

FATAL  
IMPERIALISM

BY  
EXORIAN



WATTS & CO.,  
17, JOHNSON'S COURT FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

*Sixpence*

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THE word "Empire," so trimly turned from the lips of corner-boys as if every braggart's lunge would pull a plum out of the world's pie, is of ill omen when used for the conveyance of the ideas which have in history belonged to it, and not as a mere convenient verbal expression to signify a brotherhood of free nations. Empire after Empire in the past has succumbed to the malefic influence of the monsters it has created and worshipped, falsely imagining them to be the guardians of a grand power, to be imperially exercised over the affairs of men. "Assyria, Rome, Carthage, what are they?" What might they have been but for their fatal passion for domination, their greed for material conquest at all costs and by any means? In these three, and in others later in history, we see the same strength in the early stage—the noble developments, then the riches and inequality, the sacrifices of liberty to despotism, the portentous decline of virtue and simplicity and the growth of vice and splendour, and the same boasting, vanity, and arrogant aggression. Then, in every case, the collapse—the certain dissolution.

So certain is the downfall of Empires of that type that we may take it as equivalent to a law of national being that the strong, expanding, aggressive people which conquers vast territories, and, after conquest, grows more wealthy, more devoted to material gains, more luxurious, and more servile to the few, less liberty-loving, less equal in conditions, less religiously true, less

independent and frugal, will soon lose its power and its greatness.

It is a marvel how quickly the great nation declines when power and money have been attained, and the ancient pieties are discarded in the midst of triumphs and shows and the pleasures of magnificent cities. The arrogant pride of the conquering race refuses to see the writing on the wall, and hastens destruction by countless follies. Honours and rewards are heaped upon the cunning scoundrel who flatters national self-satisfaction, and sends thousands of his countrymen to a miserable death by disease or wounds, while pretending that a theft, if big enough, is glory, and, under cover of this tinsel glitter, heaping up for himself pillars of solid gold drawn from the willing labour of deluded patriots.

The very qualities which gave the folk their strength are then soon despised, and excrescences develop which exhaust the soil whereon those qualities grew, and sap the life still outwardly strenuous, seemingly well fitted to endure. The conquerors might have brought virtue, manners, laws, to weaker communities, and led reforming crusades in the darker regions of the world—and for a time they do ; but the corruption of riches and the pride of large possession breed a fatal miasma, which overpowers health, and ere long the contact of the superior people with inferior races enervates and degrades it, while the inferior, by adopting the faults without the merits of their masters, sink deeper into the mire than they ever were accustomed to flounder during their primitive twilight.

Rome is typical. A great historian writes : “ As in time past Rome had sacrificed domestic freedom that she might be the mistress of others, so now, to be universal,

she, the conqueror, had descended to the level of the conquered."\* Where now and what are the lineal descendants of the Romans?

The superior or conquering race invariably loses its high qualities when domiciled abroad among the inferior, and gets dyed by the material on which it works. The very position of domination and the loss of the habit of labour prepare the process of decay. Surely there is no subject more pressing for us, a great nation arrived at the dangerous summit of power, to consider than this: How the conquering Empires and States have acted in their prosperity, and for what reasons they have fallen. And next: How far we resemble the perished ones in our position, our conduct, our attributes; what perilous qualities are growing among us; how we may suppress them; what is the way of security; what is the way of right towards ourselves and the world to which we are so largely the trustees for the future.

Let us rapidly glance at the causes of the overthrow or internal decay of Empires as exhibited in history. Careful research reveals a similarity of tendency amid all the varieties of character and circumstance, and we find the factors of ruin to be in the main these: Undue interference with other nations; excessive and inconsiderate expansion and aggression; pride of power; loss of common healthy country life, frugal and independent; loss of a well-distributed peasantry; concentration in cities; luxury; concentration of power in the hands of a few ambitious persons; selfish heaping-up of riches among the few and submissiveness of the many; militarism, and oppressive rule by

\* *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 7 (Bryce).

soldiers who have gained popular support by conquest ; large private estates ; absorption and loss of the best blood in armies, foreign countries, and cities ; disaffection to truth, persecution of opinion, servility to force, and corruption of primitive ideals of honour and justice ; corruption and extravagance in literature and art ; hypocrisy, and contempt for the ethical truths of religion.

The larger the number of these and similar conditions which prevail at any period, and the more their intensity, the greater the danger threatening the commonwealth. Some of them may be regarded as causes and some as signs ; often they are both, and perniciously interact upon each other. Several of the qualities named are quite capable by themselves of destroying a State without the presence of the others ; thus acts of foolish aggression alone may be punished by defeat and absorption in another organism ; but the probability of this happening to a great nation is very small, and hardly to be considered. The really threatening condition is that in which reckless conquest is combined with a low moral character, a degraded and luxurious habit, without strenuous wisdom in that divine law through which national supremacy deserves to live. Religion is not sure to save unless it be genuine, humanising, and regardful of the highest character, personally and nationally, within and without the racial pale.

If a great nation like England were to perform what she promises and act according to the prayers publicly professed for generations throughout the country in thousands of assemblies, and according to the spirit of the Founder of her faith, she would live without fear, without offence, not only in peace and happiness, but in the exercise of a power far nobler than can be ensured

by any mightiness of iron ships and trained soldiers. A manly nation, free, strong, and generous, is no object for foreign attack.

But our beliefs are belied by our deeds, and in affairs of State the Government of to-day, however orthodox in professed doctrine, and however zealous in the protection of ecclesiastical institutions, infects nearly all its doings with proofs of its contempt for religious reality, and sneers, with the utmost self-satisfaction, at every endeavour to carry the commands of the Master into living action.

What scorn is shown for reality in official business ; how perpetually the Ministers of these days, responsible to the nation for honourable dealing as true servants, delude us with misleading answers, inadequate news, palatable expectations, sham inquiries, Commissions appointed for delay, excuses for neglecting great social evils, promises cynically unperformed, declarations of national policy reversed in a few months without shame ! How many times they have solemnly assured the mass of the people, who have believed their word, of things contrary to fact in the affairs of their country, and glorified their errors at the expense of national honour ! How often they have accused their opponents wrongfully of unpatriotic conduct, when the patriotism of their opponents was of a higher type than their own, and arose from a real and heartfelt care for the reputation of the British name ! How often they have attributed, with a lack of perception which perhaps they cannot easily help, the strong anti-violence language of true Britons, whom they called pro-Boers, to hatred of Rhodes, or Chamberlain, or Milner, when, as a matter of fact, the enmity of the Opposition was in most cases devoid of personal

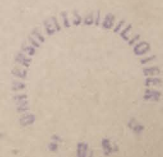


bias, but intensely conscious of the evil which those agents were bringing on the Empire! Liberals wished every good to those agents, but also to the Empire. There was and is hatred—hatred of wrong-doing, arrogance, injustice, especially when done in the name of Britain, as eternally inimical to man's welfare and the will of God.

Over and over again the official representatives to the world of British power and British character have sheltered their incompetence behind the valour of our army, have abused the leaders of the Opposition for attacks "on our soldiers" which were obviously attacks on their own misdeeds, have goaded with misdirecting insinuations the animus of popular pride, have traversed every principle of statesmanship and every understanding valued by honest men in the intercourse of common life. They have revived a claim to suzerainty over a friendly State, and based upon that claim, long before formally and definitely abandoned, proceedings interfering with that internal self-government which had been by successive Secretaries affirmed and allowed in Parliament. They have maligned the Government of that State on the evidence, known to all unprejudiced inquirers to be false, of anti-social and fraudulent companies of men, specially engaged in fomenting hostility and in provoking stolid herdsmen into a war of self-defence. They have opened the way for a long time, in collusion with the influences which brought about the cowardly lie-nurtured Raid—the Raid so mildly punished by the Transvaal Government—to an aggression by force for depriving a poor but valiant peasantry of their rights, and taking possession of the treasures which lay beneath their soil. They have refused time after time the appeals

for arbitration tendered to them by the small State whose territory they coveted. They would not even hear of an Arbitration Court composed half of English judges, and presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of England. They refused every reasonable advance towards a peaceful settlement. They took measures which the several Colonial Ministers most concerned warned them would lead to war and most earnestly deprecated. They failed to reprove for his irritating manners the High Commissioner, or to reprimand him for his travesty of "helots," his plea for "extreme measures," his morbid suspicions of the loyal Dutch, his deference to frantic and unscrupulous "loyalists," with their flaming furies of the Press. They did not make clear the fact that the Boer Government had yielded very large concessions, unheard-of concessions, towards a foreign country aggressively finding fault with the internal affairs of another. They allowed before the House rose that nearly all that was required had been conceded, and that the remaining objections were matters of form; but in addressing British audiences in the provinces asserted that no concessions had been made. Facing the people of Great Britain, they entirely misrepresented the case of education, of taxes, of public meetings, of the Edgar affray, of the treatment of natives, of the position and content and discontent of Englishmen in the Transvaal, and of the previous history of that country. Recklessly they conjured with the magic word Majuba, from the summer of 1899 to this 16th day of May, 1902. That bogey of Majuba ought long ago to have perished in the light of history and common sense.

They failed to mitigate the savage element in the Press, and rode to popularity like circus heroes behind the



tigers. Contradicting absolutely what some of them had in previous years truly recorded, they confounded the public mind.

In a hundred ways the people of the British Empire have been deluded. The news from the seat of war has been for a long time so arranged as to give us, who pay the war's whole cost in pain and toil, a false impression. Every now and then a startling disaster wakes us to the fact that our foes are no mere "roving bands of brigands," "cowardly curs," "ruffians" of "guerilla warfare," but fair and bold antagonists waging, so far as they can, an heroic fight for national existence. We were told on the high authority of Lord Milner, months ago, of smouldering embers, and of the storm that had cleared the air, and of the approaching boom of Johannesburg, a coming Babylon of the nations; and by the Colonial Secretary, again last autumn, of the immediate finish of the war, consequent on the illegal and desperately mistaken proclamation against the Boer leaders. The pleasant web of illusion which has been woven by mistrustful officialdom to satisfy us as to what is passing behind the "iron screen" has been most ably traced by the military critic of the *Daily News* and others.

The falsifying spirit has spread from the "land of lies" not only to the Government, but conspicuously to the Press, pulpit, and a section of the people of England. This widespread distortion of reality is a very unhappy sign. It is injurious to our Army, fatal to our primacy.

Not least ominous has been the odious perversion of words by which objectors to the degradation of British honour by the most tortuous devices of a low variety of Imperialism have habitually been described as pro-Boers or Little Englanders. A very little honesty of

History repeated itself

sight must surely perceive that true, fair, and peaceful means of extending British influence over South Africa and elsewhere may be at least as patriotic as the extension of a mere forcible occupation, failing to gain the hearts of the conquered, producing prolonged disaffection and misery, losing many of our best men and great treasures representing human toil, demoralising the home country, exciting the hatred of the civilised world against her, delaying vital reforms, and turning the current of national progress into perilous and unprofitable channels.

Unhappily the leaven of patriotic feeling has not availed to overcome the falsely patriotic adulterant, the bitter infusion of vengeful malevolence.

The misuse of words with subtle purpose has grown to a degree which could not have been reached without the presence of some grave malady in the mind of the epoch. Those who look beneath the surface know that such a phrase as "the dignity of labour" in the speeches of capitalists means forced labour or something like slavery; "free, tolerant, and unaggressive" covers wrecked homes, acres of human bones, and camps of cruel destruction; suppressed liberties, spies, informers, political oppression, plutocratic tyranny, and corrupting servility; "Empire-builder" means fortune-builder for the few, sapper of Empire for the many of the future; "our glorious flag" to these parasites and their victims through their tied Press means a "commercial asset," a protection of the hideous tyranny of gold and diamonds; "the blessings of civilisation" or "prosperity of trade" may mean the demoralisation of natives by gin, oppression, and disease. "Sedition," as quoted by a High Commissioner in South Africa for British consumption, may stand for the rant of a poor clerk on an obscure paper in

Stellaland, or, on the other hand, it may signify patriotic movements for conciliation, opposition to a low policy of vengeance; "loyalist" may mean contractor for selfish profit in war-material or in sheep's carcasses for troops; "patriotic statesman" or "maker of a united Empire" may mean a provoker of quarrels and wars whose relations make unwonted profits from explosives and war material supplied to the Government, and who knows that insults to other nations will help to raise him to the highest pinnacle in the esteem of mobs and share-markets. The subtle misuse of words for the delusion of the electorate has never before been so skilfully and widely applied. A pervading ingenuity of fabrication has developed among us within the last twenty-five years, since the crown of golden bay leaves presented by Tracy Turnerelli for the imaginary triumphs of our Eastern educator glittered at the opening of a new and very attractive temple of political hypocrisy.

What can be more misleading than the party denomination "Liberal Unionist"? There is not a single great Liberal idea which they heartily support, not a single Liberal movement which they do not minimise or thwart. And the great name of "Liberal," without qualification, is now being coolly appropriated by a League of the laggards of the party, the wayward favourites of the Tory Press. The name of "Separatist" has been for many years applied by great daily papers to the party which is more Unionist than the "Unionists," for it desires union on the basis of justice and the right of self-government. There is a want of courtesy and of the natural fairness of a man of honour in these applications to opponents of names which they disown.

The whole vantage ground of the authors of our

policy in recent years has been fenced with insincerity and honeycombed with subterfuge. The South African Committee was crippled and the intelligence of the country hoodwinked at a critical moment. Since then the ordinary open warfare of party has been abandoned by the trustees of power for a very unworthy and un-English course of tactics. They declare by the mouth of a leader that they do not consider a promise made to the House of Commons binding. "A proposal," says one, "is not a promise." Nor is there any objection, says the leader of the House, to stating in an election address a series of measures of proposed legislation, and afterwards treating such particularly-mentioned measures merely as "a declaration of the general trend of policy of a party or Government." Accordingly, the Government broke its promise to the House of Commons concerning London telephones, shifted its ground in regard to the new procedure rules, gave wrong information concerning farm-burning, the Concentration Camps, and the progress of the war, and has continually, over and over again, given wrong impressions as to matters of fact. The leader of the House has discarded scientific training in his conduct of business, and in his language towards opponents. He revels in petty subtleties. He has not hesitated to call the leader of the Opposition a "pro-Boer"—one of the most unjustly-used terms ever introduced into the vocabulary of Englishmen. The falsehoods disseminated against Liberals during the General Election, in the name of patriotism, lowered, perhaps more than anything else, the standard of political honour. Lord Crewe declared in a recent speech that the Conservative campaign was a campaign of deliberate mendacity. The air, he said, had been thick with lies. Lord Rosebery has

also spoken of the Government pretences at the General Election having been ineffaceably burnt into his mind.

On March 31st the President of the National Union of Teachers said in his very important address to the Conference: "Past experience tells one that too much reliance cannot [ought not] to be placed on the opening statements of a Minister introducing a Bill.....An almost playful habit of glossing over deficiencies and ignoring excrescences has been developed." And another observer says the letters of the Minister on this Bill resemble "the plausible advertisements of quack medicines." The Bill is indeed full of ingenious pitfalls and concealed advantages for a particular sectarian object, misnamed "religious." It is lamentable and degrading that the sacred cause of the fair education of children should be used for every specious device to capture their native sense of justice in the interest of sectarian dogma.

"Trusts," those giant creations of our age, often mean bodies of money-makers who cannot be trusted to deal or speak truly, who fleece the people, and who take the meanest advantages of their fellow-mortals. As regards British shipping, it is asserted that there is no absorption, but only "combination"; that the shares are not sold, but "exchanged"; that there is no trust, but only a "pool." In the United States the juggle with words similarly soothes the ear with talk of "the white man's burden," of the "free and equal institutions" brought to the Philippines by the "great Republic," whose agents torture old men, kill boys down to ten years old in cold blood, burn villages, and introduce masses of immorality such as the native barbarians had never known. The head organiser of the "Standard Oil Trust," who now tyrannises over the States, made many absolutely wrong

statements before the Industrial Commission. Here we are assured that Imperialism is uniting the colonies to us; they were firmly and affectionately united to us before these showy days, and Imperialism is in reality busily preparing the elements of discord.

The misrepresentations by the Government of affairs in the Transvaal before the war have been equalled by their evasions and concealments during the hostilities. Mr. Chamberlain said in the House of Commons on March 20th: "The insinuation that the Government had information and concealed it from the House is a malignant slander. The House and the country had everything that was essential for them to know; nothing has been concealed." This is not true; they concealed a great number of important facts, they perverted judgment. They concealed captures of ammunition, arms, and horses made by the enemy; captures of convoys, the looting of Kuruman, the failure to attack near Nigel, the story of Klip River, the real Boer losses in white armed adult men, many fights and skirmishes, the true position in Cape Colony, the state of the Midlands, which have been declared eight times to be cleared, the state of the country south of the Orange and of Griqualand West, the total number of farms burnt, and very many other events—not least, the starvation and disease in our army.

Particular instances of incorrect statements of fact by members of the Government and by their supporters in the Jingo Press may be found abundantly in records of unquestionable accuracy. They are not only numerous, but of transcendent importance. It is possible, for instance, that, if the Secretary for the Colonies had not denied to the House of Commons that he was connected



directly or indirectly with the manufacture and sale to the State of war material, some other negotiator might have been chosen who would have urged the rights of Outlanders by other means than war.\*

It is possible that, if the Government had declared at the outset that they *did* seek territory, that they *did* want the goldfields, instead of asserting the opposite, the majority of the country would have condemned them. For England was right-minded and far from such thievishness in the summer of 1899.

It is conceivable that, if they had at first admitted that they had long been preparing for war against the Transvaal, as divulged two years later in the House of Lords, and demonstrated in various documents now before us, their appeal *ad misericordiam* to the Empire for having been attacked, wantonly and undeservedly, would not have been dared. If they had admitted the falsehood of the assertion that the Transvaal had been preparing huge armaments against us for many years, instead of putting that assertion forward as a fact, they might have received notably less support at the polls. If they had told the truth about the Outlander petition, instead of enormously exaggerating its importance, their case would have looked miserably ragged. If they had told the truth about the

\* The rule enforced by municipalities ought to apply to the Cabinet, where the consequences of laxity are immensely more disastrous. The association of the family of a man who makes a war and keeps it going, with the profits resulting from the supply of war material, is apparently not illegal; but is one of the stupidest combinations ever made by a self-governed country. We cannot expect brewers to promote temperance, nor ambitious cordite-makers to promote pacification. It now appears that at the other end the present war is exceedingly profitable. "Loyalists" at the Cape are making fortunes by the prolongation of the war. The villain who sent a field-piece to a certain regiment offering a sum of money for every Boer shot, and 25 per cent. off for every prisoner, has been reported in Parliament to have been granted by the Cape Government a lucrative monopoly in the supply of refreshments on the railway.

starvation of our Army, with its calamitous consequences, which we now know of from a thousand sources, instead of declaring to the House of Commons that not a single man had gone hungry in South Africa, they might have been superseded by more competent officials. If, instead of informing us that the death-rate of the Concentration Camps was declining, that the inmates were voluntary refugees, were well-fed, and were free to come and go, they had told us that in the Transvaal and Free State the mortality was increasing at a fearful rate, that the women and children were prisoners of war, and were fed on rations which were bad in quality, poor in quantity, and to the young sure to be fatal, they would themselves have made reform, or else the country would have risen to demand fairer treatment. Thousands of lives would have been saved by an earlier diffusion of the facts. Months elapsed, after the lady of mercy returned and told the Minister privately of these horrors, before proper action was taken for reform. If the Government had told us the real extent and character of the devastation, the destruction and loot of homes, and the wretched plight of the ejected children, often without sufficient clothing and food, they would not so easily have earned their meed of patriotic applause.

If, against their political opponents here, they had not, through Press and platform, used calumnies to draw away attention from their misdoings, they might have been compelled to yield to the just remonstrance of equitable opinion. The same spirit of abuse and arrogance continues to this day. Lord Milner protests against "fidgeting" about negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain tells us that anyone who criticises Lord Milner is "an ill-bred cur." The Governor of Natal calls our

enemies in the field by the same far from chivalrous phrase, "curs." Well-timed telegrams are sent to us from the Colonies to impress British noodledom with continual "hear, hears," for Mr. Chamberlain. The *Sydney Morning Herald* summarises in a cablegram from London the Blue-book on the prison camps as showing that "the earnest efforts of the authorities to make the camps healthy have been largely baffled by the inconceivable ignorance, obstinacy, filthiness, fatalism, and laziness of the inmates." This—considering that the treatment of the Boers on very low, very unsuitable diet, in terribly crowded tents, with scanty clothing and no proper milk supplies or sustenance for children, was certain to destroy thousands, and did result in the most awful mortality, worse than the worst of the Plague—is descending to a very base excuse for incompetence. But, to the astonishment of all Englishmen who are gentlemen, this line of abusing Boer habits was quite common among members of the Government and their trumpeters of the Press.

To refuse clothing, soap, water, room for exercise, room for breathing; to pour infectious cases by scores into crowded camps; to order "economy as of equal importance with health"; then to exhibit to dainty contempt cases of foolish and ignorant Boer remedies such as were in use among our country folk only a short time ago;\* and thereupon to talk of the Government's unparalleled humanity—this is surely a feeble sort of sophistry which many a savage would despise.

That great commander and patriot, Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, who died a few weeks ago, full of honours, wrote as follows on the camps, in answer to

\* See, for instance, Graham's *Social Life in Scotland*, published 1900.

the Bishop of Liverpool: "The right reverend prelate emphatically denies that any measures taken during the war have been 'inhuman, oppressive, and unrighteous.' I am unable to concur in that conclusion.....Never before has anything approaching to such wholesale and reckless destruction or abduction of families been enacted by a British army. Both these measures have been carried out with the approval of the Government..... their homes were burnt over their heads, and the food they contained carried away and destroyed. So ignorant of facts, or so blunted have become the minds of our people on the subject of the women and the children, that they have come to believe that the Press is justified in extolling the great kindness and liberality which have been shown to these poor prisoners."

The hasty execution of prisoners, our enemies' commanders, by order of military courts who receive native evidence, is not in accordance with our best traditions. It is sad to read the testimony from an "old and saintly lady" in South Africa: "The sufferings in the camps have almost paled beside the horrors of the executions, especially of making the people attend when the death sentences are read on the Market Place, and punishing them for refusing to come."

"Ride your ways, ride your ways, Laird of Ellangowan! This day have ye quenched seven smoking hearths—see if the fire in your ain parlour burn the blither for that. Ye have riven the thack off seven cottar houses—look if your ain roof-tree stand the faster. ....There's thirty hearts there that wad hae wanted bread ere ye had wanted sunkets, and spent their life-blood ere ye had scratched your finger.....Ride your ways, Ellangowan!"

in Cuba

It is conceivable that a policy of war and aggression might not only be approved by the people of Great Britain, but be justified to many of the higher minds of civilised mankind. Even the destruction of homes and the concentration of non-combatants in prison camps might possibly be honourably accounted for, although a similar plan pursued by Spain three years earlier was universally condemned, nowhere more fervently than throughout the English-speaking world.

But that a great nation should abjectly follow in the wake of financial operators, involving itself in tyranny to gain its ends, and, through its representatives, become a participator in their multiplied perversities, their reckless inhumanity, their sordid methods, resulting in a rapid degradation of public life, remains a disgrace to the last degree painful to every seeing patriot.

The whole business is unutterably detestable—a horrible chapter in British history. We cannot obliterate its effect, and the process of corruption goes on before our eyes.

As a mere specimen of hundreds of calumnies against the Liberal party spread broadcast over Great Britain and the Colonies, largely for the easier aggrandisement of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner, the following from the *Bloemfontein Post* in August, 1900, must suffice:—Statement: That Mr. Kruger had contributed £1,000,000 to the election expenses of “pro-Boer” candidates in England. This appears also to imply an extravagant charge against the old President, whose private millions were surely also invented by that Press which misuses and appropriates the name of “loyalist.” Loyalty to truth, to justice—nay, even to law—seems to such upholders of Empire utterly out of cognisance.

"Loyalty" means adherence to law, but illegally the schemers calling themselves "loyalists" have acted without Parliament, illegally they have by proxy shot prisoners, illegally they have deported the friend of the outcast, illegally they have oppressed civilians by military caprice.

The language and public disposition of the High Commissioner have been singularly out of accord with the character of British administrators. The present writer came across, in a country village, a show of effigies of the Boer President and of leading compatriots, at which it was intended that the villagers should direct their spiteful shots; but he could hardly believe that Englishmen to do this thing could be easily found. Whether the expected yokels did come to the firing or not, it soon appeared that Lord Milner was actually shooting at effigies of Dutch Ministers at a garden party near Cape Town. He made much of, and recommended to Lord Kitchener, a Dutch minister dismissed for disgraceful conduct from his Church. He addressed a welcoming crowd with the rasping exclamation: "Of course you are loyal; it would be monstrous if you were not." He asks not to be worried about the children in the camps, and celebrates the restarting of the notorious *Johannesburg Star* with festivities. He favours the appointment of foreign speculators to important posts in the conquered territory. These things are not pleasant, but the worst indication for the future is that they are approved by the authorities at home, and by educated men, and that the ruling majority in the Empire do not see what an infinity of mischief might be prevented by a Special Commissioner of the British type being sent out to arrange for a fair settlement.

Testimony comes from many quarters that the

national credit has grievously gone down, the national character lost much of that distinct excellence which was of inestimable value to the world.

We can here only in the briefest way refer to this evidence; but the mere naming of the witnesses will indicate the weight of the Grand Remonstrance, evoked not from grumblers, but from reasonable minds, inclined to hope rather than to fear.

Opinions given by Dean Farrar, Sir W. Besant, Dr. Conan Doyle, Mr. William Watson, Mr. Frederic Harrison, "Ian Maclaren," the Archbishop of Armagh, Mr. Gilbert Parker, Mr. Keir Hardie, Sir William H. Russell, The Bishop of Hereford, the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nordau, and others, appeared in the newspapers of January 1st, 1901.

Imperialism and greed, over-excitement, and the homage paid to wealth, are stated by many writers to be in their view the chief dangers of the new century.

The Rev. John Watson, "Ian Maclaren," thinks the safeguard against impending perils is "the application of the Sermon on the Mount to the life alike of nations and of individuals."

Mr. Walter Crane, speaking in relation to art, in an interview (*Daily News*, January 1st, 1901) said that "Imperialism vulgarises people's taste.....Imperialism is destroying the variety and beauty of the world. The development of a country's home resources is the first thing for a great nation to attend to, her agriculture and the capacities of her own people."

Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, wrote, a little before his death: "We cannot shut our ears to the voice of God, which is speaking to us as a nation. It rebukes our pride and self-conceit; it warns us that we must

strive, more than we have been striving of late, to show ourselves worthy of our place in the world. We must set ourselves to learn this lesson; to practise greater humility; to have less confidence in our own inherent wisdom; to have more charity for other peoples, and more charity towards all men."

Mr. Frederic Harrison spoke on January 1st, 1902, as follows in the course of his address at Newton Hall: "In all the fifty-two years of my memory of public affairs I have known no time which has filled men of right mind with anxiety and pain so deeply as the present. A cruel and chronic war, which can only end in bitterness; Parliamentary Government become an abuse, without any other system to take its place..... our country become the scorn of the civilised world; our cherished principles of military service and of financial economy repudiated; industry declining and disaster imminent; the public tone sinking into a low type of vulgar materialism; and the ministers of religion encouraging so much that is inhuman, coarse, and immoral.....We are still in the mood of an Oriental tyrant, who will not treat for peace, but insists on the subjection of an entire nation."

Dr. Clifford delivered his New Year address at his church at Westbourne Park. In the course of it he said that the unwelcome realities were forcing their way into the heart of the nation, destroying our cheerfulness, our interest in the wider life of the land, and our hope of the future. Our soldiers had not failed us. They had been as bold, resolute, daring, patient, and self-sacrificing as the bravest of their fathers. The Concentration Camps were an ineradicable blot on the honour of England. And the suppression of freedom was to violate the most



cherished tradition Britons possessed, to rob us of the most cherished treasures for which our brave forefathers fought. To strike down the palladium of all our liberties, to destroy the chief guardian of all our moral worth, to take away the very air by which we lived.....He could not deny his deep discontent, his keen sorrow. England was not what he had expected to see it. Many of its ideals were low, its methods bad, its efficiency was weak, its faith faint, its ethical sense blinded and dull, and its spiritual passion cold. But he said, "Hope on, hope ever."

The Rev. J. Page Hopps wrote in December, 1900: "Religion seems to have allied itself with fashion, power, and money.....Nonconformity has, to a great extent, become commercial and worldly in the worst sense..... A few years ago Liberal England was the friend and moral helper of the weak peoples trampled by the strong.....To-day, when Russia is committing in Finland one of the greatest crimes of the century, even Liberalism is for the most part silent.....False witness against a neighbour.....almost adoration of shedders of blood..... shocking language flung at men of peace.....One is utterly unable to understand it all, so much is it like drunkenness or delirium."

Mr. Gladstone said, in one of his latest speeches: "Of all the Empires whose rise and fall have been recorded in history there is not one that has owed its ruin or decay to checking the lust of territorial acquisition.....England, which has grown so great, may easily become little through the effeminate selfishness of luxurious living, through neglecting realities at home to amuse herself everywhere else in stalking phantoms."

In June, 1900, Mr. Morley said: "Examine Liberal

principles in the light that experience and the history of this country have thrown upon them, and you will see that we, who are to-day so disparaged, are upholding the flag and the principles which have done more than all others for the greatness, the strength, the power, and the unity of the Empire, and, above all, for the well-being of the people of this island, who must, for as long as human vision can carry, be the central, vital, inspiring, and controlling force within that Empire."

Early in the same year Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said, in the House of Commons: "Our Empire is vast and strong. Why is it strong? Because it is an Empire of peace, of commerce, of kindly relations between self-governing communities. It cannot be maintained as a military Empire." And, in a recent speech: "There is a domestic Imperialism which we know also under the name of Cæsarism.....It magnifies the executive power; it acts upon the passions of the people; it conciliates them in classes and in localities by lavish expenditure; it occupies men's minds with display and amusements.....it captures the electorate by false assertions and illusory promises; and then, having by these means obtained a plebiscite and using electoral forms in the servile Parliament thus created, it crushes opposition and extinguishes liberty.....The people themselves.....while boasting of being supreme, are enslaved."

In an article on "The Commercial Future of England,"\* Mr. Courtney argues that the prospect, in relation to commerce, is a grave one, and that it is idle to refuse to face it.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, in his very able and temperate

\* *Manchester Guardian.*

statement of the Liberal cause just published,\* observes that, through the middle of the nineteenth century, Liberalism was in the main dominant in England, conferred many great benefits on the people, and built up a stately structure of self-government. "The last fifteen years of the century showed a complete contrast. ....Parliament has been sluggish in remedying abuses, and for half a generation the current of political progress has flowed intermittent and weak."

Mr. L. T. Hobhouse, referring† to the sixty years which followed the Battle of Waterloo, and recounting some of the great works of that age, says its governing principle was "to deem those things best which do most to expand and further human life and happiness, and those things worst which do most to corrupt and destroy them." He then shows how strongly the British Government in the middle of the century worked against slavery, and how feeble the present feeling against oppression of natives by forced labour has become in the prevailing temper. There is an increased belief in physical force, and a pseudo-scientific fatalism has grown up which acquiesces in injustice and inequalities. The one force which can be relied on to transcend all self-interest, individual or collective, is that of religion; but it is precisely religion in every sense, and particularly on the humanitarian side, which has lost its hold on our generation. It is in every sense an age of very weak faith and very indefinite belief. At such a time material interests predominate. But this writer, who takes a very philosophic view, concludes

\* *Liberalism*. By Herbert Samuel. (Grant Richards.) 6s.

† *Speaker*, February 1st, 1902.

that, if the soul of the nation is not utterly dead, England after this conflict will be born anew.

The disastrous failure of British government in East Africa in the early part of the last quarter of the century is little known, but serves as an example of aggressive inefficiency. It was estimated that "in the four years following the establishment of British rule the population was reduced to one-half."\* Major Thornton, one of our best administrators, wrote: "I was sick of raids and bloodshed, and longed to have done with them." The business imposed upon him was that of "a captain of Bashi-Bazouks, a raider and an ivory thief."

In the remarkable papers, entitled "An Onlooker's Note-book," which appeared last year in the *Manchester Guardian*, "G.," who is not at all a pessimist, says in one of his concluding articles: "I have been describing some of the more obvious vices of society. I have spoken of its utter irreligiousness, its worship of money, its frantic extravagance, its indifference to all moral issues, its cynical absorption in pleasure and self-indulgence and self-seeking, its impatience of restraint, privacy, and decorum." He then proceeds to affirm that certain revolting books which have recently appeared, portraying what the authors believed to be prevailing conditions, do not and cannot touch upon some of the darkest features of the period. He quotes the following remarks from a very shrewd observer who has known society in all its phases, and states that he believes them to be substantially true: "We are living in an age of decadence, and we pretend not to know it. There's not a feature wanting.....We are Romans of the worst period, given

\* *The Foundation of British East Africa.* By Professor Gregory.

up to luxury, and caring for nothing but money.....We care no more for beauty in art, but only for a brutal realism. Sport has lost its manliness.....Patriotism is turned on like beer at election times, or worked like a mechanical doll by wire-pullers.....We have the honour of belonging to one of the most corrupt generations of the human race." "G." wishes to be understood as referring to that section of the nation which has its being in London. Virtue, he says, has retired to the country, and the lost graces and charities of the English character may still be found amid woods and cornfields and village greens.

Absorption of the wealthy in town-life is increasing, he says, and in the town money-getting and pleasure are the main objects; property, as a rule, recognises no duties, though it batten on the products of its rights. Indolence, materialism, and self-indulgence prepare the soil for various evils of the gravest sort.

"A Voice" in the *Manchester Guardian* speaks as follows: "It is the belief of some of us that this South African crisis was less a political than a moral and even religious crisis in the history of our nation, and that there is a subtle but true relation between our failure to do anything for the Armenians and the failure of our people to rise to lofty and magnanimous ideals two years ago. The heart of this people was touched for Armenia, but sent back crushed by the flippant cynicism of our leaders. It was an opportunity for a great act of national faith..... but we made 'the great refusal,' and paid the inevitable forfeit in further loss of faith.....Our country, with moral sensitiveness blunted, moral vision obscured, is fast drifting into a state of moral stagnation."

A Conservative, formerly a member of Parliament,

wrote as follows after the capture and release of Lord Methuen :—" But to me sadder far [than the tidings of disaster and defeat] is the unutterable shame attached to the mixture of ferocity, meanness, and cant which these things seem to have engendered in the vulgar minds of the British middle classes. When I read these things I ask myself: Are these men of the same race as those who have preceded them? It is true that those rude countrymen of South Africa have, though outnumbered ten to one, fought and defeated our picked men.....and, under such provocation as I think a people never before suffered, have spared our prisoners—as never before was done—when they were disarmed and defenceless in their hands. What has been our answer?" He then speaks of the horrors of camps, devastations, executions, etc. "Sad and melancholy spectacle!.....As a younger man I could not have believed it.....Is this England? Then surely sick to death of some mortal malady." From the date of the failure of the Raid, he says, there were men who knew that, if the goldfields were ever to become the property of the "gang," it could only be by using the whole force of England to effect it. "These men meant war, and they knew how to bring it about. To them our Colonial Secretary was just the man they wanted for the job.....Meanwhile the leaven of his false Imperialism was at the heart of.....The temperature of the country was being educated to the danger point."

The British and Colonial Press has never been known before to falsify and misrepresent as it has done during the last three years; never have so many slanderous accusations been made against honourable opponents; never have the elements of candour, of liberty, and of

fair play been so trampled upon by many organs of opinion in the British Empire.

The following extracts from a letter dated Melbourne, April 20th, 1902, truly represent the ignorance in which a ring of superior persons have kept our Colonies. The Conservative partiality of the news and cable agencies is a fact of the utmost gravity, most dangerous to Imperial interests, and should be submitted to searching inquiry:—

“It would be quite impossible for me to convey to you the faintest idea of the blank darkness in which we have been kept regarding the war.....What I want to say most emphatically is that the people of Australia have had no chance of knowing the truth; no chance, that is, at all comparable to the opportunities afforded to the English people, even the most Conservative. Would you believe it if I tell you that no Melbourne daily has ever contained a single quotation from Miss Hobhouse’s report?” Formerly, he says, the fuller news which arrived by mail was carefully read. The telegraph takes the edge off the interest in important affairs. “Now, we get our news, such as it is, within twenty-four hours; but it is only such news as the pool decides we shall have.” At home the exclusion of important documents, such as the Reitz and Steyn despatches, the Hawkesley letters, and the representations of loyal Africanders, has been disastrous, and the mutilation of Liberal speeches unprecedented; in the Colonies the British democracy has been mentally enslaved by a cabal for the suppression of the truth.

The only course of proceedings comparable to the degrading infamies of these years was the conduct of the “nationalist” or anti-Dreyfus party in France, which used every sort of falsehood in order to commit and

justify a great crime against one man ; but that conduct was condemned in the strongest possible terms by the judgment of this country.

It would have seemed quite impossible to anyone who was deeply attached to the principles which he believed to govern the policy of England that the prevalent party here could sink into that abyss. But there is no single great idea which we were proud to think of as eminently right and eminently English which has not been officially abandoned in the last year of the old century and the first of the new.

The conspiracy before the war for getting possession of the Transvaal and its mines was the most sophistical in its pretences which has ever been supported, consciously or unconsciously, by a British Government. But it was the climax of a series of acts which were utterly contrary to our Christian professions as a nation.

The action of some European Powers towards China has been as outrageous as that of a violent criminal who is punished within their respective borders by life-long imprisonment. "Consider," says the author of the *Letters from John Chinaman*—"consider for a moment the conditions you have imposed on a proud and ancient Empire—an Empire which for centuries has believed itself to be at the head of civilisation. You have compelled us, against our will, to open our ports to your trade ; you have forced us to permit the introduction of a drug which we believe is ruining our people ; you have exempted your subjects residing among us from the operation of our laws ; you have appropriated our coasting traffic ; you claim the traffic of our inland waters. Every attempt on our part to resist your demands has been followed by new claims and aggres-



sions. And yet all this time you have posed as civilised peoples dealing with barbarians. You have compelled us to receive your missionaries, and when they, by their ignorant zeal, have provoked our people to rise against them, that again you have made an excuse for new depredations, till we, not unnaturally, have come to believe that *the Cross is the pioneer of the sword*,\* and that the only use you have for your religion is to use it as a weapon of war."

He then touches on the awful horrors and outrages by European troops against the unoffending peasantry of China in the recent expedition.

Mr. Thomas Shaw, M.P., in an interesting address to the Young Scots Society at Edinburgh, spoke of the "low and false patriotism which scorns the loyalty to moral ideals.....Its distinguishing mark is that, instead of love, it exhibits hate; instead of service and co-operation, it contends for mastery and domination among the family of nations." The process of military aggression goes on "until the Empire falls prostrate by the weight, not so much of external antagonisms as of an internal decay, which has wasted the opportunities and fruits of industrial activity.....The local anarchist practises his vocation not with a black flag, nor even with a red; *he has been furnished with Union Jacks.*"

This abuse, for selfish purposes, of our national flag, a symbol of most precious meaning, has lately been practised to an extent never before known.

Canon Scott Holland wrote, about November, 1900, in the *Commonwealth*, an eloquent appeal on the war, in which the following passages occur: "We are engaged

\* Italics not in the original.

in beating down the passionate belief of a people in its own life and destiny. We have arrayed against us, not an hostile army, but an entire nation—man, woman, and child.....We are burning homesteads, wrecking farms, desolating countrysides, evicting and imprisoning and deporting women and children.....Where is our pity fled to? Where is our generosity or our humanity? Where, above all, is our love of liberty and independence?..... Why do not our souls go out to a people so tenacious of their freedom?.....All our songs and all our memories are of those who never would serve alien rulers.....*We should be searching heaven and earth to find some way of offering them a peace which they can afford to accept.*"

Mr. William Urwick, writing in December, 1900, of the iniquities perpetrated by England at the close of the century, concludes: "Such almost to despair is the dirge of the nineteenth century. Yet, though dying, she looks in hope to her child, the twentieth. There are grounds for hope."

The Dean of Durham, from his great knowledge of history, views the present temper of the country, and its abounding corruptions, with much anxiety for the future. In a sermon on January 21st, 1900, he compared the aggression of Spain on Holland, and her subsequent fall, with the British war now going on for the conquest, annexation, and unconditional surrender of a free people. "It was wealth against simplicity, empire against liberty. ....Great principles are great powers, and there is no limit to the strength of faith.....There is no nobleness save that of purity and love, no gospel save that which preaches forgiveness."

Mr. George M. Trevelyan, in the *Nineteenth Century*

for December, describes the tremendous prevalence of vulgarity, "barbarism of taste and materialism of spirit, more truly to be dreaded than anything from which man has suffered, when he lived on the bosom of nature, even in the most despised ages of faith, fable, and imagination." "In the last generation intellectual, moral, and spiritual degeneration has set in, due to causes in the world of thought analogous, and even related, to those corresponding causes of physical degeneration, such as overcrowding, drink, and want of country air and exercise. . . . . Into every corner of our island, into every corner of the world, ugliness, vulgarity, materialism, the insipid negation of everything that has been accounted good in the past history of man, 'post o'er land and ocean without rest,' armed with powers to destroy the old and propagate the new, far more powerful than the means of destruction and assimilation with which the Greek colonist, the Elizabethan adventurer, and the religious refugee went across the seas in the days of old. All that is good in the world is threatened. Art, literature, religious leadership, political common sense, have in our island gone down before the tide in one generation. . . . . Divorced from the healthy influences of nature and of a simple economy, nothing can reclaim us now but machinery, organisation, definite intention, common effort, directed not merely [?] to force expansion at the extremes, but to check corruption at the core ; not solely to accumulate means of living, but to restore a value to life."

The management of India, one of the greatest trusts ever given to a nation, excites no interest in the House of Commons, and miseries are allowed to accumulate into disaster without effective remonstrance. Mr. Vaughan Nash, a very competent investigator, speaking

of the condition of India, of the heavy taxation, and especially of the slavish subjection of the ryot to the money-lender, stigmatises the agrarian system as "the most calamitous social fact in the whole world; but you can scarcely get an English M.P., and never, by any chance, an Imperialist, to examine it with any care."\*

"Few studies can be so painful, and no problem in the world perhaps presents so many features of downright hopelessness, as the agrarian problem in India. Given a people made abject by physical misery and social subjection, and a Government which steadfastly refuses to reduce taxation, to look at retrenchment, or to admit that the people have any grievance to complain of, what loophole for light can be said to exist?"

"Mr. Digby shows for the hundredth time that the fixed and rigid system of land taxation is indissolubly bound up with the indebtedness of the rural classes and their ultimate expropriation by the money-lender or the Government itself."

"In spite of all that is heard of the spirit and obligations of Imperialism, the torpor of Parliament could hardly be more profound than it is to-day."†

"Of all the many acts of injustice which have marked the conduct of the Government of India of late years there is none, in my opinion, which can at all compare with their insolent treatment of the Indian National Congress. There is no subject upon which the English Press and the English public have been so cruelly and persistently misled by the Government party."

\* *Speaker*, February 1st, 1902.

† *Manchester Guardian* on "Prosperous British India," by William Digby. (T. Fisher Unwin.)

The Congress had "the courage and patriotism to denounce abuses which have disgraced our Indian rule for years past."\*

In Home affairs generally the conduct of Ministers has been deplorable. Having appointed a Royal Commission on Intemperance, comprising a ludicrous number of representatives of the trade to be dealt with, they now throw over the valuable recommendations which the Report of their Commission contains.

The Majority Report of the Royal Commission declares that "it is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied, and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of the national degradation." In 1900 there was spent by the United Kingdom £160,891,718 in intoxicating drink, nearly all either damaging to the users or sheer waste. The evils to child-life, to the manhood and womanhood of the nation, resulting from this excess are appalling. One quarter of this sum would give a liberal pension to all old people, another would give to every home a library of the best books, another would endow an institute in every village and in every town district, and another would pay the rent of extra rooms for all the overcrowded. In Scotland the Chairman of Prison Commissioners has stated, concerning the great increase of crime and its cost to the State, that "if intemperance could be cured, the prison population would practically collapse."

Yet, as Lord Rosebery declared the other day at Glasgow, Lord Salisbury and his Government treat proposals for temperance legislation with contempt, even

\* Sir Richard Garth, formerly Chief-Justice of Bengal, a Conservative. Written about 1897.

when introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury on very moderate lines.

Meanwhile, thousands of young lives are yearly ruined, thousands of victims are swept into the rapidly-growing palaces known as asylums, thousands fall a prey to horrible diseases through drink at every turn set before the tempted through facilities created by Act of Parliament. Yet, under State authority, daily the prayer is made to Him who has given us freedom to choose which we will: "Lead us not into temptation." If we, the people, the power behind the State, cared to make that prayer anything but the blackest lie, we would choose as rulers men who would reduce to the utmost those temptations which destroy us. On the contrary, Conservatism, and "the trade," and property, and apathy join to make the prayer a mockery, to defeat by vote and Act the unceasing appeal for Divine aid.

Habitual hypocrisy must result in corruption and degradation. Betting has been shown, by recent evidence before the Royal Commission, to be causing a very great amount of distress and crime, and to be diverting the working classes in large districts from the pursuit of intellectual objects to follies which destroy their independence and their welfare.

Always hostile to the London County Council, which has done so much excellent work, Ministers endeavour to degrade its powers and blight its productive branches. In education they cripple Continuation schools, widely favour sectarianism, try to thwart popular control, and endow sectarian teaching from the proceeds of general taxation.

In Ireland their course has been weak and irritating, recusant towards any sound remedial policy. The popula-

tion is rapidly declining. Ireland is refused the reasonable control of her own affairs, such as produces the quiet and loyalty of the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, and the Colonies. Illegalities are committed and defended by the Government.

Throughout the civilised world they have lowered the high respect justly earned for the British flag. The fall of British moral power, that power which was of inestimable value, is so generally acknowledged and so obvious that no testimony thereof need be quoted, and indeed it is painfully manifest not only by outside evidence to every traveller, but within the conscience of every Englishman sensitive to his country's honour.

With regard to the suppression of free speech, Professor Dicey, a Unionist and supporter of the Government, wrote to the *Times*, on March 22nd, 1900, a letter defending the rights of Britons attacked by violent crowds calling themselves patriotic, and maintained that the state of affairs was made more serious by the calmness with which the public accepted it. "The moral reputation of England," he declared, "will be lowered throughout the civilised world."

There is no choice but to conclude that Great Britain has recently been infected to a critical degree by the spirit of unreasonable aggression, which has been called Jingoism; that the towns are rapidly absorbing and corrupting or weakening the people of the land; that there is much reason for the belief that the national standards of right have been lowered; and that the conditions which we fixed upon as most dangerous—namely, the combination of reckless expansion and conquest with a low luxurious habit, neglectful of truth, devoid of strenuous wisdom of the highest kind—do now actually co-exist.

In fact, if we take the causes of the overthrow of Empires one by one, we shall find that very few are now wanting within this realm, and that all the most potent of them have increased their hold during the last twenty-five years.

An able writer in the *Westminster Review* has recently pointed out that, looking back over the history of Empires, there is one patriotism that always suffers—the patriotism of the conquerors. “The fire that might have lasted long on the native hearth is speedily spent when it is squandered in subject provinces. No victories of foreign invaders could have sapped the old Roman patriotism so surely and utterly as the fatal progress of imperial conquest.....The victors fell a prey to the vanquished. ....Is England really the object of that exuberant enthusiasm which so strangely mistakes itself for patriotism? If any still cherish this illusion, they must have paid little attention to our current political literature.....The people of this country are passing under the spell of a new political ideal.....The votaries of Imperialism are really unpatriotic, and make more of the Colonies than of their own country.....If, by some untoward fate, the present fever of Imperialism is allowed to run the full course, it can only end as it has ended in the case of other nations. And English character and English independence must surely perish.....For the present, the true issue is hidden from the eyes of many Englishmen who are under the strange delusion that Imperialism and patriotism can flourish together..... The England we had loved of old was the island home of liberty, and our love of country seemed indissolubly linked with love of justice and hatred of oppression. And we find it hard to recognise the land of Sidney and



Hampden decked out in barbaric war paint and feathers, with the scalps of free republics dangling at her side."

And here in London we have tens of thousands of idlers, parading in Church and Park, who waste on gross extravagance of dress alone the wealth which might maintain in comfort millions of their starving compatriots in India, mutely appealing to them in vain for mere justice. These rich defy Christianity, which they profess, and patriotism, which they extol.

The City of London has never been so corrupt as now. The "London and Globe" ambitions are typical of many modern operations.

We have these things in our midst, recognisable, though, according to precedent in States which are on the brink of great dangers, not commonly recognised. The temper which allows them to grow up is blind to the enormity of the evil which perverts judgment while it prepares ruin.

There are prospects of recovery; there are great elements of hope and strength in the country, especially through the progressive movements of education and temperance; but the struggle against the powers of decadence will need every recruit, and the main thing at present is to realise the facts. There is a lying spirit in our midst, and that spirit serves not God, but Gold. For the sake of our race, we must choose which to serve. The path to destruction is broad and easy. To preserve the England that we love, all the strength of all her patriots will be required. "For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of their darkness." The British race is not made to rule by force, but by justice and by truth. Of all efficiencies these are the greatest; and only in reverence for these will the Commonwealth endure.

