# THE
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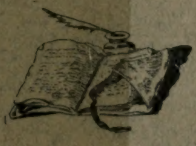
# Conference

*A Retrospect with Comment*

*By JOHN W. DAFOE*





*Reprinted for private circulation from*
*The Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg, Canada,*
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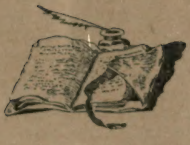

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*Manitoba Free Press*

*Winnipeg, Canada*

## 1. THE CONFERENCE ITSELF.

The Imperial Press Conference, of which the writer had the privilege of being a member, had, in effect if not nominally, an existence from Saturday, June 5, when it was formally welcomed to London by Lord Rosebery in an oration which will become a classic in Imperial literature, until Dominion Day, when, with but few exceptions, its members were present at the impressive dinner by which the Canadians celebrated the forty-second birthday of their confederation. During these four weeks the overseas delegation numbering over fifty representative journalists from all parts of the Empire, with some two dozen ladies, wives and daughters of delegates, were an organized community, living together, travelling together, taking part in public deliberations which attracted the attention of the world; they were the guests at a series of functions, official and social, almost without a parallel, and at the same time by association and propinquity were interchanging constantly with one another views, impressions and opinions, establishing friendships until the company became not an arbitrary association of units but a goodly fellowship, almost a family gathering.

It was a striking illustration of how similarity of tastes and community of ideas afford a foundation for friendships, made in a moment, yet enduring for life; and was mightily significant of the essential solidarity of the race. Far-flung over the world, divided by the tumbling wastes of the seas, separated by generations from the common stock, the race is one and indivisible; and the Canadian, the New Zealander, the Australian, and the home-keeping Briton do not require a prolonged adjustment of pecularities of vision and belief as precedent to that mutual understanding which is the essence of friendship. They do not need to "become acquainted"; all that is necessary is that they should meet. Meeting they recognize one another, at once, as brothers—severed long by time and distance, but brothers still! The hearty, deep, immediate fraternization of these journalists from all parts of the world was deeply significant; it foreshadowed the rapid, the electric growth of inter-dominion friendliness and regard to follow that widening of the knowledge of one another which must be the first fruits of the Conference.

The four weeks covered by the Conference and its attendant and subsidiary functions was a period so breathless, so crowded with movement, that it was impossible even to capture passing impressions by a timely note; and looking back from the quiet of a recovered position in the grateful

obscurity of one's ordinary work, the effect is cinemetographic—a confused flashing panorama of radiant, beautiful scenes. Yet from the moving mass certain general impressions emerge: and these I propose in a series of brief articles to set down, in the hope that they will have a measure of interest for the readers of the Free Press.

First as to the Conference itself—its origin, its objective and its personnel. It sprang from an inspiration which came to Mr. Harry E. Brittain in Winnipeg in the autumn of 1907 while making a tour, with Mrs. Brittain, through Canada. He discussed the project at the time with Winnipeg parties, the writer included: subsequently at Ottawa with Earl Grey, whose sympathetic interest was at once enlisted: and upon his return to London he submitted his idea to C. Arthur Pearson, to whom it made an immediate and potent appeal. Lord Northcliffe and his business associate, Mr. Kennedy Jones, were next enlisted; Lord Burnham, the proprietor of the London Daily Telegraph, accepted the presidency and his son the Hon. Harry Lawson represented him most efficiently in the active work of the committee; Mr. Robert Donald, the editor of the Chronicle, a great and growing figure in London journalism, associated himself with the movement; and Mr. J. A. Spender, the editor of the Westminster Gazette—the leading English Liberal journalist—co-operated heartily. Launched under these distinguished auspices the movement secured the support of British journals and journalists of all classes; of the leading public men of all parties; of great public bodies and corporations; and of those social leaders whose co-operation, in an ancient and ordered community like England is essential to success. Mr. Brittain—a young man of affairs, interested in a proprietary sense in a number of publications—worked out the project with the assistance of these associates; but, as secretary, he became the real executive; and to him, much more than to anyone else, was due the great success of the gathering. The perfect organization, the foresight that forgot nothing, the tact that never failed, the care which marked every detail of the Conference—all were the work of this smiling young man, who never seemed to have anything much to do and found plenty of time to visit about among the delegates and interest himself directly in their happiness and comfort. Mr. Brittain gave the delegates one impression, which was so deepened by further experiences that they are not likely to forget it—that your English business man is a superb organizer. But he does it so quietly, with no suspicion of a brass band anywhere about the premises, with such an utter absence of pose and pretence that one is not likely to think about his work unless the completeness and satisfaction of the results compel consideration of the cause.

The calling of the Conference was beset with difficulties. There was no organization in existence to deal with

the matter; and the London committee had perforce to devise a policy and carry it out. They made an allotment of representatives among various overseas dominions, to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, to South Africa, to India and the Crown Colonies. The allotment had of necessity to be an arbitrary one, modified by considerations of population, of political minorities and other factors. For Canada the representatives were divided among the cities upon the basis of population; and in each city the daily newspapers chose the delegates—an arrangement which on the whole operated satisfactorily. Elsewhere this was varied, and in certain cases individual newspapers were invited to send representatives. Methods were varied to meet conditions—and everything was subordinated to the desire of the committee to get together a gathering which would adequately represent the newspaper press of the Empire.

The Conference, when it assembled, numbered some fifty-five overseas members; with a score or more representatives of British journalism. Here and there a delegate had been obliged to fall out at the last moment; and there were two vacancies in the Canadian delegation. It was on the whole a gathering which fulfilled the wishes of those responsible for calling the Conference into being. There were, it is true, in some of the overseas delegations, men whose connection with journalism was mainly that of the investor; and this was not in keeping with the basic idea of the Conference which was that the gathering should be one of actual working newspaper men. These men were in the main, able and distinguished—leaders in the learned professions or prominent in political life—and some of them took a prominent part in the deliberations of the gathering; but the Conference would have gained something in definiteness and efficiency if it had been strictly limited to men who were actually engaged in the pursuit of journalism or who had been through the mill. Journalism is a calling by itself with its own atmosphere and traditions; and you can no more make able doctors and clever lawyers and solid bankers into journalists for the special purpose of qualifying them for a gathering of this sort than you can reverse the operation. The Canadian delegation, it is pleasant to note, absolutely conformed to the requirements of the situation—not a man of the fifteen who was not an actual bone fide journalist with the dust of his calling, so to speak, upon him; and while it is not necessary that comparisons should be made it is the simple truth to say that for the business of the Conference the Canadians did no discredit to the prestige of their country as the senior of the overseas kingdoms.

The Conference membership included representatives of journals published in other languages than English. French Canadian journalism was represented by Godfroy Langlois, M.P.P., of Le Canada, Montreal and d'Hellencourt of Le Soleil, Quebec—an old Winnipeg journalist. From South Africa

there came a Hollander representing a Pretoria journal and a native Boer, a most engaging and talented man, from Bloemfontein; while the native press of India was represented by Hon. S. Bannerjee, the political leader of the Bengalees whose command of English made him perhaps the most eloquent of all the overseas delegates. His apology for the political agitation, now being carried on by his countrymen, which he delivered at Manchester was a remarkable performance.

The Canadian delegates were: Sir Hugh Graham, the Star, Montreal; J. S. Brierley, the Herald, Montreal; G. Langlois, M.P.P., Le Canada, Montreal; D. Watson, the Chronicle, Quebec; H. d'Hellencourt, Le Soleil, Quebec; E. W. McCready, the Telegraph, St. John, N. B.; A. F. Macdonald, the Chronicle, Halifax; P. D. Ross, the Journal, Ottawa; J. E. Atkinson, the Star, Toronto; J. A. Macdonald, the Globe, Toronto; J. W. Dafoe, the Free Press, Winnipeg; M. E. Nichols, the Telegram, Winnipeg, and John Nelson, of the Times, Victoria. Mr. W. J. Herder, of the St. John's (Nfld.) Telegram was practically a member of the Canadian delegation.

The overseas delegates had their own organization. Each national section had its own officers—thus Mr. Brierley was Chairman, and Mr. A. F. Macdonald, of Halifax, secretary of the Canadian delegates. The officers of each section were members of the executive committee for the whole overseas delegation which had much important work to do. Mr. R. Kyffin-Thomas, of the Register, Adelaide, South Australia, was the Chairman of the whole delegation and Hon. J. W. Kirwan, of the Miner, Koolgarlie, West Australia, was Secretary. Both these gentlemen, who discharged their duties with great acceptability, were members of the Australian press party which visited Winnipeg last May.

## II. LORD ROSEBERY AND OTHER PUBLIC MEN.

The Imperial Press Conference was intended to have certain results—some definite and tangible, some indirect and intangible. The latter were by far the most important, and the value of the Conference must be gauged by the measure of their attainment. One of these indirect objects was to assemble in London journalists representing all the portions of the Empire and all the varying currents of opinion, there further to equip themselves by observation, by consultation and by discussion for the consideration of those large questions of Imperial policy which are now calling for action. There were, in Canada and doubtless in other Dominions as well, some apprehensions that the Conference was in danger of manipulation in the interest of one set of Imperialistic theories. For this there was no basis. The fact that the executive of the British committee which had charge of the programme included men of such diverse views on Imperial questions as Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Spender, Mr. Pearson

and Mr. Donald should have been in itself sufficient to allay all such fears.

Further evidence that the one desire of the British committee was to make the occasion of the greatest possible value to the overseas delegates was their preparation of a programme which provided for addresses from public men of all parties and schools. Nothing, after all, gave the delegates as much pleasure as the unequalled series of deliverances by the outstanding men of both parties; nor could the highly educative value of these discourses be doubted. Consider what it meant to hear within the short space of a few days serious, reasoned deliverances on matters of the highest Imperial moment from Lord Rosebery, Mr. Asquith, Earl Crewe, Austen Chamberlain, Alfred Lyttelton, Reginald McKenna, Sir Edward Grey, R. B. Haldane, Lord Roberts, Arthur J. Balfour, Winston Churchill, Lord Cromer, Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, Lord Morley, Augustine Birrell, Lord Esher, Lord Charles Beresford, with others scarcely less eminent. An English journalist told me that in many years experience of the British Parliament he could not recall a period in which there had been so much high class speaking. The audiences which these men addressed were exceptional and well qualified to put them on their mettle, because the gatherings were by no means limited to the overseas delegates to the Press Conference and their British associates. The large audience chamber in the Foreign Office where the meetings were held holds two or three hundred people and it was crowded daily to the doors. Every political writer of any eminence in London was there, with public men, diplomats, high officials, scholars and men of note of all kinds and conditions.

Of all this array of talent Lord Rosebery as an orator was easily first —indeed, it might be said that he was the only orator of the lot, the others being merely public speakers of uncommon effectiveness. Oratory has rather gone out of fashion in England. The parliamentary halls which once resounded to the rolling periods of Gladstone and the stately cadences of Bright now hear only the clash of the rapiers—the short sentence, direct, intense, with an edge like a Damascus blade thrown across the table in a voice pitched just a note higher than for conversation. And of course this is immeasurably better than "oratory" such as we know of, delivered by loud-voiced rhetoricians; but in contrast with such a performance as that of Lord Rosebery one sees how much power and charm has been sacrificed to the modern convention of public speaking. A speech by a famous speaker has usually something disappointing about it—one pitches his expectations too high; but in the case of Lord Rosebery's address at the opening dinner to the Press Conference there was nothing of this. The great audience, numbering some six hundred men eminent in every field of intellectual endeavor, was under Rosebery's charm from the moment he rose, though he spoke under conditions highly unfavorable, in a wretch-

ed auditorium in the Fair Grounds at Shepherds's Bush, with bands playing and fireworks detonating outside. Rosebery has the voice, the manner, the air of the great orator; more important still he has the matter as well. His address, splendidly conceived and admirably delivered, was a high product of imagination—that quality which transfigures prose into poetry and good speaking into eloquence. Rosebery with his great gifts should be easily the first figure in the British public life; but he occupies a lonely if distinguished position alien to both political camps. His temperament has wrecked his career. "He wanted the laurel without the dust" was the epigrammatic explanation of his failure, made by one who knows him well.

Of the other speakers, with certain exceptions to be noted, the characteristics were reticence and a deliberate weighing of their words. They all showed an ever-present consciousness of the responsibility of their language; there was nothing of the eye in a fine frenzy rolling and the ungoverned expression of the mood of the moment. The speeches all showed signs of careful preparation; there was a precision in expression and a neatness in phrase which suggested hours in a library—which bespoke further earlier severe scholastic training with public life as its objective. Here, indeed, is the happy circumstance which has ennobled and dignified the public life of Great Britain beyond all other causes: the dedication of their lives to public service by men with an inherited aptitude for the work. The custom goes on from generation to generation. To illustrate: At a private dinner given to some of the delegates by some Oxford dons, now associated with journalism, I sat beside a fresh faced youth in his early twenties who had recently completed his university career. He is the son and heir of a peer; and he told me, quite as a matter of course, that he had been educated with a single view to his equipment for a public career. His university studies had been subordinated to this end and he had spent his vacations in visiting overseas dominions. This young man, it is safe to prophecy, will be, after the next elections, a member of the House of Commons, where he will serve a long and arduous apprenticeship—by forty, the age at which Canadian public men are just learning the game, he will be a trained and disciplined veteran.

An English publicist discussing with me this restrained, grave, precise style of speaking with its exquisite literary qualities and its high intellectual appeal, said: "That is the later House of Commons manner. All the men who have learned to speak in the House of Commons have it. Not to have it is a very serious handicap indeed." Musing a moment he added: "In point of fact it is the Arthur Balfour manner. The primacy in Parliament, when Gladstone disarmed, passed to Balfour who remains our greatest Parliamentary figure."

Speaking, of this type, demands its own audience. It is not intended to rouse popular gatherings to enthusiasm.

The English public man in his platform deliverances thinks always of the wider audience who will read his words; and there is therefore nothing of that desperate attempt by the speaker to place himself en rapport with his immediate hearers which sometimes in this country transforms a well-intended deliverance into a cheap demagogic harangue. In Great Britain the popular "orator" has his own place and his fame. The most effective platform speaker in the Opposition ranks is virtually a silent member of Parliament, every attempt to get to the ear of the House having ended in shipwreck. There are some men who are factors, alike in the forum and the field. One such is Augustine Birrell, who obviously did not learn to speak in the House of Commons, but whose wit and eloquence make him acceptable there. Another is Winston Churchill—that extraordinary young man whose name, spoken in any English gathering, excites either warm championship or unbounded denunciation. Churchill is by way of being the greatest demagogue of modern times; I use the word in its strict etymological—and therefore inoffensive—sense. Lloyd-George, too, though I had not the pleasure of hearing him, is, I judge, a speaker who can set a meeting by the ears and at the same time is a master of parliamentary dialectics.

## III. THE RECOGNITION OF IMPERIAL EQUALITY.

The writer, in an address which he made at a dinner given to the delegates at Sheffield, made the observation that the frank, open and sincere declarations by leaders in both political parties in favor of that conception of Imperial unity, which implies a development of the autonomy of the overseas Dominions to absolute equality with the Motherland, had done more for the consolidation of the Empire than anything which had happened for many years. That was not intended as a post-prandial flourish but as a statement of fact. Everyone who has followed the discussion of Imperial questions during the past twenty years knows that there have been two schools of opinion profoundly divided as to the best means of reaching a common objective. One, long accepted as the more orthodox, advocated, in one form or another, a centralized Empire with administrative and legislative machinery which in its practical working would have made the younger nations the subjects of the Motherland. The theory implied that while we might have our own views and would be free to express them we must in reality do as we were told by the wise men sitting in London. There were many theories, many schemes and many views but this was the kernel of them all. It was dear to the theorists, the pundits, the propounders of ready-made constitutions; to officialdom; to the big wigs of the War Office and the Admiralty; and to a small but insistently truculent faction in the Colonies themselves who held that the characteristics of the true overseas Imperialist were a contempt for his own

institutions and a willingness to wear chains.

The other conception—that the Empire to endure must be, not an Empire at all taking the historical interpretation of the term but, an alliance of sovereign peoples having a common citizenship, a common sovereign, and a common flag—originated with overseas public men whose political instinct warned them that the project of a highly organized centralized Empire was visionary and impracticable carrying in it the seeds of disaster and disruption. It is not too much to say that in this as in some other matters of first class Imperial importance, Canada was the pioneer. At the very outset of the movement for Imperial consolidation, Sir Charles Tupper sounded this note: and had destiny left the control of affairs in his hands he would doubtless have upheld this view, stoutly and ably. As it happened, it fell to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to advocate and develop the Canadian theory—I think we can safely call it that—of Imperial unity; and this he has done for the past thirteen years, with unfailing tact and consummate ability at the three Imperial Conferences, on the platform in Great Britain and Canada, and at his place in Parliament. To-day those views—to which be it noted, both the past and present leaders of the Canadian Conservative party have declared their adhesion—are held by every public man in Great Britain who either now or at any time within the next ten years will play any large part in public affairs. The battle has been won; this phase in the evolution of the Empire is accomplished; and we can now press on from the era of talk to the era of action. The Imperial Press Conference was the occasion for making this revelation to the world; and that notable fact ensures it a permanent place in the history of the Imperial movement.

Herewith I quote from the speeches delivered to the Conference by representative public men, striking passages in which they subscribe in the most unreserved way to the view that the Empire must be, not the merging of the divisions in one organic whole; not a Confederation where delicate questions can be settled by the expedient of putting them to vote; but an alliance of British nations in which Great Britain's position will be the great one of primus inter pares:

Reginald McKenna, the First Lord of the Admiralty: "We recognize and I hope we ever shall recognize 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. We cannot force our strategical ideas upon you; we should fail in the attempt. 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 common defence which could be rendered we should not necessarily expect you to accept our answer. You will have your own views as to the proper development of defensive forces in your own Dominions. It is only by your working out your problems for yourselves that you can ever gain the ex-

perience which we have had to gain, and lessons, if they were told to you of the experience of others, would never come home to you with the same force as lessons you have learned for yourselves even though you have learned them through your own mistakes."

Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: "In upholding the Empire surely we are going more and more towards the ideal which Mr. Kirwan referred to in his speech yesterday that it was a union of allies—a union of allies of self-governing peoples. 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 realized how much the relation between the self-governing Domini ns and the Government at home approaches to that of allies already. If there be a difference, I will say it is most notable in this—that the freedom of speech which takes place is greater than that which is ever permissible in allies."

Alfred Lyttelton, (Colonial Secretary of the last Unionist Government) after declaring that a money grant to the navy by an overseas Dominion did not necessarily imply any lessening of its autonomous rights, went on to say: "There was this formidable objection to it that it did not give a nucleus upon which future organization for armaments in the Dominion could be based. It also had another defect which, from an administrative point of view, was of some importance. There were always economists in every party, and in lines of profound peace, or when there was some financial stress a large isolated money payment made annually was very likely to become the subject of attack. The only way of resisting such an attack was to make a contribution, not in the form of an annual grant which could be attacked every year, but a grant of such a sum of money as would enable a ship to be built and thus make a nucleus for effort and aspiration in the future."

Arthur J. Balfour, the leader of the Conservatives in his address to the Conference dealt more with the military than the naval aspect of the question, but what he said about the army applies of course to the naval question as well. "I remember the time," said Mr. Balfour, "when these problems came prominently before the Government of which I was a member; and the War Office of that day naturally and from their point of view quite rightly desired that if the Colonies were prepared to raise any land forces for Imperial purposes, those land forces should be, as it were, ear-marked and placed in certain contingencies under the control of the military authority here. Naturally the soldiers desired that. They wished to know exactly what forces they could count upon in any given emergency. I believe that scheme to be absolutely impossible. I do not think either that the self-governing Colonies would look at it or that they would consent to it. It must be manifest that under the constitutional

theories which we all share in common the ministry of the parliaments which raise, which equip, which pay and which are responsible for the troops is the ministry which must control the movements of the troops and not some other ministry—a 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 portions of the Empire cannot be put under centralized control of the War Office here how can you expect unity of action in the time of great Imperial emergency. I am not in the least alarmed at that prospect. I do not believe that the difficulty in practice will prove a difficulty at all, provided that the self-governing Colonies take care, as I am sure they will, that the drill, the equipment, the interchange of military ideas, the interchange of staff, the general methods of organizing troops are identical. I am quite sure that they may be trusted to use these troops when the time comes to the very best advantage of our Commonwealth."

Nothing more explicit could be desired. Mr. Balfour dealing with this question in a later speech delivered at the luncheon given the delegates by the Constitutional Club added some pregnant sentences: "Remember," he said, "that no statesmen have ever had before them the task which lies before the statesmen of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies. No other Empire has ever been attempted to be based upon the foundation upon which ours is and must be based—namely, the common action of different members, none of them subordinate, all of them equal, but in their very equality ready to co-operate for a single object." Further, he said: "I do not know, I am not bold enough to prophesy, by what means, if any, a greater organic unity can be obtained than now exists —I mean organic and constitutional unity, not unity of sentiment—unity of machinery. I am quite sure it would have been vain even to discuss it until we have reached the point which we have now reached, the recognition—I mean that if that greater organic unity is ever to be obtained it is not to be obtained by the sacrifice of independence of any single fraction of the self-governing portion of the Empire."

And again, in perhaps the most striking declaration of the lot: "I think it was one of the speakers from Canada yesterday who said in my hearing that there was a certain jealousy existing—I am not sure I have got the exact words—a certain jealous anxiety amongst sections of the population in Canada lest there should be any attempt on the part of this country to accept any organization which would interfere with the complete control by Canada of everything that Canada desires to do. Well, in the earlier days of the Colonial Empire that fear might have been justifiable. There was a time when the relations between this country and the off-shoots of this country were like the relations be-

tween parent and child. But let every man who hears me, who comes from any colony, understand that no politician of any party in this country holds that view any longer. (Cheers.) On that let there be neither doubt or hesitation. Everybody recognizes, so far as I know, that the parental stage is over. We have now reached the stage of formal equality, and nobody desires to disturb it."

R. B. Haldane, Secretary of State for War: "If the Empire is to become one it will not be by the imposition of any outside will or of any one part of the Empire; it will be with the evolution of the will of the Empire as a whole, under these unwritten constitutions which represent one and the same spirit which took their origin in the Mother Country, but which mean absolute freedom for every constituent part of the Empire. Mr. Balfour spoke of the difficulties of the old War Office notion of controlling the forces of the Crown overseas, of the self-governing Dominions. I agree with him that that is an absolutely impossible enterprise, although one quite sees the reason why from the military point of view it was desirable."

Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, in his brief speech of welcome at the official dinner given the delegates by the Government, made reference to the remarkable agreement, in sentiment and even in actual language, of the public men of both parties in their address to the Conference and to the equal unanimity amongst the overseas delegates. "It is," he said, "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 upon that fact. And why? For this reason. It is the alliance between this evergrowing 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."

Lord Esher, a leading member of the National Committee of Defence, who is regarded as a prime factor in developing the present naval and military policies of Great Britain, addressed the Conference at one of its supplementary meetings held upon the conclusion of the Provincial tour. Addressing himself directly to the naval problem as it confronts the overseas Dominions he doubted whether it was 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 was the only effective teacher. They were bound to make mistakes, but if they could agree, as he believed it to be possible, upon a plan which would give them good sailors and good sea officers, then good ships and the right types of ships were sure to follow. It might sound a paradox but his earnest conviction was that they must—if they wanted to

contribute their share of naval defence—first get clearly defined the role they had to play in war and peace for a limited number of years; then get their naval personnel efficient, up to date, and thoroughly trained, and the type of ship and the number required would inevitably follow. Their true guides would ultimately be, not British Experts, not the British Board of Admiralty, but their own experts, their own sea-officers who would have learned their naval lesson in the main battle fleet and who would be in close touch not only with the strategical plans of the British Admiralty but with their own sentiment and their own specific needs."

Lord Charles Beresford who followed Lord Esher thought the right plan for the Dominions to follow would be for them to begin by having their own fleets in their own ports, under their own management, so long as there was standardization of the ships belonging to the five nations with those of the Mother nation. They might also protect the trade routes by having a mobile defence which could be used for attack; and he also suggested that first class repairing stations should be maintained overseas by the Dominions.

Nothing could be more explicit, more emphatic than these declarations that the overseas Dominions in declaring their equality in Nationhood with the Motherland and in treating all the problems of Empire, notably that of defence, upon the basis of alliance are following a course which appeals to the British statesmen as right, and indeed inevitable. Those critics of the Canadian Government who regard the position taken long ago and steadily maintained by Sir Wilfrid Laurier as, if not actually disloyal, at least unsympathetic to the highest ideals of Imperialism, may possibly find in the declaration of the great English political leaders, quoted above, some measure of enlightenment

It is worth noting that the other view —once so strongly held and so confidently proclaimed—was suggested, rather than put forward, only by one speaker, the Editor of a leading London daily. He called for some supreme naval body in London who would control all the naval forces of all the constitutional parts of the Empire. To illustrate his argument for such machinery he asked what would happen if, in some future war, the Admiralty should want the Canadian fleet to go to South America and the Canadian Government should refuse to let it go. He got his answer from Mr. Brierley, of the Montreal Herald, who said that while he could not conceive such a difference arising there was no question as to what would happen if it did arise —the fleet would not go. This shrewd, straightforward remark called forth many "hear hears," but I understand it was a cause of offence to some with whom the old hopes of Colonial subjection die hard.

## IV. THE NERVES OF THE EMPIRE.

"We come to the question of closer communication between the Empire.

That is one of the most vital of all. It is perfectly certain that if you are to build up the Empire—or a triple Empire bound up in one, as I think it is—if you are to build up an Empire you can only do it by the freest knowledge of each other's wants and ideas: that the whole opinion and thought of the Empire, which should circulate like blood through the body politic should, like blood, chiefly circulate from the heart."—Lord Rosebery.

"Although there were countless prescriptions for bringing the various parts of the Empire together yet whatever form they might take they must all, he thought, agree that easy and cheap communication lay behind them all."—Lord Crewe.

"He ventured to think that, as the pressure of competition in the world became greater and rendered it more and more important that the people of the Empire should know and understand one another it would become a vital necessity that the people should understand one another very rapidly and that their intercourse should be so intimate and so free that there should not always be needed a special explanation of any step taken by any Government or any Minister in any portions of the Dominions of the Crown. The matter was of grave importance to the development of the Empire."—Austen Chamberlain.

The above citations from speeches delivered at the Conference indicate the interest taken by public men in Great Britain in the matter of increased facilities for the interchange of news between the various parts of the Empire. This was the subject which made the strongest and most direct appeal to the delegates to the Conference, their interest in it being immediate and practical. Two sessions were given up to its discussion; but it was further the subject of much informal consideration. The Australian and Canadian delegates, who made the passage together in the Empress of Britain, gave up two afternoons to exchanging views on the subject; the Canadian delegates had meetings of their own to discuss the topic; it was a matter of debate at several unofficial meetings of the whole overseas delegations; and a special cable committee appointed at the first session held two very important meetings at which Mr. Marconi, and representatives of the cable companies and the Post Office were present. A captious critic might say that there is not much to show for all this labor; but this would be taking a very short view of the matter. Important and essential preliminary work has been done; and the cable committee, which remains in existence as a permanent body, can go forward to further achievements. The Conference discussions made clear the need for something infinitely better than we have now; and revealed the difficulties in the road to improvement. It is something to determine what is needed and to know the obstacles that must be overcome to reach the goal—it is the first step, and a

long one, towards achievement. This step has been taken.

Members of a family who scatter in early life and discontinue writing to one another become in time indifferent to one another's fortunes and virtually strangers. The law that indifference shall be the child of ignorance applies with even more force to kindred races. The feelings of brotherhood and kinship are not dead, but latent; at the first touch they rekindle into full flame. In knowledge there is union; and in the consolidation of the Empire one of the prime factors is a common understanding, due to the freest possible interchange of views, opinions and aspirations. This is the greatest contribution to Empire building that the newspapers can make. This is work which they alone can do, though they can do it with much greater effectiveness if they have the sympathetic co-operation of the governments.

During the past ten years there has been a greatly increased distribution of Imperial news through the medium of the newspapers of the Empire; but the supply is irregular, intermittent and inadequate while the machinery for its collection and distribution is disjointed and defective. Here in Canada we are kept fairly well posted upon the happenings in Great Britain, though nine-tenths of this news comes to us by United States channels; but what do we really know about what is going on elsewhere in the Empire? Take South Africa as a striking illustration. During the war we were posted about every clash between outposts; but with the return of peace South Africa ceased to be regarded as a source of news and in the last seven years we have not received, all told, as much cable news from that part of the Empire as we did in a single week during the war. Yet it has been a period of extraordinary importance, not only to South Africa but to the Empire—because during these years forces were operating which have now culminated in the remarkable union of the colonies and the voluntary and willing acceptance by our late foes of the status of partnership. Our Australian news is limited pretty much to recording changes of Government, which seems to be the chief amusement of the people of the Commonwealth—unless indeed, two brutes from this side of the ocean go over there to thump one another in which event we get columns. Doubtless Australia and South Africa hear as little of Canada. Yet these young nations, facing similar problems, should be deeply interested in one another.

Moreover, the Dominions other than Canada, have a very meagre news service from Great Britain. The Australians make a brave show of cable news, but much of the show is due to skilful and legitimate elaboration. Official figures submitted to the cable committee showed that the cable press service from Great Britain and New Zealand for the year 1907-8 amounted only to 276,378 words, which work out to an average of less than a thousand words for every publishing day—about three-fourths of a column.

The Canadian newspapers get four or five times that amount. We get it, however, through foreign and often unsympathetic channels, whereas the Australian news summary is carefully prepared for the Australian newspapers —a fact which reduces the disparity. India and South Africa are not so well served as Australia. It is impossible, however skilled the condenser may be, to supply the news of Great Britain, day by day, in a despatch of six or seven hundred words; and there have been occasions, to which the conference's attention was drawn, where misunderstandings, due to erroneous impressions drawn from an over-condensed report, have had untoward political results. Last May a speech in the House of Commons by Col. Seeley, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, dealing with South African union, suffered a complete transformation by the process of condensation and subsequent elaboration; and much mischief resulted until the misconception was removed by the fuller use of the cable.

The need of an efficient, prompt, impartial and reasonably voluminous service of Imperial news was admitted by all; and the Conference set itself to work to consider by what means this could be obtained.

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## V. DISTRIBUTION OF INTER-IMPERIAL NEWS.

The British Dominions overseas get their British cable news by various channels and from diverse sources —the ideal arrangement of a uniform co-operative service carried on throughout the Empire by the newspapers themselves being yet in the future.

Canada, as already noted, gets the bulk of its service via the United States. There are four great United States news-gathering agencies which have extensive cable services. These are the Associated Press, the Laffan News Agency, the Hearst News Service, and the United Press Association. In addition, many of the larger United States newspapers have their own specials. All their matter is available to the Canadian newspapers and is largely utilized. Though voluminous, the service is not altogether satisfactory. I do not go so far as to say that the news is ever deliberately colored; but it is selected and compiled by American correspondents for American newspapers, and the impression it gives of current happenings and drifts of public opinion is not always to be relied upon. For the last six or seven years there has been in existence the Canadian Associated Press, which includes in its membership most of the leading Canadian newspapers. This association maintains its own offices and correspondents in London. It receives by cable on an average some five hundred words daily, dealing chiefly with news which has a direct Canadian interest, though the service is now beginning also to cover general Imperial politics. This service, even in its highly condensed form, has been

of great value, not only for its actual news contents, but because it has served as a check upon the versions of English happenings which reach Canadian newspapers by way of United States news channels. A brief C. A. P. cablegram, giving the facts, has often led to a half-column highly spiced despatch from some other source going into the waste paper basket, instead of into the paper. Mr. Charles Robertson, formerly of the Toronto Telegram, is manager of the Canadian Associated Press. The Atlantic press cable rate is five pence, plus the land charges.

The Australian newspapers get their cable news from an association owned and managed by some five or six of the leading Australian dailies, which maintains offices and special correspondents in London. These cablegrams are carried over the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company's cables to Adelaide, and are there distributed throughout the Commonwealth by the Government-owned land lines. The Australian papers, large and small, not members of the Association, are served by the Association upon terms agreed upon, either directly or through Reuter's. There are some features of this service which met with a measure of criticism during the Conference. One was its patronage of the Eastern Extension cables to the absolute exclusion of the Pacific cable, which is state-owned. This was defended on the ground that the Eastern Extension, with its five cables, gives a more expeditious service than the Pacific cable. (The cause of the delays by the latter route is said to be the occasional inability of the C. P. R. lines to transmit cablegrams across Canada at the required rate of speed.) Another was the arrangement to which all the members of the Association are parties, and the terms of which are enforced upon all other newspapers taking the service, by which the general cable service thus furnished must not be supplemented by special cables. Thus, year in and year out, the newspapers of Australia get precisely the same cable service, unrelieved by a single special despatch. The service, with cable rates at a shilling a word and a London office to maintain, is very expensive; and it is urged, in defence of the monopoly provision, that without it the Association, which has doubtless been of great service to the Australian press and to the Empire, could not have come into existence. It is not desirable that parties, unaware of local circumstances, should criticize this arrangement, which was perhaps inevitable under the conditions heretofore existing; but it is plain that it is merely a transitional makeshift, bound to give way, as cable rates fall and the newspapers outside the Association grow stronger, to something better.

New Zealand gets its cables from the Australian news association, and is also bound to observe its monopoly provisions. The New Zealanders are very restive under the arrangement, and are not likely to renew it when it runs out, some three years hence.

India and the Straits Settlements

get a cable service which is not regarded as satisfactory, from Reuter's; while South Africa has two services —Reuter's and a co-operative one, recently inaugurated by a syndicate of South African dailies.

The news of the overseas Dominions reaches the British press largely through Reuter's agency; but all the leading London newspapers supplement this with specials. The volume of this class of news has very greatly increased in recent years, and the cables from the overseas Dominions make a brave showing in the morning newspapers. The Times has a special Canadian bureau; and the Standard also makes a special feature of Colonial information. The Mail has a brignt Canadian news service. The London newspapers are not to be charged with indifference to the interests of the Dominions; and their annual outlay for cables dealing with their happenings must be enormous.

The discussion in the Conference upon how best to further the interchange of news between outlying parts of the Empire, went directly to the heart of the matter. Everyone recognized that no great improvement need be looked for while cable rates remain at the one-shilling-per-word rate prevailing all over the Empire, excepting between Canada and Great Britain, where a five penny rate is in force. At the opening session of the conference a cable committee was struck to deal with the question of cable rates and take such steps as might be possible to bring about reductions. This committee, under the chairmanship of Hon. Harry Lawson, of the London Daily Telegraph, was very active. It got into touch with the postoffice officials, with Mr. Marconi, with representatives of the Eastern Extension and the Atlantic cable companies; and secured much valuable information. Mr. Marconi announced to the committee and subsequently to the Conference that he hoped to be able, by the end of August, to double the efficiency of his Atlantic system of wireless telegraphy. The Marconi Company's rates for press messages are only half those of the cable rates; but owing to uncertainty in transmission, live news is not entrusted to it. News of secondary value is sent by wireless, however, and the Times has, almost daily, a considerable display of Marconigrams. Of more immediate and practical value was the announcement made to the committee by Mr. Baxendale, of the Pacific cable, that his board would cut the cable rates across the Pacific in two if the Australian and New Zealand Governments would also halve their terminal land charges. This will take 3d from the press cable rate from Great Britain and Australasia, reducing the word toll from one shilling to nine pence. The Pacific cable, for reasons given above carries no press messages from Great Britain to Australia, though it handles most of the press business going the other way; and this announcement of a projected cut made the situation an interesting one for the Eastern Extension. It met it by the declaration that, irrespective of what the Pacific cable did, it intended to maintain rates. The only concession

proffered was an offer to transmit once a day a despatch dealing with current Imperial politics, at a reduced rate. This was not acceptable to the committee. Nothing further transpired up to the close of the Conference; but about the middle of July the Eastern Extension announced that it would meet the new rate to Australasia and apply the reduction also to intermediate points. Thus, as a result of the Imperial Press Conference, the cable press rates from Great Britain to India, the Cape, Australia and New Zealand have been cut from one shilling to nine pence a word—which means that the press service to those Dominions will increase 25 per cent. in volume.

It is highly significant that the Pacific cable was the first to yield to the pressure of the Conference. This is a publicly owned cable, the joint property of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Great Britain. By cutting its charge from Vancouver Island to Australia from four pence to two pence, and to New Zealand from five pence to three pence, it compelled the Eastern Extension telegraph monopoly to follow suit. The Atlantic cable combine, however, is outside the competitive area affected by the Pacific cable, and it maintains its five penny transatlantic rate. Mr. Moberley Bell, managing editor of the London Times, told the committee that the manager of one of the transatlantic cable companies had said to him that, if it were not for engagements into which he had entered with other cable companies, he would give a press rate of two and a half pence across the Atlantic. That rate, it may be said, is the present objective of the cable committee; and the belief that it will never be forthcoming from the existing companies was responsible for the passage, by the Conference, of a resolution submitted by Mr. Ross, of the Ottawa Journal, asking the Canadian and British Governments to co-operate in establishing their own system of electric communication—either by cable or wireless—across the Atlantic. That resolution was subsequently presented to Mr. Asquith by the cable committee and his reply was most sympathetic. His statement that the Canadian Government, which had originally been strongly favorable to the project of a Government-owned cable across the Atlantic, had notified the British Government that they desired the matter to stand for the time being, was not altogether agreeable information for the Canadians present. The Conference authorized the Canadian delegates to wait upon the Canadian Government and urge their favorable consideration of this resolution; and this will be done,

The cable committee, under Mr. Lawson's chairmanship, is to remain a permanent body, dedicated to the work of furthering the interchange of Imperial news by every available means. If the Atlantic rate can be cut in two, the rate throughout the Empire will come down to six pence a word, which will mean an enormous increase in the volume of inter-Imperial news. The committee was enlarged from time to

time, and now numbers 31, of whom five are Canadians—Sir Hugh Graham, of the Montreal Star, Mr. J. S. Brierley, of the Montreal Herald, Mr. P. D. Ross of the Ottawa Journal, Mr. John Nelson of the Victoria Times, and the writer.

## VI. THE ARMY AND THE TERRITORIALS.

The British regulars at work and at play, at Aldershot; the fleet, stretching its eighteen miles of battleships over the grey waters of the historic Solent; the Territorial Army, represented by detachments from 108 units, massed on the green sward before Windsor Castle: these were the three great spectacles which the delegates to the Conference were privileged to witness. The presentation of the Colors to the Territorials by the King was an event to which the delegates were invited; but the sham fight at Aldershot and the naval review at Spithead were arranged specially for the delegates by the army and naval authorities—the greatest of many, many courtesies extended to them.

In this article I shall deal only with the military displays. In the manoeuvres at Aldershot, some fifteen thousand men took part—the First and Second Divisions and the First Cavalry Brigade of the Expeditionary force. They were designed to give an idea of war under modern conditions—not absolutely, of course, but approximately. The plan of operations was, in brief, this: An attacking force, marching from Bisley towards Aldershot, met in the intervening hills a force charged with the duty of keeping them in check until the camp could be evacuated. The attacking force was much stronger in numbers, while the defenders were better served with artillery. The invaders came through the woods in widely extended formation, taking cover very skilfully; and finally got near enough to storm the entrenchments by a spectacular charge up hill. In actual warfare, no doubt, the charge would have been madness, for the heights were held by troops strongly entrenched, while the slopes were commanded by batteries of artillery; but something had to be conceded to the requirements of the spectacle. Tunnel Hill, the centre of the defended position, was strongly held by the sightseers, who included many foreign military officers as well as a considerable number of English public men and officials. Two cabinet ministers, Mr. Haldane and Mr. Burns, were present. The latter was very brisk, chatty and agreeable as is his wont. He fraternized more than a little with the Tommies in the trenches.

The view from the hill, as the engagement neared its climax, was striking and picturesque. To right and left, under the crest of the hill, ran the hastily dug trenches, filled with defenders; and behind them, from greater elevations, the artillery thundered. Miles away across the valley, through which a passenger train puffed its peaceful way, white spurts of smoke and flame showed where the hostile cannon answered the challenge; while to right and left, over a front of perhaps five miles, the attacking force

came on at top speed, scurrying across the open spaces like rabbits, hugging shelter and utilizing every inequality of the ground to cover their advance. Protected by the neutral colors of their uniforms, they were not easily distinguishable until they debouched upon the open. Charges and counter charges by the Lancers and Hussars at the extreme right gave an additional touch of the picturesque. As the final charge carried a battalion immediately past our point of vantage, one could see how fit the soldiers were. They had covered nine miles in broiling sunshine, at top-notch speed; but they showed no signs of discomfort. Among the delegates were many arm-chair strategists, who had distinguished office records, dating from the South African and Russo-Japanese wars; and it was their opinion, freely given, that, judging by the sample, the army was all right. Fortunately, their views were not without authoritative backing.

There was present perhaps the most distinguished living war correspondent—a big, fresh-faced, white-moustached man, who has represented a London daily in every great campaign for twenty years. When he said to a group of overseas delegates: "No army in the world can match that infantry"—indicating the khaki-clad lines rushing over the slope of the hill, we, so to speak, sat up and took notice. "Not that of Germany?" asked one incredulous delegate. "No, not Germany, not Japan, nor any other nation," he replied, stoutly, "The British army is not the biggest in the world, but, so far as it goes, it is the best—incomparably the best." Later, I heard the same opinion from others, equally well qualified to judge—notably from one who holds a high—a very high—place in the military councils of the nation. He indicated the reasons for his confidence. "After all," he said, "the British army is the only professional army in Europe. The great armies of the continent are citizen armies, made up of men who serve for a relatively short time; but our army is largely made up veterans, whose efficiency increases with every year's added service." The British private, of course, has always been highly regarded; but the capacity of his officers has, at times, been questioned. "An army of lions led by asses," was the great Napoleon's opinion. It was unjust, of course; the British officer was never a contemptible figure, but he has often been a tragically heroic one, with a military knowledge which began and ended with a readiness to die like a hero at the head of his men. In the old days the army to the average officer was chiefly a fashionable, genteel and agreeable avenue to social advancement.

All this has been changed. The new type of the British officer does not lack the social distinction of the old—the democratization of the army being yet far distant—but he is not, except in the case of certain very "swell" regiments, much of a society figure. He embraces his calling as a profession; he is a student and worker; he "scorns delights and lives laborious days." Unless a man has the stomach for this kind of life, he does not now choose the profession of arms. The

tradition of the navy, of hard work and no frills, has passed into the army; and the results are already very noticeable in peace, and will be still more so, should the army be tested in the field. The impression of efficiency and alertness left on the mind by the field manœuvres was deepened by everything that was seen on that eventful day. After the sham fight, the troops marched past, under the eyes of General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, Mr. Haldane, and the visiting party, the bands playing regimental airs; and at this close range the physical fitness of the men and the obvious capacity of the officers could be noted. Later in the afternoon, upon the Queen's Parade at Aldershot, there was another march past, when detachments of some twenty units, dressed not in the serviceable khaki of the morning, but in their historic uniforms, were paraded for inspection. The column included sections of the Royal Horse, field and artillery, and of the Royal Engineers; squadrons of Dragoons, Hussars and Lancers; the Grenadiers; companies representing English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Fife, Highland and Fusilier regiments, with detachments from auxiliary forces, such as medical, veterinary and ordnance.

Still more significant of the new regime is the mobilization stores department, over which we were shown by the officers in charge. Here there are buildings covering acres of ground, which are crammed with every conceivable equipment needed by an army on active service—all laid out with such systematic precision as to be immediately available. Everything is there—down to laces for the soldiers' boots. In the South African war, there was a sad dearth of horseshoes: there are to-day innumerable thousands of horseshoes at Aldershot, all neatly crated and ready for the front. The clothing warehouses are enormous; and the soldiers' wives add something to the household exchequer by making shirts for the reserve supply. Ammunition waggons stand loaded in the sheds, ready for the horses to be hitched to them; and there are on hand, all the time, food supplies for 100,000 men for six months. The mobilization stores represent £10,000,000, all laid out within the past two years; and, in accordance with the finding of the commission which investigated the management of the South African war, they are to be entirely replaced in a few years' time. Great Britain does not propose that, in the next war, her army shall be handicapped by insufficient stores, or by equipment that is not complete and reliable.

The present strength of the army at home and abroad available for taking the field according to statements made public within the past month by the Army Council, is 279,000 men. This is the largest peace army Great Britain has ever had; and it is better armed, better trained, better-officered than ever before. Behind the regular is the second line of defence—the Territorial Army, into which the Volunteers and Imperial Yeomanry have been merged. It is or-

ganized on county lines, the Lord Lieutenant of the county being by virtue of his office chairman of the association, which is charged with the duty of raising and equipping the county regiments. The associations also embrace representatives of all the municipal and social organizations of the district. By these means a strong and effective appeal is made to the ancient county spirit. I noticed as I went through the country, posters calling for recruits in which the young men were urged to "play up for your country"—a phrase tactfully borrowed from cricket. The Territorial Army includes all three branches of the service, and the artillery is being supplied with first class field guns. The Territorial Army scheme, when propounded by Mr. Haldane, less than a year and a half ago, was not very favorably received by various military experts, and predictions of failure were freely made. With an enlistment to the end of June of 283,000 men out of a total contemplated establishment of 313,000, Mr. Haldane has scored heavily off his critics. Indeed, it is now recognized that the idea of the Territorial Army was an inspiration. The presentation by the King on July 19 at Windsor Castle of colors to 108 units of this national force was an impressive vindication of Mr. Haldane's policy. These units were in uniform, not in khaki, and the grouping of the detachments upon the great green lawn was a singularly beautiful and moving sight. The consecration of the colors by the Chaplain-General was a noble and dignified ceremony; after which the King, who was accompanied by the Queen and many of the members of the Royal Family, presented the colors to each unit in turn. The massed bands of the guards played during the presentation. There was a distinguished company present, which included many of the high officers of the army, and many members of the Privy Council—Mr. Asquith, the Balfour brothers, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Birrell, John Burns, Mr. Lyttelton, and others—in their Windsor uniforms.

Despite the fact that the regulars and territorials between them number well over half a million men, there are good people in Great Britain who will tell you that Great Britain has no army. If that be so, then Great Britain has never had an army —which seems to be belied by the known facts of history.

## VII. THE GREY GUARDIANS OF THE SEAS.

"You will see a prodigious, a prodigious but always inadequate armada."—Lord Rosebery to the delegates.

"It is on the navy that, under the Providence of God, the wealth and safety of these realms depend."—Preamble to the King's regulation.

The Atlantic and Home fleets, anchored side by side in the waters of the Solent, gave the delegates to the Imperial Press Conference a sight unequalled in history; for never before in those historic waters nor in the seas

of the world had there been assembled an armada approaching this in fighting power. The prelude to this spectacle was one to touch the deepest feelings of the man of British blood. As the little steamer Volcano, with the press party on board, sped down Portsmouth harbor towards the anchorage of the fleet, there lay in our path Nelson's flagship, the Victory—the most famous ship in the naval annals of the race. She was gaily dressed with flags, and was manned from stern to bow by the young salts to whom she is a home and training school; and as we passed, the portholes in the old oaken walls, which belched fire and death at Trafalgar, spoke once more in honor of the occasion.

A few minutes later we rounded Spithead and there before us in the sheltered waters between the shore and the Isle of Wight lay Britain's first defence—the grim, grey, menacing warders of the sea! They lay one behind the other in seven long parallel lines, the first three nearest the shore, comparatively short, made up of destroyers; then four great rows of mighty ships stretching out miles to sea. The flagship of the fifth line was the Dreadnought, the first product of the naval revolution; the King Edward, hopelessly shorn of the primacy it gloried in just four years ago, headed the next line; while the outer row was topped by the Prince of Wales, still further in eclipse. We passed down the long sea channel between the sixth and seventh walls of steel, having on our right the ships named after the overseas nations—the Hindustan, the Dominion, the Commonwealth, the New Zealand, the Africa; sailed through the fleet of 35 submarines, tossing peaceably upon the surface of the sea; and then returned by another seaway along whose side there lay the ships of the newer navy—the great fighting sea-dragons which are to keep England's shores inviolate.

Here were, first, the cruisers of the Dreadnought type—the Invincible, the Inflexible, the Indomitable. What names these are! How they speak of Britain's confidence in her sea-dogs! Nor does this confidence seem ill-founded. These ships are cruisers in speed, Dreadnoughts in armament. They can steam over 25 miles an hour; and it is claimed that there is not a battleship of the pre-Dreadnought type that can match them in fighting power. The Indomitable one year ago, returning from Canada, reeled off 25.3 knots an hour over the whole distance from the Straits of Belle Isle to Fastnet. The Invincible has steamed 28 knots for eight consecutive hours. These ships carry batteries of 12 inch guns; and their broadside is equal to that of the Dreadnought in range and but little inferior in weight. As for gunnery results the Indomitable recently, while steaming at high rate of speed, hit a moving target one-fourteenth the size of herself, fifteen times out of eighteen, at a distance of nearly five miles. Assuming that this could be done in a naval engage-

ment there is no ship in existence that could survive five minutes of the Indomitable's delicate attentions. Try to imagine what the bursting of a dozen 850 lb. shells on the deck of a warship within the space of a single minute would mean? The mind balks at the prospect. Then came two great warships of a type which was begun only to be abandoned in favor of the Dreadnought—the Lord Nelson and the Agamemnon; and then the four Dreadnoughts — the Superb, the Temeraire, the Bellerophon and the original Dreadnought itself. These six great ships have an equipment of big guns greater than that of the whole seventeen battleships of the German High fleet.

The delegates were made welcome on the Dreadnought by Sir William May, the new Commander-in-Chief. Sir William is a tall, handsome, alert, youthful-looking man, who does not look his sixty years by at least a decade. He has just achieved his supreme position after thirty-six years of steady climbing; and is regarded as a worthy successor to the great sailors whom he succeeds. He is one of "Fisher's men"—devoted to the new tactics and the new theories of naval construction, with all his chief's abiding faith in the supreme value of gunnery as the battle-winning factor. The delegates scattered over the Dreadnought, in the charge of the officers, and the great ship was inspected from end to end; even the stairs bearing the forbidding legend "Admiral Only" yielded themselves to the feet of the landlubbers from over the seas. Later there was a display of mimic warfare which we witnessed from the Dreadnought deck. First came the procession of the submarines—nine out of the thirty-five present passing the Dreadnought, some on the surface, some half submerged, some quite out of sight, the moving periscope above the water alone indicating their whereabouts. Some of the submarines dived and re-emerged to show how quickly they respond to their control. In the crowded waters there was an element of danger in these manoeuvres which the sightseers did not realize; and the fervent "Thank God, that's over!" from an officer on the turret beside me was the only indication that men had been risking their lives for our enlightenment. The submarines have their good points, but stability is not one of them; a collision under water with an object having any resisting power means certain death to the crew of fifteen men.

The seventy submarines of the British navy — more than the combined submarine fleets of all the other navies in the world—would, in a war with any continental power, be enormously efficient weapons, not only of defence but of attack. These little sea monsters can make a 600-mile voyage without stopping for new supplies; can dive 150 feet below the surface; and can remain submerged three days. Each is armed with three torpedoes, quite enough to account for

a warship if discharged squarely against its hull. No effective means of fighting submarines have yet been devised. In a choppy sea the periscope of an approaching submarine is not visible; or rather the lookout would see periscopes in every breaking wave. The influence of the submarine is even more moral than material; it remains to be seen whether, under war conditions, human nerves can stand the terror that walks in the depths of the sea. The submarines are manned by the pick of the younger men and officers of the navy; despite the risks and the inconvenience the employment is prized—not so much because of the higher pay as for the honor of holding the posts of danger. The traditional spirit of the navy never burned clearer than it does to-day.

There followed the attack of the torpedo boats—the destroyers. In readiness for them the great steel arms which lay slantwise along the side of the Dreadnought swung out carrying with them a great net of woven steel. The Dreadnought thus lay encompassed about and protected from deck to keel by a screen of tempered steel; and the twenty-eight torpedo boats, as they rushed by, discharged in alternation a torpedo and a rocket. There was something demoniacal in the way the torpedoes attended to business. They leaped from the torpedo tubes as though they were sentient things rejoicing in their mission and came racing through the water, straight and swift as an arrow to its mark. They hit the steel screen with a terrific impact; broke into flame as the sea water ignited the carbide, and rose to the surface. Shot followed shot until the sea was filled with the heaving, burning, ill-smelling, shark-like torpedo shells. In actual war the torpedo and the net have not made acquaintance. The net is warranted to stop any torpedo; the war torpedo is fitted with a whirling, cutting end of tempered steel driven by petrol, which will go through any net. Thus when they meet in the shock of war we shall get the answer to the hitherto insoluble problem—what happens when an irresistible projectile meets an immovable obstacle.

There were, all told, one hundred and forty-four ships in the fleet, assembled for our inspection—twenty-four battleships, sixteen armored cruisers, eight other cruisers, four scouts, forty-eight destroyers, thirty-five submarines, and nine auxiliaries. Displayed as they were, they covered eighteen miles of water. Not one of these ships was put in special commission for the occasion—they were all in active training, ready for service at a moment's notice. The fleet did not include a single ship which took part in the review in these same waters upon the occasion of the Queen's diamond jubilee just twelve years before. Nothing could illustrate better one of the phases of Great Britain's ever-present naval problem. The conditions of warfare are always changing. Science is ever adding to the penetrating power of the guns and to the resisting power

of defensive armor, with the result that the warship which, at its launching, represents the last word in naval architecture and equipment, begins relatively to lose in efficiency before it has completed its first cruise. The oldest ship in the review was the "Albion," launched just eleven years ago. It is already marked to pass immediately into special reserve, the first step toward the indignity of being sold to the shipbreakers, which will be its early fate. The whole armada which lay before our eyes was the result of only ten years' work by the Admiralty —and yet, under the new conditions brought about by the development of the Dreadnought type, a large proportion of the vessels are now regarded as almost obsolescent. It is but a year or so since the battleships of the King Edward type were the proudest possessions of the British fleet. They were launched less than five years ago; but they have since been outclassed, first by the Lord Nelson ships, and then by the Dreadnoughts, so that, though they would be of enormous value in a war with any other navy existent to-day, they are no longer considered vessels of first cass power.

It has been the development of the Dreadnought type which has depreciated in this startling manner the warships of the older styles. The idea behind the Dreadnought, which has thus revolutionized naval architecture, is that of having all the guns on the ship of equal calibre and range. In the King Edward, there is a varied assortment of guns, ranging from 4.7 to 12 inch, each of them requiring the closest attention of specialists in crowds, all working in confined spaces. That was the old idea of efficient gunnery. The Dreadnought and the ships of its type are equipped with twelve-inch guns of absolutely equal capacity, which makes the control of gunfire easier and more efficient. Between the King Edward and the Dreadnought is the Lord Nelson type, which has its supporters as the most efficient of all battleships. The weight, however, of expert opinion is that, in a contest between a Lord Nelson and a Dreadnought, assuming equal skill on the part of the gunners, the newer vessel would prove victorious. The Dreadnought, fighting under the conditions for which she is built, would open fire on the Lord Nelson at from seven to eight thousand yards from eight twelve-inch guns, which would make a broadside of 6,800 pounds—that is, if every shot went home, eight shells, each of 850 pounds weight, would hit the Lord Nelson every half-minute. At that distance, the Lord Nelson could answer only with a broadside from four twelve-inch guns—that is, just half as much. If the Lord Nelson could lessen the distance between the two ships, its hitting capacity would increase with the decrease of the distance, by the bringing into play of a secondary battery of ten 9.2-inch guns. It seems pretty obvious that, in such a contest the Dreadnought would soon prove the victor. By keeping up steam, it could prevent the Lord Nel-

son from bringing its secondary battery into action; and, at the longer distance, its heavier broadside would soon decide the issue of the conflict.

A contest between a Dreadnought and a battleship of the King Edward type would be still more one-sided. The fact is, that the Dreadnought, fighting under favorable climatic conditions, could sink a moderately-sized fleet of lesser vessels by the simple expedient of keeping out of their range while it put them out of business one by one. The one factor which might seriously affect the calculation with respect to the Dreadnought is that, in the narrow waters of the North Sea, where, if ever, the test will come, the weather might easily deprive the Dreadnought of its calculated advantage of fighting at a range of seven or eight thousand yards. Of course, if the ships have to approach nearer to one another, the chances of the smaller warships would be improved to the extent that they could bring their guns into play; but even under these conditions, the Dreadnought, with its almost incalculable hitting power and its capacity for withstanding attack, would probably be able to dispose single-handed of a very considerable flotilla of smaller vessels, no matter how perfectly armed and manned they might be. The Dreadnought model has been improved in subsequent ships of the same class. The "Superb," the last ship of this class to join the fleet, has a greater displacement and is in every respect a superior ship; while the "Neptune," upon whose sides the armorers were at work as we drove through the dockyards at Portsmouth, will make a still greater advance. There are four Dreadnoughts now approaching completion. At least four additional vessels of this type will be laid down during the coming year. These with the three Dreadnought cruisers, will give Great Britain fifteen warships of this new and formidable type; and the brisk agitation to induce the government to add four Dreadnoughts to the programme for this year has lately brought the required assurance.

On the Volcano a squarely-built, brisk, cheery old gentleman, in a plain business suit with a rough brown ulster and a dark felt hat was, despite his inconspicuous externals, the centre of an ever-changing group of questioners and a mark for everyone's attention. His face was weather-beaten, keen, kindly-harsh, and resolute; his manner bluff, friendly, off-hand; obviously a sailor: equally obvious, someone of note. In point of fact he was Sir John Fisher, the first Sea Lord, Admiral of the fleet, the builder of Great Britain's new navy, the man who has revolutionized naval policies the world over. He was in high spirits, as well he might be; for all about him were floating tributes to his genius, and even more to his determination. Sir John is iconoclast and builder; he breaks the old and builds the new; discards time-honored

conventions and regulations if they have outlived their usefulness; is not gentle with traditions which have lost their savor; and presses forward with ruthless earnestness towards the end he has in view. He could not do this work to which he set his hand without making enemies; and he has made them in plenty. They are, indeed, like the sands of the sea; but he regards them lightly. He is now an old man beyond their reach, whatever the future may have in the form of political vicissitude and change; and the navy of the future must be built on the lines he has designed. He has left his mark for all time on the navy.

That the British navy, as it stands at present, is enormously superior to any other navy in existence, is not really a matter of dispute. At the moment Germany has not a single ship in commission which could cope with the cruisers of the Dreadnought type, let alone the battleships themselves. The apprehension which degenerated, some two or three months ago, into panic is due to the fear that, during the course of the next four or five years, Germany, by an accelerated programme of ship building, may build a fleet of Dreadnoughts equivalent to that owned by Great Britain. If this were to happen, it would still leave Great Britain in possession of reserves of enormously superior strength in other armed vessels which would become determining factors in a naval encounter; and in other important respects, such as available men for manning the ships, Great Britain has a lead which Germany cannot possibly hope to overtake in many years. In destroyers and in submarines, which, in an Anglo-German naval war, would be able, owing to the short distances, to play an important role, the disparity in strength is overwhelmingly in favor of Great Britain, with no likelihood of the margin being reduced. These hard facts upon being brought to the notice of the anxious Briton have tended to restore to him that confidence in his fleet which was once his most marked national characteristic. Moreover, the organizing genius which in the last ten years, has brought into being the fleet which we saw at Spithead, and has revolutionized the conditions of naval warfare by the invention and development of the Dreadnought type, is not exhausted and can doubtless be trusted to meet conditions as they arise.

The naval "scare" of last spring was compounded of many ingredients. There was the tactical device of the Government in painting the situation in dark colors, to expedite the passage of a naval programme to which there was opposition in their own ranks; there was the strong partisan desire of the Opposition to make political capital out of the supposed failure of the Liberal Government to take cognizance of the "German danger," politics there being pretty much the same unscrupulous game that it is here; and there was further the zealous attempt of the enemies of the First Sea Lord, to exaggerate the situation, in the hope that they might thereby break

his power and drive him from office. The combination of these influences proved too much even for the usually stolid Briton; and the result was the extraordinary "scare," which I do not think the average Englishman cares now to recall.

The panic, of course, has quite passed away, leaving behind it a fixed resolution in the minds of Englishmen, of all classes, that in a matter of such supreme importance to them as the supremacy of the seas, they will take no chances. The observation is a safe one that the disparity which holds to-day between the English and the German navies, will be relatively maintained during future years. That is unquestionably the intention and determination of the Admiralty.

Nor has the "scare" unhorsed Sir John Fisher. "Jackie," as he is affectionately called by his followers, is still the dominating figure in the British navy—a position which, as far as one could judge in the somewhat hasty observations of a brief visit, he is entitled to hold, by reason of his experience, his character, his integrity, and his organizing genius.

## VIII. POLITICS: A DELICATE SUBJECT.

In his address on the occasion of the initial banquet Lord Rosebery expressed his gratification, in the interests of peace, that preferential trade was not upon the agenda of the order paper for discussion. There was no reference to it, either direct or implied, in any of the speeches at any of the gatherings or functions—plainly it was an understood thing by the English committee that this was to be a tabooed subject, a decision which was highly agreeable to most of the overseas delegates. But privately there were few subjects more discussed. The delegates from the overseas Dominions debated with one another, while the home journalists were eager on all possible occasions to sound the opinions of the visitors. One of the greatest indirect benefits of the conference will flow from this informal and frank interchange of views.

The old erroneous conception of the Empire gave rise to many dangerous theories—none more dangerous than that Imperial unity could be strengthened by the participation of the oversea Britons in the political struggles of the home land. That conception made the Empire a solar system. In the centre was Great Britain and around her revolved the Colonies, like planets—shining by her reflected glory and drawing their life from her. These planets, it was held, oscillated between two forces—the centripetal bringing them closer to the central source of power and light and a centrifugal influence calling them to break away and wander, inglorious dead bodies, through the outer spaces. This view, which was the accepted one until recently, and is still very widely held, imposed upon Great Britain the obligation of constantly strengthening her "pull" upon the Colonies by extending them favors, even though

these involved her in sacrifices. This view was also strongly held in the Colonies themselves. It was our business to be 'loyal," but it was England's business to see that we were duly rewarded for our loyalty. I have heard an eminent politician of this province lecture England, represented on the occasion by a body of distinguished visiting journalists, for her "unfairness" in not making wheat a little more valuable to the Western Canadian farmer by the simple device of paying more for it herself.

The fundamental heresy—the fruitful mother of a whole brood of misconceptions—is that the Imperial relation is one of loyalty to England by the Colonies; that is, of loyalty to Englishmen by Colonials. In the sense in which loyalty implies the devotion of a subject race, the Colonies are not loyal to England, nor are the Colonials loyal to Englishmen; but in the other sense—the loyalty of brother to brother, of friend to friend, of ally to ally—our loyalty is unbreakable and imperishable. Towards Britain, the cradle of the race, the home of our fathers, the flowing fountain from which we have embibed our moral, religious and political ideas, the feeling of the overseas Briton is too deep to be put into words. But the living generation occupying to-day the British Isles are not our forefathers. They are merely our kinsmen, occupying the old home; between us there are ties of kinship, of affection, of devotion to a common storied past; of allegiance to the Flag and to the King. But there is no subjection, no inferiority either one way or the other.

Once this idea is clearly held it becomes a touchstone for all Imperial problems. The Empire is a League of Free Nations—our loyalty is to the Empire itself. Each part has its own duties and obligations—the chief being, by increasing its own strength and prosperity to add to the strength and prosperity of the Empire. Apply this test to the contention, which we have sometimes heard, that Great Britain should encourage "the loyalty" of the non-British settlers in Western Canada by imposing a preferential duty on wheat, and it becomes at once an appalling impertinence. It is the business of Canada, not of Great Britain, to make these new-comers loyal, not to Great Britain, but to Canada, and through Canada to the Empire.

Just as this is a purely domestic matter for Canada, so the question of tariff or no tariff is a purely domestic matter for Great Britain. The determining factor in the decision must be the good of the British people—and of no other people. Take the vital matter of duties on food. If the British electors, after due consideration of the whole question, decide that on the whole a duty on breadstuffs will add something to the prosperity of the nation, well and good; but should they decide that while such a duty would in its incidence tell against British interests, it is necessary for the purpose of binding the Empire together, they

will do themselves some harm and the Empire an immense injury. Great Britain must accept or reject a tariff to suit her own interests, just as the Dominions overseas, in their fiscal legislation, must be guided by considerations of their own well being—the real strength of the Empire being the sum total of the strength of the units. This, of course, does not preclude special consideration for other parts of the Empire in the tariff-making of the various Dominions—but these concessions must be freely given, not extorted by a fear of Imperial disruption following their refusal.

It is for these reasons that participation in the present tariff controversy in the motherland by overseas Britons is mischievous. It is beyond question that many of the British Conservative journalists and public men have looked to the oversea Dominions for moral support in their present campaign. It was perhaps not unnatural that they should do so. They had risked their political life on a tariff policy which, as originally advocated, was devoted primarily to "binding the empire together" by giving colonial products a special market in Great Britain at presumably more advantageous prices, and doubtless they thought the colonies might well reciprocate by making it clear to the British electorate that in their judgment the interests of the empire would be furthered by putting the preferentialists in a position to put their theories into effect. It is largely due to the Canadian government that this disastrous blunder was not committed. Two years ago, at the time of the last imperial conference, Mr. Deakin, the prime minister of Australia, showed an inclination to identify himself openly with the Unionist campaign. Sir Wilfrid and his colleagues, however, maintained an attitude of unimpeachable impartiality and this was so obviously the correct position that it fixed the policy which has since been observed by the overseas Dominions. It would be idle to deny that Sir Wilfrid made some enemies by this course. The unwarranted, not to say unscrupulous, intervention of certain English newspapers in the Canadian election campaign of last October was a direct consequence of their resentment; and though much of the feeling has abated, as the wisdom of Sir Wilfrid's position becomes more clearly apparent, I met a few active Conservative journalists who still made it a grievance that Sir Wilfrid had refused to dance to the playing of their pipes.

Consider the possible consequences of the oversea Dominions serving notice on Great Britain that she must forthwith, in the interests of the Empire—that is, in their interests—enact a protective tariff with preferential abatements for their products. This would bring the Colonies at once into close, direct political alliance with the British Conservatives. Equally, it would bring them into open, direct conflict with the British Liberals. Now, the British Liberal party is not a

negligible factor in higher Imperial politics. It is in power to-day in Great Britain, although it seems admitted that it will go out of office at the next elections—unless the Budget and its consequences change the situation, which is possible. But it is not going out of existence. It will remain a great fighting organization with fiscal and social reform policies which will ensure its periodic return to power. The division of the parties in England is roughly just what it was half a century ago. The Conservatives include an overwhelming percentage of the aristocratic and rich classes with a great proletariat following; the Liberals and their radical allies maintain their supremacy in the middle class and the higher ranks of labor. Is it seriously proposed to antagonize and ostracize this party, which is the truest expression of the democracy of Great Britain, in the supposed interests of the Empire? This would, indeed, be be a notable contribution to Imeprial development.

Views approximating those which I have herewith tried to set forth were held by a very considerable majority of the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand delegates, and they did not hesitate to make them known courteously, but plainly, when they were asked, as they were at every turn, for their views on the present burning fiscal controversy in Great Britain. They made it plain that they regarded it as a matter exclusively within the province of the people of Great Britain. They combatted fervently the theory, popular in certain quarters, that the Colonies are disgruntled and sulking because their preferences have not been reciprocated; and they gave it as their opinion that no resentment will follow any future decision by Great Britain—either to maintain her present free trade policy or to adopt protection. Should the decision be in favor of the latter, which now seems probable, the preference to the Colonies is likely to take the form of a minimum tariff. The original idea of free entry to Colonial, and a duty on foreign, products has been modified. The movement is now more protectionist than preferentialist; and a tariff, if framed, would be along the Canadian lines. If the minimum tariff applied to our goods entering Great Britain, should have something more than a tincture of protection, we could, of course, make no complaint. Having drafted our own tariff in our own interests we must admit Great Britain's right to do likewise.

## IX. TRADE AND SOME OTHER TOPICS.

Trade, it is true, is a good cement of Empire; therefore inter-Imperial trade should be encouraged in every possible legitimate way. The qualification is important. Trade implies mutual profit. For kinsmen to trade with one another at a loss or at less profit than they could get by trading elsewhere, out of a sentimental regard for their relationship, would be

extremely Quixotic. British business men are not likely to indulge in foolishness of this sort; nor is it at all probable that British Governments will ever seriously attempt, at the behest of visionaries and theorists, to force commerce through artificial channels for imagined National considerations. The development of inter-Imperial trade must be along healthy natural lines. Governments can help. Every improvement in transportation; better postal arrangements that enable an easier interchange of letters and publications; the extension and cheapening of electric communications — everything in short that tends to increase the acquaintance of the British nations with one another, operates directly and powerfully for the encouragement of trade. They can also help by tariff legislation, though there are odd people who hold that taking down tariff walls is a better way than putting them up to further this end. Further by extending and perfecting a system of inter-Imperial consular agents, they can reveal new markets to enterprising merchants and manufacturers.

Individual initiative supported and encouraged by the Governments along the lines suggested could largely increase the volume of trade between the various parts of the Empire and thus add to the resources and prosperity of the whole. In some respects Canada occupies a more unsatisfactory commercial relation to Great Britain than do the other oversea Dominions. While we sell largely to Great Britain our purchases there are relatively small. Mr. M. E. Nichols, my colleague from Winnipeg at the Press Conference, ably discussed this matter of Anglo-Canadian trade at a luncheon at Manchester —a very suitable place; and his remarks, widely reported, gave rise to a newspaper discussion which doubtless will have good results. Although there has been some recovery in trade between Great Britain and Canada during recent years the records support the statement made by Mr. Nichols which attracted wide attention, that Canada practically buys no more British goods to-day than she did thirty-five years ago though in the interval the Canadian population has more than doubled, with a still greater proportionate increase in purchasing power. Following this the London Daily Mail had a series of interviews with Canadian delegates to the Conference in which they were asked for their opinions as to the cause and the cure for this state of affairs. Their opinions practically coincided. There is only one explanation that really meets the situation and that is that the British merchant has virtually abandoned the Canadian market. He has not considered the trade worth the trouble of getting and holding.

The Canadian market is plainly a peculiar one, requiring special consideration and treatment. The British manufacturer turning out an article which sells in the home land and in every other British Dominion, has never been able to understand why it

will not sell in Canada; and has treated with a good deal of scorn suggestions that he must make a somewhat different article and sell it in a somewhat different manner to do business in Canada. His attitude has been virtually this: "I have been making this article this way for fifty years; I sell it in competition with the world in India, Australia, New Zealand and the Cape; if it is good enough for them it is good enough for Canadians; if the Canadians do not like it they need not buy it." And the Canadians have not bought it preferring in many cases an American substitute perhaps intrinsically inferior; but externally more attractive.

It might be held that while this was magnificent on the part of the British merchant it was not business. But it must be borne in mind, in extenuation of his course, that the Canadian market in years gone by was apparently of very small importance; it was undoubtedly regarded as not worth making special efforts to obtain and retain. That, as is now apparent, was a mistake. Canada now has over seven million people; and its manifest destiny is to be a great, populous, rich country which will do an enormous trade with the world. It is divided from Great Britain only by the sea which is the best bridge for commerce; its people are friendly to the British people; the two nations use the same tongue; further Canada has shown her desire to encourage British imports by granting them a substantial reduction in her tariff. It offers, therefore, an exceptionally favorable field for the extension of British trade; but the British merchant must come off his high horse and face the fact that it is the buyer who enjoys the advantage of being independent. The British manufacturer will have to make goods that will suit the special needs and even the special whims of the market; and he will have to sell them by the only means effective on this continent—persistent effort, skilful salesmanship and wise publicity. This is being recognized by an increasing number of British firms who appreciate the present value and still more the potentialities of the Canadian market. We may therefore look forward with a measure of confident hopefulness to a steady increase in the volume of Anglo-Canadian trade.

Canada is much more in the British eye than any of the other oversea Dominions. Never was its primacy among the newer nations so unreservedly admitted. Many things co-operate to rivet public attention upon it—the rapidity of its growth, its enormous projects of development, its aggressive and persistent publicity campaign, its vigorous leadership in Imperial affairs, and, not least, the prestige of its Prime Minister who is the doyen of the Empire's premiers, having served in three Imperial conferences. Among a certain type of Imperialist—the ardent assertive kind—there is a vague apprehension that somehow Canada is getting out of hand. The American immigration to the Canadian West is a source of much

perturbation of spirit to them. They suspect some movement looking to the Americanization of Canada and its union to the United States, or at least its secession from the Empire. Anxious enquiries as to the character of the American immigration and the probable political effects of these large additions to our population became a commonplace after the first two or three days. Assurances that Canadians welcomed this immigration, would like to see it doubled and trebled, and had no fears as to the consequences appeared to be surprising information to many of them. The editor of an Eastern daily newspaper and I travelled by train one day with an English writer who month by month in a well known review, tries by invective, scorn and sarcasm to awaken his countrymen to a realization of their present woeful plight and their certain early destruction at the hands of the Germans. He had a large and varied stock of opinions about Canada which he displayed for our enlightenment. Canada had been nearly lost to the Empire once, owing to the machinations and schemes of Americans aided by traitorous Canadians, but they had been foiled by active and alert patriots claiming Toronto as their habitat. Col. Denison's services in this connection were warmly commended. (Here we began to understand.) There were still, he held, dangerous separatist tendencies in Canada that needed watching. The American flood was washing away the British foundations in the West; and in the East the loyalty of the French-Canadians was far from being free from suspicion. The cowardly politicians were truckling to these non-British influences, as witness their failure to respond to the demand that Canada should contribute to the British navy. With much more of the same kind of talk, none of which sounded strange to us. The good old colonel is undoubtedly responsible for some very queer ideas about Canada which are prevalent in some influential quarters. He is a frequent visitor to England, where he has many friends; and he gives vigorous expression by tongue and pen to his views. Speaking at the Compatriots' Club, under the patronage of Lord Milner last month, he fell foul of both Canadian political parties for their course in Parliament in the matter of Imperial defence; and put forth his own well-known reactionary policy as an alternative. His voice is taken by many as the authentic utterance of Canada—at least of British Canada. They do not understand that though much liked and widely respected by his fellow countrymen the colonel is not precisely accredited to speak their views; and that particularly with respect to matters affecting the United States his opinion is apt to be sadly warped by reason of a hereditary blood feud that he has with the whole American people.

The apprehension arising from the settlement of the waste spaces in the Dominions by non-British peoples found expression in a resolution submitted to the Press Conference by Sir

Hugh Graham calling upon the journals of the Empire to co-operate in the task of inducing immigration to the various colonies from the Motherland. Sir Hugh's speech in support was somewhat too alarmist, but to the resolution itself there could be no objection; and it carried unanimously. There could be nothing better for the Dominions than that there should be a steady flow of good British blood from Great Britain to them; but the opinion is sometimes expressed in England that the class of settlers particularly desired by the Colonies—the rural worker and the small farmers—are needed at home and cannot be spared. The fact is, however, that this class does emigrate in considerable numbers yearly and if they can be kept under the flag it will be a not inconsiderable addition to the many influences now aiding in the cementing and consolidation of the Empire.

## X. THE SOURCES OF BRITAIN'S GREATNESS.

The number at the beginning of this article warns me that, to avoid the offence of being tedious, I must begin to draw these random observations to a close; and with, therefore, but one additional instalment to complete my survey, I shall be obliged to deal, very briefly indeed, with the tour of the Imperial Press delegates through England and Scotland though it was one of the most interesting and enlightening of our experiences. "This is not England" said a famous London journalist to me pointing to the crowded Strand; "England is up there" waving his hand northwards. London is London, the unique, the only, the secret of whose allurement is not readily discoverable; but it is neither microcosm nor interpreter of England. One must see the great provincial cities, thriving, aggressive, prosperous, with their own markedly individual atmosphere, together with something of the countryside before the mighty England, whose renown fills the world, comes home to him.

Our trip was brief and hurried but we saw English life at a good many angles. We went by train from London to Coventry through the heart of England; inspected the great Daimler Motor Works where over three thousand workmen are employed; motored from Coventry to Oxford with stops at three historic places—Warwick Castle, Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford and Banbury; spent one day in Oxford as guests of the University; thence by special train to Sheffield where we saw in the Vickers-Maxim immense works the forging of the armament of the Dreadnoughts in the making; motored through the beautiful Derbyshire Peak district with stops at Chatsworth, Haddon Hall and Buxton; spent a day in Manchester and Oldham where we were shown over the ship canal, the great machinery works of Platt Bros. and an immense cotton factory of the newest type. The following week we spent three days in Scotland—one day in Glasgow, going down the Clyde to

the sea, with stops at shipyards and locomotive works; one in the Trossachs, where the delegates of Scotch blood broke out violently into song and poetry, with an occasional excursion into Gaelic; closing at Edinburgh where, among other interesting sights, we saw what is probably the finest newspaper office in the world—the home of the Scotsman.

Everywhere, as had previously been the case in London, we were the guests of a hospitality, unbounded and universal. It was not only that public bodies and corporations gave us hearty receptions; but there was a spontaneous outburst of interest on the part of the communities themselves that showed how wide and generous was our "welcome home." The motor trip from Coventry to Oxford, through the incomparable Shakespeare country, was like a triumphal procession. The streets of Coventry, Leamington, Warwick, Stratford and Banbury were packed with friendly faces and flags fluttered from the housetops. Along the roadways, especially in the latter part of the run in the long gloaming and the purple twilight, groups, particularly of children, gave us friendly salutes and hearty cheers as we flashed by. Later, in the motor trip from Sheffield to Manchester, as we came into Buxton, the school children, hundreds strong, massed along the roadside, gave us a cheering volley that warmed our hearts.

In Glasgow there was, if anything, an added warmth in our welcome. The great banquet there, given by the Lord Provost and the Corporation, was unequalled, in all my experience, for warmth, color and feeling. That tiresome functionary at the English dinners, the master of ceremonies with his noisy hammer and megaphonic voice, was happily invisible; and the Lord Provost, McInnes-Shaw—not a prince but a very emperor of good fellows—had charge. When the great gathering, numbering hundreds of men and women, rose at the toast of "Our Guests" and sang with power and feeling the old Jacobite song "Will ye no come back again?" the air became electric with sympathy and emotion. Philip D. Ross, of the Ottawa Journal, Glaswegian by descent but Canadian-born, rose to the occasion with a speech which was a matter of just pride to his fellow-Canadians.

In this provincial tour we saw something of the sources of Britain's material power; and something, too, of those deeper springs from which flow her truest greatness. Standing on the little patch of sward in the pleasant garden behind the house where Shakespeare was born the delegates listened to a brief suggestive address by Frank Benson, the Shakespearian scholar and actor. "We believe," he said, "that in cherishing here the memory of Shakespeare in his birthplace, we are the proud possessors of a link more precious than is held in palace or Parliament House—a link that binds all the Anglo-Celtic race round the seat of the god of our fathers in one

vast Empire." The Shakespeare Festival should become, he said, a race festival—a solemn ceremonial held at the call of the blood, with all the brother races, Cymra, Angle, and Celt, side by side, rejoicing in the strength that enabled them to walk in the uttermost places of the earth.

This was the very note struck by Lord Morley in his illuminating address to the Press Conference a few days earlier when, in a passage of grave and restrained eloquence, he paid tribute to the part in Empire-building played by our language and its master-users. "There is," said Lord Morley, "a connection, if you will let me say so, between Literature and Empire—I only offer a commonplace upon the point—as if, gentlemen, our glorious English tongue were not one of the glories of the Empire, as if it were not perhaps the strongest and the most enduring bond of Imperial union, aye, and possibly a thousand times stronger and more enduring and wider in a sense, and deeper than Imperial, than all the achievements, magnificent as they are, of soldiers and sailors and of the statesmen who have directed them. Why—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 mightiest of British Empire builders. This, as I told you, is only a commonplace, but it is a commonplace with a true and deep grandeur in it, and I know naught in the history of mankind more stupendous and also more overwhelming than the supreme dominion of the English tongue over millions in the new worlds of the West, and in the ancient worlds of the East."

One precious, memorable June day—a day of mellow, brilliant sunshine—was spent amidst the colleges of Oxford, those ancient grey buildings in which, in the flowing stream of twentieth century activities, there lingers, like a fragrant aroma, memories of monastic peace. These storied halls, grassy quadrangles, peaceful cloisters and sequestered walks still call men to the contemplative and intellectual life. Their message—that the noblest Empire is that of the mind and that life is more than its trappings—is one the world has still need to hear. Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, took pains to declare to the delegates that Oxford was to-day no "Sleepy Hollow, drugged with the spell of its own enchantment," and he hinted at reforms from within which are to modernize it. It is to be hoped that they will not be too successful. The world is full of splendid modern universities: it should have room for one Oxford, with all its antique charm and its tenderness for lost causes. Something, too, was seen of Scotch university life. Glasgow University seized six of the delegates—two from Canada—and turned them into Doctors of Law before our very eyes, while at Edinburgh the Union gave us a breakfast—not, let it be said, the breakfast of oat cakes and parritch which is traditionally supposed to be the food of the Scotch student.

The delegates carried from their

ten days in the provinces impressions of a race, full of vigor and power, with all its traditional virtues unimpaired; yet the picture was not without its darker hues. Poetic and picturesque as the country is, it requires no particular acuteness to see that the beautiful screen hides some conditions which do not make for national greatness; and in Sheffield we were brought face to face with slum life in all its unimaginable horror. While we were visiting an industrial establishment in the very poorest part of Sheffield, news of the unusual spectacle of a fleet of twenty motors in the street passed through the by-ways and courts; and when we emerged from the building we found the street blocked from curb to curb for a distance of three or four hundred yards by a sea of pallid, hunger-smitten, bestial, hopeless faces. The men and women were a pitiful group but the children touched deeper chords of compassion. It was a hard sight and one not on the programme; but it was one which the delegates would not have willingly missed. It tended to readjust their judgment on some important matters.

The existence of these slums does not bespeak Great Britain's decadence as some short-sighted critics imagine. Slums are not unknown elsewhere, in newer lands where there is less excuse for them. Here in Winnipeg we have something not unlike them on what was open prairie twenty odd years ago. It is a terrible, but undeniable fact that in all great centres of population, under existing social conditions, there is an underworld strata into which unfortunates are shoved by the pressure of economic forces and by their own vices; and once they go under, save by a miracle they are lost forever. The larger the city, the older the community, the worse the slum. Hence the particular depravity and hopelessness of the "submerged tenth" of the ancient British cities. But England of to-day no longer accepts these plague-sores as the inevitable by-product of civilization; and is setting herself steadily to their study and their cure. That fact alone is eloquent in its proof that England is heading not towards decadence but towards regeneration.

## XI. FINALE.

Of all the impressions which remain after the visit to England, with its unexampled opportunities for seeing things on the inside, the one which is strongest is that the home-keeping race is young, progressive and virile, not stale and decrepit as it is often represented as being. Great Britain in conjunction with her overseas children is entering upon a new career; but for her it is no last adventure of Ulysses. It is not a case of

> Death closes all; but something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
> Not unbecoming men that strove with Gods.

The English race, not only in the wid-

er horizons of the new lands but in the old home, is not old, but young; it is vigorous, prolific, stout-hearted, keen-brained. Consider how the handful of Britons who occupied the "little isle set in the silver seas" less than three hundred years ago have peopled and taken possession of great areas in every continent. When England and Scotland became one country by the accession to the English throne of James of Scotland the island held only some five million souls. To-day the descendants of that sparse population number more than one hundred millions and they hold, in addition to the home land, the fairest stretches of the younger world—United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; while their language is conquering the whole world. In trade and commerce the development has been equally marvellous. These are not signs of racial decrepitude.

But though the race is young the forms of life in England are antiquated; and those qualities of staunchness and reverence which count for so much in the British character, make change slow and difficult. The people have an instinct that they are out of touch with modern conditions and must therefore amend their ways; but when it comes to action they are hopelessly confused by the tug and haul of competing interests and the babel of conflicting voices. The result is that the whole nation is in a ferment. Issues of large import, like free trade, protection, disestablishment of the church, taxation of land values, government ownership of railways, insurance against non-employment, and national service are being fought out in the press and on the platform with almost unexampled earnestness. The "shaking-up" which accompanies this process is sharpening and brightening the national character The solidity and insularity, once regarded as outstanding racial characteristics, are certainly not now apparent—the people are as keen-witted and responsive as their overseas kinsmen.

No doubt the national self-examination now in progress will result in progress and reform—in a readjustment of the environment which shapes and directs the life of the individual. The tendency must be towards the greater democratization of the nation. The patriarchial regimentation of society with its parallels in business, buttressed and upheld as it is by customs and traditions, many of them admirable in themselves, must give way to conditions under which the inequalities, inevitable to human society, will be the product of varying talents rather than the accidents of birth and fortune. There is a steady evolution towards this end and it is being forwarded quite as much by business and social necessities as by political agitation.

There is a vague feeling, not unknown in Canada, that the growth of democracy in Great Britain means a corresponding loss of the Imperial spirit, the implication being that there is a natural and exclusive relation between Imperialism and an aristocratic state of society. To concede the point

is equivalent to admitting the early break-up of the Empire. Four of the five nations, embraced in the Empire, are and must remain democracies. Are they thereby the less Imperial in sentiment? If the democracies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Cape can appreciate the conception of a great union of the British Dominions why should it be assumed that the democracy of Great Britain will alone remain indifferent, if not hostile? This theory that faith and pride in the Empire is the possession of but a single class in Great Britain is, in fact, one of the many evil consequences of that wrong conception of what the Empire should be, which was dealt with in an earlier article in this series.

What are to be the function and the objective of the British Empire of the future? We talk about it now in terms of defence; but this is merely a passing phase. The world will emerge some time, in a century or two perhaps, from these dark ages, when nations are compelled to bankrupt themselves in readiness for war. We are building the Empire, we hope, for all time. It is not to crumble into dust like the Empires of Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, because it is to be inspired by a spirit unknown to the ancient world. They lived for conquest and oppression, for the subjection and exploitation of classes and nations; and they fell, in time, before the inexorable natural law of change and progress. The British Empire to endure must be worthy to endure. It must be a union of free and enlightened democracies dedicated to the cause of peace and to the service of humanity. So constituted, so inspired, the Empire will command the lasting affection and the devotion of all the British people; and perhaps in some far off time, the support of all Anglo-Saxondom.

One or two more observations and I shall make an end. These letters have not been intended as a chronicle in detail of the deeds, the discussions, the journeys and the social achievements of the delegates to the Press Conference; but rather as an individual interpretation of impressions and opinions of which the Conference was the occasion. There has been no attempt to make specific acknowledgment of the courtesies and kindnesses done us —for indeed space would fail me were I to embark upon any such undertaking. We were the recipients on all hands of a hospitality overwhelming in its extent and its cordiality; and were the guests not only of our English newspaper friends, who were our particular hosts, and of corporations and public bodies, but of the richest, the noblest and the greatest in the land. No one in the delegation was vain enough to imagine any personal compliment in these lavish attentions. It was in our capacity as informal and unaccredited but nevertheless real representatives of the Britons overseas that we were given this welcome. The compliment though paid to us was meant for them, and in that spirit it was accepted.

As I have tried to set out in these articles the indirect benefits of the

Imperial Press Conference will be great and lasting; but what are to be the direct results to the newspapers themselves? There is the reduction of the cable rates from Great Britain to India, South Africa and Australia from one shilling to nine pence, which means that there will be a twenty-five per cent. increase in cable news sent to these Dominions. Then there is the creation of a permanent cable committee to secure, where possible, further concessions. The greatest outcome will doubtless be the creation of the Empire Press Association. The first steps to this end were taken at a joint meeting of the executives of the overseas delegation and the British Committee held at the conclusion of the Conference; and a committee is now at work in England reducing the proposal to terms. Every daily newspaper in the Empire will be invited to join; and the papers of each Dominion, thus joining, will be organized into a branch. It is proposed to have permanent headquarters with a paid secretariat in London. This means inevitably an Imperial news service that will be worth while. There will be a governing body which, among other things, will decide where and when the next Imperial Press Conference will be held. It was thoroughly agreed by all that the Imperial Press Conference of 1909 is not to be the last, though in certain respects it is not probable that it will ever be duplicated.

At the meeting, which reached this decision, there was some discussion about the place of future meetings. Many of the overseas representatives favored holding all future conferences in London on the ground that it was the actual centre of the Empire; but the British journalists were all favorable to the idea of meeting in turn in outlying parts of the Empire if suitable arrangements could be made. The possibility of meeting in Winnipeg in 1912 upon the occasion of the International Fair was discussed; and it was agreed that action would have to await the formation of the Canadian branch of the proposed Empire Press Association. If this organization, after looking into the matter, decides that it is practicable to hold such a conference in 1912, it is to make a formal proposition to the governing body of the general association which will deal with it, no doubt, favorably. If the Fair is held in 1912, which is daily becoming more probable, the Imperial Press Conference can doubtless be brought here by the hearty co-operation of the authorities with the Canadian newspapers.