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England's Divine Destiny.¹⁾

Synopsis.

The article begins by describing the conditions in England prior to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. No industry; hardly any fleet; the trade in the hands of foreigners. "A home-staying, agricultural, and pastoral people."

Then the rise of English sea-power after the decline of Spain (1588). The founding of colonies in America. The rivalry with France, which did not end till 1815. Treaty of Utrecht. Subsequent policy of England. Commercial rivalry of Spain and France. The Mediterranean. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Pitt. American Revolution. Colonization of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Egypt. Policy after 1870 to the present day.

Follows the translation:—

The policy of giving up, preached and practised by the liberal economists, the dissenting conservatives, and the philosophic radicals, has never been accepted by the Tories. The latter wrote in the *Times*, in reply to the articles by Smith: "They wish to state, once for all, that England has no intention whatever of giving up its possessions overseas."

In 1874 the conservative party takes the reins. It is the triumph of the imperialistic policy. It is the awakening of the

1) The subjoined article has been contributed by Rev. H. Ruhland, of Ottawa, Can. It has been taken from an article by Jean Desy, Professor of Higher Commerce, in the *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne*. The article is inscribed "De L'Île à L'Empire" (From Island to Empire). Rev. Ruhland gives a synopsis of the article, then translates the most remarkable portion, and, omitting a lengthy dissertation on the strengthening of the ties that bind the British Colonies to the mother country, reproduces in condensed form the Professor's concluding remarks. D.

national combativeness which Palmerston had utilized for the glory of his party and in the interest of his popularity. (44)

In 1876 Victoria accepts the imperial crown of India, and in 1879 Lord Beaconsfield gives the English people the Roman motto: "*Imperium et Libertas.*"

Let us inquire into the economic and scientific causes which may be at the root of this bellicose and conquering *renaissance*. We shall start with the scientific causes.

The theologians, the historians, and the politicians have placed a nimbus of self-abnegation around the aggressive tendencies of their nation. They have made the word "patriotism" synonymous with "duty," and have implanted in the souls of the British people the idea of a privileged rôle which God is said to have given them. With the aid of sophisms they have ascribed to contemporaneous events a character of morality, and have affirmed that God, who reveals history, has imposed on the British nation this need of annexation and has made its conquests justifiable. (45)

They have demonstrated that the British power is founded on the rock of the Scriptures. (46)

Lord Salisbury affirmed, without a smile, that Providence has given Britain the mission to "influence the morality and the progress of the world to an extent such as an empire has never done before"; and Gladstone, too, speaks of the providential mission of the English.

Cecil Rhodes assures us in his will that in giving to his people the greatest amount of power and free scope possible he is only conforming his policy to the designs of Heaven.

Associations are formed and books appear to prove that the British nation is affiliated to the tribe of Ephraim, and that it is carrying out, in the present age, the mission which was given to the Jews by Jehovah. (47)

The title of the works by Archdeacon Evans and the Rev. Robert Douglas state this clearly: "England under God," "God and Greater Britain." The theologians spare no pains in proving from the Bible that the British are the chosen people. Some of the proofs adduced are uncommonly amusing; for instance, we are assured that the word British is a literal translation of the Hebrew expression "the person (*ish*) of the divine covenant (*b'rit*)." (48)

(44) Bardoux, pp. 303. 304.

(45) Seeley, *British Expansion*, p. 162.

(46) R. Douglas, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 139.

(47) Bardoux, p. 80.

(48) R. Douglas, *l. c.*, p. 40.

We are also told that the coronation ceremonies are identical with those prescribed for the coronation of Solomon, as well as that the royal standard still preserves the arms of David, the lion rampant. ⁽⁴⁹⁾

Thus sacred history teaches the English that God ordered the destruction of its opponents in order to assure the progressive development of the chosen people. ⁽⁵⁰⁾

However, it would not be easy to bring such arguments home to the great mass of the people, and for this reason a less scientific propaganda has been organized for their benefit. Religious societies have spread amongst the lower classes a short prayer which is easily remembered: "We thank Thee, O Lord, who hast placed us above other nations."

When the Boer War broke out, every soldier was presented with a Bible, the cover of which was decorated with English flags and badges; and when Pretoria was taken, Lord Roberts ordered that thanks be given to "the God of the imperial race." ⁽⁵¹⁾

Austin, poet laureate, sang, inspired by these sentiments:—
Whoever fights for England fights for God.
Who dies for England sleeps with God. ⁽⁵²⁾

It is for the greater glory of God and Great Britain that the massacres in Borneo were perpetrated, the bloody acts against the sepoys were committed, and the unjustifiable aggression against the Boers started, and so forth. . . .

Tennyson gives expression to the "ancient dreams of the zenith of imperial power," and Kingsley writes the first poem on imperialism, while Kipling appears as official bard. He creates the empire "composed of heterogeneous elements in the brains of his readers," . . . and the whole race reads it.

Carlyle, Ruskin, and J. A. Froude were the heralds of political imperialism. According to Carlyle, the empire must be preserved and extended by force of arms. ⁽⁵³⁾

Ruskin, in a conference on the future of England, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ suggested the idea of collecting the most adventurous and the most

(49) R. Douglas, *l. c.*, p. 143.

(50) K. Pearson, cited by Bardoux, *Contemporaneous England*, p. 475.

(51) J. C. Godard, *Patriotism and Ethics*, p. 130.

(52) In connection with this matter, see the work of Bardoux, above cited, in which these various religious and political currents are analyzed, and from which most of the following citations are taken. See also the books of Messrs. Caxamian and E. Guyot.

(53) *Past and Present*, pp. 135. 137. 140. 141.

(54) *Crown*, § 159.

ambitious young men and having them found new seats of authority, new centers of thought, as well as of production. Froude advises to open the public services, and the honors thus far reserved to the English, to the Colonials. (55)

He lets us see the Oceanic Empire, as dreamed of by Harrington in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The philosophers, availing themselves of the theory of evolution, applied by Darwin to natural science, have tried to prove that England is unconsciously marching towards the fulfilment of its imperial destiny, and that "its past connects it with its future." Giddings, Seeley, and Bridge have tried to demonstrate philosophically and historically that the nations are influenced by impulses and sentiments springing up from past generations. They teach us that unlimited expansion is the motive principle of English history, which gives a hidden and instinctive force to the national life, and that the heritage of the "past ages, with all the prerogatives and solemn obligations which spring from this noble privilege," imposes upon the English the duty of being imperialists. (56)

To this thesis is added the one of the undeniable superiority of the "race which rules." This sentiment of superiority morally justifies all colonials and officials who are working for expansion. (57)

The interests of the superior race outweigh all the principles of international law. The English race must struggle in order to maintain its superiority. That is inevitable if it desires to survive. (58)

The inferior races will go under as they have not "found the narrow path which leads to a greater development."

Let us now inquire into the economic factors. About 1878 British industry and trade underwent a crisis. The Boards of Trade of Birmingham and Sheffield demanded the colonial markets, and talked about an Imperial Free Trade Federation. The members of the Committee of Inquiry into the commercial crisis stated that production was greater than the demand and ascribed this condition of affairs to an excess of capital.

The British manufacturers, between 1885 and 1900, desired to find in the so-called exploitation colonies the customers for all their metal products. The already settled colonies offered but a limited

(55) *Oceana*, pp. 138. 194.

(56) J. Lawson-Walton, *Imperial Liberal League*, Leaflet No. 17, 1900 to 1901, p. 5.

(57) Spencer Wilkinson, *The Great Alternative*, 2d ed., 1902, p. 222.

(58) Pearson, *National Life*, 1900, p. 18.

market, notwithstanding the enormous increase in their population. Hence the economic needs, they said, would force the statesmen to make annexations. Thus we find that in sixteen years (1884 to 1900) the British Empire was increased by 4 million square miles, whilst its population gained 57 millions. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Conclusion.

Dilke, Egerton, and de la Billiere longed for a great war which would consolidate imperial defense, the protector of the home export trade. Their wish has been fulfilled.

Two figures in a novel by De Vogue stand for the lust of gain and the hypocrisy of the grasping shopkeepers. Robinson, "Master of the Sea," by "moving his hand over the globe," discloses his system: "Meddle everywhere; risk everywhere"; command everywhere the attack of the banknotes, those "chiefs of the modern armies, who start wars which end to their advantage." Big profits, that is the motive and the aim of all great undertakings.

Hiram Jarvis, missionary, enlightened by the new faith, preaches patriotism and the union of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. In a sermon, embellished with citations from the Bible, he holds up the ocean as the "source of great power" to the descendants of the sailors of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The English race demands this "sea-power" back, in order to realize a lofty ideal of civilization, justice, and equity.

We might have more faith in these sublime and immaterial things if the lessons of history had not made us suspicious, and if Montesquieu had not said: "Other nations have subordinated trade interests to political interests; this nation has always subordinated its political to trade interests. It is the nation which has best understood how to make use of these three things: religion, trade, and liberty."
