out absolutely word for word as read in the House free—entirely free—to the newspapers, so if this can be brought about in New Zealand it is probably a matter worthy of the consideration of the British Government.

Mr. LAWSON: I have now to call upon Mr. Geoffrey Robinson, from South Africa, to address you.

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MR. G. ROBINSON.

Mr. GEOFFREY ROBINSON said: I don't think I need to say very much on behalf of South Africa, because we are in complete agreement with everything that has been urged by Mr. Ross and other speakers from Australia and New Zealand about the urgent necessity of cheapening and improving our cable and electric communication. We think we have, indeed, special claims to the support and sympathy of the Government. Our cable rates are very high in proportion to the other Dominions. We have to pay a shilling a word for Press messages in South Africa for a distance which is, I think, only about half the distance to Australia and New Zealand, where they have precisely the same rate. Moreover, our communications down the South Coast of Africa are in the hands of one great cable company—the Eastern Telegraph Company—so we have no prospect to look forward to of a reduction from effective competition, which our neighbours look forward to. We are in complete agreement that by some means we should get cable rates reduced, and we ask you to help us to do it.

Mr. LAWSON: Mr. Stanley Reed, from India, will now address you.

DR. REED.

Dr. STANLEY REED said: I should like to say a sentence or two on the position of India and the Eastern Crown Colonies. We share in the general disabilities to which attention has been called. But we also labour under specific disabilities, which make our case particularly hard. The cable rates to India are a shilling a word. This is the same rate as is charged to Australia, double the distance, and Australia is in sight of still lower charges.

The Eastern Crown Colonies are still worse circumstanced. The cable charges to these places are higher than are those to New Zealand, which is more than twice as far from London. Moreover, by systematic coding, the charge for private cablegrams has been reduced to less than 2 1-5d. a word. With the greatest economy the charges for Press telegrams, which cannot be coded, cannot be brought below 9d. a word. This rate, it must be remembered, is fixed by an agency in which Government are partners. When cables are received in India they have to pay transit and terminal charges amounting to 2 1/2d. a word, as compared with charges not exceeding 1d. a word charged by a private corporation for precisely the same duties from the western to the eastern seaboard of Canada, which is several times the distance. Again, the ratio between Press and private cablegrams to India is higher than in any other part of the British Empire. It is exactly one-half, a ratio which obtains nowhere else. We ask Government to consider the erection of a chain of wireless stations right through the East for a twofold reason. We think that such an agency provides the easiest and cheapest alternative means of electrical communication practicable. We think that these stations are necessary for the safety of the mercantile marine. When a demonstration of the value of wireless telegraphy as a means of saving life in accidents at sea was given in the Atlantic, several of the ships running to India were fitted with wireless telegraphic instruments. But there is not, east of Port Said, a single wireless station with which those ships could communicate, and until some are provided the instruments carried on those ships are well-nigh useless, and all the vast British shipping passing through the Suez Canal to the Antipodes and the Far East is debarred from using a life-saving agency which experience has shown to be of priceless value.

Mr. LAWSON: I have received apologies from Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Phillips, of the "Yorkshire Post," and Sir Hugh Graham, for their absence. Mr. Moberly Bell will speak on behalf of the home Press.

MR. MOBERLY BELL.

Mr. MOBERLY BELL: Mr. Lawson has asked me to speak on behalf of the home Press, but as we have an opportunity of speaking to you every day, I don't think I have much to say except to agree cordially with what these gentlemen have said. One point only has occurred to me. Mr. Rose spoke of the fact that the Government spent £60,000,000 on naval and military defence. Perhaps the Government might even save by cheap telegraphy. May I tell very briefly one little incident that happened to myself? Before the South African war—which, I believe cost £200,000,000—I had occasion to send a telegram in cipher to Mr. Rhodes. It

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was not understood. I confirmed it by letter. The reply I received from Mr. Rhodes—I have it still—is this: "If your letter had arrived ten days earlier, what a difference it would have made!" Now, if the rate had been a penny a word, or twopence a word, I could have telegraphed the whole of that letter. I do not say it would have stopped the South African war, but it might have made a very enormous difference.

MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Asquith, in replying to the deputation, said: Mr. Lawson and Gentlemen, I am very glad to have this opportunity, along with my colleagues, the Postmaster-General and the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, of receiving this deputation, and of listening to the arguments which you have so tersely, and, at the same time, so cogently advanced, in favour of the resolutions which we have already received from your Conference on this very important matter. I may say at once that, in our view—in the view of the Government—you have not in the least exaggerated the importance of facilitating and cheapening electric communication between the different parts of the Empire. It is important in the interests of our mercantile marine, which was alluded to a moment ago by the gentleman who spoke on behalf of India. It is, perhaps, even more important in the interests of the diffusion of accurate and trustworthy and not over-condensed intelligence as between the Mother Country and the Dominions and Dependencies of the Crown overseas, and also as between these different members of the Empire themselves.

Towards the general object, therefore, of your deputation—the reduction of cable rates, and especially the reduction of rates for Press messages—the attitude of the Imperial Government is entirely sympathetic, and that is proved, if proof were needed, by the fact that one of the speakers has already referred to the fact the Pacific Cable Board has, with the full concurrence of the Imperial Government—which you know is a large partner in that cable—just reduced its rates for Press messages by no less than a half. That reduction, if the Governments of Australia and New Zealand similarly reduce their internal rates on such messages by a half, will mean, as I think has already been acknowledged here, that Press traffic can in future be sent between this country and Australia for 9d. or 9 1/2d. a word instead of 1s. That is a very substantial advance. At the same time, one has to admit that other parts of the Empire—not being dependent upon the Pacific cable—have not reaped any share of this advantage. I mean South Africa and India, which will have to pay at the rate of 1s. As regards Canada, my right honourable friend the Postmaster-General and the Canadian Postmaster, Mr. Lemieux, have been in communication for a considerable time past on the subject of Atlantic cable rates. If nothing has yet been arrived at in the way of a definite arrangement, I won't say it is anybody's fault, I don't think it is, it is certainly not our fault, for it is at the request of Mr. Lemieux for the time being that further action has been postponed. We hope that we may regard the matter as still open, and that before long a satisfactory arrangement may be come to. As regards the cable companies, the means of action—as you know, I am speaking of the existing cable companies—the means of action at the disposal of the Imperial Government are very limited, but its influence will be used, as far as it may be used, in the direction of a reduction of rates. One of the speakers, I think, spoke a few moments ago, or referred to combinations between the companies, which, like other combinations in every other department of life, as a rule, do not have the effect of cheapening the cost of the particular commodity in which they happen to be interested. On the other hand, one must recognise, in fairness to the cable companies, that they have provided a world-wide system of enormous value to the Empire, and that they have very substantially reduced their rates. They are commercial bodies acting on commercial principles, and possibly the most powerful argument that the representatives of the Press could use in favour of lower rates for their messages along these commercial cables

would be an assurance of largely increased traffic, which, I assume, it may possibly be in your power to give.

I was also very glad to hear from a gentleman who has addressed us, what we had already gathered from the resolutions passed by the Conference, two things. The first is that if you have an Imperial line—I use the word line in a perfectly neutral

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sense—if it is to be brought into operation it should be self-supporting. (Cheers.) I take note of that because it is a very important declaration on the part of representatives of the Press, and one to which I need not assure you his Majesty's Government are perfectly prepared to subscribe. The other is, that you have carefully forbore in the language of your resolutions, and, I think, in the speeches which have been addressed to us here to-day, the expressions of any preference as between different modes of electrical communication. I refer in particular, of course, to the two possible competing modes—cables on the one hand and wireless electricity on the other. You leave us, so far as your resolutions and your speeches are concerned, in that matter a perfectly free hand. (Cheers.) I am very glad that is so, because the development of wireless telegraphy is a matter one cannot leave out of sight—(cheers)—when we are having regard to this subject. It may be that at this moment it is premature to stake our reliance upon it as the only means of communication between the different parts of the Empire. Mr. Marconi, I am told by the Postmaster-General, has not yet applied for the facilities which the Post Office is bound to give when he can show that he can carry on his service across the Atlantic with reasonable certainty and speed. He has stated that he hopes to do so in August [1909]. When he has done so we shall be perfectly ready to consider any further developments. In the meantime, I can assure you, what you have already more than suggested yourselves, that in our view wireless telegraphy ought to be taken into account in considering the question of communication as a very important factor, especially in connection with the discussion of the question of laying fresh State-owned cables. It is also to be borne in mind that the progress of invention in other ways may considerably alter the carrying capacity of cables and may somewhat change the position. Your Conference, if I may venture to say so, very wisely has appointed a standing committee to deal with the matter. The Post Office and the other Government departments concerned will be anxious to assist and to keep themselves in touch with this committee, by information, by inter-communication, and in all such other ways as may be practicable, and I think it will be a solid and substantial result of your deliberations upon this particular aspect of inter-Imperial interests that in regard to the development of electric communication between the different parts of the Empire we shall now have on the side of the Press a body, formally organised, and a constantly existing body, with which we can enter into the necessary communications, by mutual discussion and reference, and, having regard to the various considerations which I have already adverted to, we may accelerate the development of what we all agree is one of the first requisites of an Empire such as ours—namely, a cheap, a certain, a constant, a convenient, and a universally accessible system of electric communication. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. LAWSON: I now call upon Mr. Kyffin Thomas, chairman of the oversea delegates.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS said: I have been honoured by my colleagues of the overseas Dominions, and by the other members of this deputation with the request that I should tender to you, on their behalf, our very sincere and hearty thanks for your kindness to-day. (Cheers.) Before doing that, however, I should like to say that I have been requested by Mr. Ross, who spoke just now, to say this, with reference to another Atlantic cable—he has written the words down—“We do not ask that a State cable should be self-supporting, but that it should not give lower rates than private companies can do until it has proved self-supporting, and is running at a profit which fairly enables a reduction of rates.” We have during our sittings—I am speaking particularly for the oversea delegates—received many courtesies and great consideration from you and other members of the Government, and we feel very highly honoured that you should to-day have given your time from your busy Parliamentary work to receive us, and to discuss the very important matters that we have brought before you, and that you should have done so in so courteous and considerate a way. I beg to tender you our sincere thanks.

The deputation then withdrew.

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IMPERIAL TELEGRAPH RATES.

CONCESSION TO INDIA, AUSTRALASIA, AND AFRICA.

In addition to the reduction conceded by the Pacific Cable Board, as reported at the sitting of the Conference on Friday, June 25, [1909] on July 15, [1909] the following communication was officially made public:—

At a committee meeting of representatives of telegraph administrations transmitting telegraph traffic “viâ Eastern” and “viâ Teheran” between Great Britain and India, Australasia, and South Africa, the following resolution was approved, viz.:—

That, provided the British, Indian, and Colonial Governments are prepared to take their rateable share of the reduction, the Press rate between Great Britain and India, Australasia, and South Africa be reduced to 9d. per word from August 1, [1909] next.

The above resolution, it will be seen, gives effect to a desire expressed by the delegates to the Imperial Press Conference, and shared by members of His Majesty’s Government, that there should be cheaper facilities for the transmission of news between the Mother Country and the Oversea States.

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CHAPTER XXI.

AUSTRALIAN DELEGATES IN CANADA.

Canada and Canadian journalists and public men gave such a welcome to the Australian and New Zealand delegates, on their passage across the Dominion from their homes, and such a series of entertainments, as made of the journey practically a triumphal progress,



of which the recollection will never be dimmed. The Hon. J. W. Kirwan, M.L.C., of Western Australia, contributed a description of the party's experiences to the "Standard of Empire" of June 5, [1909] which is interesting in the extreme, and is fittingly reproduced here as adding to the completeness of the Conference records. The "Standard of Empire," in a preface to the narrative, said:—

*The Hon. J. W. Kirwan, of the "Kalgoorlie Miner," the writer of this account, and Western Australia's representative in the Conference, was elected Hon. Secretary by his fellow-delegates at the outset of their journey, while Mr. R. Kyffin Thomas, of the "Adelaide Register," the South Australian delegate, was made Chairman of the party. Mr. Kirwan's account modestly omits reference to the admirable speeches delivered by himself and his colleagues at different functions in Canada. As a fact, it is safe to say that the delegates from Australia and New Zealand delivered at least three addresses apiece during their journey across the Dominion, and these interesting and instructive speeches, along with those of the delegates' hosts, were fully reported in the Canadian Press.*

The following is Mr. Kirwan's article:—

Eleven of the Australasian Press, delegates to the Imperial Press Conference travelled to London by way of the All Red Route, viâ Canada. Of the eleven, seven represented Australia and four New Zealand. New South Wales was represented by Mr. Hudson Berkeley ("Newcastle Morning Herald") and Mr. Thos. Temperley ("Bathurst Daily Argus" and Provincial Press Association); Victoria by Mr. Edward S. Cunningham ("The Argus") and Mr. Norman Clark; South Australia by Mr. Robert Kyffin Thomas ("The Register"); Tasmania by the Hon. C. E. Davies, M.L.C. ("The Mercury"); and Western Australia by the writer ("Kalgoorlie Miner"). New Zealand was represented by two Dunedin journalists, Mr. George Fenwick ("Otago Daily Times") and Mr. Mark Cohen ("Evening Star"), one from Wellington, Mr. Gresley Lukin ("Wellington Post"), and one from Auckland, Mr. Henry Brett ("Auckland Star"). Several of the delegates travelled with their wives, and one of them, Mr. Thomas, brought in addition a son and a daughter, so the party numbered nineteen in all—twelve men and seven ladies.

## **THE JOURNEY.**

Most of the members of the party left Sydney on board the R.M.S. "Marama" on April 12, [1909] others joined the steamer when she called at Brisbane on April 14, [1909] and one delegate (Mr. Lukin) came on board several days later at Suva, Fiji. The delegates from New Zealand and Western Australia had been travelling from their homes about a week before they joined the "Marama." When it is stated that the party did not reach London until practically the end of May [1909], and that during nearly fifty days the delegates were almost continuously travelling by night as well as by day, an idea may be formed of the distance traversed and the variety of the experiences, climatic and otherwise, that were necessarily encountered.

We said our farewells to the Commonwealth at Brisbane, where we stayed one day. The Government placed a launch at our disposal to take us up and down the river, to and from

our steamer. We were also entertained at luncheon at Parliament House by the Ministry, many of the leading men of Queensland being gathered there to meet us and to wish us *bon voyage*.

At Suva, the capital of the Fiji Islands, we spent four or five very pleasant hours ashore. We drove round the town and its environs, and were specially charmed by the beauty of the tropical verdure, the wonderful picturesqueness of the scenery,

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and the childlike simplicity of the islanders, despite their former fierceness and cannibalistic tendencies.

The only place visited during our journey from Australia to London not under the British flag was Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian Islands. There we found that special provision had been made by the authorities for our reception and entertainment. On the arrival of the steamer about two o'clock in the afternoon we were met by several of the leading residents. Motor-cars were in waiting, and we were taken to all the show places of the locality, including the far-famed Pali. At Parliament House we met the Governor and most of the prominent members of the Legislature. In the evening we were entertained at the Moona Hotel at dinner. We left Honolulu much impressed by the cordiality of the welcome we received from our American cousins and the lavishness of their hospitality.

### **ARRIVAL IN CANADA.**

It was late in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 4, [1909] that the "Marama" arrived at Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. We were met by Mr. J. S. H. Matson, proprietor of the "Daily Colonist," who climbed on board long before the steamer came to the wharf, and brought us warm greetings from the editor of "The Standard of Empire." We were also welcomed by the Australian flag flying from the flagstaff of the Empress Hotel, and by the ever-genial Mr. George Ham, who, on behalf of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was appointed to conduct us through the Dominion. And so well did he carry out his duties that the party agreed there was nothing which could have been done that was not done to ensure our convenience, comfort, and enjoyment.

It would be impossible, in the limits of this article, to give more than a bald statement regarding our tour. There is a great deal that I might write regarding our impressions of the great timber and fishing industries of the West, of the majestic snow-clad Rocky Mountains, of the ranching country of the Calgary district, of the marvellous agricultural resources of the prairies, of the wonderful progress made by such cities as Vancouver and Winnipeg, of the stupendous grandeur of the Niagara Falls, of the horticultural and agricultural wealth of the Hamilton district of Ontario, and of the picturesque and historical associations of Quebec and Maritime Canada. There is also much that I feel tempted to write regarding the many interesting personalities that we met, including men with such world-wide reputations as the deservedly popular Governor-General, Earl Grey, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Sandford Fleming, the Hon. Frank Oliver, Canada's able

Minister of the Interior; also the Opposition leader, Mr. Borden, and his cousin, Sir Frederick Borden. However, what "Standard of Empire" readers may desire is a detailed account of the programme we went through—a programme that, although it is well filled with fixtures, gives but a very imperfect idea of the kindness and hospitality extended to us in every part of Canada that we visited. It was not only the Press delegates themselves that were provided for, but also, wherever they went, the ladies that accompanied them were met by generous members of their own sex, who saw that their sisters from the Antipodes were made to feel at home. Hereunder, then, are categorical details of how the tour was spent at each point at which we halted.

### **AN ITINERARY.**

**VICTORIA (B.C.)**—On the forenoon of the day after arrival we were taken round town in six-in-hand drags by the Board of Trade. A public luncheon was given to the whole party at the Empress Hotel by the Canadian Club. In the afternoon came automobile drives, after which we were entertained by Mrs. Croft at afternoon tea. In the evening there was a reception at the Alexandra Club. We left on May 5, [1909] at 2 p.m., for Vancouver, by the C.P.R. s.s. "Princess Charlotte."

**VANCOUVER.**—Arrived 7 p.m., after an interesting passage, amidst beautiful scenery. We were met by the Mayor, Mr. Douglas, and other notables. After dinner we all visited the theatre as guests of the Mayor, who subsequently entertained the party at supper. Sir C. Hibbert Tupper was amongst those who delivered addresses. The following morning, as guests of the Board of trade, delegates were driven in automobiles to visit various lumber mills and Stanley Park. We left Vancouver by the 3.30 p.m. C.P.R. train, in a special sleeper car, in which the delegates travelled all the way to Quebec.

**FIELD.**—Having lunched at Glacier about noon, the party arrived at Field on Saturday afternoon, May 7, [1909]. We were taken in a special train to see the new

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railway deviation works to reduce the grade in Kicking Horse Pass from 4 ft. 2 ins. to 2 ft. We stayed at the Mount Stephen Hotel, and left Field early next morning.

**BANFF.**—At Laggan, on our way to Banff, we stayed long enough to see the monument to Sir James Hector, who discovered Kicking Horse Pass, and subsequently became well known in New Zealand. At Banff we visited the famous sulphur bath, and saw the herd of buffaloes which is kept there. We met the officials in charge of the reservation, who explained what was being done to preserve native animals from extinction. The whole party were deeply impressed by the magnificent scenery of the Rockies.

**CALGARY.**—The forenoon was occupied by an automobile trip to see the great irrigation works of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, intended to supply 3,000,000 acres with water from the Bow River. A luncheon was given by the Canadian Club of Calgary, after which came more automobile drives to view various local industries, also to Mr. Turner's horse ranch. We took afternoon tea with Mrs. Longheed, the wife of

Senator Longheed. Dinner we took as guests of the Mayor, who subsequently entertained the party at the theatre. We left Calgary at midnight.

REGINA.—Arrived 6 p.m. [May] 11<sup>th</sup>, [1909] and were entertained at dinner by the Canadian Club of this city. Next day we lunched with the Board of Trade, and subsequently visited the headquarters of that fine body of men, the North-West Mounted Police. Afternoon tea was taken with the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Forget, and Mrs. Forget. Delegates whilst in Regina saw a good deal of the Premier of Saskatchewan, Mr. Walter Scott, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Haultain. We left this wonderfully rapidly growing prairie city at 6 p.m. on May 12, [1909].

WINNIPEG.—We arrived 8 a.m., [May] 13<sup>th</sup>, [1909] in this great emporium and metropolis of Central Canada. In the forenoon we were driving round the city in motor-cars, after which we lunched at the Country Club, as guests of newspaper proprietors of Winnipeg—a delightful and very interesting day.

FORT WILLIAM —Arrived 10 a.m. We were met by the local public men and taken for a steamer trip on the Kaministiquin River. We inspected Ogilvy's famous flour mills, and were entertained at luncheon in the Masonic Hall, Fort William, by the Canadian Club of that flourishing city and inland port.

PORT ARTHUR.—We stayed here for a little while, and inspected the largest wheat elevator in the world.

LAKES SUPERIOR AND HURON.—At 4 p.m., [May] 14<sup>th</sup>, [1909] we left Port Arthur and went on to Keewatin, on our voyage of 525 miles on the great lakes to Owen Sound. On the following day, about 2 p.m., we passed through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. On arrival at Owen Sound we were met by the local notabilities and driven round the town.

TORONTO.—We arrived in this great eastern capital at 1 p.m. on May 16, [1909] and were met by Mr. W. K. George and other gentlemen. The following day (Monday) [May 17, 1909] the party was driven in automobiles around the city. In the evening a banquet at the National Club was given jointly by the Press, the Manufacturers' Association, and the Board of Trade. Mr. Gibson, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided. Amongst the speakers was the Premier, Sir James Whitney.

NIAGARA.—At the special invitation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, we left Toronto in a special train—a train de luxe—provided by the Grand Trunk Railway Company. Travelling in the greatest luxury over this famous double-track line, in the president's own private car, the eighty-seven miles to Niagara were covered in 1 hr. 53 mins. The party were brought round and shown the sights of the Niagara district by Mr. Langmuir, chairman of the Park Trust Commissioners. He also entertained us at Clifton House at luncheon, on behalf of the Ontario Government. A visit was paid to General Brock's monument. Admiration was universal amongst the visitors at the excellent work that is being done to make the Canadian side of the Falls still more attractive than at present. The party had dinner on the special train as the guests of our hosts the Grand

Trunk Railway. Mr. H. R. Charlton, of the Grand Trunk, acted as our host throughout this really delightful trip.

OTTAWA.—We were received by the Mayor and the President of the Board of Trade, by whom addresses of welcome were read. Then came an automobile tour, followed by luncheon at the House of Commons, given us by the Dominion Government. Mr. Oliver, the Minister of the Interior, presided, and the principal toast was proposed by Mr. Fielding, Minister for Finance. After this brilliant

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function we attended the ceremony of prorogation of Parliament, and subsequently attended a reception given by Mrs. Kerr, the wife of the Speaker of the Senate, and Mme. Marceil, wife of the Speaker of the House of Commons. In the evening a great banquet was given to the party by the Governor-General at Government House, at which speeches were delivered by his Excellency and by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and responded to by members of our party.

MONTREAL.—We arrived here at eight a.m. on May 20, [1909] and interviewed Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to thank him for all that his company had done for the party. We were driven round the city in motor-cars, and visited the Bank of Montreal. We were then entertained at a luncheon given by the “Montreal Star,” with Mr. Brendon Macnab in the chair. In the evening a dinner was given to the delegates at the St. James Club by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trade. Mr. Develin, member of the Quebec Ministry, and Mr. Hays, the well-known vice-president of the Grand Trunk Railway, were amongst the speakers.

QUEBEC.—We breakfasted at the Chateau Frontenac, where the party made a presentation to Mr. George Ham in recognition of his many kindnesses and untiring attentions to them. We then drove to the Plains of Abraham to see Wolfe’s monument, and to the Montmorency Falls, where we saw the former residence of the Duke of Kent. Luncheon was given to the delegates at the Garrison Club by the Government of Quebec, the chair being occupied by the Premier, Sir Lomer Gouin. Sir Alphonse Pelletier, the Lieutenant-Governor, was amongst those present. Before three o’clock we boarded the C.P.R. liner “Empress of Britain,” and were soon steaming down the magnificent river St. Lawrence on our way to Liverpool, the cheers of our kindly Quebec hosts ringing still in our ears.

## **FAREWELL TO THE DOMINION.**

A few minutes before leaving Canada I telegraphed the following message to the Aide-de-Camp-in-Waiting, Government House, Ottawa:— “On the eve of our departure from Canada I have been requested by the Australasian Press delegates to ask you to convey to the Governor-General our thanks for the hospitality extended to us, and to also bid good-bye to their Excellencies.”

At Rimouski, where the mail comes on board, I received the following reply from Captain Newton:—"His Excellency thanks the Australasian Press delegates for their kind telegram, and wishes them bon voyage, and hopes they may be successful in their efforts to obtain quickened transportation and cheaper cable service between the Motherland and the Dominions."

It is hardly necessary to add that, in so fine a ship as the "Empress of Britain," Commander Murray gave us a very pleasant passage across the Atlantic, and time passed quickly until, after a preliminary glimpse of the Green Island's shores, we sighted England, and realised that the end of a marvellously interesting and instructive journey had been safely and happily reached by the Australasian delegates to the Imperial Press Conference.

It was a very real pleasure to us all to meet and have as fellow-passengers the majority of the Canadian delegates to the Conference, whose acquaintance we were thus able to make aboard the "Empress of Britain" before entering upon the actual business of our mission in England.

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CHAPTER XXII.  
A RETROSPECT.

Considerable interest attaches to the following Retrospect of the Conference published in the "Times" of June 28, [1909] immediately after the close of the whole programme, from the pen of its Special Correspondent, who had accompanied the delegates throughout. He wrote:—

That the conference has been exceedingly fruitful in good results is incontestable. It would not be too much to say that at their first meeting the delegates were under the impression, shared by many not of their number, that their proceedings would be rather in the nature of a series of entertainments than of really useful business. The first influence in removing this idea was the speech delivered by Lord Rosebery at the opening banquet. His "Welcome Home" struck a responsive chord in the heart of every member of the Conference, and the words were treasured and continually repeated during their visit. But what made no less an impression upon them was the grave note of warning uttered by Lord Rosebery on the subject of Imperial defence.

These two points in the speech focussed attention from the outset on the two great outstanding facts to which in all their subsequent discussions and conversations the delegates constantly returned—the facts, namely, of a common home and a common interest to defend. In the words of one of the delegates, this speech, reinforced as it was by the very weighty pronouncements of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Balfour, brought home to all present more keenly than it had ever been brought home before the idea that the Empire is face to face with a deliberate attempt on the communications by which every one of the Overseas Dominions exists.

The first great result of the Conference then was the strengthening of this conviction, to which very remarkable expression was given by many of the most prominent among the delegates. Mr. Balfour, in his speech at the luncheon given to the delegates at the Constitutional Club, declared: The fate of Australia, the fate of New Zealand, of Canada, South Africa, India—that is not going to be decided in the Pacific; it is not going to be decided in the Indian Ocean; it is going to be decided here.

How the necessary co-operation in this matter of defence can be achieved will be the subject of the Conference of Ministers from the Overseas Dominions to be held in London next month. As far as the Imperial Press Conference is concerned, however, the principle has been conceded with an enthusiasm and a unanimity which leave nothing to be desired.

To sum up this part of the subject there has been (1) complete unanimity as to the necessity for co-operation in Imperial defence; (2) a conviction that the part which the Overseas Dominions can play in developing the naval resources of the Empire is by no means incompatible with their own complete independence and freedom of action.

Of the other questions to which attention was specially devoted, that of cable rates was the most important. It is felt that some means of getting into quicker and closer intellectual communication with each other is indispensable, if we are to work efficiently to the great end we all have in view. From all quarters there arises a louder and more insistent demand for a cheapening of cable rates and an increase in facilities. A committee has been appointed to consider this question, and its deliberations can hardly fail to contribute to the solution of the problem.

The meeting on Friday [June 25, 1909] was devoted to discussion of this subject; and it is extremely gratifying to all interested in the dissemination of news throughout the Empire to know that the representations which have been made to the cable companies have resulted in a substantial diminution of the charges hitherto ruling between England and Australia. There is plenty of scope, however, still remaining for useful work on the part of the committee, particularly in the matter of the reduction of the cable rates to India, Africa, and the West Indies. The matter is not one of newspaper interest alone, but is closely bound up with the interests of the Empire itself.

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### **A DELEGATE'S VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE.**

At one of the last of the many entertainments given to the delegates, a speech was made by the editor of a Western Australian paper in which, he admirably summed up the view of the Conference expressed to me by many of its members. He said:—

“The real results of the Conference would not be found in the minute-books of the Conference. They would be greater in an indirect sense than they had been directly. The influence that had been brought to bear upon the overseas delegates could not fail to have

very great effects upon their writings in the future. Coming, as they did, from isolated parts of the Empire, it was an agreeable surprise to them to find that they had all been thinking Imperially, and thinking in much the same way. While the spirit of nationalism was growing up very strongly, they felt that the spirit of nationalism was in no way out of harmony with the true spirit of Imperialism; and it had been a revelation to the delegates to find the unanimity that existed, not only among the English-speaking people of the Empire, but among those who came from different races. They had been helped to strengthen that feeling of Imperial unity in the certain hope that eventually the highest ideals of the best form of Imperialism would be realised. That form of Imperialism was not associated with a policy of aggrandisement, but was associated with the policy that would tend to promote the peace of the world, and the prosperity and the betterment of humanity generally.”

It would be idle to deny that the European situation has exerted a very great influence in tightening the bonds of Empire; and it is instructive to note how far-reaching are the effects of a menace to our common interest. The speaker just quoted travelled for seven days across Australia before he reached the capital of the State where he joined his fellow-delegates from the Commonwealth. The Australian party, when once it had left Sydney, was three weeks on the ocean before it reached the Pacific coast of Canada. A Canadian delegate, speaking at a banquet in Glasgow, declared that when at home he was as remote from one of his Canadian colleagues as Egypt is from London, and as remote from another, in the opposite direction, as London is from Russia.

It might have been supposed that distances like those just indicated would have had the effect of causing some estrangement between men so widely separated; but the contrary proved to be the case. The Australians, following the All-Red route, which was defined as the official route, were greeted on their arrival on Canadian soil with an enthusiasm which both surprised and touched them. Wherever they went they found themselves among friends, anxious and eager to exchange views and ideas on all sorts of subjects affecting the common interests of the two peoples. They were banqueted by many representative men, from the Governor-General downwards, and, having been welcomed with the utmost heartiness at Victoria on the Pacific coast, were given a not less hearty “God-speed” from Quebec on the St. Lawrence. Among the indirect results of the Conference must be mentioned the knowledge gained from such experiences.

Similarly, when the delegates had all assembled in England there arose a spirit of comradeship which subsisted without a jarring note from the beginning of the Conference to the end. It came as a surprise, and a most agreeable one, to the delegates as a body to see the great interest which was taken in their doings by the leading representatives of English public opinion.

### **THE SCOTTISH AND PROVINCIAL TOURS.**

The impression made upon them by all that they saw in the course of their excursions through England and Scotland has been profound. From the lips of many of them I have heard expressions of admiration and even of surprise at the seriousness of purpose, the



strenuous life, the vigour, energy, and vitality which they found in all parts of the kingdom visited by them. Some of the Australians, misled by British self-depreciation, which is invariably noted and exaggerated when it reaches their country, some of the Canadians, deceived by American caricatures of the effete and decadent Englishman, had come prepared to find a people sapped of its manhood and tottering to its fall. How different was the impression actually made upon them by the spectacle of the Navy at Spithead, of the Army at Aldershot, of the great foundries and shipbuilding works at Sheffield and Glasgow, and the crowds whom they saw in the great cities and the workmen with whom they conversed in our factories and dockyards! Over and over again I was told by the delegates that they were going back

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with the feeling that a country which could do what England is doing to-day is in no danger of degeneration.

### **SOME OF THE HELPERS.**

Any retrospect of the Conference would be incomplete which did not contain some reference to those who have helped in making it the great and conspicuous success which it is admitted by all to have been. First must be mentioned the name of Mr. Harry E. Brittain, the hon. secretary. It was Mr. Brittain who first conceived the idea of such a Conference, and he has thrown himself into its realisation with an energy and enthusiasm worthy of all praise. The best testimony to his success and the feeling with which he has come to be regarded by all the delegates is to be found in the presentation made to him on Saturday [June 26, 1909] at the final reception held by the delegates for the purpose of bidding farewell to their friends in London. Mr. Brittain was ably seconded by his wife, who was a member of the ladies' sub-committee, and helped in every way to make the visitors feel at home. To Lord Burnham, the president, to Lord Northcliffe, the hon. treasurer, and to Mr. C. Arthur Pearson, the chairman of the executive committee, warm acknowledgements are also due for the unflagging interest which they have taken in the Conference. To Mr. Kennedy Jones, Mr. Robert Donald, and Mr. Pearson the compliment was paid by Mr. Brittain on Saturday [June 26, 1909] of saying that without their aid the Conference could not have been held. Mr. Spender and Mr. Harry Lawson have also done much to ensure its success. The leaders of the Press of Great Britain came forward with alacrity to support the project. They were aided by railway companies, the proprietors of motor-cars and carriages, and many others whose co-operation has been of the greatest value. A large amount of public and private hospitality also contributed to the success of the undertaking.

The name of Mr. Kyffin Thomas, of the Adelaide "Register," calls for special mention in any reference to those to whom acknowledgments are due. Mr. Kyffin Thomas was selected by the Australian and New Zealand delegates as their chairman when they reached Canada. On his arrival in London he was chosen as chairman of the whole body. He has endeared himself to all his brother delegates by his modesty and self-effacement, while his unflinching tact has immensely contributed to the smooth working of the Conference.

Endorsing in its leading columns the conclusions above recorded, and “the tribute to the originator, the organisers, and all who have contributed in any way” to the success won, the “Times” of the same date remarked, in relation to the lowering of the Pacific Cable rates:—

We are confident that this is only the first instalment of a general reduction of rates, which will be of immeasurable value to the cause of Imperial consolidation and development. But its influence has been no less valuable in other directions. Taking place at a moment when circumstances of unusual gravity are giving special prominence to the problem of Imperial defence, it has served to familiarise not only the delegates, but also to some extent the scattered peoples which they represent, with the main facts of the situation, until recently by no means so fully understood, which the Empire is called upon to face. Lastly, it has brought a large number of those who reflect and mould opinion here and in the Dominions into close personal relations which we shall value greatly on our side, and which our visitors—if we may interpret their feelings by the graceful return of hospitality at which on Saturday [June 26, 1909] they entertained their hosts—will value equally on theirs.

The Conference ended, as it began, on a high Imperial note. That note is, perhaps, best expressed in the words used by Lord Milner on Thursday [June 24, 1909]—namely, “*Communis Patria*.”

The true results of the Conference are not to be looked for in any cut-and-dried resolutions, but in that quickened sense of “*communis patria*” which has been its unmistakable and most gratifying characteristic. In this respect the Conference has discharged that which is essentially the proper function of the Press, in preparing by public discussion for the more or less concrete action which, we must hope, will be taken by that other Conference [of Ministers from the Oversea Dominions] which is about to meet.

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It only remains to add that subsequently to the appearance of the above article the foundations were laid of an Empire Press Union, with its headquarters in London, and branch committees in the Oversea Dominions, to secure the permanent oversight of questions affecting cable services and charges to the Press of Great and Greater Britain, and the holding of periodical Press Conferences in different parts of the Empire—an invitation having already been received to hold the next gathering in Winnipeg in 1912.

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THE FIRST

Imperial Press Conference

## FULL REPORTS

### OF THE

Speeches and Discussions

### AT THE

### SIX SESSIONS.

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IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE.

THE OPENING DAY.

#### “CABLE NEWS SERVICES AND PRESS INTERCOMMUNICATION.”

The business sittings of the Imperial Press Conference opened at the Foreign Office, Whitehall, on Monday, June 7, [1909] the subject for discussion being “Cable News Services and Press Intercommunication.”

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crewe, K.G., Secretary for the Colonies, presided, and he was accompanied by the Rt. Hon. Sydney Buxton, M.P. (Postmaster-General), and the Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., while others present included Lord Northcliffe, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., Sir C. Kinloch Cooke, Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Dr. Parkin, C.M.G., the Hon. H. Lawson, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Nicol Dunn, Mr. H. E. Brittain, hon. secretary of the Conference, and representatives of the leading newspapers throughout the country.

During the morning several congratulatory telegrams were received.

In his opening address to the Conference,

Lord CREWE said: Gentlemen, on Saturday night [June 5, 1909] you received the welcome of your brethren of the British Press, a welcome enforced by an eloquent speech from one of our great national orators. To-day it is my perhaps more humble task to bid you an official welcome to this building. This is not the welcome of his Majesty's Government, because that welcome will be extended to you later on by the man who has the most right to give it—the Prime Minister. (Hear, hear.) But I welcome you here to-day on behalf of the official world which from time to time, from change to change of parties, administers the affairs of the nation. This quadrangle, gentlemen, in which we are sitting to-day is in a sense a microcosm of the Empire. Under this roof are housed the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the India Office, and the Home Office. A stone's-throw away is the Treasury—and I use that somewhat indeterminate description of

distance on account of its propriety, because it not infrequently happens to us of this building, when we erect some fair project from which we believe the most admirable results may proceed, a deftly-aimed stone from the other side of Downing Street breaks it into fragments. (Laughter.) This is the first of a series of business meetings—business meetings which I think some of you will be disposed to look upon as a relaxation from the more exacting demands of social and other functions outside. They are the bread, the solid nutriment which is the set-off against the more exciting diet of sack outside. If some of you think, as is possible, that the proportions between the bread and the sack are not exactly what you would desire them to be, you must set it down to the desire of your hosts in this country to make your time here agreeable as well as interesting. Now, gentlemen, at this first business meeting we plunge at once into a subject of supreme importance. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps as this is a Press Conference, it may be said to be the most important subject with which you will deal at any of these business meetings. (Hear, hear.) Because, although there are countless prescriptions for bringing the various parts of the Empire

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nearer together, yet whatever they may be, and whatever form they may take, we must all, I think, agree that easy and cheap communication lies behind them all. (Cheers.) In the office which I have the honor to hold, that of Secretary for the Colonies, I perhaps am not in a bad position to perceive this, that what the Empire needs almost above all other things is an increase of what in private life we should call ease and intimacy. The absence of that ease and that intimacy sometimes leads us here, and possibly some of you overseas as well, to indulge in that peculiarly inconvenient form of shyness which takes the form of self-assertion. (Laughter.) Now, it is not only, as we are sometimes tempted to think, that we desire to see closer union and more frequent communication between the Mother Country and the dominions overseas. Inter-communication between the different dominions is every whit as important. (Hear, hear.) And not only this, but we desire to see both here and in all the dominions of His Majesty the King a closer and more intimate knowledge of those parts of the Empire which are not self-governing. In my view the Empire will not be really united until the time comes when the average citizen, say, of the Western Provinces of Canada is in a position to learn and understand, if he will take the trouble to do so, what are the problems of Indian government. (Hear, hear.) Equally, I should say, the Empire will not be really united until the average citizen of Australia is in a position, if he cares to do so, to learn easily all about the developments of our great Protectorates, such as the two Nigerias. And from the point of view of the Government, for whom I venture to speak for a moment, this absence of easy daily communication has its serious side. It is extremely difficult, as matters now stand, for really accurate accounts of what is said and done here or overseas to be reported at once all over the Empire. Only last week the office over which I preside suffered from a difficulty of this kind. In the House of Commons, just before the adjournment, my colleague, Colonel Seely, made a statement in reply to various questions on the subject of the South African Union Bill. I think that anybody who heard his speech or who had the opportunity of reading it in full would have agreed that it contained nothing which need cause any uneasiness in South Africa. But in the form in which it reached South Africa it caused—for the moment only—I am glad to think—a very real uneasiness. That was due not to any

kind of misrepresentation of what Colonel Seely said, but to an imperfect report—imperfect because of the curtailed form in which it was telegraphed. We are sometimes told that much may be done by the use of codes. I noticed in the course of a reported interview, given by one of the managers of a great cable company, that he mentioned a case in which two words were sent by cable, which when decoded, produced no less than 170. (Laughter.) I have been trying to think what that singularly pregnant sentence could have been, but I have no doubt it was of a purely business character. (Renewed laughter.) Codes may do very well for business. Codes may also be employed for telegraphing perorations—(laughter)—because the possibilities of the commutations and permutations of perorations are necessarily limited in number. (Laughter.) But when we come to the communication of new facts, to the development of a new policy, or a statement of an explanatory character, it is on these occasions when verbal accuracy is absolutely necessary. Then the system of codes to a great extent breaks down. It is particularly necessary when reporting the speeches of Ministers, because the speeches of Ministers always contain, and sometimes almost entirely consist of, qualifications. (Laughter.) Those who, like my friend Mr. Chamberlain, are for the moment in opposition are less dependent upon that form of phrase; but after all his turn may come again. (Laughter.) In fact, as Lord Milner, in speaking on the subject in December last [1908], said—it takes almost a genius to avoid being misleading in sending reports of this kind by cable. (Hear, hear.) And when you add to that fact the other fact that the man at the end of the wire may have a prepossession, or may represent somebody with prepossessions in favour of one side or the other, which might naturally induce him, not to garble the message, but to lay particular stress on that part which is in favour the view that he or his principal may hold, it stands to reason that anything like perfect accuracy is exceedingly hard to obtain.

In the Press, of course, much can be done by letters from correspondents. But unfortunately, in this hurried age, we all desire to see and hear some new thing, and it is the cablegrams and not the

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letters which create the abiding impression. (Hear, hear.) I have sometimes been almost tempted to regret the amount of ability and pains which are devoted to the letters from foreign correspondents in some of our great journals, because I know that the average reader, looking back and seeing that the date attached to them is a date three weeks or a month or six weeks ago, will pass them over and will desire to read only the news of the last day or two. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, how do we stand as regards the facts of the case? Well, one very important fact is the Pacific Cable. The Pacific Cable, dependent, as you know, to some extent on subsidies from this country and from three of the great oversea dominions, has had a very real and very beneficial effect. In a technical sense it does not pay, but it is only fair to remember that it is subject to the provision of a very liberal sinking fund for renewal, and you certainly are not going to forget, in its favour, that it has both itself instituted and caused elsewhere a very substantial reduction in rates. (Cheers.) Like other institutions, it depends to some extent on the circumstances of the moment. I notice that the average of Press messages since the year 1904 was 300, with 17,000 words. In the year 1903-4 the messages reached 890, with 37,000 words. Opposite that statement is an asterisk, and below the asterisk is the word “cricket.”

(Laughter.) That gives rise to reflections which need not be in any way unkindly, but still are reflections, and my reflections are these—that I should be very sorry to see the words devoted to reports of inter-Imperial cricket diminished by one, but I should be very glad to see the words devoted to reports of inter-Imperial cricket diminished by one, but I should be very glad to see the words on subjects of even more serious import multiplied by many hundreds, or even thousands. (Cheers.) Now, into the question of cable development I must not trench in presence of my friend Mr. Sydney Buxton. I think I may venture to say that, subject to these financial considerations, which always weigh upon us, that the attitude of the Government, for the reasons which I have frequently given and for many others, is of a thoroughly favourable character—(cheers)—and we shall welcome the assistance which in the course of these discussions the gentlemen will doubtless give us in hoping to find a solution of the question. We shall also, of course, bear in mind the great development, and, as we hope, the increasing development, of wireless telegraphy. That is a side of the matter of which, of course, we cannot lose sight. At the Colonial Office we are continually receiving communications and suggestions, both from individuals and from bodies, with regard to wireless development. We have one before us now in relation to New Zealand and the Western Pacific. We have even done a little in that line ourselves. We have instituted a wireless station between two islands which make up one colony, of Trinidad and Tobago. Then there is the further question—a question which also gives rise to thought—that of the unoccupied hours of the present cables. (Hear, hear.) It certainly does seem to be a singular fact, although the matter is a too technical one for me to attempt to dwell upon at any length, but it does seem a singular fact that those great encircling cables should be, as I believe, allowed during several hours in every day to lie absolutely idle. That makes one think that the system, not to put it too highly, cannot be absolutely perfect, but is one which, as it exists at this moment, leads us to look for a remedy. Gentlemen, the interest in this subject is, I believe, most keen; most keen with you here, and most keen with you all over the country. The Board of Trade of Ottawa has taken a leading and prominent part in pressing this subject upon the Governments, not merely in Canada, but in the whole Empire. I think I am right in saying that when the delegates from Australia and New Zealand passed through Canada the other day you had direct communication with the Board of Trade at Ottawa on this subject. There are two gentlemen, evangelists in the matter of inter-communication, whose names I can't help mentioning on this occasion. They are Sir Sandford Fleming and Mr. Henniker Heaton. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Lemieux, the Postmaster-General of the Canadian Dominion, has taken a warm interest in this subject, and he has been good enough to send to me, and I think he has also communicated to this Conference, some interesting letters from Sir Sandford Fleming, giving some of the latest information, which will prove to be most valuable. (Hear, hear.) Well, gentlemen, this is a business meeting, and I must not detain you longer. I desire to say we welcome you here very heartily both in your corporate capacity, representing as you do organisations which possess the greatest influence of any in the Empire—an influence which carries with it a corresponding

regards arrangements made. I believe it will meet your wishes if the speeches of the speakers are limited to the brief and, I hope, sufficient period of ten minutes, with the proviso that the proposer of a resolution should speak for a quarter of an hour. The discussion this morning will be devoted entirely to this important subject of cable communication, and it cannot be hoped that we shall arrive at any definite conclusion to-day, so I suppose it will be then adjourned until the 25<sup>th</sup> June, [1909] when further opportunities for discussion will be given. I am not in possession of the names of the gentlemen who will move or second the first resolution, and I dare say those who desire to speak to-day will be good enough to send in their names.

LORD CREWE: This telegram from Lord Minto has just been handed to me, and I am sure I shall be acting in accordance with your wishes if I read it to you:—"On behalf of all classes and subjects of His Majesty's Government in India I send Conference congratulations on their important gathering and best wishes for successful Conference on their world-wide work. I am glad gathering includes representatives from India." (Cheers.)

MR. KYFFIN THOMAS.

Mr. R. KYFFIN THOMAS, senior proprietor of the "Register," Adelaide, and Chairman of the Overseas Delegates, said: I have been honoured by my colleagues from the overseas dominions of His Majesty the King to say on this occasion a few words of thanks on their behalf for the very kind welcome which has been extended to us. First of all, I would desire to tender to the Colonial Secretary our very best and most grateful thanks for his kindness in presiding here to-day, for giving the sanction of his presence to this gathering, and for the very kind welcome which he has accorded to us all on this our first meeting. (Cheers.) I would like at the same time to convey to the members of the Press in Great Britain—our colleagues in the journalistic world—and to all those others who have done so much to make our welcome such a splendid one, our very grateful thanks for the kindness of the welcome which they have given us. (Cheers.) When we left our homes—some of us many weeks ago, some only within the last few days—we were quite convinced that we would receive a most hearty welcome, but the magnificence of that welcome and the magnificence of the entertainments which have been provided for us surpass all the ideas we had upon the subject. It is impossible adequately to thank you; it is impossible, at any rate, for me to give adequate expression in words of what is in our hearts. But I can assure you of the very deep gratitude which we have in our minds for all your great kindness to all of us. Lord Crewe, in his very interesting address, has said a great many things with which we all agree; and I think we can all agree with one point most thoroughly and without any division at all among us, and that is in our desire to see cheaper means of communication between the various parts of the Empire. (Cheers.) There are various points which arise under that heading which might be regarded as controversial, and I will not from my position here to-day enter upon any of those matters, but simply say that that is a question on which there can be no possible disagreement among any of us. His lordship, during the course of his remarks, also mentioned that it was not easy promptly to report important events in the outlying parts of the Empire owing to the large expanse of cables. Perhaps in justice to the newspapers

in the remote parts of the world I should say that they do not stint expense in dealing with matters of great importance, and I think that the readers of the Colonial Press would find that when events of great national moment are dealt with the telegrams are of a fairly ample kind. But at the same time we could make them fuller and ampler, and deal with subjects in a much more extended way if there were a cheaper rate of communication. There is only one other point in his lordship's remarks on which I would like to say a word, and that is in reference to his statement that in the interpretation of cables there might be prepossessions on the part of the interpreters in favour of the one party or the other to which they might happen to belong. I am sure his lordship did not mean to suggest that there was extensive colouring of telegrams. I should like to say this, that in the long experience I have had in Australia of the cable services, and having seen these cable messages as they appeared in the papers throughout the

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Commonwealth, I have never been able to discover a case in which that prepossession was shown, whatever the politics might be of the paper for which they were interpreted. There may be cases of which I do not know, but I think I may say on behalf of the journalists of Australia, and I am sure if I were speaking on behalf of the journalists of the other parts of the Empire I should be saying what was equally true of them when I say that extensive colouring is practically never done. This reduction of the cost of cable messages is one of the practical results we look for from this Conference, however it may be obtained; but whether that be secured or not, I think this great gathering will not be without its most important results. In the first place, it is enabling us to know each other. Eleven of us left by one steamer from Australia some two months ago. I think all of us were known to each other by name; personally I had previously met only three of the others, and the same thing applies no doubt to our colleagues in different parts of the Empire. As we proceeded through the great Dominion of Canada we made a large number of new friends. Not only were we received with the greatest kindness and consideration by the Board of Trade and by that great institution the Canadian Club, but by the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governors, the Premiers, and officials of all kinds in the Dominion. We were also treated with the greatest kindness and courtesy and consideration by our friends on the Press; and we regarded it as a great privilege that we were able to make their personal acquaintance. And here in the great metropolis of the Empire we have still greater opportunity of meeting not only our brethren from beyond the seas, but our brethren in English journalism, and I can assure you I regard that as a very great privilege indeed. I think, perhaps, our journey through Canada gave us a new conception of Empire. We were able to witness the enthusiasm with which the word "Empire" is regarded in Canada. I do not think we are less enthusiastic in Australia, nor are you less enthusiastic in Great Britain. But there is a stronger expression, from special circumstances no doubt, of the sentiment throughout Canada. And then what an advantage it was to see places that we have simply heard of and which were merely places on the map. You remember, my lord, how Kipling in his poem speaks of "O'Calgary an' Wellin'ton an' Sydney an' Quebec." We from the South side of the Pacific—all of us know Sydney and a good many of us know Wellington, and all of us ought to do so. Now we know that Calgary—that great city of the western plains in Canada which I speak of as typical of other places we know—is something more than a



geographical expression. Having seen Quebec, if only for a few hours, we can understand the love and loyalty of the French Canadian for his country. Some of us will be able to tell the great Australian dominions what Empire is when we go back, and when we have completed our tour we shall realise—to quote the same writer—

“Why Dawson, Galle and Montreal,  
Port Darwin—Timaru,  
They’re only just across the road!”

We shall realise that and make more attempts to see our brethren across the seas. We shall find that it will not only have a good personal effect from our own point of view, but that it will help greatly to the expansion of that real Empire feeling which we all desire to have. I need hardly say it would give us great delight if it could be arranged that within a year or two the next meeting of this conference should be in Australia—(hear, hear)—and in succession in other parts of the Empire. Australia has no real claim to precedence in the matter, but English journalists, I think, know Canada pretty well, while Australia is something of a terra incognita to a great many of them, and we of this delegation, who come from Australia, are in strong hopes that it may be possible to arrange that a meeting of the Press Conference may, before much time has elapsed, be held in our own country. I thank you for your kindness in listening to me to-day. (Cheers.)

Sir HUGH GRAHAM: I have been asked to circulate and to ask you to make use of copies of various important documents, embracing the correspondence between Sir Sandford Fleming and the Ottawa Board of Trade and other bodies, and to ask permission to lay them on the table for the use of members. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Stanley Reed will move the first resolution.

MR. STANLEY REED.

Mr. STANLEY REED (“The Times of India”) said: The resolution I have the honour to move is as follows:—

“That this Conference regards it as of paramount importance that telegraphic facilities between the various parts of the

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Empire should be cheapened and improved so as to insure fuller inter-communication than exists at present; and appoints a committee to report to the Conference at its re-assembling on June 25 [1909] as to the best means to attain this object—the committee to consist of:—Mr. Kyffin Thomas, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Temperley, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Brierley, Mr. Ross, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Kingswell, Mr. Philipson Stow, Mr. Crosbie Roles, and the mover.”

My Lord and gentlemen.—The proposition which I have the honour to place before you is couched in very general terms. This has been purposely done. There can be no one here who questions the enormous importance of freer telegraphic communication between the various parts of the Empire. There are divers opinions as to how this can best be accomplished. Therefore we have thought it well now only to affirm our profound conviction that the improvement and cheapening of telegraphic facilities is a great Imperial necessity, leaving it to a representative committee to decide, in consultation with the permanent officials concerned, how this end can be most effectively and speedily accomplished.

My Lord, our proposition affirms that the cheapening and improving of Imperial telegraphic communications is a paramount necessity. Those words have been designedly used. There may be many who question the appropriateness of the phrase in view of the great issues connected with Imperial defence which we shall have to discuss. We should be the last to undervalue the importance of common action for Imperial defence between every section of the Empire. But we place freer telegraphic communication first, because it is absolutely essential to the success of every scheme for common Imperial action. (Hear, hear.) You cannot build up a double Empire on ignorance (hear, hear); you cannot solve intricate problems affecting peoples thousands of miles apart on misunderstandings and half-understandings. (Hear, hear.) We live in a day when the interest of England in the Empire, and the responsiveness of the outlying parts of the Empire to English opinion have deepened and quickened. I shall not consider whether that is a good tendency or a bad; I do most unhesitatingly assert that as long as it is influenced by ignorance it is bound to wreck every big scheme for common Imperial action. And influenced by ignorance it must be, as long as cable rates are so high that all news telegrams have to be compressed within the narrowest limits, and the cable is valueless for the purpose of those social messages which so many Britons abroad, with links at home, are anxious to interchange. To ask for vigorous common action between communities so starved is as logical as to expect a man to wax fat on tabloids and beef juice. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Let me refer specially for a moment to the case of India, with which I am best acquainted, because that may be typical of the other parts of the Empire. The conditions under which India is now kept in telegraphic touch with the outer world can only be described as grotesque. The rate for private telegrams is two shillings a word, for Press telegrams one. The fruits of this heavy tariff are not a little curious. Code on code has been elaborated, until the open private message is in danger of becoming extinct as the Dodo; the Press telegram is so short that we see oversea affairs as through a glass darkly. I think I may speak for my colleagues as well as myself when I say that we rarely express an opinion of a cablegram, because it is almost certain to require correction when the mail comes in. The only event from the Dominion ever adequately telegraphed to India was a gory account of the Burns-Johnson fight. (Laughter and hear, hear.) In every other part of the world news is considered of so much public importance that it is entitled to a specially cheap rate. In India the use of the modern code has reduced the cost of the private telegram to little more than 2d. a word. On the most conservative computation the cost of every word of news is between ninepence and tenpence. Nor is there in India an enormous English newspaper-reading public which widely distributes the burden. The horde of Englishmen battenning on India exists only in the imagination of members of

Parliament. The English population is few and far between; the Indian Press, with the honourable exception of my colleague, Mr. Banerjee's journal, prefers to obtain its foreign news by the more economical process of "lifting." Small wonder is it, then, that the news from the Dominions comes to India only in unrecognisable fragments, and the picture of India, represented in large sections of the English Press, sometimes cannot be recognised as the land we live in. My Lord, in the

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case of India that is not only an enormous inconvenience, but a serious Imperial menace. The untruth has the wings of the wind; the truth is shod with lead. (Hear, hear.) Many a half truth or untruth, flashed across the wires, has never found its antidote, and has helped to breed that atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion which we are all striving to disperse.

Lord Rosebery on Saturday asked the Indian delegation to give the English democracy some guidance in the governance of India. My Lord, may I ask how you are going to guide the democracy on the affairs of India at a shilling a word? (Laughter and cheers.) It is for these reasons that we ask the Conference to affirm its conviction that the provision of free telegraphic inter-communication is of paramount importance. Cheaper telegraphic rates are an indispensable preliminary to the full realisation of all projects of closer Imperial unity, whether based on Imperial defence or Imperial trade, and for the dispersion of the perils which lurk in ignorance in a democratic age. We ask the Congress to send the resolution to the committee with a backing so strong that they may be under no illusions as to their mandate, so strong that they may derive from it an impetus that will carry them over all the serious obstacles that have to be surmounted. (Loud cheers.)

MR. THEODORE FINK.

Mr. THEODORE FINK said: My Lord and gentlemen,—Very few words of mine will be necessary, or will proceed from me, to support the resolution so well framed and so strongly spoken to by Mr. Reed, of Bombay. As a representative of one of the newspapers in the self-governing dominion of Australia, in the State of Victoria, it is of more than small interest to me to be present at what I hope will be a historic gathering of journalists called to an Imperial Council in Downing Street. It represents almost the last phase of Empire consolidation. This is a historic place in relation to the colonies, and the atmosphere we now breathe is very different from that which was breathed by former colonials. And we have a great interest not only in the solution of problems which Lord Crewe referred to, but we hear with some little concern that the pious aspirations promulgated in his department are sometimes discounted, and even neutralised, by other rival departments of the same Government. (Hear, hear.) If this Conference in its spare time can be of the slightest assistance to the Imperial Government in settling any of the difficulties between the Colonial and Foreign Office, I am sure, through our Chairman and the Executive, that that assistance will not be withheld. (Laughter.) But so far as the necessity for fuller overseas Imperial communication is concerned, very little has been said which has not been commented upon in his statement by Lord Crewe and by the mover of the resolution in his well-studied speech. Inter-communication is the breath and life of self-government, which depends upon education of this sort, and from what has

been said about letters there can be no doubt that that method of communication between distant parts of the Empire is inadequate and useless. (Hear, hear.) There can be no doubt that life is too short for a man to turn back to a cable of a month or six weeks after he had received it to interpret the meaning of a letter. The noble lord has referred to a remark that was made recently in reference to an utterance, possibly clear, possibly oracular, and possibly hypothetical, in regard to the attitude of the Imperial Government relating to the South African Constitution, that was likely to cause political trouble until some explanation was forthcoming showing that an absolutely reverse impression had been conveyed in its cabled report. Here is another case in to-day's paper in which there are four or five lines devoted to the most important Australian news from the Commonwealth to the Empire in relation to the most pressing subject of Imperial policy, the offer of a Dreadnought by Mr. Deakin in which that offer is referred to in a few words. By a recent change of Government it was decided to adopt a well-considered—and all my friends from Australia will agree with me—a well-considered and deliberate movement, led by the Press and voicing the whole sentiments of Australia, that there should be an effective demonstration on the part of our island continent. Think of the enormous tax that would be involved in sending a cable to a journal of half a column, and to comprise the essence of the whole of the news on all subjects of Imperial, British, and Australian importance. We know that we have the sympathy of the Government, and we are glad to have it, but what form is that sympathy going to take? It is not a pious aspiration, this resolution. This is a resolution

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which asks the committee—and I think it is approved of by the chairman—to support the movement for the reduction of costs. Now, surely if this matter is vital to the development of the Empire and to the mutual understanding and consolidation of the Empire, it is the duty of the Government to contribute by effort, by money, and by policy, and not merely by the expression of a pious aspiration. I do not wish to take up the time of this meeting, as there are others to come who will speak on the subject in detail, but I do wish to have the resolution passed, so that when we resume our labours after the hospitality of this convention is finished, we shall have the committee's report in distinct form, and that some occasion will be suggested so that this meeting of journalists can forward it. We come here not merely to advance the commercial interests of newspaper proprietors, but to advance the interests of the Empire, which can only be advanced by the fullest communication, so that the citizen in Hobart—and we have a good specimen from there to-day with us; I mean Mr. Davis—and others from far-distant parts of the self-governing dominions of the Crown may not only be able to read the results, but the action from which those results sprang. I know Mr. Henniker Heaton's ideal is one penny a word, but I do not know whether it is possible. Possibly it is not yet, but there are many instalments of immediate reform going in that direction. There can be no doubt that many men who have studied figures will readily arrive at that conclusion, and I am sure that in a difficulty of this kind if we were backed up by the Government a good result would be attained. I would like to say one concluding sentence. We are grateful for the hospitality you have given us, which not only appeals to the imagination, but gives us a much fuller knowledge of one another's aspirations. (Loud applause.)

Lord CREWE: Gentlemen, with your permission, I will ask Mr. Sydney Buxton to say a few words.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON: Lord Crewe and Gentlemen,—It is not, of course, my place to give advice to this Conference, but at the same time it appears to me to be acting in the most judicious way by adopting, as I presume it will adopt, this resolution which has been moved and seconded—namely, that the matter in question, in which we are interested, should be referred to a small committee to consider it carefully, and then report to the full Conference at a future date. Of course, we may make speeches on the present occasion; but, after all, it is very much a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. It is a matter of real business capacity which we have to consider in reference to this matter, and I need hardly say that, so far as the Post Office is concerned, we will be represented, and adequately represented, as I presume you would desire, on that committee or at the meetings of the committee. Now, it necessarily follows that anyone who, like myself, for the time being may be concerned with the control of communication and with the efficiency of communication, should, like the Colonial Office, be deeply interested in the question you have at heart. I do not know, after what has been said, that it is necessary for me to emphasise the need and the necessity of cheaper communication between the various parts of the Empire. The various speakers have dwelt upon this necessity, and I think Lord Crewe in his speech very much put his finger on the difficulty which, as I understand, the newspapers have in telegraphing as compared with the ordinary individual—namely, that now, as he has pointed out, coding has been reduced to a fine art, and the penny a word which is the ideal of my friend on the right (Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P.) is really reduced very often to a farthing a word by means of the codes of the ordinary business person. That, however, is not possible with regard to the Press, and therefore it seems but right that a special rate should be granted to the Press in order really to place them on an equality with the individual or the business man. (Cheers.) That, of course, as we know, has been done to a certain extent, and I think we ought to recognise that in the past, to a certain extent, the Companies have endeavoured, in regard to the necessities of the Press to meet the difficulty by charging a considerably reduced price for Press Messages. Then Lord Crewe spoke also of the difficulty, and other speakers have emphasised it—presented by the two great drawbacks of the present system—one that information, and information from Great Britain to overseas, and information from overseas to Great Britain, is necessarily so

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far curtailed that matters which should be discussed between the various parts of the Empire can really hardly be mentioned. That difficulty has led, as he pointed out, and as other speakers have pointed out, from time to time not only to misunderstandings such as that to which he referred in the case of the Colonial Office and a self-governing colony, but, what I think is still more important, to the lack of information and of knowledge and of intimacy between the various parts of the Empire. Lord Crewe mentioned a particular case; I know that at various times we have had other cases arising in the same way. He also alluded to the large number of messages which were sent with reference to the game

of cricket. Well, that is due, I think, not only to the prodigious popularity of cricket and other games—a fact which has its advantages—but it is due also to the fact that you can put information in regard to cricket and sport in a brief, condensed message. If a Prime Minister here or overseas makes an important speech on a matter of policy you cannot condense it in the way that you can condense a description of a performance by Trumper. (Laughter.) A hundred runs are more easily compressed than a hundred words of a speech. Speech is only silver, and it is very often too expensive to telegraph it to the colonies. At the same time there is a great mass of information which it would be of the greatest possible advantage to have circulated by cable. But I am speaking here as representing the Post Office, and I should like this conference to recognise, as I hope the representatives of the English Press, of whom I see some here to-day, also recognise, that, so far as the Press is concerned, the British Post Office has been very liberal indeed. (Hear, hear.) We have shown our sympathy with the Press, and our sympathy has been on a cash basis. I am inclined to think, indeed—I hope you won't abuse me for saying it—but I am inclined to think, indeed, that so far as the British Press is concerned, the Post Office has been too liberal—(cries of “No, no”)—because we carry their messages at a loss to ourselves. However, we do not propose to go back on it, and you are quite safe. I only mention the fact to show that the Post Office is liberally minded. As regards the Treasury, as has been said, it very often comes in, and, no doubt legitimately, spoils one's desires and one's objects. But the Treasury treat the Post Office with considerable liberality, and they have got to treat us with considerable liberality, because while the Colonial Office is only a spending department, bringing in no revenue, the Post Office after all does bring in considerable revenue to the Treasury. I would recommend this conference to pay a visit to the Treasury. It might be useful to go to see some of the departments which prevent expenditure as well as those who have the money to expend. However, they had better be careful in going there, because there are very savage and strong watchdogs always keeping guard in front of the Treasury. And I have no doubt that if the committee from this conference were to go to the Treasury, these dogs might be loosened, and they would have to be careful how they approached. (Laughter.) But as far as the Post Office is concerned, we shall do what we can to assist your committee by information and by co-operation. I should like just to say this: I thought it well, before the conference met, to get into touch with some of the Companies—at all events, those specially interested—to see how far they would be likely to meet the views of the conference. Naturally, they did not wish to commit themselves, and I did not ask nor expect them to do so. But we have to recognise not only their existence, but that they are a commercial body like you gentlemen of the Press are also, and that they have done very good service for the Empire—I am speaking of the Eastern Telegraph Company and other leading companies. I want just to mention this, because I think it rather material. Without committing themselves, they say their point is this: I understood them to say that if they were sure of the result of a reduction of rates, say, from 1s. to 6d. a word, or whatever it might be—that it would produce a very considerable additional amount of business, they would be willing to favourably consider it. And that is really the matter which this committee and this conference has to consider. Because they pointed out that at the present time the total amount spent on Press telegrams is not great, and consequently that it forms a very small amount indeed of the total expenditure of the newspapers themselves in relation to the various other items of expenditure. It is not,

therefore, an unnatural or an unbusinesslike thing for them to consider whether, if they gave the reduction, they would make, I will not say an additional

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profit, but at all events see that an additional amount of traffic was produced by the reduction. I gather from what has been said here by various members of the conference that that would be so—that a reduction of rates would lead—as, in fact, it usually does—to a very considerable additional amount of matter being dealt with. So that on that point and to that extent, so far as the company is concerned, you would probably be able to give them the assurance they desire. Let me say this also, that, as regards the Atlantic cables at all events, I hope something may result from some negotiations that we are proposing to have in conjunction with the Canadian Government. Mr. Lemieux, the Canadian P.M.G., was here lately, but at his request for the time being the matter has been adjourned. It is possible that the findings of this particular conference may facilitate these negotiations when they are resumed. So far as the Post Office is concerned, we will give you all the assistance we can with regard to this matter. As representing the Post Office, I can say that we desire cheap communication throughout the world, and we can only hope you will be successful in your efforts. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: An amendment has been handed to me, which naturally takes precedence over the motion of Mr. Ross, and I would suggest that after it has been moved, before it is seconded, we should have a word or two from Mr. Chamberlain. (Cheers.) I would first of all ask Mr. Ross, of the Ottawa “Evening Journal,” to move his amendment.

THE HON. HARRY LAWSON

The Hon. HARRY LAWSON (London): May I move a friendly amendment, to add to this committee not fewer than four selected representatives of the British Press. This question not only concerns the Press of the Dominions of the Empire, but it concerns also, and to even a greater extent, the British and Metropolitan Press. I don’t want to elaborate the point. It is of advantage to the Empire that there should be increased facilities for inter-communication and mutual knowledge. I take that for granted. Cables run both ways, and I think that if the matter is to be considered in a practical, businesslike way, it is essential to have representatives of the Metropolitan Press on this committee. I quite agree with your remarks, my lord, if I may say so, as to the impossibility of any longer waiting for letters by post. We may regret it, but the days of Sir William Howard Russell are past. There are two conditions which make news acceptable: it must be by cable and it cannot be by cypher. As you said, it is impossible to code. Only the other day I tried to get a correspondence in this country by cypher, and the attempt was a dismal failure; therefore you can see that practically you cannot use cypher in our newspapers. And that being so, of course it is essential that we should get our news written at length, and we must have it by cable. What are the means by which we can accomplish it? Will it be, as the Postmaster-General said, by reduced rates, or by increased competition, or increased subsidy by His Majesty’s Government? Let me say, with all deference to Mr. Sydney Buxton, who referred to the watchdogs of the Treasury, that the Treasury have

certainly muzzled the watchdogs in recent days, and they may also muzzle them for our advantage if they grant it is a matter of national importance. And, as I say, if that is so, it is for us to consider how far it is possible, by an increased consumption on this side, the rate can be reduced, as it is essential to have it reduced. Mr. Buxton is misinformed as to the proportion that the cable expenses bear to the general expenditure. I assure you I speak for Lord Northcliffe and others here that it bears a very large proportion, and a growing proportion, to our actual expenditure, and I am certain we ought to have as full cables from the other parts of the Empire as we now take from the United States. Everybody knows that the amount paid for telegraphic communication is very large. I hope the Conference will pardon this intervention, but I know this matter is absolutely vital to the Empire, and it will be a bitter disappointment if a committee of this sort does not end in a practical increase of facilities. In these circumstances I beg to move as an amendment that four accredited representatives of the British Press be added to the committee. (Cheers.)

Lord NORTHCLIFFE formally seconded the amendment.

Mr. REED: My lord, I should like to say, as mover of the resolution, that with the seconder we will accept Mr. Lawson's amendment entirely, and I hope that he will include in it the names of the English representatives, as that will make it complete and operative at once.

An INDIAN VISITOR: I did not quite

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follow whether any Indian representatives were included on the committee.

Mr. REED: There are two.

The VISITOR: I would also propose Mr. Lawson's name. The reason why I make rather a strong representation for the representation of Indian Pressmen on this committee is this: This question of increased facilities affects India more than any other part of the Empire, for this reason, that India is now in a state of tutelage, and there is no denying the fact that the Press does mould opinion, and if it does so here it is much more likely to influence opinion in India. We certainly cannot afford to be deprived of any facilities that may be extended to any other parts of the Empire, and this is why I propose that at least two members should be added from this vast Empire.

Mr. FINK: I would suggest, my lord, that it is perhaps desirable to affirm the principle of this resolution at first, and that the selection of the names should be left till afterwards.

Mr. BANERJEE: May I put in a word on behalf of Bengal, because I find on the committee are delegates from Bombay, and the proposal that has just been made is that a name should be put in from Madras. It so happens that the Bengal Press is the most influential in India, and if there are to be Indian representatives on this committee I think the Bengal Press ought to be represented on it. I don't claim representation for myself. I



am relieved from this responsibility and difficulty, because I have Mr. Digby, my colleague, and I certainly think, as representing one of the most influential Indian papers, his name ought to find a place on this committee. I would therefore make this further amendment.

MR. P. D. ROSS

Mr. ROSS: My Lord Chairman,—I feel slightly embarrassed by the reference to my motion as an amendment, because I have no objection to Mr. Reid's motion. I sent in a notice of motion in the hope of accomplishing something practical this morning. If we are to accomplish anything practical, sir, we must take this matter in detail more or less. The subject is so big, and in some respects so complicated, that we cannot do anything immediate in a general way. Now, it seems to me this question divides itself first into the lines of communication, and next the method of Press organisation. We ought to discuss these matters separately. Then as regards the lines of communication, it seems to me again that that subject divides itself naturally into two—one the communication between England and Australia by way of Canada, and the other the communication between England and Australia by way of South Africa and India. Now as regards the communication between England and Australia via India and South Africa, there appear to be controversial complications. As regards the communication between England and Australia via Canada, I think we ought to be able to come to a conclusion this morning. (Cheers.) The condition as regards communication between Canada and Australia is a private monopoly across the Atlantic, a private monopoly across Canada, and a State-owned cable across the Pacific. The opinion in Canada, I think I may say safely, is almost unanimously in favour of bringing in the State to improve the communication between England and our Pacific Ports. Therefore I beg to move this motion:—

“That for the achievement of better and cheaper electric communication in the Empire, it is one of the essentials that there should be State-owned electric connection between the British Isles and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State-controlled electric connection across Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific cable services.

“That the Conference urges upon the Governments of Great Britain and Canada the necessity of immediate action in this matter.

“That a committee composed of the presidents of the various delegations in this Conference be appointed to present this resolution to the Secretary for the Colonies in His Majesty's Government.

“And that the Canadian delegates to this Conference be appointed to urge the matter upon the attention of the Dominion Government.”

LORD CREWE: I think the proposal is entirely a different one, and should be separate from the resolution, and one or the other will have to be accepted.

A DELEGATE: Possibly both.

Mr. ROSS: I shall be willing, if it is the wish of the meeting. This Conference, it seems to me, can safely accept this resolution, without fear either that we shall be accused of travelling in Socialistic directions or traversing any strong sentiment in favour of private monopoly. For this reason, that on practically every occasion that this subject has come up in

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Canada there has been a declaration in favour of action along these lines, and the chambers of commerce of the Empire, at their two gatherings in 1903 and 1907, declared in favour of State-owned cables. Then the Canadian Press Association have declared in favour of State-owned Atlantic cables. Our individual views, as voiced in the Press in Canada, have been practically almost unanimously in favour of State-owned electric communication across the Atlantic. Now this proposition is of great import to the whole Empire, for this reason, that if you have State-owned electric service across the Atlantic and State-owned electric communication across Canada, you will at once have a great reduction in the cost of telegrams to Australia via Canada, and that will bring it over the rest of the Empire. I believe that the Canadian Government has information in its possession to the effect that with a State-owned Atlantic cable the cost of commercial messages from England to Canada could be reduced without any loss to the service from 25 cents a word to 5 cents a word, with somewhat proportionate results in the cost of the Press service. As regards the economic side of the question, there is no reason why the Governments of Great Britain and Canada should not go into this matter because of the expense. The Pacific cable, as Lord Crewe has said, is more than paying its way outside the proportion of the renewal which is being deducted to pay for the capital cost of repairs. Were an Atlantic State cable laid, even though faced with the competition that exists, there is no question, in view of the large business that is transacted between Great Britain and America, that the cable could be made operative at a profit.

SIR HUGH GRAHAM.

Sir HUGH GRAHAM said: At the end of the northern part of our tour many of the delegates will disperse. Those who survive and return to London will not represent the full fighting strength of this convention. What we can do at this conference about a news service must necessarily be of a preparatory character. The inquiry must be enlarged and followed by vigorous and persistent work. The only basis for an improved service is the cheapness of the rates of transmission. If we can get this from the old companies well and good. If not we will lay cables of our own, and I have the assurance that the money will be forthcoming. In the meantime, the work must be continuous and aggressive to that end. There must be no surrender until we have accomplished what we have in hand. I do not exactly know how to introduce the subject, or whether I shall be in order in introducing it here.

The CHAIRMAN: You cannot introduce it, I think, until the other motion is disposed of.

Mr. A. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

Mr. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was then called upon by the Chairman. In the course of this remarks he said: Lord Crewe and gentlemen, I am not sure that it is very convenient or advantageous to you that I should intervene in this somewhat irregular way in your proceedings. I believe I owe the privilege of being present at this conference to the fact that I was for a short time under the late Government Postmaster-General. Eventually I was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and when I think of all the things that have been said by previous speakers about the Treasury officials, I wonder whether I shall get safely out of this meeting. (Laughter.) At any rate, I may say this: that coming here, not to teach but to learn, I feel myself privileged by being permitted to take part in a conference which is discussing such a matter, a matter which is of vital importance to the future development of our race and Empire. (Hear, hear.) I do not think it possible to exaggerate either the good or evil which can follow from the development or the restriction of our means of intercommunication. I am glad to think that recent years have worked a great improvement in the transmission of news and information from one part of the Empire to another. I think the overseas delegates will recognise that our home Press has made vast strides in its endeavour to provide us in the old country with news from our kinsmen across the water, and I am sure that they can illustrate the progress which has been made by the Press of the oversea dominions. I remember my father— (loud cheers)—when he occupied the position which you now fill, telling me that nothing had struck him more than that unity of thought and sentiment amongst His Majesty's subjects which was indicated on an occasion of national rejoicing, when hardly had the good news reached our Government here at home than telegrams of sympathy and congratulation poured in from all of His Majesty's overseas dominions. I mention that because

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I think our communications have reached a point of development and even cheapness where they serve the purpose of causing us to be rapidly informed of great and striking events, whether they be matters for rejoicing or sorrow. But they do not serve the need of our daily bread. They do not give us our constant daily news which enables men living far apart to feel themselves in constant touch, and which enables them to do what is of great importance, to understand a man's action in an emergency by the knowledge of his whole past history and ways of thought. I venture to think that as the pressure of competition in the world becomes greater, and that pressure renders it more and more important that we should know and understand each other, it will become a vital necessity that we should be able to understand each other rapidly, and our intercourse should be easy, intimate, and free, that we should not always need a special explanation of any steps taken by any Government or Ministers in any portion of the dominions of the Crown. If that is so, we are, I think, right in saying your problem is one of the gravest importance to the Empire. I come here with no cut and dried solution. It needs the cooperation of an instructed public throughout the Empire; it needs the co-operation of all the Governments, and all the Governments have Treasuries. It needs the co-operation of the existing cable companies. I hope that, whatever is decided upon, those who have been pioneers in this work, and have rendered us great services in the past, will not be ungenerously treated. (Hear, hear.) They must make up their mind, however. Times are changing, and the service which satisfied us in the past cannot satisfy us in the future, and

if they are wise they will be the first to study how they may avoid burdening themselves with this publicly owned and publicly supported competition. The problem is a special one, and it cannot be solved by methods employed for commercial messages. It will need not only the co-operation of the cable companies and the newspapers, but also of all the Governments concerned. And I will only say in conclusion that, although I have no right or title to speak for any Government at home to-day, I think you may rest assured that you will not find the Government here, from whatever party it may be drawn, is unsympathetic to the aspirations which you express, or which will not be willing to give not only sympathy, but the most practical aid and assistance to any well-considered scheme which you will be able to lay before it. I thank you for having permitted me to come to the Conference and to take part in it. I hope that the Press of the Empire will develop in the future to the great extent that it has developed in the past, because much as we may organise the Empire and Imperial authorities in years to come, the Press of the Empire must always remain the real intelligence department of the Empire, and that it should fulfil that high function with sincerity, truth, and efficiency must be the object of all who are concerned in it and hope to benefit by it. (Cheers.)

Mr. FENWICK, New Zealand, rising to a point of order, expressed the opinion that the resolution handed in by Mr. Ross was not in order.

Lord CREWE: I think there can be no question that this motion of Mr. Ross's is in a strict sense an amendment. The original motion was that a committee should be appointed from the Conference to consider the best means of securing improved telegraphic facilities. Mr. Ross's amendment suggests a definite course of action, with the view of attaining that end, and in these circumstances I think it must be regarded as an amendment; for, in my opinion, it would be something in the nature of a stultification of the original motion if Mr. Ross's proposition were carried. I propose, therefore, to call on Mr. Dafoe, of the "Manitoba Free Press.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: That the name of Sir Hugh Graham has been omitted is matter we all regret. I suggest that his name be added. There may also be others.

At this stage a gentleman in the audience appealed to the chairman to ask the speakers to make themselves heard at the far end of the room. What is the use of bringing delegates from the far corners of the earth (he asked) if they can't hear a word?

Lord CREWE: I am afraid that the fact is that the acoustic properties of this room are exceedingly bad, because I have noticed that the speakers who have been standing on this platform have, I think, without exception, raised their voices to an extent which, under ordinary circumstances, would be quite sufficient for a room of this size. But I am sure it would be a matter of deep regret to everybody if the various words of wisdom which we

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have heard do not reach the whole length of the room. I have no doubt subsequent speakers will pay careful attention to what has been said.

Mr. ROSS: It has been suggested that as probably most of us will be in favour of the main motion—and I have no desire to defeat that main motion—that I withdraw my amendment until the main motion is disposed of. Then it can become the motion itself. (Hear, hear.)

Lord CREWE: I understand there is a desire that an English journalist should come next. I will therefore call on Mr. E. H. Johnstone, a director of the “Standard” and “Daily Express,” and I should add he is nominated to be here by the Newspaper Proprietors’ Association.

Lord CREWE: As Mr. Johnstone is not here apparently, I will call on Mr. Phillips, of the “Yorkshire Post,” who is nominated, I believe, by the Newspaper Society.

MR. J. S. R. PHILLIPS.

Mr. PHILLIPS: My Lord Crewe and Gentlemen,—This question of Press communication I think divides itself into two categories. On Saturday night Lord Rosebery laid emphasis upon the need of greater and cheap communication. If they wanted to weld the Empire closely together their first and main method must be by the cheapest means of communication. That point has been emphasised by several speakers this morning. But I would like just to put this point with regard to the transmission of news. There are two classes of information—the one is of high political value, and the other is of commercial value. May I draw a distinction. If I wanted to instance news of a high political quality I would name Lord Rosebery’s speech as such, and I would name the speech we have had from Mr. Austen Chamberlain this morning. There are many similar cases in the Parliaments of the country and of the colonies in which the most important statements are made, and these statements it is highly desirable in the interests of the old Empire should be circulated as broadly as possible among all the peoples of the Empire. The other class of information is represented by a case like the Thaw trial. It may be of commercial value to various newspapers, but it is not of the slightest interest to this nation and this Empire, and therefore it ought not to be the subject of any subsidy from Imperial or other taxation. Thus we have a clear distinction: and if you simply go in for cheaper telegraphic rates at the expense of the taxpayer, you subsidise not only matter of high political importance—which we all agree ought to be widely disseminated—but you also subsidise this lower class of news, which I maintain is not of national or Imperial importance. We have had a reference to cricket, and I may say I made some inquiries from my friend Mr. Dickinson, editor of Reuter’s, who tells me that in sending over the results of cricket matches from Australia, he frequently finds this, that the last scores were sent over at “urgent” rates, so that a final message of one word cost 36s. Such messages have a commercial value, and that newspapers and agencies paid that rate shows they thought it worth while to do so. We do not need a subsidy to send that sort of news. And my suggestion is this, that we ought to differentiate between these two classes of news, and that matters of high Imperial importance ought to come over in the Imperial interest somewhat at Imperial cost. (Hear, hear.) And I think you can only do that by setting up some sort of department which might work in conjunction with the secretariat of the Imperial Conference, and which shall send over to this country and from this country into all the other countries of

the Empire, messages which are of importance. I would take extracts from speeches and give digests of speeches by Ministers upon Imperial matters, and by Leaders of the Opposition in the various countries. I would also include manifestoes issued by Governments explaining situations which may arise in the countries concerned. I would suggest, for instance, that if my friends in Canada considered the advisability of putting a tax on Yorkshire “shoddy”—(laughter)—if they issued anything on the question of tariffs—that is political matter of high importance. We have therefore, these two distinctions, and an Imperial service might be organised through an impartial association like Reuter’s, or by other Imperial means, for the dissemination at cheap rates of the class of news I have enumerated. That, I think, is the main point I wish to lay before you. The question of competition as between State cables and private companies has been discussed, I think, at several Imperial conferences. It was before the conference of 1902, and we had then the general lead in favour of

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free trade on the part of the cable companies, and that was supposed to give the best results in general use. In the conference of 1907 there was a similar attitude, but there was an invitation to enter into arrangements with private companies for twenty years. And in a recent memorandum issued by Mr. Sydney Buxton we are told that as a result of the adoption of what is called the “standard rate principle,” coupled with the opening of the Canadian Pacific cable, we have had a stoppage in reduction of Press rates that had been thought likely to go on. I will conclude by again emphasising the distinction in the two kinds of news, and the urgent need for a regularly organised supply at the expense of the Empire of news on matters of high Imperial Importance.

Lord CREWE: I call upon Mr. Crosbie Roles.

MR. CROSBIE ROLES.

Mr. CROSBIE ROLES (Ceylon): Gentlemen,—We have not sufficient time left for all the speakers to take 10 minutes. So I just wish to say on behalf of the Crown Colonies, and more especially those that lie beyond India, that we suffer peculiarly under the disadvantages of the high rates to India. It costs Ceylon one shilling and a halfpenny a word per Press message, and Australia gets its message at one shilling a word. The Straits Settlements have to pay more than Ceylon. The Indian Government collects 2 1/2d. from the cable company for every word—I am speaking now of ordinary messages—placed on its wires. Their charge on a Press cable is 1 1/2d. a word—which is unexampled by any other civilised Government over any similar distance. A line could be leased across India at a fraction of that cost. I hold in my hand a paper by our great reformer on this subject (Mr. Henniker Heaton), who says, “Four times the legal charges are made on an English telegram passing through German territory, and even greater sums are extorted by other ‘friendly’ Governments.” The Indian Government extorts not four times, but five times. I beg just to add, instead of what I intended to say, that if the concession could be obtained from the Indian Government, along business lines, the cable company could possibly be called upon to make a similar concession, and so from the official point of view we could get a reduction of 20 per cent. From our own point of view we ask immediately for a

reduction of 50 per cent. at least, and I am quite sure that no one in the room will get up and say that it is impossible for telegrams to be conveyed from one continent to the other within the next ten years at a higher charge than one penny a word. At the present time we ask for one shilling a word. It is very difficult indeed to separate the requirements of the Press from the requirements of the general public, and when I say one shilling a word I am speaking of the ordinary rates; the Press rates would follow in proportionate reduction. And that, again, is where we in the Crown Colonies suffer more than in the self-governing dominions. The proportion that the press rate bears to the ordinary rate in the self-governing dominions is less than a half; in Australia it is one-third. It used to be less than a half in India and in the Crown Colonies; but at the last concession made for ordinary messages the same proportion was not observed. It is now exactly half, and there again we appeal to this Conference to help us to secure a similar proportion to that the self-governing dominions have. The ex-Viceroy asked for 8d. a word, but it was refused. Great Britain wants to understand India, but it cannot be done at 1s. per word. If we cannot bring the cable companies to reason, it will remind me of the hard case of the man who went into a restaurant, and finding that he could not make any impression on a tough steak that was placed before him, called up the waiter and asked him to remove it. The man's reply was, "Tell the gentleman we cannot take it back; he has bent it." (Laughter.)

Lord CREWE: I now call upon Mr. Temperley.

MR. TEMPERLEY.

Mr. TEMPERLEY (New South Wales): I am here to-day representing Australia, and as an Australian who has put his foot on old England's soil for the first time in his life. I attend also as the accredited representative of the Australian Provincial Press Association. I have been connected with this Association for many years, and if it were not for the co-operative work I have done in connection with that Association I can assure you I would not be here to-day. These gentlemen have discussed the question of cable messages, and I want to assure you, sir, and the pressmen of England and the Empire in

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general that I am voicing the opinion of the bulk of the country papers in Australia in the statements I have to make to-day on this matter. Now, there is very little time at my disposal, and I do not propose entering into details as to the question of combine—the cable combine—and in addition the Metropolitan Press combine of Australia. (Hear, hear.) I hope before this Conference finally scatters, and when it reassembles after the tour through England, that we shall have as large a gathering as we have here, and as influential a one, to deal with this question in its entirety. Now I assert that reduction of cable rates, as a principle, will never satisfy the Empire, so far as the amount of reduction that we are likely to receive from a cable company, whose business it is to make money, and to give in the interests of its shareholders the minimum of service for the maximum of cost. I consider that we are not likely to get as the result of this Conference, on this motion as proposed, that reduction which the Empire really needs. I maintain that what is

required is the nationalisation of the land line over Canada and an Atlantic cable to connect with that already national cable extending between Australia and Vancouver. We require to complete that national link right from the heart of the Empire to the furthest Antipodes before we shall receive the reduction in the cost of cables that the Empire needs. I have no intention of taking up your time in dealing with this question of monopolies. I admit that the interests are diverse, that we have various influences to consider, and that we are not likely to get them to agree. I ask that you will now put aside from this question any consideration as to the effect it will have upon individual newspaper proprietors, and consider the needs of the people. We know that the various Governments interested in this question are charged considerable sums for the service, and we may leave it to them to look after their own interests. But what, sir, about the people? Mr. Henniker Heaton, who has given much attention to this question, has told you that the people who make use of cablegrams are just about as many in number as those who occupy the sentry boxes at Buckingham Palace. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would ask you to turn your attention to the state of affairs eight or nine years ago, when England, perhaps with too light a heart, entered upon the Transvaal War. At that time, you will remember, as the result of the call to arms, Australia sent close upon 16,000 of her sons—(cheers)—New Zealand 6,000, and Canada a similar number, to take their place with the British soldiers in that great campaign. I ask you to remember that when the engagements took place, the particulars came slowly filtering through, so cold and terse—so many dead, so many wounded, and so many missing—and I say that that was the occasion when the Australian people faced the bitter cup that these cable companies presented to their lips. When they would have made inquiries about the fate of their sons, when they would have asked as to the progress of the wounded, they drank the cup to the very dregs in the knowledge that the cable company was reaping its richest harvest, its golden harvest in the needs of the nation, and in the sorrows of the people, and the cable service was denied to them, as it was only a luxury for the very wealthy and the very few. That is why I stand here to-day as an Australian who has lived and worked among the people all my life and appeal to you pressmen of England to use your best endeavours to nationalise the lines and put an end to this cable monopoly—(hear, hear)—to this monetary system which makes more difficult the needs of the people. Let us have an “All Red Line” complete between the heart of the Empire and the Antipodes. Make it what it ought to be, red right through from the heart of the motherland to the farthest extent of the Empire, and then, sir, we may expect that the people will reap some benefit from it, and cables will then be what they ought to be; we shall have them fulfilling the functions of arteries and worthy of the people and the great Empire to which we belong. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that at 12.30 you are invited elsewhere, gentlemen, and it is now quarter-past twelve, and it becomes a question as to whether any further discussion on this original motion is required. It is naturally in the hands of the meeting to decide. (Cries of “Vote, vote.”) If you desire, as appears to be the case, we will take the vote on this motion, and will leave the further motion of Mr. Ross’s to be put forward as the substantive motion. (Cheers.)

Mr. FRANK FOSS (Sydney): The very essence of this matter is State control or private monopoly. The point raised by the Committee of the Press of Great Britain could be most



easily settled if we had a State-owned cable system. We in Australia have our reports of Parliamentary

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speakers carried on the telegraph at a very much lower rate than ordinary news.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM (Australia): I rise to a point of order. I understand the gentleman who has now spoken says he comes from Australia. I also understand that the delegates who come from Australia do not recognise that gentleman as a gentleman from Australia, and I think it is well that the Conference should know that.

Mr. FOSS (resuming): If we had cables State-owned or controlled, communication would be at once simplified.

Mr. FENWICK: I want to speak to this motion. I come from New Zealand, and represent a great many from New Zealand. I most heartily, cordially, and strenuously endorse the motion. If I go back to New Zealand without this motion passing, I shall feel the most bitter humiliation. I ask you to pass that motion with the utmost unanimity and acclamation.

MR. S. BANERJEE.

Mr. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE, of the “Bengalee,” Calcutta: India is deeply interested in the question of cheap cablegrams. We have suffered deeply, and scandalous wrongs have been done to us for the want of cheap cables. At the present moment it is a matter of supreme importance that something should be done in this direction. India is passing through a period of great excitement owing to reasons to which it is not necessary to refer now. The Government of Lord Morley is embarking on a great experiment, and times are critical. At the same time it is impossible to have a situation where the truth—the absolute truth—“nothing extenuate nor ought set down in malice”—should be known to the people in this country, and, therefore, it is matter of the utmost importance that my friend’s motion should be accepted unanimously by this Conference. If we had cheap cablegrams, the false, misleading telegrams regarding Indian affairs would not be sent to this country. They could be wired back for confirmation or correction, and if it were so, they could be readily sent back again and then published. The mischief would be palliated if not prevented altogether. Therefore I desire to associate myself with the resolution of my friend, and I trust that the labours of this Conference will be fruitful in providing India and the Empire with cheap cablegrams for the dissemination of sound and accurate information regarding the facts of this vast continent and colossal Empire.

Lord CREWE then re-read the resolution, and proceeded: In addition to these names the inclusion of Sir Hugh Graham’s name has been moved, and I will put it first; then I will put the various names suggested separately; otherwise we will get into confusion. I will now put the list with the addition of the name of Sir Hugh Graham.

The resolution thus put was carried unanimously.

Lord CREWE: I now put the name of Mr. Fairfax.—Agreed.

Lord CREWE: I will now put the names of the four gentlemen in response to the proposal of Mr. Lawson, namely, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mr. Ernest Parke, Mr. Phillips, and the Hon. Harry Lawson.—The resolution, with inclusion of names, was then agreed to as a whole.

Lord CREWE: I will now put the names of the two further Indian representatives—Mr. Lawson, of Madras, and Mr. Banerjee, of Calcutta.—Agreed.

Mr. ROSS: I beg to submit my motion as already read.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM: I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Lord CREWE: I am sorry to say there is no absolute agreement as to the course to be taken in regard to Mr. Ross's motion.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM: I withdraw my motion for adjournment.

Lord CREWE: The idea is that Mr. Ross's motion should be referred to the committee, but I understand Mr. Ross does not agree to that course. The alternative is to adjourn the debate on Mr. Ross's motion till the meeting on June 25, [1909].

Mr. ROSS: I accept that.—Agreed.

Lord CREWE: I will now put the motion handed in by Sir Hugh Graham: "That the British, Colonial and English members of this Conference be and are hereby named a standing committee to continue the study of the question of an Imperial news service, and to take measures to secure a reduction in the rate of transmission preparatory thereto."

This motion was also carried.

As the proceedings were terminating Mr. Kyffin Thomas proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Crewe for presiding, and the proposal having been seconded, the vote was unanimously accorded.

Lord CREWE: All I have to say is I thank you very heartily.

The Conference then adjourned.

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SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

"THE PRESS AND THE EMPIRE."

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. R. McKENNA, M.P.

There was again a large attendance of delegates and representatives of the Press of Great Britain on the second day of the Conference. The Rt. Hon. R. McKenna, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty, who presided, was supported by the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Grey, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., and the Rt. Hon. A. Lyttelton, M.P.

Mr. McKENNA said: Gentlemen, it would be superfluous for me to add anything to the words of welcome which have been already addressed to you, both official and unofficial. In the most cordial terms you have been welcomed to the common home of our fathers. Through the Press you cannot fail to have observed that your visit has kindled a feeling of sympathy through the whole of the country, and you are welcomed among us as brothers from over the seas—come here for a great purpose of Empire—by your presence assuring us, if such assurance were necessary, of the common sentiment which unites us all. Our meeting to-day is essentially a business meeting. And I propose, therefore, in the first instance, to make one observation of a purely business kind. I have been told, for the benefit both of myself and of subsequent speakers, that if you wish to be heard in this room you must speak very slowly and that you must address your observations from the platform to the middle of the hall. I am sure that information will be welcome to those who have to speak after me, who will have the duty of making themselves heard by the reporters. The principal topic to-day, although not to the exclusion of other topics, is the Navy in relation to Imperial defence. It is for that reason that I have had the honour of being invited to preside over this meeting. We always speak of our military problem—of our Imperial military problem—as a problem of defence. And it is only from the defensive point of view that we ever consider ourselves in relation to other nations. The Navy for the best part of a century has been only an instrument of peace, used for defensive purposes, and for no other. Though our predominance at sea has been so long assured, it would be difficult for anyone here to recall a case of a naval war in which our naval strength had been exerted. We look to the future, and we see growing difficulties surrounding our Empire. We foresee possibilities in which we shall be called upon to unite our whole strength in a common defence. At a gathering of this kind we hope, in a free discussion, to elucidate some of the problems which press upon us, and I have little doubt that as a result of this Conference, our ideas will be clear and our way will be made open before us. Gentlemen, our great object in the maintenance of a Navy is to keep open the high road of the seas. Over the waters our borders touch. So long as the highway is open to us, all our lands, separated as they are by thousands of miles are contiguous. So long as we keep that high road open, our difficulties of mutual defence, mutual assistance in common defence, are not so great as those which a hundred years ago confronted the Government of any great European country. It had the problem of local transport to encounter. The remotest dominion is nearer to the British shores to-day than the North of France was to the South of France a hundred years ago. The one essential thing is that we should keep the high road of the sea open, and that is the great Imperial strategic problem which confronts us. It is that which gives us a quickening

sense, not only of the confidence in and dependence upon, but of partnership in, the Navy. We recognise—we all recognise, each one of us—that the peculiar naval problem in its local aspect which each of us has to deal with, is not the same. If I speak of the United Kingdom for a moment—to us the question of Naval defence in its Imperial aspect covers the whole globe. We cannot admit in our recognition of the problem that we have any less responsibility in one part of the Empire than we have in another. We have to provide for the whole. But when you come to consider the Naval problem as it must present itself to the mind of each of the dominions, it is impossible that you can avoid forming different judgments and conclusions. In a sense, to the whole Empire the problem is the same as it is to the United Kingdom. But there are great local differences, and it would be absurd to ignore the fact that if you take the dominions in the Southern Seas and consider their relationship to the Navy in comparison with the relationship of a dominion in the North Atlantic, there is no doubt—there can be no doubt—that the problem in each case is entirely different. I am speaking now of its purely English aspect. The partnership—the sense of partnership—is common to all, but we do not ask—we never have asked—for that generous assistance which has been so cordially offered to us, and which we most gratefully accept. (Cheers.) We recognise, and I hope that we ever shall recognise, that in the development of what you may call the naval idea in every dominion it is essential that the mainspring should come from the dominion itself. (Cheers.) We cannot force our strategic ideas upon you. We should fail if we attempted it. If any dominion came to the Admiralty at home here and asked us what our view was as to the best assistance for the purpose of a common defence which may be rendered, we should be ready with the answer, but we should not necessarily expect you to accept our answer. (Hear, hear.) You will have your own views as to the proper development of defensive forces in your dominions. It is only by your working out your problems for yourselves that you can ever gain the experience which we have had to gain, and lessons that were told you from the experience of others would never come home to you with the same force as lessons that can be learned for yourselves, even though you have learned them through your own mistakes. We will assist in every way in our power, and whatever be the method by which we are asked to assist. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And we are sure that in the long run out of this process of self-development every dominion will come ultimately to the same conclusion that the naval problem of defence is one and the same the whole world over, and that the maintenance of the supremacy at sea means the maintenance of supremacy in all seas alike. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have already detained you too long. (“No, no.”) I must say one word, if you will allow me to address you in this way, as to your duty as delegates from the dominions in relation to naval defence. (Hear, hear.) It is unavoidable, owing to fundamental differences of temperament, that we should be divided into political parties. But it is most desirable that the Navy should, so far as possible, be set above party differences. (Cheers.) The more the Navy is recognised as Imperial, and not local, the more you, gentlemen, bring home to the minds of the great English-speaking world, not in this country only, but throughout the Empire, that the Navy is something in which we all alike feel the same vital interest, the more impossible it will become to treat the Navy as the plaything of local dissensions. (Cheers.) By the tone of the Press, more than in any other way, the Navy can be removed from the arena of party conflict. If you make it discreditable—as you can—if you make it discreditable to treat the Navy in any other way than the Empire itself is treated, as something which is

not to be made the mere subject of party discussion, you will have rendered the greatest service which it is in the power of any man to render to Imperial defence. (Cheers.) We must be left free to discuss these problems on their pure merits— (cheers)—without considering this or that party gain or party loss; and here we do call upon you on both sides—on both sides we call upon you to render your assistance in raising the Navy into the status of something above party, and purely Imperial. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, when the Press, as, happily, it so often does, forgets itself and looks only to its ideal and its true duty, the Press can impose its will upon peoples and governments alike. You represent the people, you speak for the people in a peculiar sense, and when you are right your power is omnipotent. I hope that

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in this respect your views will prove most beneficial to the interests of naval defence, and I feel confident that in exercising your powers in that way during peace you will render the same service to Imperial defence as you will when war comes by that exercise of self-control—for by no other name can we call it—that self-control which will permit the Press to preserve the secrets which are necessary to be preserved in war. (Cheers.) You have a positive duty, both of teaching and action, and I know that the whole Empire can appeal unhesitatingly to you to exercise that duty to the fullest extent of your power. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will ask Sir Edward Grey to address you. (Applause.)

SIR EDWARD GREY, M.P.

Sir EDWARD GREY, who on rising, was received with loud applause, said:—

Mr. McKenna and Gentlemen,—Mr. McKenna has, in his speech which you have just heard, very rightly and very properly dealt with the subject of the Navy, and has put it in the forefront of the discussion this morning. The Navy is the common security of the whole Empire. If it ever fails to be that it will be of no use for us to discuss any other subjects, and the maintenance of the Navy in that position, therefore, must be the first care, not only of us at home, but of the self-governing dominions beyond the seas. (Hear, hear.) But, for my own part, I would pass to more general subjects which come under the heading of “The Press and the Empire.” It is my special business in my office to deal with general subjects, generally being rather vague in doing so. (Laughter.) But, as I represent the Foreign Office, I should like to take the opportunity of giving you a short address upon foreign policy. And I would say this: the foreign policy of this country is to keep what we have got, to consolidate and to develop it, to quarrel as little as possible with other people in doing so, and to uphold in the councils of the world, in diplomacy, those ideals in every part of the world by which we set so much store at home. (Hear, hear.) And now, gentlemen, my address to you on the foreign policy of this country is finished. (Laughter.) But I would like to pass more directly to the subject on the paper, and consider for a moment—I am thinking specially of the Press at home in this country and the Press in the self-governing dominions beyond the seas—what the Press can do to

forward those objects and to strengthen the Empire and to keep the Empire at peace. I imagine the functions of the Press are mainly three. Mr. Birrell told us yesterday afternoon that one of them was criticism, and criticism, he said, was easy. It consisted in telling the truth about other people. (Laughter.) Well, I would like to qualify that a little. It is very easy for the Press to tell the truth about other people; it is very easy for them to tell the truth about politicians; but it is not so very easy for politicians to tell the truth about the Press—(laughter)—because the Press is the medium, and the only medium, through which politicians can have the truth reported. (Laughter.) But criticism is no doubt a valuable function, provided it be exercised in a way which will make it effective, and the first thing I would say about criticism is this: if criticism is to be effective, whether it be used by politicians in speech or by Pressmen in writing, let it be always criticism which never raises a blister. (Hear, hear.) For this reason, amongst others, that, though a blister gives great pain on the part of the body on which it has been raised, it remains for ever afterwards, as everybody who has played games with racquets or with bats knows, the least sensible to criticism in future. (Laughter.) Therefore, if criticism is to be effective it should not be the criticism of the partisan; it should always clearly proceed from a wish to benefit and improve, and not from a desire to find fault or of pleasure in doing so. (Hear, hear.) Now, criticism must remain a valuable function of the Imperial Press, because nothing can be more disastrous or dangerous than for the Press of the Empire to turn itself into a mutual admiration society. (Hear, hear.) And within the Empire let our criticism of each other, criticisms by the dominions beyond the seas of the Mother Country, criticisms in the Press of the Mother Country of the dominions beyond the seas, be always that criticism which makes it clear that it takes no pleasure in finding fault.

And the second function of the Press, I imagine, is the still more serious and difficult one of doing constructive work, as moulding and forming public opinion. There again we have common ground with public men in Parliaments. As party men we criticise men of the other party, but as public men, if we have a proper conception of our duty, we labour to mould

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and form and strengthen public opinion according to what we believe to be right. Well, that is the constructive work of the Press, too. (Hear, hear.) The Press, if it has a high conception of its duty and works together, is the greatest force in forming public opinion. I admit there are limits. It is not good for us, whether we speak or write, to attempt to be too much wiser than our own generation. If we attempt that we had better write for posterity—(hear, hear)—and not for the newspaper of to-morrow or for the debate of to-morrow. And public life is not an opportunity for indulging oneself, in expressing one's own opinions in the way most gratifying to oneself. It is an opportunity for expressing one's opinions in a way most likely to make them acceptable to others, and in all we write and in all we say we have carefully to keep in view what the point of view is of the public opinion of the country in which we live. (Applause.) I wish I could tell you—I wish there was time during your visit to this country for you to make the acquaintance of the average British elector. (Laughter.) It is not very easy to get at him. He is a very solid person, not like the ephemeral people who are on the platform at the present moment. He

is very reticent, most retiring. It is not easy for any of us, even in our constituencies, to know what he is thinking. He does not necessarily take an active part on political committees, or write or speak himself. I think he likes good speaking and good writing—when it is not too eloquent; if it is too eloquent he begins to be afraid he may be taken in. (Laughter.) He admires cleverness, but I am not sure that he trusts it altogether, because it is so unlike himself. (Laughter.) And I think I would sum him up by saying that he is a man who often makes mistakes. But he has a solid foundation of enduring good sense which prevents men cleverer than himself from making much greater mistakes than he would make, or, at any rate, turns them out of office when they do. (Laughter.) And that is the man who has made the Empire what it is; and it is through him that the Empire must be maintained. And it comes to this: that by character the Empire has been made, and by character the Empire must be maintained. (Cheers.) What do we mean by character, by the particular qualities of character which I believe have made the Empire what it is—have made the self-governing dominions beyond the seas what they are, have enabled us to hold the great dependencies which we do hold—the characteristics which are common to our race throughout the Empire in whatever part it is found? Well, I think, in the first place, a sense of justice—(cheers)—a sense of justice, the feeling, if you be a self-governing colony, that government is to be for the people, exercised through the people—a feeling that in the case of the great dependencies which have not self-government, government is to be a trust exercised for the people. (Cheers.) In the second place, I think, a hatred of pretence and a genuine dislike of it. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean that no cant or false sentiment creeps into writings or speakings. I doubt whether any man could make half-a-dozen effective speeches without playing to the gallery sometimes. But there is a genuine dislike of shams and of pretence, and the test of it is—the first test that you would take in any country which is really penetrated by a sense of dislike for shams and pretence—is whether its finance is sound, whether its taxes are honestly collected, and whether the money is honestly spent. (Cheers.) And in the third place I think we have made and we are maintaining the Empire by recognising that in all controversies with other people the best settlement has to be a compromise. And I would deprecate very strongly any idea that the Foreign Office is more ready to compromise with foreign countries where the interests of colonies are concerned than where our own interests are concerned. And I am quite convinced of this—that though now and then a self-governing dominion beyond the seas may think that in some settlement with a foreign country the British Foreign Office has not been stiff enough in upholding British interests, if they could only have access or if they could only read even the Blue-books which have been published giving an account of negotiations with foreign countries in which any colonial interest was directly concerned, they would find that where we have made cessions of territory they have not been those which have belonged to self-governing colonies. I could give you at least one instance within the last fifty years where British territory was ceded which was nearer another country and belonged to the mother country which I believe would not have been ceded had it belonged to a self-governing dominion. (Cheers.) But compromise surely is one of the things which are essential to every

great empire. If we were to assert the extreme letter of everything which we claim, the British Empire would become impossible. I do not mean for a moment that we should give up what we have got. You will find in every part of the world our interests are already so great that when any changes are in prospect we are at once told that because our interests are so great, if anything new is coming, we are the people who ought to have the greater share of it. Well, you cannot press your claims to that extent. Keep what you have got. But we must be moderate. We must be moderate in enforcing claims outside what we have got or else there would be no room—no fair room—for others in the world. Well, now, the third function of the Press is that of publishing news, and, Sir, I think we are confronted by a difficulty—by the extreme rapidity of the means of communication. It is no doubt desirable to publish news quickly, but it is no less desirable that the news should be accurate. (Hear, hear.) We had a little example the other day of how dangerous the telegraph is; even when it is accurate it is not complete, and there went out a telegraphic message to South Africa giving an entirely wrong impression of the attitude of the British Government towards the new Constitution.

What is our attitude towards that new Constitution? It is one of pride and welcome, all the more so because it is the work of South Africa itself, laid upon the foundation of self-government, which was the work of the Imperial Government. That and nothing else has been in our minds as we have read here the debates from South Africa. Well, now, surely we ought all to be on our guard against any partial or incomplete news sent throughout the Empire giving a false impression in any dominion beyond the seas as to the attitude of the Mother Country, or giving the Mother Country a wrong impression of any dominion beyond the seas. But these, after all, are mainly small things. The great facts which bind us together—the great facts themselves are not misrepresented, and cannot be misrepresented. Take the question of expenditure upon armaments. The other day, when we expressed our views of how serious the expenditure on armaments was becoming, there came at once, and in a way which admitted of no mistake, a response from other parts of the Empire which made us feel that the Empire beat with one heart. (Loud cheers). I would refer for a moment—merely to emphasise it—to the serious way in which Lord Rosebery spoke the other evening on this subject. (Hear, hear.) I endorse every word he said. (Loud cheers.) We are in comparatively calm weather, not in stormy weather, in foreign politics at the present moment, but the excessive expenditure on armaments makes the weather sultry. (Laughter.) And the seriousness of that expenditure cannot be over-rated; but you should know to-day how conscious we are at home that we have far too much at stake to allow our naval expenditure to fall behind, however great the burden, and you from beyond the seas have made it clear to us how great the resources of the Empire are. In upholding the Empire surely we are going more and more towards the ideal to which Mr. Kirwan referred in his speech yesterday—of a union of allies—of self-governing dominions. If you could only have been present at the last Imperial Conference, when the Prime Ministers of the self-governing dominions were collected here in London, I think you would have realised how much the relation between the self-governing dominions and the Government at home approaches to that of allies already. If there be a difference, I would say it is most noticeable in this—that the freedom of speech which takes place is greater than that which is ever permissible between allies. (Laughter and cheers.) That freedom which is not resented, because we



take it as evidence that the Prime Ministers of the self-governing dominions, when they come to London, feel themselves to be at home.

Gentlemen, I know that we must have parties—parties in the great dominions as there are parties at home, and that the Press cannot be united on everything. There are things on which it must differ. But let the whole Press throughout the Empire at any rate be united on these great things—on upholding the qualities of national character which have made the Empire what it is. Insist on having them everywhere in public men. Be strong! Stand up for strength! But insist that our moderation shall be such that our strength shall be feared only by those who attack us, and in every part of the British dominions labour to make government honest and empire honourable. (Cheers). That surely is a worthy and great work, which brings us all, Press and public men, together—a work in which we can

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all co-operate. Hold fast to the great essentials without division of party or of opinion. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call on Lord Cromer to address the Conference.

THE EARL OF CROMER.

Lord CROMER: Mr. McKenna and Gentlemen,—This important meeting of colonial journalists certainly constitutes one of many proofs which have been afforded of late years of the great desire of all the English-speaking subjects of the Crown to be bound together in the closest bonds of union. Certainly there can be no class of persons more capable of being efficient agents to cement the union than those who represent that great principle—the principle of free discussion—which it has been our privilege to disseminate throughout the civilised world. But, gentlemen, I think it has to be remembered that, besides some twelve or thirteen millions of our own countrymen who live over seas, there are some 350 millions of subjects of the Crown who are not bound to us by any ties of race, religion, or common origin. They are bound to us to a certain extent by the ties of a common language—which on one side is an acquired language—for many of the Asiatic and Eastern subjects of the Crown have shown a special aptitude in the study of English; though I hope I may be permitted to say, without offence, that in some few cases they have perhaps not made the best possible use of their linguistic knowledge when it has been acquired. Gentlemen, one of the greatest Imperial problems of the future is how these huge communities are to be governed. It is amongst these that I have spent some thirty-five years of my life—(cheers)—and let me say that during these thirty-five years I do not think any subject has caused me greater doubt and anxiety than the extent to which our cherished principle of freedom of discussion should be applied in cases of this sort. I approached the subject originally from the point of view of an English Liberal, and, let me say, that if deep interest in the welfare of all those Eastern populations which in any way are brought in contact with Great Britain—if that constitutes a claim to be an Oriental Liberal, I lay claim to that title. (Cheers.)

Approaching, therefore, the subject from the point of view of an English Liberal, I always felt an instinctive dislike to restrictive or repressive measures. More than this, I was very

fully convinced of the unwisdom of doing anything to encourage the taste which is rather common nowadays—the taste of political martyrdom which is a good deal stimulated by the fact that the sufferings of the political martyrs are not very acute. (Laughter.) I should have been glad to fall back on generalities such as “The liberty even if it degenerates into licence can do no harm for that truth will prevail,” “Safety valves are necessary,” and so on. (Laughter.) Actuated by these very laudable principles during many years, I did whatever little was in my power to prevent the editors of vernacular papers, to a slight extent in India, and to a greater extent in Egypt, from running the risk of committing journalistic suicide. (Laughter.) I cannot say, upon the whole, that my endeavours, and the endeavours of many others who agreed with me, were very successful. Gentlemen, last year I had to get up in the House of Lords and make a speech, which I will ask you to believe me caused me many a bitter pang. I had to own that my views had been too optimistic, and that the Press in these countries of which I am now speaking, although it does unquestionably a certain amount of good, does a great deal of harm, and, further, that in these countries, on the whole, a greater amount of supervision was necessary than any to which we are accustomed. In point of fact, in the countries of which I speak, which were some of them but yesterday governed under a system of extreme despotism, the great experiment of free discussion has to be tried under conditions which it is difficult to realise by those who have for centuries breathed the air of freedom. Let me give you an illustration of what I mean by referring to the career of a very distinguished man, with whose name you will all be familiar, and who was both a journalist and a statesman—I mean Mr. David Syme. I do not profess to agree with all Mr. David Syme’s views. Mr. Syme has been called the father of Australian Protection. Now, I am the son, or perhaps it is more correct to say the grandson, of Free Trade—(cheers)—and, after reading the very honourable record of Mr. Syme’s strenuous life, I may say I am not more inclined than ever I was before to disown my parentage. (Laughter.) However that may be, nobody can withhold admiration from his honesty and manly courage. He was a stout fighter, and he gave hard

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knocks to those with whom he disagreed, but he was also a fair fighter, and nobody can read his works without being convinced of the fact that his opinions, whether right or wrong, were the result of honest and sincere conviction. What I want to say is that the East, so far as I know it, is not prolific in David Symes. The soil is not congenial to their growth, and that I think is a prominent fact which has to be taken into consideration in the application and the test of theories, whether connected with social or political objects.

Gentlemen,—I feel, in presenting these remarks to you, that I labour under one serious disadvantage, for I appear before you to a certain extent as an *advocatus diaboli*. That is to say, in addressing an audience which more especially represents the principles of freedom of discussion, I think it my duty to say to you, as the result of my experience, that in certain parts of the British Empire circumstances have to be taken into account in the application of that principle. I trust you will pardon my frankness. (Cheers.) I am very glad to see there are some Indian delegates here, and I trust that before this Conference closes—for I am sorry I have to go away myself—they will give us the benefit of their opinion on this special subject. I hope more specially that they will tell us whether there

is any real connection between some of the unquestionably wild writing in a section of the vernacular Press of India and the commission of those dastardly outrages which have recently shocked all classes in this country, and have, I am sure, shocked the best of the British and native community in India. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I cannot help for my own part fearing that some such connection can be established, but I would like before I sit down to add that I should be extremely glad if I am convinced that I am wrong. (Hear, hear.)

MR. F. W. WARD.

Mr. WARD, of Sydney, said: I have no hesitation in saying that I have never listened to political speeches—if one may use that word with regard to them—in my life which so perfectly interested and delighted me as those which we have had yesterday and to-day. I think it was a flash of genius that gave the idea of this gathering of British journalists to some mind—I do not know to what mind, but I do believe that we are all convinced already that this gathering will have a very great deal of beneficial influence throughout the Empire. I am sure we Australians who have come from the far South, which looks such a great distance away from England, will go back a great deal wiser than we came here, and I do hope that this visit will be of some use also to our British colleagues. I have asked Mr. Chairman to have the chance of saying something this morning because one of the things which has brought me to London from Sydney is my own profound—if I may use that word with regard to myself—interest in the question of naval defence. I know of no question at the present time in the British Empire which is so important; I know of no question which approaches it; and I say that as an Australian, because everyone knows, I think, that the Australian history shows what is the value of the British command of the sea. We have lived in absolute security for over a hundred years or more, and I have no doubt that circumstances—chiefly those that are connected with our place on the earth, our geographical place—have had something to do with that. But not all, not nearly all, because these advances in science which have been annihilating distance and bringing us nearer and nearer to other countries of the world have distinctly brought us into the zone of danger. For over a hundred years we have had absolute security. We have a bulky commerce; we turn a great deal of Nature into marketable produce; we have millions of acres of indigenous vegetation which is turned into wool and helps to clothe the people of this northern hemisphere. But it is a bulky project, and it has to travel 12,000 miles. And we have several roads to our markets, and several roads to the markets of this country. And some of those roads are thousands of miles from the other roads, and all these roads for over a hundred years have been as safe as any street in London. Never a ship had carried a gun from our shores—nothing but a flag. (Cheers.) We have to-day, Sir, a great, empty continent—I say empty because it is as large as Europe, and it has but two-thirds of the population gathered within a few miles of where I now stand. That empty continent is a terrible temptation. It is only one part of the great British Empire, but it would be an empire in itself to some nations. And when there is any danger to the British supremacy on the seas we are right in it. It is life and death to us. (Hear, hear.) And the question of the real defence of

Australia is not how we are going to keep some terrible, daring, raiding ship, but how to keep this great route open. Take that safety away from us, destroy the supremacy of Britain on the sea, and we can neither buy nor sell. It would be of no value to us to shear our sheep or even mine our very gold, and if that is so we are realising it lately. May I say, Sir, that when you made that speech introducing the Naval Estimates, and Mr. Asquith also made a grave speech, and the leader of the Opposition, there was no one in the House of Commons who thought of how a short summarised cable of that speech would be received 12,000 miles away. It fell like fire on tinder! It added to the vividness of our realisation of the position in which our country stood, and the utterances are a national expression of our feelings that pervaded us all. And I cannot help thinking, Sir, if you had not been quite so reticent this morning in your speech you were profoundly interesting to us in what it disclosed, but it was still more interesting in what it did not disclose. (Hear, hear.) You said, Sir, that the Admiralty had an answer ready as to what would be the true naval policy for the Empire, that is as far as we are concerned, and that if we asked for it it would be given. I do hope that the Australian representatives at the forthcoming international conference will ask for it. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I have an idea myself that I know what it is, because you said the Imperial Government had to provide for all. What would be the good of Australia starting an ocean navy? We have no quarrel about torpedoes or about harbours. Of what use would a couple of cruisers be to protect, say, New Zealand or Fiji, lying just between two outposts of France and Germany? Therefore, I say, it is life and death to us to have that supremacy of the sea, and to maintain it is the duty of those outlying portions of the Empire; it is their duty to support that supremacy. So long as there is an empire of possession and trading, there must be another empire of protecting power on the high seas. I share the feeling of Sir Hugh Graham, expressed at the banquet on Saturday—I did not hear it myself because I am a little deaf, but I read it in the papers the next day—when he said that the Imperial Government had been a little too indulgent, and that some of the overseas dominions—well, I won't put it in his own words—had not been quite generous. (I have used his own words in my own country, and harder words still.) And I will say this, that a matter of this sort is much too urgent for us to make it one of too much courtesy. (Hear, hear.) The great question is efficiency. (Cheers.) We are on our side, I am sure, quite willing to take the opinion of the responsible naval authorities in this country. If they say that the policy which has been suggested by some people in my own land is the best policy, for my own part I will accept it at once. I am not a naval expert. But if it is not the best policy, then I say we want the best policy. We want the highest attainable degree of efficiency, and I think it will be the duty of the oversea dominions to do their fair share in trying to get it. (Cheers.)

MR. H. A. GWYNNE.

Mr. H. A. GWYNNE, of the London "Standard":—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I take the opportunity—I am very glad of the opportunity—of taking part in this discussion to-day, because, as Mr. Ward said, this is a vital question to the Empire, and one upon which our existence entirely depends. Having to be brief, I will touch only on a few brief points of this most important question, in the hope that my colleagues both here and at home will at least give me their hearing. What is the problem before us? In order to describe it I

must sketch some recent history. Mr. McKenna and Sir Edward Grey in March last made statements in the House of Commons which, as Mr. Ward described, fell as bombshells in the Empire. Translated baldly, these statements were to the effect that a nation was threatening the existence of the Empire. Those were not the actual words used—I believe they talked of challenging the supremacy of the seas—but it is the same thing. If you challenge the supremacy of the seas you challenge the existence of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) There have been many results of these statements. I am sure Mr. McKenna has suffered from them as much as anybody; but one result which affects us particularly is the great Naval Conference that is going to sit in July, perhaps in this room. Now, gentlemen, what are the questions and what are the difficulties that this Conference will have to solve? They can legislate for two kinds of difficulties—the crisis such as we now have, or they can legislate for something permanent. The crisis I would regard—I am optimistic enough to regard—

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as a mere episode in the life of our Empire, and being an episode only, it can be dealt with, if I may say so, without any great difficulty. My Canadian colleagues know the game of poker, I am sure. (Laughter.) From the game of poker we might draw an analogy; we might say, “Our adversaries go higher!” That seems to me to be a solution of the crisis. But when we come to the question of legislation for a permanent body or a permanent system, then it is quite another pair of shoes. Gentlemen, what are we going to do at this Naval Conference? The crisis of to-day we can meet. I am convinced that the wisdom of Imperial statesmen can devise something to meet the crisis. But not only that. By careful thought and long consideration they may be able to evolve something out of this conference—something that is going to be permanent, and something that is going to stop crises happening. But on what lines are we journalists going to advocate procedure on the part of the delegates? For remember, gentlemen, you go back to your offices, and your audiences and our audiences will expect something definite on this subject. We are to have a Naval Conference to evolve something permanent. Let us hope that at any rate on that point we shall have agreement. If we are to have a permanency, this permanency must be part of the great Imperial union. Sir Edward Grey said that—he did put it in so many words, but I will, perhaps, put the dots on his i’s and the crosses on his t’s—he said we are five nations. Gentlemen, there are these islands, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. We are five nations, and the union of the Empire, as Sir Edward Grey indicated, is to be brought about or carried out on the idea of a union of nations—an alliance of nations. Wherefore, regarding this naval problem, it seems to me it would be easier to solve the difficulties if we bore this in mind. Let us have five fleets and one Navy. Let each nation, closely allied, have a fleet and a common Admiralty. Gentlemen, the Armageddon of the Empire might be fought at Cape Horn, which is a good neutral port of the world. If we are going to have a happy-go-lucky kind of Imperial naval policy, what compelling force is there to say to Australia: “You have to send your ships up to Singapore,” or to Canada: “You have to send your ships to South Africa”? What compelling force is there to command that? Nothing but an Imperial Admiralty on which representatives of each of the five nations has a voice—that Admiralty, the one controlling voice with unquestionable authority. Gentlemen, I have sketched out in a very imperfect way an ideal something like Lord Rosebery’s dream, which, perhaps, is not

capable of immediate execution. But may I urge on my colleagues who are here and over the seas that they in their turn will urge on their readers that this Naval Conference shall deal not only with the crisis, but shall produce something which will last as long as the British Empire lasts. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon Mr. Maitland Park, Editor of the "Cape Times."

MR. MAITLAND PARK.

Mr. MAITLAND PARK said: Mr. McKenna and Gentlemen,—As no representative from South Africa has yet had an opportunity of speaking, I should like, before passing to the subject that is under discussion to-day, to express, in the most emphatic way, on behalf of my South African colleagues, our entire agreement with the opening remarks which fell from Mr. Kyffin Thomas at the beginning of the Conference yesterday. The warmth of the reception which we have received from the Press of Great Britain, as voiced in the very eloquent speech delivered by Lord Rosebery in the White City on Saturday night, the courtesy and consideration we are receiving from His Majesty's Ministers and ex-Ministers, the inspiring and stimulating speeches we listened to yesterday and are listening to to-day, the lavish private hospitality we are receiving, and the kindly interest that is being taken in us by His Majesty the King—(cheers)—and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales—(cheers)—all these generous and inspiring facts I am sure will never fade from the memory of any of us when we return to our work overseas. If I have any fear it is rather of a different description. I think it was the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the South African Dinner the other day who, in reference to the coming visit of Prime Ministers from the Colonies to the Imperial Defence Conference, which is to take place shortly, expressed the hope that their capacities would not be overtaxed by the material banquets

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they would have to encounter, or by the strain that would be put upon their post-prandial rhetoric. (Laughter.) Well, most of us usually begin our work at night time when other people are sitting down to the walnuts and the wine, and I trust that one result of this Conference may not be to develop tastes and habits which are more suitable to—what shall I say—to aldermen and Cabinet Ministers—(laughter)—persons of wide leisure and unlimited capacity, rather than to the working editor who has to look after the unresting wheel of a daily paper.

Now I pass to the very important subject we are discussing to-day, and as time is extremely limited I want simply to say a few words on the aspect that it has taken in South Africa. I heartily agree with everything that has fallen from Mr. Ward and Mr. Gwynne as to the enormous importance of this question of the Navy. We are all in South Africa in agreement with everything that has been said in that way. If I put it as briefly as possible I should say in regard to us that we have done in the past, all things considered, fairly well; but we hope and believe that in the future, once the union of South Africa is completed, as I am happy to say it is now likely to be, we shall be able to do a great deal

better. By way of illustration I may refer to the journal with which I have the honour to be connected. It was not when I was connected with it, but when it was under the brilliant editorship of the late Mr. Edmund Garrett—(cheers)—that the proposal was first made to give an unconditional contribution to the Imperial Navy. That was done before any other colony, I think, had begun to move in that direction, and there were many criticisms both from home and from the colonies about it at the time. We were told that in that way we were advocating what was a tribute. That did not affect the argument very much from our point of view. We were not certainly partners in the concern in the sense of being represented at the Admiralty, but we looked at it rather from the point of view that we are the policy-holders, and that it is the business of policy-holders to pay their premiums on the insurance for the safety of the British dominions and the commerce with the colonies.

At the same time, I was glad to hear Mr. McKenna say that the special circumstances of the various colonies ought to be considered, because if they are not considered we may make serious miscalculations, and also we may do various colonies serious injustice. I think it was at the last Conference of the Colonial Prime Ministers statistical comparisons were given which, in regard to the Cape, if I remember aright, showed that our contribution to the Navy worked out at something like 1s. 10 1/2d. per head of the population, whereas the cost to the taxpayer in the United Kingdom amounted to about 16s. Well, that comparison—I have used it myself in order to drive home the necessity of taking large and Imperial views of our obligations in South Africa towards the Navy—is likely to be misleading to an English audience. Just before leaving South Africa I took the trouble to go into the taxation figures for the Cape during the current financial year, and to compare them with the taxation figures which the British taxpayer will have to face when the Budget which is now going through the House of Commons becomes law, and I find that at the present moment the taxpayer in the Cape Colony is paying as much per head as you in England will have to pay when this Budget goes through. I think you will admit that that is a fairly heavy burden for a population to bear.

Now, the point I want to press home in connection with the present subject is that a very large part of the taxation we have to bear in South Africa has been incurred for the purpose of building harbours and railways, which, though they are primarily built for commercial purposes, are still of very great importance and value from the naval point of view. Natal, for example, has wrested from Nature a harbour—a very fine harbour indeed, which will be of great importance as a coaling station in the event of any war throughout the Empire. We in Cape Town and in the Cape Colony have also spent millions sterling on our harbours. I only mention these things to counteract the misleading impression which the purely statistical comparison might be apt to convey.

I now pass to the last point, and that is that while we are only contributing just now to the Imperial Government something like £50,000 from the Cape Colony and £30,000 from Natal, I think I am expressing the opinion of all my colleagues in South Africa when I say they will do their utmost, when the union of South Africa is accomplished, to influence public opinion so that a contribution, more adequate

to the status which the great dominion will then have, shall be passed by the Union Government. (Cheers.) I have no doubt myself, from my knowledge of the leaders on both sides of politics in the various colonies there, that they also will agree to such a contribution. It is very possible that the local Parliament may ask that part of that contribution may be, as it were, re-allocated for purposes of local defence in the shape of submarine flotillas for the guarding of our harbours, but that is a point which I am sure they will not insist on without consulting the Admiralty and without being sure that in anything they do they are not imperilling the absolute discretion of the Admiralty to turn the fleet to the exact spot in the Empire where it is required. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call upon the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton.

MR. A. LYTTELTON, M.P.

The Right Hon. ALFRED LYTTELTON said: Mr. Chairman, I have listened very carefully to the speeches which we have heard, and I think that the dominant note struck in them is the importance of the question of naval defence at the present moment. But I agree with Sir Edward Grey, and I think Lord Cromer too, in an opinion which they indicated that this subject is somewhat difficult to deal with because of the temptations that it offers on the one side to rhetoric and on the other side to indiscretion. (Laughter.) Rhetoric is not very much in my line, but if I were to attempt it I should not attempt it before an audience who have used so much of it themselves that they value it at its true worth. (Laughter.) Indiscretion is a far more amusing thing to an audience, especially, may I say, to an audience of the Press. (Laughter.) They will permit me to say that however agreeable indiscretion may be to the Press at the time of its committal, it has a way of recoiling formidably upon the head of its author. I feel also a certain difficulty in speaking of this matter, because of the controversy which has been excited in this country recently—a controversy in which one body of men have said that they entertain a rational anxiety and alarm, and in which another body of men have said that the anxiety is panic and scare. I do not think that is a party difference. It is a difference which illustrates a mood of mind. There are always a certain number of people in this country who maintain a lethargic equanimity under the existing state of things. I will not dispute that there are others who have a too febrile interest in change. Fear-thought is a different thing from forethought, but very sensible men draw the line between those two in different places; but, however, there is nothing to be said by me which I trust will injure anybody's feelings. Let me lean, if I may, rather to indiscretion than to rhetoric. Well, my belief is, the actual position, the actual situation of affairs at this moment is different from that which it has been since the battle of Trafalgar. We are in the presence for the first time of Powers equal to ourselves in wealth, equal to ourselves in mechanical skill and efficiency, equal to ourselves in national self-consciousness and aspiration, unhappily superior to ourselves in population. As these things stand, unless fortune takes some unusual turn, I believe that Lord Rosebery spoke the absolute truth, and I was delighted to hear Sir Edward Grey on this occasion endorse what he said—(cheers)—that this country may always be relied upon to spend her last shilling if it is necessary for her own defence and for the defence of the Empire, but that a time might come when it would be necessary for her own safety and for their own safety that the dominions overseas should



assist her in a tremendous struggle. I firmly believe myself that the ultimate destiny and fate of this Empire will depend—must depend—upon the achievement of a really closer and more consolidated unity and a more perfect organisation of defence. (Cheers.) Now, there is a tendency to leave the organisation of the Navy—the Imperial organisation of the Navy—there is a temptation to leave it to those great and generous impulses which have in very recent times exhibited themselves in such magnificent relief. It is true that much has been achieved in the past by such impulses. Action in great emergencies surpasses and overleaps forms. But action creates realities, and creates realities for which forms the symbols have afterwards to be invented. But that does not absolve us at this moment, in which careful and quiet thought can be given to this subject—it does not absolve us from the necessity, if possible, of finding a regularised channel through which these great impulses can at the time of need operate. Now, what is the best way in which we can assist each other in naval

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matters? In this question I assume—as I am entitled to assume—the absolute goodwill of the dominions over seas. The differences which exist it would be childish to ignore. But they touch the method in which assistance should be rendered. I quite agree that money contribution is an admirable way, but in my opinion it is not the best way to assist, yet it is very often the only way in which assistance can be given. I do not think that it contains in itself the slightest reflection upon autonomy—not the slightest; it is often the expression of the best way that the dominion has of giving the assistance. But there is this formidable objection I feel to it, that it does not give a nucleus on which the future organisation of national armaments in the dominions can be based. It has also this difficulty, which I am sure, from an administrative point of view, you will feel to have some validity. There are always economists in every party, and in times of profound peace, and in times in which there may be some financial stress, a large isolated money payment made annually is very likely to become the subject of attack by economists. A good way to resist such an attack is to make the contribution take not the form of an annual grant, but a grant of such a sum of money as will build a ship, which will make a nucleus for effort and aspiration in the future for the officering and ultimately even for the commanding of the ship by the citizens who have found her. And if I may be allowed to say a few words more, because I intend to put as ruthless a closure upon myself as preceding speakers have done, may I observe that whatever great dominion offers the Imperial Government a ship, I believe it is the case that that ship cannot be built or equipped in the dominion from which it proceeds, that it cannot at present be manned or officered effectively in the dominion from which it proceeds. My suggestion, therefore, is that the ship take her position as an equal amongst all the ships of His Majesty's Navy; that she should be named say after the colony or after the dominion which has found her; that the aspiration should be that she should be manned and officered ultimately by the citizens of the dominion, and so that she should not be of merely great and important assistance, but that she should be an objective, an aspiration for the national and martial feelings of the dominion which has shown such generosity. (Cheers.)

MR. S. BANERJEE.

Mr. BANERJEE said: I am sorry to interpose with some observations which may not appear to be very pertinent to the question we are just considering; but an invitation was extended to us—I will not use the word challenge—by Lord Cromer that we should say whether in our opinion the anarchical developments which have recently taken place in Bengal are due to the irresponsible utterances of a certain section of the Indian Press. Sir, to that query, to that question, my answer is an unqualified and an emphatic “No.” I will not defend what has been said in the Press. I say to my brother journalists here, to the great and distinguished array of brother journalists gathered from all parts of the Empire—let me put this question to them: Are they prepared to defend everything in the Press—that is, written in the Press—on questions of public importance? Are we an infallible body? Do we not commit great and egregious mistakes which we have reason to deplore to the end of our lives? I am not here to defend the irresponsible utterances which, unfortunately, have found a place in some of the Indian newspapers. But, Sir, let me say this, that some of these newspapers form a very insignificant minority; their circulation is limited; their hold upon the people is circumscribed. Let me not for one moment be understood as standing up here in justification of these anarchical developments. I express the sense of my Province, of the better mind of Bengal and of India, when I say that we deplore these anarchical developments; we have condemned them in our columns with all the emphasis we can command. They are in entire conflict with those deep-seated religious convictions which consciously or unconsciously govern our everyday lives. And without offence may I be permitted to say that anarchy is not of the East, but of the West. It is a noxious growth which has been transplanted from the West to the East, and I hope and trust that under the salutary and ameliorating treatment of Lord Morley these anarchical developments will be utterly crushed out. (Cheers.) Sir, I am precluded from entering into controversial matters, or else I should like to say a word or two with reference to those circumstances which have led to these anarchical developments.

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But I recognise the fact that this is a non-controversial Conference, and I resist the temptation. I exercise the self-control of the East in this matter. (Laughter and cheers.) In conclusion I desire to say this, that we regard the liberty of the Press as one of the greatest boons that have been conferred upon us under British rule. It was conferred on us not merely for political purposes, but as an instrument for the dissemination of knowledge and of useful information. That was, at any rate, the conception of the great liberator of the Press, Lord Metcalfe, whose memory we cherish in our grateful recollections. Replying to a deputation which waited on him after the liberation of the Press, Lord Metcalfe said: “We are here not merely to collect taxes and to make good the deficit; we are here for a higher and nobler purpose, and that is, to pour into the East the knowledge, the culture, and the civilisation of the West.” (Cheers.) That was the great aim, the great hope, the great aspiration of the liberator of the Press, and that hope, that aim, that aspiration, has been largely fulfilled. It is one of our greatest aims—I will claim this on behalf of my countrymen—that on the whole we have used it to the benefit of the Government, to the credit of our race; and long may it be enjoyed to the mutual advantage of England and India, and to the glory of both countries. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call on Mr. Amery, of the "Times," London, to address the meeting.

MR. L. S. AMERY.

Mr. AMERY: Mr. McKenna and Gentlemen,—I have only a few minutes in which to speak, and have only to add a few elementary things that have impressed themselves upon me, and which I would like to say to you. I felt entirely in agreement with Mr. Gwynne when he distinguished between the present crisis in the naval position and the permanent serious future outlook. He explained that the crisis at this moment, as Mr. Lyttelton told you, is in debate, and that that debate is not a party one. I think what Mr. McKenna and Mr. Asquith said a short time ago, what Lord Rosebery said on Saturday night, and Sir Edward Grey affirmed again to-day, are sufficient to make all of us realise that not in one party only, but among all the most serious thinkers on public affairs in this country, the gravity of the immediate situation is realised. Now, as Mr. Gwynne said, we shall see that situation through ourselves, and we mean to see it through, though we are glad to have the evidences of sympathy and support which have poured in from every part of the Empire. (Cheers.) But the future situation, as Mr. Lyttelton has reminded us, is much more alarming. You have this enormous economic and military development of other Powers. You have the growth of ambitions which lead them to desire to extend their national life, their economic life, and their colonising energy in other parts of the world. Mr. Ward remarked that for a hundred years or more Australia has lived outside the great world of conflict. That has been the fact with other parts of the Empire too. The development of the last few years has brought an empire which was far removed from the din of European conflict into the very midst of the ambitions of a new world of expansion and conflict. An expanding Europe, an expanding America, and an expanding Asia are being brought daily into closer contact with the British Empire. We who hold, not a single empire, but half-a-dozen undeveloped empires, have got to defend them. These empires, scattered over the whole earth, each with its economic interests and each with its ambitions, are brought into touch at every point with other Powers. That is the really underlying meaning of the two-Power standard. It is the permanent expression of the diplomatic fact that the interests of this country are not the interests of one country only, but the interests of half-a-dozen empires, spread over the world, and always liable to be in conflict with more than one great Power at a time. (Hear, hear.) That point I will not labour. The question arises, What is the best means by which we can combine to maintain that standard? And on that point two broad principles stand out. One is that our organisation for defence must correspond to the constitutional position. Strategical theory may prefer a system of naval organisation which might be possible if the Empire were a single unitary State like France; but it is not. It is an alliance of dominions—no, something more than an alliance, something very much more, a permanent and indissoluble partnership of autonomous States. Therefore our system of defence has got to be consistent with that principle of autonomy. Again, from the broader point of view even of strategy, as Mr. Lyttelton told you, it is essential that our sea power should not

be merely concentrated in one part of the Empire, but should be based, and have its roots, in every part of the Empire. In the future the great struggle of the world may be as much in the Pacific as on these shores; and the Russo-Japanese war showed the great disadvantages under which an exotic navy labours in a distant part of the world. We want our naval power to be based not only at Portsmouth, but at Vancouver, at Sydney, at Durban, and at Simonstown. Then, if we ever have to fight in the Pacific, we shall still be fighting in our own home waters. You want every part of the Empire interested in the development of naval defence. But you cannot get that interest if it is conducted twelve thousand miles from their shores. You want them to see the ships, and you want them to enjoy the indirect advantages which the creation of a navy involves. Think of the great advantage England gets in constructing battleships for other Powers. That is a direct result of our experience in building up our own navy. But I would also add one qualification to these two principles. The principle of autonomy, the principle of building up separate naval strength, must also conform with the necessities of efficiency and with the practical conditions of the time. The Empire is based on autonomous States, as Sir Edward Grey has said. But, as Mr. Lyttelton told you, we want to get into closer organic union. And therefore our naval dispositions must also make for closer organic union. And in any case we must have efficiency. A small local navy, built up absolutely detached from the Imperial Navy, would take centuries to get really efficient. There is no career for its officers; even a torpedo flotilla wants officers of the highest skill, and they must be young men. What are you going to do with these young men when they leave the torpedo boats? How can they get their skill? It is essential that the different parts of the Empire should be in closer inter-communication through some Imperial department of strategy, and that a free career should be provided for every man introduced into the naval service of the Empire—(cheers)—whether he be Briton, Canadian, or Australian, and that the highest ranks and the highest career in the service should be open to him. There is no practical difficulty in that free interchange of officers between the separate services. It is done in the Indian and the British Army. It is not nearly as complicated as accountancy between different Post Offices of the Empire. It ought to be perfectly possible for a man who enters as a Canadian or as an Englishman to rise to the highest ranks and to interchange to every possible branch of the service. Then, further, as Mr. Lyttelton said, there is also much to be said for the idea of the different Dominions being represented by some one vessel of their own in the battle fleet of the Empire. They have been represented in the battle line on land, and nobly represented. Would Canada or Australia wish that the fate of the Empire should be decided in a battle in which their flag and their ship took no part? Will they be content simply to cheer our victory or to strike the flags of their separate navies to a victorious conqueror? We have, it is true, got to keep in mind the great principle that those who pay shall have the control. But that principle can still hold good whatever the kind of ship, whether it is mainly manned by men of the dominion who gave it, whether it serves in local waters or is placed under the tactical command of a British Admiral in the North Sea. The constitutional position will be that it will only take part in any action if the dominion wants it to take part. In practice I believe there need be no doubt as to the part those ships will play. My own belief is that when the danger is realised the dominions will wish, in addition to building up a native naval strength, also to have some part in the battle line of the Empire.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: Before we separate I should like you to signify your sense of our gratitude to Mr. McKenna for coming here and presiding over our gathering. (Cheers.) It is a great honour that he should have given us his time this morning, and we feel very much indebted to him indeed. We also feel a very high sense of indebtedness to Lord Cromer, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Lyttelton. As time is pressing, I will put our expression of thanks into one motion and ask you to signify your acceptance of it with acclamation.

The proposition was received with cheers.

The CHAIRMAN: I rise to thank you and to declare the proceedings terminated, with the reminder that the meeting is only adjourned till to-morrow, when Mr. Balfour will preside and Mr. Haldane and Lord Roberts will be amongst those present.

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THIRD DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

“THE PRESS AND THE EMPIRE.”

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M.P.

The Conference resumed its sittings on Wednesday, June 9, [1909], under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., who was supported by the Rt. Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P., Secretary of State for War, and the Earl Roberts, K.G., O.M. Much interest was manifested in the continued discussion on “The Press and the Empire,” which dealt mainly with the military aspect of Imperial defence.

Mr. Balfour, in opening the proceedings said: Gentlemen, I need not dwell, and I do not propose to dwell, upon the feelings of gratification which I naturally entertain at being asked to preside on one of the days of this great—I think I may say epoch-making—attempt to bring together the leaders of the Press in all parts of the Empire. You will take that feeling for granted. You will allow me perhaps to express at the same time a regret that it is to a certain extent difficult for me adequately to fulfil the duties which I am called upon to fulfil to-day, because I understand that this meeting is a continuation of the meeting which took place yesterday; that the subject we are to discuss is practically the same subject, and it is not very easy for a chairman, who has missed all the earlier portion of the debate, to adequately fulfil his duty in the second half of the debate. However, yesterday, I understand, the naval question was supposed rather to predominate. To-day we are to have the advantage of hearing, in addition to what the delegates have to say, observations from the Secretary of State for War and from Lord Roberts—(cheers)—and, therefore, to-day the military aspect of the question will come very prominently before us. But everybody must recognise that really those two aspects are inseparable aspects of one problem. (Hear, hear.) It is quite impossible to discuss the naval defence of the Empire without bearing in mind the military needs of the Empire, and the military needs of the Empire are not capable even of being formulated in intelligible language by those who forget that the Empire is essentially an Empire dependent upon sea power. (Cheers.) Now we are here members of different self-governing communities, and to each of those communities the problem must present itself, and does present itself under a double

aspect. Each of these communities has to ask itself two questions: How are we to provide for local defence? How are we to provide our fair and proper share of Imperial defence? These two questions must be put, and may be put separately, but they can really be only answered properly together. I am the last person to throw any doubt or discredit upon efforts of a purely local character for purely local needs. I think it is desirable and necessary that each of the self-governing constituents of the Empire should consider whether it ought not, whether it must not, provide both land and sea forces to prevent raids, to prevent insults to their ports, and to see that they do not fall an easy prey to the first comer. But after all, gentlemen, local defence, though it be necessary, is really subordinate to Imperial defence—(cheers)—and it is subordinate from the point of view of the localities themselves—(hear, hear)—not merely from the point of view of the Empire as a whole. (Hear, hear.) The individual constituents of the Empire never can be safe, never can be powerful enough, never can be strong, whatever their local defence be, if that defence is only local. On the other hand, a serious menace to their independence is, I believe, quite impossible as long as the Imperial system of defence is adequate, as

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long as we retain, as I hope we shall ever retain, that maritime predominance which is the very condition of our being. (Cheers.) I gather from the tokens of assent that reach me from all parts of the room that when I said that local defence is inherently, from the point of view of the localities themselves, of less importance than Imperial defence, I have the sense of the assembly with me. But, indeed, the thing is almost manifest, and scarcely requires argument. Let us suppose that everyone of the constituent elements of the Empire had at its command an Army and a local Navy quite sufficient to make it hopeless for any foreign power successfully to attack its shores, to land an invading force, to annex it, or to conquer or to bring it into a species of subordination. Grant that; still, if the Imperial system of defence breaks down, what does the empire become under such a system, except a series of self-contained but separate units, not bound together by any tie either constitutional or sentimental, and deprived of what is our very life-blood, namely, free interchange and the safe waterways that now bring together every separate element in these far-scattered dominions of the Sovereign. As far as I have observed the long-drawn debates that have gone on in this country now for many years past on the question of Imperial defence, I think that there are advocates to be found, soldiers to be found, who at all events in very actual language, if not in their innermost thoughts, underrate the part which the fleet must necessarily play, and is competent to play, in Imperial defence, and, on the other hand, I have undoubtedly met sailors who seem to think that if your fleet is big enough, your Army becomes unnecessary. I am convinced that these are both profound mistakes, and the second mistake is perhaps the one which in these modern days we are most prone to fall into. (Hear, hear.) I do not know really whether, in fact, the extreme blue-water school has any existence, or whether it is not the creation of controversialists on the other side, but it must be manifest, and I think it is manifest, to everybody who has thought over the matter, that if armies without fleets—if armies, however arranged and distributed, however scattered through the different parts of the Empire, however powerful to resist aggression—if armies are useless without fleets, fleets are impotent for every purpose except bare defence from maritime attack. And even for that purpose they are inadequate, unless there be some land force, because it is

impossible and quite impossible for a fleet to make any country perfectly safe against invasion. Superiority at sea will not give you that security, and I believe the Secretary of State for War, who is a member of the Defence Committee, and who has had this problem prominently before him now for some time, will agree with me in the proposition that I am advancing, and most assuredly Lord Roberts, who has just joined us, will give us his hearty assent to the thesis that a fleet inadequately supported by a land force cannot carry out all purposes necessary for Imperial defence. Now, I am not going to attempt to solve the problem of how either adequate fleets or adequate armies are to be produced. It is quite evident that so far as armies are concerned, the problem before this part of the Empire is one of particular difficulty, a difficulty which no other nation has to face now, and which no other nation has had to face, the difficulty consisting in the fact that we are obliged to keep a most capable, a large, highly disciplined, fully equipped force, not merely for home defence, but for imperial use, outside this country, and it is impossible—quite impossible—that this highly paid, highly trained army, ready for foreign service in all parts of the world, should always be kept at home for purposes of defence, because the mere fact that you have got to keep it at home deprives it of that which is one of its greatest attributes—that flexibility, that power of immediate use wherever it may be required which is an all-important quality of the regular army of this country. The regular army of this country has a glorious tradition, but not one single one of those battles for 150 years has ever been fought within these shores. It is an oversea army. You must have something more than an oversea army. What that something should be, how you are going to constitute it, how you are going to maintain it, how you are going to officer it—all these are problems of great difficulty, and of which no one, I think, will dare at the present moment to say that we have arrived at a fully satisfactory conclusion. That problem is difficult for us—the land problem—but I do not know that it is so difficult for other self-governing portions of the Empire. Each must work that problem out for itself, and I certainly am not going to

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presume to give advice on the subject. But I make one observation. I remember at the time when these problems came prominently before the Government of which I was a member, and the War Office of that date naturally, and from their own point of view quite rightly, desired that if the Colonies were prepared to raise any land force for Imperial purposes that land force should be, as it were, ear-marked, and placed in certain contingencies under the control of the military authorities here. Naturally the soldiers desired that. They wished to know exactly what force they could count upon in any given emergencies. I believe that scheme to be absolutely impossible. I do not think the self-governing Colonies would like it, and I do not think the self-governing Colonies ought to look at it. It ought to be manifest—it must be manifest—that under the Constitutional theories which we all share in common the Ministry of the Parliaments which raise and which equip, which pay, and which are responsible for the troops, that is the Ministry which must control the movement of the troops, and not some other Ministry elected by some other constituency, and responsible to other sections of public opinion. Then the question arises, if the land forces of the various self-governing parts of the Empire cannot be put under the centralised control of the War Office here, how can you expect unity of action in the time of great military emergency? I am not the least alarmed at that

prospect, gentlemen. I do not believe the difficulty will prove itself in practice a difficulty at all, provided that the self-governing Colonies take care, as I am sure they will, that the control, the equipment, the interchange of staff, and the general method of organising troops are identical. I am quite sure that they may be trusted to use those troops when the time comes to the very best advantage of our common interests. (Cheers.) Now, we may lay down, therefore, I think, two propositions with regard to the military forces. We may lay down the proposition that those forces of the King must be under the control of the self-governing community which raises and pays for them, and we may lay down the second proposition, that they must be, or ought to be, as I think, organised on a common system, so that when they come to work together they can work together not merely as citizens of one Empire, but as members of one force. (Cheers.) I do not know that I can usefully say more than that, gentlemen, upon the military aspect of the question. As regards the naval aspect, I am not one of those persons who regard as absolutely useless any attempt at local naval defence. I believe in saying that I am uttering an unorthodox sentiment, but I cannot help thinking the development of naval architecture in recent years—the invention of the submarine, and perhaps even of the sea-going torpedo destroyer—I cannot help thinking that they have really done away with a doctrine which used to be extremely fashionable, namely, that every ship belonging to the Empire should be prepared to go everywhere and do everything in any water and in any quarter of the globe. An older school of naval thought, perhaps the more modern school of naval thought, dislike any kind of differentiation. They dislike the idea that any ship should be tied to a port or to a country, or to a particular coast line. Well, I quite agree that the fate of the Empire is not going to depend on coastal defence. I quite agree that anything in the nature of coastal defence must be rigidly subordinate to the great strategical and tactical necessity of fleet action. But I do not think it should be ruled out absolutely and altogether without consideration. But if we have it at all, let us put it in its proper place. The fate of the Empire is not going to depend on that. The fate of the Empire is going to depend upon the fleet power that we can bring against other fleet power, and that gives, if I may say so, to this country and to this quarter of the world a strategic importance which otherwise it might not possess. We must—we inhabitants of these islands—we must for many years to come bear the main burden of Imperial defence, because we are the largest population at present, and at present the wealthiest portion of the Empire. We shall bear that burden cheerfully. (Cheers.) But in addition to that reason for our special and peculiar position in the system of Imperial defence, there is another depending on purely strategical and geographical considerations. If I am right—and I think we will all agree I am right—that the fate of the Empire depends on fleet superiority, that superiority must be shown in home waters. (Cheers.) The German Ocean, the Channel, the neighbourhood of these islands, possibly the Mediterranean—those are the places at which, if there is to be an Armageddon, the Armageddon will take place, and it is folly for us to attempt, to dare, to dissipate these fleet

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constituents, so that when the time of crisis arises we shall not be able to have that concentration upon which our whole Imperial destinies, and the destinies of each separate portion of the Empire really and substantially depend. (Cheers.) The fate of Australia, the fate of New Zealand—of Canada, South Africa, India—that is not going to be decided in



the Pacific; it is not going to be decided in the Indian Ocean; it is going to be decided here—(cheers)—and everybody who attempts to read the sign of the times will, I think, agree with the weighty words which fell from Lord Rosebery less than a week ago, and from Sir Edward Grey yesterday, and will recognise that no man can now speak on this subject of Imperial defence without some note of anxiety in his voice. Not panic! (Loud cheers.) There is no question, gentlemen, of panic, but we all have to look around us at the gathering forces, the arrangement of possible foes, the strategic import of possible combinations—we have got to look at them, not with a frightened but with a careful eye, and, so looking at them, everybody, I think, will be impelled to recognise that the language of the Foreign Secretary—unusual, let me say, in the mouths of Foreign Secretaries—(hear, hear)—does not go beyond the necessities of the situation. (Loud cheers.) Do not suppose that I, at all events, am going to say to this or any other audience that we in this island are less prepared to face the dangers and responsibilities of Empire than were our forefathers before us. (Cheers.) It has ever been a peculiarity of our race, for some reason which I am quite unable to explain, to be announcing to the world at large that we are not the men we were, that the national spirit has decayed or is decaying, and that even the physique of the race bears a very poor comparison with that of its progenitors. Gentlemen, I am no pessimist on those subjects. (Cheers.) And I am utterly sceptical about the value of such criticisms. I am certain that when the moment arises the national spirit will be equal to anything that it may be called upon to face. But we must give that national spirit its chance. (Prolonged cheers.) No courage, no self-devotion, not even the consciousness that we have now what our forefathers had not—that we have now behind us the patriotism, the courage, and the spirit of the great self-governing members of the Empire—even that will be utterly inadequate unless we ourselves are prepared, and have prepared in these days of rapidly moving invention, to give to our people the weapons to effectually meet any danger that may be brought against them. The responsibility upon all of us, upon you who represent the distant parts of the Empire, upon us who are placed here at the centre—the responsibility is great; but that that responsibility will be faced with all that it involves will be recognised by those whom it may concern. I think the very existence of this assembly and the very discussion we are having here this morning provide adequate and sufficient proof, and I therefore, at all events, look forward, not without anxiety, not without some feeling of concern, but still with a high and cheerful courage, to all the dangers that may menace the Empire in the future. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call on Mr. Brierley, of Montreal, to address the Conference.

MR. J. S. BRIERLEY.

Mr. BRIERLEY said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: You have just stated, sir, that we from the Dominions are here in a representative capacity. I am afraid we cannot agree to that proposition. We are here merely in our capacity as observers, as, perhaps, trained observers, and I conceive that no greater duty devolves upon us to-day than to speak in the clearest and most frank manner regarding the results of these observations. We have been brought here by the unbounded generosity and by the courtesy of our hosts, and I

can imagine no duty more urgent than speaking frankly and clearly. I have no reason to think that there may be any misunderstandings, but as nothing has, as yet, been said at this Conference regarding the position of Canada, I feel it is my duty to say a word or two in that respect. If I were asked to define the attitude of Canada on this question of Imperial defence, I think I would try to epitomise it by saying that Canada to-day is determined upon maintaining what might be called a dual position. She feels it her duty to take her full share of the responsibilities of Empire and of the responsibilities for the defence of the Empire—(cheers)—and at the same time, so far as my observation goes of the feeling in Canada to-day, she is determined to maintain those autonomous rights which she has earned through so many years of stress and struggle. I do not

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know that these two positions are antagonistic, and I judge by what you said, Mr. Balfour, that you do not so consider them. (Hear, hear.) If there was one note through all the addresses which we have heard from the elder statesmen during the last few days, one which was struck more forcibly than any other, it was the full recognition by these gentlemen of the fact that the overseas Dominions of this Empire must be allowed full control of their own affairs. (Hear, hear.) Now, perhaps we in Canada are rather sensitive on this question, rather sensitive on matters of this sort—a characteristic of the minor dominions—and what the attitude of Canada is to-day on this question may not be its attitude to-morrow. But so far as I can see, Canada to-day intends that she shall maintain full control of any money she may expend, of any ships she may build and any troops she may raise for the defence not only of her own ground but the Empire at large. One gentleman yesterday argued from this platform the advantages of some form of organic union, and asked what would happen if Canada's ships were ordered by the central authority to go to South America or the Cape, and Canada refused to send them. Gentlemen, there would be only one answer: these ships would not go. But this is a supposititious position. I cannot imagine—as I think Mr. Balfour has said—the circumstances in which, when the needs of the Empire demanded it, these ships would not go. (Cheers.) We showed that at the time of the South African war, and I think I may say, in supplement of what Lord Rosebery so eloquently said at the meeting the other night, that England is determined to maintain her supremacy on the seas even if it means the expenditure of her last pound upon ships and on her last man to man these ships—I may add, if that position is ever attained, then Canada will be prepared to spend her last cent and give her last drop of blood to prevent that catastrophe which would mean so much to the peace and the welfare of the world. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, some remarks have fallen from speakers which, I am sorry to say, have slightly grated upon me as a Canadian. There has been an implication in these remarks that we, perhaps, have not done our full duty by the Empire—that we have delayed too long—that we have not gone far enough or fast enough—in assisting in the defence of the Empire as a whole. I cannot agree with that proposition. I am afraid that some of the gentlemen have not considered what I find these English statesmen who have addressed us have considered—the varying conditions which must be considered in a matter of this sort. I would ask you to bear in mind that we in Canada are not a homogeneous people. We have at least two millions of people who are not of British stock—our French Canadian friends and fellow-citizens. We have possibly another million who are not of British stock. Now it is obvious that

these citizens, inspired as they all are by one desire—the desire to have a proper defence of the interests of Canada—yet all these citizens cannot have exactly the same sentiments towards the Empire as those of us of British stock possess. It is impossible that we can ask those citizens to follow us as quickly, perhaps, as we would like. But I would like to say to this meeting that I believe there is a steady and an almost rapid growth of feeling on the part of all the peoples of Canada—those of non-British blood and those of British blood—of conviction, that the maintenance of the Empire is of the very first importance to Canadians as a whole. I have never felt that so strongly as of late years, and I believe the French Canadians present will endorse what I say, that never before have our citizens of French Canadian blood been so thoroughly imbued with the idea that in the maintenance of the Empire lies the best interests of Canada. (Hear, hear.) Then I would call your attention to one other point with regard to the attitude of Canada on this subject of Imperial Defence—the question of Naval Defence. The great mass of our population are far from the coast—live in the interior. In Australia they live on the littoral. And it is no easy matter to impress upon people who live in the midst of that vast central plain of Canada that our coasts may be in danger, and to interest them in the defence of coasts which are thousands of miles away. You must remember, too, that it is difficult for us to convince these people that a duty rests upon them to contribute towards defence—and that is a difficulty which does not present itself in the same way in the older countries with fleets and armies. But, gentlemen, we are creating that sentiment, and I believe nothing will more thoroughly reward the gentlemen who have brought us together from all parts of the world than that we will be able to go back to our several countries filled

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with a wider sense of what the Empire means to us as well as to these islands—filled with a wider sense of the responsibility that rests on us to educate our people, so far as our power goes, to a sense of this responsibility. I believe there is not a Pressman present but who will go back to his country determined, by the grace of the cable companies—(laughter)—to give more space in the future than he has done in the past to all these matters of Imperial interest, and by that means we shall do our best to create an additional interest in Imperial matters. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe that the final and permanent results of this conference will be found in the minute-books of this Conference. Those results will be found in the added interest in Imperial matters, in the added sense of responsibility, which we will carry with us from this Conference. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon the Rt. Hon. Mr. R. B. Haldane, Secretary of State for War, to address the Conference.

MR. R. B. HALDANE, M.P.

Mr. HALDANE said: Since last Saturday the Conference has heard various speeches, distinguished by a very high level of rhetorical excellence. But there is a feature in this deliberation at least as remarkable. A new stage in the evolution of the Council of Imperial Defence seems to be approaching. The overseas dominions are taking counsel here, not merely with the mother country, but with each other. (Cheers.) No one can fail to have been struck, in the speeches of yesterday, and the speech which Mr. Brierley has

just delivered, with the insistence of that note, that there is a common purpose, that there is anxiety to make that common purpose clear, and to eliminate controversy about words. When you reach that stage you have got a good way further on, and the notable feature of this Conference is, as I have said, that it is the first occasion on which that has been made plain. The full significance of it is perhaps hardly yet realised; but I realise it because I have daily to do with its results. We found it at a stage in the history of the Empire when the necessity for defining our common problem had become manifest, and when there was constituted a Committee of Imperial Defence, on which not only the representatives of the Army and Navy at home, but the representatives of the oversea Dominions, when they are here, sit in council upon these Imperial problems. Now, gentlemen, that represents a step which is not limited merely to the extent of the ground immediately covered. (Hear, hear.) We are only at the beginning of these examinations and searchings and of the results that are already coming from them. It will take a generation before the true meaning of the Committee of Imperial Defence is known, and before the true effects of conferences such as the present—which I believe will become more and more frequent as time goes on—attain their full result. What is the significance of your being here present to-day? It is this: Your influence is potent in moulding opinion throughout the Empire, and with us, with the English-speaking race, or rather with these races and languages that are gathered together under the British flag—that opinion is of more importance than under any other constitution I know. For our constitution is unwritten. Our constitution is the evolution of the national will, according to stages and upon principles which are not set out in any law that cannot be changed, which are constantly moulding themselves and constantly guiding and fashioning the evolution of the great organisations to which they belong. Gentlemen, if the Empire is to become one it will not be by the imposition of any outside will or the will of any one part of the Empire; it will be by the evolution of the will of the Empire as a whole, under its unwritten constitutions which represent one and the same spirit, which took their origin in the Mother Country, and which mean absolute freedom on the part of every constituent part of the Empire. (Cheers.) Mr. Balfour spoke of the difficulties of the old War Office in controlling the forces of the Crown overseas furnished forth by the self-governing Dominions. I agree with him that it was an absolutely impossible enterprise, although one quite sees the reason, from a military point of view, why it was desirable. Of late a new beginning, just a beginning, has been made. I mean the Imperial General Staff. It is too soon to speak of progress with it. But it embodies a conception which, I think, is more nearly akin to the true facts of the case. What is most important, not only with un-written constitutions, but with armies, is that there should be a clear understanding of the purpose for which those armies

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exist, what is their task, and that these purposes should be worked out in detail—a very difficult matter—by an expert staff, which shall be able to communicate its spirit and its opinion to the subordinate staffs in every part of the Army. Well, it was impossible to suggest to the overseas Dominions that in organising their forces they should put them under the control of any staff which was not their own staff; but it was not impossible to say to them, “Organise your own forces with such regard to your own necessities as you find essential, but keep in view throughout that these forces may some day have to be

used for the great common purpose of defence, and that that can only be done if through the agency of a general staff, which must be of an Imperial character. Let the entirety of the military problems—a condition essential to secure the maximum of efficiency of the forces of the Crown—be thought out by a common brain.” That staff must be, of course, subordinate to the Government of each particular Dominion which raises its force. But if it be there at the elbow of each such Government and its commander-in-chief, to give its inspiration, and furnish on the spot the knowledge which the best military brains of the Empire have worked out, then, indeed, it may become a potent influence and may form a school from which you can send representatives home to us to study our military organisation, and from which we can send in exchange for these representatives our own staff officers over to you to tell you what we have worked out on the one hand, and on the other hand to learn to master your local problems and come back with an infinitely better understanding of the situation in Canada, or Australia, or the Cape, than would have been possible without that organisation. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, again I say we are only at the period of beginnings. I become more and more of the opinion, as I daily study this question, that the next twenty years are the important years for the Empire. If we come through these years successfully, then the gathering strength, the gathering distribution of influences through the various Dominions which constitute the Empire, will constitute resources, and accumulation of resources, which will indeed make the Empire a formidable power. We shall not need to compare ourselves with any misgivings, either from a military or a naval point of view, with any other nation. But that means that during these twenty years we must be open to learn, and we must see to it that we insist upon the essentials, and upon the essentials in connection with the conception of Imperial defence, of which Mr. Balfour has spoken to you, and of which I have tried to speak to you, sharing his views. It is absolutely useless to turn to the analogies of other countries. Because some great Power on the Continent has a force of a particular kind and of a certain amount, it does not follow that we should limit ourselves to imitating or trying to reproduce the plans of that country. After all there are very nearly always reasons for what you find, and the reasons in this case lie in the geographical distribution of the Empire. These little islands are surrounded by the sea, which is not the position of the Continental Powers. Moreover, and this is not less to the point, they are the centre of a great Empire—the heart of an organisation from which the life-blood pulsates through the most distant extremities, to return again to the heart. That heart is, of course, the part of the organisation which is most liable to attack, and the Empire bears that in mind in considering questions of defence. Well, but see what we require. To me the foundation of our military strategy is command of the seas. By means of that command of the seas we can secure what we cannot by any other fashion. There is a second element which I put in order of its importance. Battleships cannot go through the Khyber Pass, nor can our cruisers go over the Karoo. No navy, however powerful, is effective without an army of a kind which no other power in the Empire requires or possesses to the same extent as we do. It is customary to speak of the small British Army. But we have 80,000 white soldiers in India and 40,000 in the Crown Colonies, together with a large expeditionary force at home which is tending to increase as more and more the overseas Dominions have tended to undertake their own defences. Now, that force is not primarily for use at home. It may be used for that purpose, but its real purpose is to

work with the Navy, to cross the seas, to undertake wars which the great armies of the Continent—which can only be mobilised for a limited time and as essentially short range forces—can never undertake—wars which may last two, or five, or even ten years; and yet, because these are professional

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armies, leave the resources of the nation substantially intact. That kind of special overseas army of long range for action at a distance is peculiar to the military organisation of this country—is a peculiarity which I think is too often overlooked, and which is just as essential as—I put it next in order to—the command of the seas. That is what it is our peculiar work in this country to maintain; and maintain it we must, at all events for some time to come, for the good, not only of ourselves, but of the different parts of the King's Dominions also. Gentlemen, the third point is home defence, and in our home defence plans I think we are making progress. This home defence force is looked upon as the second line—the line for home defence right through the Empire. I trust that through the medium of the common purpose—the common purpose of peoples, of Governments, and of the Imperial General Staff—that may be so worked out and evolved as to give you, as Mr. Balfour said, identity of formation, similarity of weapons, and the resemblance between the different parts of the second line—that home defence line—in the different parts of the Empire which is essential if it is to be a cohesive whole. Because, although primarily for home defence, and although it can only be used for any other purpose with the assent of the countries which raise it, there may come, as there came not long since in South Africa, an occasion when the Empire will desire to act as one Empire and to put forth its strength in its own defence. And therefore identity, as far as we can get it, of pattern and conception is extremely desirable in the progress towards the effort to obtain a better organisation of the second line—the home defence force of the Empire. But now let me warn you of one thing, and that is against the danger of drawing analogies from the conditions of other countries, and what they possess to what you have here. Don't draw unnecessary analogies between the different parts of the Empire. For instance, it may be perfectly right that in one part of the Empire you should raise your forces on one principle—on the principle of compulsion. (Hear, hear.) In another part of the Empire that might be impossible. (Hear, hear.) I am not pronouncing on it one way or the other—I am only warning you. And in the study of the problems of military organisation you have to take into consideration other naval and military burdens and considerations which must be taken into account before you come to a conclusion. But that does not prevent us from making a resolute attempt to organise all that home defence line—that far-flung battle line which might well extend through the entire Empire—upon a pattern which should make it valuable in the last extreme, and, by the desire of the peoples of the Empire, for a common purpose of defence. Now, gentlemen, there is one point which is becoming more and more important as year succeeds year, and that is the problem of mobilisation in this country. The term mobilisation has got a deeper signification than it used to have. When Lord Roberts undertook the campaign in which he led us to victory in South Africa (cheers)—he was hampered by what was no fault of his—the fact that our military authorities had not thought—or, at any rate, had not thought effectively—of the problem of how to bring the various elements which he had to put together in his army into common formations, so that they should be able to form part

of these great units which are more and more essential in war—units of mixed arms, in which the arms exist in their proper proportions, with their transport and supply and everything requisite for mobility. The modern army—I suppose it has been true of all armies, but it is more and more true as armies become larger and larger—the true modern army cannot strike safely, and above all cannot take the offensive, and so impose its will upon an opposing force, unless the problem of mobilisation has been studied and the problem of rapid mobilisation has been studied—not merely the slow dribbling out to which we used to be accustomed. It was all very well to put 250,000 men into the field in South Africa, and it was a magnificent achievement, but it took far too long to perform. A properly organised army would have all the parts ready. A distinguished General, a very distinguished General—the Duke of Connaught—said to me the other day—and he authorised me to use the illustration—“Mobilisation is like printing. If you are to print quickly you must have the proper number of letters.” Now the British Army used to have too many A’s, too many T’s, and a superfluity of Z’s, and it was lacking in vowels. (Laughter.) You can print—you can use type over and over again for the same purpose, for different purposes, but

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it will delay you very much, and you cannot print quickly unless you have the letters that you require for your composing. And so it is with an army. You want all the elements of that army in their proper proportion ready for use. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, there is the true significance and meaning of an Imperial General Staff. That once made a reality, your staff officers being of the same kind and of the same school as ourselves, these difficulties will rapidly disappear. Because unconsciously and by the very force of necessity as soon as these things are understood people will apply themselves at every turn to remedying these difficulties. Well, our task is to evolve this kind of organisation—a great home defence line, far flung throughout the Empire, which may be used in the last emergencies for something more than even home defence purposes by the will and by the desire of the people who have created it; a navy with command of the seas operating over the Empire as a whole, and so solve some of those questions of local defence and local fleets of which we are beginning to hear more and more; unity of purpose in the whole may be attained as well in the one case as in the other. And finally and between the two, that Imperial overseas force raised at present in this country, but to which it may be in course of time you may wish to add your contingents, but also designed not for the purpose of the defence of any one part of the Empire, but to be like the Fleet, ubiquitous—ready to go to every part at which the Fleet needs to be strengthened. These are the three dominating elements. How that evolution will proceed, how the great common purpose will be accomplished, what machinery we should adopt for that purpose, how our arms will be raised—these are problems the solution of which no man can completely foresee. We cannot go beyond what we have directly before us. The times, sir, may change, but of this I am sure—that it is evolution on the basis of continuity of purpose, and resolute desire to translate that purpose, once clearly defined, into actualities, into fact, which will be the secret of our success—if success attends us. Like Mr. Balfour, I feel the burden of the present time. I see difficulties arising around us—difficulties which are not accidental, but which arise from the fact that the world is striving on and other nations are becoming more and more developed, and wealthy, and

powerful. But are we as an Empire not developing, not becoming more wealthy, not becoming more powerful? (Cheers.) Why, gentlemen, I believe that the rate of progress in this Empire is as great and perhaps greater than the rate of progress of any other race under the sun. (Cheers.) And it rests upon this generation to see that we bring to bear the science and the energy, for both are necessary, which shall deliver us from the danger of falling behind, as we never yet have fallen behind. Let us see to it that we can hand down to those who come after us the tradition undimmed and unstained of the glory of the work which our forefathers have handed to us. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Mr. Fenwick, of New Zealand, to address you.

MR. GEORGE FENWICK.

Mr. FENWICK, of New Zealand said: Mr. Balfour and gentlemen,—It is impossible to foresee the consequence of this series of meetings held by this conference by a body of working journalists. We are not speakers. I certainly do not lay claim to be a speaker, a public speaker, and I know, I am sure, indeed, that the rest of the delegates from abroad do not claim to be speakers either, but with me, they have felt during the past few days and nights, as we have listened to the great statesmen of the Empire, how inadequate must be anything we have to say to you. I painfully recognise my own limitations, and I come before you with the utmost hesitancy, for I realise that anything I can say cannot impress upon you the tremendous importance of the representations which have been made to us by the speakers of the Empire whom we have listened to during the past few days. It has been to me the treat of my life listening to such men as Lord Roberts. Sir Ed. Grey, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. Balfour. (Hear, hear.) I certainly never realised in years gone by that I should have the pleasure of listening to all these gentlemen, and the vast importance of what they have told us has greatly impressed me. When this Conference was projected, I never dreamed that it would attain such supreme importance as it has done, because I now realise that it has attained an importance which will carry it down in the history of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We have had placed before us, and impressed upon us, great logical conclusions, which I am sure we will all carry back, and which we shall attempt to

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place before the peoples of the lands from whence we come. (Hear, hear.) We have a great task before us in doing so, I know, but I am perfectly certain when, through the newspapers we represent, we do address ourselves to the people on these questions of vital importance, we shall be met by a sympathetic audience. (Hear, hear.) As I said, I feel my limitations in addressing you this morning, and I am not going to enter into the questions put before us, subjects which have deeply impressed us who have heard them. I also realise the true importance of getting a good grasp of all that has been placed before us. It is not our fault that we have not had time to read up all that has been said on these subjects. Do not imagine that I am for a moment saying aught against the most generous hospitality which you have poured upon us, and which we have been bound to accept. As a rule, I have not been to bed until one o'clock. I have got up religiously at six o'clock every morning, feeling that I should be able to get an hour or two more to myself, but



even then I could not attempt to answer the letters which came in in great shoals. Under those circumstances, I shall not deal with the great questions which have formed the subject of the day's discussion, but say a few words to you on the question of New Zealand. When Sir Joseph Ward cabled home the offer of a Dreadnought the Government of that country took upon itself a great and enormous responsibility in doing so. It was not a small thing to commit a colony to the expenditure of £1,250,000 without authorisation. (Hear, hear.) It was all the greater responsibility because we did not have any chance or opportunity of communicating with the members of the Legislature, which could alone pass expenditure of that kind. But when the Cabinet met they unanimously agreed that it was the right thing to do. (Hear, hear.) There was not a dissentient voice in the Cabinet. Sir Joseph Ward told me that it was passed with the utmost unanimity and without any hesitation. (Hear, hear.) And I am justified in saying that probably nine-tenths of the people heartily approved of the offer. (Hear, hear.) Now, it had been said, and I have heard the criticism frequently, that the providing of a Dreadnought by New Zealand was not the right way of going to the assistance of the Empire. Personally, I think it was the right way—(hear, hear)—because a spontaneous offer of that kind was worth many millions more than one may imagine; it caused a great raising of patriotism and loyalty to the Empire, which means very much indeed for the unity and the future of the Empire. It carried with it a great deal of enthusiasm throughout New Zealand and in other parts of the Empire. I believe that it has done a vast amount of good. (Applause.) I do not disapprove of Canada, Australia, and other parts of the Empire providing for their own local defence. It is right that such provisions should be made, and it has been made in New Zealand also, as well as she can afford it. (Hear, hear.) We recognise how inadequate such provisions must be. It has been pointed out by the previous speakers that it is of the vastest importance that the colonies should recognise that their safety lies in the maintenance and unity of the Empire. I think that is an absolutely true method of putting this great question before us. Whatever you may think of local defence, we must recognise that in the long run the absolute security of the Empire must rest with the navy, and in accordance with this it is our bounden duty to help the Empire in every possible way to maintain the supremacy of that navy. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Mr. Cunningham, of Melbourne, to address you.

MR. E. S. CUNNINGHAM.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, of the "Melbourne Argus," said: Mr. Balfour, Lord Roberts, and gentlemen,—I am anxious to put a few views before you as representing what I think is the opinion of Australia on some of the questions which have been raised. In doing so, I wish to say that, of course, it is not expected that we shall all have the same opinion on all questions, but as journalists we rather rejoice in differences of opinion. I am here to express somewhat different opinions from those which you have had, and I beg you to understand they are offered in sincerity, with a view of arriving at a better understanding of this very important question which we are called upon to discuss. In the first place, I should like to refer to the remarks made yesterday by my good old friend, Mr. Ward, of Sydney, with which to a large extent I agree, though I rather think he somewhat

subordinated what I would call the Australian national feeling too much to the larger idea of Imperial defence. (Hear, hear.) My idea, Sir, is

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that those two systems of defence are the natural and inevitable complement of each other, that it is utterly impossible for us to induce our people to realise that the whole of their energies and their thoughts in the matter of naval supremacy must be directed to the maintenance of the Imperial Navy, and to no other course. We want to stimulate our people, but they have lived for many, many years in a very remote part of the world, and have been working out their destinies in their own way, pursuing the activities of their industries far removed from the large populations of the world. Naturally, in these circumstances, forced in upon themselves as they are, they become introspective. We want to induce them to take a broader, national, and Imperial view of their responsibilities, obligations, and privileges; and I think we can best begin by inducing them, first, to take an interest in their own home defences. If we can get them to realise and appreciate the need for a local navy, it may prove a stepping-stone for them to think of an Imperial Navy. (Cheers.) Necessarily, it will take a considerable time, but if we succeed even in that we will effect a great service, I think, to Imperial unity and to the solidarity of the Empire which we all love. Mr. Ward, Sir, said that he felt that Australia had been treated with over-indulgence in some particulars by the Empire. May I beg leave to differ entirely from that view. I think over-indulgence, or indulgence without the word over, is the wrong word to use. It smacks of colonialism, and colonialism, so far as I feel, is dead, dead for all time. (Hear, hear.) Similarly, another gentleman spoke of the different parts of the Empire as being an alliance of nations. That word I venture to take leave to object to also. What we want, Sir, is something in the form of an affiliation, not an alliance. We want to establish the relationship between father and son, between brother and brother—(hear, hear)—and if we manage to secure that I think we shall have done a great work. (Cheers.) The problem we have to begin with in Australia is to defend our own country, because, Sir, a country not defending is not worth living in. (Hear, hear.) As an American humorist has put it, “You will never get a man to sacrifice his life in defending a boarding-house.” (Laughter.) And we want to be able to show our people and lead them to feel and realise, be it ever so small, that they must make a beginning. They may make mistakes, but everything will be made all right in the end. The great thing is to have a main object in view, and if we can get the people to make up their minds to have an Australian navy, nothing will prevent them from having it. There is no power to prevent them that I know of. They must be taught to see that the nucleus must be in conformity to the needs of Imperial strategy, and thus they will develop their ideas along wider lines. With what Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane have said to-day every one of us, of course, agrees. You are not going to maintain an empire on a defensive policy only. You must be in a position to attack and to follow the enemy, if need be, to the remotest parts of the world. We have not been treated with over-indulgence, but we have been rather mean. Our taxation for defence, I believe, works out at 15d., yours in Great Britain is 15s. It is, therefore, about time that the son came to the rescue and gave a little bit of relief to the old man, who is doing too much to maintain the Empire. A sentiment of that kind is beginning to permeate the people of Australia, and it found expression in that wave of enthusiasm which passed over Australia and New Zealand the other day when

the offer of Dreadnoughts was made. (Cheers.) And I think the spirit was not thoroughly understood by the journalists, and may I say with deference, by some of the public men of Great Britain, for we found that cablegrams were sent back of utterances by journalists and statesmen that that was not the right way to go about it. When a boy wants to give his father a present of a pipe, what is the use of someone saying he should give him a pair of socks? (Laughter and cheers.) That was our attitude with reference to the offer of the Dreadnoughts, and I am delighted to find that not only has the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia carried out the wishes of the people, but the Imperial Government has most cordially accepted the expression of those wishes. That puts us on a good footing at once. (Hear, hear.) The question of universal training for military purposes is a broad and complex one, and as to what is the best thing for the British Isles with reference to her military system it would be presumptuous of me to express an opinion. But what I do wish to say is that it is by no means the settled policy of Australia, and certainly

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not of Canada, nor for that matter of the great contiguous country, the United States, where I believe it has never been attempted. In these large countries it involves immense problems, and I question the wisdom of trying to force a policy of that sort upon any people until they are absolutely prepared to accept it. If we did so, I venture to think we might be making a great mistake. At the same time, what is good for one country is necessarily not good for another. I have expressed these views solely from a feeling of duty in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon Lord Roberts to address you.

EARL ROBERTS.

Lord ROBERTS said: Gentlemen, I am only a plain soldier. I have not the oratory of my friend Mr. Balfour, nor have I the eloquence of my friend the Secretary of State for War. In a few words I wish to say how cordially I agree with what Mr. Balfour said about the necessity of having a satisfactory Army in order that the Navy may have full and adequate freedom to carry on its duties on the sea. I agree nearly with every word Mr. Haldane said. There was one expression which he used, which perhaps rather grated on me. Although I may feel young, I can hardly look forward to twenty years. (Laughter.) Mr. Haldane put twenty years as the time at which he hoped we should have something like an Empire Army. I myself think it would be wiser to limit that period. Twenty years is a long time to look forward to. Many things may happen in the meantime, and I think it would be wiser and safer for us if we were to limit that time to perhaps months, and not twenty years. (Cheers.) I esteem it a very special honour to have this opportunity of addressing the members of the Imperial Press Conference. Your meeting here for consultation at the centre of the Empire is a most impressive proof that our British nation is learning at last to think and act as a united people. This began at the time of the South African War, when, in response to a great national necessity, the soldiers of the Empire came from almost every colony to maintain the honour of the British flag and the great national interests then at stake. It is the proudest recollection of my life that I was the first

British Commander-in-Chief to whose fortunate lot it fell to command an Army which comprised contingents from practically every country under the flag. (Cheers.) I shall never forget the loyal assistance given at that time; and I am sure that all the people of these islands join with me in this feeling of gratitude for the support then received. The enthusiasm evoked in those anxious times, and the speedy action taken by remote communities, were undoubtedly due, in no small degree, to the rapid distribution of news, and the teaching of an enlightened Press. (Cheers.) In all countries under our flag the Press has become of late years more and more the chief moulder of public opinion. Since also with us public opinion decides more rapidly and directly than anywhere else what public action shall be, the influence of the Press, which you gentlemen represent, has become one of the most important factors in our whole national system. There has seldom been a time, in my judgment, when that influence will have larger demands made upon it than in the immediate future. In a very few weeks another conference, called together officially, is to meet here in London to consider the gravest question that can possibly occupy the mind of the nation—the Naval Defence of the Empire. It will scarcely be possible to discuss that question without considering others that affect the military security of the different countries concerned, and of the Empire as a whole. There has lately been a great awakening of the public mind in these matters, of which the Naval Conference is the outcome. But whether the decisions of that Conference are sufficient and are made effective enough to safeguard the Empire will depend largely on you gentlemen of the Press, who have your hands constantly upon the pulse of the countries from which you come, and who understand the means by which a sound public opinion is formed and then ripened into action. If you will attach any weight to the opinion of an old soldier who has spent practically his whole life in the study of these problems, let me say that the situation is one which demands your closest attention and that of every patriotic man. The courage and energy of past generations of our race have been handed down to us—the greatest heritage that any nation has every enjoyed. (Cheers.) The question now is, whether we have the spirit and the foresight to maintain the Empire thus gained for us. We have been accustomed so long to supremacy at sea and security on land that we

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are inclined to accept these as fixed conditions that nothing can disturb. Recent events, however, prove conclusively that a new era has commenced, and that our whole Empire may again have to fight for its own, as the people of these islands have many times had to do in the past. The question is: Are we prepared to do this? Fleets and effective armies cannot be improvised to meet the rapid movements of modern times. Nothing but forethought and preparation, extending over years, can give us a naval or military strength which may be relied on in any great emergency, and which is in itself the greatest guarantee of that peace which we desire and need more than any other nation. I think I know what your main difficulty will be. It is not easy to convince the mass of the people in this country of the existence of real danger. It may be even less easy to convince the populace of colonies that have enjoyed for a century protection, which has given them security from attack, that real dangers threaten them also. The new worlds once thought they were going to escape the entanglements of the old. This is manifestly a mistaken idea. Steam and telegraphy have put all the continents in touch with each other.

In the Seven Years' War it was said that a shot fired in the depths of American forests was a signal for fighting all round the world. So a shot fired in the Balkan Peninsula might produce an explosion which would change the fortunes of every remotest colony of our Empire. The growth of the Colonies in wealth makes them more and more objects of envy to nations which do not possess such valuable areas of the world. So, if we are to be secure, we must stand side by side in common effort and common sacrifice. (Cheers.) There is one thought that I wish particularly you could impress upon our people across the seas. I observe that they sometimes think that preparation for defence cultivates the spirit of militarism and unfits men for civil life. I can only say that a long soldier's life has made me in my heart of hearts a man of peace. But I nevertheless firmly believe that the discipline which makes a man to be an effective defender of his country at the same time equips him best for civic duties. In this regard we may well learn a lesson from our neighbors, the Germans. Perfection of military organisation in Germany has led to admitted excellence of organisation in every line of civic duty. Military duty, with its habits of discipline and obedience, does not spoil but improves the character of citizenship. I welcome the indications which I see that this truth is gathering strength in the greater Colonies. The determination of Australia and Natal to train the whole body of their youths to use of arms; the splendid spirit shown by New Zealand; the gift of £50,000 by Lord Strathcona for the training of Canadian schoolboys, are examples which greatly encourage those who think out these questions. These are examples which must ultimately give a new inspiration to this old country, never willing to be surpassed even by her own children. I feel that no one has so complete an opportunity of impressing these views upon the people of your various lands as you gentlemen of the Press, and it has, therefore, been an extreme satisfaction to me to be with you to-day, and to be allowed to speak of matters which are very near my heart, as I am sure they are to the hearts of every patriotic man. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: The Hon. Theodore Fink, of Melbourne, I understand, will move a resolution.

MR. THEODORE FINK.

Mr. FINK said: Before moving a resolution I wish to express my satisfaction and agreement with the Australian position in regard to naval defence, and merely to affirm that the offer of a Dreadnought was the predominant sentiment of Australia, and that in that prominent way the unity of the Empire for naval defence should be demonstrated not only to the Empire, but to the world. (Cheers.) Nor was it intended, nor will it operate to neutralise, lessen, or delay the carrying out of the determined Australian policy to provide for local defence, always coordinate and in time of war necessarily subordinate to Imperial control and command. Now, I think that position is manifest, and I am quite sure that all Australians will be delighted at the news in yesterday's paper that the offer has been accepted, and accepted in the spirit in which it has been made. Now, so far as the problem of land defence, dealt with by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane, is concerned, I would recall to your memory one of the many prime and cogent utterances of Lord Rosebery on Saturday night, when he said that he trusted that one of the great issues of this Conference would be—addressing his guests—that “you are to take back to your

dominions the message that some personal duty and responsibility for national defence rests upon every man

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and citizen of the Empire.” I hope we will! I hope it will be possible that we should. Mr. Balfour to-day said it was not sufficient, although it was the great foundation; we should not only pursue the spirit which has led to England’s greatness and England’s glory, and which still lives in the breasts of your citizens to-day, but that these citizens should be provided with the weapons which would be necessary to give effect to their power of defence. And I here affirm that these two notable utterances by responsible men are true, the weapons must accompany some means of training these men before they can know how to use them. I am quite aware, as Mr. Cunningham said, that no community is ever unanimous in the British dominions, and I do not venture to hope that even to-day, in the short deliberations permitted to us, that such a matter as we are discussing can be thoroughly thrashed out. In an assembly of representative citizens such as we are we can only discuss general principles which can find ready acceptance. I entirely disclaim any suggestion or any idea of getting this Conference to change its function and to suggest a domestic policy of military defence to Great Britain or the mother country in any way. But I would say that, so far as one of the self-governing dominions is concerned—Australia—we have, during the three years of the Commonwealth, affirmed, by our Defence Act, the positive legal duty of each citizen to be called upon for defence in time of war. That, of course, does not cover the whole ground, nor does it provide a basis or system of national training. It is quite true that no detailed policy is yet formed by federal law, but the policies of the late Government, the Government preceding it, and of the present Government, provide for the training, first during youth, from twelve to eighteen, of every person physically competent and capable, and from eighteen to twenty-five of every adult of those ages. We are not frightened by the bogey of conscription, which is not involved or concerned by the existence of universal compulsory service. No Continental analogy by any genius of Australian conception would apply to our free people. But we do say that the whole of the race, the whole of the effective national manhood, must be trained so that when it is called upon and when the emergency does arise, it will be ready to be organised into efficient military units. There can be no doubt that that does respond to Australian sentiment. It does respond to a growing opinion in that part of his Majesty’s dominions. And I venture to hope that it will be dominant for a very long time. The analogy referred to by Lord Roberts, present in the mind of every student in the world for the last generation, is this—that not only does an adequate system of physical training of youth project into adult life, not only does it provide a basis for the organisation of the military power of a community, but it provides the only security and the only atmosphere by which an efficient national force, whether for peace or war, for trade or industry, on sea or land, can be effectively maintained or prepared. You will never have a fully equipped people unless some of the untoward conditions of civil life and country life are neutralised by the exercise of the physical faculties involved in the system of physical training. I have been asked not to move this resolution because there may be differences of opinion. I welcome differences of opinion. I know they exist, and they cannot, for reasons of time, be fully ventilated. I do not propose to go into details of military training; but I venture to say that no one can study the industrial race in that great

country to which Lord Roberts has referred without seeing that their industrial efficiency would have been quite impossible if it had not been accompanied, and its development had not been assisted, by that physical and military training which accompanied it, and which facilitated their success. Wars have ceased to be dynastic and have ceased to represent the struggles and intrigues of sovereigns and rulers of people, and represent—as they now do and will represent in the future—the conflict, not of trained bodies of professional soldiers alone, but of armed peoples expressing racial differences. We now find that these are the times when the growth of national genius is not of one of the countries of the Continent, but of all; and we find there the expression of progressive art and progressive science, and that there we have, in the variety of applications of science to the problems of civilised life, a new renaissance and industrial growth, the like of which the world has never seen, and in whose development we get ever-changing problems, economic and physical. There can be no doubt that Europe is not merely an armed camp. I am convinced

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that if there is one condition that will disturb the peace of Europe and the world it is the peculiar phenomenon presented by Empires growing in population and commercial strength, and growing in military organisation, side by side with a country whose development is small and peaceful, and whose forces are not sufficiently organised. I am quite sure that if the great powers of the people of these islands and the people who now inhabit the rest of the dominions of the Crown—that if those great forces were well knit together by any system and foundation of training the peace of the world would necessarily be secured. And another thing: we are pressing forward in every country and in the Old Country with our problems of social reconstruction. England is not the only country which is reconstructing her social life and seeking to strengthen her national life by legislation. And along with the wise legislation by which benefits are to be conferred on large masses of the more helpless classes of citizens there should be enforced the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, first among which is that of the defence of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I therefore move the following resolution:—“That this Conference affirms the urgent necessity of placing the defence of the Empire on the surest foundation, and to that end considers it essential that in each of the self-governing dominions systematic and universal training of the male population should be strenuously advocated.”

The CHAIRMAN said: Mr. Mark Cohen will now second the resolution which has just been moved.

MR. MARK COHEN.

Mr. MARK COHEN (New Zealand) said: Mr. Balfour, Lord Roberts, and gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure indeed to second this resolution. At the same time I must ask for your indulgence, as I am suffering from a very considerable physical disability. Indeed I had to leave the hall through a fit of coughing this morning. I wish to say that I most heartily endorse the principle contained in this resolution, believing as I do in our young countries, where the State undertakes the complete education of its youth, and

spends large sums of money to equip them for the battle of life, has the right to ask for some return for that lavish expenditure. And we think that if our young people, on whom we spend over a million sterling per annum, are equipped intellectually and physically in order to enable them to do their duty as citizens of New Zealand to the Empire to which they belong, we ought also to demand from them some service which, should the occasion arise, will place them in the position of being able to defend from external attack the country in which they reside. Of course I know that objection will be taken to the term "compulsion" in this direction, but insomuch as our educational systems are compulsory, it is really only an extension of that principle in the right direction. And though I heard surprise at the expression of that opinion to-day, which was rather laughed down, I would take leave to think that when an experienced soldier like Lord Roberts tells you of the necessity of this, armchair opinions are worth nothing at all. (Hear, hear.) I believe if the Government of this country could prevail upon the noble earl to visit the younger countries and let him be a missionary of Empire, I am sure that it would do more to advance this great cause than anything that has been said or suggested. (Hear, hear.) I am sure we shall not kill him with kindness, as you are in your lavish hospitality trying to kill us, but we would treat him with the respect and honour which his great services to the Empire merit, and act upon any advice and information which he chooses to give us. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that one or two gentlemen are anxious to speak and put the other side to the resolution which has just been moved and seconded. I would call first upon Mr. St. Loe Strachey, who desires to amend the resolution so that it may include Great Britain. I think there is some advantage in that method of procedure, because by that means we shall hear what is to be said on both sides.

MR. ST. LOE STRACHEY.

Mr. ST. LOE STRACHEY said: Mr. Balfour and I am proud to say colleagues and fellow-journalists, I want to emphasise if I can what Mr. Fink said as to the duty and nature of universal service. We were all impressed—I at any rate was profoundly impressed by the magnificent—I can use no other word—speech which fell from our chairman. But I did feel anxious upon one point—a little anxious—whether in what he said about the necessity of putting weapons into the hands—

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proper weapons into the hands of individuals—whether in the weapons he intended training, as in my mind training is the most important, or is equally important, like the weapons of which he spoke. Indeed, the weapon is of very little use if a man has not got the training to use it. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that "he who wills the end must will the means," or if we may amend it, "he who wills the weapons must will the training to use them." And if I may speak of weapons, I may remind you of a story which has always impressed me very much—a true story of a public meeting in an English rural village in Wiltshire—a meeting at which they were discussing national defence and national service, and at that meeting a labourer in the course of his speech asked the question, "What would you do if an enemy entered your village?" An old rustic in a



smock frock in the back of the hall got very much excited, and he jumped up, and he said, "What would anybody do? I would go for him with a pitchfork." (Laughter.) I have always thought that was rather a pathetic answer. What was the use of a pitchfork if he did not know how to use it, or was not something better than a pitchfork. The whole question of defence turns upon training. It cannot be adequate; nothing you can do will be really adequate unless we have training—and universal training. You may remember a story of the Duke of Wellington. It was just before the battle of Waterloo, and one of his officers was riding with the Duke, and they saw a British soldier going up the steps of one of the churches of Brussels. The Duke pointed him out, and said: "Sir, it all depends upon that article, and if there were enough of him I would have no doubts." I think we must contrive that there should be enough of him, and I do not believe we can be sure that there will be enough unless we have given training to every man in this country, and made him, by that training, a full citizen and a full man. Mr. Fink, I think it was, spoke of the immense advantages other than military which are acquired by universal training. If I may be allowed for a moment, I should like to tell you how I found salvation in the question of universal training. I had the honour to be connected with a very small experiment in training men, which I dare say most men here have not heard of—the raising of the "Spectator" experimental company. For certain purposes we wanted to see if a really good infantry soldier connected with the Militia could be made in six months, and some very kind friends and myself, who were writers on the "Spectator," raised a fund for the training of a company of ordinary young Englishmen—what I may call the Board School class of Englishmen—giving them a six months' military training. Before that time I had not found salvation on the question of military training, but after I had seen the effects, physically, but still more morally and intellectually, which those young men had received by that training, I felt that I should be guilty of a crime against my country if I did not do everything that lay in my power—humble individual like myself—if I did not give these lessons to the rest of my countrymen. And, therefore, I cannot be in a room or fail to take part in any assembly where the motion includes the proposal of universal training without doing my best to urge that that motion should include the United Kingdom. I will conclude in the words of Shakespeare—for, remember, Shakespeare was an advocate of national service and universal training, and if alive I have no doubt he would support Lord Roberts and be a supporter of the National Service League. He tells us that "We owe God a debt, and that no man is too good to serve his Prince." And may we add, to serve his King and his country and his Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. AMERY: I beg formally to second the amendment, as one of the as yet small body of people who are convinced of the duty and necessity of national service, and who, under the leadership of Lord Roberts, mean not to rest till we have convinced the country of that duty and of that necessity. (Cheers.)

Mr. FINK: The seconder and myself agree to that being incorporated as part of our motion.

The CHAIRMAN: The best way of putting it would be simply to leave out those words in the resolution, "in each of the self-governing Dominions." If those words were omitted the resolution would be a general application. It would then read: "That this Conference

affirms the urgent necessity of placing the defence of the Empire on the surest foundation, and to that end considers it essential that systematic and universal training of the male population should be strenuously advocated." That, therefore, is the amended form of the resolution now before the meeting.

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Mr. HAROLD SPENDER said: I wish to raise a point of order. I understand that the question to be discussed to-day is the Press and the Empire, and we have come here with that subject in our minds; and I question whether it is within our function to pass resolutions which indeed can bind nobody, but seek to bind us to a definite policy.

The CHAIRMAN: Of course there must be a certain licence of discussion. We are not here as a representative assembly passing Bills, nor are we able to carry into effect any resolution we may arrive at. Mr. Spender has pointed out that the discussion is upon the Press and the Empire, especially in connection with Imperial defence. That being so, it seems to me that this resolution to say that the Press is to advocate or not to advocate a certain policy with regard to the defence of the Empire is strictly within the limits of the subject. Therefore, I think I must rule that the resolution, as I have put it to the meeting, is one within our competence to discuss.

Mr. CHOSE: The resolution as it has been amended would seem to include India in the scheme. I have a separate resolution to submit on that point.

Mr. REED: May I rise to a point of order? What paper does the gentleman represent? Who does he represent? And by whom was he delegated?

Mr. CHOSE: I was not delegated by any paper to attend the Conference, but the "Bengal Daily Post" asked that I might be allowed to be present at the Conference, and I was kindly given that permission, and I am here in consequence of that invitation.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we had better perhaps not waste time in discussing details of order, and I think the two points that have been raised could be met adequately if the assembly would allow me on my own authority to modify the resolution so as to meet both the objections raised. I suggest it should be discussed as follows:—"That this Conference affirms the urgent necessity of placing the defence of the Empire on the surest foundation, and to that end considers it essential that in each of the self-governing portions of the Empire systematic and universal training of the male population should be strenuously advocated by the Press." That meets both points of order and gets rid of both objections.

MR. J. A. MACDONALD.

Mr. J. A. MACDONALD, of the Toronto "Globe," said: "Mr. Balfour, Lord Roberts, and members of the Conference, my name was not sent in by myself. I did not intend to speak on this subject. But now that I am called I desire to say that I am opposed to this resolution. In the way it was first put we could have nothing at all to do with it. (Hear,

hear.) But I am opposed to it in any form. (Cheers.) I do not discuss the worth of military training, although I have the blood of the men of war in my veins. I am a Celt. But, sir, we are called here not to pass resolutions on controverted and divisive questions, but to exchange opinions and to make opinion. I can conceive of nothing more hurtful to the ultimate good of such a Conference as this than to have it put on record that there are among us acute differences of opinion. (Cheers.) I for one must vote against this resolution in any form. I am utterly opposed to it. If it is approved I shall protest against it. (Hear, hear.) I speak as a Canadian. I do not know the other countries. What may be good for Britain, or for Australia, or for New Zealand, or for South Africa, or for India may not be good for us in Canada. I do not know. But I do know Canada, and I know that a resolution such as this would be an offence to the Canadian spirit. For 150 years my family have lived in Canada. I have gone all over the country. I know that to advocate what it is here urged we should advocate would be to hurt Empire interests in the Dominion of Canada more than ten Imperial Press Conferences could heal. (Cheers.) We need not say we are loyal. It offends me to hear a man ask if Canada is loyal to the flag. There is enough loyalty in Toronto alone to stock a whole dominion. (Cheers.) We who are Canadians shall do our best service to the Empire, as well as to Canada, if we go back home and, each man in his own way, and through his own journal, urge upon the people and the Government the importance of the question of Imperial defence—the importance of a fleet for Canada, if we believe in a Canadian fleet, as I do—that fleet to be an integral part of the Imperial Navy—the Navy one, the fleets as many as the nations of the Empire may provide. You need not have any doubt, Mr. Chairman, about the loyalty of the Parliament and people of our Dominion—French as well as English, every class and every tongue—once it is made plain that there

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is a crisis with the Empire. Make that plain, without any sham noise or nonsense, and you shall have your answer. Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared that in such an event he would “stump” Quebec in calling to arms in defence of the Empire his compatriots of French blood. He gave voice to the sentiment of every Canadian when he spoke that word. We who come from Canada shall do our best service if we advocate in our own way, through our own organs, the importance of giving adequate expression to that sentiment which Sir Wilfrid proclaimed. But in doing that we must carry our people with us—all our people. It must not be forgotten that in Canada our people are not all of British breed and blood. Nearly one-third are of French origin and tradition. A million of others are of other foreign blood. Sir Edward Grey spoke yesterday of the “Anglo-Saxon” spirit. But many of us are neither “Anglo” nor “Saxon.” Some of us rejoice in having in our veins no “Sassenach” blood. In all efforts at nation-building in Canada the facts of race and blood and background must be kept in mind. All classes must be encircled by our Canadian nationalism, otherwise we can have no genuine Imperialism. The resolution now before this Conference would destroy national unity and defeat Imperial sentiment in Canada. Think of going to our peace-loving French Canadian habitant with a conscription resolution! It would not do. No more would it do for the rest of our people. I can tell Lord Roberts that the Canadian contingents that went to South Africa were not conscripts. The Canadians who marched to Mafeking, or who held their post at Rustenberg, or who made the not inglorious rush at Paardeberg, or who died on the veldt side or in the hospitals—

those Canadians were not purchased soldiers of the Queen. Their services could neither be bought nor compelled. They went readily, eagerly, because they were “Sons of the Blood.” Let the call come again, and they or others of their kind will answer with a cheer. No compulsion is needed to make Canadians love their country; and if they love it they’ll defend it to the last. Another thing needs to be done. The most important service Canada can render the Empire just now—the best defence—is to go on growing big and to keep a civil tongue in her head. Vast areas of our Dominion are crying out for population, waiting to support not seven millions, but seventy millions. Let those rich lands be filled with an intelligent, industrious, and justly governed people, and the Empire shall have a strength of defence which no Dreadnought could supply. And it must be remembered that on the other half of the North American Continent we have a great Republic, with eighty millions of people as against our seven. Across the Pacific we look into the slant eyes of the teeming millions of the Orient. At this moment, and for the very highest Imperial reasons, it becomes Canada not only to grow big, but also to be civil in all its international dealings and relationships. Were the Press of Canada to be carping, untruthful, offensive, insulting in its references to foreign nations, not only Canada but the Empire as well might some day have to pay the price of our insolence. We who come from Canada shall go back from this Conference with a new and deepened sense our obligations to the Empire, and with a resolve to instil that sense of obligation in our people. But, sir, if that sense of Empire obligation rests upon the delegates from overseas, it should rest no less heavily on you public men and journalists of Britain. If the Press of Canada should be civil so should the Press of Britain. (Hear, hear.) If we should exercise self-control and self-restraint, you more. We ask you to keep Imperial matters out of party politics. We ask you to refrain from “scare” unless there is real cause for being scared. We ask you to remember the responsibility which rests upon the Press of Britain because of Britain’s authority in Imperial matters. Again, I must ask, sir, that you will not compel us to vote on this question. If this motion, or any motion, is put I shall vote against it. What Canada may do in defence of the Empire must be left for the people and the Parliament of Canada to decide. Besides, sir, you cannot put the essential, the real, the worth-while purpose of this Conference within the four corners of any motion. Every working newspaper man knows how worthless is the average conventional motion. What is important is the tremendously powerful sentiment awakened in us all here to-day in the men from Canada, and from India, and from Australasia, and from South Africa, and from the farthest parts of the Empire. Let that sentiment do its perfect work. Let us behave ourselves as responsible men at a critical time. You have called this a critical time. Sir, every day in an Empire like ours is a critical day. When the

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morning breaks no man can tell to what point the storm-centre may shift before the evening closes. It becomes us all to be impressed by that sense of Empire crisis, and to be impressed by it now. I, for one, will refuse to vote for any resolution, amended or otherwise, which would bind us or hamper us in the discharge of our responsible duties on our return home. The creation of healthy sentiment, the widening of horizons, and the formation of sound opinion—that is the purpose of a Conference such as this. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said he thought there was some utility in the resolution as the basis of discussion, and while he would not advise them to bring the matter to a vote, he would advise them to hear what was to be said on both sides, so as to elicit the feelings of the representatives from the various parts of the Empire.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS pointed out that if the motion was to be pressed the discussion must inevitably be adjourned.

This was followed by cries of “Withdraw.”

Mr. FINK: There is a general feeling that it should not proceed on controversial party lines, and I personally would be the last person, or one of the last persons, to raise such difficulties. Therefore, I have very much pleasure in intimating that my friends and myself will consent to the resolution being withdrawn either now or at a later stage in the discussion. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn? (Hear, hear.) The motion is withdrawn, but, of course, subsequent speakers are not precluded from referring to compulsory military training or to any other subject which they think relative to Imperial defence.

MR. PETER DAVIS.

Mr. PETER DAVIS (Natal) said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am on this platform to give support to the spirit of the resolution, but I think we are acting wisely in not voting on such a resolution. It is much better to have the spirit of it. All that I have to say in favour of local defence has been pretty well said by Mr. Fink and the speakers who followed him. All that undoubtedly refers to Natal. I believe Natal was the first colony to start a cadet corps. We found the results of that cadet corps favourable in every way to the youth of the colony, and certainly to the defence of the colony. They remain in the cadet corps to the age of eighteen. They are familiarised with the use of arms, and no matter how young or old, they never lose familiarity with the rifle which is used in younger days. As a means of education, I have it on the authority of schoolmasters that the discipline of the cadet corps has had a marked influence for good in the conduct of these youths. They turn out more intelligent and more disposed to submit to educational influences, and altogether it has been a great boon to the country. I content myself with advocating very strongly the spirit of this resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. LEO MAXSE.

Mr. LEO MAXSE said:—Mr. Balfour and Gentlemen, I feel it is somewhat presumptuous in a mere monthly magazine editor to address a conference consisting of pundits of the weekly and daily Press. But I expect we are all in the same boat, and as Mr. Fink has reminded you, the Pressmen are playing an unfamiliar game, for although magazines may be our foible, oratory is not our forte. We have not the habit of addressing public audiences, and most of us have never acquired the art of the Parliamentarian of

thinking on our legs, though some of us really know of no other procedure. (Laughter.) We Pressmen suffer from the homilies which are sometimes addressed to us by many eminent public men with regard to the offences of the Fourth Estate. May I be allowed to say, as a humble editor, proud of that body, that it appears to me that the chief function of the British Press is to preserve the peace of the world, to repress the angry passions of Cabinet and responsible Statesmen from pursuing their international differences to such a point when a breach of the peace becomes inevitable. We are not Quakers, but we are men of business, and the and the many business men in this room, connected with the Press, will agree with me that no business suffers more from war than our business, and if some of our detractors, who play up to the gallery by denouncing us, had the opportunity of examining the balance-sheets of the leading journals before, during and after wars, they would be surprised by the difference, and they would be compelled to abandon the characteristic idea that wars enrich newspaper proprietors. I admit that we benefit by some human follies, and by some human misfortunes. Crimes, and catastrophes are even more remunerative than

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cricket, but wars and rumours of wars are disastrous to most of the members of our profession. In the last ten years there have been two great struggles—the South African War and the Far Eastern War—which imposed heavy burdens upon the Press, and which were by no means compensated for by the increase of circulation, due to the occasional publication of sensational news. And those burdens are as well known to all of the gentlemen in this room—in the first place, that great slump in advertisements which takes place during any period of public stress and in the next place the immense cost of organising war services and skilled correspondents at the front. Now, we periodicals—what are called the high-class reviews, because they are expensive—are in a somewhat different position. We do not, as a general rule, live upon our advertisements, and we have not in war the cost of organising foreign correspondents, but I say, as the proprietor of a periodical, to us war simply spells ruin. Because we are luxuries rather than a necessity, we are not absolutely indispensable; and in any retrenchment we are likely to be retrenched.

I am described by superior persons—who know far more about me than I know about myself—as a fire-eating jingo who breakfasts every morning over a German, and who is anxious to precipitate the world into a universal conflagration and to bathe it in blood. But speaking as a proprietor, I do honestly believe that any great European war in which this country became involved would affect me to such a point that I should be compelled to put up the shutters of my shop. Gentlemen, where we differ from our detractors is not upon the desirability of maintaining peace—upon that we are all agreed. We are men of peace, though I hope we do not sink to the level of those who have been stigmatized by Mr. Roosevelt as men who hold property and trade as more sacred than life and honour. Where we differ is as to the best means of preserving peace. They believe that peace depends on the utterance of amiable platitudes, on the convenience of agreeable assurances, and on the reduction of armaments, but we know, having studied the affairs of the world, that peace depends upon the peaceful nations being adequately prepared for war and ready to cope with the possible disturbers of peace, and we as the most peaceful

community on the whole globe are compelled to study the policy and the ambition of possible challengers. At one time in this country that duty seemed to devolve upon a handful of cranks, who were rightly assigned to strait waistcoats by a right-thinking people, but to-day the cranks have multiplied, and there are not enough strait waistcoats to go round. When you read the warnings recently addressed to us by some of the most eminent and best-informed men in this country, outside the Press, in our public life, one begins to realise that the previous warnings and the previous suspense had been justified, because there must be a universal consensus of opinion that our national and Imperial existence is threatened from one particular quarter. If I may say so, Mr. Balfour, without disrespect, you have always spoken of international powers in a spirit of confident optimism; yet recently, owing to the pressure of events, you have found yourself compelled to tell the people of this country that they will be called upon to make gigantic sacrifices during the coming years. This Conference has had the advantage of hearing Lord Rosebery on Saturday night speaking in a similar sense, endorsed yesterday by Sir Edward Grey in the most emphatic manner, and you go to the other schools of thought and find men like Mr. Frederick Harrison, a man who for forty years has waged a lifelong battle against militarism, speaking in the same sense as all these distinguished alarmists, and if you read the "Clarion," the weekly organ of advanced Socialism in this country, you will find week by week the same warnings addressed to our people. I cannot help saying that we cannot help feeling anxious, not for the twenty years which Mr. Haldane has given us, but as regards the immediate future. There have been most pressing warnings that you may go from words to action, from the world of words into the world of action, and it does seem to me that at any rate effect is being given to these warnings by the powers that be in this country. This is not a party meeting, and we speak in no party sense, but we are entitled to urge upon the Government of this country all the more that the Empire has declared its determination to stand in with the United Kingdom in the national defence of the whole Empire—we are entitled to appeal to the Government to give effect to its own warnings, and to adopt such a policy of general defence which covers land as well as sea, as will convince those it may concern that it is good enough to run the British Empire.

The CHAIRMAN: I shall now ask Mr.

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Fairfax, of Sydney, to speak, and when he has finished Lord Roberts would like to add a brief statement to what he has said before, having reference to some of the arguments and facts which have been urged since he spoke at this Conference, and that will about bring us to the conclusion of this mornings proceedings.

MR. J. O. FAIRFAX.

Mr. FAIRFAX: Mr. Balfour, My Lord, and Gentlemen,—There is one question which is very closely related to defence, both military and naval, but which has not been referred to in any way whatever in the course of this discussion. It has been pretty well agreed, both by those who have spoken and by the not less important section of those who have not spoken, that the time has arrived for the oversea Dominions to take some more or less

important—more important I hope— (hear, hear)—step in the matter of Imperial defence. Various schemes have been advanced, either for a general army or a general navy, each to be one body, so to speak, or for a British army and a British navy with local armies and navies, co-ordinated by some means to secure united action. Whichever of those schemes comes into effect, from what Mr. Balfour has indicated, and Mr. Haldane also, it seems to me almost sure that some steps will be taken to give the overseas Dominions a share in the guidance of those forces, however they may be related. Well, when it is done a question is bound to arise inevitably as to whether the overseas Dominions, or allied nations, or whatever you may call them—I would be content to call them Colonists myself—(hear, hear)—whatever may be done in that way the question is sure to arise when we have some share in determining the regulation of these defences—is there not to be some share also in determining the great issues of peace and war and those other great issues which lead up to peace and war. (Hear, hear.) So far as my opinion goes—I do not claim to speak, of course, on behalf of anyone else—I do not think the time is quite ripe for that, but I confess, gentlemen, I do think the time is ripening. (Hear, hear.) That is a question which, I think, ought to be mentioned, and I think it ought to be mentioned at a time like this, when we can look it in the face, and not be left till we meet it unexpectedly round the corner, so to speak; for it may be an awkward corner. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

#### EARL ROBERTS

Lord ROBERTS: Gentlemen, I am very pleased that the resolution has been withdrawn, because I think it would be a misfortune that anything we settled here or discussed here should in any way break up the Conference, or cause the members of this Conference to go back to their respective countries with a feeling that some agreement had not been come to, and I am therefore extremely glad that Mr. Fink agreed to the resolution being withdrawn. Personally, of course, I was in favour of it. My reasons for that opinion are these. We have in this country for fifty years been trying the voluntary system. It began in 1860, and it has gone on till now, and it has failed entirely. (Hear, hear.) We have never been able to get either the numbers or the training, and it seems to me hopeless to expect that we shall ever get the numbers or the training. Indeed, I think it is most natural that we should not hope to get them, for it is out of the question to suppose that employers of labour will allow their men to get off long enough for effective training purposes. The training they get now is simply nothing but a few days in camp and a few hours in a drill hall. That is not the training a soldier must have if he is going to fight abroad. If they are for home service, for policing purposes, it may be different, but you cannot suppose that men who have spent fifteen days in camp or a few weeks in the year at drill can hope to fight with effect against trained armies; it is purely out of the question. Now let me give you my own experience. I have no hesitation in saying that if in the South African war trained men had been sent out to help us in the first few months that war would never have lasted. (Hear, hear, and cries of “Question.”) That it was protracted was due to the men being untrained; many of them had not fired a shot before they got out. Even the best Volunteer battalion sent from this country I had to keep under training for three months before I could venture to put it in front of the Boers. Now, the Boers were not a formidable army, but they were formidable in respect of the enormous nature of the country in which they operated, and in respect of the fact that they were largely



composed of mounted infantry, a force which will play an important part in future wars. But against the Boers these Volunteers as they came out were not fit to be pitted, but I am certain that members belonging to

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that battalion which I speak of will bear me out in what I have said, and they were intelligent men, quite the best of the Volunteer corps I had; they were drawn from the Volunteer corps around London, and represented all professions and ranks of society, and yet even that corps, even though they had officers and non-commissioned officers of the Regulars in charge, were not fit to be trusted. Is it, then, possible that we can hope successfully to encounter a Regular army of the first class, a Continental army, and should such a force land on these shores are there sufficient men, and are they sufficiently trained to meet it? An effective force must be sufficiently trained, must have officers who understand their work. It is useless to suppose that you can pick them up haphazard. And that is why I advocate so strongly the necessity for universal training for our own country. Other countries, of course, must make their own arrangements. From my own experience of war you cannot trust untrained men, and I may tell you that war is not now what it once was. It is vastly different from what it was fifty years ago when we fought at close quarters—officers, non-commissioned officers, and men in close order together. Musketry took quite a secondary part, and with his Brown Bess a man could not be depended upon hitting anybody over fifty yards. (Laughter.) Look at the battle of Waterloo. The French and English were drawn up with only a roadway between them. In my first campaign we were armed in that way with the now obsolete Brown Bess, and it was necessary for us all to keep close together. But now the very moment you come under the fire of rifles with a 2,000 yards' range your men have to open out and to spread themselves to a distance of two, three, four, or even ten yards, according to the nature of the ground. And this means terrible strain upon the individual soldier, infinitely greater than it was, and clearly they must be well disciplined, and that discipline cannot be got in half an hour a week in a drill hall and a few days in the month of August. Men must be trained to have a feeling of self-reliance, and above all on his next door neighbour and a trust in his officer, and all this cannot be got without adequate training. I support this resolution, therefore, and just mention these facts to you as the experience of a soldier who has tried both ways, who has seen the old and the new, the Volunteer and the Regular, and when you think it all over and when this question comes to be dealt with you may reflect upon what I have said. (Hear, hear and cheers.)

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I am particularly sorry that we have not been able to give Major Sinclair, of Singapore, the opportunity of saying something important which he had to say. Laid aside by what he calls your June weather, he had hoped that Mr. Stanley Reed would read his statement, and if this debate is resumed to-morrow we may have an opportunity of hearing it then. Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Balfour for presiding, and to Mr. Haldane and Lord Roberts for their thought-giving addresses.

Mr. BALFOUR, returning thanks, said the consequences of this Conference none of them could foresee, but of necessity they must be beneficial.

FOURTH DAY OF THE CONFERENCE.

“LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM.”

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN, O.M.

There as a very large attendance at the fourth day's sitting of the Conference, when the discussion on “Literature and Journalism” was introduced by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Morley of Blackburn, Secretary of State for India, and contributed to, amongst others, by the Rt. Hon. A. Birrell, M.P., the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., and the Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner, G.C.B.

Lord MORLEY, in opening the proceedings, said: Gentlemen, I thank you for the heartiness of your reception—a heartiness partly due, I daresay, to the fact that I have myself been for a good long spell of time a member of the profession which many of you represent. (Hear, hear.) I observe in the “Times” to-day that you are a little jealous of the restriction of time to such a subject as Literature instead of giving a still further time to those great problems of Imperial defence which have hitherto taken up all your attention. Well, I quite see the oddity, so to call it, of appending a discussion upon Literature to the great topics that you have hitherto been dealing with. But Literature, after all, is not a very small topic. (Hear, hear.) There is a connection, if you will let me say so, between Literature and Empire. (Cheers.) I only offer a commonplace upon that point—As if our glorious English tongue were not one of the glories of Empire—(hear, hear)—as if it were not perhaps the strongest, the most enduring bond of Imperial Union—aye, and possibly a thousand times stronger and more enduring and wider in a sense, wider and deeper Imperially than all the achievements, magnificent as they are, of all the soldiers and sailors and of the statesmen who have directed them. (Hear, hear.) To go on with my commonplace—as if Shakespeare, and Burns, and Bunyan, and Swift, and all the rest of that superb gallery were not the greatest of British Empire builders. (Cheers.) This is only a commonplace, but a commonplace with a true and deeper grandeur in it, and I know not in the history of mankind of a more stupendous—I had almost said more overwhelming—fact than the supreme domination of the English tongue over millions in the new worlds of the West and in the ancient worlds of the East. (Hear, hear.) It is a stupendous and overwhelming fact, and that, I think, justifies the place which you have been good enough to give to Literature among the objects of your consideration. (Cheers.) I will make one remark on the other side. I am rather surprised that you did not choose—or those who had the choice of the topics did not choose—science as one of your subjects, because, after all, the governing thoughts and the moving interests of men fluctuate with the ebb and flow of the great tides of human curiosity, and energy, and passion, and interest. One age is more specially an ecclesiastical or a theological age; another is a political age; a third is a literary age; but I do believe you will all agree with me that the age in which we live, in which we find ourselves, is, before all else, alike in its practical and in its speculative bearings a scientific age. Therefore, if you had had to-day a discussion upon the science of the Empire, I am not at all sure—it need not have been introduced by me—but I am not at all sure that you could not have got a more apt and directly profitable discussion. Now I am not going to regale you with all the things—

the grand and noble things—that have been said about Literature. I am not certain that my best plan would not have been to wander about my library for an hour or two and make a collection of the things

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that have been said about Literature. But that is not our object today.

We are to-day to talk of the connection between literature and journalism. What is a journalist? It is not easy to say. It is not quite easy to say off-hand what literature is—a power, a force, a symbol, an interpretation? Are you going to treat it in your discussion to-day as a profession? I think you probably will be inclined to regard that as the view that is most appropriate for this occasion. Well, I looked out, as my wont is, when I am perplexed over a definition—I looked out the word literature in that splendid monument of learning and effort—the “Oxford Dictionary”—and I hope everyone of you possesses it on his shelves, for in the monument you will find many things which make extremely good reading. I turned to “Literature,” and what was my shock to find myself quoted, and thereby, at any rate, handed down to immortality—(laughter)—as having said that “Literature is the most seductive, the most deceiving, and the most dangerous of all professions.” (Loud laughter.)

It is a long time since I committed myself to that perplexing opinion. But we survive our own power of thought, no doubt, and I have survived that, and I cannot recover the secret of that menacing language. (Laughter.) I was thinking the other day—I believe it was a feeling I had in my mind at that date that an enormous number of persons—I use the word “person” to include women as well as men—that an enormous number of persons were committing themselves to literature as a profession who had no more right to take to the writing of books than Mr. Birrell and I have to take to painting oil pictures or water colours. (Laughter.) So many think themselves called, so few find themselves, or are found by the public, really chosen. (Laughter.) As to the profession—the honourable, the arduous profession of a journalist—you know Carlyle used very different language from that. “Is not every able editor,” he said, “a ruler of the world, being as he is a persuader of it.” But then he said, on another occasion, when some young friend told him he was going to embark upon journalism: “Oh,” he said, “journalism is ditch-water.” (Laughter.) Sometimes I am inclined to think that it is. (Renewed laughter.) But the class of journalist, like the class of men of letters, more strictly so-called, contains an infinite variety of genera and species and sub-species, from the high-class publicist, who is the real persuader of the people and the real ruler of the world, down to my humble friends who purvey leaderettes and nimble paragraphs. What are we here to-day to confer about? We are not to confer, I take it, upon grammar, though it is a fruitful topic; nor punctuation, as to which I have not a single word or thing to say to anybody—(laughter)—not as to whether you are to use the relative pronoun “which” or “that”; we are not here to discuss style. Nobody can make a motion, or move an amendment, I fancy, upon “style.” (Laughter.) Therefore we are not here for that. I will only make one remark about style, and I hope you will all agree with me. We cannot—you and I—we cannot approach in stature and compass all the giants, but there is one thing we can do, we can strive in our pursuit, in our cultivation of the great, the noble, the difficult art of

writing—we can strive after, at all events, the two moderate virtues of simplicity and directness. And by simplicity and directness I mean, of course, freedom from affectation, because affectation is the most odious of qualities in character and manners, and I think it is even more odious still in literature and journalism. Therefore I hope you aim, as I think you do, at the simple and direct, as everyone of us ought to aim, and everyone of us can if we take the proper trouble to attain it. Of course, the foundation of style is a full knowledge of matter. It was said of platform speakers that platform speeches depended on three things:—First, “Who says it”; second, “How he says it”; and third, “What he says”; and really it was added that what he said was the least important of the three. (Laughter.) That is not true of the journalist, because what a platform speaker says vanishes more or less rapidly, but what the journalist writes remains, and therefore it is that what he says is as important as the fact that the individual writer says it, and the way in which the individual writer says what he has got to say. Now journalism, I was told the other day by an eminent member of this Conference—a home member—that journalism is literature in a hurry, and he taxed me with having invented that saying. I don’t agree with it. (Laughter.) You have got to go a great deal deeper than that. I should say that the quality of literature, if it

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has one particular quality more than another in this regard, is that it is not in a hurry. Journalism is, and must be, in a hurry. Literature is not. Literature deals with the permanent elements of human things. The journalist has to take the moods and occasions of the hour and make the best he can of them. Literature more or less prescribes the attitude of the judge. The journalist, dealing more or less with what we call live issues, is more or less an advocate. Literature deals with ideals; the journalist is a man of action. Though he is a man of the pen, he is also a man of action—he is not a student, a scholar, but a man of action—and, therefore, he is concerned with the real, though, if he is a wise journalist—as we all are—(laughter)—he will understand that what he takes for the real, or must take for the real, is not half so real as a great deal of what is ideal. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Would anybody deny that there are about half-a-dozen lines of Burns which have had more influence upon political thought and action than all the millions of leading articles that have been written in Burns’s country and even in the southern part of the island? (Hear, hear.) But far more it is the business of literature to furnish a cure for conventional rhetoric. The journalist must more or less follow conventional rhetoric; but when all is said—I am not going to detain you—when all is said, the literary element in its best and widest sense is what makes all the difference in the world between the editor or the writer and the newsboy who is shouting scare headlines at the street corner. (Laughter.) It is the presence in the mind among the talents of the editor and his writers, the presence of literary elements in them, obviously which makes the difference between them and the juvenile news-monger.

I was challenged the other day to define what I understand by a good journalist, and my friendly challenger tried his own hand at the qualities of a good journalist, and they appear to be candour, courtesy, independence, responsibility. Well, but these are qualities which go to the making not only of a good journalist, but to any decently good sort of man. (Laughter.) Therefore I find that definition quite inadequate. I am not going to

attempt to specify the qualities of a good journalist, because I am rather afraid of you, and if I leave any qualities out, or put in any qualities which any individual among you possesses, or does not possess, I may make him an enemy for life—(laughter)—and I am much too experienced to desire to make an enemy of anybody on any newspaper. (Laughter.) I have got a suggestion. Cromwell, in an interview that he had with a certain band of Presbyterian ministers, said to them: “My brethren, I beseech you in the name of Christ, is it possible that you may be mistaken?” And I wonder whether in some journals I am acquainted with whether it would not be a good thing to have that saying of Cromwell’s written in letters of gold in the editorial rooms—not the news room, but the editorial rooms—and even in all editorial rooms of newspapers.

A very eminent member well known to some of us here and to myself has for his telegraphic address, I observe, the word “Vatican.” (Laughter.) Important as this Council is, I hope nobody will suppose that we are here to-day—that we are assembled as anything like a Vatican Council going to proceed to define infallibility. Infallibility is generally impenitence—(laughter)—and I hope nobody here is so unwise as to make any claim to it. But it is a comfort, as journalism is not infallible that it is not omnipotent. It is not quite so omnipotent as it often thinks. When it talks of its power I am the last man to deny or to depreciate, but—I will not go into party politics—I cannot but recollect the two greatest elections—whether wise or foolish elections—in my time. They were the elections of 1880 and the nearer election of 1906, and I make bold to say that neither in 1880 nor in 1906 did the great leading organs of opinion—either metropolitan or provincial—did they anticipate or had they prepared for the verdict which the country, wisely or unwisely, arrived at. (Hear, hear.) I could say a bit more on that point, but it would bring me into dubious ground. Now I want to say this, not the least because I want to say anything flattering—because I have no authority to flatter—but in my day the improvement in all respects in British Journalism—with Overseas Journalism I am less conversant—the improvement in all the vital aspects of what journalism ought to be has been enormous—(hear, hear)—and it has been enormous in a way which leads me confidently to expect that that improvement will still further extend. The old journalism—even in the high-class reviews for which you used to pay five or six shillings—was very coarse—I mean to say very rough and unsparing—and it was

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very ignorant, extremely ignorant. (Hear, hear.) When a writer addresses Wordsworth when he produced a poem and says, “Really, Mr. Wordsworth, this will never do—(laughter)—while another criticises the “Endymion” in the same sort of spirit—what can be more intolerable to think of? Well, that is gone. It is true there is plenty of stiff language used. I remember once when I was in charge of a newspaper there came to me a youngster who sought work or employment. I said, “Any special quality?” Yes, he thought he had. “Well, what is it?” I asked. He said, “Invective.” (Loud laughter.) “Well,” I said, “invective is an admirable gift. Any particular form?” “No,” he replied, “general invective.” (Renewed laughter.) I think I observe one or two quarters where I believe my friend must have found employment since. (Loud laughter and applause.) I think everybody will agree—everybody who observes as I have done—naturally it having been my profession—I think everybody will agree that the temper of journalism

has enormously improved. It is not always—in politics, at all events—the climate is not always genial, but it is not ungenerous. Take it as a whole, the criticism is not ungenerous. As for literary criticism—which is a matter we are more concerned with there to-day—there has never been, in my opinion, either in this country or in France—where they have cultivated criticism to an extent that we have never applied ourselves to—there has never been much critical power and knowledge as you will find in half a dozen quarters in English journalism to-day. (Applause.) I must take care, for I read—as I came up to-day—I read a review in a quarter which we all of us look to with respect in the field of literature, and observed a little remonstrance and a little complaint, written about Shakespeare and other masters, that he is too modest and too cautious, and this modesty and caution move us, the writer says, to a little impatience of his hesitations and his delays. I am sure—and I must be careful—that there is not a better critic than the gentleman who wrote that. I am sure there is not. There is no impatience in the best kinds of English criticism to-day with moderate and considered judgments. (Hear, hear.) Now I want to ask one or two questions of you. Your knowledge of the Press covers a wider area than mine. Is the Press, is the newspaper, the enemy of the book? Do people in Australia, in England—wherever you like—read more books? Do they know better the difference between a bad book and a good one? I have known more than one man of great eminence who did not seem to think it much mattered—that a book was a book. (Laughter.) A friend of mine achieved great eminence in spite of that curious and extraordinary view. In my opinion, the answer to this question about the book—whether people read more and know better the difference between a bad book and a good book—the answer is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, thoroughly favourable and encouraging. There may be some gentleman here who has written a book which has not been a success. (Laughter.) There may be. Well, the book is its own enemy. It may come too soon or too late; the author may have minted a coin which is not in currency, or, like fruit and flowers in a garden, he may have planted his thoughts—he may have chosen his season wrong, but the general result, in my view, is that in the matter of literature the authors of books were never more favourably placed. (Applause.) One more question, which is more important, perhaps. This place is, I am sure, the British Foreign Office and a conference of journalists; this is the Palace of Truth; and, therefore, I more confidently expect your views to be freely given upon this. It is said of critics of democracy, not merely in this country but elsewhere in other democracies, that journalism of the newer type impairs and weakens the faculty and habit of coherent and continuous attention. If it were so it would be a disaster. But anybody who has thought about it is aware that the faculty of continuous attention is one of the main gains of all education. I am not sure I would not say it is not as much a gain from education as the knowledge itself which education implies. Is it true that the newer type of journalism weakens the faculty of coherent attention? I am bound to say that when I see gentlemen coming up to town of a morning in the suburban trains with a financial paper under the one arm and a sporting paper under the other, and a general paper, written what is called crisply—(laughter)—and then, if he is of an aesthetic turn of mind, he has also an illustrated paper; and when I am told that this gentleman is having his character shaped and his opinions moulded and his views settled by this process, I

confess I am very sceptical. (Laughter.) Well, you may think differently, and may not have observed that, after all, it is a question of practical observation, whether the discursive character of some new types of journalism—whether that discursive character is or is not fatal to effective and continuous attention. I do not think I have any more to say, gentlemen; I have kept you too long as it is. (“No, no.”) I will conclude with one remark: During your proceedings a good deal has been said of the re-barbarisation of Europe—the rattling back into arms and to preparation for the use of arms. Herbert Spencer, for a long time, had noticed this tendency to re-barbarisation. I wonder how far the Press has a share in the large flow of general forces that have brought and are bringing this about. There are those who say that, though a Minister may make a blunder, though a permanent official may wear his official blinkers too large and too tight, though diplomatists may be not crafty enough or too crafty, that though personal egotism may blind our statesmen to larger considerations, yet the Press is more answerable than all of these things put together. I have heard that view expressed, and as I am putting one or two questions to you, I will put that question to you: whether you consider that the influence of the Press overseas and at home—the influence of the Press is systematically and perseveringly used on behalf of peace—of peace among the nations? Well, you will see. I will only say this—that nobody can avoid—there is nobody who is not bound to recognise that the Press is a great centre and fountain of public-hearted duty and moral force; that it is the guide to an intellectual grasp of the facts of the world; and, thirdly, that it is, in its best forms, an organ of practical common-sense. Gentlemen, I am very proud to have met you, and I am always very proud to have been a member of your profession. (Loud cheers.) I will now call on Mr. Douglas from New Zealand to be kind enough to address you.

MR. W. S. DOUGLAS.

Mr. W. S. DOUGLAS, Auckland, of the “New Zealand Herald,” said:—Lord Morley and Gentlemen,—During the last day or two the discussions at our Conference have been devoted to subjects of high Imperial import—to the momentous question of the naval and military preparedness of the Mother Country. That is undoubtedly a question of vital interest to the outer lands of the Empire, for though we who come from those lands may talk of Colonial navies and of Colonial armies, we recognise at the same time that whatever we may hope to achieve in that respect, our destinies in the event of a great war between the Mother Country and a combination of European Powers must depend ultimately upon the strong arm of England. If that arm should prove weak in the hour of trial, not only would the greatness and glory of the old land pass away, but that stupendous and wonderful Empire, unparalleled in history, would inevitably fall to pieces. And recognising as we do the paramount importance of being ready and fully prepared to hold what we now possess, we in New Zealand at all events are eager to cooperate with the Mother Country in whatever manner it may be deemed most expedient in the Imperial task in defending and maintaining the Empire. We are ready to supply you with men or with ships or with money, for we know that our national existence depends on your ability to keep open for us the waterways of the world. This question of naval defence is, in our opinion, the question of questions. We are waiting for a lead from you. Tell us what you want us to do and we will do it. But, gentlemen, interesting and vital

though that question is, it is after all a question that must be left to the responsible statesmen of the Empire to ponder and to solve rather than to a body of editors, however able they may be. The subject set down for discussion to-day comes home much more directly to the bosoms and business of journalists, to use a Baconian phrase. It was said of a distinguished British statesman who became the Lord Chancellor of this realm, and who was also a great literary journalist, that if he had possessed a little knowledge of law he would have known a little of everything. Gentlemen, the newspaper of to-day only misses being literature through want of time to be literary. But many of its articles approach, if they do not actually touch, high-class literature; though some, I grant you, are little more than the idle thoughts of an idle fellow. The primary purpose of a newspaper, however, is not the cultivation of letters, but the presentation of news. It is to present to its

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readers a concise but vivid, graphic, and interesting picture of the uncommon happenings throughout the world. And I am certain that never before in the history of the newspaper Press was that done so well and promptly as it is to-day. And I was glad, my lord, to hear that, in your comparison between the Press as you knew it when you honoured it with your connection and the Press as it is to-day, you have noticed a marked improvement. The new journalism has succeeded because it has known how to paint this picture; and though its critics have spoken of it with caustic severity, they have not been able to stay its progress. And, gentlemen, this great change has, I rejoice to say, been unaccompanied by any lowering of tone or weakened sense of responsibility. I believe that the newspaper Press of this country and of the colonies is honestly striving to maintain those high and honourable traditions which have won for British journalism so enviable a reputation. And, in conclusion, let me say that so long as this spirit continues to animate the journalists of the Empire, the Press must remain a great and beneficent force. (Cheers.)

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P.

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL said: Lord Morley and Gentlemen,—Whatever opinions may be formed about our Conference, I think there is one quality which is certainly very apparent about our observations this morning; and I will do myself the honour to congratulate the Conference upon their courage. After all, we are living in anxious times. Very grave and critical situations have been unfolded to you, and after a week of discussions upon some of the most appalling prospects which could possibly be opened up by the most heated imagination of men—in the hush which precedes the great catastrophes, and on the eve of an Armageddon, so to speak, we find ourselves gathered here peacefully this morning engaged in a mild discussion upon the relations of Literature and Journalism, and the relative positions occupied by both of these important subjects. Well, Lord Morley, I am bound to say that I think posterity will greatly admire our proceedings. (Laughter.) They will see our wonderful self-command at such a moment, and the noble equanimity in such periods of stress, and the iron nerve of those men that they could thus deliberate calmly upon the very threshold of appalling cataclysms. Although no doubt it is a great disappointment—although I dare say more than one speaker to-day will fence with it in the course of his remarks—although no doubt it is a sad contradiction after a week of shot and shell—to go back to the narrow, restrictive



realm of ideas on literature and philosophy, yet I venture to think the discussion we shall have this morning on the subject to which we have just listened from my noble friend will have at least as much effect in maintaining the reputation for good sense and dignity of this country as some other addresses which, in other times and other places, lately have attracted the attention of the public. (Cheers.)

The power of the Press, gentlemen, is a fertile theme, and we cannot doubt that it has greatly increased, and is greatly increasing, with every improvement of science and every expansion in wealth and in civilization. But has the power of the pressman increased with the power of his machine? I think that is a question—if we are to ask questions to-day—which must be answered in the negative, because we see, whereas in former times individual writers had it in their power to shape Governments and to shake policies, we now see that these most powerful organs fail, as Lord Morley pointed out, in all circumstances to effect trends or even to catch trends of public opinion, and we have observed—we cannot fail to observe—that in this walk of life—as in so many others at the present time—the human element runs in great danger of being crushed beneath the weight and the power of the machinery which it has itself created. And when my right hon. friend, Mr. Birrell, was drawing attention the other day to the spirit of partisanship which sometimes animates newspaper comment, I think there is an explanation to be found in the fact that the newspapers have changed the constituency which they represent—I am talking of a long evolution as years have passed by—and they had come less to represent the opinions of the writer than the opinions of their readers. And that is a tendency which is being corrected gradually at the present time, and this is a Conference which tends to increase the power and the influence and the strength of the man behind the pen—and, after all, the man behind the pen is not less important than the man behind the gun—and this is a Conference which marks in a very distinct way the authority and the recognition of the revival

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of authority of the individuals who are charged with the character, with the conduct of newspapers, and is an important landmark in the reassertion of the power of the individual writers. (Cheers.)

Well, Lord Morley, if a man sells partisanship, that is, after all, a humble trade, and he is only a merchant in a small way of business; and in so far as the tendencies and forces by which we are gripped at the present time may lead writers to write what your readers are anxious to read rather than to give full expression to their own internal conceptions and opinions, there is no doubt we find that the profession of journalism does not reap all the fruits and all the honour that is its due. But surely when we find an honest and sincere attempt to impart truth and guidance and to correct evil and ill-considered prejudices which are spread abroad by the writers of newspapers, there the work of the Pressman or of the writer acquires a solemn and splendid character. And I am bound to say that in this latter sphere the writer belongs to the luckiest class of human beings. The great mass of the human race get up in the morning and go to work, and toil all day at things they like extremely little, and their play does not commence until after their work is discharged. But the man who is seeking truth—seeking to impress the deepest convictions of his

nature through a powerful medium—he is one of those whose work is his pleasure. He grudges every concession that has to be made to exhausted nature, and looks upon a holiday only as a vexatious period of abstention; and therefore I venture to say that we are celebrating here to-day a meeting of those who, at any rate, are among the more lucky people of mankind, because the means whereby they earn their living, the means whereby they discharge their daily duties, are those in which they give the fullest, freest expression of their natural faculties. Lord Morley has spoken to you of the power of the English language. Let us not forget that the British Press—the Press of the British Empire—are the trustees of the English language. The old process of growth, by which local customs and local usages were greedily selected by great writers and men of literary pre-eminence has passed away, and a much more thorough-going, wholesale mechanical process has taken its place; and what I want to ask is whether we are doing enough for the conscious guidance and direction of the great medium of expression, the great English language, of which we are the humble exponents. We see that we are menaced by all sorts of barbarous attacks—phonetic spelling and unsatisfactory and slipshod methods of expression—and although no one would wish to prison our language in harsh or arbitrary rules or deliver it over to the judgment of any particular body of men, I am bound to say there are many powerful arguments which may be urged in support of some authority or some academy which, without restricting the growth from year to year, the necessary growth of the language, will nevertheless place upon each phrase, each new expression or new word which comes necessarily into currency, the imprimatur of authority and literary distinction. At present the only control exerted is that of the Censor of Plays—(laughter)—and that is exercised with a desire to give general satisfaction, but with less success on many occasions than that earnest desire perhaps deserves. (Laughter.) But I should like to say—and here I speak with great trepidation, as one who never realised to the full the privileges and the advantages of a great classical education—I should like to say that in regard to the study of English we might, without disadvantage, borrow an example from the Greeks—the ancient Greeks have succeeded in making their language the model of the whole world—the finest medium, as I am credibly informed—(laughter)—for human speech—though I have never employed it myself—and of human eloquence which has ever existed. How did they do it? Did they occupy themselves exclusively in studying Sanscrit or other root languages which had preceded theirs? No; they studied Greek. That is the means by which the permanence of their language was achieved. Surely we who already possess a language, one of the greatest and most expressive and powerful languages in the world—surely we who wish that our language should continue to exert an ever-increasing domination over great portions of the world, as it will exert a great and powerful influence on the growth and development of the English race—surely we ought to take the trouble to see that the English language is studied in the schools of the British Empire, and that our boys and girls should be taught to read it with a tolerable approach to fluency and correctness. Well, gentlemen, if we are the trustees of the English language—if the British Press have become very largely the trustees of the English language—

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they are also, I think, to some extent, the trustees of civilisation—and I think, if I may say so, they are the interested trustees of civilisation. Lord Morley has said that they are men

of action. But after all the medium of the Press, the medium of literature is words—it is not bullets, it is words. And I am inclined to think that whoever may be responsible for bringing about that process of re-barbarisation to which Lord Morley has referred, journalism, at any rate, will suffer uncommonly when the catastrophe is complete; and although I do not say there might not be forms of journalism which might survive and even flourish in a period of barbarism, the great days of large and increasing circulations will at any rate have come to an abrupt conclusion. No, my lord, we, the representatives of literature and journalism, are men of words, and words are their great medium. It has been well said that words are the only things which last for ever. The utterances which have passed from human lips, and which appear to have been almost the moment that they have been spoken, have endured and are enduring to-day, all over the world, while the most durable and tremendous monuments which human beings have erected have crumbled and passed away altogether. But words survive, if they are true words and wise words—they survive not merely as interesting archæological specimens of a vanished past, but they survive sometimes with an even greater and more vehement appeal than they ever possessed at the moment when they were first uttered. I have to thank you most sincerely for the kindness and indulgence which you have shown me in the formidable ordeal of appearing before so distinguished and so critical a company. And I will conclude by saying that the way in which the British Press, the British writers, can best serve the best interests of the British race is to write words, to write wise words, true words—words that proclaimed the solidarity of Christendom and the interdependence of nations—to write words which assert the practical truth as it is before us to-day, and refrain from words which will cause friction and fretfulness and mischief-making among the nations of the earth. Nevertheless, the foundation of the world's peace are laid more deeply, more surely. Let them be words that assert that confidence breeds confidence between nations, just in the same way as hatred and suspicion breed the very dangers out of which they are supposed to originate. And let them be words which proclaim that the great Powers of the world are not a gang of rascally cut-throats and assassins scrambling for sinister and infernal spoils; but that, on the other hand, they are—all of them—our comrades and our brothers, pursuing the same high ideals as ourselves, marching with us along the road which is always stony and sometimes painful, but which leads continually onwards and upwards towards an ever brighter and more glorious destiny. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call on Lord Milner.

VISCOUNT MILNER.

Lord MILNER said: Lord Morley and Gentlemen,—I am not going to detain you more than a very few minutes. There is no subject in the world on which I would not much rather hear the opinions of our visitors from over the seas than expound my own. And I feel a certain difficulty in that I have never been quite able to make out what the organisers of this gathering meant us to discuss under the attractive but rather vague title of “The Press and Literature.” I cannot help thinking that the choice of the subject of this morning's discussion is due to the fact that they foresaw that the very practical topics which you have hitherto been discussing might put a strain upon your energy and attention, and that it was desirable to give you a little rest. Moreover, I really do not know

why I, of all men, should be asked to speak either about Literature or the Press. I make no pretension to be a man of letters, and although at one time for several years—and I am proud of it—I was a writer for the Press, Lord Morley might have told you, had he been in a candid mood, that I was a very indifferent performer in that line. (Laughter.) But at the same time I am very grateful for that experience, not only because of a certain Freemasonry among journalists—(hear, hear)—which has often stood me in good stead since, when I have been in tight places—(laughter)—but because of the highly educative effect of the torments I underwent in trying to write leading articles, especially under the eye of Lord Morley. There is nothing more calculated to make one aware of the vagueness and looseness of one's own ideas and to bring stronger pressure upon one to correct those ideas than the feeling that one may be called upon at any moment

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to lay down the law on any subject under the sun in language more or less intelligible to one's fellow-creatures. (Laughter.) And then that sort of thing gives one a facility which, though it may be a very great snare at times, is nevertheless, if used with good sense and moderation, often of very great service. Whether the result of this fluency and facility of the journalist is literature, is another question. Sometimes it is, and sometimes it is not. I suppose it depends, after all, upon the amount of independent thought and of thorough knowledge which may lie behind that mere facility of expression. Among the things which I learned as a journalist, and which have been most useful to me in life, was the meaning of actuality. That is rather a cant phrase, perhaps, as used by journalists—I don't know that Lord Morley would altogether approve of it, but he knows very well what it is that I mean—I mean the necessity of your remarks being appropriate, suitable to the occasion, in harmony with the spirit and feeling of the moment—that you should talk about what people are really interested in. My feeling at this moment is that, having heard Lord Morley—the most eminent representative both of Literature and the Press, and one whose words have, I think, gone home to all of us to-day—for my own part there is not one of them which I did not cordially enjoy, and hardly one I am not prepared to endorse—after hearing that speech, I think the life is rather out of this discussion. If anything can be contributed to it, it is in the shape of answers to the questions which Lord Morley has propounded. On the other hand, I believe you had a discussion yesterday, out of which the life has not passed, and which, if I might accept what I read in the Press, many of those present would wish to continue. Well, it is not for me to say whether they should continue it or should not; but, at any rate, I mean to give them an opportunity of continuing it, if they wish to do so, by not prolonging my own remarks on this occasion.

There is only one other thing which I will say, inasmuch as no speaker to-day, not even Lord Morley, has been able to resist the power of actuality to the extent of not referring in some way or other to the subject which is so much in our thoughts. We hear this talk about the “re-barbarisation” of Europe. I think it is dreadful nonsense—at least, if what is meant by “re-barbarisation” is an increasing tendency to settle the disputes of nations by war. There is no such tendency. (Cheers.) The disputes of nations are settled much less frequently by war at the present epoch of the world's history than ever before. And at least one of the reasons, one of the most powerful reasons, why there is less recourse to war, is that the great nations of Europe are now mostly organised on the system of

national armies. And citizen armies make for peace. I deprecate the suggestion that the discussions in this country of the question of national defence have a tendency calculated to make for the barbarisation of this country or of the world. I think that these discussions are inevitable under the circumstances, and that the opportunity which this Conference affords to the leading representatives of the Press in different parts of the Empire of conferring on this subject is most valuable. And, so far from wishing to discourage that discussion, I for my part am anxious to do everything I can to facilitate it and to make it more likely that it will end in some practical result. (Cheers.) I feel that the only contribution I can make to that object to-day is not to detain you further. I thank you very much for the patience with which you have listened to me, and I am sure I shall always remain grateful that I have once been and still occasionally am, a journalist. (Cheers.)

Lord MORLEY: I now call upon Dr. Engelenburg.

DR. ENGELENBURG.

Dr. F. V. ENGELENBURG, of Pretoria, said: My Lord, my lords, and gentlemen,—I intended to address you in my own language, Dutch Afrikander, but at the last moment the means to have my words translated failed me, and so I hope you will forgive my shortcomings. I am sure you would have given me full approval if I had used my own language in this meeting. (Hear, hear.) Let me express, on behalf of my colleagues, our full admiration for Lord Morley's interesting and admirable address. (Hear, hear.) It bristles with points which might give rise to discussion. Lord Morley started his speech with the question why the discussion to-day should not be devoted to the subject of "Science and the Press." There are amongst us men who deplore and complain that the Press does not give enough attention to the proceedings of Science. I

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remember reading not long ago one of our most eminent authorities on education, who, with some disgust, stated the fact that our Parliaments are mainly constituted of literary men, and who complained especially that the Press was chiefly a literary organisation. Well, my lord, I am not sorry for this. I agree that science and technical subjects take a large place at the present moment in our civilisation. But if it is true that the newspaper has made the book superfluous, if we agree that the cable has killed the letter, then it may be also true that the Press will be the last refuge of literature. To write and to write well is an art, and to put your language on paper and to know the value of the words is an art which we journalists ought to cultivate; and, therefore, whatever prejudice is being put forward against the Press is not going enough in the direction of science, I really hope that the Press will remain the domain of literature in the highest degree. There is, Mr. Chairman, a great family likeness among British papers all over the Empire. Whether you look at a paper published in London, in Shanghai, or in Canada, there is a similarity in the make-up, in the type, and even in the advertisements. Though published all through the Empire, they are to a great extent the same. There is always in the British papers something which is too matter of fact. There is too much dryness in our British papers. We editors would do a good thing for our readers if we gave the public once a week, or even once a day, some of our best—the best of literature, classic verse, or strong prose. I

believe this little advice of mine would not be complete if I did not mention just one circumstance—namely, the presence among the Press of the Empire, the presence of papers published in other languages than English. (Applause.) I know, Mr. Chairman, that there is some innate suspicion which English-speaking men entertain towards languages not theirs. I remember two days ago Lord Cromer, when addressing us and touching on some Indian point, mentioned with a feeling approaching very near to disdain the “vernacular” in which some of the British papers are being published. I believe that in Canada the vitality of the French language has many causes. Amongst those causes I fear that English sympathy for the language of the French Canadian is very often absent. I remember our own South African experience. When peace was made at Vereeniging the authorities who succeeded to the military *régime* did not do justice to the Dutch language. I will not even mention whether they showed any generosity towards this language. All of us who are citizens of this Empire should be proud of the existence within it of other nations using languages other than the English. Instead of showing hostility—if that word is not too strong—you ought to show the most and the greatest forbearance towards other languages than English in the Empire. A nation which loses its language becomes like an ox in comparison with a bull. That nation may have great prosperity, but if you take away the language, or if the nation allows itself to lose its language, it also loses its vital power, it loses its spirit, and it loses its brains; and I believe we do not want, amongst the nations of the Empire, nations of oxen, but nations with fighting power. Therefore, I sincerely hope that when you gentlemen go home you will recognise some advantage in the existence in the Empire of these other languages. Whenever Englishmen feel that their own language is in danger the whole English community is at once on its hind legs. I rejoice in that; I like a man to stand for his language, but on the other hand you never hear as much noise made when the languages of other British citizens are in danger. In many of your Dominions there is only one language—which may be a source of congratulation or it may not—but there are Dominions where the English language is not the only one, and, therefore, I hope that when you go home there will be a spirit of conciliation and forbearance shown towards those who use other languages beside the English. And I assure you that an editor who publishes papers in languages other than British may be as good a Briton as he who publishes papers in English. (Applause.)

SIR EDWARD RUSSELL.

Sir EDWARD RUSSELL, editor of the “Liverpool Post,” said:—Lord Morley, my lord, and gentlemen,—In the very few words that I wish to intrude upon this meeting I am desirous of adhering to one aspect of the question. It is a great honour for any journalist to speak under the presidency of Lord Morley—(cheers)—who in the earlier part of his career conferred on our profession a great distinction, and greatly enlarged the usefulness

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of the English Press. Few of us can hope to scale the heights with which Lord Morley’s feet are familiar. But what I want to say is that here we are for the most part an assembly of actual working journalists still in the pursuit of our profession, and we can preserve the same spirit with which Lord Morley entered upon the profession: we can preserve the

ambition which, I believe, brought him into it; for although journalists always have to have a good deal of reticence and modesty, when they feel tempted to claim for themselves any journalistic, any literary quality in their work, I believe it is true that the best journalists go into journalism—as I believe Lord Morley did—from the love of literature. That is the fact that lies at the beginning of the careers of most of us. We did not go into journalism from a love of disseminating news; we did not go into journalism with any very extraordinary practical ideas as to the influence a newspaper might have upon the world. But we did go into journalism with the instincts of literature and the desire to cultivate literature and practise literature. And I go a step further and say that the best journalists are those who have kept up that ambition. Without that ambition our profession is but a poor avocation. And I will venture to say that in my judgment—taking the personal qualities of journalists, taking their rules of conduct, taking the principles which animate them—the love of literature is the best antiseptic of the Press. (Hear, hear.) If a man loves literature, has the love of literature in him, he will shrink from an unworthy use of his position. Those of us who will cast our minds back into the experience we have had will find that the journalists who have rendered the best service to their time are those who have kept literature most in their minds. It is these men who have had a sense of self-respect, and who have prevented the degradation of literature. (Hear, hear.) There is another aspect of the matter in which I think it is possible for journalists to vindicate, to a certain extent, literary status. After all, although we may not be great men at literature, we are more literary probably than most of our readers, and then we have the opportunity of keeping alive what love of literature prevails in the community and of very greatly increasing the love of literature. And, therefore, depend upon it, as has been suggested in the very noble peroration of Mr. Winston Churchill's speech to-day, there exists a great opportunity for conferring benefit upon the community through the medium of our journalism. Lord Milner has made a protest against the idea which he says prevails—I mean the idea that we are in danger of recurring into barbarism, and that this danger extends over Europe. I cannot help saying that I wish that fear were a little more prevalent than it is. And we must remember, especially in connection with the sittings of this Conference, that the man who brought that phrase into not momentary, but as I hope, prolonged public notice, was Lord Rosebery—not a man certainly who is liable or likely to underrate the material or warlike side of human affairs—a man whose good statesmanship has aimed at self-devotion to national efficiency. I hope that this body, which is now sitting to the great advantage of the Press and to the great advantage of the Empire, will be led to concur with Lord Rosebery, and to hold in view that, as Mr. Winston Churchill suggested to us, it is a great, if not the greatest, part of our duty to cultivate good understandings—an ideal which, though it will not interfere with the efficiency of national defence, will very greatly lessen the probability and the possibility of the arrangements for national defence having to be resorted to. For, depend upon it, one of the great dangers of barbarism is not the accumulation of military forces, and not the setting of the mind of a country upon warlike matters, but it is in the cultivation of the disposition in the mind which regards these matters as the common and chief and most desirable subjects of thought and of ideal—it is against that that we have to guard. Depend upon it, gentlemen, although we may be deeply concerned with the interests of the nation, and each with the interests of the part of the Empire to which we belong, the most permanent service that the Press can render to a

civilised community and to a great Empire is to cultivate and disseminate and insist upon high moral and national ideals—coupled always with it the natural and what ought to be the instructive duty of the civilised community—the preservation of its powers and the defence of its own shores; but of making that the ideal of our thoughts and making it the pabulum of our daily writings, gentlemen, I believe you will go away from this assembly to-day with the feeling that the words which have been uttered to us by Lord Morley and by others are wise words which will make for the cultivation

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and the preservation of literature by journalists of the Empire all over the world. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon Mr. Birrell to address you.

MR. A. BIRRELL, M.P.

Mr. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL said: Lord Morley and Gentlemen, I am very glad that the last speaker but one spoke to us in English, because it went some little way to confirm a genial suspicion I have long entertained that all Dutch Afrikanders can speak English when they choose. (Laughter.) I desire to associate myself entirely with what he said about the importance of maintaining national languages, and I would remind him that I for the moment represent what is called the Government in a restless island not very far distant from our shores—(hear, hear)—where we have newspapers published in a language which is certainly not English. And I am very glad that that is so, because, as I do not know Irish, I am able to lay the flattering unction to my soul that all the references made to me in them are flattering—which is certainly not the case in any language which I do understand. (Renewed laughter.) But, my Lord, it is a misfortune; but it is a misfortune inherent in the subject, that the questions both of literature and of the Press are too vast, too restless, too various and too changeful to permit, perhaps, of a very useful analytical discussion in a conference of this sort. To speak about literature and the Press is, as it were, as if a man were suddenly called upon to reply for the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. They are so huge, so restless; they obey such mysterious ebbs and flows; they lave so many human shores; they convey so many vast interests; they touch upon so many topics; they are so changeful in their human aspect; they are, at times, so agreeable, at other times so exceedingly disagreeable—(laughter)—that to speak of them in the same way that you can of any definite or precise or well-marked-out subject is indeed impossible. And, therefore, I think we are here to-day not so much in the hope of discussing with any great actual profit these subjects, but to do honour to them and to recognise that although they do not easily subject themselves to criticism or discussion, they lie really very much at the bottom of human affairs, and touch human hearts far more nearly and far more effectually than other subjects about which it is more easy to talk. However, here we are, under your chairmanship, to discuss these matters. My friend Mr. Churchill rather congratulated himself and you upon the courage which we display in these agitating times, in being able to concern ourselves with such matters. But bravery of that sort has always been a characteristic of the British nation—(hear, hear)—and I own there is one statesman, one Prime Minister—of whom not much is often said to his compliment—that was Mr. Perceval, an eminent lawyer—in fact, the only Attorney-



General who ever became Prime Minister in this country, and who is usually subjected to a good deal of good-tempered ridicule because he used to go to church on Sundays accompanied by a large and immediate posterity—(laughter)—although I see little harm in either of these pursuits. (Renewed laughter.) But the thing which always lives in my memory with regard to Mr. Perceval was that when our great European war was at its height he thought out at home and occupied the time of the House of Commons by introducing a Bill for the extension of curates in the Church of England. (Laughter.) Well, that showed the true spirit of national courage which I hope will always prevail. My lord, I am very glad that nobody has attempted to ask us to draw any distinction between what is journalism and what is literature. Journalism, it is said, is an ephemeral thing—something to strike the attention every morning. Literature is permanent. Still, whether any particular piece of writing in a newspaper or in a book is journalism or whether it is literature is a matter about which none of us need worry ourselves. Time will show, and by the time time has shown we shall all be elsewhere. (Loud laughter.) But one thing is obvious. It is not a question of the mode of publication. Literature may be found in the columns of a newspaper. (Hear, hear.) Journalism may be found in two volumes octavo, price 36s.; though I have never met any person who ever was known to give such a price for such a monstrous production. (Laughter.) Therefore, no one can say it is any answer that the subject is ephemeral, or at all events what is called a topic of the day. Can anyone say whether the Drapier letters are literature or journalism? And what were Dr. Johnson's famous pamphlets, which I regard amongst the most interesting of his writings—"The False

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Alarm," "Taxation no Tyranny"—which were written with the motive which he always commended to anybody as a motive for anybody ever writing anything—because he was paid for it. (Laughter.) They are there upon our shelves, and although I don't say one reads them every day in one's life, they are good reading for all that, and probably will be for a long time to come. Take the Peter Plymley Letters of Sydney Smith. They were as ephemeral as anything of the kind could be; and yet there they are, and therefore I do not think any time can be well occupied in drawing a distinction between writing which is of a permanent character and that which is of a temporary. Of course, some subjects such as a cricket match or a football match are ephemeral, although even they may become literature if handled as Hazlett handled a prize fight, and literature they would remain for all time. Still we may draw a distinction between the publication of news told in a clear, simple, straightforward manner and disquisitions, thoughts and opinions. At one time these latter subjects were more freely treated of in pamphlets, or in essays, or in independent reviews. The Press has absorbed all these now, and in the newspapers of the present day—in the copious newspapers, at all events—you will find every species of composition. You are just as likely to find a piece of good literature in the columns of one of these large, copious newspapers as perhaps anywhere else, and therefore it is idle to draw distinction of this kind. The other day, being in a little trouble—as I always am when I am on my legs—(laughter)—I threw out the superfluous suggestion that journalists might occasionally try truth; and it was thereupon suggested that I was not aware of the laws of libel. I am very well aware of the laws of libel. But the truth that I meant was not anything libellous. It was not personal. It did not attack men's moral

characters. I simply suggested to newspapers that they might tear people to pieces intellectually and show how shallow their opinions were, how inconclusive their arguments, and how false their conclusions. (Laughter.) You cannot sue a man for that; you cannot recover damages for anything of that kind. (Laughter.) And I still adhere to my text. I cannot, for the life of me, understand why newspapers, both at home and abroad, why writers of newspapers, dealing with some of the most important topics affecting the world, should deliberately assume the shackles of party. We have to do that here at home for reasons which may be good or may be bad—I think for the present they are good reasons—in order to accomplish our somewhat singular modes of government. But why you, who are rightly and justly called the “Fourth Estate” of the Realm—which I think is about as just an expression of the kind as ever was made—should assume the shackles with which the other three estates of the realm are loaded I don’t know. The Three Estates of the realm, as you know, are, first, the Lords temporal, and you cannot tell the truth in the House of Lords—(laughter)—and anybody who attempts it gets into great trouble. (Laughter.) Then there are the Lords spiritual, that is the Bishops—and, of course were any bishop to tell us the truth about his diocese Disestablishment would follow to-morrow—(laughter)—without any hesitation or a moment’s delay. (Renewed laughter.) As for the Third Estate of the realm, the House of Commons, we, of course, are bound by the shackles of party. If one of my colleagues makes a speech and I think it ridiculous—as possibly may happen—(laughter)—can I get up and say so? (Laughter.) No, for a very good reason, for such is the wounded *amour propre* of a colleague that he would retaliate by saying something disagreeable about Ireland—(loud laughter)—which, although most unlikely to be true, is still within the bounds of possibility. (Laughter.) But the solidarity of Ministers is essential. The responsibility of Ministers each for the other is involved in our party system, and therefore we have all of us occasionally, to whatever party we may belong—we have to use arguments, or at all events to sit still while other people are using arguments which perhaps we should not care to have employed ourselves. But why you rightly-thinking, studious men of the Press, with a sense of responsibility to the country to which you belong and the world to which you belong—why you should go out of your way to assume these shackles—why you should shut your mouths when you ought to open them, and open them when you might advantageously keep them closed—(laughter)—I am utterly at a loss to know. Therefore, I do hope you will all recognise

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this possibility. It is said you want to get a market and that you find people herded together in particular groups or sets. And you say: “Oh, we want to get the Nonconformist market or the Church of England market, or the Liberal market, or the Tory market, or the Unionist market, or the Socialist market, and, therefore, we will write in such a way as to secure these persons as purchasers.” Of course, once say that and there is an end of all rational thought and of all responsibility. I cannot see why the Press should not act independently. I am certain they would receive the support of the public. You are far too prone to blame the public for your own faults. It is just the same with theatrical managers. If you say their plays are vulgar, they say the public insists upon it; but the public do nothing of the kind. The public do not insist—they respond. I do not say you have not to consider humanity. I do not say you should write deliberately above

people's heads. I do not say anything of the kind. But every honest effort on the part of any caterer for public fancy, as it is called—to meet them and to give them the very best thing that can be got in that particular way—has never yet been otherwise than financially successful, and, therefore, I do hope that we may see a freedom and a liberation in the Press from these poor, partisan, hack alliances and loyalties. I see no reason whatever for them. Well, now, take one subject, and that is the last thing I will say to show you how great is the future before journalists who aspire to be both publicists and to write, if you like, permanent literature. Take such a question as federation. It is one of the hugest questions, one of the most perplexing and one of the most difficult questions that can ever enter into anyone's mind. History is full of the difficulties of federation—the adjustment of State rights and federal rights is written over the history of the world in many a terrible page. I was reading the other day the life of one of the greatest Americans who ever lived, one of the most fascinating characters who ever lived in America. He was on what we now call the wrong side, the defeated South. I mean General Lee, of the Virginian Army. Here you see in the breast of as pure-minded a man as ever lived, a man as free from partisanship, as free from egotism and conceit as ever lived—here you see in the most tragic form, an active contest in his life, his passion for his old home in Virginia, for the rights which belonged to his native State where his property was, where his family had grown up round him—he was a Virginian, yet he also had politically a deep sense of the importance of the maintenance of the Union between the States and of belonging to a great and powerful Empire. He had to make up his mind between State rights and federal rights. He made his choice. He was defeated in the cause which he advocated. But I thank God that now in that great country where the Union still prevails against which in a sense he fought, his character and his aims are recognised, and a great peace has settled down, I trust, in that respect. I only instance this to show the difficulty of the thing. You cannot do it hastily, you cannot shuffle it off as many people are too apt to do with subjects which need not be discussed; as something which may be done in a hurry. This is a dangerous process, and I mention the subject as one about which great things have been written in the past. We have on our library shelves the “Federalist”—a book which ought to be on the shelves of every journalist, and frequently studied by him. I could mention dozens of other subjects which are of equal importance on which the minds of the journalists of to-day might well be engaged. And if you will but recognise that you are dealing with problems as great as any dealt with in times past, and that you have at your back the hived intellect of the great writers of the past—if you would realise the importance that you should educate yourselves and deal honestly and truthfully with these great problems in a spirit of gravity—then the Press might ever be associated and linked even with such a proud memory and potent influence as Literature itself. There need not be any distinction between the two worth talking or thinking about. Therefore, although I agree this is a topic difficult to discuss—a topic, perhaps, not so actually practically useful as some of the others you may have been engaged upon—I say the fortunes not only of our Empire, but of the whole world will largely depend in the future on the honesty, the truth, and the fitness for their task which is displayed by the writers for the Press. Whether they write books or whether they convey news to their fellow-citizens day by day is a matter of comparative unimportance.

Therefore, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon meeting here this morning, and may flatter ourselves that our discussion—vague as it must necessarily be and has been—is useful, though, perhaps, not so momentarily attractive as the subject matter of other discussions at this great Conference. And as for Literature, I will only say that nobody can distinguish between any part of it. An “Essay of Elia” is as much Literature as “Paradise Lost.” The great thing is the spirit which is attained by the great writers. It is beyond the reach of most of us—beyond the dreams or hopes of any of us. But all of us, in so far as we try to influence our own age and day, should endeavour, first, to fit ourselves for the task, and then to talk truth about it when we are on our legs. (Cheers.)

At this stage a delegate asked permission to move the following resolution: “That it is essential to the Imperial mission of the Press and the literature connected with it to advocate the utmost consideration towards the sentiments and rights of all the nations within the Empire,” but the Chairman said he did not consider the resolution one that should be dealt with, and it was not pressed.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now call upon Mr. Courtney.

MR. W. L. COURTNEY.

Mr. W. L. COURTNEY, of the “Daily Telegraph,” London, said: Lord Morley and Gentlemen, I do not know whether the speech you have just listened to can be described as literature or as journalism, but, at all events, it was of so gracious a quality, it was so generous in its recognition of the efforts of journalists, and so thoroughly literary in its treatment, that it is a pleasure for all of you to have heard it, and it involves a serious trouble and responsibility on myself to follow it. As far as I have observed, Mr. Birrell, who is a literary man, does not recognise much distinction between journalism and literature. I imagine, Lord Morley, that the main topic we have to discuss is precisely this—the relation of journalism to literature; and, as a further point, the place that literature can hold in journalism. Now, there are a number of people, including the last speaker, who will tell you that there is no radical difference between literature and journalism. Adopting an old formula that comes from Matthew Arnold, they might say that as morality with a touch of emotion becomes religion, so journalism with a touch of art becomes literature. I venture to suggest that there is something like a difference of kind between these two spheres. How shall I put it before you in the form of an illustration? On the theatrical boards there is a species of play called melodrama; there is also a play called drama. Both deal with the same topics. In drama you have comedy and tragedy, together with a large range of social topics. In melodrama you can also have the same, dealing with happy or miserable subjects, and you can deal with the social delinquencies and social rights of the time. There is no difference in the topics treated of, but there is a difference in the manner of treatment. Melodrama paints with a broad brush; drama is more careful with the details and the miniature touches. Melodrama produces its effects with garish strokes, but in drama there is more careful attention to psychological analysis, to truth, and to human nature. May I say that in much the same way you have in journalism and in literature the same range of subjects? They are open to all of us to deal with, but the difference is in manner of treatment. For, after all,

journalism must produce its effect within its twenty-four hours. It must excite, it must attract, it must illuminate, it must astonish, and the work of literature is so different from that. It is to suggest, to simulate, to insinuate, to appeal. Literature is an art, and is subject to the conditions of art. I ask you, gentlemen—I am a journalist myself, and I have every right to propound this question—would any of you call journalism an art? Would you not rather call it—with any adjective you would like to apply to it—an industry? (Laughter.) And it is not only different in manner of treatment: there is a further difference in the mood and spirit of the men who approach these spheres. Shall I put it like this—that in journalism we do our best, and within limits we succeed. We are, some of us, good journalists; we are, some of us, bad journalists. But we get where we want to. We reach to a certain extent our ideal. And now what is the state of things in literature? Can you mention a single literary artist who, when his work was accomplished, was ever content with what he had done, who did not feel that the ideal he had set before his eyes was something so far that

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he could not attain it? Don't you know these lines of Marlowe in "Tamberlaine" about artists:—

"If all the pens that poets ever held  
Had fed the feeling of their masters' hearts;"

and then follow lines I need not quote:—

"Yet would there linger in their restless heads,  
One thought, one grace, one wonder at the least,  
Which into words no virtue can digest."

No, gentlemen, the literary ideal beckons you from afar. It is inexhaustible, like the sea. It is inaccessible, like the star. You will tell me that these are rather depressing reflections to put before you, a company of journalists. I do not think so. It is wise that we should know our own limitations, and then we shall not be so easily satisfied. And there is another thing. Don't let us confuse two questions. Journalism is a good thing; literature is a good thing, and it is no more blame to journalism that it is not literature, than it is blame to literature that it is not journalism. And there is a third thing. You will observe that all the best men who have dealt with our branch of industry have always imported into journalism something that was not there before—something better, something greater. I take it we are all interested in the highest form of journalism that we can produce, and if you watch the highest exponents of the journalistic craft you will find, I think, that not only do they bring in things you would hardly expect to see in journals, but they never write down to the level of their clientèle. They are never afraid to write above their heads. What do we mean when we talk about journalism as a great educative force except precisely this, that it must hold something above the heads of those whom it addresses? The only other question which remains for me to touch upon is the place that literature can hold in journalism. Well, here again I will try to cultivate, or to begin the cultivation of, that spirit of truth to which Mr. Birrell has so pleasingly alluded, and which he regards as absent in journalism. Let me say at once that I don't think you will find, as a rule,

much literature in your political leading article. This is too obviously a *pièce d'occasion*, too obviously full of a certain opportunism and expediency. I suppose no one would say there is much literature in your telegraphed reports from abroad, for they, too, obviously suffer from the limitations of telegraphic jerkiness. But in all descriptive work of whatever character, where the writer desires to paint a scene, where he lets his imagination play, perhaps his too ardent imagination play, around some experience which he has been through; in all branches of biography or historical monographs, where there is need for a leisurely pen; in criticism of all kinds, criticism of music, of the drama, of pictures, criticism of books—in these the tender plant of literature will flourish, and will throw up its tender shoots. I mean by “criticism” criticism as understood in the most modern sense. Time was, as you know, when the critics sat in the seat of the scorner, filled with the passion of a Jeffrey, or a Macaulay, or a Gifford, who used not only whips, but scorpions. Some of us who try to cultivate critical gifts are sometimes derided because of our leniency, because our criticism is mealy-mouthed. Believe me that is hardly just. Modern criticism is not purely analytical; it is in a real sense synthetic, because beginning with sympathy it goes on to interpretation. What are the ideal qualities of the critic? I imagine that sympathy is absolutely the first, and if he is sympathetic—well, to understand everything is to pardon everything, and he is not as likely to use the flail as masterfully as his predecessors. Sympathy, first, then interpretative insight, then quick comprehension, then a constructive imagination, add conscientiousness, and you have, I think, the ideal critic. (Applause.)

MR. S. BANERJEE.

Mr. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE said: My Lord and Gentlemen,—In the observations which your lordship was pleased to address to us, and which we all listened to with great interest and attention, and if I may add for myself, without impertinence, with very great admiration, you referred to the predominance of the English tongue. My Lord, nowhere is that predominance more marked than in my own country. The English language has been the means of uniting the varied races and religions, the peoples and complexities of our multiform civilisation, in the golden chains of indissoluble union. It is our *Lingua Franca* and common means of communication, north, south, east, and west. All are bound together by the common medium of the English language.

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Under the influence of the English language and English literature—and in this matter I am not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when I say that in India the dry bones of the valley have become instinct with life—English language and literature have brought about the most stupendous transformation in the lifetime of our generation. New ideas have taken possession of men’s minds. New impulses have filled their hearts, and a new spirit is visible in the land. English language and English literature has communicated the Promethean spark which has galvanised us into a new life. This is one of the most glorious achievements of the English race in the East. We had no newspapers before the establishment of British Control. The first newspaper which was in India was published in 1817 and in Bengal. Thus, in this, as in other matters, I am proud to say that my province has taken a lead. The Press has controlled the judgment, the conscience, the

mind, and the religion of all India. Being of British origin, it partakes of the virtues and of the defects of its parentage. Its heredity is marked on every phase of the situation. There is no quality for which the Britisher—and when I speak of the Britisher I include his kinsman over the seas—there is no quality for which the Britisher is more noted than the variety of his grumbling. He is a past master in the art, and, therefore, it is no wonder that that great authority, Sir William Hunter, has described the Native Press as “His Majesty’s Opposition always in Opposition.” I dissent from that view completely. On the contrary, we are often proud to support the Government and accord to it a whole-hearted measure of support. And, my Lord, if I may refer to a personal event I hope and trust that I may be excused. The whole of the Indian Press welcomed with enthusiasm and gratitude your lordship’s scheme of reform on behalf of India. For we felt it to be a distinctly genuine effort on the part of the Government to associate the democracy with the administration of India. We did not, indeed, get all that we want. For instance, we wanted the power of the purse, but we did not get it. At the same time, we believe that it was a notable advance in the process of evolution, which is bound to give us a definite, effective, and real measure of self-government. We are not under any illusions. We knew perfectly well the limitations of the scheme. But the Government provided the machinery which would enable the Government to place itself in touch with popular opinion and would enable the representatives of the people to exercise an effective measure of indirect pressure on the Government, and, therefore, we felt that it was a scheme which ought to be welcomed. We felt that if we were patient and persevering we should, in time, get what we wanted and be admitted into the great confederacy of free states acknowledging England as their august mother. Here, at any rate, there was no opposition, but absolutely whole-hearted support. My lord, the Indian Press is the youngest branch of the Imperial Press, and I claim for it that it is the promising scion of noble stock. God grant that it may increase in power, in strength, and in usefulness and responsibility to the great credit of ourselves and the glory of the great Empire to which we all have the honour to belong.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to ask Mr. T. P. O’Connor, M.P., to address you.

MR. T. P. O’CONNOR, M.P.

Mr. T. P. O’CONNOR said: At a historic meeting in the City Hall in Birmingham a somewhat disconcerting incident occurred. Mr. Bright had just finished one of those powerful and moving speeches of which he was the greatest master in his time, and the whole audience was still in that temper of rapt awe, a peculiar emotion which such a speech was well calculated to create, and in this atmosphere, surcharged with such feeling, there arose what was then a tall, slim young man in the zenith of his many great powers—I mean Mr. Chamberlain—and Mr. Chamberlain’s oratory, though powerful—no greater debater lived in my time—Mr. Chamberlain’s oratory, so powerful, was of a different type to that of Mr. Bright, and accordingly he began his speech by saying, “As the red-nosed man in ‘Pickwick’ observed—“ (Laughter.) He was allowed to go no further—it was too abrupt a drop upon the state of emotion which the audience was in—and he was not allowed to proceed until the whole thing resolved itself in one of those shouts of good-humoured laughter which on many occasions is the Englishman’s best way of getting out of a difficult situation. I feel a little like the red-nosed man in

“Pickwick”—(laughter)—when I rise to say a few words after the eloquence to which you have just listened. I have the painful advantage over most of you, I think, of having been a much longer time in journalism than most of my hearers, and

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therefore may I, from out of the depths of some pleasant, some painful, but a good many years experience utter a few words upon the subject under discussion. There has apparently been a slight difference of opinion among the speakers on the question of the difference between literature and journalism. I think the difference is more apparent than real. I heard my friend Mr. Courtney once deliver a most admirable speech in which he took a somewhat higher and stronger ground than he did to-day. He was then addressing not a literary audience; and perhaps he was a little less guarded than he was today. (Laughter.) There he almost denounced as something like blasphemy and nonsense any connection of literature with journalism. The objection is often made to the contention that journalists write in a hurry, and that men of letters write at ease and at great length. Was there ever a proposition in more flat contradiction with the facts of life. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BIRRELL (interposing *sotto voce*): “Rasselas.”

Mr. O’CONNOR: When “Rasselas” was written, as my friend has reminded me, it was written by a man who was sitting by the dead body of his mother, and it was written simply to pay for her funeral expenses. I cannot recall at this moment the exact circumstances in which a greater piece of literature was written—“The Vicar of Wakefield,” but I know that Oliver Goldsmith was an Irishman—(laughter)—that he was extremely hard up, one of the few racial characteristics which I share with him—(laughter)—and I think I am entitled to assume that “The Vicar of Wakefield” was written with exactly the same rapidity. “Rasselas” and “The Vicar of Wakefield” are not less great and immortal pieces of literature because they were written in a hurry. Mr. Chairman, I will take another instance. One of the many legends which floated about for many years, paralysing a young man of letters in France, was that Gustav Flaubert, the author of “Madam Bovary,” one of the best pieces of French literature, which I recommend you, who are not in your first youth, to read without any great danger to your virtue—(laughter)—spent some ten, or fifteen, or twenty years in writing these different compositions. Pictures were drawn of the hours extending to days, and days extending to months, and months extending to years, which he spent in chiseling every single sentence of that great work. Well, it is a marvelous work; every sentence is chiselled. There is one sentence which consists of two words—*tout mentant*—which means everything in the world is alive—which haunts memory and the imagination of every man who has ever read it. But, Mr. Chairman, it was a legend, after all. These hours, days, months, and years which were represented as entirely occupied in the weighing-up of one particular word against another were really spent by Gustav Flaubert lying on the broad of his back on a sofa indulging in these day-dreams about work which are always found much more agreeable than work itself. (Laughter.) And as a matter of fact, if you were to know the actual hours M. Flaubert spent over “Madam Bovary” you would find that they did not amount to as many months as they were supposed to have occupied years. (Laughter.) I put on the other side this consideration—that work which is done under the inspiration



and fire of the moment which has not time to become self-conscious, and, therefore, to a certain extent artificial, has very often inequalities which are far greater than the apparently more elaborate prose of the man of letters. Now, as I am addressing an audience of journalists, who are notoriously a devout body of men, I will take my connection between Journalism and Literature and the pulpit. I was not a follower of the late Mr. Spurgeon—(laughter)—but I heard one of his sermons which brought out his power better than anything I have ever heard of. He was endeavouring to bring salvation home to the minds of a stubborn race of London pagans, mostly belonging to the prosperous middle classes—the most pagan of all classes—and the way he illustrated how salvation could be easily brought within the compass and reach of every man was this. He described in his own graphic and picturesque language how the skipper of a vessel was approaching the coast of South America, as he thought, and how everybody on the vessel had got to his last hour of endurance of thirst. And this was worked up in a manner which will be familiar to all journalists, perhaps even more to members of the House of Commons engaging in debate. At any rate, when everybody was about to die of thirst the captain saw a coming vessel, and he cried out, “Water! Water! Water!” and the captain from the other vessel signalled back, “Throw out your buckets; it is all around you.” Because the ship was no

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longer on the ocean, but had got into the Amazon. “So, my brethren,” went on the preacher, “salvation is all around you.” I use that for the purpose of enforcing this fact: that the journalist has not to look for the material; it is all around him; it is in his everyday life. Is there a single thing that is done by what used to be called the City reporter in my young days—is there a single incident almost of his day’s work which does not give him material for literature. Every inquest tells a tragedy. Every police-court is a panorama of human life, especially in its darker and sadder side. Every court of law is engaged in some of those great conflicts of human emotion and human passion and human interest for which the literary man is looking all around. And if the newspaper man is not a man of letters, and if what he produces is not literature, it is his fault and not the fault of the opportunities which lie all around him. (Cheers.) I echo most heartily the opinion expressed by my friend Sir Edward Russell, that the more a journalist is literary the less likely he is to degrade his profession by ministering to and emphasising and augmenting those racial passions and misunderstandings which are the danger of our time. Literature always reminds me of Allah, as described in the words of the faithful believer. He is, or ought to be, the “all-understanding and therefore the all-compassionate.” There is no excuse for the man of letters; there is no excuse for the journalist to have the ordinary misunderstandings which are the cause of feud and conflict between nations. Gentlemen, when as a young man I entered the profession of journalism, I discovered that I had got into the “Green-room” of the world. I saw the inside of many things, the outside only of which is familiar and known to the general public. And if you know the inside of a question then you ought to know something of every side of a question. You ought to know that, amid all the differences and conflicts, of mankind, one fact stands out in almost monotonous regularity, amid all the nations and races of mankind men are alike in the hardness and difficulties of their lot, and that the differences are superficial as compared with the fundamental fact of human existence and

human suffering. I want to say just one word about another aspect of journalism. When I started life my travels in Literature belonged to a very high-and-dry school. I am one of the few men in the world who can boast of having read all the arid volumes of the Scotch historian, now happily forgotten, Dr. Robertson, and I not only read them, but I wrote them in shorthand as well. Journalism was pretty much on the lines of Dr. Robertson when I was a boy. It was everything in the world but human. You gave the long speeches of statesmen. You did not learn, as you do now, that many of these orations which were supposed to have moved the House of Commons to its depths were delivered to a select audience of two or three people. (Laughter.) And in those days it would have been regarded as not only bad taste, but almost bad morals to give anything like a personal and human description of the scene in Parliament which took place when these speeches were delivered. I found every single word nearly of the maiden speech delivered by Mr. Disraeli on December 17, 1837, fully reported in the London papers on December 8. But I did not find one single word to describe the environment in which the speech was delivered: not a single word that gave you any idea of the meaning or appearance of the orator or of the reception of the orator. Now, my lord, I proclaim you to-day as the man who first inspired me with the idea of personal and human journalism as distinguished from the high-and-dry journalism of my boyhood, and by way of giving you an example of my meaning I will recall to you the passage in which you describe Robespierre at the Feast of Reason—one of the most powerful moments in his life and in the life of France. And you are careful to recall not merely the words of Robespierre, and the surroundings of Robespierre, and the personal historical facts which surrounded the occasion, but you describe the appearance of Robespierre, and—let it not be whispered to any but a male audience—you actually described his nether garments. (Laughter.) Is the picture of Robespierre any less real or inspiring because you had in the brilliant pages of your monograph described not only his appearance, but also his dress? If you want to describe the full pathos of the last hour of Marie Antoinette, do you bring it less home to the mind and the imagination when you mention the fact that she put on some little bit of clean linen, so that even in her last hour she might appear with some of the delicacy and faded grace of her former state? In its greater insight into life, and in its greater intimacy with life, journalism in my time has undergone not only a great

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but a beneficent revolution. Now this is my final word. I accept what Mr. Courtney has said as to the connection between Journalism and Literature to this extent: It exists to the same extent as it exists between the literary work of an orator and the literary work of a man of letters. Journalism has to produce its effects immediately, just as an orator has and just as a speech has, and to that extent, of course, it is different from Literature. And that induces me to make a figure which I will partially withdraw, and that is that the music of the journal should be a little like that of the street piano. It may not be very profound, it may not be very classical, but it must be very sharp and resonant, and it must produce its effect at once. But this qualification I will make my illustration. Every true journalist constantly tries to improve his style by the study of the best masters. An hour with Balzac, an hour with Addison in the morning will make the journalist all the better journalist for the rest of the day. And everywhere every journalist ought to bring to his profession, and I believe he is bringing to his profession, the heat and ardour of his

deepest political and personal and other feelings, so that he may make his thoughts the thoughts of those whom he addresses.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I will ask Mr. J. A. Macdonald and Mr. J. W. Hackett respectively to move and second a motion.

Mr. MACDONALD (Canada) said: I have been asked to move a vote of thanks to Lord Morley and all those who have instructed us to-day. It has been a great day for us. I think it was Mr. T. P. O'Connor—who seems to be so familiar with the wide range of Spurgeon's sermons—laughter—who said to me the other day, or I said to him—I don't know which—"I will speak that I may be refreshed." Mr. O'Connor often speaks in order that he may be greatly refreshed. We did not speak to-day in order that we might be greatly refreshed. For, Sir, those who have spoken to us to-day have refreshed us; and we thank them not only for the things they have said, but that they said these things to us. We do not agree with all things that any man said. Their words, like nature, "half reveal but half conceal the soul within." That they have revealed their souls to us makes us the bolder to go back to undertake our work. I move a vote of thanks to those who have spoken to us, and whose names will remain with us on this the closing day or our assemblage here.

Mr. HACKETT (Perth, W.A.): I have real pleasure in seconding this resolution of thanks. This is a day we are not likely to forget. (Hear, hear.) A great compliment has been paid to us by the gentlemen who have addressed us this morning. I speak the feeling of all of us when I say that we have passed this morning one of the pleasantest and one of the most stimulating of all the mornings we have passed in our lives.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS put the resolution, which was carried with loud applause.

LORD MORLEY.

Lord MORLEY, responding, said: Gentlemen, I am sure that, speaking for my colleagues as well as for myself, we are deeply indebted to you for the kind way that you have accepted this vote of thanks. It has been, to me at all events, and I am sure to them also, a great pleasure to meet so remarkable an audience. Remember that every journalist, like the young French recruit, may carry a marshal's bâton in his knapsack. Every journalist ought to begin, in my view, with that thought—that, if all goes well, he may find a marshal's bâton. But I will say this to him: if he does, he will many a time regret afterwards that he has taken up the position given him by the marshal's bâton instead of mounting his own pulpit every day and lecturing other people. But if he rises high in his profession he will be lectured, but he would be much happier if he lectured. I am sure that your lectures will be none the worse for what you have heard from my friends to-day, and we are all very glad to have been here.

It was formally moved, seconded, and agreed that the Conference should stand adjourned to June 25, [1909].

Before the proceedings terminated Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS said: This concludes the very interesting series of meetings we have held here in the Foreign Office, by the kindness of the Government, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Government for the facilities which they have given us. This is not the time, perhaps, to make other acknowledgments; these will come more appropriately at the end of the Conference. When the Conference resumes on June 25, [1909] two very important subjects will be considered. The debate on defence in relation to the Empire will be reopened, and there will also be an opportunity of receiving the report of the committee, who, during the interval, will consider the question of cable communication.

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THE ADJOURNED CONFERENCE, FRIDAY, JUNE 25<sup>th</sup>, [1909].

Resumed Debate on  
“CABLE RATES AND PRESS INTERCOMMUNICATION.”

Chairman: The Hon, H. L. W. LAWSON.

When the Conference resumed its sittings after the provincial and Scottish tours to further consider the question of “Cable Rates and Press Intercommunication,” the meetings took place in the theatre of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Westminster, kindly lent by the Council of the Institution, whose President, Mr. J. C. Inglis, attended to offer the delegates a welcome. The Hon. Harry Lawson presided, and the attendance included Lord Northcliffe, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mr. Ernest Parke, Signor Marconi, Mr. H. E. Brittain (hon. sec.), and most of the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN: I beg to call on Mr. Charles Inglis, President of the Institute of Civil Engineers.

Mr. JAMES CHARLES INGLIS: Mr. President and gentlemen, as President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, I beg to tender you our most hearty welcome to this city and to our home here in this Institution. I will not detain you long, because I simply wish to express the pleasure it gives us to welcome you who are the representatives of our kinsmen from beyond the seas, and who represent such enormous interests that your presence here is an event in the history of our country. I may tell you shortly that I think you may have been in many buildings and in many institutions, but in none will you find heartier sympathy with the Colonies than in this one. This Institution was founded ninety-one years ago by six eminent engineers like Watt and Smeaton. They were great men, and you may imagine the ideas they had of the profession of civil engineer, for in the charter which they were granted they described the profession as being that of “directing the great sources of power in Nature for the use and convenience of man.” Well, a great many things have happened in those ninety-one years, and I think we may fairly claim that the British engineers, and indeed all engineers, have fairly justified that simple definition of what the profession of civil engineer involves. And, really, the success which has attended their efforts is perhaps one of the principal causes of your happy

presence here, and certainly of the magnitude of the interests which you represent. We have, gentlemen, 8,000 members. Without detaining you or frightening you with figures, I would just like you to know the general duty or scope which we perform in the State. We have then, 8,000 members, and of these, 2,000 carry on their profession in the Colonies and the Dominions overseas. We have our consulting members in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in India. In addition to that, on the governing body, which consists of thirty-one members, we have representatives of these same Dependencies, and Dominions, and these overseas counsellors frequently give us valuable advice, and they look after the interests of those different Colonies. I think when I tell you that you will see that we are really moving in the direction in which I think you all wish to go. Really and obviously the object for which this institution was founded was the free interchange of information of data between engineers. The volumes of the Institution are of real assistance to the country now, because they contain the condensed experience of thousands who have built great works and

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who have wrested from Nature herself her laws. In this very room in which you are sitting now Colonial subjects are discussed and canvassed, and the results arising from these discussions—the theories involved in their buildings and undertakings. These things are dealt with more in this building than in any other building in London. I would just conclude by saying that the enormous extent of the influence of this Institution, arising, as I say, entirely from this free discussion of information, is a very good augury to the movement which you, gentlemen, represent here for a freer exchange of information and of views upon subjects of social as well as political interest. Our history attests to the advantage which will accrue to us all from this freer interchange with our Colonial friends. The great Empire to which we are all so proud to belong will be made grander by the freer exchange which I know you have all at heart. I bid you, gentlemen, a most hearty welcome. Before sitting down I would like to say a word with regard to what our Institution has done in the matter of standardisation, but I feel I would be encroaching on your time if I did so. So I will conclude by again expressing our sympathy with you, the representatives of our friends over the seas. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure, gentlemen, on behalf of the delegates here present, I may thank Mr. Inglis for the welcome he has given us this afternoon. We must all feel—especially those who come from the Dominions beyond the seas—that the great profession which he so worthily represents is of inestimable value, and that you all appreciate the light and leading which civil engineers all over the Empire receive from this Institution, and from the men who guide its destinies. Gentlemen, let me, on behalf of the metropolitan Press, cordially welcome back the Empire's editors to the Empire City. We have followed your doings and your rejoicings with great sympathy, not unmixed with envy that we have been unable to share them; but we have been delighted to read of the honour that has been paid to you by the civic authorities, by the great employers of labour, and by all sorts and conditions of people throughout Great Britain. Perhaps we may take it as in some measure a compliment to ourselves that the manner in which you

have been received shows that throughout the country the newspaper Press is not esteemed at a low valuation.

We meet here this afternoon to carry further the business dealt with at the first meeting of the Conference, when the following resolution was passed—I will venture to read it to you now, so that you may have it in your minds:—“That this Conference regards it as of paramount importance that telegraphic facilities between the various parts of the Empire should be cheapened and improved so as to ensure fuller inter-communication than exists at present, and appoints a committee to report to the Conference at its reassembly on June 25, [1909] as to the best means to attain this object, the committee to consist of Sir Hugh Graham, Mr. R. Kyffin Thomas, Mr. F. W. Ward, Mr. Thomas Temperley, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Brierley, Mr. P. D. Ross, Mr. Nelson, Mr. J. H. Kingswell, Mr. Philipson Stow, Mr. Crosbie Roles, Mr. Stanley Reed, and Mr. Fairfax.” A further resolution was proposed, but the original resolution was carried, further consideration of Mr. Ross’s proposal being postponed until to-day. Mr. Ross’s proposal ran:—“That for the achievement of better and cheaper electric communication in the Empire it is one of the essentials that there should be State-owned electric communication between the British Islands and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State control of electric communication between the British Islands and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State control of electric communication across Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific cable services.” A further resolution was:—“That the British, Colonial, and Indian members of this Conference be, and hereby are, nominated a standing committee to continue the study of the question of an Imperial News Service, and to take measures to secure a reduction of the rates of transmission.”

Since your meeting the committee to which the resolution refers, with the addition of the names of four British journalists and one or two gentlemen, who have since been co-opted, have held two meetings. They have passed a set of resolutions which I, as chairman, have the honour to submit to you this afternoon. I will read them. These are the resolutions passed at the meeting on June 13, [1909]: first, “That in the opinion of the committee it is urgently necessary that the Governments of the British Empire take steps to increase the means and to reduce the cost of the electric communication between the different parts of the Empire, and the committee recommends the Conference

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to ask the Prime Minister to receive a deputation upon the question.” In the second resolution, “The committee takes the opportunity to draw attention (1) to the high charges made by the Indian authorities on all cable messages to and from the United Kingdom placed on the Indian wires, and (2) to the present scale between ordinary and press cable rates, and invites the Conference to pass a resolution calling the attention of the India Office and the Colonial Office, and also of the Eastern Telegraph Company, to these matters, with a view to securing some immediate relief in both respects. And that the attention of the Colonial Office and the companies be called to the prohibitive rates at present obtaining in the West Indies.” The third resolution is “That this committee urges upon the Governments concerned the desirability of establishing a chain of wireless telegraph stations between all British countries, because these are necessary both for the

cheapening of electrical inter-communication and for the safety of the mercantile marine.”

This morning a further resolution was passed that the secretary be instructed to write to the Pacific Cable Board to ask whether they are prepared to give a reduced rate, and what rate per word, and that a similar letter be sent to the Eastern Telegraph Company. We had the advantage to-day of having in committee, first, the Secretary of the Post Office, Sir Henry Babington Smith, also Mr. Johnson, representing the Colonial Office, and Mr. Kirk, representing the India Office. Mr. Baxendale, of the Pacific Cable Board, was also present, and so also was Mr. Marconi. I believe Mr. Marconi is here with us this afternoon, and I understand the Colonial Office is represented here too. It would be impossible for me to go over in detail the discussions that took place at the meeting of the committee, nor would it perhaps be fair, as it was to a certain extent of a confidential character; but there is one positive result arrived at which must be communicated to you, as it will guide you in your discussion this afternoon.

In response to the last resolution which I have read, and which I submitted to the officers of State and other gentlemen attending, Mr. Baxendale announced at once, without a condition as to fuller service, that the Pacific Cable Board would reduce the charge for press messages to one-half. (Cheers.) He added that the New Zealand Government would, he understood, do the same in regard to their terminal charge—(hear, hear)—and he had reason to believe that the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia would do the same. Beyond that I submitted a proposal from the Eastern Telegraph Company to the Committee; but practically it seemed to be the unanimous opinion at both meetings that nothing would meet the necessities of the case short of a general reduction of cable rates for press purposes. (Hear, hear.) We do not in the least prejudge the general question, but it was felt that the committee you had appointed from this Conference were not—to use the word in the American sense—instructed beyond that, and it was the Press question that we were called upon to deal with. The members of the British delegation had interviewed the representatives of the different corporations concerned, and all the opinion that they were able to collect has been at the service of the committee. It would not be of any advantage to disclose it all, and I think, after the discussion to-day, whatever may be the results at which you arrive, it might be well to strengthen the resolution passed at the first meeting of the Conference in regard to a standing committee. After this we shall be scattered; it will be impossible to bring the Conference together to consider, and to pass when necessary, resolutions which the committee bring up as recommendations; so if you want the Conference to have the greatest effect in securing practical reform I think that you should lay down exactly how far the standing committee can act on your behalf. And as it is a matter of importance how many members of the committee should constitute a quorum for the purpose, I suggest to you that if five or seven of the members were able to act together, they would be sufficiently representative to carry out your wishes, and study your interests. (Hear, hear.) That, however, is of course in your hands. My duty is over when I have reported to you as chairman of the committee the resolutions at which they have arrived. And, to use a phrase of the House of Commons I will lay them on the table for your consideration, and I have no doubt you will be prepared to consider them in detail.

## FORMING THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. R. KYFFIN THOMAS: I presume that you would like to have a resolution

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with reference to the continuation of the committee. If so, I have much pleasure in moving that the committee be requested to continue their operations, and make an attempt to bring the negotiations, which so far have been to a large extent successful, to a generally successful end, and with that view they be entitled to act, and that seven shall be a quorum for the future.

The CHAIRMAN: Is that seconded?

Dr. STANLEY REED: I second that.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether it is open to discussion. I do not know whether there is any amendment.

Mr. GEO. FENWICK: May I ask the names of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN: The names of the committee originally appointed are:—Sir Hugh Graham, Mr. R. Kyffin Thomas, Mr. F. W. Ward, Mr. Thomas Temperley, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Brierley, Mr. P. D. Ross, Mr. Nelson, Mr. J. H. Kingswell, Mr. Philipson Stow, Mr. Crosbie Roles, Mr. Stanley Reed, and Mr. Fairfax. In addition to these names were added those of four representatives of the home Press—The Hon. Harry Lawson, Mr. Moberly Bell, Mr. Ernest Parke, and Mr. J. S. R. Phillips. Since then there have been co-opted Mr. Lewis Ashenheim (West Indies), Mr. Geoffrey Robinson (South Africa), and Mr. Hall Richardson (“Daily Telegraph,” London), who has acted as honorary secretary to the committee.

Mr. FENWICK: I ask the question because it may be that the committee, consisting in the main of overseas representatives, might not be able to obtain a quorum of seven if we have drifted away to our homes.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I am quite willing to make a lesser number—five, perhaps. I think some of the overseas delegates will be here for some months, so I hope we will get a good number at the meetings.

The CHAIRMAN: You accept that amendment?

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I accept that.

The CHAIRMAN: The resolution now moved is supplemental to that which was adopted at the first meeting of the Conference, and does not in the least prejudge the discussion on this question, but simply settles the constitutional point that a quorum of five people act



on your behalf as the standing committee. I will therefore put that as moved by Mr. Kyffin Thomas—That a quorum of five members be empowered to act for the Conference for the purpose laid down in the resolution.

Dr. MAITLAND PARK: Is it clearly understood that this standing committee will simply have power to act on the lines of these resolutions?

The CHAIRMAN: Absolutely; they are instructed delegates. I must ask you to vote. Those in favour signify. Carried unanimously. Now, these resolutions have been read out, and they are now open to discussion. You are asked to pass a resolution from the standing committee in regard to sending a delegation to the Prime Minister. The committee simply offer that for your consideration.

Mr. THEODORE FINK: I move the first resolution.

Mr. MARK COHEN: Would the more correct procedure not be to ask the Conference to confirm the first resolution, and then ask the deputation to be sent up?

The CHAIRMAN: I think that would be more constitutional.

Mr. COHEN: I would call on Mr. Ross to move his resolution as a substantive resolution before this Conference.

The CHAIRMAN, however, put the first resolution, which was carried unanimously. He intimated that, of course, Mr. Harry Brittain, as honorary secretary, was an ex-officio member of the committee.

A member moved that the committee constitute the deputation to the Prime Minister.

MR. J. S. R. PHILLIPS: I think Mr. Spender should be added.

It was also suggested that the names of Mr. J. W. Dafoe (Winnipeg) and Lord Northcliffe be added to the deputation.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I was going to ask whether you think there is a sufficient representation on the committee of the English journalists. Of course, we have a good many of the overseas delegates on that committee, and only four British journalists, but one or two names have been suggested now, and perhaps one or two more might be added.

Ultimately it was agreed to add to the committee C. Woodhead (South Africa), A. E. Lawson (Madras), H. A. Gwynne ("Standard," London), C. Clifford ("Telegraph," Sheffield), Robert Donald ("Chronicle," London), and J. W. Dafoe (Winnipeg).

The CHAIRMAN: The understanding is that the committee will co-opt these gentlemen as members of the committee, and it will rest with the hon. secretary to arrange for the deputation at as early a date as possible.

Mr. J. O. FAIRFAX (Sydney): The committee

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as it stands now is appointed in perpetuity. I don't know whether it will be the feeling of the meeting that it should have some time limit—for two or three years, as it may be thought desirable.

The CHAIRMAN: That is quite right. It has been suggested that it should be appointed till the next Conference. I think it would run naturally until the next Conference, unless you determine otherwise.

Mr. CROSBIE ROLES: Why not report annually?

A DELEGATE: To whom?

The CHAIRMAN: I think we should proceed with the business in its proper order. We are dealing with the deputation now. I think the proper way would be to proceed with the recommendations of the committee, and then we may perhaps have any further resolutions. We have just got a resolution moved by Mr. Phillips, and a second resolution drawn up by the committee—I refer to the “high charges” resolution moved by Mr. Roles, and I now call upon him.

Mr. CROSBIE ROLES (Colombo): Will it be your wish that the resolution be moved in the form it was previously moved, or in a more definite manner as a resolution of this Conference?

The CHAIRMAN: I think it is for this Conference to confirm our resolution.

MR. CROSBIE ROLES.

Mr. ROLES said: I have great pleasure in proposing the adoption of this clause of the committee's report. We suffer, speaking in the name of India and of the Eastern Crown Colonies, under peculiar disabilities. The Press rate to India is 1s. a word; to New Zealand it is 1s. 0 1/2d., and to the Crown Colonies further east, such as the Straits Settlements, it is still higher, so we pay more in Ceylon than they do in New Zealand, with double the distance. The second point is that the Indian Government levy a charge of twenty-six centimes on every word of a Press message placed on its wires. That is an excessive charge which bears no relation to the cost; it is a charge which, I believe, is unequalled, and certainly far exceeds the charge made by Germany—a foreign country. There is a third point—that the Press rate is only half the ordinary rate. I speak now particularly of the rate between the United Kingdom and India, and, of course, there are Crown Colonies beyond. That is a rate which I believe I am correct in saying is

unparalleled in any other part of the world. There are rates that nearly reach half the ordinary rate, but we are exactly half. The Viceroy of India asked the home authorities to effect a reduction of 8d. instead of 1s. when the ordinary rate came down to 2s., but the cable companies repeated that they would prefer a shilling rate. The home authorities and the India Office seemed not to have brought any adequate pressure to bear upon them, and so we have ever since been penalised in that way. To Australia, to South Africa from India and Ceylon, and Burma East our rates are less than a half. It is only between the United Kingdom and its greatest dependency we have the highest proportional rate. I appeal to this Conference to support us in this special effort, in addition to the claim for reduced rates all round, because of the peculiar way in which we have hitherto been handicapped.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM (Melbourne): I second that.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon Dr. Stanley Reed.

DR. STANLEY REED.

Dr. STANLEY REED (Bombay) said: I have to move the following resolution:—"That this Conference urges upon the Governments concerned the desirability of establishing a chain of wireless telegraph stations between all British countries, because these are necessary both for the cheapening of electrical inter-communications and for the safety of the mercantile marine." I don't think I need take up much of your time by way of supporting this resolution, but I do put it to you very strongly that it is one which this Conference may well adopt. I am speaking now particularly of India and the East. Personally I think that wireless telegraphy, although it may not supersede cables, is going to be in the very near future a most important factor in the reduction of cable charges. I think we have seen this morning at our committee meeting the enormous influence of a competitive system in bringing down Press cable rates, from the experience of Australia. But we can go further than that, because there is an immense and ever-growing sea-borne traffic passing through the Suez Canal and going right away to China and Australia. At the present time there is not one single wireless

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station where wireless messages can be received in the Far East. We have recently experienced in the Atlantic, and again more recently in the Mediterranean, what incalculable value wireless telegraphy is as a means of ensuring the safety of travellers on the sea. I think it is a preposterous condition that we, as the great owners of the mercantile marine, have no means in these enormous Eastern seas of picking up any message whatsoever which may be despatched from a ship in distress. Certainly some of the ships of the P. and O. Company have been fitted with a wireless telegraphic installation, but the moment they get east of Port Said they may throw it overboard for all the practical use it is. For this reason I have put the resolution in this form, that it shall be

a means of increasing telegraphic communication between the different parts of the Empire, and shall be a means of safety to the mercantile marine.

Mr. W. S. DOUGLAS (Auckland) seconded.

The CHAIRMAN: The resolution is now open for discussion.

Mr. FINK (Melbourne): I don't think it is necessary to say much in support of this resolution, but I would ask you to consider whether we should not add to the resolution some words which would bring it within the purview of the deputation which has been appointed to wait on the Prime Minister, because otherwise it is a mere general resolution expressing the opinion of this Conference. No doubt the Conference will express that opinion, but I think it would be much better if they would bring this resolution under the notice of the Government as a request from the British and Imperial Press, and I suggest that Mr. Reed should add to the resolution words to that effect. I don't want to move an amendment. I suggest that Mr. Reed should widen his resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: The first resolution would cover it, because it says "electric communication between different parts."

Dr. STANLEY REED: I am willing to accept the suggestion.

Mr. FINK: I would suggest these words, "That this resolution be included in the request referred to the deputation previously appointed."

Dr. STANLEY REED: I accept that.

The resolution as amended was unanimously adopted.

MR. MOBERLY BELL.

Mr. MOBERLY BELL: I beg to move that the secretary be requested to write to the Pacific Cable Board asking them if they are prepared to give a reduced Press rate, and at what rate per word, and that a similar letter be addressed to the Eastern Cable Company. The resolution which I proposed this morning was proposed without knowing that Mr. Baxendale, the chairman of the Pacific Board, was himself present. He very shortly afterwards followed me, accepting the terms of that resolution. It is rather a perfunctory resolution which we passed, but it is one we must pass in order that he may be able to say he did not himself make the proposal to us, but that we made the proposal to him. It has been suggested to me by Mr. Kyffin Thomas—and I think rightly—that possibly some of the members of the Conference who are here and who are not members of the committee may not quite understand what the concession amounts to. The shilling rate from England to Australia consists of a rate of 2 1/2d. from England to Canada, a penny across Canada to Vancouver, making 3 1/2d.—2 1/2d. from Vancouver to Australia—making 5d. across—and a penny the terminal rate in Australia. Now, the portion that the Pacific Company have to deal with—the Pacific Board, as it is called—is that portion from

Vancouver to Australia and the portion that is 5d. They say they will accept a half—that is, 2 1/2d. The reduction is therefore from 1s. to 9 1/2d., but at the same time as he said that he added that they were trying to induce the Canadian Government and the Australian Government to make some small concession upon their penny, and whatever concessions were made in the rate would also be on the Press rate—that is to say, if they knocked off 1/2d. it would come down to 9d., and if they knocked off 1d. it would amount to 8 1/2d. I move the resolution.

Mr. TEMPERLEY (Bathurst): I rise to second the resolution. I may add a little information which will show the Conference what a very generous reduction the Pacific Company is making in this matter as compared with the charges across the Atlantic. Now, sir, the distance of the shortest cable across the Atlantic is 1,800 miles and the longest a trifle over 2,000 miles. Out of that shilling for Press messages the sum of 5d. is absorbed in carrying the message across the Atlantic. The

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penny, as stated by Mr. Moberly Bell, covers the cost across the Canadian Dominion, and I here point out that that passes over the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I was rather surprised that a private company should carry a message for so small a sum. Let me point out that the Pacific cable extends for 7,800 miles of ocean—that is about from four to five times the length of the line across the Atlantic, and yet the present charge out of the shilling only amounts to 4d. to Australia and 5d. to New Zealand, and that is one of the peculiarities of the position so far as the two companies are concerned. One absorbs 5d. for a cable line of 1,800 miles and the other charges only 4d. for a line extending over 7,800 miles, and that company is now prepared to reduce its rate by a half. One other point in connection with this which tells somewhat against the Australian Commonwealth. We can send sixteen words for a shilling all round Australia—a distance of about 3,000 miles—and the moment one of these cable messages, which has already been loaded, and which has incurred heavy expense from New Zealand—the moment it reaches Australia there is a charge of 2d. for distributing or carrying it through Australia. I want you to think of that. They charge a Press message at 2d. per word, when sixteen words of ordinary intelligence is carried all round the Commonwealth for a shilling, with a very much larger reduction in the case of Press messages. That is one of the matters which certainly might be brought home to the Australian Commonwealth by this Conference. They are charging a very unreasonable sum for continuing cable messages through the Commonwealth. I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. P. D. ROSS.

Mr. ROSS (Ottawa) said: Mr. Chairman, I rise to re-introduce a resolution which was referred to this adjourned meeting at the first meeting of the Conference in favour of State-owned electric connection across the Atlantic. I would ask the meeting in any discussion which follows to please observe that I have not used the words “Atlantic cable.” Since the resolution was suggested a good many speakers, in speaking of it, have

themselves used the words “Atlantic cable.” That is not fair to my resolution. I am particular about this, because Sir Babington Smith used that phrase, as did also Mr. Moberly Bell. Anyone who suggests at this date a State-owned electric cable is not doing a very wise thing. We are on the eve and actually in the practice of wireless telegraphy, and we should be making a great mistake if we used the words “State cable” in any movement of this kind. My words are “State-owned electric connection.” The resolution with which we started here, and which is in the report of the Committee, asked us to impress upon the Government the need of improved telegraphic service and the cheapening of it, but it did not make any reference to the nationalisation of any portion of it. Then Mr. Stanley Reed introduced a resolution, which we have passed unanimously, contemplating the nationalisation of wireless telegraphy around the empire, and we have adopted it. I want to go a step further and offer a specific recommendation which we are pressing upon two particular Governments, in addition to Mr. Reed’s motion, which is a matter, after all, affecting all the Governments of the Empire, and therefore is probably more likely to be delayed in adoption. My resolution affects Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada. We ask these two Governments to consider at once the question of State-owned electric connection across the Atlantic. We have heard this morning some splendid news—news which has, in a measure, reduced a great deal the necessity of my motion, but which, I think, still leaves it necessary. We have heard that the Pacific Cable Company have reduced their rates, that the New Zealand Government have reduced their rates, and that the Australian Government will probably reduce their rates upon that cable, and we have heard—I am not quite sure whether I am authorised in referring to what occurred in committee—and the statement Mr. Marconi made to us—

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Marconi assents to your referring to his statement.

Mr. ROSS: We have heard Mr. Marconi say that he hopes to be able to supply a cable service across the Atlantic at half the present cable rates by the end of August. We shall then be able to get cable news from England to Canada, and from Canada to Australia and New Zealand, at just about half the present cost. Nevertheless we want to be sure in the future of keeping what has been achieved in the reduction in the cost of telegrams—

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cable or wireless—and to do so there ought to be at least one line of State-owned electric communication round the world connecting the British Empire. (Cheers.) This is a very big question, and for my part I want to stop with the Atlantic communication. It is State ownership which gives a reduction in the cost of service. We are seeing that now in the State-owned lines of Australia and New Zealand and in the Pacific cable, owned by five states which are able to reduce cable rates by one-half, but we find no similar prospect anywhere else except in the new system of Mr. Marconi. The cable companies have not been able to give us any encouragement. The cable rate before was 9s. 4d. per word; but owing to the mere threat of building the Pacific cable it came down to 4s. 9d., and afterwards to 3s. when the cable was started. I am speaking of commercial messages. Again, in the case of our own connection from America to England, the cable rates in 1885 were 2s. per word. The Commercial Cable started, and the rate came down to 6d. and then went up to 1s., at which rate it still stands, because there is a combine between

these cable companies. That was proved before the Inter-Departmental Committee in 1892, and by the statement of Mr. Moberly Bell, who told us that the cable company was willing to bring the price down to 2d., but it was bound by its engagements to other companies, and therefore could not do so. Let us push this idea of State-owned or State-controlled means of electric communication throughout the Empire, and I say the proposal should start across the Atlantic. I beg to move my resolution as follows:—"That for the achievement of better and cheaper electric communication in the Empire it is one of the essentials that there should be State-owned electric connection between the British Isles and Canada across the Atlantic Ocean, and also State-controlled electric connection across Canada between the Atlantic and Pacific cable services. That the Conference urges upon the Governments of Great Britain and Canada the necessity of immediate action in this matter. That a committee composed of the presidents of the various delegations in this Conference be appointed to present this resolution to the Secretary for the Colonies in His Majesty's Government. And that the Canadian delegates to this Conference be appointed to urge the matter upon the attention of the Dominion Government." And to add that the resolution be included in the subjects upon which the deputation is to wait upon the Prime Minister.

Mr. G. FENWICK.

Mr. FENWICK said: I beg to second the resolution. It is eminently fitting that this resolution should be introduced by a member of the Canadian delegation in this Conference. There is no part of the Empire which has taken such great interest in this great question of the reduction of cable rates and of the nationalisation, to a certain extent, of the cable service between the various parts of the Empire, as they have in Canada. No one who has read the literature on this subject which has been published by the Ottawa Board of Trade, headed for a large number of years by Sir F. Fleming, but must be impressed with the fact that this proposed reform must come. I do not say that it can come immediately, but that it is a thing that will be accomplished before many years have elapsed, is, to my mind, an absolute certainty. I do not in the least discount the difficulties of bringing to a practical issue what Mr. Ross so ably advocated. There are many considerations which will come before the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada before this can be brought to a practical conclusion. But these difficulties are not in the least insuperable. Not only are they not insuperable, but I do not believe there are any very great difficulties in them. I should like to know what the position of the Home Government is. I should like to know, for example, what is this mysterious compact between the British Government and the cable companies. We hear of it continually. Is it so very serious that this great Government of our Empire cannot put its foot down and say: This must cease? I do not believe there is anything in the arrangements between the Imperial Government and the cable companies which that Government cannot get over if it sets itself to do so. It is a bogey, in my opinion, which is being continually placed before those who are desirous that this reform should come about, and we are entitled to know what the nature of it is. It may be when we are waiting on the Government; that we should get some information upon this particular aspect of the trouble that lies before us, or it may be the Government will not feel at liberty to disclose to us the nature of the trouble. But, at any

rate, I think this: that the administration of the Pacific Cable Board has shown us that in the hands of a board constituted as it is, an independent cable service can be successfully—and, indeed, admirably—worked. It has, indeed, been so successful that it would at the present moment be able to pay a dividend were it not for the fact that it has made an ultra-liberal arrangement for wiping out the cost of the cable. So I do not think there need be the slightest occasion to fear that in the hands of the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada, placing the control and the management of the services, as suggested by Mr. Ross, in the hands of an independent board would involve the least trouble. So far as New Zealand is concerned, and as one of the delegates from that Dominion, I say unhesitatingly that throughout the length and breadth of the land there would be rejoicing if this project were given effect to. I am quite confident that the people of New Zealand, and the Press of New Zealand, are desirous that this successful great Pacific Cable should be amplified by means such as Mr. Ross suggested, and, judging from what we heard from Mr. Marconi this morning, who spoke with a quiet confidence and calmness which impressed me—judging from what we heard this morning, we shall find in August he has so far perfected his marvellous system that there will be no hesitation on the part of the Government, or of the Dominion of Canada, in at once realising that they have placed within their means a system which will enable them to carry out the proposals Mr. Ross has made. (Cheers.) I have pleasure in seconding this resolution, and I do not think there will be manifested any opposition to it, but that it will be carried unanimously. We may not attain what we want at once, but this is one of the goals we must aim at, and I am quite sure, if we carry this resolution with unanimity and heartiness, we shall have accomplished the beginning of the project.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: Mr. Ross, in moving this motion, spoke of England and Canada bearing the cost of this action. I want to point out that assuming the object of the resolution is carried out it would mean quite as great a boon to the people of Australia and New Zealand, and in maintaining that it will be the duty of the people of Australia and New Zealand to contribute their share of the proportion of the cost. (Hear, hear.) I think it very important that this conference should become possessed of the more salient points of the information which Mr. Marconi disclosed to us this morning, and which so cheered those who are in favour of reducing cable rates. May I mention what Mr. Marconi stated to the committee this morning?

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps you had better call on Mr. Marconi. (Cheers.)

Mr. TEMPERLEY: Mr. Marconi said that a pair of stations could be constructed for £100,000 in connection with the Atlantic and naturally—

Mr. MARK COHEN (New Zealand): I don't wish to interrupt Mr. Temperley, but I think it would be to the pleasure of this Conference if Mr. Marconi would explain to us most of what he stated to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Very well, I will ask Mr. Marconi to address you.



MR. MARCONI.

Mr. MARCONI said: I confess I have not prepared any statement for this meeting or the committee meeting of this morning, but I am very glad to give any information I can dealing with a subject which I have followed so closely. With reference to what has been said about wireless telegraphy to ships, I can state that it certainly would be a great advantage to a ship and to shipping if the routes to the East were furnished with stations in as complete a manner, as the Western coast of Europe and the Eastern coast of North America are at present supplied. The Mediterranean is very well covered with stations capable of communicating with ships; the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland are similarly equipped, as well as the whole of Canada and the greater part of the United States. Remember, also, that in Canada the River St. Lawrence is completely equipped with stations. The result of this has been that all the ships in the North Atlantic trade are fitted with wireless telegraphy apparatus. The result is that in the case of accident it has proved of very great utility to ships and their passengers, as has been evidenced on recent occasions. With reference to the question of communication at long distances, say, between England and Canada, I stated this morning before the Committee that a certain amount of work was carried out between England and Canada by the means of wireless telegraphy and that I expected the plant and installations for carrying out a complete

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service would be completed about the end of August [1909]. I also stated, and I repeat it now, that I would consider it injudicious for a Government or Governments concerned to enter into a scheme of State-owned cable without first having investigated the merits or the capabilities of a wireless connection between the two countries. Therefore I am entirely in agreement with the statement made by Mr. Ross when, in discussing this Imperial connection, he referred to electric communication instead of cable communication. I repeat now that I shall be very glad indeed to give any representatives of this Conference or the Governments concerned every facility to be present at the stations established in Ireland and in Canada in order that they can ascertain the possibilities of this wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic. At present we have certain difficulties concerning the transmission and distribution of these messages over the land lying in the North American Continent. I think this trouble can be entirely obviated if the delegates would only consider what is being done by wireless telegraphy at the terminal stations in Ireland and Canada, and thereby be able to come to an opinion and conclusion as to the possibilities of this new method of communication. As I have stated, I shall be glad to give every facility in that connection. With regard to the cost, I stated this morning that the cost of two stations capable of communicating over distances which have already proved to be practicable—that is, 3,000 miles—would be about £50,000 each station. Of course, that is subject to variations; local conditions, conditions of transport, and other things might alter it somewhat, but I should say for that distance the cost would be about £50,000 per station. I am certainly of opinion that it may be possible in the near future to communicate over 6,000 miles, or even more, but, of course, this has got to be proved. There is a very interesting theoretical point connected with distances of above 6,000 miles—that is, it may occur that when the Equator is passed these wireless

waves may begin to converge again, and it may occur that a message at the Antipodes might be received better than half-way to the Antipodes. It remains to be proved, but at present we can communicate practically for a distance of 3,000 miles. Whether we can go further or not remains to be proved. I have every confidence that it will be possible.

Whether this communication be carried out by private ownership or by State ownership is a matter for future consideration. I would further aver that at the present we are prepared to take a limited amount of Press messages at 2 1/2d. per word, but when the service is complete I hope we may take from 15,000 to 20,000 a day. If the amount of Press work is considerable I should say my company would be prepared to give a service at 2d. a word from Canada to England.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: Can Mr. Marconi give us that piece of information which he gave the committee this morning as to the capacity of these two stations and the working power of a number of them?

Mr. MARCONI: I think I said this morning that the present speed we can accomplish across the Atlantic is 25 words a minute. We hope to introduce a duplex apparatus, and that would give us 50 words a minute. I am not a cable expert, and I do not know exactly the speed done by the cable across the Atlantic, but I think there is a general belief that about 50 words a minute would be about the limit across the Atlantic over a cable of two to three thousand miles. It is obvious that five wireless stations would do five times the speed of one station, and with the latest methods I think there should be no fear about us installing five, ten, or twenty stations on the coast of Ireland or Great Britain. (Cheers.)

Mr. ERSKINE MURRY (London): The point I wish to raise is, I think, of some importance. We are in this position, that in time of war there would be no difficulty in cutting the cables. It could be done with the greatest ease, and it is perfectly obvious that no intelligent enemy in wartime would refrain from adopting this method of retaliation. The cables run from a very few points on the British coast, and trawling vessels or tramps would be able by interfering with the cables to keep us from having one iota of news.

Dr. STANLEY REED: Mr. Ross has put the case from the Canadian point of view. I would ask this conference to treat it from the Imperial standpoint. We cannot get information from different parts of the Empire without benefiting those who might not actually be directly affected by that news. There are, it is said, practical objections to State-owned means of communication. There is, however, a sufficient answer to that—the fact of the Pacific cable. Why is it that that cable has given substantial reductions in rates. The reason

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is because that cable is State-owned, and I quite agree with what Mr. Ross has said, that a State-owned line is the one guarantee against prohibitive cable rates.

The CHAIRMAN: I quite agree with the request that the following addendum should be made to the resolution, and I think it will meet with the approval of the Conference. That addendum is: “And that this resolution be included in the request to be made by the deputation to the Prime Minister.”

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I think we should pause before passing this resolution, although it apparently is in an innocuous form. I say “innocuous” because it does not commit us to the purchase of the existing system of cables, and it leaves us open to a recognition of the wireless telegraphy that Mr. Marconi has established. We are not yet, perhaps, thoroughly in sight of a system which will perform all the Imperial needs. There was a very interesting article in the “Times” this morning which shows how that system could be elaborated and made to cover these things, and I think we need a little more time before we are able to say that that system is absolutely in sight. We shall look forward with the greatest interest to the establishment of the system across the Atlantic which Mr. Marconi promises for next August, but the time has hardly arrived when we can take steps to exploit it for the purpose of Imperial needs. I do not know what is the capital value of the cables. I do not think it would be under thirty millions. Perhaps it would come to something like fifty millions. We could not expect the great companies which have established electrical communication between the various parts of the Empire to part with simply such portions of the line which we should like to take for communicating with our Dominions beyond the sea. If we are to consider the purchase of these cables it must be considered as a whole, and that I do not think the Imperial Government, with its present pressing needs, is prepared or is likely to face. If the Government is to take steps to attempt to assume control of a system of wireless telegraphy do you think it is likely to promote a further improvement in that system? My experience—and I think most of you will agree with me—is that it is not under Government control that the greatest progress is made in invention. For myself, I think if this matter is left in the hands of the great inventor who is now working it so strenuously, and in the hands of those who are assisting him, we shall be more likely to get the best results than if it is taken in hand by the Government. I think at this stage it would be unfortunate for us to press the question upon either of these points. I therefore beg to intimate that I shall oppose the motion.

MR. THEODORE FINK.

The Hon. THEODORE FINK: I desire to say, as an Australian delegate, that I sincerely hope this Conference will adopt the resolution. I listened carefully to what Mr. Kyffin Thomas said, and particularly to his observations about the existing cable companies and the enormous sum of money which would be required for their purchase. I did not understand that Mr. Ross’s motion had for its object or scope any suggestion of purchasing the cable companies. I think the time has gone by for that. There is the Pacific cable, which has already been commented upon. Its management is not inferior and its benefits certainly not less for the community than those of any privately owned cable. The points raised by Mr. Kyffin Thomas as to the inferiority of State-owned enterprises form an academic discussion, and more appropriate to the middle of the last century than to to-day. I apprehend that Mr. Reed would hear with some amazement the suggestion that the Indian railways should be in private hands, or that the people of that dependency should wait until some beneficent capitalist presented that part of the Empire with their railway communication. At all events, we need not discuss the great question of State-

owned railways or cables. In fact, I think the suggestion that the amount involved in the purchase of cables would be fifty millions was rather under the mark. I believe it was stated in the House of Commons that the amount involved in the purchase of cable companies would be about three times that sum. At all events, the point of view is this: if there is to be any system superior to the existing cable system—and no doubt it is a thing probable, owing to the genius of a man like Mr. Marconi—it is quite possible that these gigantic aggregations of capital may retard such genius and throttle the world communication in the future, perhaps in a more serious way than they have done in the past. This resolution only applies

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to Canada. As an Australian, I should wish to see the prospect of it being extended to our Continent direct, because, however much the Pacific cable may be cheapened, and however great its benefits may have been in causing a reduction in price, yet the mere question of time may withhold from Australia some of the benefits which the Pacific Company confers upon New Zealand. At all events, I welcome this motion—I welcome any action that may be taken upon it, because there is no doubt it will bring the day much earlier in which we shall eventually extend the principle to Australia. The day has gone by in which we can talk tenderly about the expropriation of private interests. British Governments do not expropriate private individuals without giving the fullest attention to the value of the capital involved. I do not think Mr. Marconi is apprehensive—he does not look it. He will not be the first inventor who has dealt with the State, and he will probably be a great deal better off if the State is lucky enough to deal with him. Many great geniuses in the past have been handed over to the tender mercies of private exploiters. I hope this Conference will not merely confine itself to formal resolutions, because they are not always of the greatest value. We want to see this Conference conducted to a virile conclusion in favour of what the resolution suggests.

MR. HUDSON BERKELEY.

Mr. HUDSON BERKELEY: There are just one or two matters which I should like to refer to. In the first place I should like to say that I quite agree with Mr. Ross, and I shall vote for the resolution proposed by him, and for this reason, and one which I have not heard mentioned this afternoon, and that is, that so far as the telegraph systems of England, Australia, New Zealand, and, I think, South Africa, are concerned, they are now State-owned. And if they are State-owned up to that extent why should we not have a cable to complete the whole service? That is one reason which weighs with me in supporting the motion. And then there is another thing. The Government of Great Britain are, I believe, considerable customers to the cables, and surely to goodness it would be better for them to have their own service, which would be of much benefit to them. These two circumstances have great weight with me in supporting the motion. I have no sympathy with the idea that the Government should buy out the cable companies. I must say that the service throughout Australia is a good enough service, but at the same time the time has now arrived under new conditions when the existing state of things should be altered. And for the two reasons I have given I shall support the motion proposed by Mr. Ross.

Dr. E. S. CUNNINGHAM: I think I can answer my friend Mr. Hudson Berkeley with regard to the parallel he draws with regard to State-owned telegraphs. I understand that some years ago the telegraph services of Great Britain were in private hands, and the Government of Great Britain assumed control of those by buying the companies out. This is what I want to get at. Does this resolution contemplate the purchase of existing rights? (Cries of "No.") Then, it contemplates the confiscation of all existing rights. (Cries of dissent.)

Mr. ROSS: It contemplates nothing but a request to go into the matter.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM: I cannot quite see if we pass this resolution, how far it is going to carry us. And on that I would take leave to differ from my friend Mr. Ross. For my part, I do not feel bound to look on this precisely in the same way that he does. I think it has a wider meaning. I think, to be perfectly fair and frank, we should say we do mean this to refer to cable communication, because we have not yet reached the point with regard to wireless at which it is practical. Except we are to be considered mere dreamers and speculators, I think we should limit ourselves to practical actualities, and I think, after asserting the principal that there should be State-owned electric communication between Great Britain and the Dominion, we do assert the principle that there shall be a State-owned cable between the British Isles and Canada. Whether the Conference is prepared to go that far I do not know, but I would like to make my position clear to some extent and clear the air, so that it may be brought home precisely what we mean, whether we mean to set up a national system, in opposition to existing interests, or whether we mean to buy out the existing interests.

Mr. COHEN: I congratulate the mover of the resolution on the manner in which he has put it before the Conference. There is no attempt, there is no desire, to buy out the existing cable companies. I do not know that there is any necessity for

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anything of the kind. We only ask for a time during which the experts of the companies concerned in Great Britain and the overseas dominions can come together through the Postmasters-General and ascertain how far the new system of wireless telegraphy is applicable to the needs of the Empire. There is no desire on the part of Mr. Ross, or on the part of anyone else, that we should urge the Governments to lay down a cable across the Atlantic now. I would not support that for one moment. But I think we are justified in saying from what we have heard to-day that we are well within our rights in asking the authorities to consider the practicability of the new system and the possibility of its adaptability to our needs. I have no reason to doubt Mr. Marconi's optimism, which, indeed, I share with him. He has referred to what has been done in the cause of humanity already by his system, and done, too, by private enterprise. I have no doubt he will perfect his system in time, and all honour is due to Canada for supporting him by a substantial subsidy toward experiments in perfecting his system. By its perfection all the world will be a gainer. Can any man deny that it was the State-owned Pacific cable which was responsible for the reduction in rates we have got? For my own part I contend that it

is a necessary corollary to the State-owned system of cable communication on the Pacific that it should be supplemented by other cables similarly owned. Whether Mr. Marconi can perfect his system time alone will tell, but we are brought face to face with this position—and in this I challenge contradiction—that you will never get relief from the cable companies in the direction you desire unless they are compelled to give it. Every concession they have given has been wrung from them. A concession on the Eastern system was wrung from them by the knowledge that the Pacific Cable was coming, though it was decried in certain quarters; but when its actuality became apparent, then for the first time we heard of reductions. Now there is the possibility of Mr. Marconi perfecting his system, and they regard it as the hand-writing on the wall, and so we hear of another reduction. Unanimity is all-important in a gathering like this. The issues are so great, so large, and so Imperial that I trust this Conference will carry Mr. Ross's resolution without a dissentient voice.

MR. LUKIN.

Mr. GRESLEY LUKIN, who was congratulated by the chairman on his recovery from indisposition, said: I should like to add only a few words: Why are we here? We, the men from beyond the seas, of all others. What did we come over the ocean for? To help with all our might, with all our experience, gained in the far-off territories of the Empire; with a knowledge of what we want, with a knowledge of what is your desire, towards the realisation of an ideal British Empire. Well, sir, to reach that ideal we must be practical, and this question of an "all-red cable route" is in itself a very much larger matter—a very much greater step forward—than appears at first sight; or, as I venture to say, than has yet been realised here. When, upon the first occasion that we were entertained by our English brethren, Lord Rosebery made a speech that stirred the pulse and touched the heart of every man present from beyond the seas. Now, sir, I ask you, in this cause of Empire, which we are here to help forward and to assist, how much would it have done for that cause if the full text of that great and inspiring and inspiriting speech had been placed upon the breakfast table of every man in the colonies, as it was here at home. (Cheers.) That would have done a very great deal in the cause of Empire. And our desire is to make it possible, to give to us all, at the extremities, as well as at the heart of the British nation, what, from day to day, from hour to hour, are the hopes, the aspirations, and the aims, of each. That is our common cause, and that is what we want to reach. Therefore, coming down to the practical point now before this meeting, I would support with all the power I can command—and I am sure in speaking as I am doing now, I speak for the great majority of the people of the Dominion of which to-day I am one of the representatives—(hear, hear)—I say that this motion, moved by Mr. Ross, of Canada, should pass. Why? I will digress to say there is no intention in the minds of any of us that the British nation should proceed to acquire the whole of the cable services throughout the English-speaking world—not for one moment. The object to-day of this motion is to accomplish a comparatively small work, which, divided amongst the English-speaking world, would mean a very small liability. At the outside the laying of a cable from England to Canada would not exceed one million sterling.

Well, conceive what the liability for that would be spread over Britain, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. I leave out India, for India would not directly benefit, though indirectly it would benefit very largely. Now, that cable being laid, what would follow? The land line across Canada is operated by a very great and I quite admit a very powerful corporation. I do not like corporations as a rule, for they are apt to degenerate into combines, “corners,” and trusts. But the particular corporation is admittedly administered and managed by some of the best brains in the English-speaking world.

Are we to be told that these men, when they realise that the representatives of the nation, that the people of the nation, the united people, the English-speaking people of the Empire—shall we be told that they are to be untouched from hour to hour and day to day by what is our common thought, our common aspiration, and our common national aim, through the daily Press. We shall have this, if necessary, by the aid of the Government, and that aid shall take shape primarily by a national cable across the Atlantic. Are we to be told—I am now dealing with land transmission—are we to be told that a great corporation across Canada, making a profit in excess of fair and reasonable charges should not receive a warning. With regard to the charge of which Mr. Stanley Reed complained, are we to be told that that great corporation would not take warning, would not realise that the public was roused and was determined to bring pressure to bear on it to put an end to its injurious and prohibitory charges—if they be so—or in the alternative to say, “abate your charges so that you may get a service that will pay a fair return to these corporations.” That will be above all a beneficent aim to achieve for our common Empire. That I take it is what we want to obtain, and here I would say a few words upon what perhaps is a rather delicate question. I am myself an Australian, and I confess that I am a little concerned, sorrowfully concerned, at the attitude of some of my countrymen in this particular, and I would say that in this matter we cannot hope to carry our ideal of Empire upon purely business lines. That is to say, we must be content, each in our own interests, possibly—when they clash—to forego something. In other words, if we are to realise this ideal of Empire then we must above all things be informed with the spirit of patriotism. (Cheers.)

Dr. F. W. WARD (Sydney) said: I think it is very desirable that we should reach unanimity if it is possible, and I think it is possible if Mr. Ross would restrict his resolution as far as the Atlantic is concerned to wireless telegraphy. We have got one State-owned cable, and in its financial aspect, at least, it has been rather a disappointment. I am not speaking as an opponent of the Pacific cable, because I have been a consistent supporter of it from the beginning, and am glad it has been constructed, but I could not vote for an extension of that policy under the circumstances and conditions that concern us here. We have all been immensely interested in what Mr. Marconi told us. I am not a member of the committee, and therefore I do not know what are the marvellous things the committee are in possession of, but in view of what we have heard in this room this afternoon I think that the whole of us could give a vote for a State-owned wireless connection across the Atlantic, and if the resolution could be restricted so far as the Atlantic is concerned to that system, I think we could then be armed with a unanimous vote.

MR. J. S. BRIERLEY.

Mr. J. S. BRIERLEY (Montreal) said: This is very largely a native question, and I have heard no stronger argument to-day on behalf of Mr. Ross's proposition than the statement made that the State-owned cable across the Pacific has decided to reduce its rates by 50 per cent. My friend, Mr. Cunningham, opposes this resolution on two lines—that either it makes for nationalisation or for competition with the existing lines. That is not the idea of any of those who supported Mr. Ross. Competition in this case may be fully justified, whereas in other cases it might not be. We must recognise the fact, as stated by the representatives of the Government to-day in committee, that owing to the tremendous business done by the existing trans-Atlantic companies with the United States, we must not look with reasonable hope for a reduction of the rates to Canada, for that would have an effect on the rates to the United States. If that be the case—if we are deprived from securing a reduction in our own rates because of that—why should we pay too much respect to this question of competition? (Hear, hear.) We must recognise facts as they

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are, and must not allow ourselves to be continually hampered by our connection with these cable companies. As to whether we are justified in entering into competition, that would depend on whether they show their ability to reduce their rates. I have much pleasure, therefore, in supporting Mr. Ross's proposition, and asking this Conference to consider for how long we should tolerate having to pay 10 cents a word across the Atlantic when Australia only pays 5 cents across the Atlantic. The position will soon become an intolerable one. A gentleman speaking at the committee this morning asked for some specific proposition. I think it was a reasonable request. In face of the administration of the Pacific cable it seems to me a most reasonable proposal to make to ask the Government to favourably consider the proposition of a State-owned cable.

Dr. MAITLAND PARK (Capetown): Before the resolution is put, I just wish to say that the reason why a representative from South Africa has not risen to speak about this matter is not that we differ from Mr. Ross, but that I desire to move a direct resolution in regard to South Africa. Would that be in order?

The CHAIRMAN: It would be perfectly in order after this resolution is moved.

Dr. MAITLAND PARK: It is exactly on the same lines.

Mr. J. W. DAFOE.

Mr. J. W. DAFOE (Winnipeg): I am a hearty supporter of the resolution submitted to the Conference by Mr. Ross. I am not so sure I would be a supporter if it were amended in the manner proposed by Mr. Ward, because I apprehend that what we want is results. What I want to see is some agency by which we could get cables transmitted from England to Canada for five cents a word. If we could get that by wireless telegraphy, well and good. I trust we can. If not, let us get it by cable, if that is commercially possible, as I think it is, and the results to date indicate that the shortest road to get that is to have a



State-owned cable. The question is by no means a Canadian one. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me that it is Imperial in its widest aspects and significance.

The proposition is to have a line of electrical communication, beginning here in London—in the very heart of the Empire—and going to the extremest part of Australia, either actually owned by the public or controlled by the public. (Hear, hear.) You have in Australia and New Zealand State-owned lines and across the Pacific a State-owned cable. We have in Canada privately owned lines, which within the last three months have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Railway Commission of Canada, which is a body which attends perfectly to business. Now, if we had across the Atlantic a State-owned cable, or a system of wireless telegraphy, you have got from London to Australia, where it would meet the competition of privately owned cables, a line which would carry messages at the minimum of cost, and provide a reasonable interest on investment, because I certainly don't believe in State-owned concerns doing business at a cost which will cut the throats of private companies. Well, when you have got such a line, if it could carry messages for less than a shilling a word, as I believe it could, and if it meets in Australia, as it must, the competition of privately owned cables, what is going to happen? The privately owned cable is going to meet the rate, and if it has to meet the rate to Australia, it is not going to have the assurance to maintain at intermediate points, in South Africa or in India, a rate higher than its rate to Australia. (Cheers.) By this means you may settle the question and cut the cable rates all over the British Empire to about half what they are now. Just a word about the vested rights of the companies. Let us not forget the rights of the public and the conditions under which they are fixing the rates as a matter of public utility. That is the only just basis of fixing a rate, and if you are able to cable to-day to Canada—which is a legitimate business proposition—if you can carry cablegrams at half the existing rate, it is a perfectly proper thing to charge that reduced rate. I believe that the mere fact that the Pacific cable, operating on a line of cables three times as long as the cable across the Atlantic, is to-day, under a new arrangement, proposing to carry Press messages—although they have comparatively few compared with the great volume going to the Atlantic companies—for one-half of the charge which the privately-owned cable companies are charging for messages across the Atlantic, is in itself an absolute argument in favour of a State-owned cable across the Atlantic, or its equivalent in the way of a wireless system.

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Mr. FOX, who announced that he was an Australian journalist, and had been invited by the committee to attend the Conference, said: I hope Mr. Ross will not consent in any way to modify the resolution he has put before you. The simple fact that interests us, and which is of vital importance to us as an Imperial Conference, is that the British Empire depends for its continuance on free communication of news between the various nations which constitute it. That communication is too important a matter to be under the control of any private corporation. If you don't have these cables State-owned, at least they should be State-controlled, and I hope that the gentlemen from Australia who are disinclined to favour this resolution will not persist in their views. The Australian system of giving preference on the State telegraph lines to political news as against mere cricket

news or murder news should be followed in regard to the transmission of great speeches dealing with Imperial matters, whether delivered in Ottawa or Melbourne or Sydney.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM (Australia): My difficulty in this matter is not one that has any relation to Canada having better means of communication. What I would like to feel is that we are not passing a resolution which commits us—at any rate, me personally—to a policy of what I regard as confiscation. Because if you are going to establish with the long purse of the Government a rival service to some other private enterprise without compensation, you are confiscating that private enterprise. (Cries of “No!”) I am laying down a principle. I will give an illustration of what I mean. Possibly there is a newspaper established somewhere which holds the field. Somebody asks the Government of the country in which that newspaper is published to give the town in which it is published another newspaper, and the Government gives it. That newspaper of the Government is published with the long purse of the Government, and without desiring to make a profit. And I submit to the gentlemen present, what is likely to happen to the newspaper previously in the field? That is the only feeling which restrains me. I like to act in these matters with some regard to principle. I am not going to be in hostility with the general body of the delegates, and I prefer not to vote at all. But I would like, before the vote is taken, to say that I personally am very anxious indeed that we shall not commit ourselves to anything which looks like the confiscation of existing interests.

Dr. STANLEY REED: May I point out to Mr. Cunningham and his Australian friends that at the present time they are enjoying the lowest rates in the Empire through the action of a State-governed cable.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM: Excuse me, but that is not quite the case.

Dr. STANLEY REED: We are prevented in other parts of the Empire from having the same advantage.

Mr. J. A. MACDONALD.

Dr. MACDONALD (Toronto): I have no illusion about the State owing anything—railways, telegraphs, or anything else. They make mistakes the same as are made by other organisations. I have no great fear of Socialism in that direction. I have no such sensitiveness for the cable companies of the Dominion as some of those who have not worked with them. They are not the most angelic organisations that exist. Why, we in Canada pay for some things that we do not get. When despatches are sent sometimes we do not get them. I have had despatches sent to *The Globe*, Toronto, and I have not got them yet. (Laughter.) My experience has occurred on railways with which these organisations are interested. I would be prepared to vote for this resolution and for putting the subject before the Prime Minister of the British Government and of Canada in any way, because I believe and hope that the system represented by Mr. Marconi will be in good working operation for the Press long before the Government gets actively on the job. It is going to take longer than to the month of August for the Government to do anything that is really substantial and effective. This is not a Canadian affair. It is for the

whole world. But I am not so sensitive about the Empire as some other people seem to be. I consider rather about getting the news. I am not afraid the Empire is going to pieces because we have not got State aid. The Empire is all right. (Hear, hear.) The cable will not hold it together, nor will Mr. Marconi, if he fails, destroy it. I am in favour of such a resolution as this. It will be months yet before anything is done, unless the Governments are all reformed on both sides of the Atlantic. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHARLES BRIGHT rose and said: I have merely risen to correct two figures,

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if statistics are of any value, which have been given by Mr. Marconi. I am quite sure that Mr. Marconi would not intentionally misrepresent, but, as a matter of fact, the effective rate of speed of an Atlantic cable is 95 words per minute. The second point is with regard to the cost of the Atlantic cable, which cost half a million of money, and not a million.

Dr. ENGELBURG (South Africa): Perhaps Mr. Marconi would give us his opinion on the question of whether the State ought to exploit his invention or whether it should be worked by private enterprise.

Mr. MARCONI: As an inventor or an engineer I do not really care, and I think in a certain way State ownership would be very good if worked well. As the director of a company, of course, I have to consult my colleagues on the Board, but I expect that any Government of the present day would compensate private interests if it stepped into their place and nationalised the services to be carried out by them. From a technical and inventor's point of view I welcome Government ownership and the Government working of a thing. In reference to what Mr. Charles Bright has said, I should like to remind this Conference that I am not a cable expert. There are various rumours as to what cables do. They are said to get to various speeds. The figures which I quoted were given by an engineer who knows a great deal about cable work—Mr. Sidney George Brown. He put it at a certain speed; others put it higher. I can only give you the speeds that I have been told, and gentlemen will have to come to their own conclusions.

The CHAIRMAN: I understood from Mr. Ross that he wished his motion to be seconded by Mr. Dafoe, but Mr. Fenwick has already seconded it.

Having again read Mr. Ross's resolution, the Chairman put it to the meeting.

It was voted for by thirty-six, and was declared carried *nemine contradicente*.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe Mr. Reed has a somewhat similar resolution to propose with regard to India.

Dr. STANLEY REED: I think my resolution is really covered by the one which has just been adopted.

The CHARIMAN: That being so, I will call upon Dr. Maitland Park.

DR. MAITLAND PARK.

Dr. MAITLAND PARK: Well, I think the resolution I have to put is also on the same lines, but from a South African point of view. It is: "That a State-owned system of electric communication should be established between Great Britain and British South Africa, and that representations to this effect be made by a deputation to wait on the Prime Minister." I do not think it is necessary, after the discussion which has taken place, to say much in its support. It has already been pointed out that the result of the State-owned Pacific cable has been to reduce the cost of cables to Australia. In the case of South Africa we have had no such reduction for many years, and as far as I can make out there is not even the promise of a reduction from the Eastern Telegraph Company. We are paying 1s. a word for Press messages to South Africa, and all of you will agree that, after half a century of telegraphy, that is a most ridiculous rate to pay. South Africa has been very much neglected from the point of view of cable communication. As a matter of fact, there are two aspects of the question: the commercial and the strategic. I daresay some of the delegates will remember that the Hon. John Hofmeyer proposed a deep-sea State-owned cable from Great Britain to South Africa at the Ottawa Conference in 1887. The reasons given by him, both commercial and strategic, were thoroughly sound, and are thoroughly sound to-day, the only difference being the Marconi system of telegraphy has come as a new factor in the situation. This resolution does not commit us either to a deep-sea cable or to the Marconi system, but only says we require better communication. I was glad to hear Mr. Marconi say that the cost for an electric station was only some £5,000. I do not know how many stations it would require between here and South Africa, but I am sure the physical difficulties are perhaps less there than anywhere else. The stations might be established at Teneriffe, Ascension Island, and Table Mountain. We have got two cables to the Cape—one down the east coast and one down the west. They both touch upon foreign territory and run long distances through shallow water. Consequently, in time of war the Cape, which must be one of the principal strategic points in the Empire, might be cut off. The only certain way to avoid such a calamity—and it might be a matter of the utmost importance that communication should be preserved—would be to have a State-owned system. The cost, apparently, according to Mr. Marconi's estimate,

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would not be very large, and I think I may safely say that when the South African Union comes through, the first Parliament will certainly have no hesitation in offering a subsidy for such a project in conjunction with the Imperial Government.

Mr. C. WOODHEAD formally seconded, appealing to Australian and Canadian friends to support the motion as they had supported the previous resolutions.

Mr. MARCONI: May I be allowed to make another statement? In connection with wireless telegraphy in regard to South Africa I was asked this morning as to whether I believed wireless would be practicable for greater distances than that for which it was now used, and I said I thought it might some day be able to carry over the distance

between Great Britain and South Africa. If that were possible, consider the peculiar advantage wireless would have over the cable system. With a cable between England and South Africa you have, undoubtedly, communication; but suppose you have wireless stations connecting England, South Africa, and say, Canada. South Africa, by a switching over arrangement in the wave length, which could be carried out in a few minutes, could not only communicate with England, but could communicate with Canada, the distance between South Africa and Canada being practically the same as between South Africa and England. Such an arrangement might be of certain advantage, and that is an advantage which wireless has over the cables.

The CHAIRMAN then put Dr. Maitland Park's resolution, which was carried without dissent.

Mr. JOHN NELSON then moved the following resolution: "That in view of the announcement by the management of the Pacific Cable Board that it will greatly reduce the charges for Press messages passing over its lines between Canada and Australia and New Zealand, provided the Governments of the latter Dominions made a corresponding reduction in terminal rates: that the Governments of Australia and New Zealand be at once communicated with acquainting them with the terms of the concession made by the Pacific Cable Board, and asking for their co-operation in reducing the cost of these messages."

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS formally seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to call upon Sir Hugh Graham, who is desirous of making some announcement and moving a resolution in regard to emigration.

SIR HUGH GRAHAM.

Sir HUGH GRAHAM said: I feel it is safe to trust to the good sense of the delegates to approve of the statement that there is no Imperial question of greater importance than the maintenance of a commanding British sentiment in Canada. It is nothing new to say that Canada is the keystone of the Imperial arch. If the keystone were to fall the arch would be in peril. The steadfastness of Canada in this position depends upon the sentiment of the majority of her people. To-day that majority is overwhelmingly British. The United Empire loyalist feeling persists in the older provinces and French Canada is contentedly British, but the immigration of foreigners is threatening that majority. From the reports of the Minister of the Interior the Canadian immigration figures were:—

For 1907—British . . . . .	103,966
Non-British . . . . .	119,736
For 1908—British . . . . .	120,182
Non-British . . . . .	142,287

The foreigner cannot be expected to bring British sentiment with him, and it is much to hope that he will not bring anti-British sentiment. Many British emigrants go to foreign

countries ignorant of the fact that the Colonies have immensely superior attractions for settlers, as evidenced by the rush of emigrants to Canada from the very country where most British emigrants go. To quote from Government returns again. During the past ten years 920,220 left British shores for the United States, while 519,845 left for Canada in the same period. If British subjects at home are going to emigrate, surely it is better for the Empire that they should go to a land where they will still be under the flag and where their children will be available for the protection of the Empire than to one where their children at all events are very certain to foreswear their allegiance and to become possible enemies of the home of their fathers. There is no better service that Britons can perform for the Empire than to keep the natural increase of British population within its “far flung” boundary line. Canada is the richest prize offering in the market of the world to-day. The keen Americans having spied out the land are coming by train loads. People from all parts of Europe are coming by ship loads, and the country is filling up fast, but vast

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numbers of the newcomers know little of the British Empire, and care less. The handful of Canadians, though in the majority now, can be regarded as no more than a small garrison holding the fort of an immense country. We have held it for a century and a-half, but the attacks have been few and half-hearted. We were thought to be guarding a few acres of snow; now it is known that we are guarding a Klondyke, a Cobalt, the most valuable forest reserve in the world, the greatest wheat-fields, fabulous mineral deposits—in a word, most of what is left of the natural resources of the rich North American continent. The siege will now begin in earnest. The result will depend upon succour from the British Isles. We want good people from all lands, but we want more from Britain. In this connection I am authorised to say that a serious effort will be made to commemorate this Conference by organising an association in Canada embracing leading journalists and public spirited citizens, not to supersede but to aid, strengthen, and stimulate existing organisations of all kinds, to the end that desirable immigrants shall receive the utmost encouragement. This is more an Imperial than a Colonial matter, and it is hoped the Press of Great Britain will at least give to the movement all the moral support that its importance demands. I have to move: “That it is desirable that the Press of the United Kingdom and the Colonies should act in concert in the wise direction of the surplus population of the Mother Country to those Colonies which stand in need of additional settlers.”

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to say a word or two on the resolution, and, on behalf of the British Press, to express our entire sympathy with its purpose and our gratification that the problem is going to be tackled in this workmanlike way by the Press in Canada. May I be permitted to say that the paper with which I have been associated did something in this direction when there was a period of great depression in the East End of London and the outskirts beyond, in connection with West Ham. A fund was raised, and I may add a condition to proceeding or doing anything in the matter was that 50 per cent. of the money raised should be spent on emigration to Canada. Over a thousand persons—all of them carefully selected, and who had subjected themselves to a test of their earnestness and of their physical strength in the farm colony—were sent out, and to the best of my

belief there were not more than two failures out of the whole number. That shows what the Press can do. We were not alone, for other papers have exerted themselves in the same way. The Press can do a good deal at times, and especially to help on the emigration movement within the folds of the flag and to the right quarter. I shall be very glad, also, as a member of the Government Committee—a committee of the Colonial Office controlling the Emigrants' Information Office which deals with the dissemination of information—to take care that this is brought to the public notice through that committee. I hope we shall have the scheme more in detail so that we may advocate it the more clearly, because while organised emigration is the greatest benefit you can conceive to the Empire, nothing, of course, is worse than a shadowy plan which is not well thought out in the first place and not well understood in the second. As soon as we have had this plan in detail, the Press of Great Britain will thoroughly co-operate with the Press of the Colonies in advocating the same principles in the same lines.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: I want to point out that the mover of the resolution applied his remarks chiefly to Canada, and I shall be glad if we can have a resolution applied to the whole of the Colonies. Australia is in need of emigration as much, perhaps more, than Canada. It is really starving for people, and we labour under this great disadvantage that we are so much further removed than Canada from the over-crowded centres.

Dr. MACDONALD: As a Canadian I wish to express our appreciation of what has been done by the newspapers in England and Scotland for Canada for the last three or four years. We do not all agree with your politics, but we do think very highly of the work—the hard, honest, well-informed work you are doing in making the people of England and Scotland know the opportunities there are in our Dominion. It used to be said that only two or three lines a day—not often so much—could be read in the papers of anything happening in Canada. Now we have it by the column. It is not always accurate—just as the information we have about things in England is not always accurate. We make mistakes as you make them. But the great thing of late years is that good work has been and is being carried out. Don't send us people who are no good. The man who is hopelessly

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incurable and irremediable in England is pretty likely to be a failure in Canada.

Mr. KIRWAN (Kalgoorlie): As Dr. Hackett, who lives in the same part of the Empire as I do, is not here to second this resolution, I would like to do so, and say a few words more particularly as to a misconception in the minds of some people that Australia is not desirous of emigrants. The particular part of the Empire that Dr. Hackett and myself represent—Western Australia, which covers an area of one-third of the whole continent—is a State which has been for a long time spending a good deal of money in endeavouring to promote emigration. And I believe that what applies to us applies to every other State in Australia. The State Governments I think in almost every shape are doing what they possibly can to encourage suitable emigrants to come to Australia. It is with a good deal of pleasure that I support this resolution. I only regret that Dr. Hackett, who has made a special study of this question, is not here. Knowing what can be done by

the Press of Great Britain, in order to remove any misconception concerning the desire that exists in Australia for emigration, the Press will be doing indeed a great service by pointing out that it is altogether wrong when it is said that Australia does not desire emigrants.

Mr. E. NICHOLLS (Winnipeg): I very heartily support the resolution. The plan is one that, I think, every citizen of Western Canada will very heartily endorse. If there is one thing I may criticise, it is that Sir Hugh Graham has slightly exaggerated the danger of the foreign population in Western Canada. We in Western Canada have no fear of foreign emigration into that country. Naturally we desire British people out there, and, so far as Sir Hugh Graham's plan goes, we most cordially endorse it. I will only say that foreigners who come into Western Canada find in the country conditions of citizenship which they did not find in the country they came from. They appreciate them and prize them too highly to violate them.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I wish to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Lawson, not only for presiding here to-day, but for the great interest he has shown throughout in the proceedings of this Conference. As everybody on the committee knows, he has worked extremely hard.

Several delegates seconded the motion, which was carried with enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN: I hold it a great honour to have been called to the chair, and have been delighted to do everything I could. I believe our deliberations have tended to the safety, honour, and welfare of the King's dominions. He concluded by inviting the delegates to visit the premises of the *Daily Telegraph*.

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## THE CONFERENCE AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26<sup>th</sup> {1909}.

Adjourned Debate on "THE PRESS AND THE EMPIRE."

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT ESHER, K.C.B., G.C.V.O.

The concluding sitting of the Conference was again largely attended for the resumed consideration of the subject of Imperial defence. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Esher, who presided, was accompanied on the platform by Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, K.C.B., G.C.V.O., and General Sir John French, K.C.M.G.

Viscount ESHER, in opening the proceedings said: I have been given to understand that this is a business meeting, and I understand further that it is your wish that we should



attempt to summarise, in a final discussion, the vital points of Imperial defence. You have heard, during your sojourn here, the most eloquent speakers whom we are able to produce in the old country. I cannot attempt to compete with them. I labour under another great disqualification, for I have never held—and never shall hold—a political office. This is a drawback, as I cannot speak to you with authority. On the other hand, it has one advantage. I can speak to you without reserve, under the shelter of complete irresponsibility. In approaching the consideration of these matters which we are met to discuss, we should try to keep clear the governing principle which underlies for our nation—and I speak of our nation as one and indivisible—the whole question of Imperial Defence. A great change has come over the Empire during recent years. When I was young, whenever the word Empire was mentioned, the word invariably seemed to imply Great Britain and her vast Indian dependency. A few other possessions, such as Malta and Gibraltar, and a Crown colony or two, were Imperial vantage points, but India was the controlling idea, and the main impression made upon men's minds by the word Empire was India and her teeming millions. Then came—and I remember well the effect it produced—an epoch-marking book Professor Seeley's "Expansion of England," and from that moment the Imperial centre of gravity appeared to change. To-day I think we may say that, thanks mainly to Professor Seeley—(hear, hear)—to Lord Rosebery—(hear, hear)—and to Mr. Chamberlain—(cheers)—and not least Mr. Rhodes—(hear, hear)—the conception of Empire in the minds of our people, is wholly different from what it was in the seventies and early eighties of the last century. When we think now of the British Empire we think mainly of Great Britain and the Dominions over-sea, held together by indissoluble bonds of sentiment and self-interest, of blood ties and of national defence. Let us be quite plain about this. We can, all of us, not without a shock, not without a feeling of humiliation, contemplate the dim possibility of the loss of India. Even under such a grave disaster, we should remain still one of the great Imperial Powers of the world. But we cannot contemplate without a sense of overwhelming cataclysm the loosening of the ties which bind to the Mother Country the great self-governing Dominions. As I said just now, the centre of Imperial gravity has shifted, and continues to shift as the great Dominions over-sea increase in population, and as their commercial value grows. If we could look forward another half-century we should, let us all hope and pray, see a British Empire peopled by men and women of one race, one language, and one desire to maintain intact the traditions of political and personal liberty which we all of us, whether

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living in these islands or over-sea, have inherited from our common forefathers. That, Gentlemen, is what I should like to call the governing principle of Imperial Defence. (Hear, hear.) But then are we not bound to face the logical consequences which follow? We are probably all agreed that the first line of Imperial Defence is the Navy. (Hear, hear.) The British Empire floats on the British Fleet. That proposition appears to be accepted by everyone as an Act of Faith. But the moment we pass from the region of belief to that of action, our difficulties begin. The first point worthy of your consideration is to what end our united efforts should be directed, if we are to have an Imperial Navy worthy of the name. In this matter I am convinced we should—if we are wise—go slowly and prudently. You cannot make practical schemes, to give effect to the noble anxiety

which has been shown by the Dominions to take their share of Empire; you cannot make workable schemes for such a purpose in a Government department as if you were drawing up a town-planning Bill or a novel form of taxation. Still less can you make a practical scheme for all time, or indeed for a very long period of time ahead of us. In view of the rapid advance of science, of the relative increase of population and of wealth, and of the ever-changing political combination in Europe and in the world generally, I would suggest to you that we should do wisely to limit consideration of what is practical to the next ten years. Some measures of Naval combination, which we all of us desire to see adopted, must very shortly be taken by responsible statesmen on behalf of those they represent here and over-sea. But all of you who are here to-day can do great and solid work in clearing the ground, and thus enable these statesmen to achieve practical results. What then should be the aim of every man who desires for the next ten years to see an Imperial Navy created and maintained? It does not require to be a naval expert to realise that the primary function of a British Navy is to supply a Battle Fleet sufficiently strong and sufficiently ready to beat any possible enemy in the first days, perhaps in the first hours, of a great maritime war. It must be obvious that upon this hypothesis the British Battle Fleet for the next ten years must be found and controlled by the Executive Government which has behind it a population of forty millions of people.

This proposition is really self-evident. But the Navy means more than a Battle Fleet. It means the defence of the coasts of the Empire and the protection of commercial routes in war, and it means the policing of the seas in peace, duties and responsibilities which have been summed up in the phrase “showing the flag”—that flag which is common to the whole Empire.

It is in these domains of naval policy that I cannot but hope the combined wisdom of our rulers will find a practical means of utilising the patriotic impulse and the deep-seated loyalty of the self-governing Dominions. Undoubtedly, from within the walls of the British Admiralty you can all of you obtain advice and assistance. But—and I only give this as my individual opinion, which may not be shared by all of my hearers—I doubt whether it is possible at present to agree upon any clearly defined scheme translated either into a definite number of specific ships or in terms of money. The Dominions, still in their youth, growing rapidly, must inevitably conform to that well-established natural law, that experience is the only effective teacher. You are bound, as we all of us are, to make mistakes, but if you can agree, as I believe to be possible, upon a plan which will give you good sailors and good sea officers, then good ships and the right types of ship are bound to follow. It may sound a paradox, but my earnest conviction is that you must—if you want to contribute your share of naval defence—first get clearly defined the rôle you have to play in war and peace for a limited number of years, then get your naval personnel efficient, up-to-date, and thoroughly trained, and the type of ship and the number required will inevitably follow. Your true guides will ultimately be not British experts, not the British Board of Admiralty, but your own experts, your own sea officers, who will have learnt their naval lesson in the main battle fleet, and who will be in close touch, not only with the strategical plans of the British Admiralty, but with your own sentiment and your own specific needs. When we pass from the consideration of naval to military questions the problem is less complex.

Although the conditions of naval conflict can be far more clearly forecast than those of land wars, that very fact, for political reasons which are obvious to all of you, makes the task of attempting to agree upon a definite plan of action all

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the more difficult. The strategy of land wars is so dependent upon the grouping of Powers, upon the rise and fall of political questions, upon ephemeral friendships and animosities, that clear forecast becomes impossible. But if we keep in view the main proposition that the Empire is one and indivisible, the problem is a simple one and easily soluble. In land war there is no conflict of types. Sound military organisation is much the same all the world over. It can be summed up in three words: a general staff. That phrase in its Imperial sense and rightly understood means this—that there should be absolute and complete touch between the directing heads of such various military forces as may be called upon to act together, that military words should have the same meaning and value, and, in short, that the personnel and material of war should be standardised throughout the Empire. This, gentlemen, I venture to suggest to you, is the main objective at which we should aim. It is not essential, however desirable it may be, that the exact numerical force which the Empire can put into the field should be ascertained. It is bound to vary from time to time, and there are obvious difficulties in fixing numbers or even the conditions under which the whole Empire would act together. But an educational and training system for those who will command in war, leading to an organisation which is standardised for the Empire, is an attainable object, and I venture to suggest to you that it should be one of the first objects of your statesmen and ours to see that this subject is practically handled. The Navy and the Army, however, are not the beginning and end of Imperial defence. War organisation means in these days something more than the creation of fleets and armies. It means the organisation in peace of all the resources, financial and personal, of a people. In the wars of the past it was expected of the trained soldier that he should go out and fight until he was victorious or defeated, while the civilian population looked on. In the great wars of the future there will in all probability be no civilian population at all. An example of what I mean can be seen in the Red Cross Society, a society of women organized in peace to receive the sick and wounded in war. But anyone who is alive to the manifold wants of armies in the field and the work which soldiers are called upon to perform apart from actual fighting, can realise at once the value for home defence of the non-fighting classes of the population, provided they are organised beforehand, and everyone can measure the inestimable value to the fighting capacity of a nation if its manifold sources of wealth have been organised beforehand for purposes of defence. I want to suggest to you that victory in the future will lie with the nation that has organized every element of her being, her population and wealth, and has taken the fullest advantage of the discoveries of modern science. Gentlemen, there was a time when we used to hear of Imperial federation, and politicians worried themselves to find some form of machinery to secure in an effective and practical form that noble aspiration. But, gentlemen, it is the advance of modern science which is performing the miracle of federation for us by bridging over the gulfs and reducing the vast spaces which formerly separated the component parts of our Empire. I hopefully look forward to a time when the committee upon which I have the honour to serve—the Committee of Imperial

Defence—will be strengthened for the consideration of these problems which we are met here to discuss, by the addition of representatives of the Dominions. Every year it would be possible, under the authority of the Sovereign, to summon to that committee, during a certain number of months, representatives of his subjects oversea. And if this ideal can be achieved we shall have once more shown that fertility of political resource, that elasticity of constitutional method which has been so characteristic of our race, and is the most certain mark of an Imperial people. Gentlemen, let me summarise. Shortly, some of your leading statesmen are to meet here for the purpose of discussing this vital question of Imperial Defence. The Conference of the past few weeks should be to them of the very greatest possible value. They will realise how strongly we feel in the old country that the basis of Imperial Defence is the unity of the Empire under one flag and that a real sense of unity means that no distinction exists between the Briton who lives in Middlesex or Midlothian and the Briton who lives in Toronto, in Auckland, or Melbourne, except that one is a trifle further off than the other from Westminster Abbey or from the Canongate. Secondly, that an Imperial Navy rightly interpreted means that British sea officers and British sailors not only are willing, but are so

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trained that they are able to fight efficiently side by side in the same fleet wherever a naval action may be fought. Thirdly, that an Imperial army can only be an effective instrument in war if its component parts are organised on similar lines and on well-defined and sound principles. Fourthly, that if we are to hold our own among the Imperial races of the world, the wealth and population of the Empire should be organized in peace with a view to the demands which will inevitably be made upon them in war. And finally, that owing to the shrinkage of the world there is no serious obstacle to renewed discussion upon the methods of Imperial defence, as the conditions and circumstances of the Empire change from year to year. In conclusion, gentlemen, I should like to ask your adhesion once more to the conception of our nation, as one and indivisible under the Sovereign of these realms. We have a noble heritage, and it is the common heritage of us all. It is not only, as you were told the other day, in the ancient abbeys and the quiet country churches, under whose shadow our forefathers lived, or the villages and townships from which they went forth to create this wonderful Empire, but our common heritage is also the honour of our flag, with all its subtle as well as its obvious meaning, and above all our heritage is that sea-dominion which has made us what we are and which, if we are true to our noble traditions, we must make every sacrifice to maintain. (Loud cheers.)

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD.

Admiral Lord Charles BERESFORD, who was enthusiastically received, said: My lord and gentlemen, we have just listened to one of the most interesting addresses I have ever heard on the subject of Imperial defence. (Hear, hear.) With all, or very nearly all of what your noble chairman has said I entirely agree; but what we have all got to do, and that as soon as we can arrange it, is to bring into practical effect those suggestions and proposals that have been made by the noble lord. Now, I believe at the present moment the Press delegates are somewhat bewildered by the non-committal statements which have been

made by all the prominent politicians and statesmen of this country. (Hear, hear.) You have listened to the most able speeches of statesmen who are trained politicians— (laughter)—who are the big men of the country. And what has been the dominant note? The dominant note has been one of the most serious, causing anxiety of the gravest character. But among all those great statesmen for the moment there has been no suggestion, or no plan whatever, to allay the anxiety which is not only visible in this country, but visible also in the Dominions. Now, I don't want to blame those statesmen. I know that they will say, and very properly say, that great statesmen from the other five nations which form the Empire, are coming over here shortly to wake up, look into, and perhaps formulate one great scheme of permanent defence, one great scheme of Imperial defence as a whole, and that they therefore would prefer to wait until those statesmen are here. But that is not my point. My point is this: That that anxiety would not be expressed out of the mouths of those statesmen unless there were a reason for it. (Hear, hear.) And what is the reason for it? In my opinion, and I give it very strongly, the reason is because they know we are not prepared. That is the reason for it. But they are not in the position to know exactly where we are not prepared. It is only the experts who can know that. I am not going to enter into that great question here. This is not the time, neither is this the place, for that, but shortly I will put my views for what they are worth as a naval officer of considerable experience, in so far as we are to consider where we are not prepared and what I would suggest with the view of remedying that defect.

Now the anxiety that has been raised is in the Press of both this country and the Dominions, but it is emphasised in another way. It is emphasised by those nations that you, Gentlemen, represent, because they have shown the old country that things are not right, not prepared as they ought to be with regard to defence. They have offered to build what are known as Dreadnoughts and to give us money. Now in my opinion that is the severest condemnation of the Imperial Defence policy of this country that it is possible to make. Everybody may not be able to agree on that, but that is my opinion. These nations have recognised the contingency that we ought to have recognised before, and it should not have been necessary for those other nations to show us that our defence as an Imperial whole is not adequate, not sufficient, not prepared. And you will agree with me that we have got to be together, whether we like it or not, the Old Country and the Dominions

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stand or fall together. (Hear, hear.) You cannot hurt one of the Dominions or one of those other great nations of the Empire without hurting the Imperial heart. You cannot hurt the Mother Country without inflicting hurt upon the Imperial whole. Therefore we have got to be together, and I maintain that the offer of ships and money on the part of the other nations is a clear indication that we have not seen what we ought to have seen in the contingencies that have occurred around us in the world. Now with regard to this point of being prepared, you, Gentlemen, went down the other day to see the fleet. I can give you the opinion of my brother officers and the men of the fleet on that. We were very proud that you went to see the fleet. I do not think in my career of fifty years we have ever had better officers or better men. (Cheers.) I can confidently say that never in my career were those officers and men so anxious to learn their work, so unselfish in duty, so loyal to the

State, and so anxious to be thoroughly trained to do all the work they might be called upon to do in contingencies inseparable from war. But you must remember that inspection which you saw, though valuable, though good, gave you no indication whatever as to preparation for war. (Hear, hear.) How are you to know by seeing these lines of magnificent ships in perfect order, the men in perfect discipline, perfect health, and I go further and say, perfect happiness, how are you to know from that whether your organisation for war is correct or not? As to those reviews, therefore, though you are satisfied and pleased with what you saw, don't dismiss from your minds that we have arrived at a crisis in the affairs of this Empire in which the first, the primary, and the absolute necessity is that of Imperial defence of the whole to keep the Empire as it is. May I say this, I am certain, and I never lose a chance of saying so, that the greatest interest and the primary object of all nations at this moment is for peace. (Hear, hear.) I believe the peoples of nations loathe and detest war, that is my opinion. Anybody who has ever seen war has that same sentiment. It is a horrid and a shocking incident. It is necessary on occasions, but if you are properly prepared you will have no war. (Hear, hear.) That has been my argument ever since I took up the question. If you are properly prepared you can't have war. We have arrived at a time owing to our deferred liabilities and deferred obligations, and on very many occasions in the last two or three years wrong information having been given to the public which has created wrong inferences—we have arrived at a time when I think it would be impossible to maintain what we laid down as a sound standard and doctrine—the Two-Power standard some years ago without the other five nations coming in and helping us. Now, how can you help us? I agree entirely with the noble chairman. Don't let us be in a hurry, but don't let us be too long. Let us take the question up as soon as we can and look into it and discuss it, we here on our side and you on yours, and let the people of the Mother Country be most careful that there is nothing of any sort that can even hint at domination or control on our part. We want to be all one, and let us discuss how we each can help the other. That is the point we ought to keep in view. I have got my views on the question, and I had the honour to submit them to the Australians in London some time ago. I believe the right plan for you to help us as nations is to look after the weakest spots, the weakest places that we have in this Empire, and that is our trade routes. Remember the best defence is a defence that can be used as an attack. That is better than a defence that can only be defensive, but your defence should be one that can be instantly turned into an attack, and your peace organisation should be much on the lines that your noble chairman has indicated. Your peace organisation should be such that it can be easily expanded into war organisation without any trouble. Now, that we can thrash out among ourselves when those great statesmen come over here very shortly. But I believe the right plan would be for you to begin by having your own fleets under your own control, under your own management, as long as there is a standardisation in every ship you have in the whole of the five nations and in the mother nation. Then the nations should control their own officers and men in the fleet. May I put it this way: Three cruisers go from Australia to the Mediterranean, two from Canada, one from the Cape, and the British fleet have to send out cruisers on the stations so denuded, as the proper local cruisers are away. But then they come in the fleet and learn their work, and then go back to their own locality, and I believe if you had that system of training it would bring us together and

accustom these visiting ships to take part under a common control. It sounds a very small matter, but it would be a very big thing to secure this, acting under the one control, and would be a splendid preparation for what would take place in war if ever they were called upon. Keep to this standardisation and change the officers and men through the fleet. When one ship comes to the British fleet let us send a British cruiser to take her place. Why? So that you will always be ready on the spot to protect the weakest spot we have in our Empire—the trade routes. With regard to the training, remember this, that you may build what ships you like, you may have the best boilers, the best engines, the best guns, the best speed—I do not care one bit what you have—but it is the human element that is going to win. (Cheers.) And an old fleet with well-trained men and officers, always working together, understanding each other, knowing what their admiral wants, the admiral with that confidence which is so necessary in his captains and his men, will beat the best fleet that was ever put on the water with bad officers—I won't say bad officers; I mean untrained officers and untrained men—no matter how good they otherwise may be. That is a suggestion; it is something to go on with, this suggestion of mine; it is something to talk over and think about. Another point. There is no good having cruisers unless you have all the repairing stations right—and owing to some extraordinary mad infatuation, which I cannot account for and which I am not going to dilate upon now, though I shall do so very severely by-and bye—(laughter)—having spent a lot of money on these repairing stations all over the world, we suddenly dismantle them. What is the result? All our cruisers would have to come home here to be repaired. Well, I should suggest that your nations should think whether you would not put those repairing stations in order, whether you would not help the Mother Country to regain the two-power standard by protecting the trade routes in the way I suggest. When we talk that over by-and-bye, there is no doubt you will get into having your own fleets in your own local waters. But there is one point I think you should insist on: that when it comes to war you must act under the great strategical bureau which will be at the Admiralty, but isn't there now. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, we have a great deal of leeway to make up—a great deal of leeway, owing to what I described as deferred liabilities, but we are perfectly capable of getting our defence on a sound footing if we maintain a deliberate and sustained effort and look at the question from an Imperial and national standpoint and do not let the small—may I say mean, but certainly ungenerous—effort of party come into the question whatever. (Cheers.) Now, you have had—and in this I see a blue water patch—grave warnings from the prominent statesmen of this country, and I say they have given you these warnings because we are not prepared; but there is another question which may have enlivened their brains a bit. They say it will cost a great deal of money, and they are not quite clear where they can get the money. It will be my business shortly to make suggestions on that point. But my blue water patch is this: they are all together in one mind at present; let us hope that they will keep together. These statesmen are all strong party men, and I rather like a strong party man who will stick to his opinions, but I hope they will keep party out of this question of Imperial defence. We have got them now in a group. They are all anxious. There are some great clouds coming over the sky, overshadowing as they make out to us our future destiny as an Empire. Now let them keep together and never mind party. Let them consult together, and let them bring forward some scheme as a national whole on the lines that they have given to you as

provoking anxiety and making the whole Empire nervous; and if they stick to that I believe we shall get what your noble chairman described as the Imperial whole—all different nations, true, but all from the same stock, all with the same ideas, all with the same wishes and programmes with regard to Imperial defence, and then, if that is the case, we can maintain our greatest interests in peace, and we can positively prevent what I maintain the peoples of the world at this moment loathe and hate so much—which is war. (Loud cheers.)

SIR JOHN FRENCH.

General Sir JOHN FRENCH, who was cordially received, said: Lord Esher and gentlemen,—It is really with the greatest possible diffidence that I venture to address such an audience as this; but I propose to say a very few and brief words to you this morning on the subject of Imperial

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defence in its military aspect. (Hear, hear.) The naval view of the question has been most ably and clearly put before you just now by Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. But in connection with the Navy there is one point, first of all, which, to my mind, stands almost before all others, which is the principle which I believe to be at the root and foundation of all Imperial defence, and that is that there shall be the most thorough and complete mutual understanding in peace time between the land and the sea forces—(cheers)—such an understanding as shall ensure the most cordial and harmonious co- operation in war. (Hear, hear.) The Imperial Defence Committee has done very much to establish this principle, but still, I think, there is more required in this direction than has already been done. The point, however, which I wish particularly to raise this morning has also reference to union and co-operation. Whilst seeking for a closer union with our own sister service, I think we must also ensure the utmost measure of harmony and co-operation amongst ourselves and the great Imperial Army. Discussion has been ripe for some time past as to the possibility of making radical changes in our present system of raising and maintaining the land forces of the Empire. I am sure such discussions have very great value in placing the whole subject of Imperial defence before the public in all its various aspects, and there is, no doubt, very much to be said in favour of the view which advocates universal national training. (Cheers.) But I venture also to think that before committing ourselves to the adoption of drastic and far-reaching methods, which would react forcibly upon the whole of our social system, we should first closely examine the means now actually at our disposal for the purposes of Imperial defence, and determine whether or not we are turning such means to the best possible advantage. We constantly hear it said that the numbers of our land forces compare very unfavourably with those of foreign Powers, yet if we total up the number of troops, including Regulars and Reserves throughout the Empire—troops, I mean, which may be said throughout the course of the year to appear on parade as soldiers, who handle rifles and shoot at ranges; I am not, of course, referring to anything in the nature of rifle clubs, but I am taking all regularly constituted soldiers—we shall find they reach a figure of over one million. (Cheers.) I do not want to go into details or lay down any exact figures, but I think anybody who will consider this question will find I am not far wrong in that estimate. Of course, this great



force is widely separated and is in all quarters of the globe, but they are linked together by the great fleets of which the Admiral has spoken to us, and modern science has provided a most perfect means of communication between them. The Chairman, with his usual clear perception, has struck the keynote of what we really want. What is lacking is means or machinery to weld together those armies as a great whole, and it seems to me that such questions as these present themselves for consideration:—Are we as a great national army absolutely united? Do we adopt uniform methods in administration and training throughout the whole of our Imperial Army? Have we taken stock of and, as it were, economised the military resources of the Empire? Take one of the most important items—that of horses. And have we laid down complete and well-understood plans for mutual co-operation in attack or defence, under each and all of the many problems, upon the successful solution of which our safety as a great Empire depends? I think at the present moment the answer to this question cannot be said to be satisfactory. Such union and accord as I have briefly sketched out can only be effected by the establishment of a great Imperial general staff. (Cheers.) I can assure you that the utmost efforts are now being made at the War Office to forward this great work, and it is earnestly hoped and believed that the Colonies themselves will do all in their power to assist in that. Time does not permit me to enter at all adequately into this great question, but the idea is by no means new to you, and it is one with which I am sure you will be in sympathy. No doubt this great subject will receive full attention when the Imperial Defence Conference meets, but it is to the Press to whom we soldiers look for most valuable help in this direction. We have all had the experience of co-operation with you. Your representatives follow our manœuvres in peace and accompany our armies in war. Lord Charles Beresford and I have seen service in the field together, and he will bear me out when I say that no situation is too critical, and

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no corner is too hot, for the war correspondent in carrying out his great work. (Cheers.) We have learnt, as I say, to regard them as friends and comrades, and it is as such that I make an earnest appeal for your assistance in establishing this great general staff of which I have spoken, in welding together in that way the scattered forces of the Empire, so that we may be ready for all eventualities. (Cheers.) There is one other point upon which I wish to speak, as I have one minute to spare. We all know the value—in fact, the immense necessity—for secrecy in war. That modern science, which has furnished us with such a system of communication as enables us to link our Empire together as surely as if we were concentrated as an Empire on the Continent of Europe—that same invention, that same system of communication, has the effect also of causing news to travel all over the world like wildfire. I think it will be the most difficult thing in the world to ensure secrecy, to prevent the plans coming to the knowledge of the enemy, in the next war in which we are engaged, and I think, gentlemen, we require, above all things, the assistance of the Press in this matter. Before that time comes I hope that the Press will have thought out the point. It is absolutely in their hands. No Press censor in the world could be of the slightest use to prevent it. It is entirely in your hands to adopt such methods and arrangements as you may think fit in time to guard against this great future danger. (Cheers.) I thank you very much for having allowed me the opportunity of making these few observations.

MR. TEMPERLEY.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: During the period the overseas delegates have been in England they have heard this question of Imperial defence discussed by the statesmen of England, who with a unanimous expression of opinion have convinced us of the importance of the question for the Empire. Irrespective of that, the delegates individually have expressed the same opinion. In the expression of that opinion they have been entirely unanimous, and I wish to say that, in private as well as in public, I have not heard a jarring note with regard to the unanimity of the overseas delegates on this great and important question. But there appears to me a certain amount of disinclination to focus that expression of opinion into the form of a resolution. Journalists, as a rule, are very independent. They are also acutely critical, and we experience very great difficulties indeed when we meet, either in committee or in Conference, in adopting a resolution which will be agreeable to the whole. Now, Sir, the opinion has been expressed, the desire has been expressed, that we individual delegates should, on returning to our own countries, advocate in the best interests of the Empire this great question of national defence. I venture to say that it will be done almost universally, but I also assert that if every individual delegate here on his return to his own centre were to devote a whole page of his paper to the advocacy of this question it would not, in our isolated position, have the same effect as if we here in this Conference carried a resolution affirming the same principle. Such a resolution would influence not only the people of England and the people of the Empire, but the people of the world at large. I want, therefore, to propose this resolution: "That national defence is, for the Empire, the most urgent question of the day." Without desiring to be egotistical, I would just mention that at a smaller but a similar meeting to this, held in Melbourne last November, a meeting of delegates from the Australian provincial Press, I had the honour of submitting a similar resolution, and it was carried unanimously. Now, with regard to this question I also desire to point out that in Australia we have dealt with, or rather considered, one very important phase of it. I remember that about twelve months ago the Federal Parliament put forth a scheme which aroused the attention of the whole Empire with regard to the proposal for compulsory military training. It was thought at that time that we were within sight of that goal. It was thought we could then, or within the immediate future, adopt for the Australian Commonwealth the principle of compulsory military training. Passing through Canada, I was rather surprised to find that some of the journalists there were perhaps not so well informed as to Australian conditions as the people of England; they had the idea that it had been carried into effect. Unfortunately, in Australia we have the same difficulties to contend with as you have here in England—party questions and party government. It is one of the hopeful features of the case—put forth as one of the planks of their platform—compulsory military training.

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Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I would like to say, on a point of order, that a motion in favour of compulsory service was submitted to this Conference at an earlier meeting, and was, by the desire of the Conference, put aside as not being a proper motion to pass. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Do I understand that your resolution is one dealing with compulsory service?

Mr. TEMPERLEY: No; my resolution does not deal with the question of compulsory service, but I thought it desirable in this Conference that I should let the people of England know that we in Australia had affirmed the principle of compulsory military training.

Dr. WARD: No, no. Who are “we”? Does it mean “you”?

Mr. TEMPERLEY: Perhaps I am not quite correct. It was propounded by the Government of the day.

Dr. WARD: It has been withdrawn since.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: The Government of the day supported the principle, but the question I desire to emphasise to-day is, that it was supported by the democratic section of the community—the Labour Party. It has been opposed, I am sorry to say, on party lines by the Conservative Party, who represent the wealthy and the landed interest. That is merely an expression of opinion. I venture now to say that Australia will be the first part of the British Empire to adopt the principle of compulsory military training. However, Mr. Chairman, I now submit this resolution for the consideration of the Conference. I hope it will be carried, and that it will go forth to the world that this assembly thinks that national defence for the Empire is the most urgent question of the day.

Mr. HAROLD SPENDER.

Mr. HAROLD SPENDER (London): I had hoped that we would have heard more from Colonial delegates about this resolution. I was waiting for some of them to rise, but, as nobody has risen, perhaps a voice from the home country may be permitted to speak. This resolution asks us to commit ourselves to the proposition that Imperial defence is the first necessity of the Empire. I belong to those who think that Imperial defence is a very great necessity to the Empire, but, until I can vote for the proposition that it is the first necessity, I should like to know what that proposition means. I am entirely in accord with the admirable speech we have had to-day from Lord Charles Beresford. If I may be permitted to say so, I always listen with greater pleasure to these speeches when they are made by practical admirals and soldiers who have faced the risks of war themselves. I do not listen with so much pleasure when these speeches are made by people who sit in armchairs at home; and we have a great many of these speeches nowadays. But, Sir, I should like to know what this proposition means and what it carries with it. What does the defence of the Empire consist of? Surely not only of ships and soldiers. Ships and soldiers are important. Ships and soldiers must be there, and I concur with Lord Charles Beresford that it is useless to have them unless they are ready. I thought they were ready, and I am very much disturbed to hear that they are not. But, my Lord, it is equally important in the defence of an empire that that empire should be on sympathetic terms with the other empires and the other nations in the world. I would suggest to this

Conference—(a Delegate: I beg to point out that this resolution has not been seconded. Is this resolution one that comes within the scope of the business of this meeting?)

The CHAIRMAN: I do not see that it contradicts in any way what I understood was to be the object of this discussion. It was to be national defence.

Another DELEGATE: The Press and the Empire.

Mr. SPENDER: I rather sympathise with these gentlemen, because I think it is a serious thing for a meeting of Press delegates not elected by the peoples of the Dominions to meet here and pass general resolutions. I feel that the Prime Ministers of the Dominions might find themselves in rather an awkward position if the representatives of the Press were to come here and pass resolutions which might possibly afterwards embarrass them. I just want to say this one thing—to suggest this one idea—to the representatives of the Press of the Empire here, and that is, that if this Empire is to be properly and intelligently guided, it ought to understand other nations. I think it is a pertinent suggestion that the Colonies, through their Press representatives, should try to understand the other nations of the world better than they are understanding them at present. (Cheers.) A pertinent suggestion for carrying that out is that some of the Colonies might have

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representatives in foreign countries. I do not know how many of the colonial papers have representatives in foreign countries. The Colonies have not taken hitherto much part in European politics, and as long as they do not do so, I think they are perfectly right not to have representatives there. But if they do take part and do express their opinions of the nations of Europe, I suggest it is important that they should have representatives in foreign capitals. My last point is this—that there are some of us here in England who do value the British Empire as a league of peace as well as a league of war. I don't know whether that is a popular thing to say in this Conference. I feel like the Eastern potentate who you all know, Kubla Khan, who sat in his halls and heard "voices prophesying war." I have heard endless voices prophesying war, and I admit these things get on one's nerves and terrify one. We all know the proposition that if you wish for peace you must prepare for war, and up to a certain point that is true. It was a great Roman proposition, and we ought not to ignore it. But a thing called Christianity has come into the world since. I perfectly agree with those generals and admirals who say we ought to have our forces well prepared, but at the same time in line with that, parallel with that, we ought to work for peace. I think the man who fights best for peace is the man to fight best in war. I was very glad to hear Lord Charles Beresford speak of the Empire as a league of nations. I say the league of these nations is at the present time the greatest force for peace in the world. What is the great fact about the British Empire? Is it not that we know that Canada is not going to war with England, or Australia with England, or South Africa with England? That is the greatest fact about the British Empire—that it is a league of peace. Why is it that the world does not fear the British Empire, that there is no very great enmity for the British Empire, or no very great hatred of the British Empire? It is because it has been known to be a league of peace, and has not taken up an attitude of war against the world. When a time comes that this Empire stands before the world as a league of war we shall

have the whole world leagued against us. So I, as a delegate of the Home Country, ask you to go back to our fellow Britishers overseas thinking of the British Empire not only as a league of war but as a league of peace.

Mr. W. T. STEAD.

Mr. W. T. STEAD (London): I am very proud that I am standing in the presence of those whom I called on one occasion the public councillors of the Empire as opposed to the privy councillors of the King. Privy councillors are all right honourables; we are not “right hons”; we are the “great anon’s”—the great anon’s who are always in evidence and always giving advice. In discussing the question of the Press and the Empire, may I suggest one way in which the Press may help the Empire, quite as much as by building ships or raising discussions on compulsory service, is that we Pressmen of the Empire should keep a civil tongue in our heads. I remember Sir Wilfrid Laurier telling me that of all the most contemptible things in the world there was nothing so contemptible as a British journalist behind a pen indulging in snarling and sneering. He said it reminded him of nothing so much as a monkey sitting on the top of bamboos and throwing nuts at the people below.

Another thing I would like to say. I think the Press could help the Empire a great deal more than it does if they urged the filling up of the Empire. Now, it is all very well for our friends in Australia to talk of national defence as the most urgent question, but I contend that the most urgent question for Australia is to fill Australia. If every Australian mother had six children instead of two, we would be a great deal stronger in national defence. I have another thing—I think it is a very great point. I think a good sound policy of defence is all important, but now think for one moment. We talk about Dreadnoughts, and I am all for Dreadnoughts, which is more than can be said for some people here. I am all for Dreadnoughts; but the whole force of the strength of the Empire is not measured by Dreadnoughts. It is a united and contented Canada, with French and British alike loyal and devoted to their country—is not that worth more than a Dreadnought to Canada? Is a united South Africa, free from internal dissensions, not worth more than a Dreadnought to South Africa? I contend that the loyalty of the subjects to our King and the contentedness of our people count first before armed men and even before armoured ships. And there is another

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thing, I think, on which Lord Charles Beresford will agree with me. He is a breezy sailor man, whom we are all glad to hear speak, but I would like to ask him if there is not another element in which the Press could help, and that is that there ought to be in the services of the Army and the Navy loyalty from the top to the bottom. We all agree that there should be no such thing as a general or admiral intriguing or using his influence against his superiors; there ought to be no such thing as a man using his influence in Society or in the Press to attack or vilify a man placed in office by his King and two successive Governments. (Hear, hear.) I know what Lord Charles Beresford would do if such a monster of iniquity should arise in our land. He would have him strung up on the yard arm of his own ship, and we would all say “God speed the deed.” (Laughter, in

which Lord Charles heartily joined.) In this Lord Charles agrees with me heartily, and I give him my certificate for determination to maintain discipline in the Army. Now, in the presence of the representatives from the Colonies I would like to have my say. For years past we have spent money by the million, have tried one party and then another, and having done our very, very level best to be told that the whole of this blessed country of ours has not been able to construct an efficient strategical bureau at the Admiralty is a kind of remark calculated to shock the confidence of our Colonial friends as to the ability of this country to govern the Empire. What of the precepts which you often hear derided as mere counsels of perfection which are found in the Book which we all used to read and which some of us still believe in? I believe no sounder maxim could be found in all the writings of man than the saying, "Love your enemies," and yet, when anyone tries to preach that doctrine he is howled down as a traitor or a Pro-Boer, and heaven knows what not. There is nothing in the world so blind as hate. There is nothing in the world so keen to seek and find out truth as Love. In every nation of the world we have our friends; in some we have our enemies. If you love that nation you learn to know your friends, whereas if you hate that nation you put the red rag before the bull. What would strengthen the Empire more than everything would be for every newspaper editor never to use bluff. If every newspaper editor asked himself five questions before advocating a course which is likely to lead his country to war, the chances of war would be made more remote. The first question is, Is there any other way out? Now it may be our duty to kill our brother man, but I say it is never obviously our duty to kill our brother man until we have exhausted every other means of settling with our brother man, and when you hear people deride the Hague Conference and Tribunal, we ought to remember that it is our duty never to let a sword be drawn in any part of the world until the matter has first been submitted to the arbitrament of an impartial tribunal, and if any Power insists on going to war before arbitration, let all the other civilised nations of the world bottle up that Power. The first question, then, is: Is there any other way out? The second is: What does the government of our own country think of the course I am recommending? Incidentally, I may say we ought to have much greater respect than we have for the opinions of the statesmen of our country. Third, Have we got sufficient ships to fight it if the war comes? Fourthly, Let us ask where our troops are; and fifthly, Ask how much it will cost and how long it will last. Now, these are all common-sense things. But they are things that are never thought of as a rule. Now, my friends, I am proud of my profession. I am proud to recognise you here as members of a great force, upon whom depends whether this Empire shall be the best Empire or the worst Empire in the world.

Mr. C. WOODHEAD: It is because we recognise the possibility of danger to the Empire that we have assembled here to-day to see if we cannot come to some conclusion as to the vital course to adopt. Lord Charles Beresford made a true observation when he said that only those who have had experience of war know of its horrors, and are therefore desirous of peace. Now, I have been nearly thirty years in South Africa, and I have had experience of the horrors of wars, and it is not likely that I should be in the category of those to whom Mr. Stead has referred. But I want to make one or two observations. One of them is this: I think better use might be made of the harbours that have been provided in the Colonies for naval purposes. And I would have you recognise that those colonies who have spent large sums in the development of their harbours have made them suitable

for the reception of British men-of-war, and that they are worthy of consideration for strategical purposes. I refer to my own port of Natal. The harbour

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there could accommodate a large number of the ships of the Fleet, and, thanks to the efforts of the Right Hon. Harry Escombe, the harbour of Natal would make an excellent half-way house to India from the strategical point of view. Another point is the general extension in this country of the cadet system. There is, I know, a strong objection in this country to conscription in any form. Therefore I suggest to you that you should still further extend the cadet system in your schools, make it compulsory as we have done in our little colony of Natal. There we have very few inhabitants, and we have adopted that principle in the schools, with the result that instead of having to compel the children to take their course of instruction, the children were anxious to begin it, and no compulsion has therefore been necessary. Four thousand children have there acquired the rudiments of military training; at the age of twelve or thirteen they get rifle practice, so that you see by these few years of training these lads are able to take their places in the ranks without any unnecessary waste of time, and the country has the confidence that they will be prepared for service in any emergency, able to take their places shoulder to shoulder with fellow-colonists. That is why I strongly recommend the cadet system in this island of yours if it is possible to induce your people to adopt it. I believe the patriotism of the colonies is more intense than the patriotism of this country, where you have to pay the piper. It is all very well to delay, but you can delay too long, and I think the wise course and the prudent course for the protection of the whole Empire is to proceed at once to investigate as to the best means effectively to secure this end. I merely throw out these suggestions.

MR. AMERY.

Mr. AMERY: I rise to address this meeting in the hope of concentrating the discussion on the point which has been raised by Mr. Temperley. I have listened with the greatest interest to the speeches which have just been made by Mr. Spender and Mr. Stead, and I may say not only with interest but largely with agreement. I fully agree with Mr. Spender that defence does not consist only in Dreadnoughts and armies and trained men. Defence is, in the last resort, based on population. The question of Imperial defence thus involves the great question of emigration from one part of the Empire to another. The problem of defence is, again, closely bound up with the great social question of the quality of the population we bring up. The delegates have been to see our great Navy at Portsmouth; it might have been well if they had had time, and had been allowed to see some of the squalid parts of our industrial centres. (Voices: "We have seen them.") In these scenes of squalor lies one of the weaknesses of our national defence. I agree, no less, that we ought to keep civil tongues in our heads, that we can do nothing more dangerous to our own interests than unnecessarily to provoke hostility on the part of other countries, and to inflame into active hatred people with whom we have really no quarrel. All these things I agree with most fully. They ought to be permanent guiding principles of our policy now and at all times. But I do think there is a reason why the particular question of defence in the narrower sense has been raised so much at this Conference, and is raised again in Mr.

Temperley's resolution asking for the special advocacy of the Press for this matter in the near future. It is just because particular circumstances in the world outside have, for the present, given that question at any rate a temporary pre-eminence. It is not merely a question of our attitude towards other people. That is not the main factor at this moment. People outside are doing certain things which might under certain circumstances lead to war, and to the destruction of our Empire. (Hear, hear.) Those dangers can be averted. They can be minimised by wise and prudent statesmanship on our part. But the history of the world has shown in the past not only that you cannot always ensure prudent statesmanship, but that prudent statesmanship without adequate defences cannot secure the welfare and the greatness of a people. Lord Charles Beresford talked of preparation as an insurance of peace. We heard just now that that was true in the days of the Romans. But if we look at our own case, we shall find that it is just as true yesterday and to-day. Look at the history of the last twenty years. The one thing that is really impressive about it is that in our case preparation for war has actually preserved peace. (Hear, hear.) There was a crisis of twenty years ago, with which Lord Charles was so honourably connected, when a danger to our naval supremacy

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arose. We met it by adequate naval preparation; and what I want to bring out is this, that in the years that followed 1885 and 1889, years of world-wide expansion and national rivalry, there was all the political material for half a dozen of the most destructive wars in history. Those wars did not happen. There were conflicts of interests between ourselves and France with regard to Newfoundland and Siam, West Africa and Fashoda; there were similar disputes with Russia and Germany. Each time the clouds passed away, and they passed away because the statesmen of those countries, when they were brought face to face with the alternative of war, counted their ships and counted our ships—(cheers)—and they decided in favour of peace. (Hear, hear.) During the years between 1894 and 1904 we won half a dozen bloodless Trafalgars—Trafalgars won at a very slight cost of lives and money. Any one of those wars would have meant to this country, even in the event of victory, perhaps a thousand millions of expenditure, and I do not know how many thousands of valuable lives. Supposing we had gone to war with France over Fashoda. Let alone the cost to our country, it would have left a generation of hatred behind. Because we faced the danger in time, because we made it impossible for France to go to war with us, France is our friend to-day. (Cheers.) But we combined counsels of strength with counsels of prudence and conciliation. The strength of our navy, coupled with our conciliatory attitude, with our anxiety to find reasonable compromises, helped to smooth over a difficult situation. That seems to me to be the policy that we can pursue in the future with even greater advantage than has been the case in the last twenty years. We want to miss no opportunity for conciliation; but we don't want to countenance foreign rivalry and invite danger by our weakness. (Hear, hear.) We want to make it plain to the world that our strength is not going to be used against anybody, that we have no hatreds against anybody; to make it clear that we have more territory than we can develop for many generations to come, and have no designs against our neighbors. But we must make it no less clear that we are determined to guard our own safety and to develop the territories we already possess, and to go on developing those traditions of British freedom and of British political thought on which we set such store in each part of the Empire.



(Cheers.) We trust the present danger may not last too long, that the burden of defence may become less in time. That is assuming that defence need be a burden at all. Personally I think if we set ourselves to consider the question of defence from every point of view—from the social point of view and the trading point of view—that our very concentration of mind on that purpose will lead not to heavier burdens, but to a greater growth of national strength and prosperity. (Cheers.) If we set our house in order for one purpose, may we not be setting it in order for other purposes at the same time? I, for my part, should like to second Mr. Temperley's resolution. The other day I seconded a resolution, but as soon as I did so I felt that I had made a mistake, because it was a definite resolution calling upon this Conference to advocate something upon which there was a division of opinion. Moreover, the resolution could only have been carried out by the executive action of governments, and we are not elected responsible people who can carry out anything. We are only people whose duty it is to express our convictions and try to mould opinion, and therefore we cannot adopt any resolution except one perfectly general in its terms, such as this one by which we bind ourselves collectively to keep this very serious subject before the minds of those oversea. We are not bound to advocate this or that measure of national defence. We are perfectly free to insist upon social reform as an essential of national defence. We are free to advocate national compulsory training or anything else we like. All this resolution calls upon us to do is to recognise collectively the seriousness of the present position in the world, and to impress our fellow-citizens in every part of the Empire with the same sense of the importance of the subject, of the gravity of the international situation, which, in our consultations together, have sunk so deeply into our minds. (Cheers.)

MR. SIDNEY LOW.

Mr. SIDNEY LOW (London): The admirable speech Mr. Amery has made has brought before us, I think, certain aspects of this question which have not been pressed home so far as they might have been. I think we are indebted to Mr. Amery for having laid this before us with so much force and lucidity. (Hear, hear.)

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I ask myself in what way the Press of the Empire can more particularly support the great work of national defence in which we are all interested. As a civilian who is not a military expert—(laughter)—I never knew anybody except a soldier who was not a military expert—(more laughter)—I do not know that it is so much our particular function to elaborate special schemes of reorganisation and military management. I think that should be left to the professional men who understand these matters, and that the Press of the Empire can perform its functions best when it takes care to give fair opportunity for discussing all these topics by the ablest pens which can be commanded for that particular task. The Press necessarily deals with large questions of sentiment rather than with actual details, and there is one great sentiment which it seems to me lies behind this question and which it is eminently desirable for all of us in our several states to impress upon our readers, and that is the sentiment of sacrifice and of service. (Cheers.) Underlying all our feelings ought to be the emotion, the impulse, that we are called upon in every state of the Empire, in every one of our capacities, to make some

sacrifice for, and do some service for that great Realm to which we all belong. (Cheers.) I welcome the idea of national defence more closely organized, not merely for political and international purposes, but because it will bring home to the citizens of this country the conviction that they are living here, not to pursue their own individual advantage, but to make some sacrifice for the community to which they belong. It appears to me that the Press can do no greater service than in pressing that closely upon our people. (Cheers.) And there is another great service that the Press can perform. You are coming to the end of a period which, I think, has been satisfactory, and which I am sure has been instructive. (Hear, hear.) You have seen—some of you perhaps for the first time—a great deal of this country of ours. If you go home, as you will, perhaps, better Imperialists than when you came, you will also go back to some extent Little Englanders, in the sense that you will have a newer and a larger conception of what this little island group means in the system of Empire. One delegate said to me yesterday, “Until I went about England I did not know what England really was. My eyes have been opened.” If that sentiment is echoed, I am sure the hosts of the delegates will be more than repaid for any small efforts they may have made for your entertainment. I think, in going round as you have been doing in our industrial districts, many of you must have corrected some impressions which may perhaps have been too widely diffused. Those who have seen the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire will admit that England is not played out, she is not dead, she is not dying. (Cheers.) Something of the old energy exists. (Hear, hear.) There is, I am afraid, another conviction which some of you may have formed, and that is one which will mingle your admiration with a large measure of sympathy for us in the appalling complexity of those social and economic problems which lie before us. You will have seen something of the effects of the industrial machine as it works upon our great urban aggregations, and you will realise that before us there lies a great work in raising the economic, social, and physical factor in regard to a large part of our population. I venture to think that in that work we shall be able to call upon the assistance of the overseas States—a call which will be in the direct line of national defence. For national defence is not to be achieved by “Dreadnoughts” alone. (Hear, hear.) It is to be attained by that process of economic reorganisation which lies before us, and in which we need the sympathy and the active assistance of the overseas States. There is another point I should like to refer to, and that is that this Conference, this visit of the overseas delegates, has brought all the countries of the Empire closer together, has given them more knowledge of one another, and it is to be hoped that this knowledge and information may be maintained in the future. (Cheers.) So far as we are concerned I think our education has progressed. We no longer are surprised when we find a Canadian gentleman speaking rather better English than we do ourselves. We do not expect a New Zealander to appear before us with a tomahawk; and when we meet a man from Melbourne we do not ask him if he is acquainted with our friends in Koolgardie. We are learning something of the overseas States, and I trust in the future our colonial visitors will take care to lay before their readers a constant stream of

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news about ourselves and about this country. I would support the suggestion of a previous speaker who said that the overseas States might well derive more information about the countries of Europe in general. Sometimes when one reads the admirable

colonial papers, excellent as is their news about local matters, you would suspect them a little of misrepresenting the activities of Great Britain. They would give some of their readers to understand that when we are not making political speeches or playing cricket, we are engaged in committing murder or getting divorced. (Laughter.) There are many other activities here—literary, social, and scientific—of which the overseas States hear perhaps rather less than is desirable, and I would ask whether it could not be possible to create something like an Imperial Press General Staff, or a great Imperial Intelligence Bureau, which could convey to the citizens of the overseas States information about some of large and weighty issues, of which they hear perhaps rather less than they would like. If the result of this Conference is to bring all the nations of the Empire closer together in the way of understanding, by mutual recognition of their aims and methods, it will certainly have fulfilled its object. I do believe this mutual confidence and mutual effort will conduce as much to Imperial defence as any specific measures.

DR. CUNNINGHAM.

Dr. CUNNINGHAM: (Melbourne) said:—My Lord and Gentlemen,—I wish, as a delegate from Australia, to associate myself with almost every word that fell from Mr. Amery in that statesmanlike and very sane address which he delivered to us. I think he put the aspects of Imperial defence in their true light, and it would not be becoming of me to say more than that, because I could not venture to better express the views he expressed so happily and so ably as he did. At the same time, while I see nothing whatever to disagree with in the resolution before the Conference, I have an instinctive dislike to putting on record what are mere platitudes. (Hear, hear.) The idea embodied in this motion is an idea, I am confident, in the minds of every inhabitant of the British Empire and of the world—in savage races as well as civilised. It is an instinct of nature that we should be prepared for defence. I do not see the use of our going to the trouble of putting on record a truth which nobody would controvert. I may just as well propose a resolution to this effect: “That it is advisable that middle-aged gentlemen should go to the top floor by lift instead of by the stairs.” (Laughter.) However, there is no objection to it, and if the Conference sees its way to pass the resolution, I will vote for it as warmly as anybody else. We have got, however, rather away from the main objects of the discussion as they were outlined by Lord Charles Beresford. After all, that is the practical issue. What are we going to do for maintaining the supremacy of the British Empire? And I am delighted not to hear Lord Charles Beresford take the view that we made a mistake in Australia and New Zealand in offering “Dreadnoughts.” I dealt with that phase of the question in a previous speech, and will not go further into it. But I do say that the principles that Lord Charles Beresford laid down to-day—that is to say, the general unity of the Empire, which should be kept in view with the object of maintaining the mobility of the Navy in all seas—is the fundamental principle that I think the newspapers of the Empire, looking at the thing from a practical point of view, should devote their full energies to. We want our systems of local defence. They are growing, and will grow ultimately, I am confident, into systems of Imperial defence. And if we are wise, and are prepared to listen to the advice of such eminent and experienced men as Lord Charles Beresford, the several divisions of the Empire will in time see the wisdom of throwing in their lot in a larger measure of Imperial defence. I would like to refer to one other point

which is liable to misconception—the question of universal service, as applied to Australia. In Australia every individual, without regard to party, is equally patriotic with every other individual, but there must be a margin for differences of opinion on what we may regard as practical lines. Everyone of us out there place faith in the principle that every man should, if necessary, give his life for the defence of his country. We also subscribe to the principle that we should be fully prepared to meet every emergency. The question arises as to how we should be prepared, and having regard to the present smallness of our population, and the very wide expanse of our country, and the limited means at our disposal, a large number of people in Australia—including some journalists—think that universal

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service is not practical politics. We are prepared to develop our system upon the lines of cadet training—(cheers)—leaving it, for the present, to the men who will come out of the schools—having undergone compulsory training in the schools—to supply us with that mobile force which we think is necessary. That is all we think is necessary if we keep the seas clear of the enemy. That force will cost us comparatively little, and it can be trained with a reasonable regard to efficiency. If you take the mass of the young men in that country, spread as I say over wide areas, and insist that these men should come into camp for three weeks in a year, in the first place you have to bring them to camp, and that means in some cases many days' journey. In the second place, you get them into camp unwillingly—because you must consider that at the outset—and the training you give them would be practically worthless. We think it is possible to arrive at what we want in another way in the interim. We are not so purblind as to say under no circumstances would we ever adopt another system, but in the meantime we think we should try this system. Mr. Deakin, when he was some years ago Prime Minister, was very strongly in favour of universal service, but he has seen the wisdom of modifying his proposals—if we may judge by the rather full telegrams announcing his programmes which have appeared in the London papers. It is made a charge with some acerbity, against certain parties in Australia, that we are against a system which the democratic Labour Party is strongly in favour of. If we wish to ascertain the intentions of any party we naturally go to its accredited organ, and the ablest organ of the opinion of the Labour Party of Australia is the “Worker,” published in Brisbane. That paper stands very high in the ranks of Labour journalism, and this is a positive fact—I have read it not once but several times—that the “Brisbane Worker” has advocated universal service because, it says, that when the next social tumult arises in Australia they want the arms to be in the hands of the men and the workers, and not under the control of the capitalists. That is an important point to consider. I am not expressing an opinion one way or the other about it, but when it is thrown at us that the democratic party in Australia is strongly in favour of universal service, I think I am entitled to quote that expression of their view, so that our position may be better understood. (Cheers.)

MR. FINK.

Mr. FINK said: I am very largely in accord with the remarks of Mr. Cunningham. But with reference to the point whether the dominant opinion of Australia is in favour of

universal service, I don't think either of us is in a position—or I don't think anybody here from Australia or anywhere else is in a position—to speak with absolute authority. It is a question on which there is a considerable difference of opinion, and anybody who represents the opinion on that subject as being unanimous would be misrepresenting Australian opinion. At the same time it is only fair to say that two successive Governments have adopted it as part of their programme; but it is largely adopted by the party which will correspond to the Liberal Party in Great Britain. From the meagre telegraphic accounts it is impossible to say that Mr. Deakin's party have in any way abandoned it, or put forward any part of a scheme of which it is not a plan. However, Mr. Cunningham was quite right in saying that Australia as a whole had not yet declared for universal service, but we are making tremendous strides towards the universal training of our people by cadet training. That training, at all events, even if it does not go any further, will produce a race, will produce a manhood, much more capable of being universally effective than where such harmony does not exist. I have no doubt that will spread to such countries in our Empire which do not at present enjoy it. I rose to say something about Mr. Temperley's motion. It is the expression of a pious wish; it does not commit anybody to any definite policy, and, although I will not vote against it, I cannot say it is of any great value. I am impressed with the danger that may attach to our proceedings of a misunderstanding arising if a body of Empire journalists was in any way to be suspected of any jingoistic tendency, or was in any way to be a party to opposing Imperial defence to any question of domestic or social reform. So far as the overseas Dominions are concerned, not one, I think, is a country which can in any way be suspected of warlike impulses. In fact, politically, not only in Great Britain, but in Australia and Canada, one of the greatest difficulties

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in formulating opinion on any scheme of defence is the fact that every one of these countries is engaged with pressing questions of social reform and reconstruction. That is one of the criticisms that Australia offers as to the position here—that it would appear from the newspapers that Imperial defence and social reform are contrasted, or are opposite policies. In Australia they are not, and I think it is very unfortunate for one party to be known as the Imperial party and the other as the party of social reform. The restless activities of the young democracies have been engaged in equalising the differences of human conditions. I don't think at this late stage in the proceedings of the Conference that a layman like myself can say anything of very great value on the actual problems involved in carrying out an Imperial policy, but I would like to say as an Australian that I am quite sure that Lord Charles Beresford's remarks will be read with the profoundest satisfaction and not as contributing facts and arguments on the one side or the other, but because they breathe and include large considerations of Imperial unity in naval defence. He has accepted the principle that Colonial problems are Imperial problems and that Imperial problems are Colonial problems. Responsible and eminent men of Great Britain so regard them—as they have throughout the Conference so understood them—understand that they will treat them in that way. I do say that the ideal—though it apparently conflicts with the beginning of naval construction in our Commonwealth—that the ideal Lord Charles Beresford has clearly indicated of our Commonwealth undertaking its full share in the naval defence of the Empire, and which forms a part of its

local defence, will ultimately become Imperial defence—that is, in war, under the guidance of Imperial authority—it will take its part in the battle line in the Empire by either cruisers or some other vessels, with crews trained under a plan laid down by an Imperial Council, exchanging its duties in the service, but indissoluble with the navy of which it forms a part. That is an ideal we are moving to, and it will probably be hastened by the next Conference, and will be speedily attained. I am quite sure that represents a view that all the Dominions of the Empire will share in. I did not come to this country, thinking it was degenerating or losing its grasp of the Empire. We realise that it is a country which has to face problems, which all other countries have, but in a more complex and difficult form. Your mass is greater; your conditions are in many ways more complicated than in younger countries. They demand the serious efforts of statesmen, social reformers, and civic rulers. And the abiding impression made upon me is this: that at no time in the history of this country has there been more statesmanship and more civic action based upon a high ideal than has been applied to the settlement of all these subjects in England and Scotland to-day. (Cheers.) That is manifest. I do not regard this country as in any way possessed of less virility than at any other period in its history. There are social problems we are trying to avoid, but we see very much to admire, and very much still to learn. It will be our duty on our return to represent our impressions in more detail and as quickly as possible. We have much to learn from you, and we will go back with a deepened sense of love and gratitude to the old land for our great heritage of citizenship and historic possessions, which is the greatest of the heritage of Young Australia, as it is of Englishmen. (Cheers.)

DR. MACDONALD.

Dr. MACDONALD (Toronto) said: I oppose the resolution for two reasons. It either means too little, or it means too much—it means more than we have time here to debate and discuss. If it means too little, it is unworthy of us—undignified. (Hear, hear.) It would be an undignified thing for it to go out to the world that the mountain is struggling and brought forth a mouse. (Hear, hear.) If it is not a mouse, than it is a tiger; and we object to it. The third reason is this: That it suggests that the net results of the assembling of the Conference in public here and the trips round the country is expressed by this motion. That is not the result of these meetings at all, sir; but this: That men from Australia, from India, Ceylon, and Canada—that we all of us came here from the ends of the Empire to see each from the other's standpoint, the other's obligations; we go back with wider outlooks, with larger horizons, and with a sense of Empire relationships and Empire obligations which are not at all expressed by a feckless, thewless, pithless resolution. (Laughter and cheers.)

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I shall have to move that it be laid on the table till the next Conference—(hear, hear)—and shall content myself in feeling that the great results achieved by the Conference are far greater—far more influential, far more far-reaching than I, for one, expected of the Conference. I thought it might have been a trip; it has not been a junket. It has been a serious event, all the more so because we are not bound by any resolutions; and we have with some frankness learned the opinions of the public men of Britain. We can say to you

public men of England: We shall go back truer Empire men, and shall do what we have been asked to do here—to fill up our Dominions. If the Dominion of Canada has twenty millions of people, there is no power on God's earth who can wipe it off the map or take it out of the Empire—(cheers); but with eighty millions of people next to us, it becomes us to be wise; and with an international boundary of four thousand miles long, without a battleship, without a fort or a gun or a soldier on parade, I for one desire to see that great expanse of humanity and civilisation kept undisturbed in the world. It cannot be seen anywhere else in the world. I think it would be better if we felt the greatness of our sentiment, without trying to put it into a resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. CROSBIE ROLES: I beg to second Dr. McDonald's resolution.

Lord ESHER: I don't understand that Dr. McDonald has moved any amendment at all, but I gather probably that, after taking cognisance of the general sense of the meeting, Mr. Temperley wishes to withdraw his motion.

Mr. TEMPERLEY: I desire to withdraw my motion. (Cheers.) I fear that in disseminating some information about compulsory military training as proposed in Australia I have raised opposition to the motion. I respect the feeling of the opposition, and with regard to misunderstanding on the part of many members that the motion contained the assertion of that principle, of course it does nothing of the kind. A motion like this would have no value at all unless it were carried unanimously, and for that reason, if no other, I am willing to withdraw it. (Cheers.)

The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

Mr. GRIGG ("The Times," London) said: The matter I have to bring forward has rather to do with social reform. I think all of us will feel and will be ready to admit that the overseas Dominions are more alive to the necessity of social reform than we are. I know when I had recently the privilege of visiting Australia I felt very strongly that they were more interested in these problems than ourselves, in this sense, that the greater part of the population that does not come into direct contact with the misery of the mean streets still feels the absolutely necessity about these streets from the national point of view. I feel the closer are our relations with the Dominions concerned, the more will they re-act upon us to help us to a policy of thorough social reform. From our point of view we have to improve the quality of our population; from the Colonial point of view they have to fill up their empty spaces. Sir Hugh Graham, I think, suggested means by which the Press of Great Britain might help towards that end. I want to show one way in which the Press of the Dominions can help, and that is to ask only for that population which we are most able to spare. We are willing to do almost anything for them, but we cannot give them the men that it is essential for us to keep. But I would like the people in the distant parts of the Empire to recognise that if they get young English population such as we send, it is the best the world can draw upon. I think if the papers in the Dominions were to spread that view there would be less objection to the type of population which we send, which we can certainly afford, and which will certainly be of value to them.

Dr. STANLEY REED: I have been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the Institute of Civil Engineers for their kindness in lending us this hall for the adjourned meeting of the Conference, and I feel certain that it will be adopted with feelings of gratitude to them. We wish to couple with that a general acknowledgment of the indebtedness of the overseas delegates to the English Committee of the Press Conference. During the past three weeks we have enjoyed the magnificent fruits of their labours, which must have extended over many months, and they have been so extremely self-effacing that if we had not been behind the scenes we should never have known how much they have done nor the great sacrifices they have made. They are all of them busy men with a thousand and one things to attend to. Their services on our behalf therefore have involved much personal self-sacrifice.

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I would seek to express our appreciation in the following resolution:—"That the overseas delegates desire to place on record their warm sense of appreciation of the generosity, kindness, and courtesy extended to them by the Committee of Journalists of Great Britain, which has been responsible for the magnificent success of the Conference." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. S. BRIERLEY: My Lords and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in warmly seconding Mr. Reed's motion.

The CHAIRMAN: This is a double vote of thanks—one to the Institute for lending us the hall, and the second vote of thanks, I understand, to the English Committee. I have to put to the meeting first the vote of thanks to the Institute of Civil Engineers. Those in favour please signify. (Cheers.) And, secondly, the vote of thanks to the English Committee. (Loud cheers.)

MR. J. A. SPENDER.

Mr. J. A. SPENDER: My Lords and gentlemen, in acknowledging this vote of thanks, I feel I am in the wrong place, for the real organiser of the Conference, the man to whom the idea came, and who has worked for its fruition, is not myself, but Mr. Harry Brittain. (Cheers.) I came in at a later date, and I have had much pleasure in doing the little I could to help in stage managing this Conference of ours. Well, gentlemen, I do really think we may congratulate ourselves on having had a very interesting and profitable series of meetings. (Cheers.) I will honestly say, and perhaps other delegates may have felt the same thing, that when we met a fortnight ago to discuss these questions none of us quite realised how this movement of ours was going to shape. I think we may claim that not only for the delegates but for ourselves also it has been a unique occasion. Lord Esher, I think, will bear me out—his recollection goes back for a good many years in public affairs when I say that on no other occasion have we seen together on the same platform—not merely for ceremonial purposes but to discuss real practical issues with a little sting of controversy in them—leading men of both political parties, those in Government and those in opposition. That, I think, is a great achievement, and has its significance for us. (Dr. Macdonald: And for them also.—Laughter and Hear, hear.) I



think also another point about this Conference, of which perhaps not very much has been said, perhaps not enough, is that it has enabled all of us to get to know each other. If I were asked to say what is the chief vice of the Press—for, indeed, among ourselves we may admit we have something to contrast with and give quality to our virtues—I think I might say it is our habit of publishing inelegant extracts from each other's leading articles—(laughter)—that is what we frequently do in our papers. In our columns we write many civil things about other countries, but these are scarcely ever reproduced. But if we write anything uncivil about them, or they about us, we each of us select that incivility for reproduction. I hope in time we shall get to cure that by publishing the amiable sentiments which at times we express about each other. (Hear, hear.) As regards the overseas Dominions you will go away, I know, determined to believe the best of us and each other. We are all brethren together, and if they ever should be—and in a free-speaking empire there must be—differences between one portion and another, we will, at any rate, give each other credit for good intentions, and when we criticise we will do so as friends, and thus help to promote Imperial unity and the peace of the world. Gentlemen, I thank you for the vote of thanks. (Cheers and cries of "Brittain.")

Mr. HARRY BRITTAIN: Gentlemen, I am not a speaker, and it is a quarter to one. I lunch at one, and all I have to say is that for the vote of thanks we have received we are truly thankful. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I think, before we part and finally close this very important gathering, we should express our thanks to Lord Esher for his kindness in presiding here to-day, and for the very valuable address he has given us. Also to Lord Charles Beresford and Sir John French for their most valuable contributions to the debate. We have been uniquely fortunate in having had the opportunity of hearing most of the great statesmen and naval and military experts of the Empire, and to-day we have been particularly fortunate in having had the pleasure of listening to those great speeches which have just been delivered. I think, if there is one lesson more than another which we shall take back to our own homes after this Conference, it is a sense of the mutual responsibility which rests upon us with the Mother Country

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on this great question of defence. That note was sounded by Lord Rosebery at the beginning of our meetings, when he hoped that we would help our readers to appreciate their personal duty and responsibility in the matter of national defence which rests upon us all. I think we agreed with him at the beginning—(hear, hear)—during these meetings that feeling has been strengthened, and it will now be ours to advocate that principle in our own distant dominions. I will not detain you further, gentlemen, but simply move this motion of thanks to the noble Chairman, to Lord Charles Beresford, and to General French in order that it may be put on record in the minutes of the Conference.

Mr. E. NICHOLS, Winnipeg, intimated that he and Mr. Dafoe had received a cable from the Chairman and Committee of the World's Fair, Winnipeg, inviting the Conference to meet there in 1912.

Mr. HENRY KING, of Bournemouth (President of the Newspaper Society), said: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the resolution. I should like to have entertained the delegates at Bournemouth, but I was informed that it was absolutely impossible, as their engagements had fully taken up their time.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of Lord Charles Beresford, Sir John French, and myself, I beg to thank you very sincerely for the vote of thanks which you have passed. It has been a great pleasure to me to preside over the last Conference which will take place in London on this occasion. I regret very much that I personally was unable to accept the invitation I received last week to meet you all. It would have been the greatest possible pleasure for me to have met you in a place so closely associated with myself. As regards the proceedings of this Conference, I must say I think you were probably very wise not to have passed any definite resolution to-day. The conference which is to follow yours is a conference which we hope will give some practical effect to those questions of Imperial defence which have been discussed here during the last fortnight, but you know well, all of you, that although you will not participate in that conference, and although you have not passed any definite resolution, that your influence will have a very material influence in the decisions those gentlemen will probably, let us hope, arrive at; and I think probably your influence will be the more satisfactorily exercised by the fact that you have not crystallised it in the form of a resolution. (Hear, hear.) I can only say once more, on behalf of Lord Beresford, Sir John French, and myself, how grateful we are to you. (Cheers.)

Mr. KYFFIN THOMAS: I should like to say that the information which Mr. Nichols has given us is of great importance. If before the meeting we are to hold at the Waldorf we could meet and have some informal discussion on the subject, we might arrive at something definite. I am afraid if we entirely separate now we shall have no opportunity of dealing with the matter at all. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. NICHOLS said the suggestion of Mr. Kyffin Thomas entirely met his views.

It was understood that the informal meeting should accordingly take place.

This concluded the business of the Conference; but before separating the delegates and the home journalists joined in singing the National Anthem.

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