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prosperity, whose very existence, are imperilled by this scarcely hidden cancer.

Such work and such prayer as this the Church of England Purity Society is endeavouring to promote in every part of the country. At present it would be impossible to give any statistics of results. The work is still but beginning. It is still in many places tentative, almost timid. But it is gathering strength, courage, and the energy born of experience and success. Working in entire harmony with the Bishop of Durham's White Cross Army and other older Associations, it has already a breadth of scope, a far-reaching power, which no other Society has ever aimed at. Supported by the Episcopate and in alliance with the existing organizations of the Church, diocesan and parochial, it seeks not merely to suppress peculiarly malignant forms of vice, or to reform particular towns or districts, but to purify and elevate society in all its grades, to improve the whole tone of thought, and speech and manners, to teach men, and especially young men, that calmness and self-control are more honourable than looseness and wildness of life, that it is more manly to be master of the passions than their slave. Apart from such work as this, the greater stringency of the law and more vigorous use of its powers cannot have any permanent effect for good, and may, indeed, result in fresh and more frightful evils. The amendment of the law is, therefore, no excuse for cessation of our efforts, but rather a call to renew them. In this work the Society seeks to enlist the aid of men of every rank and class. It is not a work for the clergy alone. Indeed, it is eminently a work for laymen, and laymen have entered into it most readily and heartily.

I have said very little about the necessity of the work. Unhappily its necessity is only too obvious. The sin is spreading ruin both in town and country, in manufacturing and agricultural districts, among rich and poor. It must be met by the united efforts of all who love their nation and their Church. It must be met by steady, persistent religious work—work begun and carried on in sole reliance upon the all-powerful grace of God.

JOHN SHELLEY.



ART. VII.—OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

HOW many educated men are there in England to-day who could, without consulting any authorities, name all the Colonial possessions of Great Britain? They would make, I fear, but a very small company. And yet that Empire is the

most magnificent that the world has ever seen. From British India, with an area of 904,135 square miles and a population of two hundred million souls, down to Gibraltar, with an area of less than two square miles and a population of eighteen thousand, the Crown of England has possessions of every extent in every climate, embracing such territories as the Dominion of Canada, with an area of three and a half millions of square miles and a population of five millions; the West India Islands, with an area of thirteen thousand square miles, and a population of one million; and the Australian Colonies, with an area exceeding three million square miles, and a population of three millions—and reaching the enormous number of fifty distinct colonies and possessions.

It was the contemplation of the almost boundless extent of this Empire that inspired that brilliant passage in which the great American orator, Daniel Webster, saw in vision the rising sun saluted continually by the *reveille* of British garrisons, as he revolved in his daily circuit round the globe.

What constitutes this vast dominion, and how was it built up?

It did not grow up in a night. It was not made to order, as the French and German Governments and people appear to think possible, if one may judge by their new-born zeal for Colonial acquisitions. The British Colonies have been growing into their present magnitude and importance for several centuries. And it is remarkable how little notice was taken of their extent, and how little jealousy was felt by other nations on account of them until within a very recent period. With an almost portentous suddenness, however, the world has awoke to a sense of their greatness and value; and Germany, France, and Russia are running a headlong race to the ends of the earth in search of new provinces and colonies. Prince Bismark is one of the ablest men of the present age, and the rulers of France and Russia are sufficiently astute statesmen; but they are all certainly under a delusion in their expectations of making a Colonial Empire to order, as one would order a coat from his tailor.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire there has never been a colonizing nation in its real sense, except Great Britain. Like the poet, the true colonizing race is born, not made. No nation ought to know this better than France. She had an unrivalled opportunity of founding a great empire on the Continent of North America two centuries ago. Able men like the celebrated Admiral Jacques Cartier chalked out a magnificent scheme, extending from Cape Breton to the Gulf of Mexico; vast fortresses were constructed at Louisburg and Quebec; large bodies of Frenchmen were induced to emigrate and settle the country; immense tracts of land were reclaimed,

and, in short, the foundations of an empire were laid with great skill and labour. And where is it to-day? The flag of England, the great colonizer, or of her offspring the United States, has supplanted that of France in every portion of the American Continent. The mighty fortress of Louisburg was taken and dismantled, and is now a heap of ruins; Quebec was wrested from the crown of France by Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham, and the British flag now floats over the great citadel. From Acadia to New Orleans not a vestige of the great French Colonial Empire now survives; two little islets, St. Pierre and Miquelon, with certain vague claims to fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, alone remaining to attest the presence of France in North America in days gone by. And it was a singular instance of the revenge which the whirligig of time brings round, that Sir George Cartier, the lineal descendant of the Admiral Jacques Cartier who mapped out the Continent of America for his master, the King of France, should have taken a leading part in consolidating for *his* Sovereign, the Queen of England, the whole of that great territory into the Dominion of Canada.

In India the same tale of the attempts by France to establish a great dependency, and its eventual absorption into the British dominions, was repeated with singular fidelity; indeed, it is simply the story of the French territories in North America repeated with a change of venue.

Germany never has been a colonizing power, and has already begun to learn that the acquisition of pestilential swamps in Africa may after all be of no great value to the Fatherland. The lesson, however, appears to have been lost, if we may judge by her blundering action in the more recent case of the Caroline Islands, which affords evidence of a craving for Colonial expansion so strong as to override the most ordinary rules of international courtesy.

The Colonial policy of Russia may be said to be *sui generis*. Indeed, in its true sense it is not a Colonial policy at all. It is rather an insatiable desire for territorial acquisition, and that, as shrewdly suspected by many, chiefly in the direction of British India. The testimony of Professor Vambéry in his recent work, "The Coming Struggle for India," in which he dwells on the relative character of English and Russian administration over acquired or conquered regions, is of the highest value in this connection. English rule, he says, is a blessing to the tribes who may be subjected to it. Russian administration degrades and demoralizes those who come under its control; and this, let us remember, is the testimony of a distinguished foreigner, whose knowledge of both Powers is exceptionally great.

It is not, however, to be assumed that England has never fallen into errors in her Colonial policy. One terrible blunder the statesmen of the last century committed when they lost for ever, not by foreign aggression, but by their own infatuation, the thirteen American Colonies, now expanded into one of the greatest nations of the world. This blunder stands out alone in its magnitude and results; but many other mistakes have been made which have unhappily not yet lost their vitality. John Bull has often won fair possessions by his sword, and then allowed them to slip from his hands through the craft of diplomatists. About the middle of the last century a remarkable illustration of this peculiar characteristic was witnessed. The long contest for supremacy on the Continent of America, to which reference has already been made, between England and France, had been brought to a brilliant close by the capture of Quebec by Wolfe. Canada was completely and finally subjugated, and France thenceforth abandoned all hope of ascendancy in the Western world. The mighty fortress of Louisburg had already fallen, and the whole country lay at the feet of England, at a great cost of blood and treasure. Canada was a conquered country. It was for the victors to decide on its future laws and government. And now, having sheathed the sword, John Bull took up the pen, and, according to his wont, allowed himself to be lured by the French diplomatists into one of the most lamentable mistakes recorded in his history. There was no room whatever for the offices of diplomacy. The land was the rightful possession of the conquerors. It was not incumbent on them to bind themselves by any stipulations with the conquered as to their treatment of the territory. Yet they did so; and to this hour the baneful effects of the "Treaty of Cession" are felt in Canada. The French had nothing to cede; Wolfe had settled that on the Plains of Abraham. Yet England accepted under a treaty what was already hers by the paramount law of conquest, and in it the representatives of England allowed the astute French diplomatists to insert covenants and stipulations which secured to the French inhabitants of Lower Canada, now the Province of Quebec, French laws, language and religion in perpetuity. Enormous tracts of land, then of little importance, but now of immense value—such, for instance, as that on which the city of Montreal is built—were guaranteed to the French ecclesiastical authorities, and are now held in mortmain, and form a terrible deadweight on the progress of the country. The result has been that while all the rest of the Dominion is in a ferment of activity and enterprise, the Province of Quebec, thus heavily handicapped and artificially separated from the English-speaking Provinces, not only lags far behind them in

the race at present, but is daily increasing the distance between them.

Notwithstanding all the mistakes, however, of the past, the advance of the British Colonial Empire has been steady and irresistible, until to-day it occupies a position to which history affords no parallel.

We have not to listen for the faint and yet distant "tramp of the coming millions;" the vanguard is already on the scene. In Canada, larger in extent of territory than the United States, in the vast continent of Australia, in the great Indian Empire, and in many other portions of the globe, British subjects have built great cities, covered the land with a network of railways, and the ocean with their shipping, erected noble schools and colleges, and founded communities on the solid foundation of British law and order, which are now rapidly developing into powerful nations. The English language is now spoken in every quarter of the globe, and appears destined to become the almost universal language of the human race.

I have spoken of the Colonies covering the ocean with their shipping. Let me adduce one instance as an evidence that this statement is not overdrawn. In a table published by the Fisheries Department of Canada for 1881-1882, showing the tonnage of sea-going ships and steamers over 100 tons register, of each of the maritime states of the world, we find the following figures, which show that the Dominion of Canada is the fourth great shipowning country in the world. It will probably surprise many readers to learn this fact, and to know that Canada has more ships on the ocean than Germany or France, and completely distances Russia, Sweden, Spain, and indeed all the continental states of Europe except Norway.

The following are the comparative amounts of tonnage owned in some of the countries referred to :

Great Britain (including Canada and Colonies)—22,509 sailing vessels and steamers, having a total net tonnage of 8,569,304.

The United States—6,614 sailing vessels and steamers, with a total net tonnage of 2,463,583.

Norway—4,222 sailing vessels and steamers, with a total tonnage of 1,449,629.

Canada—7,394 sailing vessels and steamers, with a total tonnage of 1,310,896.

Germany has but 3,315 vessels of all classes, with a total tonnage of 1,180,356 ; and France has 3,039 ships and steamers, with a total tonnage of 816,533 ; and Russia owns 2,292 vessels, including steamers, having a total tonnage of 558,339.

Great Britain, of course, is *facile princeps* among the nations ; but it will be observed that the tonnage of Canada

and the Colonies goes to swell her gigantic total. The other maritime states of the world fall off so largely from these figures that it will be unnecessary to quote them. The remarkable fact which this statement establishes is, that a British Colony with but five millions of inhabitants has already reached the fourth place in the world in the great ship-building industry.

Is there no significance in all this? Has all this great empire arisen merely to gratify the pride and self-esteem of the inhabitants of a little island in Western Europe? Does it mean nothing to the human family at large that a spectacle of such surpassing interest is ever before their eyes? We may rest assured that it is not for naught. And as the future unravels itself the interest will be constantly intensified. There are some who look on the bond which unites the Colonies to the parent State as so weak and brittle that the first real strain will snap it asunder. He, however, who witnessed the spectacle on the sands of Egypt or the waters of the Nile, of troops from India and from Australia, and voyageurs from Canada undergoing the hardships of a campaign in common with their brethren of the parent land, would have been bold indeed to affirm that none but weak and fragile bonds existed between the centre and the outlying portions of the Empire.

This then is what we mean when we speak of the Colonial Empire. When we look round at other nations we fail to see any whose constitution, laws, and government are so fitted to promote the happiness of the human family as those which prevail in the British Islands.

If

“ Observation with extensive view,
Survey mankind from China to Peru,”

no eye, though keen as Johnson's, could discern anything approaching the extent and grandeur of this empire, or its beneficent effects on the welfare of men.

It is true it partakes of the imperfections to which all things human are subject; mistakes have been made in the past, mistakes are still of too frequent occurrence. But no thinking man who looks beyond the boundaries of the street in which he lives can fail to see that on the whole the Colonial Empire of England has been a blessing to millions of the human race. And it has a reflex action upon herself for good. The large proportion of her exports to the Colonies, relatively to population, as compared with those to other countries, exhibited in the Government returns, has often been quoted to establish the value of the Colonial market to the British manufacturer; and this of course means increased occupation, springing from

the existence of the Colonies, for the home artisans, as well as for the shipowners who carry the goods to their destination.

A striking instance of the "possibilities" involved in the possession of great Colonies occurred a few months since when war with Russia appeared to be imminent. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company offered to the British Government to convey war material across the Continent of America in eleven days, although there was then an unfinished gap of considerable extent in the line. The time of this transit has now been reduced to about seven days. Had the Suez Canal in any way been rendered impassable—not an impossible contingency—this would have been a facility of incalculable importance in a contest with Russia, and may yet prove to be so in the coming struggle which Professor Vambéry sees looming before us.

The fortunes of the whole empire are bound up in the same bundle, and it is for the advantage of the whole world that the union should remain intact. Stripped of her Colonies, England would doubtless remain a busy hive of industry—another Holland or Belgium—but a queen among the nations she would no longer be. The loss to herself no less than to the Colonies themselves would be enormous, but the loss to the world would be greater still.

The moral spectacle of the foremost of the nations governed by the eternal laws of justice, and, with all its shortcomings, seeking the true welfare of its subjects in every clime, affords an example which cannot be without effect on the surrounding nations. The withdrawal of that example and of that moral influence would be one of the greatest calamities which could befall the world; and material prosperity would follow the moral in its flight.

A very remarkable article appeared recently in a German paper, which was said to have been either written or inspired by Prince Bismark, in which the unique position occupied by England is admitted with great frankness and admiration. Her ubiquitous presence and influence are acknowledged to be factors of untold value to the whole world. If, the writer of the article says, "that influence were withdrawn, the loss would be irreparable. Other nations might sink or disappear; the loss would be their own. But if the British Empire were to collapse, the loss would be the world's."

Well then may Englishmen speak with enthusiasm of the great Colonial Empire, whose foundations are laid in the immutable principles of truth and justice, and in those civil and religious liberties which are guaranteed by the Protestant Constitution of England to every subject of the Crown in every land.

PHILIP CARTERET HILL.