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1921.

624TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, JANUARY 17TH, 1921,
AT 4.30 P.M.

ALFRED W. OKE, ESQ., B.A., LL.M., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following:—Mr. George Wilson as a Member and Mrs. Elizabeth Blackie, the Rev. G. E. Henderson, D.D., and Miss K. M. Beresford, as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Right Rev. Bishop E. Graham Ingham, D.D., to read his paper on "Some Reflections on How Empire came to us, and can alone be conserved."

*SOME REFLECTIONS ON HOW EMPIRE CAME TO
US, AND CAN ALONE BE CONSERVED.* By the
Right Rev. Bishop E. GRAHAM INGHAM, D.D.

AN Institute bearing the honoured name of "Victoria" may well enter upon such an inquiry as this.

It was during that very Victorian Era that Dr. Vaughan once said: "It pleases the self-importance of a good many folk to think of themselves as perpetually passing through a crisis." It is no affectation to apply the word to things as they are to-day! When Mr. Joseph Chamberlain came to the Colonial Office in the same great reign he exhorted us as a people to "think Imperially." It was a call, as he meant it, not to enter upon a Crusade of Empire, but to wake up to existing world-responsibilities, and not to be too self-centred.

You will not find in this paper a story of great wars and their legacies. Nor will you be invited into the political arena.

Other movements, quite outside these, will be examined, and such lessons as they may suggest will be noted. Nor will you find here any claim to scholarship or special research, but only plain thoughts and findings of a plain man for the plain man in the street or elsewhere to digest.

Perhaps it may be made clearer to you what sort of Empire it is that forms the subject of this paper, if I quote from the Prime Minister's recent speech at the Mansion House on the occasion of the City's welcome home to the Prince of Wales. He said : " It is the most remarkable Empire the world has ever seen—mighty, powerful, but loosely knit—no Dominion, but Dominions—no centre from which Dominion is exercised, from which you control and from which you direct, but a combination in partnership of free nations controlling themselves, free to choose their own path, free to choose their own population, free to make their own history."

These are the conditions I have in mind as I enter upon some reflections as to how we became the cradle and centre of such a family of peoples.

It will make for clearness if I select three dates from which to make excursions both before and behind, in seeking to account for the conditions which the Prime Minister has so eloquently and vividly described.

I take first of all the year 1611. I invite you to stand in imagination on the steps of Hampton Court Palace and watch that historic Conference break up on completing a seven years' task which resulted in the possession by the English people, for the first time, of the Bible in our own language—not only enriching that language, but fixing it for all time as the language of the English people. First of all, look back from 1611. How has this position been reached ? There is a passage in the Book of Samuel which reads thus : " The word of God was rare in those days : there was no open vision." That describes sufficiently many centuries of our English history. The loss to the Nation was great. The loss to the Church was greater. There was some foreign enterprise—notably the Crusades, but the zeal was misdirected. For the most part we were a quarrelsome people amongst ourselves, nor did we work any real deliverance abroad. But all the time, some light was on its way. We do not forget the translational work of the Venerable Bede, nor of our Great King Alfred: But we had to wait till the fourteenth century for the man who gave us the whole Bible in our own language, and who took steps to make it generally known. From the time of John Wycliffe—so nearly synchronizing with the introduction of the printing press—the English people began to wake up !

A hundred years of Bible reading, under difficult conditions,

brought in the greatest event in all our history—the English Reformation. I do not stay to speak of men, whether Kings, Prelates or Commoners. God can use, has used, all sorts of men for the working out of His purposes. It is enough to point out that when the Word of God was no longer rare, open vision began—vision of God, vision of what the Church was intended to be (and was not); vision, too, through an opening door, of a bigger world than the Englishman had ever known before. For these scholars, now emerging from Hampton Court, had produced from several versions what our Coronation Service now describes as “the most valuable thing this world affords”!

Let us now look a little in front of 1611. It is one of the romances of history that the open door waited upon and speedily followed the open book. No man thought of building up Empire when the voyage of “The Mayflower” was planned for 1620.

And yet, in God’s Providence, it happened only nine years after the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures was issued. But few things have done more to extend the Anglo-Saxon language and civilization than the fact that those Scriptures went forth in the hearts and lives and effects of those 1620 voyagers!

Take another illustration, which happens to come from a bit of Greater Britain that I know very well: On the first of August, 1920 (which happened to be a Sunday), an interesting celebration took place in the Island of Bermuda, which is within some 600 miles of Virginia in the North Atlantic—the last port at which the Prince of Wales touched in his late tour. The whole Island—Governor, Parliament, and people—went to church at, or gathered round the very spot where, in 1620 (and on that day), King James I had granted and established the first Parliament (outside London) of the English people! The Governor (Sir James Wilcocks) had a great story to tell, and the sermon preached on the occasion threw such light upon the spirit in which our brave but unconscious pioneers went through the newly opened door, that I must briefly quote. The Governor said: “Over 400 years ago, one Juan Bermudez, a Spaniard, had the good fortune to sight these Islands. I can imagine his surprise, but I cannot understand his want of taste in merely charting and then leaving them. Could he have foreseen that the day would come when Shakespeare would lay one of his immortal plays in these very Islands, and Thomas More would sing from its shores, surely he would have planted the flag of his most Catholic Majesty of

Spain somewhere on the hills which surround this beautiful town. But so it happened as, in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, has so often happened, is happening to-day, and will continue to do so—that instead of the standard of another power, the Union Jack was planted and still proudly floats over these enchanted islands.

“It was in 1609 (just two years before the Hampton Court Conference had completed its work) that Sir George Somers was wrecked here, and that era of progress began for which we thank God to-day.”

Here follow a few reminders (from the preacher) of the spirit that animated these brave pioneers.

Here, for example, is a collect then in use on arrival at a port among infidels: “Watch Thou over us, O Lord, and give us grace so to watch over ourselves that we may not anyways so misbehave ourselves that the Gospel which we profess may by our means be evil spoken of by them. Let us strive by all means to draw these heathen to faith in Thy Name.”

Here is a prayer then in use in Virginia: “O Lord of mercies, look upon the Gentiles which know Thee not. Be merciful to us; and not to us alone, but let Thy way be known upon Earth, Thy saving health among all nations.”

Again, may the heathen never say to us: “Where is now thy God?” May they rather say: “Blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English Nation, and blessed be the Most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that sent them among us!”

You will find in all the Charters under which our earliest colonies were established, a uniform acknowledgment of God, and the responsibility of His people to deal, on these high and noble lines, with England's Colonies and those who, in them, knew not God.

Let us next look out backward and forward from the year 1807.

William Wilberforce was writing up his diary on March 25th, in that year, and he says this: “The King has given his assent this day to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. God will now bless this country. The first authentic news of the defeat of the French has come to-day.”

It had taken Wilberforce and his friends twenty long years to right thus a terrible wrong, and purge English merchandise

of a dark stain. In order to understand and rightly appraise this great moral triumph it is necessary to look further back still.

The one bright feature of the otherwise dreary eighteenth century was the Evangelical Revival, dating from 1734. That awakening in many parts of England is judged to have saved the Nation from revolution. It produced and inspired great philanthropic and missionary enterprise. And all such movements had more to do with Trafalgar and Waterloo than England has ever cared to guess.

If Quakers and Puritans were concerned with the "Mayflower" enterprise, no less were they foremost in this matter. The story is not as widely known as it deserves to be of how Mr. Thomas Clarkson (a Quaker) happened to see on his college notice-board at Cambridge, somewhere about 1782, that a prize essay in Latin would be competed for at a given time on the rights or wrongs of slavery, and was led to decide to enter his name. He tells us that long before he sat for the prize he was far more interested in the study than anything he might derive from it. He got the prize, and when riding up to London a day or two later he thought much and deeply, and said to himself: "If half the things I have written down are really happening in the world, the sooner some one sees them to their end the better. But what can I do?" The answer came: "You can at least translate your essay into English, publish it and send a copy to all your friends." (The place where this decision was reached on the road to London is still shown.)

Among the friends who received a copy was this same William Wilberforce, Member of Parliament for York, a churchman who came more and more under evangelical influence. And this essay had much to do with Mr. Wilberforce's resolve to dedicate his life to this abolition movement. Nor may it be generally known that one of the earliest results of the rising tide of discussion on this subject was a rush to London from the West Indies of English slaveowners with their slaves to protest against abolition. They thought that their slaves would be an object-lesson of the beneficence of slavery. But, unfortunately for their theory, the slaves became restive, and running away from their masters, the matter got into the law courts, and a long period of litigation went on, which terminated at length in the decision of Lord Justice Mansfield that slaves ceased to be slaves on landing on British soil.

It was this decision that determined Wilberforce's friends to found the Asylum in Africa to which I shall presently allude; and Lieut. Clarkson, R.N., was commissioned to go first to Nova Scotia, collect the Africans assembled there who had fought on our side in the American War of Independence, and (if they agreed) repatriate them in their own land. It was a big thing to do, but Clarkson successfully accomplished it, and did more to extend the Empire than he knew.

Take only this instance of unconscious empire-building connected with Wilberforce's twenty years' struggle in the House of Commons. The scene is laid in Western Africa. The time is about 1792. The Clapham Sect (as Wilberforce's friends were generally styled) had decided on the purchase of a piece of land which might become an asylum for these hunted people. For the whole coast was a slave market from which Europeans of all sorts were pushing the unholy traffic. They bought the hill country of Sierra Leone with honest money from the Temne people. They hoisted the Union Jack, and for twenty years it was the scene (under tremendous difficulties) of a magnificent philanthropy.

Again I have to call your attention to a diary. Lieut. John Clarkson, R.N., became the first Governor of this settlement. On a certain Sunday evening he writes thus on his ship in Sierra Leone Harbour: "I have been preaching on shore to-day, and I have said this to the people: 'I do not know five words of an African language; nor am I acquainted with five miles of the African interior, but I am certain that this small beginning now being made here means the turn of the tide in the fortunes of your race and is big with untold results to this land.'" If to-day God seems to be saying to us there, in Nigeria, in Uganda, in South Africa, and other parts, "Arise, go through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it," it is because men like Clarkson and many others on the West, because honoured C.M.S. Missionaries on the East, because Moffat and Livingstone on the South, stood for a moral and spiritual contact with African races, which, all unconsciously to them, has actually extended empire. And thus far, thank God, the British flag has been to all these races a symbol and guarantee of justice, fairness, freedom and progress.

Look again, this time forward, from 1807.

We come to 1834. The story is too familiar to be related in full, but it is not too much to say that the emancipation of the

African in British Dominions (with liberal compensation), which came about as a necessary sequel to "abolition" through Fowell Buxton, in the teeth of mighty vested interests, was perhaps the finest bit of history we have ever made. It purged our good name. It righted a great wrong. And probably it had much more to do with the expansion of the Victorian Era than has been usually thought.

There are other and most interesting stories about the spread of our race in Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. But I will only name here one further bit of expansion which came in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. It was in 1842 that China, having ceded to us an island off its coast by the Treaty of Nanking, exchanged it and gave us Hong Kong instead. I gathered the following facts on my visit to this now flourishing colony in 1909. The earliest traders on the spot were Scotch people (you will not be surprised to hear *that*). For two decades it was a most hopeless possession. The harbour was infested by pirates. Signal Hill on the Peak was the spot whence the pirates signalled the unhappy ships that were doomed to fall into their hands. At the best Hong Kong was for long years a cave of Adullam for those who had made the mainland too hot for them. The foreshore, now so impressive, was a tow-path. The Chinese Government, with that remarkable acuteness that characterizes them in some ways, made the cession of Hong Kong a dead letter by putting forth a Proclamation forbidding any Chinese to go and live there. It was the Tai-Ping Rebellion that made Hong Kong. Cantonese merchants discovered the fairness, justice and freedom of the British Raj, and they flocked into Hong Kong for safety. They soon made Hong Kong and Hong Kong made them. This was about 1861. It has only been during the last few years that Hong Kong has assumed its present striking appearance. Its harbour registers the biggest tonnage of any city in the world. It is the gateway to the Far East, and from thence it is the doorway to the West.

It was very interesting to be there at that moment. Chinese merchants had been observing the beneficent influence on their sons of our C.M.S. St. Stephen's College. Archdeacon Barnett was turning out some excellent results. And these Chinese merchants (their fathers) went to the Governor (Sir Frederick Lugard of African fame) and said: "Why should we have to send our sons to Western Universities at tremendous risks in many

ways? Why should not we have a Western University here?" The Governor told them that there was much to be said for it, but that it would mean a lot of money. They said: "We will subscribe the money." And they did! Thousands of pounds poured in. King Edward took much interest in the arrangements. And the result is that on these beautiful slopes stands to-day University buildings of which any country may be proud.

This University receives young men from all over the Shantung Province, and by the Governor's enlightened arrangement, Missionary Societies are allowed to have their hostels alongside!

The British Government has not always been so enlightened and so wise. Stories could be told about Khartoum and the Gordon Memorial College, about Nigeria, and several other parts of the world where the tendency has been all the other way, and the policy has been rather to patronize other faiths than to support the Religion that has made us what we are to-day.

I come lastly to November 11th, 1918.

General Bernhardt (and Germany with him) had completely misunderstood the sort of Empire which our Prime Minister sketched for us so vividly the other day.

He had in his book, *Germany and the Next War*, asked with contempt how we dared pretend to hold India with such a miserably small military establishment.

Never were the ideals that have from the first inspired our scattered race and family more splendidly defended! Never was it more clearly demonstrated that there is something mightier than mere physical force!

Mr. Lloyd George has said: "It is for the Churches now to build into the Nation the ideals for which we fought in the Great War."

Looking ahead from 1918 there is no question more pressing than the consideration of how this Empire can be conserved.

I will not touch upon the League of Nations. It is a step in the direction of the peace of the world for which we must be thankful, but it lies outside this inquiry.

"When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." It is equally true of Nation and Empire.

There are clouds on the horizon! We have seen the great share which the Holy Scriptures had in the movements, reforms and revivals of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. We are

seeing to-day many parts of those same Scriptures largely discredited by higher critics.

The great majority of the Nation is standing aloof from Institutional Christianity, and trade disputes are threatening us with national bankruptcy!

Now *everything depends on what we are*, and on the use we make in the coming time of the wide roads that go out to all lands. They were given us, not for selfish uses, but to extend the Kingdom of our Lord.

A small part of the Nation only has any real faith in this propaganda!

But there are some good signs. The Prince of Wales's personal visits to the Empire have well won for him the title of "Our Greatest Ambassador." There is little doubt that our British Throne has remained secure in the midst of a period of wreckage of Thrones through the gracious personalities of the reigning house!

It happened to the writer of this paper to hear, from the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Lords, a remarkable speech when the Prince of Wales was born. Lord Rosebery was seconding an address of congratulation to Queen Victoria on the event. He took occasion to trace the decline of monarchical power in this country through successive reigning houses. "But," he said, "what has been lost in power has been more than regained in royal influence. And that influence has been won through the manifold ways in which the Sovereign moves amongst and makes himself one with the people."

I once had the opportunity of telling the Prince about this great speech, of which he said he had never heard, and which appeared to interest him. It has already been prophetic! He has come back from Australia just now bidding us "Pull together and pull through!"

Perhaps, as one who belongs by birth to one of those parts of the Empire that grew up when the Homeland was absent-minded, you will allow me, after fifty years now in the Mother Country, to point out that, while thankful for our Prince, we must not be *satisfied* with anything short of a national awakening to our unprecedented responsibilities.

The time when to be a colonist was regarded as belonging to a "lesser breed," has probably passed away. But in days like these, when strong racial instincts and national ideals are newly asserting themselves in many quarters, it behoves English-

men who move amongst these peoples to be sympathetic, tactful, wise—wiser than some of them often are!

We are called to a great work, and we must let our thoughts expand to its greatness. "A great empire and little thoughts," as Burke asserted, "go ill together!"

An Indian gentleman said to the writer, when passing through his country ten years ago: "Concession will not cure the present unrest in India. The first Englishman who is overbearing and high-handed with the people will undo all the effect of the concessions made! The fact is—my people will almost worship the Englishman for his justice, fairness and impartiality, but when he begins to call us 'niggers,' we hate him! There are great and noble exceptions to this latter, and we are not slow to recognize them."

Many things have happened since these remarks were made in the spring of 1910. And a situation has since grown up in India that is full of menace to the British Raj.

Never was the *Suaviter in modo* more necessary to link up with the *fortiter in re* than now.

Never was it more necessary for the rulers to *understand* the ruled. Never was it more fatal to speak contemptuously and slightingly of the various races that go to make up our Indian Empire. This will require considerable watchfulness and self-control. Even missionaries in India have confessed to the writer how hard it is for them always to be free from the consciousness that they belong to the ruling class!

Time was, too, a few years back, when African peoples were in the imitative stage of childhood. That stage is rapidly passing away. Race instincts are growing stronger, and demands are being made that it will be difficult to refuse. Let anyone consider the racial problems of South Africa, the Negro problem in the United States of America, and the quite new problems (largely arising out of the recent war) in relation to the Jew the Arab and the Moslem, and he will be compelled to agree that something more than a League of Nations is needed to keep the world at peace and our Empire undisturbed.

Nothing less than a fresh conversion to the ancient Law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart . . ." and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," will do it!

If we, as a people, charged with such vast responsibilities, will thus govern ourselves, we shall not only "pull together," but we shall "pull through."

There is something after all, however, bigger than the British Empire! If we, as a people, can serve our day and generation, and work for world-righteousness and world-peace, it will be well.

But there are some serious facts that look in another direction, but which it is popular to-day to ignore.

There is the fact of sin!

There is the fact of the fall of man!

There is the fact that mankind largely lost the power to govern when he ceased to obey!

And there are signs that developments are going on in the direction of lawlessness and deterioration.

Then, lastly and most mercifully, there is the fact of the Kingdom of God—a Kingdom coming not with outward demonstration! Its foundations have been well and truly laid. The Spirit of its King is already at work amongst us. The time may not be far off when “He shall have put down all rule, all authority and power, for He *must* reign.”

Let this goal be kept well in view. It will correct all wrong tendencies in the matter of race feeling and race pride—a sin that may most easily beset us!

Nothing will humble us, nothing will quicken high resolve, nothing more surely increase our influence for good, than a return to the primary duty of world-witness! What will this mean? It will mean that we are not out to get the world converted in a given time, not out even to make heathen nations into Christian nations, but to give out a clear-cut witness to Jesus Christ and to see that in all our world-travels, world-trade and Imperial administration this witness is not blurred by our own shortcomings and inconsistency.

The Lord said, “Ye shall be witnesses unto Me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth.” He also said, “Ye shall receive power.”

No nation has ever been granted such influence, such prestige, such a base of operations before!

If we will “think imperially” in this higher and more catholic sense, we shall surely see, gathered out from all these peoples and races, a Kingdom that shall not pass away, and our own Empire, which we have seen grow and expand in so unexampled a manner, will have served its day of opportunity according to the Will of God.

DISCUSSION.

After some remarks by the Chairman, in which he uttered a warning note against the facile way in which Evolution is adopted as an established fact, whereas it has never emerged from the condition of hypothesis, out of harmony with many well-established facts, the discussion was thrown open.

Colonel Sir CHARLES E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., in opening the discussion, said that what the Lecturer had told them about the University of Hong Kong had made him wish that the feelings which had moved the parents of the Chinese boys there to subscribe for a local University in preference to sending their sons to a Western University, had similarly moved the parents of Indian boys. Unfortunately in India, parents would insist upon sending their sons to England to be educated, and nothing could be worse for the boys. Not only did they crowd to the Universities at Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, but great numbers of them remained in London to study for the Bar, and it was just as bad for those Indian boys to be turned loose in the streets of London as it would be for English boys if they were similarly turned loose in the streets of Calcutta. As it happened, the vast majority of Indian boys sent over to Europe were drawn into Socialistic and Revolutionary Societies, and went back to India imbued with the idea that if they could only upset the Government there they would bring in a new heaven and a new earth under their own particular form of rule, and never ceased agitating with this end in view. Then, again, the Indian Universities had so reduced the standard of their examinations that their degrees were now practically worthless, and the main idea of their governing bodies seemed to be to pass as many boys through as they possibly could, and to make the tests as easy as they possibly could. In India we have our Indian Universities, but unfortunately the cultured life that we associate here with British Universities is sadly wanting there.

The next thing the Bishop touched upon in his lecture was the consideration of how the British Empire was to be conserved, and he drew attention to the fact that a situation has grown up in India that is full of menace to the British Raj. Having spent the greater

part of my life in India, and having many many friends amongst my old Indian comrades, no one regrets the new situation that had grown up in India more than I do myself. I have worked with Indians in India, Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan, and I well know the value of the Indian mind working in conjunction with the British mind, and no form of government that I can think of would be better for India than half a dozen Indians and half a dozen Britishers sitting alternately round a table and all working together for the common good. Unfortunately a new situation has been brought in, and the Indian element in the Government is largely in opposition to the British element, and we none of us can say what this new spirit that has come in on the Indian side will lead to. I quite agree with the Bishop that something more than a League of Nations is needed to keep the world at peace and our Empire undisturbed.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, while expressing the company's indebtedness to the Bishop for his paper, suggested that it was too congratulatory to the British nation to-day, and referred to an Australian writer's contrast between the "Mayflower's" voyage in an atmosphere of prayer and praise, with that of the "Mauretania's" characterized by gambling and debauchery, with detectives awaiting her arrival to arrest some of the passengers for card-sharping.

He thought the chief defect of the British in ruling other races was a want of sympathy, so that they failed to gain the affection, while they obtained the respect for fairness and justice, of those over whom they ruled.

He suggested that the Bishop might have referred to the treatment which the Jews had received in this country since the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, granted them leave to have a synagogue, as conducing to the prosperity of the Empire in accordance with the promise to Abraham (Gen. xii, 3).

He suggested that the history of the world during the last few centuries and up to the coming reign of Christ was somewhat analogous to that of an unregenerate man up to his true conversion to God. He often made efforts to reform, and fell back worse than before, until he finally entered into blessing. So while he anticipated a worse time ahead than that during the late war, he looked forward to the ultimate blessing of the reign of Christ.

The Rev. JAMES THOMAS thanked the Bishop for his most excellent paper, and refreshed his recollection that the Authorized Version of the English Bible was not the first complete translation of the Scriptures in our language made from the original tongues. The first was Coverdale's version in 1535 ; the next was Rogers'—under the name of Matthews—issued in 1537. Both of these were completions of Tindale's translation, who was only able to complete the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Book of Jonah when he was put to death. These two versions were followed by Taverner's translation in 1539. The Great Bible of the same year was only a revision of Coverdale's and Rogers' versions. After these came the Geneva version in 1539, made by British exiles, who fled when Mary came to the throne. And finally the Bishop's Bible, made under the command of Archbishop Parker and published in 1568. The Authorized Version, as Bishop Ingham has stated, was issued in 1611.

Our Empire is faced by some great perils. I will refer to one in a twofold form, the racial peril. In Canada—as also in the United States—the Government is opposed to the immigration of the yellow races. They say, and say with emphasis, “ We don't want you ; if you come you must pay a large entrance fee.” This has gone on for a long time. But now the Japanese Government is saying in reply, “ Very well. If we may not enter your country on terms of equality, by what right do you expect to enter Japan on terms of equality with us ? ” This is the muttering of a coming storm.

Years ago we stole Africans from Africa and sold them as slaves in the West Indies. Happily that great crime and sin is over. But what is happening to-day ? White men are stealing Africa from the Africans, and all the while the black races are increasing in numbers over the white races in Africa in the ratio of 17 to 1. That man is blind who does not see in this the certainty of coming trouble. What is to avert calamity, arising out of racial differences and hatreds, from endangering the peace and prosperity of our Dominion and Colonies ? Only the acceptance of the teaching of the Bible. If God be the Father of all the families of men, then all men are brothers. If the all-glorious God calls all races of men His children, we may well call them brethren. It is in our common relation to God that we find safety from the perils that threaten the Empire from racial conflicts.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD had much pleasure in proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the Author of the valuable Paper to which they had been privileged to listen. Not only "the plain man in the street," but every member of the audience had found something worth learning from its "plain thoughts and findings." This Paper beautifully illustrates the great truth that acquisition and conservation of Empire is not a matter of chance. God is the Governor among the nations, the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men and, giveth it to whomsoever He will; He putteth down one and setteth up another. As He is the Author not of confusion but of order, He selects agents *suitable* for carrying out His purposes of blessing to the world. Unquestionably true are Burke's words (quoted on p. 43): "A great empire and little thoughts go ill together." We recall the ancient promises: "The Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail, and thou shalt be *above* only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the Lord thy God . . . to observe and to do them," and "Them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed."

Honour and obedience rendered to God's Word is honour and obedience rendered to Him. It is pointed out in the Paper that the British flag has been and is a symbol of justice, freedom, and progress; and we thankfully hope that it will continue to be so. May it be also a symbol of *mercy*—a virtue not less important than justice. Let us, as a nation, awake, as in the Paper we are exhorted to awake, fulfilling our high responsibility to *love* God with all our heart and soul and strength, and our neighbour as ourselves.

In the Education of our children—"the nation of to-morrow"—we shall, if we are wise, instil and inculcate God's commands as more important than all other matters, and as the essential guiding principles of daily conduct and life.

Thus only can our Empire be conserved.

Lieut.-Col. F. A. MOLONY, O.B.E., said: I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Bishop Ingham.

It was news to me that the charters granted to our early Colonies drew attention to the duty of uplifting the native races.

Bishop Ingham told us that, on hearing of the intended abolition of the slave trade in 1807, Wilberforce wrote a prophecy that God

would henceforward bless our country. Our prosperity just then depended on combating Napoleon. 1807 was the year of the Battle of Friedland, which is generally reckoned the summit of Napoleon's power. From that year it began to decline.

The following year saw the beginning of those victories in the Peninsula which contributed so much to his downfall. Thus Wilberforce's prophecy came true.

The Bishop spoke about the work of the great Missionary, Livingstone, extending our empire. Before the war I was much struck by the fact that the great district of N.E. Rhodesia, West of Lake Nyassa, came into our possession with scarcely any fighting. It was the district which Livingstone spent years in exploring, and where he died. The nations seemed to say, Your Livingstone explored it, and therefore it is yours. As a result of the Great War almost the whole of the vast areas explored by Livingstone have become British, the exceptions being Portuguese West and East Africa, and Manuema, west of Tanganika.

I understood the main purport of the Bishop to be, to trace the hand of God working through us.

I have also been asked to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Oke, our Chairman, who has also just presided at the Council meeting, where he is a most constant attendant; so the service he has just rendered is one of the least he does for this Institution.

Dr. A T. SCHOFIELD sends the following remarks: "An Imperial Paper—a copy of which should be sent to each of our politicians.

"A brave Paper in daring to assert in 1921 that the Bible, not only in sentiment but in history, is the corner-stone of England's greatness. A Paper to be deeply thankful for in these latitudinarian days. Very remarkably it echoes much of the spirit that is flooding American churches to-day: that the source of their greatness is from Above, and that those who honour God will be honoured and blessed by Him."

Mr. C. FOX writes: "There are two kinds of empire, though both alike sadly of this fallen world (whose Lapse the daily newspaper tells us as plainly as the Bible). Most, if not all, have crumbled, like their remains, and dissolved, leaving *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, save interred—as Nineveh—in a grave. It was but a matter of time. An enduring one is, necessarily, founded upon Principles,

not on selfishness—that is, on truth and right, or endures while these continue to rule. It is governed, not by will, but by good ; not by one mind—of this world—rather by all, as it is for all. It is a popular error—one of the legion of them—to suppose it was created by any knowledge or art or any section of men ; its foundation was the Divine Blessing, and its real glory and wealth. And it follows that it can be preserved only *by the same*, and by esteeming, seeking, and safeguarding this (far more than traditions, dead forms and symbols, or any material good) still. A People needs to recognize in this their greatest interest and *summum bonum* and keep their trust fixed in God (not gold or steel, Man or might), or they will inevitably fall, if they have, through wise, sober and self-sacrificing forefathers of supposed darker times, been permitted such a place in the Earth.

“ With the Divine Blessing a little one shall become a thousand and a host of Sennacherib or Pharaoh will oppose in vain. Without this, the fame and constant victories, wealth and glory of a Solomon must be blasted or daily menaced—as followed to him, indeed, to the end, after these allured him, as they are so likely to do, to unfaithfulness and pride. But, without this, all will be in vain. It is the greatest of Assets for a People or for a man. All depends on this. And it depends, in its turn, on humility, reverence, docility and obedience to the Lord professed and the Source of Blessing—on loving, awe of, and dependence openly on, the Supreme Majesty and His Faith, Honour and Worship—and on thankfulness and instruction drawn from the past.

“ All varieties and classes of our race have equal rights. Humanity is the only category before Him Who is the Creator of all and beholds us as sinners or as saints. And every region belongs morally to those who were there at first, what or whoever they may be. There is no such thing as right of conquest, any more than of tyranny : they are the same. What we owe to all, let others do as they may, is only justice and love. We shall be watered if we water ; both good and evil will, infallibly, have their reward. Such being the true principles of Empire, we may predicate always its preservation or fall. Marino’s tiny realm had to be acknowledged by the despot who threatened every Empire, and was far safer and, after so many ages and in the midst of such a world, still stands. Like the unpretending shop, it survives great establishments,

and brings, in the end, often greater and surer wealth, as well as peace. No People has been appointed to be an incubus on any other or control it because greater, wiser or interested, forgetting its own *origines* and struggles at first for Independence or to be punitive or enforce Protection. Were one to be an aggressive evil or uphold a crime, the other nations should *unitedly* protest. Were this the *ultima ratio*, war would never be called for. And evil can never be needful, as it can never be right. The laws of God and of Religion apply to the worldly as well as to His children, and, like those of philosophy, are identical to man whether individual or collective, and to small and weaker companies or to large. All domains, however potent or favoured, stand alike under and are answerable to God, and have also a common trust and duty to the rest of mankind.

“ In the grandee’s allowing access to his park he admits tacitly the right of others to the common soil, which is the Lord’s, and not the lord’s of the manor ; and Nations are now ashamed of Invasion and call it Annexation : the thief might claim the same right, but he would be overruled by his Empire’s laws. Professing Christ’s example, the Civilized have been, in feverish rivalry, seizing and dividing the Globe—thus covering it with jealousies and hates. Could each have been content with what God gave it, all Peoples might have had enough doubtless and been, also, safe and happy, and the World been easily at peace—now never possible or sure. They have reaped the whirlwind and the sword because they sowed the same, and made a lovely World, as many earthly Paradises, a Hell. What they suffer is their own fault, as with Man himself.

“ When a Power becomes *Augustan* and rests on ‘ traditions,’ it is a fatal sign. Whether Empire is *per se* desirable or abstractly righteous is a question that may be some day considered. Where it has, by whatever means, been obtained, its responsibility is commensurate and very great. That of its own cares, perils, loss and sufferings is hardly less than its altruistic one of the treatment of brethren alien by the accidents of geography, language and name, but in essentials one. The estimating things by size and number is a mere illusion of the world. Values by Principle only, though far less regarded, are the true. Men ought to be under a Theocracy, and might if they would. There should be no ideal, and can never be a true one, which involves hate, cruelty or greed ; and no

righteous Power can stoop to or will be upheld under deceit—unhappily now the *organon*, if not the soul (when truly analyzed), of polemics and employed systematically, alas! in criminology and law and in all professions, under euphemisms, as on one side so on the other too. The enemy of Man beguiles the world by false names.

“Empire should be felt, as Cowper saith, by its Mercy—I would add, by example. Then it may extend to the common good and bless Earth—having itself God’s Blessing. Else, it is better overthrown, and will be. For it will be then a despotism on God’s Earth, begun in levity and ending in pride.”

Lieut.-Colonel ARTHUR FORD-MOORE writes: “I should wish to be allowed to join in the cordial expressions of thanks to Bishop Ingham for his very able, opportune and imperial Lecture. It was most interesting. I should, further, like to support Col. Sir Chas. Yate, M.P., in his remarks that there is, wherever I have been, a strong sympathy between British Administrators and Officers of Native troops with those they control. My experience has been gained in Egypt, the Western Desert, Palestine and Syria, and I corroborate the speakers who testified to this sympathy. After only a short three months in one of the cities in Syria which was occupied by a small British force, the Chief of the Municipality, all the Councillors and inhabitants crowded to the gate in the drenching rain to bid farewell to the small garrison when it left the ancient city after handing its custody over to another of the Allies. Most were sobbing bitterly, and many exclaimed, ‘Our hope goes with them.’ The most cordial relations had been established and the officer then in command receives frequent letters from the inhabitants even now. The same can be said of all the other areas, whether occupied by Syrians (of either of the main Muslim sects), of the Egyptians—even immediately after the rioting—Arabs or Jews. The religious sect made no difference. I could give very full descriptions from first-hand evidence in all cases. The views expressed to the contrary by one speaker cannot be too strongly deprecated as an unwarrantable aspersion on his countrymen’s good name. The natives do not compare the British Administrators with beasts, even though they may be just beasts, as he stated.

“Other remarks did not seem very relevant to the subject of the

Bishop's Lecture—I mean a reference to Darwinism. Darwin simply preached Evolution, though his words were purposely distorted. To deny Evolution is akin to questioning the rotundity of the Earth. It was not possible in the length of any man's life to bridge all the gaps, but the main thesis was evolved by the great biologist; many gaps have been bridged and others being so as research proceeds. The botanical researches of Gregor Mendel shed a new light on the subject which illumined many of the dark spaces obscure in Charles Darwin's day. Knowing the missing links in the chain, naturally Darwin was aware that many awkward questions could be asked which could not be answered at the time by his system. This system has long passed the stage of theory and has been fully demonstrated many times."

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes: "I have read with very great interest the proof of Bishop Ingham's forthcoming Lecture on the above-named subject. He has made it abundantly clear that the hand of Providence is to be seen in a very special way in the growth of our Empire, and the manner in which it has come to us. The Bishop has also shown how, to some extent at any rate, we have recognized the duties consequently incumbent on us. The abolition of the Slave Trade, the Freeing of the Slaves in our Dominions, and the endeavour to spread the Knowledge of the Gospel are all evidences that as a nation we have seen that our place of privilege implies responsibilities, and that, however imperfectly, we have made some efforts to meet these responsibilities. The constant crusade against the Slave Trade maintained by our Navy for so many years is a highly honourable page in British History.

"I am sure the Bishop will pardon a word of criticism. It seems to me that he would have strengthened his position, and made more obvious the hand of God in the building up of the British Empire, had he appealed more to the history of its rise. There never was an Imperial Power that more shrank from the acquisition of Empire. This is specially clear in the conquest of India, our greatest dependency. The East India Company sought simply facilities for trade; but the weakness of the Mogul Government compelled them in self-defence to fortify their factories, and hire mercenaries to defend them. The intrigues of Dupleix and the French authorities at Pondicherry

forced the Company to increase the number and improve the efficiency of its soldiery; and compelled us to intervene in Native politics. The Black Hole of Calcutta, and the vengeance necessarily exacted for that atrocity, involved ultimately the assumption of authority over the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Meantime the Directors of the Company at home saw in these conquests only entanglements and hindrances to trade and the consequent lessening of dividends. Consequently Governor succeeded Governor, and Governor-General succeeded Governor-General, each pledged to the hilt to keep out of all political adventures. Yet, one and all, they were compelled to increase our possessions in the Peninsula.

“The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of all our possessions. The conquest of Canada, our greatest Colony, was forced on us by the efforts of the French to jockey us out of the settlements made by the passengers on the “Mayflower” in New England, and by those of our countrymen who had settled in Virginia and the Carolinas. So, too, with Egypt and the Sudan. No Minister could be more averse from armed adventures than was Mr. Gladstone, who was yet forced to undertake the expedition of 1883. Surely God has laid on us this Empire as a responsibility; we can preserve it only by fulfilling the duties incumbent on us in consequence of its possession.”