



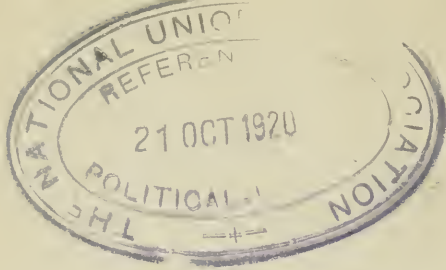


Edited by W. T. STEAD.



WHY I AM A FREE TRADER.

By WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, M.P.



COMING MEN
ON
COMING QUESTIONS.

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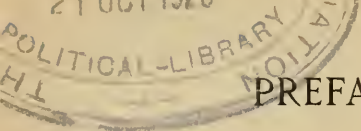
BY

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, M.P.

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON, E.C.

April 13th, 1905.

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

THIS pamphlet, "Why I am a Free Trader," by Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., is the first weekly part of a forthcoming work, the nature of which is indicated by its title :

• "COMING MEN ON COMING QUESTIONS."

Each number will contain a brief character sketch of a coming man, with his latest portrait, and a statement of his views upon a leading question of the day.

The aim of the Editor is to afford the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland a brief, comprehensive, and authoritative statement of Coming Questions in terms so concise and simple as to furnish the Electors with the facts and arguments essential for understanding the issues before the country; and to discuss such questions as the Constitution of the New Ministry, the Case against the Government, What will be the Liberal Majority, Young Liberals and their Leagues, &c.

The volume, when completed, will be a handy encyclopædia of facts and figures—political, social, and biographical—covering most of the important questions to be dealt with in the new Parliament.

The following numbers, among others, are in preparation, and will appear weekly till the volume is completed :—

Leaders in the Lords: Lord Spencer and Lord Rosebery.

Mr. John Burns, M.P.: Labour Questions.

Leaders in the Commons: Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Morley.

Dr. Macnamara, M.P.: The Physical Improvement of Our People.

Sir Robert Reid, M.P.: The Salvation of the Empire.

Lord Esher: The British Army and its Work.

Mr. R. Haldane, M.P.: The Brain of the Empire.

The Liberal Leaguers: Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey.

Mr. George White, M.P.: The Education Act.

Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P.: The Financial Case for Home Rule.

The Earl of Lytton: Public Houses for the Public.

Mr. J. W. Benn, M.P.: London Problems.

Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P.: Irish Land—What is still to be done.

Mr. F. R. Macdonald: The Independent Labour Party.

Mr. John Dillon, M.P.: The Irish University Question.

Mr. Hilaire Belloc: Registration Reform.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.: Woman's Suffrage.

Hon. P. Stanhope, M.P.: Peace and Arbitration.

Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Thomas Shaw have also promised to contribute. Among other subjects to be dealt with are Retrenchment, the Licensing Act, Land Values, Foreign Policy, and South Africa.

The volume will be completed in about twenty-six parts, and will be published in October.

WINSTON CHURCHILL,

Past, Present, and Future.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL is the first of our coming men.

If he chooses to take it, a seat in the next Cabinet is at his disposal. Whether he will take it or not, no one knows, not even Mr. Churchill himself. For he has got ten years' start of all his competitors, and as time is on his side, he need not hurry.

Winston is to Randolph as Pitt was to Chatham. It is seldom that son follows so immediately in the steps of his father. Chatham first took office when thirty-eight, Randolph when thirty-six. Pitt refused subordinate office when twenty-three, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer six months later. Winston Churchill, if the General Election takes place this year, will have the refusal of Cabinet office before his thirty-first birthday.

Winston's past has been variegated. His present is exciting. His future is more brilliant in its prospect than that of any other man, save his old colleague, Lord Hugh Cecil. If both are alive and hearty in 1910, one will be leading the Liberals, the other the Conservatives. For we are on the threshold of the era of youth.

The gerontocracy is passing. In five years' time we shall probably look in vain for a Cabinet Minister over sixty. Winston Churchill, like

Millbank in "Coningsby," has "immense faith in the new generation," and if his fortune depends upon daring, he will not fail.

Winston Churchill is an Anglo-American. His father, the third son of the sixth Duke of Marlborough, died when Winston was twenty years old. His mother was a Miss Jerome, of New York, and is now Mrs. George Cornwallis West. He was born November 30th, 1874, sent to Harrow in 1888, entered at Sandhurst in 1893, and became lieutenant in the 4th Hussars in 1895.

His first essay in journalism was as special correspondent for the *Daily Graphic* with Martines Campos in the last vain effort the Spaniards were making to suppress the insurrection in Cuba. There he won his first order, "Military Merit of the First Class," with the praises of the Spanish General.

His first experience in actual warfare was gained when the 4th Hussars were ordered to India. He fought on the Malakand Frontier, described the operations for the *Daily Telegraph*, and published a book about it when it was over. In 1898 he was attached to the Tirah expedition as orderly to Sir W. Lockhart.

His first success in impressing the great public with a realizing sense of his personality was when he joined

the 21st Lancers in order to accompany Lord Kitchener up the Nile for the re-conquest of Khartoum. His correspondence—this time for the *Morning Post*—was singularly lucid, interesting, and outspoken. He was evidently more than a mere photographer in words. He wrote like a historian, and condemned his seniors with all the audacity of youth and the assurance of a judge.

No sooner was he back from Egypt than he rushed off to South Africa—this time as war correspondent only. He went out imbued with the prevalent prejudices against the Boers. When he saw them the scales fell from his eyes. They captured him when they upset the armoured train, and thereby did him the best service in the world. Nor did he do them a bad turn when he made his adventurous escape from Pretoria prison. After that picturesque incident, Winston Churchill had the ear of the public for everything he wished to say. He did his best to infuse reason and chivalry into the Jingo mob, and it was not his fault he failed.

Before the war was ended he was elected Member for Oldham as a Conservative. His first speech in the House was made in reply to Mr. Lloyd-George in the debate on the Address. The opponents of 1901 are allies to-day, and will be colleagues to-morrow.

His first parliamentary success was achieved May 12th, 1901, when he slew Mr. Brodrick's Army Scheme, although it crawled round unburied for another year. He then raised the tattered flag of Retrenchment, which had fallen from his father's hands, and on April 14th, 1902, boldly attacked the excessive expenditure of

the Government. Before that date (Nov. 12th, 1901) he had somewhat timidly unfurled the Radical banner of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform before the scandalized gaze of members of the Constitutional Club.

His own party damned his impudence, and told all manner of stories about his egotism, his assurance, and his infernal confidence. Winston did not mind. When Mr. Chamberlain started his fiscal heresy, Winston Churchill took up a position of stern and unrelenting antagonism to Protection. He denounced the new departure before the "Sheffield Shufflers," and generally made so deep a mark on his party that in the spring of the following year, when he rose to speak, all the members of his own party got up and went out. No such supreme compliment has been paid to any member in our time.

He offered to resign his seat at Oldham to test the feeling of the constituency. The local caucus implored him to do no such thing. At next Election he will stand for North-West Manchester, a constituency which elected Sir W. Houldsworth in 1900 by a majority of 1,471. He will have to add 42 per cent. to the Liberal poll—supposing the Unionist vote remains the same—before he can win the seat.

He is described in Vacher's Parliamentary Companion as "N.P.," a man of No Party. In reality, he is personally a Tory Democrat, like his father before him. "Randy Redivivus" he is, with more than "Randy's" popularity in the country. In the House he is still looked at askance. He is so revoltingly young—only thirty-one, a beardless boy, a mere infant. But when he made his last great speech

on his resolution against taxes on food, it was admitted by friend and foe alike that he had won a right to a place in the first rank of parliamentary debaters. After that night his right to a place in the next Cabinet has ceased to be a matter of argument.

Winston Churchill has a somewhat curious catch in his voice, which does not in the least prevent his being heard with ease by the largest audiences. He is a more serious politician than his father—whose *Life*, by the way, he is now engaged in writing for Messrs. Longmans. He is much less random and reckless than was “young Randy,” who, when he first stood for Woodstock, had to gain attention by the extravagance of his epithets and the vehemence of his abuse.

“Winston,” said an old parliamentary hand the other day, “never uses a bad argument.” It is a great deal more than the same authority would have said of Lord Randolph.

Winston Churchill and Lloyd-George are now the Castor and Pollux of the Opposition. They are both as keen as mustard and as sharp as needles. They are always on the

spot. The two of them would certainly command greater audiences than any other two men in the party, with the doubtful exception of Lord Rosebery and Mr. Morley.

I conclude this brief appreciation of this first of our coming men by quoting the tribute paid to him, when he was a stripling of six-and-twenty, by Lord Dufferin:—

He had already contrived, young as he was, to cram into his life a finer series of military adventures than half of the general officers in Europe, and, furthermore, he might say that upon each occasion, whether in the Soudan, in Cuba, in India, or in South Africa, he had played an honourable and a distinguished part. On every occasion he had shown that chivalrous courage which became a high-minded gentleman, and, what was equally important, that capacity, that skill, and that resource which bore testimony to his intellectual ability.

Since then in politics he has beaten his own record in war and in journalism. Hence I put him down *Coming Man*, No. 1.

WHY I AM A FREE TRADER.

By **Winston S. Churchill.**

A HUNDRED years ago the Press was weak, but its writers were strong. Individual pamphleteers shaped the policies and shook the stability of powerful Governments. Nowadays the letters of Junius would sell for a penny a line—if indeed they could find a purchaser. Nevertheless, as in war the soldier uses all means of attack and defence, despising none, in our political warfare we cannot afford to neglect the pamphlet. As the combatants in the Far East have reverted to the use of the hand grenade, we may in the fiscal campaign vary occasionally the bombardment from the platform by employing the agency of the familiar brochure. But, as it is the same explosive, lyddite, melinite, or what you please, that is employed in the great gun and in the hand grenade, so I make no claim for originality in this statement of the case for Free Trade. It is compacted out of the ingredients of many addresses delivered to audiences in various parts of the country, of speeches in the House of Commons, and of articles contributed to the magazines, but it may be accepted as embodying in the briefest compass the main lines of the great argument which has been pressed not without success upon the people of this country.

I.—What I mean by Free Trade.

WHEN I say that I am a Free Trader, what is that we mean by the term? What is that Free Traders assert and are prepared to maintain against all comers?

We say that the staple food of the people should be sold in the markets of this country as cheap as the competition of the world can make it, and that no private interests in England or elsewhere shall twist the law of the land so as to raise food prices artificially, and put unnatural profits in their pockets. That is the ground we are going to fight on. We say that every Englishman shall have the right to buy whatever he wants, wherever he chooses, at his own good pleasure, without restriction or discouragement from the State. That is our plan; we have followed it for sixty years, and whatever they say, we are not quite ruined yet.

Now, why is it that we are so resolute in opposing any attempt to destroy a fiscal system under which our present position of industrial and commercial prosperity has been created? I am a member for a Lancashire constituency, and as I travel from one great city to another in the county palatine I am impressed whenever I look out of the window with the artificial position

which it occupies. I see in every valley of that undulating region towns and townships which were the homes of a vast thriving population living on a soil which could not support in decent comfort a twentieth of their number. Within thirty miles of the Manchester Free Trade Hall there is gathered together the greatest concentration of human beings on the surface of the globe. This mass of people are absolutely dependent for the food they eat and the material they employ upon supplies of food and raw material which reach them mainly from foreign lands. They are dependent on the condition of a crop at one end of the world and the state of a market at the other; and yet, upon this artificial foundation, through the inestimable advantage of unfettered enterprise and of unrestricted sea communication, they have been able to build up a vast industrial fabric which it is no exaggeration to say is the economical marvel of the world.

At present we stand on very firm ground in respect to food. With the telegraph and with steamships there is hardly a food-exporting country in the world that is more than sixty days from Liverpool. The harvests of the world are at our disposal, and by the system which averages climatic risks we secure not merely a low, but a fairly stable price. With that marvellous operation by which the crowded population of this island is fed I dare not take the responsibility of interfering, and I confess I feel the gravest anxiety when I see the reckless hands of politicians, struggling for political mastery, laid upon all that delicate and stupendous structure of such vast consequence to so many thousands of very poor people.

When I ask myself how it is that we should have at this time of day to face so sudden and unexpected an onslaught upon the principle of Free Trade, I console myself by remembering that our surprise is the result of the completeness of our triumph.

The victory of the Free Traders in the forties was so complete, so crowned with triumph and smiling days, that the strength of the Protectionist army had been forgotten. Their last sullen commandos were never subdued. They survived in holes and corners. Faithful sentinels watched from mountain caves the long heyday of prosperity in the valleys below them. They never bowed the knee to new ideas. The Duke of Rutland, the Lowthers, the Chaplins, the Howard Vincents, each in their own way and at their own time, kept the old flag flying; and all waited patiently for their hour to come.

They naturally sallied forth when a new and unexpected champion sounded his bugle horn, to summon them to attack the camp which he had just deserted. But after the first moment of alarm, it was evident their onslaught would be hurled back all along the line. The coming General Election will record on the tablets of history the final defeat of the last desperate charge of the Old Brigade.

They attacked under two standards—Retaliation and Preference, the two wings of the Army of Protection. Both were agreed in desiring to achieve an entire revolution in the fiscal system which owes its existence largely to the labours of Cobden. For a moment it seemed as if the allied

host might enforce at least a temporary retreat from the position held for sixty years by both the great parties of the State. But it was only for a moment.

In the long stairway of human achievement which the toil and sacrifices of generations is laboriously building, it was Cobden's work to lay a mighty stone. Other stones—stones of social reform and of Imperial responsibility—have been set on the stone that Cobden laid; and even now there is plenty of work for the masons and master-builders. But we believe that the work that Cobden did was done for ever; that the stone he laid shall never be transplanted; the heights he gained shall never be abandoned. We may differ about how far, how fast, and in what direction we are to move forward. But in one thing we are agreed. We are not going back—not one inch.

We found Ministers alternately prostrating themselves before the opposing deities of Free Trade and Protection; at one moment proudly and even arrogantly demanding a mandate for tariff reform in the name of the Empire, and the next moment trying to wheedle a few Unionist Free Traders into their lobby by explaining, after all, that all they wanted to do was to resume our liberty of negotiation subject to the consent of the House of Commons in each particular case.

I think we may call these people the "Sheffield Shufflers," because it is quite clear that they are ready to support any policy, and to fight and shout for any formula, however meaningless, however dishonest, which they think will put off a General Election.

Our duty as Free Traders is plain. We are not concerned with the shifts and manœuvres of an embarrassed Administration. We do not believe that our principles are safe in the hands of the present Administration, and we offer as resolute an opposition to Protection disguised as Retaliation, as to Protection disguised as Preference.

II.—The Case against Protection.

BEFORE stating the objections to either Retaliation or to Preference, it may be well to deal with the general question of Protection which underlies both demands.

When this question of Protection was first raised it was admitted that the burden of proof lay with those who brought it forward. They had to prove three things severally and collectively. Failure to prove any one of the three destroyed their case.

First, that we were not a prosperous country.

Secondly, that they had a remedy which would make us a prosperous country.

Thirdly, that their remedy was one which they could effectively apply.

I submit respectively that none of these propositions has been made good. I submit respectfully that, on the contrary, they have been totally and specifically disproved. I submit—

First, that England is more prosperous and wealthy than any other country in the world.

Secondly, that, even if it were not so—and we were getting steadily poorer—Protection, so far from arresting that decline, would only accelerate it.

Thirdly, that even if it were proved that we were not prosperous, and that Protection was a policy in itself wise, the stupidity and expense of Custom House officers, the meddlesome interference of Governments in business, the arbitrary restriction and disturbance of trade, and the corruption of public life and public men would more than destroy any advantage to be gained.

The question as to the prosperity of England under Free Trade is no longer in dispute. It has been settled by the present Government by the "inquiry" which they instituted in 1903 and carried out by the agency of the Board of Trade. You will find this famous Blue-book of the Board of Trade, this impartial account of a serious and scientific inquiry into the material progress of the country, which it was fondly hoped would constitute a damning indictment of our commercial system, has proved in fact its supreme and overwhelming vindication. Let any honest business man look into it for himself. Let him consider during the last twenty years the growth of the Income-tax; let him consider the rise in wages and the fall in prices; let him note the astounding increase in railway traffic, in the postal service, in the merchant navy, and in the value, variety, and tonnage of our trade, and we can only come to one conclusion.

But this Blue-book does more than merely prove the enormous increase of our national wealth; it proves that this wealth has been shared by the masses of the people. The poorest have more to eat, and have less to pay for it, than ever before.

During the last fifteen years there has been an actual increase in the amount of food produced at home. There is a slight increase in domestic dairy produce, a substantial increase in beef, and some increase both in pork and mutton. But in that period our imports of food have rapidly increased. The English people ate, in 1903, 3,000,000 cwt. more bacon and ham than in 1887, or nearly double as much. They ate nearly three times as much butter, nearly double as much cheese. They consumed six times as much cocoa or chocolate. In the year 1903 they ate a thousand million eggs more than in the year 1887, or twice as many as in that former year, and twice as many hundredweights of potatoes. These things prove, beyond all possible dispute, that the inhabitants of England have enjoyed, year by year, a larger and more varied fare. The figures of food imports prove absolutely that the growing wealth of the country, as measured by the Income-tax, has not merely gone into the pockets of wealthy investors, but that the mass of the people have eaten more. And that, again, proves that they have had the money to pay for more.

Is Protection a boon and a benefit to the poorest classes in any country? Do the poor of other countries think so? The lot of the poor is always

harsh and their burden heavy ; and I am one of those who think that with our great and growing wealth we have done too little of late years to elevate and alleviate their sad condition. But it is an undoubted fact, proved by the Board of Trade returns, that, as far as can be judged from figures, the English working-classes are better off, man for man and trade for trade, in every single respect—better fed, better clothed, better housed—than their fellows in the protected countries of Europe. And it is also proved that their wages are higher than in any other country except America, that the purchasing power of those wages is already greater and is increasing far quicker than in any other country, including America, and that the hours and conditions of labour are better regulated. To say that Protection means greater development of wealth is unspeakable humbug. The Democratic Party in America and the Socialistic Party in Germany are made up of the poorest and least fortunate of the people of those countries ; and have they not learned by bitter experience that high protective tariffs, whatever profits they may confer on capital, whatever privileges they may bring to certain of the higher ranks of labour, are to the poor and to the poorest of the poor an accursed engine of robbery and oppression ?

III.—The Balance of Trade.

UNDER Free Trade there came last year into the United Kingdom, from every land and people under the sun, 551 millions' worth of merchandise, so marvellously varied in its character that a whole volume could scarcely describe it. How did it come ? It came for the most part in ships which fly the Union Jack, and the profits of its transportation were for the most part the rewards of British capital and British labour. Why did it come ? Was it to crush us, or to conquer us, or to starve us, or was it to nourish and enrich our country ? It is a sober fact that every single item, however inconsiderable, in all that vast catalogue of commodities came to our shores because some Englishman desired it, paid for it, and meant to turn it to his comfort or his profit.

And in return for this service, towards which every nation, every race, every tribe of men contributed, and for the sake of which the remotest nooks and corners of the earth were searched, we gave what ? Our money ? No. Our accumulated capital ? No. Yet we paid for every pennyworth. How ? (1) By our exports. Our manufactures, made out of these very imports, our mining, and our shipbuilding paid for 301 millions. (2) Our merchant shipping, which, though possessed only by the forty millions of people in these islands, was nearly equal to that of the whole of the rest of the shipping of the world, paid for ninety millions. (3) Certainly not less than twenty millions, probably a great deal more, was in consideration of the banking, broking, commission, and insurance business which fell to us in an unusual measure, because owing to Free Trade we happened to be the commercial centre of the world ; and the

rest of these imports, excepting what came here only to be sent away again, was the interest on those foreign and colonial investments which had paid us so well in the past, which were the legitimate children of imports and labour, and which, in spite of all this talk of our living on our capital, and bleeding to death, were healthily and steadily increasing. For as we pay for our imports by our exports, the difference between them represents our profits, interests on foreign investments, and freights, &c.

It is the theory of Protection that each country should make everything possible itself, and that foreign goods which compete with existing or potential home industries should be shut out or penalized. "Let the nation do its own work," that is the cry. And it is believed that if the importation of goods that we now get from the foreigner were to be stopped, we should make those goods ourselves, and, in addition, all the goods that we are making now, including—observe—what we send to the foreigner in exchange for what he now sends to us. The doctrines that by keeping out foreign goods more wealth, and, consequently, more employment, will be created at home are either true or they are not true. We contend that they are not true. We contend that for a nation to try to tax itself into prosperity is like a man standing in a bucket and trying to lift himself up by the handle.

Why should the world's shipping labour in the chops of the Bristol Channel, or crowd up the dreary reaches of the Mersey? It is because the perverted ingenuity of man has not been occupied in obstructing our harbours with fiscal stake-nets and tariff mud-bars. That is why they come. That is our one great advantage; and when we have thrown it away, what shall we have to put in its place?

Of the whole volume of our importation, so complicated, so varied, so immense, which flows in a thousand unseen and incalculable channels through the industry and commercial life of the nation, scarcely fifty millions are ready for final sale, and all the rest are either the material of some industry or other, or food, which is the raw material of human life. The finished product of one trade is the raw material of another. By placing taxes on any of these commodities to raise their price you may, indeed, for a time help this trade or that trade, but it will only be at the expense of this or that other trade and to the impoverishment of the general consumer. No one can tell whose enterprise that will be hindered or whose it will be that will be undermined. You may, by the arbitrary and sterile act of Government—for, remember, Governments create nothing and have nothing to give but what they have first taken away—you may put money in the pockets of one set of Englishmen, but it will be money taken from the pockets of another set of Englishmen, and the greater part will be spilled on the way. Every vote given for Protection is a vote to give Governments the right of robbing Peter to pay Paul and charging the public a handsome commission on the job. I think often that Fair Traders only look at one side of the case. They see the river flowing to the sea; they observe that it is flowing all one way; and they wonder how long it will be before the whole country is drained dry. They

do not observe the fertilizing showers by which, in the marvellous economy of Nature, the water is restored to the land.

Mr. Bagehot, in his admirable book, "Lombard Street," points out that nobody makes what they want themselves, because they want so many more things than they would be able to learn to make cleverly; but that everybody makes what somebody else wants. Smith makes what Jones wants. But it may be all a mistake, Jones may not want it, or he may not be able to find Jones, or Jones may not have the money to buy it. And it is in the solution of that very simple problem—to find Jones—operating through all the fluctuations of stock exchanges and clicking on the tape machines all over the world, influenced by freights, and harvests, and wars, and all the social conditions of life—it is in that very simple problem, and the solution of it, which is made from minute to minute throughout the world, that governs the ebb and flow of the great tides of trade and commerce. The wider the area over which we can seek Jones, the more chance we have of finding him. And the more unrestricted our right to buy freely in the markets of the world, the more solid the basis of our commercial and industrial security.

IV.—The True Ideal of the British Empire.

It is a sober fact that the British Empire produces within its limits every commodity which luxury can imagine or industry require. I do not wonder that many people have been captivated by the idea of creating a self-supporting and self-contained Empire. I frankly admit the fascination of the idea—until you look into it. Then it is apparent that it rests on no moral, logical, or scientific foundation. It does not make for prosperity, it does not make for international peace. The dangers which threaten the tranquillity of the modern world come not from those Powers that become interdependent upon others; they come from those Powers which are more or less detached, which stand more or less aloof from the general intercourse of mankind, and are more or less self-supporting. But apart from the economic argument, I do not want to see the British Empire degenerate into a sullen confederacy, walled off, like a mediæval town, from the surrounding country, victualled for a siege. I want this country and the States associated with it to take their part fairly and freely in the general intercourse of commercial nations. I do not mind even if we become dependent on foreign nations, because we know that by that very fact we make foreign nations dependent upon us.

Is it not strange that just at the time when we find it so necessary to increase and multiply the sources of our cotton supply, we should be invited to restrict and localize the sources of our food supply? We all know what a corner in cotton means. We do not want a corner in corn. Mr. Chamberlain's plan is to make us just as dependent upon Canada for our corn and upon Australia for our meat as we now are upon the United States for our cotton, and that is to create by artificial means the very conditions

which, through no fault of our own, have produced such evil effects in cotton. Now I would apply the same reasoning both to cotton and to corn. I submit that our policy should be in both cases to have as many places to buy from as possible, and to do nothing that will tend to make us put all our eggs in one basket; for if you do, you will assuredly have the same abominable gambling in the food of the people as you now have in the supply of our raw material.

These great dividing questions cannot be settled by clever manipulation of men and phrases. The differences of Free Trader and Protectionist strike down to the roots of thought. Their controversy is abiding, and while the question is alive they must always fight. The dividing line is not one of intellect only, but of sentiment and aspiration. If the first dispute is about the multiplication table, the last is upon the destiny of man.

The British Empire is held together by moral, not by material forces. It has grown up in liberty and silence. It is not preserved by restriction and vulgar brag. The greatest triumphs of our race have been won not for Britain only, but for mankind. When we suppressed the slave trade we were fighting in the cause of humanity. We broke the power of the first Napoleon in defence of the liberties of Europe. So it was in the days of Greek independence. So it was when we proclaimed ourselves Free Traders. The lands we have conquered in every part of the world, instead of being made into little selfish preserves, as they would have been in other hands, have been thrown open to the commerce of all nations freely, to buy and barter as they will. In India we are the trustees of civilization. The work we have done in Egypt will endure as long as the Pyramids. Our parliamentary institutions, our jurisprudence, our orderly yet democratic methods serve as patterns to the most enlightened peoples. Look where you will, you will see at every stage on the long and dangerous path on which we have moved, from the condition of a small poor island people to the enjoyment and responsibility of world-wide dominion—it has been written in letters of shining gold:

“THE VICTORY OF BRITAIN MEANS THE WELFARE OF THE WORLD.”

But what is the practical result? How has our policy served us in this struggling workaday world? Is it not wonderful to contemplate? The land which has given so much to others has gained the most herself. The policy which seeks to make nothing out of its colonies is the only policy which has preserved rich, prosperous, and loyal colonies. The Empire which has the fewest safeguards has the fewest dangers. The people who alone among modern States has thrown open its ports to the commerce of all nations is far the greatest of exporters. What is the conclusion? Surely it is a very inspiring and encouraging one. Large views always triumph over small ideas. Broad economic principles always in the end defeat the sharp devices of expediency; tolerance and liberty are always more profitable than arbitrary restrictions. Science is better than sleight of hand; truth is stronger than falsehood; justice outwits intrigue; free imports can contend with hostile tariffs: honesty is, in fact, the policy that pays the best.

V.—What is Retaliation?

FREE imports, I say, can best contend with hostile tariffs. But this is denied by those who maintain that the best plan of campaign is a policy of Retaliation.

What is this policy of Retaliation? It may mean everything, it may mean nothing. It may mean an uncompromising policy of "tit-for-tat"—a fiscal eye for a fiscal eye and a tariff tooth for a tariff tooth. It may mean merely the occasional readjustment of Customs duties for bargaining purposes with foreign nations, or the right which every Government possesses of resorting to unusual remedies to cure unusual evils. In theory and upon its merits there is much to be said for Retaliation. I say frankly for myself that I have never said, and never will say, that whatever foreign nations may do to us, under no circumstances we never should do anything to them. I will see what they do first. But my first point is that nothing in the British Constitution, nothing in the practical working of the Constitution, prevents the Government of the day from making what proposals they choose and leaving Parliament to decide whether these are wise proposals or not.

No consistent Free Trader could object to such leverage as the necessary Customs duties afford being employed to secure more advantageous treatment. We have in these already an instrument which might easily be used as Mr. Cobden used it. The duty upon sugar gives us counters to play with the German. The tobacco tax touches the American. The tariff against wines and spirits is a matter of importance to the French. There is something to be said for an occasional policy of commercial pin-pricks.

But when you look into it, Retaliation is actually rather a small and petty affair. It is small and petty, not because, under certain circumstances, it might not be very mischievous, but because Mr. Balfour and those who speak with his authority have limited it very strictly in several remarkable ways. First of all, we are told retaliatory duties are not to be part of a general tariff. He said at Sheffield that we were not to have a general tariff, and make concessions from that tariff to foreign nations in return for concessions made to us. We were to begin from the other end, and put on duties where they were needed. So it is not to be part of a general tariff. Secondly, Retaliation is not to be imposed—this is a pledge given in the House of Commons itself—except with the consent of Parliament in each particular instance; and thirdly, Retaliation is not to take effect so as to involve a duty on food or raw material. Now, all these three pledges have been given publicly, and are maintained by Ministers of the Crown, and by the Prime Minister, as being in reality pledges limiting their use of Retaliation. But what is left? When you have taken all that away, how much is left? There is a feeling that England has only to retaliate, and foreign tariff walls will immediately collapse. Well, but all the great nations of the world are Protectionist; they have been for 100 years past, and perhaps for many

years before that, endeavouring by every dodge of reciprocity or negotiation to get each other to reduce their tariffs in each other's respective interests. Where have they come to? Have they reached Free Trade? On the contrary, their tariffs have got higher and higher, and at this moment Free Trade England, which does nothing—Free Trade England, with masterly inactivity—occupies in regard to the nations of the world and trading conditions, so far as tariffs are concerned, a position of advantage to which few of the Protectionist countries have attained and which none of them have surpassed.

What is the chance of breaking down the steel-clad barriers of foreign tariffs by such pin-pricks as these? Take the Russian tariff, for instance. It is 130 per cent. against us. We got from Russia in 1903 £30,900,000 worth of stuff—£31,000,000 nearly—and of this £19,000,000 was food and £10,000,000 raw material, leaving scarcely £2,000,000 of stuff on which we are invited to make ourselves supremely ridiculous by retaliating. If you exclude food and raw materials, it is quite evident that we can retaliate only on a portion of what foreign nations send us, and they may counter if they choose—and why should they not choose?—upon the whole volume of our trade.

The truth must be swallowed that the main object of foreign Protection is to protect. What the Protectionists' country really love is the monopoly of their home market. Retaliation upon their export trade, which is all that we can reach, may possibly gain small concessions, will more probably provoke reprisals, but will not, in any case, break down that minimum tariff which their statesmen approve and their capitalists demand.

In France, for instance, the logical genius of the French mind has developed, perhaps, the most perfect instrument of Protection in the world. There is a shockingly high fighting tariff for fiscal foes, and a lower but still sufficiently high protective tariff for fiscal friends. So long as the minimum tariff necessary to protect the home producer is not infringed, the Government may act at discretion, but the lower tariff they are not allowed to touch without the consent of the Chamber; and when once a question gets in the Chamber the great, powerful vested interests will see that it comes to no great harm. All the advantages of the minimum tariff France already freely gives us. Nothing but prolonged and ruinous tariff warfare is likely to secure more. The case of the United States is different, but not dissimilar. A reciprocity clause in the Dingley Tariff Act authorizes the President to negotiate commercial treaties within certain limits. The President has accordingly negotiated no fewer than eleven. But so far the Senate, which has to ratify these treaties, and which is an extremely, I will not say Conservative, but Protectionist body, has not found it convenient to consider one of them. That is not a very encouraging sign.

VI.—Protection and Corruption.

MR. BALFOUR has declared against a general tariff from which reductions may be made according to favours received. It would, he declares, be too great a disturbance of our industries and commerce. So that each separate case is to be dealt with on its merits. By whom? Is Parliament seriously to be asked to surrender the power to tax or untax to a party Cabinet? It is not possible to conceive a greater constitutional change. On the other hand, imagine a succession of Sugar Convention Bills fought out on the floor of the House of Commons amid the clamour of conflicting interests! Conceive, moreover, the quadruple uncertainty of the trades involved, first, at the threat of Retaliation; secondly, if the threat proves ineffective, at the actual Retaliation; thirdly, if the actual Retaliation proves effective, at the expectation that the new duties will be removed; and, fourthly, at the actual removal of the duties.

The first set of tariffs may indeed be framed to serve the trade of the country. The second set will be arranged to suit the fortunes of a party. This to catch the iron vote, that to collar the cotton; this other, again, to rope in the woollens. Every dirty little monopolist in the island will have his own "society" to push his special trade; and for each and all the watchword will be, "Scratch my back," and the countersign, "I'll scratch yours." Every election will turn on tariff. Apart from all the bribery—direct and indirect—which cannot fail to creep in, who will dare to set himself above the needs of his own constituency? Others are having their share. Why should any stand out? "Favours for all in front, and the devil take the hindmost." What would happen here if the House of Commons—hitherto chaste because unsolicited—were to have the fate of every industry periodically placed in the hollow of its hand?

Out of all these changed conditions and unmeasured forces the new party will emerge. Not the old historic Conservatism, with its traditions, its beliefs, and its dreams, but a blatant thing of "caucuses" and "platforms," acting through a tributary House of Commons, sustained by a strong confederation of capitalists and combinations, and founded on special classes of organized and privileged labour. The slave of great interests. The master of a great people. Over all, like a red robe flung about the shoulders of a sturdy beggar, an extravagant and aggressive militarism; and at the top, installed in splendour, a party leader, half German Chancellor, half American boss.

VII.—What about Dumping?

BUT I may be asked, what about dumping?

Dumping may be serious—as yet it has not been serious—or it may be trivial, resembling the unloading of a bankrupt's stock. If it were serious—if there was a gigantic conspiracy on the part of a foreign country to smash and piratically destroy some staple English industry; if it could be shown that the Government by intervention, by prohibition, if you like, or by penal duties could effectively stop that threatened ruin and secure the trade, what Govern-

ment that ever existed in England would hesitate to make proposals to Parliament, and what Parliament ever called together would refuse to give effect to them? But of the existence of such a piratical attack there is no evidence.

There is no case on record of an important British industry being ruined by this form of dumping from strength or price-cutting that is practised from foreign countries. The utmost exertions of partisanship have been employed in vain to discover one. The only dumping which does take place, when compared to the total value of our trade, is a very insignificant factor. I take an instance that occurs to me. We were told that the Americans were capturing the whole of the boot and shoe trade. I look into the facts, and what do I find? It is calculated that every man, woman, and child in this country spends on an average 15s. a year on shoeing themselves. Some spend more, some spend less—some spend a good deal less. And in a population of 40,000,000, that means that we spend £30,000,000 a year in providing ourselves with boots and shoes. The total volume of imported boots and shoes from all countries and sources in 1903 was, I think, about £940,000. And then we are invited to believe that the whole of this immense home trade is to be ruined and supplanted by importations of that volume.

I admit the dislocation of particular trades. I admit that the injury of the affected trade is real, though often exaggerated. Some Englishmen face unnatural loss; others gain unnatural profits. And though the profit may, and usually does, exceed the loss, the injury and the injustice remain. What is our answer? I submit to you this proposition, which Free Traders believe in. I do not say it is always true in relation to individuals, because chance and so many other circumstances may affect individuals in their lives, but I firmly believe it is true of nations—*Unfair competition counter-weighs itself*. Swiftly and surely, directed and impelled not by a muddled Government and a harassed Legislature, through the agency of stupid and expensive Customs officials, but by the steady workings of inexorable laws, come the Retaliations of Free Trade. Consider bountied sugar. Sugar becomes cheap in England and dear in Germany. Manufacturers in England requiring sugar thrive; manufacturers in Germany requiring sugar starve. The raw material is thrust upon us below cost price; we retort by sending back the finished article. The German dumps sugar at a loss. We return higher-grade manufacturers of sugar at a profit. Our reply to the sugar-dumper is "Jam and pickles"—despised, profitable "jam and pickles," and much else besides. The German dumps ship-plates at a price which cannot remunerate him; we retort him ships at a price with which he cannot compete. He dumps his steel, and we answer him with machinery. At every step our business is a paying transaction; at every step his business is a losing transaction. At every step our industries move forward into those higher grades where labour is more skilled, more varied, more generously rewarded, and by proficiency in which an old country can alone maintain that "leadership" in respect to quality, vital to her industrial strength.

On the whole, dumping does us more good than harm, and Retaliation would do us more harm than good.

VIII.—How Cheap Sugar was Abolished.

THE story of the fall and rise of the price of sugar affords an admirable object lesson in the workings of Protection. Prompted by a laudable desire to stimulate home industries—a very praiseworthy desire—the German, Austrian, French, and Russian Governments decided to give bounties on the growing of sugar beet. Every peasant began to grow beet in his back garden. There is, consequently, a gigantic production of beet sugar, and as competition is excluded, producers who are able to charge what they like in their own market make very great fortunes in particular cases. That is the first step. The second is this: Great vested interests are formed out of the money which those fortunes provide, and backed by the voting strength of the peasant producers, those vested interests immediately set to work to besiege the Government, just as dockyard constituencies here besiege the Government, for further privileges. The price of sugar in the home market meanwhile is kept up by rigid Protection. Every foreigner has to pay more for his sugar, and consequently he buys less, and the consuming power in those countries steadily declines. The result is that over-production on a gigantic scale takes place. That is the second step. What is the next? Do they lower the prices in their home market and give all these good things to their own people? That is not the way a cartel behaves—they would rather throw the stuff into the sea. They look to the export trade as the outlet for their immense surplus of sugar. Then begins a cut-throat competition between the different great trusts for the inestimable privilege of supplying the English market at a loss. Now look at England, at the other side of the picture. England has done nothing in the meanwhile. She grows no sugar; she does not give bounties; she has made no observation or remark of any kind. In England sugar becomes cheap—extremely cheap—it becomes cheap in proportion as it gets higher in the countries where it is actually grown. The English people consumed every year—the ratio is altering now in consequence of recent legislation—three times as much per head as the people of France. On the basis of this cheap sugar which is a benefit and a source of pleasure to great masses of people who use it—apart from that, a whole range of secondary industries has sprung up—jam, biscuits, mineral water, even blacking, I am told, sweetmeats, preserved fruits, and even pickles. Before the convention we had become the world's confectioners. Stollwerke was erecting a factory in England. Chocolat Menier was already made in London. The confectioners in other countries contemplated moving, and in some cases actually did move, their businesses into this great free market where the flow and distribution of good things of the earth were not distorted and twisted by the avarice and the folly of man.

Mr. Chamberlain said at Greenock, "I wonder how many men who have been turned out of our sugar refineries through unfair competition have found employment in bottling pickles and stirring up jam-pots," and there were prolonged cheers, of course. We looked up the facts, and found that in ten years the number of men who had ceased to be employed in sugar

refineries was 2,500. In most cases the reduction was due to the use of better machinery. On the other hand, upwards of 12,000 more persons had found employment in the allied trades which had grown up, or five times the number of those dispossessed. There is one more stage in this sugar story. Finally, the foreign nations, realizing, after all their Protectionist theories, that the thing had gone to far and was becoming an absolute farce, weary of continuing to stimulate by expensive bounties a trade which was increasingly unprofitable, turned and appealed to Great Britain to join with them in terminating conditions which were so injurious to them; and Great Britain, generous as ever, guided by those keen-eyed statesmen who direct her affairs, put her own personal interests on the shelf, came down and met them half way, and more than half way, and in a masterpiece of legislation freed our people, I think, for ever, from the "curse" of cheap sugar.

IX.—Shipping, Cotton and India.

THERE are three arguments which no Protectionist has yet even attempted to answer. The first is Shipping. Our shipping industry is the greatest in the world. Shipping supremacy is the legitimate child of insular position and unrestricted trade. You will find the pedigree in the book, "Rule, Britannia! By Free Imports out of Island." We are now owners of more than half the shipping in the world. More than half the imports into every country in the world is carried in British ships; and we build annually for our own use and for sale to foreign nations as many ships as all the rest of the world put together.

How will the shipping and shipbuilding trades be affected by the proposed tariff? They cannot fail to be injured, and they will be injured in two ways: first, the cost of all the materials used in the construction of ships will be increased, and consequently we shall be less able to compete with foreign nations both in respect of the ships we sell and the freights we carry; secondly, they will be injured by the restriction of ocean traffic generally, and by its diversion from our shores to other countries. After all, why should so many ships come to British ports?

It is only natural that shipowners should fail to view with extravagant enthusiasm a plan for diminishing imports—or, in other words, a plan for reducing the tonnage of goods carried across the sea, and for hindering or preventing their entrance to our ports. They have seen how completely Protection has strangled the carrying trade of the United States, and they have no wish to see British shipping share the same fate.

The second argument is Cotton.

The cotton industry depends for its prosperity, and even for its existence, upon four main and vital conditions: an abundant and steady supply of the raw material, cheapness of production, the maintenance of the great Free Trade markets of India and China, and the preservation of industrial peace at home. Now of these, the first, the supply of raw material, might be checked by import duties here, or, if the United States chose to amend their

constitution—and they have occasionally amended it—by export duties in America. But under no conceivable circumstances could any duty that the wit or folly of man could impose stimulate or increase the growth of cotton. Tariff duties, whether Retaliatory, Preferential, or Protective, would not make the cotton fields larger, would not insure good harvests, would not promote cheap transit, would not destroy the ravages of cotton insects, American speculators, or other pestiferous vermin. Every one of the other conditions would be adversely affected by Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Cheapness of production is vital to the cotton trade. Raise the price only a little, and the demand must fall off. Now, cheap food and cheapness of living must be the foundation of cheapness of production. Supposing by taxes imposed on food, or on clothes, or on houses, or on personal necessaries, the sovereign loses some of its purchasing power, and suppose it only purchases as much as fifteen shillings does now, one of two things must happen. Either the operative must live worse than he does at present, or he must obtain an immediate rise of wages. The margin of profit in the cotton trade is notoriously small, and I see no prospect of any rise in wages following from Mr. Chamberlain's proposals so far as the cotton operatives are concerned. Very well, then, they will have to live worse; and if they live worse—if they have less nourishing food to eat, less comfortable homes to dwell in, less warm clothes to wear in our uncertain climate, then, quite apart from the suffering which this must bring to the men, the trade itself must be injured; for everybody knows that the efficiency of a workman depends upon his physical and moral well-being, and in these days of strenuous competition we cannot afford to have his condition made worse.

Our cotton trade is mainly an export trade, and is largely dependent upon the Indian demand. India takes of our goods two-thirds as much as all the self-governing colonies together. She imposes no hostile tariffs—no hostile discrimination against our goods, which is vital to Lancashire, and she contributes vastly to our Imperial defences. India has rightly been described “that most bright and precious gem in the Crown of the King, which more than all the other colonies or great possessions raises the reputation of these small islands upon the level of surrounding States and nations, and makes them the equals, and possibly even the superiors, of the great empires of ancient or modern time.” In addition to all these things, India is now the crucial argument against the so-called fiscal reform.

Mr. Bonar Law, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, speaking at the Constitutional Club, said that “there was an import of £150,000,000 of manufactured goods, representing a loss in wages of £70,000,000 to £80,000,000, and he thought that a large part of that sum could, by a stroke of the pen, be secured to the British workman, without any loss at all corresponding to the advantages that the country would gain by the change.” Suppose he is right. If this plan works for England, it will work for India too. If foreign goods displace English labour, then English goods displace Indian labour.

India is a great trust, for which we are responsible. We have a duty to perform towards the land and people of Hindustan. The lives, the liberties, the progress towards civilization—towards a better and happier life—of nearly 300,000,000 souls are in our hands; and the priceless possession of this ancient land, robed with the undying traditions of the past and dowered with immeasurable possibilities for the future, is the chief glory of our dominion. But on what does our rule in India depend? It is not on terror, it is not on physical force, it is not on the superior knowledge of our Government. I say that 30,000 civilians and 70,000 soldiers would be utterly insufficient to preserve our rule in India for a month if it were not known that our motives were pure and lofty, and that we sought the welfare of the Indian people. British justice is the foundation-stone of British dominion. Destroy that, and the whole stately and stupendous edifice which the glories and sacrifices of ten generations have upreared will come clattering to the ground.

But how can we adopt Protection at home and continue to force Free Trade on India?

If Protection against over-sea importation is economically good for England, it is economically good for India too. Lancashire sends almost twenty million pounds' worth of goods to India every year. If all this were shut out by a stroke of the pen, how much uncounted gold might not India gain if there be any truth in the startling theory of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bonar Law? It would be the grossest injustice—injustice partaking not only of tyranny, but of hypocrisy also—for Great Britain to protect her mighty commercial energy against the foreigner, and yet to preserve by force, by right of conquest, by a parliamentary dodge, her free markets in India, and, as the Protectionists would say, dump her surplus production on the long-delayed infant industries of the Indian people.

If Protection is a wise and profitable policy, India must have the right to protect her own produce against British competition.

If she were permitted to do so, what would become of the Lancashire cotton trade? If she were refused permission, we would, on the Protectionist theory, be sacrificing her welfare to our gain.

X.—The Imperial Objection to Preference.

IN 1902, Mr. Chamberlain thought it right to say that "we could, if necessary, fight another war as long and as costly over again." The organ is playing a different tune to-day. The majestic swell of the triumphal march has sunk to a lugubrious dirge. The wealth of Great Britain, which, only a year ago, was bottomless and inexhaustible, is fast draining away. Nothing will save us except a 10 per cent. duty on manufactured articles. Those gossamer threads of Empire—pliant as elastic, tense as steel—of which we were told so much, those children States who came to aid us in our time of need—those brave Australians and Canadians, by whose side we marched and fought on veldt and kopje in South Africa—all will fall away for ever, unless Canadian loyalty is purchased at 2s. a quarter and Australian

allegiance at 1d. per lb. We ought to feel more assurance in the foundations of British wealth and British dominion than to believe they will be overturned by passing gusts of wind or can be sustained by such a puny crop.

In reality, the adoption of Preference would endanger the very foundation of the Empire, as well as the prosperity of our trade. There is no logical or scientific distinction between the raw material of manufacture and food, which is the raw material of human life. No scheme of colonial preferences can be a scientific scheme unless it applied equally to food and to raw material. That is equally true whether the question is argued from Free Trade or a Protection standpoint. Every argument, moral or material, that can be advanced in favour of the preferential taxation of corn, meat, and dairy produce holds good, even in a stronger degree, in favour of the preferential taxation of timber, leather, and wool. Any system of preferential tariffs which included the one and excluded the other must be lopsided and illogical in its conception, and whimsical and unfair in its operation.

But leaving that out of our account, the attempt to establish a preferential system would cripple our freedom and power to retaliate, if we wish to do so, and expose the Empire itself to a storm of popular hatred. It is quite true that the workings of nature are beyond our control. There are many factors in prices—harvests, freights, speculations—which do not recognize the authority of the House of Commons. Taxes alone are absolutely in the hand of Parliament. These fluctuations have occurred in the past; no one can doubt that they will occur in the future. Whatever rise might take place in the future, preferential duties would, if imposed, have to bear the brunt of public indignation. It is upon these very links of Empire so laboriously and expensively forged that the direct impact of public displeasure in times of scarcity must inevitably descend. If there is an unpopular tax to-day we are in no great difficulty. If public opinion is sufficiently incensed, a pliant Chancellor of the Exchequer, or, failing that, a vote in the House of Commons, removes the cause of offence and gratifies the national will. But these preferential duties, if they are imposed, will not be taxes which the House of Commons can remove at its pleasure. They will be fixed by a treaty with every self-governing colony scattered all over the surface of the world. In consideration of these taxes this country have received concessions with regard, say, to certain classes of manufactured goods. Upon the basis of these mutual concessions industries will have grown up, and, however fierce the demand, they will not be able to alter their preferential duties without the consent of the other party to the bargain. In that day there will, indeed, be a shock to the permanent unity of the Empire which might well excite the concern of those who cared about it. In that day, when a British Ministry with taxes which it could not remove without a long delay was confronted by the imperious demand of a hungry and an angry electorate, we would realize the truth—that it was a grand and cardinal error in Imperial statecraft to lay the foundations of a Democratic Empire upon the Protective Taxation of Food.

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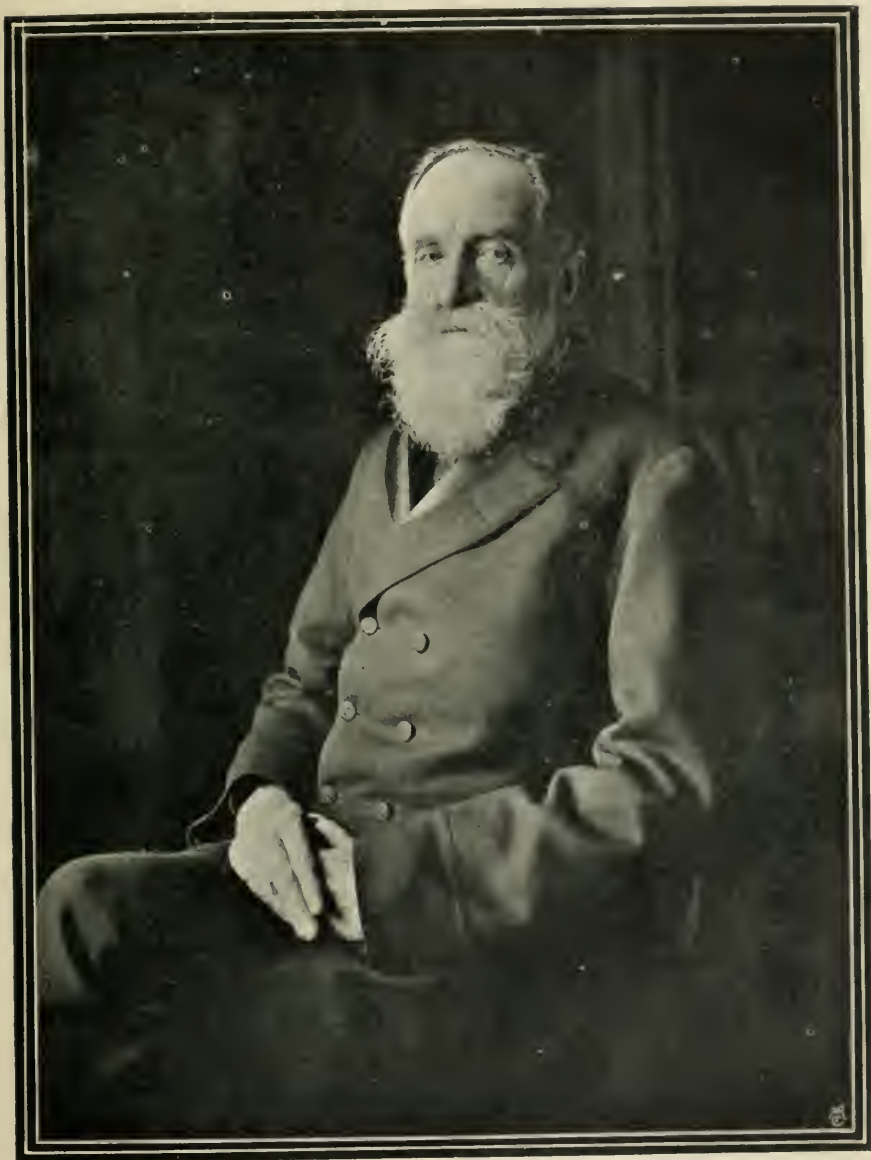
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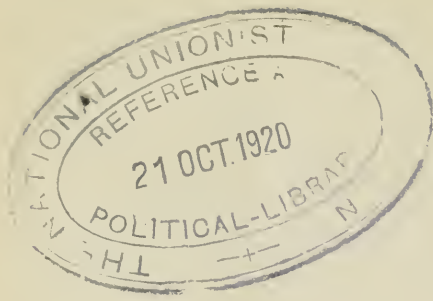
EARL SPENCER, K.G., P.C.

LEADERS IN THE LORDS:
LORD SPENCER AND LORD ROSEBERY.

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON.

April 20th, 1905.

ONE PENNY.



No. 3 of this Series will be published on Thursday, April 27th. It will be Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P., ON "THE PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PEOPLE." The Editor will contribute a brief character sketch of Dr. Macnamara.

LEADERS IN THE LORDS.

I.—EARL SPENCER.

There is fortunately no occasion to raise any discussion in this place as to who is the Liberal leader in the country. There is no titular leader of the whole party. That position, which belongs of right to the ex-Prime Minister of the party, was deliberately vacated by Lord Rosebery in 1897. Since that time there has been no leader of the whole party, there has only been a Liberal leader in each House of Parliament. When Lord Rosebery abdicated, he vacated the leadership of the Lords as well as the leadership of the nation. He was succeeded by the Earl of Kimberley. On Lord Kimberley's death, Lord Spencer was elected to the vacant post. His position resembles that of Lord Granville in 1879, with one important difference. In the House of Lords, Lord Granville had no rival near the throne. His leadership over the Liberal peers was uncontested. His leadership in the country was overshadowed by the ascendancy of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Spencer, on the other hand, is overshadowed by no Mr. Gladstone in the country, but he has a formidable compeer in the House of Lords in the person of Lord Rosebery. Their positions would be reversed if Lord Rosebery had not, by his own act, reduced himself to the status of a leader in retirement.

It is, however, worth remembering that if Mr. Gladstone had been able to give effect to his will when he retired he would have installed Lord Spencer as Prime Minister in his place. Mr. Morley tells us that the day after Mr. Gladstone's resignation—

“he busied himself in packing his papers, and working at intervals on his translation of Horace. He told me that he had now reason to suppose that the Queen might ask him for advice as to his suc-

cessor. After some talk, he said that, if asked, he should advise her to send for Lord Spencer.”

The Queen did not deign to take his counsel, and so the Premiership fell to Lord Rosebery, who found it a Dead Sea apple, which filled his mouth with such bitter ashes that he eagerly seized the pretext of the snap division on Cordite to clear out of Downing Street.

No one can say whether the King will ask Mr. Balfour for his views as to the Statesman who should be asked to take his place when the inevitable end comes. Even if he does consult the outgoing Premier, His Majesty is tolerably certain to take his own course. The probability is that the King will send for Lord Spencer, possibly for both Lord Spencer and Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. The general opinion in the Party is in favour of C.-B. being Premier, unless by C.-B.'s own special personal desire, the first place is offered to Lord Spencer. C.-B. has borne the burden and heat of the day, and the Prime Ministership it is generally felt ought to be his if he cares to have it. If, however, he prefers to take second place, there are some very weighty reasons in favour of a Spencer Premiership. In the first case, Mr. Gladstone, the greatest commoner of last century, believed that Lord Spencer ought to have succeeded him in the Premiership. As against the objection to a Premier sitting elsewhere than in the Commons, Mr. Gladstone, with characteristic ingenuity, deduced from the numerical weakness of every Liberal Administration in the House of Lords a subtle argument in favour of strengthening the Liberal remnant in the Upper Chamber by giving the Premiership

and as many portfolios as possible to Liberal peers. In the third place, there is a sound argument in favour of a peer Premier in the fact that it is practically impossible for any man—with the exception of such a Hercules as Mr. Gladstone—to unite successfully the functions of Premier and Leader of the House of Commons. If a Premier is to be really the head of his Cabinet, he needs more leisure than the Ministerial Bench in the Commons will leave him. Mr. Balfour, it is true, is both Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Commons. But no Liberal leader would be allowed to shirk and shuffle like Mr. Balfour; and without shirking and shuffling Mr. Balfour could not have survived. These are general considerations. But they are supported by many potent arguments of a personal nature. Lord Spencer would offend nobody. He is a *persona grata* at Court. The Liberal Leaguers would find it easier to accept office under Lord Spencer than under Sir Henry C.-B. Lastly, Lord Spencer is an Englishman, and a good many Englishmen think that, what with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Rosebery, the Scotch would have no reason to complain if the Liberals, for the first time for forty years, were to prefer an Englishman to a Scot as their Prime Minister.

If it is to be assumed that if the matter were left to Sir Henry C.-B. Lord Spencer would be Premier, let us then attempt briefly to say what manner of man the next Liberal Premier may be. Lord Spencer is an English gentleman. That term, used in its best sense, is the superlative of eulogy. But while there are many English gentlemen, there is only one Lord Spencer.

He is, by character, by heredity, by training, and by achievement, marked out for high position. He is the fifth Earl of a peerage created in 1765. The first Earl was the grandson of a still more notable peer, the third Earl of Sunderland. The second Earl held high office under Mr. Pitt. But the most famous of his forbears was Lord

Althorp, "honest Jack Althorp," who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and first leader of the House of Commons in the Reformed Parliament. His father, the fourth Earl, was a courtier rather than a statesman, and he died at a comparatively early age, after having filled the offices of Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward. Lord Althorp, who fled with delight from the turbulent arena of the House of Commons to the congenial shades of Althorp Park, was, like his nephew, no orator, but in the management of men, in sound judgment, and in political "horse sense," few Liberal leaders have stood higher in the estimation of their followers. Everyone liked him, everyone trusted him.

He had no enemies and excited no jealousies, and in all these particulars the fifth Earl resembles his uncle. Lord Spencer, or, to give him his full title, J. Poyntz Spencer, fifth Earl, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councillor, D.C.L., LL.D., Baron Spencer, Viscount Althorp, Lord-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire since 1872, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Duke of Cornwall since 1901, is an English grandee of the first rank. He owns about 27,000 acres of land. It is hard to say whether his town or his country house—Spencer House in St. James's Place, or Althorp Hall in Northamptonshire—is more famous among the palaces of Britain. He married the granddaughter of the first Marquis of Hertford, and since Lord Kimberley's death he has been leader of the handful of Liberal peers who still survive in the House of Lords. He was born October 27th, 1835, so that he is now nearly sixty-nine years of age. His health, which was somewhat ailing some years since, has now been set up by visits to Nauheim; but even when physically at his worst Lord Spencer never lost heart, never despaired of his country or of his party, and he is as ready to-day to shoulder the burden of office as ever he was in any of the trying times through which he has passed.

Like most of the great Whigs, he entered public life early. He was

elected M.P. for South Northamptonshire in 1857, when he had just completed his majority. He went through the usual procession—Harrow, Cambridge, House of Commons—and then in the same year that he became M.P. the sudden death of his father raised him to the peerage. The usual appointments came his way. He was Groom of the Stole to the Prince Consort from 1859–61, and he held the same post under the Prince of Wales from 1862–7. In those days he was better known as a favourite at Court—he received the Garter in 1865—and a Master of the Hounds than as a politician. He was Chairman of the National Rifle Association, and one of his first speeches in the House of Lords was delivered in 1860 in praise of rifle shooting. These were the days when the Volunteer movement was in its infancy. It will be interesting if the same peer who presided over its birth should, nearly half a century later, be fated to save the popular force from the destruction with which it is threatened by the present Government. He was never remarkable for eloquence, but his manner of speaking is much worse than his matter. If Lord Spencer had not been translated so soon to the House of Lords, he would probably have acquired a much more inspiring style of oratory. But that refrigerating chamber and political cemetery is not a kindly nurse of oratorical fervour.

But if Lord Spencer was not a demagogue, he was a superb Master of the Hounds. And to be a great M.F.H. it is necessary to be the master not only of the pack, but of the men who ride after the hounds. When he was only twenty-seven he had won golden opinions from the members of the Pytchley Hunt. If he manages his Cabinet as well as he managed the Hunt, his success is assured. *Baily's Magazine*, in 1862, after praising the charm of his manners, and the zeal with which he would go on his hands and knees to ascertain reynard's exact location, paid this high tribute to the future Premier:—

“His bold and energetic perseverance”—as we learn from the same source—“through trying circumstances of failing scent and pitiless storm, his scrupulous punctuality, his unexampled patience in sport to the very confines of the evening, and above all his very courteous but very unmistakable determination to keep his field in order, all point to Lord Spencer as among the very best masters the Pytchley country has seen for many a year.”

It was not until 1868, when Mr. Gladstone came into office with a mandate from the country to do justice to Ireland, that Lord Spencer first entered the Administration. He was, in 1868, when only thirty-three years of age, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a post which he held until 1874, when the fall of the Gladstone Government relegated Lord Spencer to private life. He was noted as being anxious to please, but somewhat nervous and embarrassed in the discharge of political functions.

He resumed his place as Master of the Hounds, and busied himself for six years with the regular discharge of the innumerable unobtrusive duties of a county magnate, magistrate, lord-lieutenant, and peer of the realm. After the collapse of Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Gladstone gave him a place in the new Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture and Lord President of the Council. It was not, however, until two years later that the crisis arose which enabled Lord Spencer to prove that he possessed the grit, the courage, and the temper of a great administrator.

The retirement of Mr. Forster, followed by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, threw the government of Ireland into the hands of Lord Spencer, who was sent back by Mr. Gladstone to Dublin Castle. How splendidly he justified the confidence of his chief is thus described by Mr. Morley in his *Life of Mr. Gladstone*:—

I once asked an Irishman of consummate experience and equitable mind, with no leanings that I know of to political nationalism, whether the task of any later ruler of Ireland was comparable to Lord Spencer's. “Assuredly

not," he replied; "in 1882 Ireland seemed to be literally a society on the eve of dissolution. The Invincibles still roved with knives about the streets of Dublin. Discontent had been stirred in the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and a dangerous mutiny broke out in the metropolitan force. Over half of the country the demoralisation of every class, the terror, the fierce hatred, the universal distrust, had grown to an incredible pitch. The moral cowardice of what ought to have been the governing class was astounding. The landlords would hold meetings and agree not to go beyond a certain abatement, and then they would go individually and privately offer to the tenant a greater abatement. Even the agents of the law and the courts were shaken in their duty. The power of random arrest and detention under the Coercion Act of 1881 had not improved the *morale* of magistrates and police. . . . The clergy hardly stirred a finger to restrain the wildness of the storm; some did their best to raise it. All that was what Lord Spencer had to deal with; the very foundations of the social fabric rocking."

The new Viceroy attacked the formidable task before him with resolution, minute assiduity, and an inexhaustible store of that steady-eyed patience which is the sovereign requisite of any man who, whether with coercion or without, takes in hand the government of Ireland. —Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. 3, p. 70.

Lord Spencer was assailed with all the fierce invectives which the Irish had accumulated in centuries of oppression. He was threatened with assassination, and subjected to endless insult. But he never lost his temper or his nerve. For three terrible years the Red Earl stood his ground, rallying round him whatever elements of stability he could find in Ireland. The storm gradually died away into a calm. Mr. Bright declared that the courage and patience which he displayed entitled him to be remembered "as one of the most noble and honoured statesmen of our time." "A Bayard *sans peur et sans reproche*," was Lord Rosebery's description of Lord Spencer, and its justice was universally recognised.

Not at first, it must be admitted, by the Land Leaguers and Nationalists.

But their tune changed when the Red Earl decided to throw in his lot with Mr. Gladstone on the question of Home Rule. It was a great service which the Whig peer rendered to Mr. Gladstone and to Ireland that no one else could have rendered.

When, in 1892, Mr. Gladstone came back, he sent Lord Spencer to the Admiralty. It was a good appointment, but it led indirectly to Mr. Gladstone's retirement. For Lord Spencer, seeing ahead the perilous period through which we are passing, insisted upon strengthening the Navy, so as to enable it to meet all emergencies. The Spencer shipbuilding programme was approved by the majority of his Cabinet, but nothing could reconcile Mr. Gladstone to what appeared to him a monstrous and unnecessary expenditure of public money on provocative armaments. He retired, alleging as excuses the failure of his sight and hearing. His eyes and ears would have been good enough to carry on with if the Spencer programme had been withdrawn. But Lord Spencer insisted upon having his ships even if it necessitated the loss of his chief. The programme was insisted upon, but so far was Mr. Gladstone from resenting Lord Spencer's conduct that he was much disappointed in not being afforded the opportunity of submitting Lord Spencer's name to the Queen as his successor in the Premiership.

Lord Rosebery became Premier, and Lord Spencer cheerfully continued to serve at the Admiralty. After the Liberal *débâcle*, when his colleagues were retiring to the right and the left, Lord Spencer never swerved. The patrician spirit of the old Whig was stirred within him at the petty personalities and impatient temper of those who so soon despaired of the Republic. He remained at his post. When Lord Kimberley died he was appointed his successor as Liberal leader in the House of Lords. At that post he remains to this day, for England, which expects every man to do his duty, is never disappointed in Lord Spencer.

LORD SPENCER ON COMING QUESTIONS.

On Friday, February 10th, 1905, the day after Lord Spencer had presided over a Conference of leading Liberals, and four days before the opening of Parliament, London was startled by the appearance of what was described as Lord Spencer's Manifesto to the Liberal Party. The document in question was in the shape of a letter written by Lord Spencer to Mr. Corrie Grant, M.P. Appearing, as it did, immediately after the Conference of Front Bench Liberals, it was at first regarded as being equivalent to a recognition by the Party of the right of Lord Spencer to succeed Mr. Balfour, and the assumption by Lord Spencer of a right to draw up the programme of the Party for the Coming Elections. This, however, was a mistake. The subject, it seemed, had not been mooted at the Conference; Lord Spencer had written the letter all out of his own head merely for the information of Mr. Corrie Grant. Mr. Asquith, who had been present at the Conference, promptly declared that the Spencer letter was in no sense a Party manifesto. It had not been considered or approved by the Front Bench, and in short that its only importance consisted in the fact that it embodied the personal opinions of the distinguished nobleman who was leader of the handful of Liberal peers still to be found in the House of Lords. Such, at least, is the accepted official version. Even if we accept this story, the letter still possesses a first-class importance. For it is admittedly a full, explicit, and reasoned statement of what the Liberal Leader in the Peers thinks likely to be the policy of his Party when it returns to power. As no other leader has been so precise in setting forth his opinions, the full text of the letter must be placed on record and filed for reference.

Mr. Corrie Grant, M.P., to whom the letter was addressed, is the sitting member for the Rugby Division of Warwickshire. The legend is to the effect that Lord Spencer was to have spoken at one of Mr. Corrie Grant's meetings, but being unable to keep his engagement, he made atonement for his absence by formulating a complete programme for the Party. Here is his letter, dated February 7th, to Mr. Corrie Grant, M.P., in which he complies "with your request for my views."

THE DOMINATING QUESTION.

There is one great topic, that of fiscal reform, which dominates the situation, though it does not exclude other questions of political principles which call for solution.

It affects every class and interest in the country, and as long as it remains a mere matter of strong platform controversy a serious amount of anxiety and doubt hangs round all trade and commerce, and gravely affects the operations and pursuits of those employed in the various businesses which will be affected if a great change in our fiscal policy is carried out.

This serious effect arises whether you consider the proposed changes bad, as I do, or to be good, as Mr. Chamberlain's followers allege, and I am convinced that no Ministry is in any possible way justified in postponing the appeal to the constituencies, which alone can put to rest and settle this great fiscal question.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND PROTECTION.

For look at the position of Mr. Chamberlain, the leader and protagonist of this agitation ; and of Mr. Balfour, the responsible Prime Minister.

Mr. Chamberlain's attitude is clear.

He presses for definite commercial ties between the mother country and her colonies, and to secure this he proposes to raise duties on foreign goods imported into this country, so that the colonies who also bring the same class of goods to our markets may obtain a preference.

In doing this he proposes to raise duties on foodstuffs, though he declares that he will so manipulate the tariff that the total cost of food to the people will not be more.

He also desires, by taxing particular foreign manufactures, to increase the demand for the corresponding manufactures made at home.

It seems clear to me that in these proposals he adopts the principles which we call Protection, and which were in force before 1845.

To this we Liberals are bound to give the most strenuous opposition.

Protection may increase the wealth of individuals among the classes, and employers in the trades protected, but only by the impoverishment and loss of all the rest of the community.

MR. BALFOUR AND RETALIATION.

Mr. Balfour's attitude is subtle rather than clear, but is really the same.

His statements elicit from his friends and opponents alike different interpretations.

He, like Mr. Chamberlain, declines to be called a Protectionist, but he enunciates principles which lead certainly to the same results as those of Mr. Chamberlain.

He proposes to "alter the tradition of the country by asking the people to reverse, to annul, and to delete altogether from their maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes."

This brings him to the question of taxation of food.

In his Sheffield speech he began by saying that a tax on food was not, with public opinion in the state in which it is, within the limits of practical politics.

But he went on to say that the evils of the taxation of food within narrow limits have been exaggerated beyond what reason and logic justify.

These views are not those of a genuine Free Trader.

They point to fiscal changes which, if not protective at the outset, are certain to develop into Protection.

Then, too, he advocates retaliation.

Retaliation has been tried in this country and failed. It has been tried abroad, with results which have brought about enormous losses to the trade of the country retaliating, losses which were not repaid by advantages sometimes gained after the tariff war concluded, from none of which advantages were we excluded, owing to the existence of our most-favoured-nation treaties

And further, Mr. Balfour said at Sheffield :

“ Will the remedy you propose be complete ? To that I answer, it will not be complete even if it can be tried in its integrity, and it cannot be tried in its integrity because I believe the country will not tolerate a tax upon food.”

This argument destroys his case for retaliation, and shows the speaker distrustful of his own remedy.

THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE.

With two such conspicuous politicians bent on a fiscal retrogression, a continuance of the present Government, unsupported on the issue by the public, is a scandal. And the danger of the situation is increased by one special proposal which in a sense they both make.

Nothing has raised greater discussion than the suggestion of a Conference between Ministers of the mother country and the colonies.

We all agree that such Conferences at proper times and on proper questions are admirable.

But when men talk of a Conference on the Fiscal question, a vast subject of unusual importance is raised. Can a Conference have power to settle this subject ?

The reply which I give to this is clear. No Conference can settle the Fiscal question until the country has pronounced its opinion upon it.

To ask whether we are in favour of a Conference, at the same time that we are asked if we approve of so-called Fiscal Reform, is to confuse the issue. The latter question must be answered by the constituencies before the former question can properly be put to them.

FIRST ISSUE : FOR OR AGAINST FREE TRADE.

Is this country in favour of Protection or of Free Trade ?

Will it agree to have duties imposed upon foreign goods imported for food, which will increase the cost of food, and will limit the area of the supply of food, a point of essential value to us in case of war, or failure of crops in any particular country from which our food is to be drawn ?

Will this country agree to Protective duties for the benefit of home producers and manufacturers ?

When once these questions are answered, then the Government of the day and Parliament can at once decide whether to call a Conference or not.

Parliament first lays down principles of legislation ; afterwards Conferences may discuss methods.

I think, therefore, we should impress on every class and every trade that a tariff with low duties, as now proposed, admits the principle of Protection, and when once that is admitted pressure, which will be irresistible, will force up low duties to high ones, and then every article of food, of clothing, every article necessary for building, for agriculture, and for manufacture, will be enhanced in price.

Incalculable harm will be the result, and I feel that it is the duty of everyone

who wishes for the prosperity, comfort, and happiness of the nation strenuously to resist such a change of fiscal policy as fraught with certain disaster.

But this great and pressing question must not wholly divert our minds from other matters of deep concern.

SECOND : EDUCATION AND LICENSING.

I will refer to some measures which have been made law by the large majority of the Government in spite of the strongest Parliamentary opposition, and against ever-growing signs of public disapproval.

I refer specially to education, licensing, and taxation.

You will remember what Mr. Morley said at Newbury as to the two first measures :

A writer the other day spoke of the avowed resolve of the Opposition to set the calamitous precedent of reversing principles of legislation. If that meant that the new Government would do its best to place the schools that were paid for out of public money under public control, and to set limits to that vested interest of business which the present Government had called into being, then he said, yes.

The position of the Liberals is here most accurately described, and I entirely concur in what Mr. Morley says.

I am confident that he supports the views which we have put forward on so many occasions as to the necessity of removing all traces of sectarian tests from the qualification of teachers.

FOREIGN POLICY.

In foreign affairs we are glad to recognise the successful efforts made to draw nations closer together by friendly negotiation or treaties of arbitration.

Such methods will, we believe, diminish the chances of war, and be of great benefit to the world. I concur in the recent steps taken by our country in this direction.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.

Much care, too, will be demanded in the settlement of South Africa after the war, which has left behind it such grave traces of devastation.

To do this we must earnestly work towards giving the new colonies the fullest measure of representative and responsible government, and towards fulfilling all the financial engagements which were made with the colonists at the close of the war.

We shall thus ultimately obtain the surest and soundest means of settling many questions of policy which have been the subject of bitter contention, and have stirred so deeply the moral sense of England and her colonies.

Until this end is fully achieved the Home Government must promote the real interest of all the South African colonies, without continuing beyond the obligations of existing contracts any system of indentured labour.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR IRELAND.

At home, also, local government needs development, and the powers of local bodies are susceptible of judicious extension.

Nor can we, in this connection, ever forget Ireland. Liberals will always be ready, at the proper moment, to extend the application of the principle of self-government in that country, whose sufferings from mis-government have so often been a danger to the State.

LOCAL RATES AND TAXES.

I wish now to deal with the whole question of taxation and local rates.

In my opinion the legislation of the Government on this subject was entirely wrong; it favoured one class at the cost of the whole country, and neglected many parts of the problem, and I am confident that the proper mode of treating this subject will be to introduce, as soon as possible, a broad and comprehensive measure to deal with the whole basis and incidence of taxation and rating, which both in town and country now are antiquated, and need drastic reform.

The one object to be arrived at is not piecemeal and partial treatment, but such legislation as will secure fair and equitable results to all classes of the community in the financial burdens which, as citizens, they must bear.

The owners, occupiers, and tillers of the soil, the traders and artisans of the towns, and the leisured residents in either town or country, have their several claims and obligations.

THE DEMANDS OF LABOUR.

But these three subjects are not all.

We shall do well to recollect that the stability of social and trade conditions in England has been affected by the famous judgment in the *Taff Vale* case, and by other recent decisions in the Courts of Law.

The true interests of the community demand that the trade unions should have at least the powers and position which everyone believed them to hold before these judgments were given. I also desire that other recent Acts, relating to compensation, should be extended, with a view to the inclusion of larger bodies of employed.

RETRENCHMENT.

Lastly, I remind you that these and other reforms depend for their efficiency on the nation being governed with due regard to economy. Liberals, at any rate, know that it is possible to have the national forces and the machinery of government well organised and in perfect order without the extravagance and waste which have marked the finances of the present Government.

LEADERS IN THE LORDS.

II.—LORD ROSEBERY.

That Lord Rosebery is not the leader of the House of Lords is true, and pity 'tis 'tis true. But the only person responsible for that fact is Lord Rosebery himself. That is indeed the first count in the indictment which the nation brings against Lord Rosebery to-day. The nation has many grounds of complaint against Lord Rosebery, but first and foremost among them all is the abominably scurvy treatment which Lord Rosebery has meted out to—Lord Rosebery.

Lord Rosebery used to say that he had been abominably treated by Sir W. Harcourt when that doughty knight led the Liberal forces in the House of Commons. But the knight of Malwood at his worst never mishandled the Lord of Mentmore so shamefully as the noble Lord suffered at the hands of Lord Rosebery. And for that mischance to the former Prime Minister the nation owes Lord Rosebery a deep if not an abiding grudge.

It is a cruel thing to see how obstinately and persistently Lord Rosebery refuses to do himself justice. And the British public, which loves justice in its heart, resents injustice even when it is self-inflicted. In the end, however, it reluctantly acquiesces in the injustice, consoling its conscience by the reflection that, after all, Lord Rosebery knows more about Lord Rosebery than anyone else, and if he decides to trip himself up, he probably knows that he is only meting out to himself his deserts. In this particular Lord Rosebery bears a strong resemblance to Mr. Labouchere. Both are extremely amusing, witty, and most capable intelligences. But neither of them ever does himself justice. They are, and always have been, the marplots of their own fortunes. They have now

become the Pucks of their respective wings. The Radical flibbertigibbet has spoiled himself from his too great humility, his Imperialist counterpart from the opposite. Mr. Labouchere can never be got to take himself seriously. He never addresses a public meeting without feeling in the inner soul of him a mild amazement that so many apparently intelligent human beings can be so incredibly foolish as to waste their time in listening to the stuff which he serves out to them. Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, reaches the same goal by following the opposite road. He takes himself too seriously, and so much overvalues the commodities he brings to market that he can find no purchaser. He must be master or nothing. As the nation will not give him a mandate to appoint a Ministry, every member of which must be sworn to do his bidding, he will disdain to serve his country even as *Primus inter pares* in the next administration. And as the nation has not the remotest notion as to what Lord Rosebery would do with such a blank-cheque mandate, he is being left out in the cold. No doubt he does not care. One of the peculiarities of Pucks is that they don't care. Mr. Labouchere does not care, for all life to him is a jest, and his fellow men are mere monkeys, who in the process of the ages have been taught to wear breeches. Lord Rosebery has no such cynical philosophy to support, but he does not care either. He wraps himself in the cloak of his own Imperial purple, and from a St. Helena of his own choosing moodily contemplates the course of events.

It is a great pity, but it is in the nature of things. The parable of the wedding guest might have warned Lord

Rosebery of his fate. As it applies to many others beside Lord Rosebery, I quote the parable in full :

And he put forth a parable to those which were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief rooms, saying unto them : When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room, lest a more honourable man than thou be bidden of him. And he that bade thee and him come and say to thee : Give this man place, and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room. But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room, and when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee : Friend, go up higher ; then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee.

What aggravates the position in Lord Rosebery's case is that he was from the first bidden to take the highest room. But that did not satisfy him. To be merely Prime Minister as others have been Prime Minister was not enough. He must be all or nothing.

Yet there is method in this madness. If Lord Rosebery were to be Foreign Secretary, he would be so big a man no one of his colleagues nor all of them together would be able to control him, or even to influence him in the affairs of his own department. As Premier he would be in the hands of his colleagues. If he were Foreign Secretary it would be the other way about. "I know these fellows," Lord Rosebery probably says to himself. "I have served with them once. But the toad which has survived the harrow does not willingly submit a second time to such an ordeal." Hence with him it is a case of *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*. And *nullus* it is, worse luck. But who are we to oppose the fiat of the Olympians? And as Lord Rosebery has willed it, we must e'en bow to his supreme behest.

Lord Rosebery is a charming personality. No more ingenious and eloquent speaker is to be found in public life. He is a man of letters as well as a statesman. His speeches read like essays and are heard like orations. His sparkling wit, some-

times a trifle sardonic, plays like summer lightning over all his political discourses. He is an aristocrat, with democratic sympathies. He never so completely realised what was best in him as when he presided over the London County Council as "Mr. Chairman." He is capable of inspiring a few men with deep personal devotion. To Mr. Benn he is still the hero-statesman of the early days of the County Council. To the Imperial Mr. Perks he is still the Man of Destiny. But although his colleagues in the League regard him as an invaluable asset, he is of such uncertain value they never know exactly how to appraise him. No small part of the hold which Lord Rosebery has upon the public imagination is because he represents the unknowable, the unforeseen, the unexpected. He has come to belong to the enchanted world, inhabited by the White and the Red Knights, the Jabberwock, the Carpenter, and the Walrus, and the other delightful creatures introduced to us by "Alice in Wonderland."

Everyone outside is asking whether he will be next Premier. Everybody inside who knows answers "No," Lord Rosebery leading off the chorus of negation. The King will follow the straight path of constitutional precedent. His Majesty, confronted with his first ministerial crisis, has no intention of creating such a revolutionary innovation as that of passing over the recognised Liberal leaders in Lords and Commons when seeking for the man to whom the formation of a new Government must be entrusted. In 1880, although the Liberal victory was won almost singlehanded by Mr. Gladstone, the Sovereign sent for Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. It was only when they declared that it was impossible to form a Ministry that Mr. Gladstone was summoned to Windsor. It is not difficult to see that if Lord Rosebery, between now and the general election, were to do the spade work of a second Midlothian

Campaign *à la* Gladstone, history would repeat itself. To the victor once more the spoils would be awarded, after due formalities had been observed, and Lord Spencer and C.-B. would be compelled to propose and second that the laurel crown should be placed upon Lord Rosebery's brow. But to-day, as at Eton, Lord Rosebery does not consider the palm is worth the dust of the arena.

It is curious to note the contrast between Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery. Both are inclined to the belief that the supreme interest of the Empire would be best served by putting their noble selves in command, but whereas Mr. Chamberlain, willing the end, does not hesitate to adopt the means whereby he thinks his end can be secured, Lord Rosebery does not will the end enough to take the means necessary for its attainment. Poor Mr. Chamberlain has lost his chance, and by no conceivable means can attain his end. But Lord Rosebery's case is by no means hopeless. On the contrary, I can give him a prescription which, if he had the resolution to take it, would secure him the Premiership with the mandate that he weakly sighs for, but which on his present lines he will never attain.

If Lord Rosebery would take off his coat in earnest and descend into the arena with a clear, unmistakable declaration that the time had come for every man to put on one side all personal questions in face of the common danger threatening every class in the commonwealth, and devote himself with a single eye to the welfare of the Empire, to the defeat and overthrow of the present Government, he would have taken the first step towards his goal. If he would further declare that he was ready and eager to place his services at the disposal of his countrymen, even in the lowest and most insignificant office of the new administration, or, if not even an under-secretaryship was available, to heartily support the Government from without, then

the second step would have been taken.

Then, if he would devote himself, between now and the General Election, to the delivery in all parts of the country of, say, ten or twelve carefully prepared speeches, one-half of which should be devoted to a scathing exposure of the shortcomings, the blunders, and the crimes of the last ten years of Unionist misrule, and the other half to a clear, reasoned, passionate exposition of the policy which the party of progress ought to follow for the next ten years at home and abroad, then the third and final step would be taken, which would place him in the position in which alone in his opinion he can best serve his country.

For if Lord Rosebery followed this programme religiously the King might send for whom he pleased in the first place. Lord Rosebery would be as inevitable as was Mr. Gladstone in 1880. But has Lord Rosebery got it in him to take these three steps? No one, even among the few who can be counted as his greatest supporters—intimates he has few or none—pretends to believe that he has in him the physical, the moral, or the intellectual capacity to undertake such a campaign on such conditions. The result is that a Rosebery premiership on the Rosebery terms will remain on the astral plane of misty dreams, and the wittiest and most talented Liberal Statesman is in imminent danger of drivelling down into the position of a superior Mr. Horsman.

It is lamentable, but you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, or, to employ a more suitable metaphor, you cannot make a serviceable leather jerkin out of the feathers of a bird of paradise. Lord Rosebery lacks the toughness which distinguished the great political leaders of the past. He is too sensitive. He winces under criticism, and seems to have been born without a second skin. This morbid sensitiveness makes him like an eyeball without eyelids—any speck of dust sets up irritation. If he had

been either a better or a worse man he would be much more of a realisable asset in the treasury of the Empire than he is to-day. But although we cannot make all the use of him that we wish, we may get some profit from his counsels, even though he has resolutely and finally decided not to be a councillor in office.

The disadvantage of consulting a councillor not in office is that his counsels are not balanced by a due consideration of the forces and factors which govern the problem. Lord Rosebery's tendency to an impulsive and inconsiderate phrasing of his convictions, has never been more clearly illustrated than by his reference to Home Rule. He was a leading member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet of 1885, and of 1892. As such he was publicly and decisively pledged to a scheme of Home Rule, which he defended in the House of Lords, and for which he recorded his vote. As soon as he became Prime Minister he made his famous speech about the necessity of convincing the predominant partner before Home Rule could be carried. The effect of that deliverance was prodigious. On one side the Home Rulers flew to arms. On the other, Mr. Chamberlain ordered an instant truce, and waited for three days an expected summons to the support of a Liberal Government submissive to the Unionist will of the predominant partner. A very few hours sufficed to convince Lord Rosebery that he had overlooked elements which ought to have been taken into consideration even before proclaiming political truisms, and had thereby acted as foolishly as a mariner who refuses to deviate from his course because a reef of rocks lies right ahead. So he made explanations. Mr. Chamberlain ordered instant resumption of hostilities, but the Liberal Party was saved from instant disintegration.

Lord Rosebery is now in a position of greater freedom and of less responsibility. He is no longer subject to the restraining influences of colleagues

who are closer in touch than he with the dominating factors of the political position. Therefore, his latest indiscretion on the subject of Home Rule has not been explained away. The words which he uttered at the City Liberal Club on the subject of Ireland and Home Rule belong to the category labelled by the apostle "the superfluity of naughtiness." After saying that you might do Ireland inestimable good by proceeding on the lines of administrative reform, but there was one thing to which no serious statesman would ever expose this country, and that was the curse of dual government at the heart of the Empire, he added:

You see by the long-protracted crisis in Norway and Sweden—I am not going to say who is right or wrong—you see by the constant crises which seem to have assumed almost a permanent character in Austria-Hungary, what are the results of dualism—vultures gnawing at the very vitals of Empire.

Now here we have the very mid-summer madness of the irresponsible phrasemaker. The "vulture" speech was worse than the "predominant partner," and it has never been explained away. Nothing could have been easier than to have clipped the claws and muzzled the beak of the "vulture" phrase. It was like the predominant partner speech, the mere utterance of a truism. Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, for which Lord Rosebery was responsible, as a member of his Cabinet, was based not on dualism but upon the unquestioned supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Finland, under Gen. Bobrikoff, enjoyed far more independence than Ireland would have done under Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. If we really want to see vultures gnawing at the very vitals of Empire we must look not at Hungary or Norway, but turn to Helsingfors, where we see that the real vulture is Imperial unionism, which is destroying Finnish loyalty by its attacks upon Finnish Home Rule. But blurted out as and where and when it was spoken,

its effect was mischievous, and purely mischievous.

Mr. Healy immediately remarked that he could not see how any Irish member can support a Government to which Lord Rosebery may belong, after his declaration against Home Rule.

The answer to this is that if Lord Rosebery were to belong to any Government, the responsibility of his position would promptly relegate the vulture of dualism to the limbo where reposes the "predominant partner." But the irresponsibility of our Imperial Puck deprives him of the restraining influence which would otherwise have slain the vulture.

Lord Rosebery was born May 7th, 1847, was christened Archibald Philip Primrose, and became fifth Earl of Rosebery in the same year in which he attained his majority. He has had everything he wanted ever since he was born. Immense wealth alone was lacking in his hereditary endowments. It came to him when, in 1878, he married Hannah, the daughter and heiress of the late Baron Mayer de Rothschild. Educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, his position if not his erudition was recognised by four universities conferring upon him the degree of LL.D. He was three times Lord Rector—Aberdeen, 1878-81; Edinburgh, 1882-5, and Glasgow, 1899-1902. He is a Brigadier-General, but only of the Royal Company of Archers—a force not available for mobilisation, even in case of invasion—and hon. colonel of two Scotch volunteer regiments.

His political career may be said to date from the time when he ran Mr. Gladstone for Midlothian in 1880. The G.O.M. did not realise how much he owed to his host of Dalmeny till some time after the election. It was the enthusiastic cheers of a great audience in the Edinburgh Corn Market some years later that first opened Mr. Gladstone's eyes to the fact that Lord Rosebery—hitherto regarded as little

more than a youth—had become the idol of Scotland. It is a fallen idol to-day, but in the eighties the glamour had not departed. His political appointments are as follows, in order of date:—

1881-3. Under-Secretary at the Home Office.

February to June, 1885. Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works.

1886. Foreign Secretary.

August, 1892, to March, 1894. Foreign Secretary.

March, 1894, to June, 1895. Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord President of the Council.

He became Knight of the Garter in 1892, and Knight of the Thistle in 1895.

During the ten years of Unionist Administration, Lord Rosebery distinguished himself by retiring from the Liberal leadership in order to crush the movement in support of the oppressed Armenians. Lord Rosebery believed that he had trustworthy information that if Lord Salisbury had persisted, under popular pressure, in coercing the Turk it would have resulted in a general European war. To avert that calamity, he did not hesitate to deprive the party of its leadership, to destroy the hope of the Armenians, and to inflict a last and bitter blow upon Mr. Gladstone. After that he lay *perdu*. He never said a word to avert the war with the Boers. But after the ultimatum he became a strong advocate for a vigorous prosecution of the war. He contributed one of his fatal phrases to act as an anodyne to the uneasy conscience of the nation, when he declared that "we should muddle through somehow," a result with which the average man was so content that he made but a feeble response to Lord Rosebery's subsequent appeal for efficiency. He attempted to rouse the nation to a sense of its insecurity by a speech in the House of Lords at a time when England was denuded of troops, and there was no ammunition left in our arsenals, but he never said a word to

deprecate the savage severity of the methods of barbarism by which our armies were making a desolation in Africa in order to call it peace.

He took ever a warm interest in social questions, acted as arbitrator in a great coal strike, and proclaimed war against the lords of the slums, who baffle the local authorities when they endeavour to solve the housing question. Speaking at Hoxton, November 13th, 1899, he exclaimed :—

“I declare, when I think of the bonds of red tape in which we are swathed, I sometimes wish for a dictator, a tyrant who should hold office for a year, and a man of large mind, large heart, and iron will, who would see what had to be done and who would do it. He should hold power for a year, and at the end his head should be cut off for fear his existence should imperil our liberties. But he would have had the satisfaction, if he held office only for a few months, of having done that which no Parliament would have accomplished in forty times the time.”

Lord Rosebery emerged as leader, not of the Liberal party, but of the Liberal League, at the end of 1901. In his Chesterfield speech he spoke with authority as one who had legions at his command, and the Government showed itself amenable to his suggestions in the making of peace. The immediate result of the Chesterfield and Liverpool speeches, however, in his own party was a rally of the rank and file of the Liberals round Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whose right to lead the party was declared unofficially to be directly threatened by the Liberal League. Lord Rosebery exhorted all his followers to spend all their time in doing spade work in the constituencies, and then he incontinently departed for the Continent.

When Mr. Chamberlain began his Fiscal campaign, he appears to have indulged in some vain dreams as to the possible adhesion of Lord Rosebery. These dreams at first seemed to have some foundation in fact, from a somewhat injudicious speech made by Lord

Rosebery, before he had time to consider the matter in all its bearings. Addressing the Burnley Chamber of Commerce, he announced that he was not a person who believed that Free Trade was part of the Sermon on the Mount, or that we ought to receive it in all its rigidity as a Divinely appointed institution. He declared that it was neither seemly nor judicious to dismiss summarily and by anticipation any plan, if proposed on the responsibility of the Government, which may have for its object the drawing closer of the ties between Great Britain and the Colonies, more especially when such an idea is eminently congenial to some of those Colonies. However, as Lord Rosebery was then acting as Leader of the Liberal (Primrose) League, he soon picked up his bearings, repudiated preference, and has since then done yeoman's service in the cause of Free Trade.

The following memoranda, although far short of a bibliography, may be helpful to those who wish to study Lord Rosebery.

Lord Rosebery has written two books—*William Pitt* (1891); *Napoleon, the last Phase* (1900).

He has delivered three rectorial addresses. At Glasgow on November 16th, 1900, his theme was “Questions of Empire,” and dealt with Imperialism.

One of his earliest deliverances was a presidential address at the Social Science Congress, Glasgow, September 30th, 1874.

The most famous of his lectures was that on Oliver Cromwell, which was delivered in Queen's Hall, November 14th, 1899.

His first famous despatch was that in which he astounded Prince Bismarck by the freedom with which he abused Russia for reconsidering her promise at Berlin in 1878 to make Batoum a free port (July, 1886).

His most astonishing diplomatic exploit was when he threatened France with war about the Siamese

frontier without the knowledge of his colleagues (1893). "I have myself while a Minister incurred the risk of war" (October 9th, 1896).

His most startling speech was that in which he proclaimed his devotion to peace, his abandonment of the Armenians, and his resignation of the Liberal leadership.

His most sensational speech was that delivered on National Policy at Chesterfield on December 16th, 1901.

One of the best of his speeches was that which he delivered in St. James' Hall shortly after his retirement from the Chairmanship of the London County Council.

He is one of the trustees, executors, and joint heirs of the Rhodes estate, and horses owned by him have twice won the Derby.

Innumerable articles have been

written about him, of which the best remembered is Mr. St. Loe Strachey's "The Seven Lord Roseberys," which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* of October, 1894.

"The Foreign Policy of Lord Rosebery" was authoritatively dealt with in two articles in the *Contemporary Review*, July and August, 1901, and since re-published as a volume.

A few books have been written about him, one of the first being Mr. Arthur Wallace's *The Earl of Rosebery; his Words and his Work*. Among the others are *Lord Rosebery's Speeches, 1874—1896* (Neville Beeman, Ltd.); *The Foreign Policy of Lord Rosebery, 1886—1892-95* (A. L. Humphreys); *The Earl of Rosebery, K.G.; an Illustrated Biography*, by Jane J. Stoddart (Hodder & Stoughton).

LORD ROSEBERY ON COMING QUESTIONS.

Since the Chesterfield speech in December, 1901, we have had many speeches from Lord Rosebery, from which it is not difficult to extract his opinions upon most of the questions now before the country.

Peers do not address the electors directly. The conventional method is to write a letter to a friend. As Lord Rosebery has not yet written the letter which will be issued on the eve of the General Election, I am taking the liberty of putting together a letter to be addressed to some friends and neighbours, compacted out of Lord Rosebery's speeches of the last three years. I indicate by footnotes the date and place where the various sentences were spoken. I flatter myself that Lord Rosebery, when the General Election does come, will find it difficult to improve upon this compost of the best sentences in his best speeches.

38, BERKELEY SQUARE, W.

(Various dates, see footnote).

DEAR SIRS,

I was prepared to welcome and to support this Government which took office with boundless power and boundless means. Never were there such power and such opportunity combined in any hands. They had power such as a Caesar or a Cromwell or a Romanoff might have envied. What have they done with it? What have they to show for this proud lease of domination? Nothing but a vast and bloody war, with all its incalculable consequences and its immeasurable probabilities.

TEN YEARS OF TORY RULE.

What has the Government done to further the development of the nation to which it owes so much and which has given it such unbounded confidence—looking back for the last ten years—for the highest and truest needs of the people? What are these ten years? Are they years of plenty or are they years of famine? Looking back along their bleak outlines, I do not see a flicker of hope, not a fire of a beacon, not even a faint reflection of sunset, for the sun has never risen upon them. What are these ten years? Ten years lost for all social and human causes; ten years lost for all measures which made for national health and national efficiency; ten years lost in our training and preparation for the keen race of nations, which requires efficiency both in commerce and dominion. I have no expectation left, I have no hope in the Government, so I come to the nation.¹

TORY FOREIGN POLICY.

If you engage a servant to look after your plate, and he comes to you and says: "Do not let us deal with the past. I am just out of prison on a ticket-of-leave. Let bygones be bygones. Hand me over the spoons," you hesitate to accord your confidence. It is necessary to remember certain past acts of the Government when they ask us for our confidence. In the first place they burked the inquiry as to the Raid. I do not say that there was anything to conceal, but it did produce a sinister and universal impression, more especially on the continent of Europe, that there was something to conceal, and so struck a blow not merely at the friendship of nations for us, but also at our national honour. In the second place, they plunged us with a light heart into war without foresight and without preparation, which brought on us both humiliation and reverse.²

In the ten years of Tory Government you have seen British ships ordered from Port Arthur by the Russian Government, and you have seen our Fleet go to Venezuela under the dictation, practically, of the German Government.³

There was the Anglo-German agreement, which was heralded by a flourish of trumpets, but under which all the advantages rested with the Germans, and nothing but the shells with His Britannic Majesty's Government.⁴

They seized Wei-hai-Wei in a Whitsuntide recess in order to satisfy the House of Commons on its return.⁵

(But now they inform us) Wei-hai-Wei is no longer a naval base. It is no longer a place of arms, no longer a protection for our commerce or our fleets. It has become a sort of second-rate watering place.⁶

ITS EVIL FRUITS.

I venture to say in the whole history of England, so far as I can recollect, there is no parallel to the hatred and the ill-will with which we are regarded,

¹ Glasgow, March 10, 1902. Seven altered to ten in speaking of Government's term of office.

² Plymouth, January 16, 1903.

³ London, March 9, 1905.

⁴ Lincoln, September 20, 1904.

⁵ Chesterfield, December 16, 1901.

⁶ Lords, February 10, 1902.

almost unanimously, by the peoples of Europe. That was not the state in which the present Government found our foreign relations. When they came into office in 1895 we left them, to use an old phrase, "Peace with honour," and as much good-will as can reasonably be expected in the competition of nations. You know where we are now. You know that we are engaged in anything but peace, and that we have incurred the ill-will of every nation, or almost every nation, on the face of the globe. Now, that in itself is a very dangerous state of affairs. I dare say the Governments of all countries are anxious to remain on good terms with Great Britain, and a great smouldering, and even sometimes a flaming, ill-will, such as prevails all over Europe against us, is an element in the political situation full of contingent peril, if not of immediate danger.

Well, you may ask, "Are the Government responsible for this?" In my judgment, to a large extent they are. Put yourselves in the place of the peoples of Europe. That is the only way of understanding foreign opinion, and it is one which, so far as I can observe, this Government has never adopted.¹

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

(On the change of Government) there will be no wide breach of continuity in foreign and colonial affairs. Sharp turns are disastrous in external affairs. You cannot play tricks with the grim balance of the world's interests, and therefore I hope that the next Government, if they have occasion in some respects to change the foreign and colonial policy of the present Government, will do it by a graceful curve, and not by a right angle.²

While desiring as earnestly as any human being in these islands the inestimable boon of a good understanding with France, I have the deepest and most serious doubt as to the treaty by which that understanding was attained, but so far as I know I will never say a word about the Anglo-French Agreement again, because it is a matter that is concluded and sealed, and all that the next Government will have to do will be to carry it out.³

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

This is not a time at which we can take a clear, definite, or conclusive view of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. My first impression without prejudice was favourable to the treaty.⁴

The policy of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is not a Tory policy. The foundation of it was laid by the Liberal Government of 1895. We led the way in the task of emancipation for Japan from the Treaty Courts that were then established in that country—from the treaty supervision by foreigners that was then established in that country, which earned the gratitude and the recognition of the Japanese; and when we were subjected to severe pressure by the three Great Powers of Germany, Russia, and France to insist upon the Japanese

¹ Chesterfield, December 16, 1901.

² Newcastle, March 12, 1904.

³ London, March 9, 1905.

⁴ House of Lords, February 13, 1902.

evacuating Port Arthur and the other fruits of their victory in the Liautung Peninsula, we resolutely refused to have anything to do with so gross an injustice and so flagrant a wrong. That was the policy of the last Liberal Government, and I do not doubt, though I myself feel that it is well, in our insular position, to keep ourselves as free as possible from treaty engagements, that had it been a question of continuing that understanding the Liberal party would not have hesitated from entering into the treaty which the Tory Government entered into.¹

THE REFORM OF THE ARMY.

The Government have certainly done much in attempting to remodel the Army. Three Secretaries of State have tried their hand successively at the Army. There have been two or three schemes. The last scheme which was announced with such a flourish of trumpets has apparently joined its brothers in their political cemetery.²

The very first duty of an energetic and patriotic Minister would be to employ his best strength to examine into the Administration of the War Office.³

The present system of military management is doomed. The time has come for a new departure. We must place the War Office for a time under an expert. We are so fortunate as to possess a great soldier in the prime and vigour of life who unites high capacity for business, finance, and administration with ripe and recent military experience. We should entrust the War Office to Lord Kitchener, with the fullest authority to reorganise our present system, with a view probably to its being administered by a Board, as in the case of the Admiralty.⁴

THE NEED FOR RETRENCHMENT.

An attack on property has been going on for the last ten years under a Conservative Government—debt piled up in mountains, taxation piled up until it becomes a matter of serious alarm as to where it is to stop. And then people complain, "How is it, under this most beneficent of all Governments, under this best of all parties—how is it that under these indisputably good conditions we find ourselves constantly poor, unable to afford our little luxuries, our charities all dwindling, a constant sense of tightness in every money market?"⁵

In 1894 the national expenditure was £94,000,000; it has now risen to £140,000,000. This is not a war expenditure, but a peace expenditure. Money is the sinews of war. It was our money-bags that wore down the first Napoleon. If we cannot spend less in times of peace, it is impossible to predict what we should spend if we came to a really serious war; and as all armaments must really depend upon policy, sound policy cannot ignore finance.⁶

¹ London, March 9, 1905.

² Lincoln, September 20, 1904.

³ Chesterfield, December 16 1901.

⁴ Letter, September 10, 1903.

⁵ London, March 9, 1905.

⁶ Lords, March 24, 1903.

IRISH POLICY.

I am not prepared, at any time or under any circumstances, to grant an independent parliament in Dublin. If Ireland were loyal I would gladly give her the privileges of the self-governing colonies. I trust that as county government develops in Ireland, as it shows the administrative qualities of the people, it may be possible to enlarge that sphere, and in that way to begin from the base towards the summit. I hope and believe that much devolution must take place in a national direction in the work of our overburdened and overlabouring Parliament. I believe that much reform must take place in what is known as Castle Government in Ireland. I hope most sincerely that I may live to see my dream realised of some scheme of Imperial Federation which should allow a local and subordinate legislature as a part of that scheme. But when I am asked for anything that is to work up to an independent Parliament, I tell you plainly that is not upon my slate.¹

THE EDUCATION ACT.

I am not myself in favour of the refusal of the payment of rates, but then I am not in the position of the Nonconformists. If the Nonconformists submit tamely to the exactments of the Education Act, in my judgment, politically, they will have ceased to exist. If it is to be established as a maxim that the Church of England is to have the education in the schools entirely maintained by public funds and entirely controlled by a close corporation constituted under the trust deeds of these schools, we may look forward to a great political deterioration throughout the nation at large. I hope the country will not remain passive.²

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE AND FISCAL REFORM.

I have always been in favour of conferences. Long before Mr. Chamberlain took up the Empire I was urging upon my fellow countrymen that the best way of cementing the Empire was to have periodical conferences with the colonies at intervals of four years, and, therefore, as the last was in 1902, it seems to me a reasonable thing that the next conference should meet, as it would ordinarily meet, in 1906, and should then discuss, as one of its subjects, tariff reform. But I regard Mr. Chamberlain's policy as a disaster. I do not forget that we lost the United States by seeking to impose a fiscal policy on them, and I am not willing to imperil the splendid commerce of our glorious heritage by having a fiscal policy imposed on us in the name of the colonies.³

A POLICY FATAL TO THE EMPIRE.

I have come deliberately to the conclusion that, so far as I understand Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, I can conceive nothing so detrimental to the Empire, nothing so detrimental to the honour of the Empire, nothing so detrimental to

¹ Liverpool, February 14, 1902.

² Spencer House, December, 1902.

³ Trowbridge, October 29, 1904.

the prosperity of the Empire as those proposals are in their nature, and in the manner in which they have been raised.¹

You may say, But would you fight these hostile tariffs? I do not believe retaliation to be efficacious. I believe we must fight them by a more scientific and adaptive spirit, by better education. But, above all, keep the universe as your market for your raw material and your food.²

I am an Imperialist at least as old as Mr. Chamberlain. The grandeur, the mission, and the future of our Empire have been the pervading faith of my political life, and I say this with the conviction that our free Empire must be identified with the free loaf. Do not allow the sublime idea of your Empire to be mixed up with the taxation of your children's bread.³

AN APPEAL FOR LIBERAL UNION.

Liberals will be fools, and worse than fools, if they be not united, shoulder to shoulder, to resist this mad and dangerous experiment, if they do not stand close and cordial together to maintain the noble fabric of our commerce and our Empire. In the face of such an issue as this, so vital to us now, and in the long days to come, surely it is futile and petty to indulge in the personal equation. Life is not long enough or strong enough for this. Your fathers are bidding you remember their sufferings under Protection; your sons adjure you to protect the future of your commerce and your dominion.⁴

AN UP-TO-DATE LIBERAL PARTY.

The principles of the Liberal party are undying.⁵ But there are a great many Tory Liberals in the Liberal party. There are men who sit still with the fly-blown phylacteries of obsolete policies bound round their foreheads, who do not remember that while they have been mumbling their incantations to themselves, the world has been marching and revolving, and that if they have any hope of leading or guiding it, they must march and move with it too.⁶ If the Liberal party does not represent the newest needs of the nation, if it does not represent the latest inspirations of the nation, the Liberal party is a hypocrisy and a show. I do not wish the Liberal party to be crushed; I do not wish it to be behind the spirit of the age in which we live. I wish it to be a living instrument for good—a great swelling influence for good, receptive of the best influences of our time, and giving them back in practical legislation to the people.⁷

PROGRAMME OF NEXT LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

My hope in the next Liberal Government is that we shall see new and fresh business minds applied to the great problems of Government. I hope to see new and fresh minds applied to the great problems of finance and of administration,

¹ Hotel Cecil, June 12, 1903.

² Sheffield, October 13, 1903.

³ Surrey Theatre, November 25, 1903.

⁴ Leicester, November 9, 1903.

⁵ Liverpool, February 14, 1902.

⁶ Chesterfield, December 16, 1901.

⁷ Liverpool, February 14, 1902

and to the great question of all, the question of our national efficiency, locked up, as that is, in the education and training of our youth. The next Liberal Government will not rely on a distended and overloaded programme, but without much delay after their accession to power they must restore the schools of the country to the control of the country. Without much delay they must apply themselves to the question of temperance, not as fanatics or extremists, but as statesmen.¹ The State must have control of the traffic, or that interest will control the State.²

THE TRUE IMPERIALISM.

The fundamental qualities of the British Empire are that it is free, unaggressive, and tolerant.³ The policy of Liberal Imperialism is the maintenance and promotion of the British Empire as the greatest agency for good in the world.⁴

The true policy of Imperialism is one that relates not to territory alone but to the race as well. The Imperialism that, grasping after territory, ignores the conditions of an Imperial race, is a blind, a futile, and an effete Imperialism.⁵

It is all very well to make great speeches and to win great divisions. It is well to speak with authority in the councils of the world, and to see your navies riding on every sea, and to see your flag on every shore. That is well, but it is not all. I am certain that there is a party in this country, not named as yet, that is disconnected with any existing political organisation, a party which is inclined to say, "A plague on both your houses, a plague on all your parties, a plague on all your politics, a plague on your unending discussions which yield so little fruit. Have done with this unending talk, and come down and do something for the people."⁶

A FINAL APPEAL.

And now I would summarise the policy that I have expounded to you. It is at home to restore efficiency to our Parliament, our administration, and our people; it is abroad, as a foreign policy, to dispel the atmosphere of suspicion and hatred which has grown up around us under this present Government, and to restore things to the footing on which they were when we left office in 1895. My policy does not run on party lines; but it is not to party that I appeal. Party in this matter can avail little or nothing. I appeal unto Cæsar. From Parliament with its half-hearted but overwhelming majority for the Government, and its distracted and disunited Opposition, I appeal to the silent but supreme tribunal which shapes and controls, in the long run, the destinies of our people, I mean the tribunal of public opinion and of common sense. If that fail us, we are lost indeed, and I know of nothing else that remains to avail us.⁷

Yours, &c.,
ROSEBERY.

¹ Newcastle, March 12, 1904.

² Lincoln, September 20, 1904.

³ Edinboro', April 4, 1900.

⁴ London, April 27, 1900.

⁵ Liverpool, February 14, 1902.

⁶ St. James' Hall, 1892.

⁷ Chesterfield, December 16, 1901.

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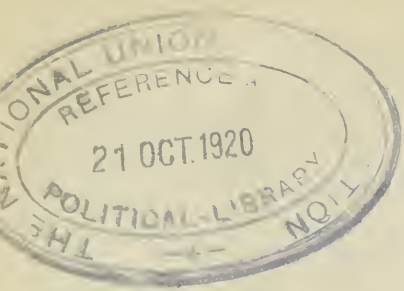
THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

By Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P.

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON.

Apr. 27. 1905

ONE PENNY.



T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P.

COMING MAN No. 3 in this series as originally planned was to have been John Burns of Battersea, and No. 4 Lloyd-George of Wales, the three coming men who stand on the threshold of the new Cabinet that is to be. But John Burns could not write his survey of the Labour question before Easter, and Lloyd-George could not decide which of the coming questions he would prefer to treat. So it came to pass that, instead of John Burns and Lloyd-George, who will be Cabinet Ministers before twelve months are out, Coming Man No. 3 is Dr. Macnamara, who will have to wait for Cabinet rank until the inevitable re-arrangement takes place two or three years hence, when the older veterans pass to their well-earned retirement, making room for the younger men who will begin with the new Parliament their apprenticeship to public service in offices which do not carry with them a seat in the Cabinet. In the roll-call of the worthies of David, the chronicler, after enumerating the exploits of Joab the son of Zeruah, Tashobeam the Hachmonite, and Eleazar the Ahohite, who were the three mightiest, goes on to enumerate the achievements of others, of Asahel the brother of Joab and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, who were honourable among the thirty captains, but who attained not unto the first three. So it may be said that among the chief of the mighty men by whom the Liberal David will be strengthened in his coming period of supremacy stands Dr. Macnamara, M.P. for North Camberwell, although in standing and exploits he as yet has attained not to the first three.

Dr. Macnamara represents youth, energy, race, experience, character, and ambition. He is like a machine made of gun metal, driven by a dynamo of inexhaustible energy. He

is typical of the new generation. A self-made man promoted from the ranks for sheer merit, and destined to go far. He is only forty-four years of age, but he has already "made his mark," and it may safely be predicted that there are few men who are likely to leave a deeper impression upon the annals of next Parliament than Dr. Macnamara. This is not merely because his brain goes like a watch that never needs to be wound up, or because he is a demon to work, to hustle, and to drive; it is due to the fact that he is one of the men who in the new Parliament have the condition of the people most at heart. The physical condition of the poor people of this country is likely to occupy much more attention in the new Parliament than the grievances of financial adventurers who have voluntarily expatriated themselves in order to make a fortune. The question which he deals with in this number is emphatically the Coming Question No. 1, although in order of publication I have given precedence to Free Trade, upon which the daily bread of our people absolutely depends. Nor is there any member or candidate who is more conspicuously marked out for dealing with this supreme problem than Thomas James Macnamara.

His fitness comes chiefly from the experience gained, not merely in the stern school of life, but in the daily drill of the public elementary school: for Dr. Macnamara is the typical schoolmaster of the modern elementary school. He was one of the first scholars to enter the Board School. In 1875, four years after Mr. Forster's Education Act, he was indentured as a pupil teacher. From 1879 to 1881 he was in training at Borough Road. In 1882 he began as assistant, serving in Lancaster and in Huddersfield.

In 1884 he was appointed headmaster, when only thirty-three years of age, of a new Avon Vale Board School in Bristol. It was in a poor district, and it was among the poor that Macnamara learned his vocation. He was himself the son of a sergeant in the 47th Regiment. Non-commissioned officers in his Majesty's Army may be the soul or the backbone of the regiment, but they are not among the plutocrats of the world. Thomas James Macnamara was born in the barracks at Montreal, the son of Irish parents, his father hailing from County Clare. His boyhood was spent in the barrack room, where his only picture gallery was the bare wall on which the rank and file had pasted pictures cut from the illustrated papers, and his only library, until he was twelve, consisted of "Gil Blas" and "Don Quixote," both in English. A curious training for an Irish lad born in Canada in a British barrack:—two romances, one by a Frenchman, the other by a Spaniard, translated from the original into English. He says that he knew them by heart, and they must rank high among the "books that made the man." Possibly to them he owes his keen sense of humour and his intense sympathy with all manifestations of human life.

He left Canada before he was nine, and followed the regiment from Pembroke to Exeter, where he attended first a Wesleyan day school, and afterwards the Board School in St. Thomas's. He therefore had a considerable experience in the provinces before he came to London in 1892 to edit the *Schoolmaster*, and other journals of the Educational Newspaper Company. He had joined the National Union of Elementary Teachers in 1882, when he was an assistant at Huddersfield, and had begun to contribute to the press soon after his appointment as headmaster at Bristol. He soon made his mark in the N.U.E.T. In 1890 he was appointed a member of the executive of what is probably the most powerful trades union in the

United Kingdom. In 1892 he became their editor, 1895 their Vice-President, and in 1896 President, when he had his hands full in preventing a disruption of the Union owing to differences of opinion as to the first of the Education Bills of the Unionist Government.

It was in 1894 that he first entered public life, and established that close connection with London labour and London poor which has stood him, and which stands him, in good stead. In that year he stood as Progressive candidate for a seat on the London School Board in West Lambeth. He was the candidate of the teachers, and they carried their man by the unprecedented poll of 48,255. His seat was secure from that time till the London School Board ceased to exist.

His first attempt to enter Parliament was unsuccessful. He stood for Deptford in 1895, and was beaten by Mr. Darling, now one of his Majesty's judges, and notable, if not famous, as the joking judge who tried the Cingalee case. The fight, however, was keen, and Dr. Macnamara having made his mark, was chosen as Radical candidate for North Camberwell. The seat was held by the Tories by a majority of 670. The General Election did not occur till 1900, when the appeal to the country was made in the midst of the khaki fever. Liberal candidates, who were all branded as pro-Boers, had bad luck on that evil day, especially in London. The exceptions were Dr. Macnamara and Mr. W. R. Cremer. The odd thing was that both were anti-Jingoes of the most pronounced type. Mr. W. R. Cremer got in by the skin of his teeth, Dr. Macnamara romped in with a majority of 1,335. The man who interrupted him at any of his meetings was usually more than sorry he spoke. The Doctor had now the ball at his feet.

The training which he had received on the executive of the Teachers' Union stood him in good stead in the House of Commons. He became

a parliamentarian without difficulty. No one has asked more awkward questions; few men have made more incisive speeches. He is one of the English Radicals who are always on the spot at Westminster, and constantly in request all over the country. Being an editor, he is always up to date and well abreast of the times. A specialist in education, he had a rare opportunity in the discussions of the Education Acts, and he made the most of it. He served on the Committee on Housing which sat in 1903, and he has taken an active part in the discussion of all social questions. The son of a soldier, and with a warm interest in the Army, he paid much attention to the scandals which occurred in South Africa, and as a Radical and a Democrat he was well to the front in the agitation on the subject of Chinese labour.

It was largely due to his action in Parliament, and out of it, that the Act was passed for the purpose of emancipating small school children from labour out of school.

On the subject of feeding the children he has ever been in evidence, and he is now attempting to save our youth from the deleterious cigarette.

Dr. Macnamara is an effective speaker and a clear and trenchant writer. His undoubted earnestness, his resolute and indomitable courage, his immense store of information, his resources of wit, and his capacity for work make him one of the most useful of debaters, and one of the most formidable of adversaries. He

knows all the workings of the Education Department, is familiar with minutæ of the administration of the Education Acts, and, what is of more importance, he is in close living personal touch with the leading representatives of the teaching profession all over the country.

He married, when twenty-five years old, a Scotch lassie, who has brought him a daughter and three sons. He lives at Herne Hill, and when he takes a holiday, he spends it in golfing or fishing. He has written many books. One of the latest of his publications is a charming collection of the humour of school-children, a humour that is all the more humorous because it is for the most part unconscious.

What post will fall to Dr. Macnamara's lot—he was made hon. LL.D. by the University of St. Andrews in 1897—in the new Administration is a matter of speculation. As he knows more about the practical side of education than most men, he will probably be tabooed at the Education Office. As a specialist in the condition of the people question, he would probably be more at home as Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board.

Whatever doubt there may be as to the particular post to be allotted to him, there is no doubt that Dr. Macnamara stands high among those who cannot be passed over in the distribution of offices by any Minister who means to secure efficiency and to recognize merit.

THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

[By Dr. Macnamara, M.P.]

I.—All's pretty well with the Middle, Professional, and Leisured Classes.

Fit food, clothing, housing, and recreation—these are the obvious essentials if the Home People are worthily to steward the British heritage. How do we stand in regard to them? I may omit from my consideration the middle, professional, and the leisured classes. They are, speaking generally, sufficiently fed, suitably clothed, and appropriately housed. They enjoy adequate opportunity for health-giving recreation. This is especially true of the middle and professional classes, whose daughters particularly are being thoroughly well trained, from the physical point of view, in the High Schools of the country. It is not quite so true of the leisured classes, who would be all the better of less food, plainer food, and more regular systematic open-air recreation. But, as things go, all's pretty well with these classes of the community.

II.—Four-fifths of the Working Classes doing moderately as things go.

So I turn my attention to the working classes. These constitute, roughly, five-sixths of the entire population—or thirty-five millions of men, women, and children—about twenty-nine millions of adults and six millions of children. How do we stand as regards this, the great mass of the home population? Well, in respect of food, clothing, and housing, four-fifths, or twenty-eight millions, are doing pretty well as things go. These are the skilled artisans and unskilled workers who are in steady and constant employment. Their housing accommodation, if restricted, is fairly healthy, their clothing substantial, and their food fairly wholesome in quality and sufficient in quantity. At the moment their immediate need is for more

leisure in which to engage in suitable physical recreation. And when they get that leisure, as they will, there will be an equal need to teach them how to utilize it to the best advantage. At present they seek to stiffen their muscular fibre by standing in the gloom and damp of an English winter's day watching a score of professional athletes play Association football!

Therefore, but with reservations, I leave out of my consideration not only the middle, professional, and leisured classes, but four-fifths also of the working classes and their children. They are better off physically than ever before; and as the great Municipalities go on to grasp social problems more thoroughly and with greater confidence, as they go on to extend cheap and ready means of transit to the semi-rural suburban zones, build garden cities on their outer edges, set their common schools in the green fields, tighten their grasp on the public health bye-laws, and develop the communal supply of the necessities of life, so shall we find the physical condition of the great bulk of the working-class population improve apace. So shall we find the demon Alcoholism—already, according to the statistics of 1904-5, loosening his grip upon our people—the more and more exorcised.

III.—The Remaining Fifth the Great Problem.

THERE remain seven millions of men, women, and children, the inhabitants of the "slums"—I use the term without intending offence—of our great cities and of many of our agricultural villages. It is upon these that we have to concentrate—six millions of men and women and a million of children. Their condition in the great bulk of cases is hopeless as to food, clothing, and housing. (It would be a piece of grotesque irony to mention physical training in connection with millions so unfit as these.) It is with deep shame and the gravest misgiving that I contemplate the state of these our countrymen and consider that upon their feeble shoulders the burden of Empire in due part rests. The coming Liberal Administration will have to set out on its journey with a ready determination to improve their condition. It will have to adopt as its watchword the profound fact that True Imperialism begins at Home. It will have to remember that the fate of Britain among the great peoples of the world is sealed if *laissez faire* in these matters is not instantly set aside for honest and untiring effort at amelioration. This is the canker at the heart of the Empire. It must be removed.

IV.—Seven Millions of Unfit Men, Women, and Children—How they are Housed.

CONSIDER the case of six millions of our people at home. They are housed with their children—another million—both in slum and hamlet, in a manner that strikes despair into the heart of the reformer. Look at the following figures from the Census Return for 1901:—

In the United Kingdom.	With more than two occupants.	
	Number of one-room tenements.	Number of two-room tenements.
Number of such tenements	66,669	147,527
Total number of occupants of such tenements . . .	245,586	884,672
Persons per room	About 4	

Bitterly eloquent of the part which the Housing Problem plays not only in the matter of the comfort or misery, but also of the life or death of the people are some Glasgow figures. They are for 1901. The Social Reformer will do well to ponder them carefully.

Of persons living in	Death-rate per 1,000.
One-room tenement	32·7
Two-room „	21·3
Three-room „	13·7
Four-room and upwards	11·2

Now let me turn to London. Some time ago the Whitechapel Board of Guardians called a conference on this question of Housing; and at that conference the Rector of Spitalfields made some appalling statements as to the existing conditions of affairs. He said that in one alley in his parish in which there were ten houses with fifty-one rooms, averaging 8 ft. by 9 ft. 6 in., no fewer than 254 people were housed. In another court, containing six houses and twenty-two rooms, eighty-four people were housed, and he went on to give several cases in which there were as many as six, seven, eight, and even nine people in a room. Elsewhere, he had found one house with eight rooms occupied by forty-five people, one room containing nine persons, another eight, and two of the rooms seven each. He further stated that near one of his parochial buildings *there were four men and six women, all of whom he described as hard-working and respectable people, who were forced to live in a single room and sleep on the floor.* What chance has chastity under these conditions? I have by me particulars of a court in Bloomsbury, London, where in one small room of 2,240 cubic feet there were living and sleeping a man, woman, and their seven children, whose ages ranged from eighteen years to one month, and the medical officer of health said that if that overcrowding continued the children must die. If these unhappy people had been in gaol or in a workhouse, they would have had twice the amount of cubic space. It is no uncommon thing, as London missionaries will tell you, for people to have to partake their meals from the top of a coffin containing the body of a deceased member of the family—there being no other room in which to put the corpse.

Turn to another part of London. In the Borough of Southwark, London, are 9,896 one-room tenements. There are 20,151 persons living in them.

But it is not only London that suffers. Mr. Rowntree's book on the condition of the poor in the cathedral city of York lifts the veil which covers the squalor, the misery, and the sorrow that are the portion of the poor in the great cities of the provinces. And so it is with the villages, where damp, cheerlessness, and insanitation are too often the conspicuous attributes of labouring-class home-life in sylvan England.

And see, again, how disease and death follow relentlessly in the train of this horrible overcrowding and abominable Housing problem.

In Hampstead there are 34 persons to 1 acre; in St. George's the Martyr, Southwark, there are 212. Result No. 1:—The death-rate in Hampstead is 13 per 1,000; in St. George's, Southwark, over 30 per 1,000. Result No. 2:—In Hampstead 120 babies per 1,000 die before reaching their first birthday; in St. George's, Southwark, over 200. Let me pursue the contrast further. Here is an "expectation of life" table for these two areas:—

Age.	Hampstead.	Southwark
At birth.	50·8	46·5
10	53·3	45·0
20	44·2	36·4
30	35·5	28·6
40	27·5	21·9
50	20·3	16·2

I wonder what would really happen if the people in Southwark, all of them, woke up one fine morning fully seised of the fact that their lives are being deliberately filched from them under modern social conditions? I think there might be trouble.

What must the coming Liberal Administration do? It must at once tackle the Land problem, for that is at the back of the Housing trouble. It must enable the Municipalities to acquire land promptly, simply, and cheaply. It must lend them monies for Housing purposes from the Treasury chest on easy terms. The nation that can cheerfully spend £250,000,000 on burning the homesteads of the Boer farmers over their heads must turn to the nobler task of providing sweet wholesome dwellings for its own homeland people. It must hold the great slum-landlord directly responsible for the suffering and misery out of which he makes his fat profits.

V.—And Clothed and Fed.

I HAVE laid stress on the housing of these unfit seven millions. It is the first crying evil to be tackled. But their clothing and food! Picture, if you can, the measure of each procurable by East End women whose bitter schedule of toil is as follows:—

- Making match boxes, 2½d. per gross, workers finding paste and twine, and fetching and delivering the work.
- Making canvas shoes, 1s. 3d. per dozen pairs.
- Making babies' shoes, 10d. per dozen.
- Covering bodice steels, 4d. per gross.
- Covering sunshades, 3½d. each, which sell at 10s. 6d. each.

These are the mothers of transcendental Empire. Let me glance at their sons. Here is a grimly significant table from the Return of the Recruiting for the British Army at certain stations in 1902:—

1902.	At St. George's Barracks, London.	At Hounslow.	At Newcastle- on-Tyne.	At Liverpool.	At Belfast.	At Manchester.
Lads offering themselves for inspection	12,951	1,625	2,012	2,164	1,443	4,470
Rejected for reasons of physical incapacity ...	4,841	642	766	839	542	2,190
Percentage of } rejections } ...	37·4	39·5	38·1	38·8	37·6	49·0

Remember the puny standard of physical development required for "Brodricks," and then reflect on the fact that half the candidates at Manchester in 1902 fell below it!

When the present Prince of Wales came home from his recent voyage round the Empire, he spoke enthusiastically of "the conscious pride in partnership in our great Empire which had everywhere been evinced." Good! But contemplate the conscious pride in Imperial partnership which cannot but swell the breasts of tens of thousands of citizens of the Empire whose sorrowful lives are spent in bitter and unremitting anguish within five miles of St. Paul's Cathedral! They sit in patience that is sublime, sharing the glories of Empire under the never-lifting pall of hunger and misery, at once a menace to and a condemnation of our systems of government, the leaders of which toil for the reclamation of the uttermost ends of the earth and pass in cynical disregard the things which lie at their very hand. The coming Liberal Administration will be supremely unworthy if it allows any day to pass upon which it does not spare a thought for the condition of the poor, upon which it does not try either itself or through the great Municipalities to mitigate their pitiful lot.

VI.—What must be done.

I HAVE already put drastic reform in the Housing problem as a prime and pressing necessity of the situation. But the great Municipalities must get to work in many other directions. For instance, labour colonies, on the lines of the Salvation Army Colony at Hadleigh, should be encouraged where required to meet the needs of unemployed slum populations; there should be, too, a

stricter carrying out of the functions of the Medical Officer of Health, and extended powers conferred upon Certifying Factory Surgeons. Again, the employment of women in factories should be the subject of stricter limitation, especially as regards women bearing child and after confinement. And on this point of women's work in factories the following table may well be studied. It shows the births per 1,000 of the population in 1901 in seven textile and seven non-textile towns. Comment upon it is needless.

Textile Towns.					Non-Textile Towns.				
Bolton ...	...	...	...	27·4	Gateshead ...	...	...	...	35·7
Blackburn ...	...	...	...	26·5	Bilston ...	...	...	...	36·5
Oldham ...	...	...	...	24·5	Sunderland ...	...	...	...	35·3
Burnley ...	...	...	...	23·7	Sheffield ...	...	...	...	33·0
Bradford ...	...	...	...	23·0	Newcastle ...	...	...	...	32·1
Huddersfield ...	...	...	...	22·9	Birmingham ...	...	...	...	31·9
Halifax...	...	...	...	22·3	Wolverhampton ...	...	...	...	31·9
Mean ...	...	...	...	24·7	Mean ...	...	...	...	33·9

I have but indicated here one or two directions in which reform should be accomplished. But a sympathetic Cabinet, acting through active and interested departments—Local Government Board, Home Office, and Board of Education—will find endless opportunities to meet the enlightened Municipality half way, and to stimulate the sluggish Local Authority into a more adequate appreciation of its duties and responsibilities.

VII.—THE CASE OF THE CHILDREN.

BUT, after all, the future is more with the children than with us. So it is on their behalf that we shall most profitably and fruitfully bend our energies. As with the working-class parents, so with the children. Four-fifths may be put on one side. Efforts must be concentrated upon that other fifth—the million scraps of humanity that fill the slums of our great towns. Of these at least 100,000 are so horribly treated, and their surroundings are

so squalid, that the State ought at once step in and take them right away out of the hands of their unworthy parents—*relentlessly pursuing these self-same good people for an appropriate share of the cost of that proper maintenance which their unhappy offspring would, under State auspices, secure.* In London some 4,000 children are so rescued by the State and placed in industrial schools and on training ships. When 20,000 have been taken out of London, and 2,000 out of each of the great towns, then, but not till then, shall we be on the way to a complete realization of our duty in this matter. For see what thoroughly good economics it is. Leave these little derelicts to their present unhappy fate, and you will hereafter pay about £15 per head per year for many of them in the union workhouse, about £24 per head in the county gaol, or about £40 per head in the convict establishment. Snatch them from their vicious surroundings, and you can make men and women of most of them at a much cheaper figure. You will find them later in life lumbering in Canada, sheep-shearing in Australia, cattle-tending in New Zealand, guard-mounting in the Army, or learning steam tactics in the Navy—first-class material nearly always.

VIII.—The Little Derelicts of the Slums.

As to at least 100,000 of this derelict million, then, there is nothing for it but for the State to step in and become the foster-parent. But while it can and will in time do this for 100,000, it obviously cannot take complete responsibility for so large a figure as a million. We must meet their hopeless case in another way. For hopeless it certainly is. First of all as to food. In every great urban centre the children of the slums habitually go to school improperly fed. Many of them are not only improperly fed, but the food they do get is far too little in quantity. In the hard winter season, when the building trades are "out," many again go to school either with no food at all, or having only stayed their hunger in the morning with a crust of dry bread. In sharp, frosty weather it is a common experience for teachers in the elementary schools of the poorer parts of our great towns—I have myself often seen it—to find children suddenly seized with vomiting. This is not so much caused by the fact that the stomach is upset, as that it has revolted against the effect of the cold upon its empty condition. And not only is this state of things true of the poorer parts of the big towns. It is true also of many of the agricultural villages. Let a visitor to a village elementary school look closely at the children. They are in many cases flabby and pale. They need more nourishing food. A breakfast of "tea-kettle broth"—broken bread, a scrape of dripping, a pinch of salt, and the basinful of hot water—a bit of bread and margarine, a bit of bread and treacle, and some abominably poor tea—these form the three meals daily. What torture! What a reckless waste of the public millions voted for education to hope to teach children so fed!

IX.—Go Famishing to School.

LET me examine the case of London a little more closely. Last year a Departmental Committee considered the whole problem of National Physical Deterioration. They examined a number of witnesses on the question of under and improper feeding. Hear Mr. W. H. Libby, for many years head-master of the Victory Place Board School, Walworth :—

“It always struck me that many children in the schools suffered from underfeeding, as evidenced by the difficulty they had in doing their mental work. About six months before I started this fund [the East Lambeth Teachers’ Free Meal Fund] there were two or three boys in the school who seemed to be in great difficulties, and I said to them, ‘Why cannot you get on with your work?’ They said, ‘Well, sir, we have had nothing to eat.’ I said, ‘What do you mean?’ They said, ‘We have had nothing since yesterday morning.’ In order to prove the case, I sent down to a baker’s shop and asked the baker to oblige me with some of the driest crusts he had on his premises. He did so, and I gave them to the boys. I did not apparently watch them, but I kept my eye on them, and I can assure you that they ate ravenously, and in a very few minutes the whole of the dry bread was gone. I came to the conclusion then that they were positively hungry.”

“Twelve to fifteen per cent. of the children,” said Mr. Libby, “are in this condition, and in the poorest schools in hard winter times the proportion is as high as from 25 to 30 per cent.” The Physical Deterioration Committee heard also Miss Deverell, an Inspectress under the Board of Education. “I know,” said Miss Deverell, “one school where the master says that they get most of their meals by meeting workmen’s trains and begging scraps from the men.”

The Committee heard, too, Dr. Eichholz, another of the Board of Education’s Inspectors. Said he :

“Then as to feeding—and the whole question practically centres around the feeding—there is the want of food ; this is the first factor we have to recognize. Then there is the irregularity in the way in which they get their meals ; that is the second factor. Then unsuitability of the food when they get it is a third factor. And these three circumstances—want of food, irregularity, and unsuitability of food—taken together, are the determining cause of degeneracy in children. The breakfasts that these children get are nominally bread and tea, if they get it at all. There is bread and margarine for lunch, and the dinner is normally nothing but what a copper can purchase at the local fried fish shops, where the most inferior kinds of fish, such as skate, are fried in unwholesome, reeking cottonseed oil. They frequently supplement this with rotten fruit, which they collect beneath barrows, when they are unable to collect it from the top, the facilities of this nature being considerable, for the whole neighbourhood of Lambeth is one coster area.”

X.—Communal versus Charitable Feeding.

DURING its thirty-three years of existence this problem was constantly before the London School Board, particularly as the approach of each winter brought distress and lack of employment. In 1889 a Special Committee of the Board reported that 43,888 children (or 12 per cent. of the entire roll) were coming to school hungry and ill-fed, and that existing benevolent

agencies were only in a position to meet the needs of half these cases. Another Special Committee sat in 1894. As a result of the disclosures made by these Committees benevolent effort was materially stimulated. A third Special Committee sat in 1898, and came deliberately to a fundamentally important conclusion, viz., that this question of the proper feeding of hungry and ill-fed school children ought no longer to be left to charitable agencies, but should become a public obligation. Here are three of its leading conclusions:—

“(i.) It should be deemed to be part of the duty of any authority by law responsible for the compulsory attendance of children at school to ascertain what children, if any, come to school in a state unfit to get normal profit by the school work—whether by reason of under-feeding, physical disability, or otherwise—and that there should be the necessary inspection for that purpose.

“(ii.) That where it is ascertained that children are sent to school ‘underfed,’ it should be part of the duty of the authority to see that they are provided, under proper conditions, with the necessary food, subject to the provision contained in Clause (vi.).

“(vi.) That where the Board’s officers report that the underfed condition of any child is due to the culpable neglect of a parent (whether by reason of drunkenness or other gross misconduct), the Board should have the power and the duty to prosecute the parent for cruelty, and that, in case the offence is persisted in, there should be power to deal with the child under the Industrial Schools Acts.”

The School Board as a whole did not, I may say, endorse these findings. They were rejected by twenty-seven votes to twelve in favour of a resolution pledging the Board to do what it might the further to stimulate and systematize benevolent effort. But much water has run under London Bridge since 1898. In 1903 we had the unanimous finding of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland as follows:—

“We think that an obligation for the proper supervision of the feeding of those who come for instruction should be regarded as one of the duties of school authorities, and that teachers should be instructed to take note of all children apparently ill-fed. Unless children receive sufficient nourishment they cannot be expected to profit by the mental or physical training provided for them.”

In August last we had an even more important judgment upon the matter—that of the Physical Deterioration Committee, which unanimously reported:—

“The Committee recommend that definite provision should be made by the various local authorities for dealing with the question of underfed children in accordance with the methods indicated in paragraphs 358-365 of the Report. The Committee, it will be seen, do not contemplate any one uniform method of procedure, but think that regard should be had to the varying circumstances of different localities. They also suggest safeguards against economic abuse.”

XI.—What must be done.

WE have at once, as I suggest, to empower Local Education Authorities to make provision for the feeding of the hungry children, and empower them also to recover the cost from parents or guardians wherever the same may appear desirable. I have long advocated a simple workable scheme for

carrying out this vital work, and I repeat it here. It is an adaptation of the most admirable Parisian *Cantine Scolaire* system.

I propose, in the first place, to schedule the poorer urban areas for the purpose of feeding. The elementary schools in each scheduled area would be grouped. A dining-hall will be attached to each group. Parents would be invited to secure books of dinner coupons at the nearest municipal offices, and teachers would be supplied with books to meet the cases of children unsupplied from home. All coupons would be printed precisely in the same way. Parents able to buy the books would have to do so; parents shown to be unable to purchase the books would be supplied with them gratuitously. At mid-day the children, each armed with its dinner coupon, would march off to the central dining-hall, and get a good meal of soup, pudding, rice, and the like.

As to ways and means, I should rely on voluntary contributions, sale of coupons, and special aid grants from the Exchequer, the deficiency to be made up from the local rates. If such a scheme as I have herein roughly outlined were put into general adoption, the charge upon the local purse would not, I believe, be very considerable. The Municipality of Paris provides 8,000,000 meals a year for £70,000, of which £45,000 comes from the rates, £20,000 from sale of dinner coupons to parents, and the rest from voluntary subscriptions. Many of the parents of the well-to-do artisan class would find it a matter of convenience and economy to avail themselves of the communal system of feeding their children; and, so far as they are concerned, the thing would be self-supporting. For the rest, the continuance of benevolent support would lighten the burden upon the public purse.

In London a halfpenny rate would be a generous provision. The question the London ratepayer has to determine is whether he will go on spending his school rate of 1s. 2d. with the assured knowledge that this expenditure is largely wasted where most needed—as a result of the physically unfit condition of the children—or whether he will make it 1s. 2½d., and thus secure a beneficent and fruitful return for the whole expenditure.

XII.—On no account undermine Parental Responsibility.

LET me make it emphatically clear that I am wholly against relieving parental responsibility. I am all for strengthening it. My scheme does that. It is the system of charitable feeding that emasculates the parental sense of obligation. Our *laissez faire* methods of to-day cruelly allow the child to suffer while we cantingly talk of maintaining parental responsibility just where we know very well it doesn't exist at all. What I say is this:

(1) No child shall go hungry. You waste your education rates and taxes and inflict torture in the process when you try to teach a hungry child.

(2) Parents who can, must make due provision for the proper feeding of their children; if they neglect this duty as a result of self-indulgence, drink, and the like, they must be pursued with the utmost rigour of the law. That is the way to develop a conscience.

(3) Parents who cannot—as a result of ill-health, misfortune, or lack of employment—make due provision for the daily feeding of their offspring, must have that provision made for them without any suspicion of pauperization.

XIII.—Continuous Medical Supervision.

I HAVE dealt at length upon this question of the hungry child, because it is by far the most important and urgent. I turn now to some other considerations. In my scheduled areas a complete medical record should be taken of each child as admitted to the elementary school. This is of the utmost importance. Once let the doctor get to know the plight of the child, the door of public responsibility for his physical state is thrown wide open. I view the medical inspection of the teeth, eyes, and ears of the greatest possible importance. This policy of continuous medical inspection is in actual operation in most of the continental cities. Let me quote from an official report (1896) to the Brussels Municipal Council:—

“Sixteen doctors inspect the schools, each being bound to visit a certain number every ten days, and the Service of Public Health keeps control of their visits by means of the readings of the thermometer in every school, which have to be signed by the medical officer at each visit.

“Sickly children are given every day a dose of cod-liver oil, or a preparation of iron powder, which is supplied by the Committee of Public Benevolence. These remedies are administered by members of the teaching staff; every child has a separate glass, which must be washed daily; and once a month the visiting doctor must be present when the medicine is administered.

“A dentist is attached to the schools, who visits all the schools once a month, and attends to the cases which are brought to his notice by the teachers, and those which he himself observes. In 1894-5 3,676 children were given preventive remedies, and at the end of the year 3,409, or 92·7 per cent., were reported as benefited; and 1,292 children were operated on by the dentist. These things cost the town annually from 10,000 to 11,000 francs.”

If London had now in actual operation a system of continuous medical supervision similar to that in being in Brussels she would have 100 medical men on her education staff. She has four!

XIV.—Cottage Cookery, Hygiene, and Milk Supply.

FURTHER, we want a large development amongst young women of the excellent teaching given to girls in the elementary schools in Cookery, Hygiene, and Domestic Economy. No effort should be spared by the

Education Authorities to make this teaching thoroughly attractive and practical in their evening continuation schools. The Municipalities, too, might do much more than they now do in the way of the broadcast and gratuitous circulation of simple leaflets on these topics. As instances of admirable effort in this direction, let me call attention to the really excellent leaflets on "The Care and Feeding of Infants," circulated by the Municipal Councils of Birmingham, Sheffield, and Wakefield. Will members of other Municipalities write for copies?

In the same connection, I may notice the fine scheme for the proper supply of suitable milk for the feeding of infants carried out by the Battersea Borough Council. The scheme is so admirable that I may profitably give a rough description of it. The milk is put up in bottles, each bottle containing the correct quantity for one meal. The bottles are placed in wire baskets, which are constructed to hold nine, eight, seven, or six bottles. Each basket contains the daily allowance for a child of the specified age. Thus, the younger the baby the less in each bottle, and the greater the number of bottles. Infants under two months receive nine bottles, as they require more frequent feeding. One of the strictest rules of the depôt is that a fresh bottle must be opened for each meal, and every mother is warned that a bottle must not be opened until the infant is ready to be fed. The weekly charge for the allowance for children up to six months is 1s. 6d.; from six to eight months, 1s. 9d.; and for older children, 2s. per week or 4d. per day. This is a good deal less than the mothers would pay for the same quantity of unprepared milk at an ordinary dairy. Battersea, I believe, is the only borough in London which has yet undertaken this beneficent task, although the system has been tried in Liverpool, St. Helens, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Dukinfield. It ought to be universal.

XV.—Child Toilers.

ONE of the most fruitful sources of Physical Degeneration is the sending of the child of tender years into the Labour market. To submit the frame and physique of the young child to physical exactions of a severe character is to do that which—as a mere matter of prudence and economy, to say nothing of humanitarianism—one would not on any account countenance in the case of a colt. Yet in this country to-day children, who are not even on the threshold of their teens, are made to work long hours and under conditions that are physically distressing.

In the first place our working-class children leave school and enter the Labour market too young; though I gladly admit that recent years have seen salutary reform in this matter. "*The great obstacle in the progress of elementary education is the early age at which children leave school.*" This was Sir John Gorst's statement to the House of Commons on 18th June,

1898; and every one practically concerned with the work of the schools knows how gravely true it is. As the law stands at present, a child may leave school at twelve years, if he have passed the bye-law standard of exemption, to work *half-time* in a factory or workshop, or *full-time* outside of a factory, workshop, or mine. At thirteen, the child may work full time outside of a factory, workshop, or mine, if he has passed the fourth standard, or can show that he has made 350 attendances per year for each of five years (the possible attendances in each case being at least 400). At thirteen (or fourteen if the local bye-law be so fixed) the child may be employed in a factory or workshop full time if he have passed the fifth standard, and can obtain a certificate of previous due attendance as already described. At fourteen children are entirely exempt.

The effect of the total exemption of children at twelve years of age (if the bye-law standard has been passed) is—when the standards fixed are examined and when the general laxity with which the bye-laws prescribing these standards are administered is considered—shown to be disastrous—disastrous not only to the education of the children, but disastrous to their sound and healthy physical development, which is the point I have immediately before me.

In the English and Welsh Elementary Schools for the year 1896-7 there were 600,000 boys and girls, each between ten and eleven years of age. In 1897-8, 577,901 of these were still in the schools, over 22,000—between eleven and twelve years of age—having gone out in the Labour world. In 1898-9 there remained 499,384; these having now reached an age somewhere between twelve and thirteen. In 1899-1900 the dwindling army had fallen to 215,343 of these children still at school and now between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. In 1900-1 all that remained of my 600,000 of four years earlier were 53,057—between the ages of fourteen and fifteen! Eleven out of each twelve had disappeared!

Of course the temptation to the artisan to send the child out to work as soon as legally permissible is, I at once admit, very great. Even half-a-crown a week is a substantial immediate consideration, with many mouths to fill and not much wherewith to fill them. But an ounce of sacrifice to the artisan at this moment means a ton of reward by and by. Give the child twelve months more schooling, and it will do him more good than all his previous school years put together. He is now getting observant, reflective, thoughtful. His mind fructifies. A week at school now is worth a month earlier on. His future depends on the effort just now.

But the operative has a direct interest in keeping his child out of the Labour market as long as possible. John Stuart Mill says, in his "Political Economy": "It is found that, *ceteris paribus*, those trades are generally the worst paid in which the wife and children of the artisan aid in the work. . . . It is even probable that their collective earnings will amount to a smaller sum than those of the man alone in other trades." Surely the significance of this opinion will not be lost upon the working classes. For myself I am thoroughly convinced that juvenile employment means adult

unemployment, that juvenile wages mean adult wage reduction, and that juvenile toil means the physical undoing of the race.

Happily in 1899 Parliament decided to move a little step nearer our Continental competitors by raising the age for factory half-time labour from eleven to twelve. This step was a very tardy redemption of the national pledge we gave ten years ago at the Berlin International Labour Congress. In the near future we may hope to see the age for child-labour in the factories and workshops still further advanced. Another advance was also made by the passage of Sir Charles Dilke's Bill raising the age for juvenile labour in coal pits from twelve to thirteen. This was the other half of the famous Berlin Pledge of 1890.

At this point let me give a Continental contrast. The following facts speak for themselves:—

UNITED STATES—	Limit of Compulsion.
In New York, Connecticut, Michigan, Minnesota, and New Mexico ...	16 years of age.
In Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, District of Columbia, and Washington	15 „
In 18 other States (including Massachusetts, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and California)	14 „
 GERMANY—	
In Saxony	17 „
In Baden... ..	16 „
In Saxe-Weimar	16 „
In Prussia	14 „
In Hamburg	14 „

As I have said, public opinion has ripened wonderfully on this question in recent years, and there have been most beneficent advances in the direction of saving the child from the shackles of toil as long as possible. I trust we may steadily, step by step, and with due regard to economic conditions, make still further advances as time goes on.

XVI.—Little School Children who Slave out of School Hours.

BUT there is a phase of this problem of juvenile toil which is far more acute and has far more serious effects upon the physical condition of the race than the early age at which children leave the schools. And that is the question of the extent to which little children as young as six, seven, and eight years of age are committed to severe toil before they go to school in the morning, during the two hours' dinner-time recess, and after school in the evening. Two or three years ago I tabulated some Returns on this point, prepared by the head teachers of the London Board Schools. Here is a typical Return. It is from a Chelsea school, and is characteristic of the tale told by teachers in all the poorer parts of all our great towns:—

NAME.	AGE.	STANDARD.	OCCUPATION.	HOURS PER WEEK	RATE OF PAY PER WEEK.
A. P. ...	9	I.	Delivers milk	21	2s. 6d.
G. J. ...	13	I.	Greengrocer	26	1s. and breakfasts.
A. M. ...	8	I.	Sells papers	20	1s. 6d.
H. G. ...	11	I.	Do.	30	2s 6d.
H. M. ...	13	IV.	Do.	27	1s.
E. C. ...	13	IV.	Errand boy	30	2s.
M. O. ...	11	II.	Sells papers and costermonger... ..	31	5s. Paper selling. Works for father from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m. on Saturdays.
G. H. ...	14	II.	Helps coal vendor... ..	21	4s. 6d.
C. T. ...	9	II.	Sells papers	20	2s.
F. H. ...	13	II.	Costermonger	40	1s. 6d. Works for father.
J. S. ...	12	III.	Costermonger fruiterer ..	23	1s. 3d. and food.
G. O. ...	11	IV.	Milk (morn.). Papers (even.)	30½	3s. 6d.
T. M. ...	13	IV.	Greengrocer	27	2s.
W. C. ...	13	IV.	Delivers milk	32½	2s.
W. C. ...	10	IV.	Do.	30	2s. 4d.
F. F. ...	12	IV.	Boot shop	36½	3s. 6d.
F. T. ...	12	IV.	Takes out papers	22	2s. or 2s. 6d.
C. Y. ...	13	IV.	Do.	34½	2s. or 3s.
W. T. ...	13	IV.	Do.	26	2s.
G. G. ...	12	IV.	Sells papers	21	1s. 4d.
F. M. ...	11	IV.	Works at boot shop	35	2s.
G. B. ...	11	IV.	Assists barber	39	2s.
F. B. ...	12	V.	Newspaper vendor ..	36	3s.
W. W. ...	12	V.	Do.	28	2s.
W. C. ...	11	V.	Assists oilman	42½	2s.
F. H. ...	13	V.	Delivers milk	41	6s.
H. C. ...	12	V.	Errand boy	30¼	4s. 6d.
G. C. ...	11	V.	Assists ironmonger	30	2s.
A. B. ...	12	V.	Assists oilman	40½	2s.
T. M. ...	13	V.	Assists newsagent... ..	25	3s. 6d.
J. M. ...	13	IV.	Works on coal cart	19	2s

[N.B.—The boys assisting in the delivery of milk are up, as a rule, by 5 o'clock, and present themselves late at school. As a consequence they are more asleep than awake during the Afternoon Session. Those engaged in newspaper selling are out in the streets till a very late hour. W. C. P., *Head Master.*]

And here are the cases of three boys which will give a good idea of how this out-of-school employment presses on the individual child:—

Name.	Employed.	a.m.	hrs.	p.m.	hrs.	Wages.
L. S., 12 yrs. 6 mo.,	Monday	5.30 to 8.30	3	5 to 5.30	¼	2s. per week
Stand. VII., <i>Milk</i>	Tuesday	do.	3	do.	½	and break-
<i>Boy.</i>	Wednesday	do.	3	do.	½	fast on Sun-
	Thursday	do.	3	do.	½	day.
	Friday	do.	3	do.	½	
	Saturday	do.	3	1 to 4.30	3½	
	„	9 to 12	3	5 to 6.30	1½	
	Sunday	6 to 2.30 p.m.	8½	...	...
			29½	...	7½	Total 37 hrs.

Name.	Employed.	a.m.	hrs.	p.m.	hrs.	Wages.	
W. S., 12 yrs. 9 mo., Stand. V., <i>Hair-dresser's Boy.</i>	Monday ...	...	...	5 to 10	5	Tea each even-	
	Tuesday ..	...	...	do.	5	ing, all meals	
	Wednesday	...	...	do.	5	on Saturday,	
	Thursday	...	...	do.	5	and 3s. per	
	Friday ...	...	...	do.	5	week.	
	Saturday	...	9 to 12	3	1 to 11	10	
	Sunday ...	...	8.30 to 2	5½	...	...
			8½		35	Total, 43½ hrs.	
W. P., 12 yrs. 8 mo., Stand. V., <i>Paper Boy.</i>	Monday ...	...	6 to 8	2	5 to 8	3	3s. per week
	Tuesday ...	...	do.	2	do.	3	and break-
	Wednesday	...	do.	2	do.	3	fast on Sun-
	Thursday	...	do.	2	do.	3	days.
	Friday ...	...	do.	2	do.	3	
	Saturday	...	6 to 9	3	1 to 7	6	
	„	...	9.30 to 12	2½	...	...
Sunday ...	...	7 to 11	4	...	...
			19½		21	Total, 40½ hrs.	

And here, finally, are some statements respecting individual children.

“Some children, last year, began to work as early as 3 o'clock in the morning.”

“These are sad cases—viz., one boy (aged eleven, in Standard III.) works daily, as a grocer's errand-boy, for 1s. 6d. a week, from 8 to 9 a.m., from 12 to 1.30 p.m., and from 4.30 to 7.30 p.m. On Saturdays from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m.”

“Another boy, aged ten, in Standard III., works also as a grocer's errand boy for 6s. 6d. per week, from 8.30 to 9 a.m., from 12 to 1.30, and from 5 to 8 p.m., and on Saturdays from 8.30 a.m. to 11 p.m.”

“Three boys were employed by their father in milking: their ages were from ten to twelve, and their Standards IV. to VI., their hours daily were from 2 a.m. till 4.30 a.m., or from 3 a.m. till 5.30 a.m.”

“A boy of thirteen was employed as a billiard marker for thirty hours per week, at a wage of 4s., and worked until 12 o'clock at night.”

“A boy acts as latherer to a barber for thirty-two hours for a wage of 2s. He is at work on the whole of Saturday until 11 p.m., and for three hours on Sunday.”

“One boy said he worked on Saturdays from 7 in the morning till 12 at night.”

“In one case I found that the child admitted to working till 1 o'clock in the morning occasionally, but as it is in the home I fear there is no way by which this case can be reached.”

“One boy begins work for his father as early as 3 a.m., and works again in the evening as late as 9 p.m. He often goes to sleep during morning school from sheer weariness.”

“This boy (a greengrocer's boy, aged twelve, in Standard II.) starts for London at 2.30 a.m., returns about 9.30, and then attends school.”

“A boy who works for 56¾ hours a week, 'selling papers,' is employed as follows: Monday to Friday, from 7 a.m. to 8.45 a.m., and from 12 to 1 p.m., and from 4 to 10 p.m., and on Saturdays from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m., from 12 to 2 p.m., and from 3 to 11 p.m.”

“This is a very bad case: called up at 2 and 3 o'clock a.m., the boy (aged eight) is so tired that he is obliged to go to bed again, and is often absent from school, and made to work in the evening as well.”

“One boy said he worked on the Saturday from 7 in the morning till 12 at night.”

“One boy of twelve works eighty hours a week as a farmer's boy; daily hours now, 6 a.m. to 8.30 p.m., with about 1½ hours for meals.”

Happily we secured a little measure of reform in 1903. In that year there passed into law the Employment of Children Act. Under that Act street-trading was totally prohibited for children under eleven years of age,

and Town and County Councils were empowered to make bye-laws regulating the hours and conditions of labour for children up to sixteen years of age. They were also empowered to prohibit altogether street-trading by girls under sixteen. Bye-laws under the Act have already been confirmed and are now in force for the County of Gloucester, and for the following cities and boroughs: Birmingham, Blackburn, Bootle, Brighton, Carlisle, Doncaster, Dudley, Hornsey, Hull, Liverpool, Middlesbrough, Plymouth, St. Helens, Swindon, Walsall, Warrington, Worcester. Draft bye-laws have been submitted for the approval of the Home Office by fifty other Local Authorities.

This, then, is all to the good. But the little Act of 1903 must be stiffened up, especially in the direction of saving the girls from the streets. The statutory provisions must be widened, and the indifferent Local Authority must have placed before it by way of encouragement "Model" bye-laws. How much remains to be done will be seen when I remind the reader *that only one County out of sixty and that only seventeen Urban Authorities out of 268 have yet gone the length of making bye-laws!* Will the reader ask why no bye-laws have been prepared for his own area at the next Municipal contest?

XVII.—Systematic Physical Training.

SCARCELY less important than anything I have already dealt with is the problem of systematic physical training for the working-class children. This is a problem which needs circumspect handling. Many of the children are not fit for much physical effort, and many get far more than enough already in one way or another out of school hours. When Lord Londonderry became President of the Board of Education, he determined to make systematic physical training a compulsory feature of the elementary school curriculum. To this end a "Model Course" of Physical Exercises was prepared. In the characteristic British fashion the work was delegated to the War Office, which, in its turn, told off some Army officer to prepare the book. The result was a really ludicrous *réchauffé* of the Recruit Drill part of the soldier's "Red Book"—about as thoroughly inapplicable and unscientific a compilation for the use of children as could be devised. The thing had only to be mentioned in the House of Commons to be laughed out of existence. Thereafter Lord Londonderry appointed a Special Committee, wisely engaging the services, amongst others, of practical elementary school teachers, and the result is the compilation of a new "Model Course," which has now gone to the schools, and concerning which I cannot speak too highly.

So far so good. The problem of Physical Training in the elementary schools is now on right lines, and we may leave it there. But I am sure much more might be done with the young people of the continuation schools. Systematic gymnastic instruction and scientific physical drill should be a prominent, and certainly would be an attractive, feature of all evening continuation schools.

I will go further. And here I expect I shall part company with, perhaps,

the bulk of Liberals and Progressives in the country. I think every male youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty should be compelled (if not physically disabled, of course) to give at least two hours a week on two nights a week for two years to physical training under State auspices. Such training would include gymnastic exercises, such formations, &c., as would be necessary for combined movements, and training in the use of the rifle. This is a very different thing from military conscription, to which I am totally opposed. But it is the one thing necessary, in my opinion, in order that anything in the nature of conscription may be obviated. It would, moreover, furnish a first-class raw material for the small highly efficient army of professional soldiers which I would keep enrolled for the services of the Empire abroad. For purposes of home defence it would, having regard to the power and range of the modern rifle, give us a citizen defence force that would be inconceivably more effective and far less expensive than what we at present style "The Auxiliary Forces."

XVIII.—The Prohibition of Juvenile Smoking.

I LAY great stress upon the necessity to stamp out the deleterious habit of cigarette smoking which has in recent years become so prevalent amongst small boys. The Physical Deterioration Committee unanimously recommended that a Bill should be brought before Parliament at an early date, having for its object (1) To prohibit the sale of tobacco and cigarettes to children below a certain age; (2) To prohibit the sale of tobacco and cigarettes in sweet and other shops frequented by children. The Government has again and again refused to carry out this recommendation, so I have been compelled to bring in a Bill myself, and in this effort I have with me as "backers" Mr. John Burns, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Crooks, Sir John Gorst, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Lloyd-George, Major Seely, Dr. Shipman, Sir John Tuke, Mr. Cathcart Wason, and Mr. George White.

The operative sections of our Bill are as follows:—

"No person shall sell, give, or supply tobacco in any form to or for the use of any person under the age of *sixteen years*, and any person so doing shall be liable—

"(1) On a first conviction to a penalty not exceeding *twenty shillings* ;

"(2) On a second or subsequent conviction to a penalty not exceeding *forty shillings* ; and in addition to the foregoing penalties the licence (if any) held by such person for the sale of tobacco shall in case of a third conviction become void, and such person shall be disqualified for a term of *five years* from the date of such conviction from holding any such licence, and the justice of the peace before whom such conviction is had shall, by writing under his hand, forthwith notify the voidance of such licence, and the disqualification as aforesaid, of such person to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and the onus of proof of age shall lie on the person charged with a breach of the provisions of this Act.

"The penalties incurred by any person under this Act shall be in addition to any other penalties which such person may incur to the authorities of Inland Revenue for selling tobacco without a licence or otherwise howsoever.

"All convictions under this Act shall be by way of summary conviction under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, as defined by section fourteen of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, and in the application of this Act to Scotland the expression 'justice of the peace' shall include sheriff and sheriff's substitute."

For this little measure the Government has declined to give facilities notwithstanding the weighty recommendation of its own Committee. It will therefore be the duty of the coming Liberal Administration either to pass a General Prohibition Measure or to empower Local Authorities to make bye-laws dealing with the matter.

I may say that forty-five American States and Territories (total population, sixty-five millions) have already passed legislation prohibiting juvenile smoking up to, in some cases, twenty-one years of age; seven British Colonies to my knowledge—and there may be others—make juvenile smoking illegal; whilst to come nearer home, in the Isle of Man, no child under fourteen is allowed to smoke, the penalty for breach of the law being £2.

XIX.—Some further things the Municipalities might do.

WITH the rapid development of prompt and cheap means of transit I hope, as I have said, it may be increasingly possible to house our people and to accommodate their school children outside rather than in the midst of congested manufacturing centres. Here the Municipalities can do much. In the Isle of Man free tram rides for school children from home to school is already an accomplished fact. In our Colonies free rail and tram rides for school children have long been conceded. And now that the Municipal Councils have had handed over to them the control of the elementary schools, I hope they will do a great deal to bring the school into close touch with the public park, the public baths, and so on. The Manchester Corporation, during the hot days of last August, when the elementary schools were closed, and the ordinary school visits to the public baths suspended, threw open their baths, free of charge, during certain hours of the day to the elementary school children of the city. Will other Municipalities copy this coming summer?

XX.—Finally.

SHORTLY, this is my view as to the community's responsibility in respect of the physical condition of the people and their children. It sounds like rank Socialism; it is, in fact, first-class Imperialism. One of the ugliest thoughts which I ever have—a thought I must again enforce—is when I see rickety, neglected, haggard little scraps of humanity ranging the gutters, or down-at-the-heel, broken, dilapidated men and women filling the Embankment seats, or strewing like wreckage the green sward of the Park. Because I am instantly haunted by the remembrance that each is a steward of the heritage of the British people. I believe in the British Empire. I believe in its mission among the peoples of the world. But I shudder for its future when I think of the condition of tens of thousands of those upon whose appallingly unfit shoulders the burden of its maintenance is falling. It is for the coming Liberal Administration to spare no effort in the endeavour to make those shoulders fit.

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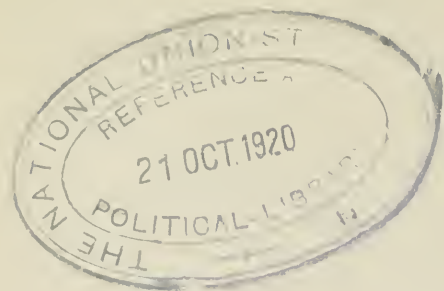
THE FINANCIAL CASE FOR HOME RULE.

By Mr. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON.

May 4th, 1905.

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No. 1 of this Series was "Why I am a Free Trader": by WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P. No. 2 was entitled "Leaders in the Lords: Earl Spencer and Earl Rosebery." No. 3 was "The Physical Improvement of the People": by Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P. All these may still be had.

JOHN REDMOND, M.P.

THERE are many things doubtful about the Parliament that is about to be elected. But two things are certain. One is that the Unionists will be in a minority in the next House of Commons. The other is that the Nationalist Irishmen will come back as strong as they have ever been; that is to say, they will be in a majority of more than five to one over all other Irishmen in the House. And of these four-score stout-hearted fighting men, John Redmond is the fighting chief. His undisputed supremacy is emphasized rather than impaired by the solitary howl of "Tiger Tim," the outcast orator, the disclassed Thersites, who roams outside the camp.

If only the Irish had not been forced by a hundred years of wrong into an attitude of irreconcilable opposition to the British Empire and the Government thereof, Mr. Redmond would have had a better chance than most men to be Prime Minister. He has the qualities for the post. He is a gentleman. He is the greatest of our modern parliamentarians. He is an admirable debater, a superb leader, a man of dispassionate intellect, of sound sympathies and of splendid courage. And he has around him a group of colleagues, half a dozen of whom would grace any Cabinet. "The Irish team," said an observer who did not disguise his hatred, "is too strong for any of the English Ministers to tackle." The self-inflicted ostracism of some of the most capable representatives of the people is one of the

many sacrifices which afflict us as the indirect results of Home Rule.

Fortunately, no self-denying ordinance forbids an Irish Nationalist leading the Opposition, and it will be long remembered, to Mr. Redmond's credit, that from 1900-1902 it was he, and no other, who was the real leader of the only opposition offered to the Government on the subject of the war in South Africa.

In those black years he proved himself to be not only the chief of the Irish National party, but the leader of the only effective opposition that existed in the House of Commons at that time. In that position he occupied a place in the British constitution only second in importance to that of the Prime Minister. It is true that at that time national prejudices somewhat obscured the truth from the English and Scotch. But in the House of Commons the members in 1900 began to realize where the centre of power lay. Repeatedly, in the course of the debates, Mr. Balfour referred to Mr. Redmond as if he, and not Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, were the real leader of his Majesty's Opposition. Therein Mr. Balfour paid homage to facts.

In the midst of the *débris* of the shattered party which then littered the Liberal benches in the House of Commons, we should have looked in vain for any leadership, had it not been for the presence of Mr. Redmond at the head of the Irish Nationalists. Here, at least, we had an organized, disciplined party, obedient to its

leader, undistracted by any internal feuds, thoroughly united in principle, and capable of constant attendance at the House. English, Scotch, and Welsh Liberals in the constituencies, who were sick and sore at heart over the spectacle of paralytic impotence presented by the disorganized and distracted ranks of their own representatives, began to recognize in Mr. Redmond the only leader of a parliamentary party in the House who, upon the great issue of the hour, represented their views, and was not afraid of giving them free, full, and bold expression in debate. Hence, while nominally only the leader of the Irish National party, Mr. Redmond was really, at that time, the only leader of the Opposition to the Government in the country. It was a great position for so young a man.

Mr. John Redmond is the first Irish leader who has given the world any token of the possession of the qualities which made Mr. Parnell so famous. It is true that his position is largely due to Mr. Dillon. But he is fortunate in having in Mr. Dillon a colleague who was, in other days, sufficiently self-sacrificing to allow no personal feelings to stand in the way of attaining the great object which he had set before him.

When "Tiger Tim" was read out of the party with bell, book, and candle, the Irish parliamentarians became once more a fighting unit. Mr. Redmond, then being called to supreme command, displayed qualities with which he had hitherto not been credited. His readiness in debate, his self-control, his keen appreciation of the vital points in parliamentary strategy speedily made him a power in the House of Commons. One of the greatest of our Imperial statesmen, who watched the proceedings in the parliamentary arena from the

distant post in which he was serving the Empire, declared, four years ago, that in his opinion Mr. Redmond was the ablest parliamentarian in the present House of Commons.

Mr. Redmond is a politician first, a politician second, and a politician third. As an individual entity he is almost unknown to any except his intimates. But he has brought keen intelligence to the study of the science of politics. He has given his mind to it, and spent days and nights in acquiring knowledge of all the niceties and rules of parliamentary procedure.

He is embarrassed by no fear of mutinies in his rear, and he is conscious of being armed with the mandate of the Irish race. As a speaker he is effective, fluent, and eloquent.

Incongruous though it may appear to some unreflective persons, it is clear enough that the only possible Imperialism which can keep the Empire together is Imperialism of the Home Rule stripe. Imperialism of the John Bull Jingo strain would speedily wreck the Empire. The homage paid by the Colonial Premiers in Coronation year to the Irish Nationalist leaders was significant. Nor is Mr. Redmond without a strong Imperialist strain in his blood. As Mr. W. M. Crook, formerly editor of the *Echo*, wrote me in 1901:—

"When I first met Mr. Redmond I was more or less of a Separatist. He made me an Imperialist. I do not use that word to designate an admirer of the gorgeous Orientalism of Benjamin Disraeli, nor yet a follower of the narrowly insular policy of an uneducated Birmingham tradesman. John Redmond knew the Empire. His wife was an Australian, and even when I first met him he had been round the world.

“The great free communities—Canada, Australia, New Zealand—even the United States—were to him, in large part, Irish states. Irish brains and Irish blood had helped them to freedom and to prosperity. It was a new point of view for me. I do not speak with authority on this point, but I do say with some confidence that never, while John Redmond is leader, will the Irish party consent to be deprived of their rightful share in the government of their Empire. Fifty years hence it will not seem, as it does to-day, the language of friendly exaggeration to write: ‘Politically, John Redmond is the lineal descendant of his great countryman, Edmund Burke.’ But the passion for freedom and the passion for justice are the guiding stars of both.”

But let no one imagine from this tribute of Mr. Crook’s that John Redmond is other than a grim, irreconcilable Irish fighter, as staunch as in the days of yore, when he fought for the lost cause of Mr. Parnell against overwhelming odds. It would be difficult to phrase more ruthlessly the Irish intransigents’ point of view than did Mr. Redmond when, addressing a mass meeting at Maryborough, Queen’s County (October 20th, 1901), he made the following significant declaration:—

“His guiding principle in life was perfectly simple. He had no faith in any English political party or in English benevolence

towards Ireland, or in the possibility of any class of the population getting justice in the smallest particular from mere reason, or argument, or persuasion. His policy was to make English government in Ireland difficult and dangerous. If the people wanted any instalment of justice, they must make themselves a trouble and a danger to the Government.”

The personal facts of Mr. Redmond’s history are only very briefly summarized in “Who’s Who.” He was born in 1851; son of the late W. A. Redmond, M.P. for Ballytrent; he married, in 1883, Johanna, daughter of the late J. Dalton, Esq.; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; barrister, Gray’s Inn, 1886; Irish barrister, 1887; M.P. for New Ross, 1881-1885; for New Wexford, 1885-1891, and has represented Waterford ever since 1891. He is brother of Willie Redmond, and he has travelled far and wide among the Irish beyond the sea. He knows personally most of the leading men in the Anglo-Irish-American world, and has a great opinion of President Roosevelt. He says: “I look forward with hope to the future of President Roosevelt. He is a strong man, thoroughly American, with no absurd Anglo-mania about him. He is a true friend of Irish freedom, and proud of the Irish blood which flows in his veins.”

“Finally,” Mr. Redmond says, “I am a member of the Gaelic League. My children are learning Irish. I am with the movement heart and soul.”

THE FINANCIAL CASE FOR HOME RULE.

[By John Redmond, M.P.]

Prefatory.

THERE may be many "coming questions" for others. For the Irish people there is only one question, and that question is Home Rule. I gladly seize this or any and every other opportunity that may be offered me to make it plain to every one that the Irish party stands to-day where it has stood for the last twenty years. It stands irrevocably committed to Home Rule, and as a consequence necessarily independent of any and every British Government which does not make Home Rule a cardinal point in its programme. To the Irish party there is only one issue. Its members have been sent to the House of Commons to demand the freedom of their country. Their mandate from their constituents is that they shall not enter into an alliance with any British party which does not approve and adopt the policy of restoring to the people of Ireland the management of their own affairs. From that attitude nothing can change them. With us it is not a matter of expediency; it is a matter of principle and necessity. It is not, of course, my business to attempt to spy into the future or to foretell what the future proceedings and policy of British parties might be; but I deem it common honesty to tell the British electors plainly that this is our unchangeable attitude, and with that attitude they will have to reckon.

Having said so much by way of affirming the immutable resolution of the Irish party to demand the freedom of their country, I deem it not less necessary to repudiate in terms equally precise and definite Lord Rosebery's suggestion that because I moved a resolution as a private member in favour of an independent Irish Parliament many years ago, I am therefore dissatisfied with such a settlement of the Irish question as would have been effected by Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills. That is not true. On the proper occasion I am willing and able to prove that I am speaking the truth when I repudiate and deny the statement imputed to me by Lord Rosebery.

Writing with full authority and responsibility, in the name of the whole Irish National party, I say that the Irish party has not departed one hair's breadth from the position taken up in 1886 and 1893. No doubt, time and experience have pointed out to us many defects, as we think, in the clauses of the Bills of 1886 and 1893; but so far as the principle and the policy of the settlements contained in those Bills are concerned, we have never

repudiated them; and I say that to-day we would be willing, as we were in 1886 and 1893, to accept them as bringing to an end, as we would all hope, for ever a wretched and blood-stained chapter of English misrule, and consequent Irish disloyalty and resistance.

I.—Why we demand Home Rule.

WHY, then, are the Irish people so resolute in their hostility to the existing system that our attitude has remained absolutely unchanged for twenty-five years? I have often stated the reasons both in the House and on the platform. I am glad to have yet another opportunity of telling the plain and simple truth to the British electors.

We regard the government of our country by a British Parliament as a usurpation. We deny the validity—we dispute the moral binding force of the Act of Union. What you call a treaty we say was vitiated *ab initio* by force and fraud. We demand self-government, not as a favour, but as a right, and we base our demand for self-government not upon grievances, but upon what we believe to be the inherent and inalienable right of our nation to govern itself. And we say plainly we would prefer to be governed badly by our own Parliament rather than well by the British Senate. For this we are accused of disloyalty. Disloyalty to what? By nature Irishmen are as loyal as any people in the world, but to a system of government maintained by force against the will of the people we are disloyal. Let none be startled at so frank a declaration. I would be dishonoured and utterly ashamed of myself if I had ever made any statement in America or in Ireland inconsistent with the statements I have made on the floor of the House of Commons. I believe in frankness. I believe we have nothing to gain by a policy of make-believe, or evasion, or concealment, and I have no objection to state again what is my individual attitude on the Irish question. I believe that the present system of government in Ireland is in principle so unconstitutional and in practice so ruinous to all classes and interests in Ireland, that if I had to choose between a continuation of the present system and an absolute separation from the Empire, I would not have the slightest hesitation in deciding in favour of that separation. And if I believed there was the smallest reasonable chance of success whatever, I would have no hesitation in advising my countrymen to endeavour to end the present system by armed revolt.

I have stated this in the House of Commons, nor do I believe that there is an Englishman who, if his country were in like case, would not echo my sentiments. But, fortunately, this dread alternative is not within the pale of practical politics. I have always been profoundly convinced that by constitutional means it is possible to arrive at a compromise based on the concession of self-government, or, as Mr. Gladstone used to say, free autonomy, to Ireland, which would put an end to this ancient international quarrel on terms satisfactory and honourable to both nations. That settlement was accepted by Mr. Parnell in the House in the name of

the Irish National party, and the acceptance was ratified by the public opinion of Ireland and the Irish race in every part of the world.

But although this readiness to resort to armed revolt, if no other method were available to redress our wrongs, does not bring an appeal to arms within the pale of practical politics, it does make the concession of the just demands of the Irish people the imperious duty of the practical statesman. Before long the Liberals will be in power under a leader whose loyalty to liberty and justice needs no attestation from an Irish pen. The Liberals will have to deal with this question.

Some people say that Home Rule is dead, others declare that it is sleeping; but it is neither dead nor sleeping. It is a live, urgent, and insistent question. I think the Liberals will find that, difficult though this Irish question is, its difficulties have been very seriously exaggerated. I think they will find, also, that the hostility—the supposed hostility—of the masses of the English people to a fair and moderate settlement of this Irish demand has been enormously exaggerated. So far as we are concerned, the future leaders of the Liberal party will find that this question will be an urgent and insistent question which will knock, and knock loudly, at the door of the next Parliament.

In this paper I propose to deal more particularly with the financial case in favour of Home Rule; but before entering upon the particulars under that head of our indictment against the existing system, I must briefly and rapidly state the other counts of the Irish indictment of British misrule in Ireland.

Once more I proceed to recapitulate and summarize the main features of the system of rule in Ireland, which, in my judgment, makes Home Rule an urgent and vital question to-day before the British electors. The present system of rule is unconstitutional, quite apart altogether from its tainted origin. It is in its everyday working and practice unconstitutional. The majority of the people who are ruled have no power in the government of the country. The country is governed by a minority. Representation in the House of Commons has been reduced to a farce. Five men from a small corner of Ulster have more power than eighty-six men sent from the rest of Ireland. We are under the British Parliament, but we have not in Ireland the benefit of the British system. We are suffering under a permanent disability in the form of an exceptional law which does not exist in any other portion of the British Empire, under which, at the caprice and will of a single man, trial by jury may be suspended and trial by paid servants and deputies of the Executive Government substituted for it. It is bad government, and it is government which does not fulfil any single one of the elementary duties of a Government. For the last 100 years it has been absolutely out of sympathy with the opinion of the mass of the people. Nowhere, except in Ireland, is there a system which is thus divorced from the confidence and control of the people who are ruled. For the last thirty years a majority of Irish representatives has been returned pledged to overturn the existing system, but in the present government of Ireland, public opinion in Ireland is a negligible quantity. No Irishman is allowed to serve in any really

responsible position in the government of the country unless he is a known opponent of the wishes of the majority. Seventy years ago a Scotchman named Thomas Drummond was sent to Ireland as Under Secretary, and showed a sympathetic spirit towards the Irish people. He ultimately had to suffer for doing so, but for a few years, at any rate, he was able to carry on the government of the country. That was because he was loyally defended by those who availed themselves of his services. To-day, after seventy years, we have a somewhat similar position, and the mere fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell has popular leanings was apparently sufficient to bring about the denunciation of his appointment as a betrayal by the English Government of the handful of men who endeavour to impose their will upon the majority of the Irish people. These exceptions only prove the rule that no man in any degree in sympathy with the Irish people is allowed to take part in the government of the country. Ireland to-day is governed by a bureaucracy more divorced from sympathy with the majority of the people and responsibility to the people than the system which Englishmen are fond of denouncing in Russia. Ireland is governed by a network of public boards, all of which are nominated by Dublin Castle. The Chief Secretary is president of them, but he can only be nominally responsible for their actions. These boards, filled with members of the ascendancy party, have been omnipotent in the government of Ireland.

Wherever you had intelligence and integrity introduced into the Irish government, there you had, sooner or later, the inevitable protest against an impossible system. To-day it is Sir A. MacDonnell. Yesterday it was Sir Thomas Drummond. To-morrow it will be somebody else. But always the protest will be unavailing. Lord Dunraven and his fellow Unionists now come forward with their Reform Association, declaring the old position is untenable and that reform is indispensable. They call it co-ordination, but they are sent packing, as if they were Home Rulers.

Then there was the case of Sir West Ridgeway. He was not an Irishman like Sir Antony MacDonnell; he was an English Conservative gentleman who was Under-Secretary for Ireland during the Chief Secretaryship of the present Prime Minister; and he has told us how in the very middle of the coercion scheme of the present Prime Minister he prepared for the Government a memorandum outlining a scheme of self-government for the country, a scheme of provincial councils along with an elective body to have power over Irish finance.

Lord Spencer went to Ireland to administer coercion, and his experience taught him the rottenness of the present position, and the same was the case with Lord Carnarvon. Lord Dudley, too, went to carry out the Unionist policy, and he had not been long in the country without discovering the rottenness and impossibility of the system. Then there were Sir Robert Hamilton and Sir Redvers-Buller. Every man ever sent from this country to govern Ireland has admitted that the system had broken down absolutely.

Every class and creed in Ireland are to-day denouncing the system of Dublin Castle. The Ulster Unionist members have denounced it far more vigorously than ever the Nationalists did.

Lord Rossmore, Grand Master of the Orange Society in Ireland, and whose name is associated with the utmost hostility to the National movement at an earlier stage—to the principle of self-government for Ireland—joined Lord Dunraven's reform association. Being immediately attacked, he replied to the attacks of the so-called loyal minority by saying that he had come to the conclusion that the extreme section of Unionists in Ireland were seeking to establish the worst kind of mental slavery in Ireland, and that this was being done by men who proposed no constructive policy whatever in relation to their country. Their policy was purely negative—they were in opposition, ever seeking to sow dissension. They appeared to be following plainly the lead of a few professional politicians, caring more for their salaries than for the interests of their own country. That is the character which has been given to them by one of their most prominent men—that was his summary of the character of the minority which governs Ireland.

The character of the minority has not changed since then. Its sympathies have not widened since then—its heart has not softened for over 100 years—it is the same minority in every respect. In 1795 they opposed the first efforts of the Irish Parliament for Catholic Emancipation, a little later they drove Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, and then in 1798 they drove the people into rebellion, and at the time of the Union for honours and emoluments they sold their country. It is the same minority that since the Union have opposed every measure of reform, large or small—Emancipation, Land Reform, the Church Act, the Ballot Franchise, Local Government—every single reform they have opposed, and to-day they alone—place-holders and place-seekers—are opposed to Home Rule. Such a system as that cannot continue.

Is it any wonder that, in these circumstances, no class in Ireland is satisfied with this rule? Fifty years ago a great Tory Irishman—Chief Justice Whiteside—used these words: “He was compelled by respect for truth to admit that the government of Ireland was very inefficiently conducted. He was a Protestant and a Conservative. Well, he must say that were Ireland as far removed from England as Canada, the system of government there could be blown to pieces as easily as a house of cards. He would say that the government of Ireland was opposed to nine-tenths of the industry, intelligence, and intellect of the people of Ireland.” That was said fifty years ago, but every word of it is as true of the government of Ireland to-day as it was then. Unfortunately, the Irish Unionist disgust in the days of Whiteside, just as ever since, and to-day, was silenced by the influence of that system of place and preferment which alone has induced the Irish minority to consent to the robbery and misgovernment of their country. There is only one way of governing Ireland, and that is by consent.

A great Irishman whose greatness has not been, in my judgment, fully acknowledged yet by his own country or by the House—I mean the late Isaac Butt—said on one occasion, in 1867: “There is but one secret in governing Ireland, as there is in governing any country—let it be governed for the good of the whole people. Abandon the policy of maintaining any English interest, or any Protestant interest, or any class interest, or any interest but that of the

Irish people. When every measure of government, every institution in the country is moulded and adapted to meet the wants and wishes and capabilities of the people, when, in a word, Irish legislation is influenced as exclusively by the wants and wishes of Ireland as English legislation is by those of England, then, and then only, will Ireland be governed as a free country."

I respectfully say that that should be the Irish programme of any wise British Administration, and that Irish programme can only be carried out by the restoration to our country of her National Parliament.

II.—Our Plundered Millions.

I HAVE no need, at this time of day, to enter into any argument on the proceedings of the Financial Relations Commission, or any defence of its verdict. That verdict stands; and although some English Ministers have declared that the enquiry was, in their judgment, not a sufficiently exhaustive one, and proposed to supplement it by a new Commission, they have not done so.

What, in plain, homely, and unmistakable language, is the grievance of which Ireland complained, and which has been proved on incontrovertible authority by the Royal Commission? First of all, let us remember the Royal Commission was a body which consisted of a British majority. Let us bear in mind also that it contained admittedly eminent financiers, such as the late Mr. Childers, Mr. Currie, Lord Welby, Lord Farrer, Sir R. Hamilton, and others. Let us bear in mind that the Commission came to its decision on the evidence of the officials of the British Treasury, and that, after deliberating for two years, the Commission reported with practical unanimity that "the actual taxed revenue of Ireland is about 1-11th that of Great Britain, while the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us to exceed 1-20th." That, translated into figures, meant that Ireland is overtaxed, as compared with Great Britain, to the extent of nearly three millions a year; or, put in another way, that for every £100 of Ireland's taxable capacity Ireland has been forced to pay nearly £9, whereas, if she were taxed on the same principle as Great Britain, she would only be called upon to pay £5. With one exception every British member of the Commission agreed to that report.

We are, therefore, entitled to take that verdict as the basis of our claim that to-day Ireland is weighed down by a burden of unjust taxation which makes any real progress from poverty to prosperity an absolute impossibility for the nation at large, or for any single class of its population. It is well, perhaps, to recall the fact that the verdict of the Commission admitted our claim that Ireland was entitled, under the Act of Union, that her taxation should be in accord with her taxable capacity as compared with that of Great Britain, and declared that Ireland's relative taxable capacity was not, in the opinion of any single member of the Commission, more than one-twentieth. The effect of this finding was that in the year ending 31st March, 1894, when the total

taxation of Ireland was £7,568,649, the Commission decided that at least $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions too much had been extracted from the country. Let me take that as my starting point and see what has happened since.

The two broad facts which stand out, plain and indisputable, are that, since 1894, our population has gone down, and that our taxation has increased by leaps and bounds. During the fifty years preceding the Commission, the taxation per head of the population in Great Britain had been diminished by one-half, and the taxation per head of the population in Ireland had more than doubled. In the same period our population was reduced by four millions. Exactly the same process has gone on during the last ten years without any change. Since the finding of the Commission there has been a steady decline in our population, which to-day is about 200,000 less than it was in 1894. During the same ten years our taxation has gone on steadily increasing. The total revenue from Ireland in 1893-4 was, as I have said, £7,568,649. In 1902-3 it had risen to £10,205,500. This year it was estimated by Mr. Clancy, in his admirable speech on the Budget of 1904, at £10,378,000, the highest figure yet reached.

That is to say, since the verdict of the Commission the taxation of Ireland has increased, roughly speaking, by £3,000,000. This enormous increase has fallen on all classes in the community. The amount levied from income-tax in Ireland has been doubled. The direct taxation has risen by about half a million. But the real hardship of the case is in the enormous rise of indirect taxation. These taxes fall upon the poor, and, hardest of all, on the very poor. In England the indirect taxes are only 50 per cent. of the whole revenue raised. It has been the policy of successive Chancellors and Governments for many years to bring down indirect taxation, and, if possible, to equalize direct and indirect taxation in Great Britain. He would be a very rash statesman who would venture to disturb this balance. But the policy has been quite different in Ireland. Indirect taxation has never been reduced in Ireland. To-day it is 75 per cent. of the whole, which means that the great burden of the taxation of the country falls upon the most poverty-stricken class of the population. In 1893-4 the indirect taxes amounted to £5,267,775. In 1903-4 it had risen to £6,890,000. This enormous increase came entirely from increased taxes upon food, upon what are for the poor really necessaries of life—tea, sugar, tobacco, and meal.

Now, what does Ireland get for this enormous taxation, or, in other words, what becomes of the money? The strangest thing about the whole business is that, so far as Great Britain or the Empire is concerned, Ireland is not such a profitable asset as one would suppose. By far the greatest part of Ireland's enormous taxation is spent upon a recklessly extravagant and hopelessly inefficient system of government in Ireland. During the last ten years the cost of government has steadily gone up. In 1895 it cost £5,970,000 to run the government of Ireland, leaving as an Imperial contribution from Ireland the balance of the total revenue of the country, amounting to £2,176,000. In 1902 the cost of Dublin Castle government had gone up from £5,970,000 to £7,214,000, and

the Imperial contribution had risen by £200,000 or £300,000. There is no reason why the government of Ireland should cost more than half the present expenditure. The whole scale of expenditure is excessive. Law and police charges are just three times as great as in Scotland. Dublin Castle and all the Government Boards are run upon ridiculously extravagant lines. Belgium, with four times the trade of Ireland, and with a much larger population, is governed at about half the cost of the crazy and inefficient system supported in Ireland by our excessive taxation. And what a contrast! Belgium well governed, rich, and contented. Ireland poor, naturally discontented, and so badly governed that Dublin Castle has become a byword in the mouths of all men.

We have recently heard a good deal about savings to be effected in Government Departments, and already something trifling is being done by reducing the police. But Ireland has not, and will not be, benefited. The savings are being captured by the Treasury to pay the bonus to the landlords, and all future savings are to be paid into the Development Fund, which has to bear all the losses on floating stock for land purchase, and which fund, if the money market remains as it is for a few years, will entirely disappear, transferring away from Ireland to the Treasury not only all saving that may be effected in Irish government, but also the Irish Equivalent Grant made in connection with the English Education Act, which ought to have been devoted to its legitimate purpose of extending and improving primary education, as is badly needed in Ireland. The real truth is, no proper saving can be made, or will be made, in the cost of Irish government which will be of any material benefit to the nation until the present system of rule is absolutely swept away. When the present system of semi-independent, irresponsible, nominated Government Boards has disappeared, when the management of Irish affairs is placed in the hands of Irishmen, elected by the Irish people and responsible to Irish public opinion, when we cease to have young English "Shave-beggars," as O'Connell called them, sent over to Dublin to learn their first lessons in statesmanship by experimenting upon the body of our country, and when our annual Imperial contribution is fixed so as not to be liable at any moment to overwhelm us with ruin by reason of some Chamberlain of the future rushing the Empire into mad and guilty and unprofitable wars, then, and then only, in my opinion, will it be possible to really economize Irish expenditure with substantial benefit to the nation.

What a cruel thing it is that while every industry and interest in the country is neglected, while education is starved, while the labourers can get no justice, while the artisans of the towns cannot get decent habitations, while the drainage of Irish rivers is neglected, while Irish railways are the worst and dearest in the world, and nothing is done to improve transit facilities, while the piers and harbours of the country are a disgrace and a danger to human life, and while all these things are so because of want of money—what a scandal and a crime it is that all the while we are supporting the most expensive Government in the world, and are paying from £3,000,000 to £5,000,000 a year more than our taxable capacity warrants as compared to Great Britain. Just think of how Ireland

would be transformed if even a portion of this money of which we are annually robbed were spent under the paternal care of a native Government upon some of these matters I have mentioned, instead of being squandered as it is to-day.

III.—What might be done with our millions.

TAKE the case of the agricultural labourers. The justice and moderation of their claims are universally admitted. If they are not settled
 The it is not because of any differences of opinion amongst political
 Labourers' parties of various classes in Ireland. There is no such difference.
 Needs. It is far different from the Land question. No negotiations
 or conferences are needed to compose conflicting interests
 and to enable Ireland to speak with one voice upon this matter. There
 are no conflicting interests and no opposing parties. Ireland has
 spoken, and to-day speaks with one voice upon it. Landlords and
 tenants and labourers, Unionists and Nationalists, are all agreed upon the
 essentials of a satisfactory settlement of the question. One thing only
 stands in the way—the want of money. The Treasury will not agree to
 undertake the possible loss which would be entailed by providing cheap
 money for the working of the Labourers Act. I suppose £10,000,000
 would go a long way towards settling this question. But say even that
 £20,000,000 were needed. How easily we could meet the annual
 charge necessitated by raising and paying off such a capital sum
 out of the millions we are annually overtaxed.

So also with the housing of the working class in towns. Mr. Wyndham,
 in the Session of 1903, promised to introduce a Bill in the
 The Session of 1904. He broke his promise. Why? Solely
 Housing of because he could not command the money necessary for an
 the People. adequate scheme. Once more the Treasury blocked the way,
 and no effort whatever was made to provide decent and
 sanitary houses for the artisans and workmen of Irish towns, or to remove
 from Dublin and other cities the reproach of slums which are a disgrace
 to civilization. I will not commit myself to any estimate of the capital
 sum required for a great scheme such as is necessary, but again I say,
 how easily it could be provided for out of our annually plundered millions.

Englishmen are fond of protesting against being asked to endow
 a National University which Catholics could avail themselves
 A National of. Who has ever asked them for a penny? I suppose £50,000,
 University. or, allowing for proper building, £80,000 a year would give us
 such a University. We do not ask one penny of English
 money for the purpose. We only ask permission to use for this purpose
 an insignificant amount of our own money, which is annually extorted from
 us and wasted on useless, and worse than useless, expenditure, while the
 Irish nation is left hopelessly handicapped in its struggle for advancement,
 and even for existence, by its youth being deprived of facilities for higher
 education.

The “No money” is the answer when we ask for any educational
 Improvement improvement, whether university or primary, or for the better-
 of Education. ment of the position of the National teachers. Mr. Wyndham,
 speaking on April 18th, 1904, said :—

“They should spend another £100,000 a year in primary education, including the charges
 necessary to put the Irish schoolhouses into a sanitary condition up to anything like the
 standard that prevailed in England, and providing proper heating appliances. They should
 spend another £50,000 a year in co-ordination of primary and secondary education, and
 another £25,000 a year in technical instruction.”

£175,000 in all—but there was no money! “No money” is the answer when we ask for aid for the denominational training colleges, which have been entirely built and equipped by private enterprise. “No money” is the answer when we ask for improvement in industrial schools. Last session, when a small sum of £2,000 a year was needed for Irish day industrial schools, we were told that it should come out of the Development Fund, though in Scotland the charge is put on the ordinary Education Estimates. “No money” is the answer when we complain of being robbed of the Equivalent Grant for technical education. No money! Yet, how easily education in all its branches, which is now stunted and starved, could be put on a level with the system of all other countries in Europe, were the over-taxation of Ireland devoted to useful and profitable, instead of useless and wasteful, expenditure.

Take another subject, the question of arterial drainage. Our friends in Ulster are making sore complaints about the drainage of the Bann, and they are absolutely right. Ruin and desolation have been spread over a vast area, extending into five counties in Ulster, by the floodings of the Bann, and whole families have frequently been driven from their homes to seek shelter and safety on higher ground. Large areas are covered to the depth of 2 ft. 6 in. for seven months of the year. The flooding of the Owenmore in Sligo lays waste thousands of acres, and 600 families are annually affected by it. The Suck, which runs through Roscommon and Galway, spreads ruin broadcast. The Barrow drains one of the largest areas drained by any Irish river. Its drainage area consists of 480,000 acres, and of these, 46,000 acres are regularly flooded. Royal Commissions have sat upon the question and made reports, but all in vain. Great injury is done by the floodings of the Barrow, not merely to the lands, but to the towns of Athy, Monasterevan, Portarlinton, Mountmellick, and others, and the general health of the whole district is affected. The facts are indisputable, but the answer we get from successive Governments is always the same—No money! Belgium, where the cost of government is half that of Ireland, has spent £16,000,000 on drainage works in the last twenty-five years; but in Ireland, under British rule, though we are overtaxed millions every year, every demand for a great scheme of arterial drainage is met, as we were met last session, when Mr. Wyndham airily dismissed our claims in these words:—

“He simply, as a member of his Majesty’s Government, said these schemes would cost a great deal of money, and of money they had none.”

On December 15th last, addressing the Society of Civil Engineers of Ireland, Sir Antony MacDonnell said:—

“When he came back to his country after many years’ absence, and when he looked, with that width and breadth of view which larger circumstances enabled him to take, he could see in Ireland a great future for the civil engineering profession, if only a chance were given them. He had had the curiosity of causing a map of Ireland to be prepared in accordance with the great watersheds of the rivers, and he could see what enormous advantages could be conferred upon their country if only the arterial drainage of Ireland could be treated upon a broad and systematic principle. Of course, they had financial difficulties to contend with, and he was as sure as he could be of anything that if the distinguished officers of the distinguished Department of the Board of Works had only three millions of pounds to deal with, they could convert the whole of Ireland into a district in which water-logging would no longer be possible, and the large advances which the Government were now making to land would be still better secured. On their seaboard there were great opportunities for engineering enterprise. They had constantly complaints being made that our harbours were being silted up, and that piers were wanted where they were not found. If they had but a little more money to spend, they could reap the harvest one hundred-fold more than they could now.”

What a delightful piece of irony to speak of “the distinguished officers of the distinguished Department of the Board of Works!”—a Department usually run by young English gentlemen like Mr. Wyndham’s late secretary,

Mr. Hanson—a Department “distinguished” only by the way it has bungled its work and wasted public money, and studded the whole coast with harbours which no ship can enter, and piers that have crumbled with the sea. Sir Antony MacDonnell’s estimate of £3,000,000 is probably very much under the mark. Mr. Wyndham estimated the sum necessary at £20,000,000; but whether it be one or the other, how easy it would be to provide for payment of the annual interest and sinking fund necessary out of the millions which we are annually overtaxed, and which to-day are spent without any benefit to the country.

Harbour Improvement. At a meeting held in Arklow recently the following resolution was passed:—

“That this public meeting, representing the County Councils, Corporations, Harbour Boards, Urban and Rural Councils of the Counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, and Waterford, view with alarm the condition of the fishing industry upon the south-east coast, an industry which is rapidly disappearing owing to the inadequacy of the harbour accommodation along the coast, and the complete lack of interest taken in this most important question by successive Governments. And with a view to preventing the ruin of this industry, and the further emigration of our fishing population, now reduced by thousands within the past few years, we call on the Government to pass a Marine Works Act suitable to the conditions of our district, without further delay.”

What is the answer of the Government? Once more—“No money.” The case of Arklow is a good sample of the work of “the distinguished officers of the distinguished Department of the Board of Works” in the past. In 1882 money was raised by way both of grant and loan to improve the harbour. In spite of the protest of all the local public bodies, “the distinguished Department” insisted upon building the pier in a form which local opinion declared was wrong. The money was uselessly squandered. The harbour has filled up, and the town of Arklow is threatened with absolute ruin by the destruction of all its industries; and when we ask for a remedy we are told there is “No money!” In the whole history of the world there is no more cruel scandal than the system of which this is a sample.

Let me take one more example. In my deliberate opinion the utterly defective condition of railway and transit facilities generally is the most serious of all the causes which keep Ireland in a state of chronic poverty. The rates of carriage in Ireland must be reduced fully 50 per cent. before profitable employment can be provided for the people of Ireland and emigration stopped. It is beyond dispute that nine-tenths of the ordinary agricultural products consumed in the English markets, and which are produced, or could be, in abundance in Ireland, are supplied by foreign producers, and the reason is perfectly clear. It is because in every country in Europe enormous decreases have been effected in rates of carriage during the last twenty-five years, while in Ireland freights to-day are still monstrously and prohibitively high. I heard of a case the other day which, while it does not deal with foreign agricultural products, forcibly illustrates the absurdity of the present condition of transit in this country. Recently a woollen factory was established in the town of Galway. They get all the coal they require from England. But in the next county, in Arigna, in the County Roscommon, there is plenty of just the class of coal they require to be had at 8s. 6d. a ton, but the carriage from Arigna to Galway is 13s. 6d., which makes the price considerably more than that of the English coal. The question of Irish railways has been discussed by several Royal Commissions, which have recommended nationalization, State-purchase, amalgamation, and other remedies, but which have never led to any practical result whatever. The Financial Relations Commission inquired closely into this subject. Mr. Childers, in his report, advocated, as one means of recouping Ireland for over-taxation, a

compulsory reduction of 50 per cent. of the rates of carriage, with a guarantee by the State to protect the rights of the shareholders, and that the railways should be amalgamated under the control of a really strong and representative Irish Railway Commission. He went on to say:—

“We think that in order to confer a substantial benefit on the Irish public and producer, and to give an effective stimulus to industry, the present rates and fares should be reduced by not less than one-half. We observe that the annual aggregate gross receipts of the Irish railways during the five years 1890-1894 have been £3,231,359, and the average net receipts £1,457,931. The amount of the annual payment which the suggested plan would in practice involve depends, of course, on the extent to which such a reduction of rates and fares would affect the gross and net receipts in view of the increase of business which would in all probability take place, and, *per contra*, the consequent increase of working expenses. We think, however, that there is good reason to believe that the amount of the annual payment required would be a diminishing quantity, and that every year a larger sum of money would be released, to be applied in other ways.”

For my part, I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that this question can only be satisfactorily settled by the nationalization of Irish railways and waterways, and that until this is done no real or permanent improvement will be found for a great deal of the poverty of Ireland. We discussed this matter last session in Parliament, and, once again, Mr. Wyndham admitted the grievance, admitted to the full its baneful effect upon every industry in Ireland, but then gave us the same answer: “No money.” He did not express dissent from the recommendation of the Financial Relations Commission. What he said was:—

“The recommendation of the Royal Commission was outside the range of practical politics now. He would be giving encouragement to false hopes if he were to say any word that would lead hon. members to believe that he saw his way in the near future to an advance of £49,000,000 or £50,000,000 for the purchase of Irish railways, or that the State could enforce and lay down a conventional rate lower than those now obtained, and recomp those who had invested in these companies by a practical guarantee.”

Mr. Childers had suggested this as a part set off against the over-taxation of Ireland, but Mr. Wyndham brushes the recommendation aside by simply saying, “No money.” The annual payment which would be required to carry out Mr. Childers’ recommendation would not be large, and could easily be met out of the millions annually robbed from us.

There are two other subjects, but I must dismiss them in a sentence.

Waste Lands. It is estimated that there are 1,500,000 acres of waste lands in Ireland which are capable of reclamation for agriculture, and it is estimated that the cost of reclamation would be £6 10s. per acre, or £9,750,000 in all. Reclamation of waste land in other European countries, which are, however, self-governed, has been carried out on far larger scales at a far greater cost. The Dutch Government drained Lake Haarlem, transforming it into 45,000 acres of meadow at a cost of £19 an acre, and they pumped out about half a million of acres of the Zuyder Zee at a cost of £18 an acre, and I understand the work was so reproductive that they sold the land after reclamation at £34 an acre. Does anyone suppose that a National Government in Ireland would be less ready than the Dutch Government to undertake the far less heroic schemes of reclamation which would so greatly develop this country? The capital necessary for this work could easily be supplied out of the amount of our present over-taxation.

One word also on the subject of forestry. Mr. Howitz, the eminent Dutch Forest Conservator, who gave evidence before the Eardley-Wilmot Committee of the House of Commons in 1886, made a special report on Ireland, and declared that had the forests of Ireland been protected and fostered, they would now represent a value of £100,000,000. In every other European country forests are regarded as

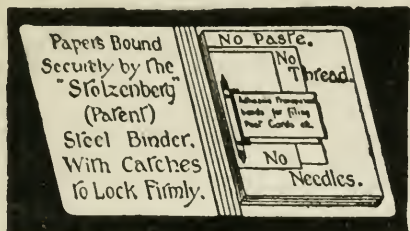
a great national asset. In Ireland they have been ruthlessly destroyed. It has been estimated, on the basis of calculation by Mr. Howitz and various experts, that there are 3,000,000 acres of land in Ireland which could be profitably planted, and it is calculated that though such an operation would need an annual expenditure of a large sum for twenty-five years, at the end of that time there would result an annual profit of about £3,000,000 a year. This operation also would be easy had Ireland at her disposal for works of national utility the millions which are now wrung from her every year, and expended without a thought of the well-being of the nation. You will have observed that I have said nothing at all about anything in the nature of restitution of the millions, the hundreds of millions, robbed from us during the last hundred years, especially since 1853, in shameless violation of what Englishmen call the Treaty of the Union.

I confine myself to the future, and I say the money annually raised by over-taxation, and which goes in the maintenance of a rotten, inefficient, and demoralizing system of government, which satisfies nobody but a handful of placemen, under which the population is diminishing and every industry languishing, would be amply sufficient, over and above the reasonable cost of civil government, to settle the labourers question, the housing question in towns, every phase of the education question, the arterial drainage question, the question of harbour and pier accommodation, the great and vital question of general transit facilities, and the questions of reclamation of waste lands and the reafforestation of Ireland. I calculate all these things could easily be provided for by about £3,000,000 a year, or a little more; and, allowing £5,000,000 a year for the government of Ireland, which is about what it cost in 1895, and which is far more than the cost of the government of Belgium, there would still remain over, out of our present taxation, £2,000,000 as an Imperial contribution from Ireland, which, of course, is far more than our fair proportion to the expenses of the Empire. Now let me ask: All that being so, what is the meaning of the apparent apathy on this question?

I hope that my words may have the effect of attracting the attention of the electors of Great Britain to the most serious of all the wrongs of Ireland, save and except only the loss of our national freedom, of which it is the natural and inevitable consequence.

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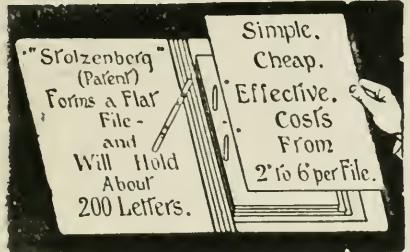
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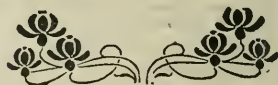
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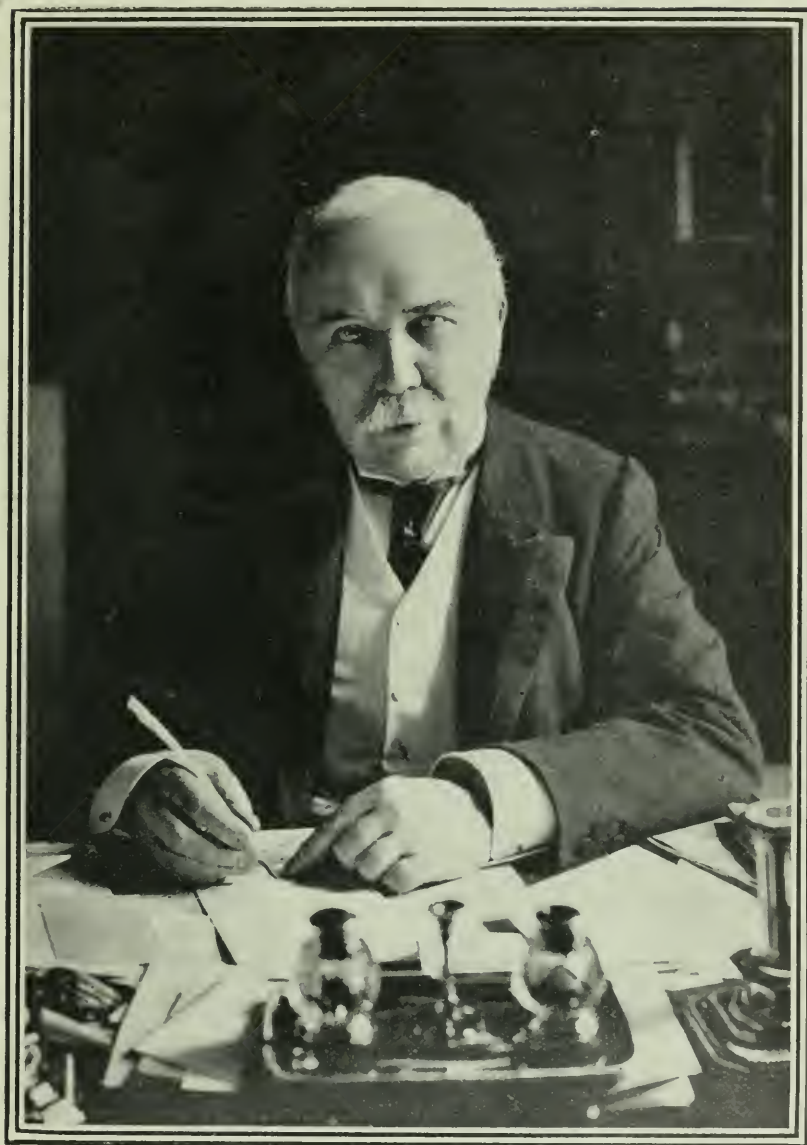


NUMBER 2
contains
Six
Studies.

The Old Salt.
The Mariner.
Song of the Lark.
Shepherd's Star.
The Puritan Girl.
Preparing the Fete.

No. 4 ready in June.

Edited by W. T. STEAD.

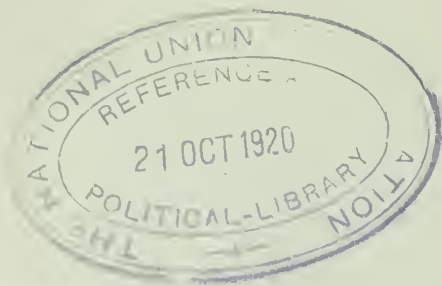


**THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER:
SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.**

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON.

May 11th, 1905.

ONE PENNY.



No. 1 of this Series was "Why I am a Free Trader": by WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P. No. 2 was entitled "Leaders in the Lords: Earl Spencer and Earl Rosebery." No. 3 was "The Physical Improvement of the People": by Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P. No. 4 was "The Financial Case for Home Rule": by JOHN REDMOND, M.P. All these may still be had.

THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER.

IF Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is not Prime Minister after the General Election, it will only be because he refuses the position, and says to Lord Spencer, "After you!" Even if he did say this, it is doubtful whether the refusal would be allowed to stand, for the Liberals have so long fought under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in Opposition that they would feel somewhat out of gear if the Liberal leadership were to be transferred to any one else, even if that some one else were the genial, courageous, and universally respected Lord Spencer.

Since the session opened, Sir Henry, or "C.-B.," as he is more familiarly styled, or "Sir Henry C.-B.," as he is more respectfully designated, has distinctly improved his position. He has spoken with admirable force and excellent temper on several critical occasions. If he has not exactly acted upon the hint to put a little more of the "methods of barbarism" into his political campaign, he has always been at his post, and he has shown as much good sense and shrewd humour in prosperity as he did in adversity. Prosperity indeed it may be called when he surveys the constituencies from Bute to Brighton, and everywhere finds himself acclaimed by ever-swelling majorities as the destined chieftain who is to deliver the Empire from the nightmare of Jingo domination. Not even Mr. Gladstone in 1879 had so assured a prospect of certain victory as that

which lies before Sir Henry C.-B. He has borne the burden and heat of the day, and now at the close of the second Jingo Parliament he is enjoying that pleasantest of all enjoyments, the confident anticipation of coming triumph—unmarred by the disappointments which seldom fail to follow close on the heels of political success. Not even his stoutest political opponent would begrudge the veteran campaigner the pleasure of awaiting the harvesting of the fruits of a battle which has already been fought and won. Even now the immensity of the Tory disaster is but dimly realized by members of the Opposition. They discuss among themselves whether the Liberal majority will be so large as to enable the next Prime Minister to defeat the combined forces of Unionists and Nationalists. To many this seems to be altogether beyond the pale of practical politics. They forget that when landslides occur old landmarks disappear. After the landslide of 1880, the Liberals had a majority of 56 above both the other parties combined. Since then the Nationalists have increased from 62 to 82 in number. To place the Liberal party in a position as strong as that of 1880 they would require forty more seats than those carried by Mr. Gladstone in the flood-tide of his Midlothian campaign. But unless the evidence from the by-elections is altogether misleading, Sir Henry C.-B. will have at his back a larger

majority of Liberals and Labour members over and above the combined Unionist and Nationalist vote than Mr. Gladstone could boast in 1880.

Intense satisfaction at the prospect of the overwhelming victory — a victory which has already been won in the hearts and minds of the electors, and which only awaits registration at the polls—is naturally mingled in the minds of Sir Henry C.-B. and all his followers with a feeling of pardonable exultation over the smashing blow which is about to be delivered against Mr. Chamberlain and the Jingo horde. At least half of the ecstasy of the Liberals in 1880 arose from their satisfaction at the crushing catastrophe which overwhelmed Lord Beaconsfield. It seemed like a fulfilling of the prophecies, a foretaste of the millennium, when the great Red Dragon, bound with adamantine chains, was being hurled into the abyss. Such a triumph of the justice that is immanent in human affairs seldom occurs twice in a lifetime. It is indeed a joyful thing for mortal eyes to see the second Lucifer of our times hurled from the heights, with hideous ruin and confusion, down, down, down into the nethermost. Nor can even the most censorious critic condemn us for making high melody in our hearts when the fatal Minister, whose hands are stained with innocent blood unjustly shed, and on whose head are heaped high the curses of thousands of women and children done to death in the murder camps of South Africa, meets at last from the hands of his countrymen the nearest approach to the doom of the Tarpeian rock which our milder times afford.

Now, as in 1880, the battle has not been won by the trimmers, but by the stalwarts. All through 1879 Mr. Gladstone was regarded by the majority of London newspaper men as the bane and the ruin of the party, which, under the safe and sane and cautious leading of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, was supposed to be outliving the discredit with which Mr. Gladstone had covered it by his Bulgarian atrocity campaign. The *habitués* of London clubs and West End drawing-rooms, the wealthy and cultured classes, were of one mind as to the fatuous madness of Mr. Gladstone. He was a *fou furieux*, like Gambetta. He was a sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity. He was a political wrecker. His advent to power—an event happily quite unthinkable—was equivalent to the ruin of the Empire. So the fools gabbled, as is their nature to. The same set of fools gabbled in the same foolish way against Sir Henry C.-B. He also, like Mr. Gladstone, had a human heart that revolted in horror against the wanton cruelties of militant Imperialism trampling liberty to death by the methods of barbarism.

And, like Mr. Gladstone, he spoke his mind with honest wrath and blazing indignation against the atrocities practised in the name of Empire. The storm of fury that broke loose against Sir Henry C.-B. was the more savage because the men responsible for the acts of barbarism, whereby countries were burnt bare by a policy of deliberate devastation, with the lamentable results of death by thousands of innocent non-combatants, were not Cheketa Pasha or Achmet Aga, but

the British authorities at the seat of war. Nevertheless, Sir Henry C.-B. stuck to his guns with the imperturbable tenacity of Mr. Gladstone. The miscreants who repudiated him, and disgraced themselves by apologizing for these tactics of savagery, now only plead that their treason to humanity and to their leader may be forgotten and forgiven. Forgiven it may be, forgotten never. Against each of these renegades stands the ineffaceable record of his faltering in the hour of stress and trial. They wilted in 1900-2 as their predecessors wilted in 1876-8, and although we may make the best we can of them, and admit them to office, and even to the Cabinet, the knowledge that they failed their leader and their country in the hour of direst need will be remembered against them for ever.

Sir Henry C.-B. has led the House of Commons since February, 1899. He stepped into the breach when other men deserted it, and he has done his duty manfully and well under circumstances of great difficulty. When I asked him years ago which text, quotation, or proverb had stood him in best stead, in the battle of life, he sent me the Pauline saying: "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient." It was the higher expediency, however, which asserted itself on the famous occasion when he launched his famous barbed phrase about methods of barbarism—a phrase which, although it was abominably abused at the time by the men who approved of the methods in question, shines out more and more conspicuously against the gloom as the one perfectly just and absolutely truthful word that fell from the lips of Liberal leaders

during the whole of the war. So much has been said in dispraise of this famous remark that in the interest of historical truth it is well to quote the *ipsissima verba*.

The occasion was a dinner given by the National Reform Union at the Holborn Restaurant to Sir W. Harcourt and Sir Henry C.-B., on June 14th, 1901. The policy of farm burning, concentration camps, and the rest was in full swing. The crucial question before the party was how many of the Front Bench men were smirched and stained with the infamy of these proceedings. Sir Henry C.-B. said:—

I call upon my critics to point to a single Liberal anywhere who approves the policy which they defend and admire. (Loud cheers.) For, gentlemen, what is that policy? What is the course of proceeding which in the Unionist Press is held up for our approbation? It is this—that now that we have got the men we have been fighting against down we should punish them as severely as possible. It is that we should devastate their country, that we should burn their homes ("Shame!")—that we should break up the very instruments of agriculture and destroy the machinery by which food is produced; it is that we should sweep, as the Spaniards did in Cuba—how we denounced the Spaniards—sweep the women and children into camps in which they are destitute of all the decencies and comforts and of many of the necessaries of life, and in some of which the death-rate rises so high as 430 in the thousand. . . . Yesterday I put a question to the Leader of the House of Commons, asking him when an opportunity would be afforded of furnishing us the information of which we are so sadly in want. My request was refused. Mr. Balfour treated us to a disquisition—a short disquisition, as was necessary—on the nature of the war. Now, there are curious things said about the war. There is a phrase which seems in itself somewhat self-evident, which is often used to account for a good deal—that "war is war." But when you come to ask about it, then you are told that the war now going on is not war. (Laughter.) When is a war not a war? When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa. (Cheers.)

After pointing out that the whole future of South Africa depends upon the success with which we conciliate the Boers, Sir Henry asked what would be the inevitable effect of such methods upon the Afrikaner mind.

When Sir Henry C.-B. sat down Mr. Morley rubbed it in by declaring that—

When I consider that this gathering is representative, as I believe, of all that is best, truest, most strenuous in the party, both in the House of Commons and in the country, I cannot for one moment doubt that we are not to-night in any cross-current of Liberalism, not in any wayward or retrograde eddy, but we are in the main stream. (Cheers.) After listening to the speech of my right hon. friend, by whose side I have fought many a fierce battle, I cannot doubt that now we know where the Liberal Opposition stands. (Loud cheers.) The truth is slowly forcing its way into the mind of this country, against obstacles I think unparalleled. . . . This country has been overwhelmed by misrepresentations, by delusions, by falsehoods. (Loud cheers.)

A hurricane of abuse assailed the intrepid speaker. Even men like Sir E. Grey actually deemed it right to certify, in terms which to-day they must blush to recall, that the war which left the Republics bare of everything but blockhouses and wire entanglements was conducted with unparalleled humanity—a certificate which renders it difficult to conceive its author as Colonial Secretary. Lord George Hamilton in a rash moment ventured to attack Sir Henry for vilifying our soldiers. The response was prompt and crushing. Sir Henry wrote:—

In June last I spoke of the war as carried on by "methods of barbarism." This referred to the deliberate policy which seemed to be entered upon of burning houses, deporting women and children and parking them in camps, slaughtering cattle, and destroying stores and other property—these things being done, not to punish particular offenders nor

to meet some particular military necessity, but as part of a great plan of terrorism and subjugation. What is this but the "method" which barbarism used before the Christian era, and which is still employed by some peoples outside the pale of Christendom? But in denouncing this policy as unworthy, and also in the interest of the future safety of our Empire, grossly unwise, I gave no shadow of countenance to any mendacious stories that may have been invented attributing wanton cruelties to British troops.

To another correspondent he said:—

So far from this, while condemning certain methods which our soldiers were called upon to employ, some of the most objectionable of which have been, under the force of public opinion, abandoned, I have always borne public testimony to the humane conduct of the officers and men of the Army, and absolved them from all blame.

He blamed not the unfortunate instruments of the policy of devastation, who, for the most part, were thoroughly ashamed of the acts which they were ordered to do, but those responsible for ordering the use of such methods of barbarism. The result of this protest, repeated again and again, with splendid persistence and pertinacity, compelled Ministers to modify part of their methods and to deceive the country by denying the rest of the acts of barbarism in which they persisted to the end of the war.

Sir Henry is a very cautious man, a canny Scot, who refrained all through the war from praising the Boers, fearing lest one word of eulogy might lead them to prolong the war, and he took an early opportunity of associating himself with Mr. Morley in repudiating any intention to restore the independence of the devastated Republics. "I have publicly stated that the annexation must, in my opinion, be upheld." But only on condition that our new subjects were admitted to all the rights and

privileges of British self-governing Colonies, which, as Mr. Chamberlain has just reminded us, are independent States, with the recognized right of secession from the Imperial connection. Sir Henry's utterances throughout the war do him the highest credit, and do something to redeem our national reputation from the shame and disgrace which submerged the Empire in these evil years.

We can look back upon those troublous times with the composure of men who have crossed the stream and are now safely on the other shore. If Sir Henry's conduct seems open to censure to-day, it is because he did not go far enough and protest strongly enough against the war. He, too, was constrained at times to bow in the House of Rimmon. In obedience to Sir William Harcourt, he assented to the hushing up of the inquiry into the Jameson Raid; and in order to assuage the anger of those who denounced his protest against methods of barbarism, he voted in favour of £100,000 grant to the General by whose authority those methods were employed. To denounce a General's methods as "barbarous" one day, and to enthusiastically vote him £100,000 the day after, without a single word of condemnation for the savagery for which he is responsible, disheartened many of his staunchest supporters. But even thus qualified, the disloyal intrigues of recreant Liberals compelled him to put his back against the wall and speak out in no uncertain fashion. After the malcontents had given such expression to their dissatisfaction that he felt his leadership challenged, Sir Henry summoned a meeting of the party at the Reform Club, and meantime went down to Southampton,

where he defined his position and defied the mutineers. He said:—

It is now seemingly impossible to preserve unity owing to the persistent schemes and efforts of a few men who, under the influence, I imagine, of some personal jealousy or antipathy of their own, are constantly and actively engaged in magnifying and embittering such differences in political opinion as exist. All I will say to-night is that it is time to be done with these practices. (Cheers.) I shall appeal to my fellow-members of the party in the House, and, if need be, beyond them to all true Liberals throughout the country—(cheers)—for their support in the effort to put down this disorder and to restore efficiency to the great historical party to which we belong. (Cheers.)

The party meeting came off at the Reform Club on July 9th, 1901. One hundred and sixty-three members attended. Sir Henry made a capital speech, in the course of which he said:—

We are divided not on account of real and essential divergencies of opinion, but because of the operation of certain personal antagonisms, which for the last half-dozen years have disturbed and paralysed the Liberal party. I am here to say to you deliberately and emphatically that we shall never restore healthy efficiency to the Liberal party in the House of Commons unless these cabals are put down.

The result of this emphatic defiance of the enemy in his own camp was that the Jingoës came reluctantly to heel, and afterwards, despite the efforts of the Liberal League, Sir Henry never had any reason to complain of the devotion of the rank and file of the party. After the Chesterfield speech, Sir Henry spoke firmly and graciously at Leicester, repudiating the doctrine of the "clean slate," but appealing strongly to all Liberals to unite and concentrate in defence of their cause. He declared of his own knowledge that the tone, the temper, and the desires of the party were sound and healthy.

What the party requires and desires now is unity of purpose and action. It is the

exercising and forgetting of miserable personal differences, mostly suggested and fostered by a hostile Press, and it is concentration upon our plain duties and doctrines. Act upon this message and we may be perfectly confident that, whether after a long interval or after a short one, we shall win a triumphant victory for our cause, which we know to be the cause of freedom and justice and good government.

The Liberals have acted upon that message, and the triumphant victory which he predicted in 1902 is already at their feet.

It is worth while recalling these past episodes because of the light they throw upon the capacity and determination of the next Prime Minister to keep his seat in the saddle, and to hold his own against the enemy without, and mutineers within. It is also worth while recalling the fact that, in 1899, Sir Henry C.-B. never hesitated one moment in rejecting Mr. Chamberlain's proposal that he should share in the responsibility of sending 10,000 men to the Cape in the midst of the negotiations. "You need not be alarmed," said Mr. Chamberlain. "There will be no fighting. We know that these fellows won't fight, we are playing a game of bluff." "Get thee behind me Satan!" was in effect the substance of C.-B.'s reply. It was the word of the situation.

Sir Henry is not a first-rate impromptu speaker. Neither is Lord Rosebery. Like Mr. Morley, his best speeches are carefully prepared. When he is Prime Minister, the task of replying upon the debate will often be undertaken by Mr. Asquith or Mr. Winston Churchill. But although he is given, perhaps, too much to the use of notes, writing "maketh an exact man," and he is never under the temptation to go on and on and on exhausting the time

and patience of the House. As Mr. Ian Malcolm said of him recently, "he is a man whose soft answer in debate has often turned away wrath; whose unfailing urbanity and cheerful disposition has long since won universal recognition; whose sense of humour never leaves him. He is, above all, a gentleman in the highest sense of the word, whose public differences with friend or foe could never interfere with his private friendships."

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is one year younger than Lord Spencer. He was born in Scotland, September 7th, 1836. He was originally only plain Henry Campbell. But when his maternal uncle, Henry Banner-man, of Hunton Court, Kent, died, he assumed the second name, little dreaming what trouble it would cause journalists in the years to come. There are some who would even declare that the possession of a double-barrelled hyphenated name is amply sufficient to disqualify any man from being the head of a British Ministry. There is one consolation for such grumblers. Like Lord Spencer, the Liberal leader in the Commons is without offspring. There will be no hyphenated inheritor of his name to trouble the Press. The knighthood did not come till 1895, twenty-seven years after he first entered the House of Commons. He was educated at Glasgow University and at Trinity College, Cambridge.

He was first elected for the Stirling Burghs in 1868, the year of Liberal victory, and he has held the seat ever since. To have kept a seat against all comers for thirty-seven years is no small tribute to the confidence and esteem which he enjoys among those who know him best.

His first official post was that of Financial Secretary to the War Office, a post which he held from 1871 to 1874. It was in these troublous years that purchase was abolished by Royal Warrant, and the Army was reformed by Lord Cardwell and Lord Wolseley on the system whose merits had been advertised to the world by the victories of the Germans in 1870-1.

During the period of Liberal eclipse from 1874 to 1880, Sir Henry was a staunch Gladstonian; and when, in 1880, Mr. Gladstone returned to office, he promptly reinstated C.-B. in his former position. These were trying years. The Liberal Government was busy clearing off the bad debts of Lord Beaconsfield in Afghanistan and South Africa, and Sir Henry was kept very busy. In 1882, when the war in Egypt was subjecting the fighting departments to a considerable strain, he was promoted to the Secretaryship of the Admiralty. Two years later, when Sir George Trevelyan's health broke down, he succeeded him as Irish Secretary. In that capacity he worked under Lord Spencer, and succeeded so well as Irish Secretary that the Irish will be heartily glad to see another Scotchman as Chief Secretary. He went out with his party in 1885. When Mr. Gladstone returned to office in 1886, to bring in his Home Rule Bill, Sir Henry entered the Cabinet as Secretary for War. His chief exploit in that year was not connected with the Army, but with Ireland. He is famous as the author of the phrase which described the process of adopting Home Rule as that of "finding salvation," and he was also no less happy in defining the peculiar blend of

Orange bigotry and Irish Toryism as "Ulsteria." Sir Henry does not set up to be a professed wit, but his phrases stick better than those of most of his contemporaries.

When Mr. Gladstone was defeated on Home Rule Sir Henry wandered with the rest of the party in the wilderness of Opposition until 1892, when he returned to the War Office, retaining the office after the reconstruction of the Ministry under the Premiership of Lord Rosebery. As War Minister he succeeded in settling matters with the Duke of Cambridge. He was always in the good graces of the late Queen, and had the complete confidence of the officers at the head of the Army. The British Army has always been a great social rather than a great fighting institution, and Sir Henry was too cautious a Scot to lay rash hands on the Ark of the Covenant. The accident that the *coup de grace* so anxiously longed for by Lord Rosebery was administered to the Liberal Government by a snap vote, as to the alleged deficiency of cordite in the National Arsenal, left his reputation as a careful administrator undisturbed. The facts about the alleged shortage of cordite were stated thus by Sir Henry himself at Newport, November 30th, 1903:—

I had inserted in the estimates the full amount asked for by my expert military advisers. After the division, and when the incident was over, they assured me that if I had gone to them and expressed a willingness to place at their disposal £50,000 or £100,000 more for Army service, small-arm ammunition was the last thing they would have wished to expend it upon. The new explosive, cordite, was in an experimental stage. Above all, there were doubts as to its keeping and preserving its regularity and power, and therefore it was inexpedient to have any exaggerated stock, especially as it was not slow of manu-

facture, and we were successfully opening up abundant sources of supply. We have it on record that these very men, notwithstanding this extraordinary facility of supply, these very men who are so feverishly anxious about the stock of ammunition, allowed their reserve of it—in high time of war, and not in piping times of peace—to run down almost to zero.

Of course great capital was made out of the alleged shortage of cordite, but the fact that Sir Henry C.-B. had left the Army in a good state of fighting efficiency was publicly vouched for by no less eminent authority than Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Speaking at Manchester on January 15th, when the Jameson Raid and the Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger, to say nothing of the Venezuelan trouble with the United States, had compelled the new Government to look closely into the state of the Army, Mr. Balfour said:—

“No, gentlemen, there never was a moment, I believe, in the recent history of this country when the British Empire was a better fighting machine than it is at this time. The energetic efforts of successive Governments, principally the Unionist Government which existed between 1886 and 1892, and the Home Rule Government which succeeded them between 1892 and 1895—chiefly through their efforts in the last decade or more, an addition has been made to the fighting power of the Empire of which the Empire itself, I believe, is unaware.

In 1897 he sat with Sir W. Harcourt on the Hush-up Committee into the Jameson Raid, and unfortunately allowed his judgment to be overridden by the authority of his leader. When Sir W. Harcourt resigned, he was elected leader of the Liberal party in the Commons, somewhat to the surprise of Mr. Asquith, whose friends consoled themselves by thinking that Sir Henry's doctors would not allow him to undertake

the post. He had previously refused the Speakership. Sir Henry, however, recovered his health with the celerity with which moribund candidates for the triple crown throw away their crutches after their election, and leader he remains down to this hour.

Reference has already been made to the way in which he led the party during the troublous time of the South African War. It is only necessary here to put on record the fine appeal he made to Lord Rosbery at St. James's Hall on January 13th, 1902, immediately after the Chesterfield speech.

I cordially rejoice, in common with the great majority of our countrymen, that he is going once more to take part in public life. I have always regretted his withdrawal from public life, and, with the rest of the world, I have never been able quite to understand it; and I have, on several occasions, publicly and privately, urged him to renew co-operation with his old friends, among whom he would be cordially welcomed. Well, ladies and gentlemen, this speech appeared to me to indicate a willingness to rejoin his old party, and I thought it right—I thought it my duty—to renew to him the expression of this feeling entertained by myself and my political friends; and although Lord Rosebery seems to desire to retain his independent position, I still hope that at least his powerful help will be given to us and to the Liberal party, especially upon this most urgent of all questions—the re-establishment of peace, upon which I can find no substantial difference between his views and my own. I do not know how it may be elsewhere, but it is hard to see in this country—it appears to me difficult to understand—how a public man can take an effective part in public life in detachment from all political parties. Shall I carry it a little further, and ask, with all possible respect for him, whether a man of his experience, of his ability, and of his influence, has a right to adopt a position of isolation, whether it is profitable to the country that he should adopt it, so long as he remains in public life!

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

will not make a dashing Prime Minister. He is neither a firebrand nor a rocket. He is a good, sensible, level-headed, canny Scot, who commands the confidence of the Radical and Nationalist parties, and is regarded with respect and a certain amount of awe by the Liberal Leaguers. He is a man who combines a wide knowledge of the world with a shrewd eye to the interests of the British Empire. He is no crusader. No one has accused him of fanaticism. He is an honest man, who has no one's ill word; a sound Liberal, a staunch Home Ruler, and

a deadly hater of all the crimes of the Jingo.

In due time he will issue his fighting manifesto for the rallying of the nation round the Liberal banner. It will not be anything like so long nor half so interesting as the following statement of the views of the next Prime Minister, which have been carefully gleaned from his multifarious speeches and compacted together into the consecutive exposition of his views upon the questions with which he has to deal in the next Parliament.

WHAT IS THE LIBERAL POLICY?

The Views of the next Prime Minister.

“WHAT is the Liberal policy? Our very name gives the answer. We stand for liberty. Our policy is the policy of freedom. It is the **The Choice between Good—** policy of freedom in all things that affect the life of the people, freedom of conscience, freedom of trade, internal and external, freedom of industry, freedom of combination and co-operation, freedom from class ascendancy, freedom from injurious privileges and monopolies, freedom for each man to make the best use of the powers and faculties implanted in him, and with the view of securing and guarding these and other interests, freedom of Parliament, freedom for all to elect to the governing body of the nation the representatives of their own choice. That is our policy.

“What are we to set against it in contrast? The policy that the present Government has exhibited during the last nine years is a **—and Evil.** policy of exaltation of the executive power and depression of the representatives of the people, a policy of high expenditure, a policy of great military establishments, a policy of favouritism towards privileged classes and interests. That is the contrast that we will set before the nation, and we have no doubt what the choice of our fellow-countrymen will be.”¹

A Minister flouting the Will of the People. “I should have thought that there were three impulses which would move any Government to recognize such an extraordinary demonstration of opinion as has been pronounced during the last two years. There is the patriotism of the citizen, there is the wisdom of the statesman, and there is the honour of the gentleman.”²

“Yet at this moment we have at the head of the Government an eminent citizen, whose friends were put in power on a false and long since exhausted issue, who himself, individually, was never placed there at all by his fellow-citizens, and whom those fellow-citizens show, whenever they get a chance, that they are sick of seeing there. Yet he tells us that in this self-governing, democratic country, he claims the powers and privileges and emoluments of office so long as his Parliamentary friends, who are in the same boat with him, don't openly mutiny against him, and he flouts the expressed will of the people.”³

“The Parliament now running to a close has a character which marks it out from all Parliaments of our time. It had its origin in the deception of the country. The majority which it created was obtained on a false pretence.

¹ Norwich, October 26th, 1904.

² July 27th, 1904.

³ High Wycómbé, February 9th, 1905.

The votes which constituted it were asked for, and were given, for two declared purposes only—the establishment of peace and the establishment of our new Colonies in South Africa at the close of the war, which the electors were falsely told was already ended. Although it was constituted for these two purposes only, the power so given has been used not as it might well have been, according to our Constitutional practice, for some subordinate purpose, but for the revolutionary handling of certain great questions—the licensing, for instance, which touched deeply the consciences and the feelings of men. The case is wholly without precedent. This Parliament has never from the first been an honestly constituted Parliament, and the moral authority of the Government, whatever we may say of its legal and technical authority, in all their recent actions has not been for our domestic legislative purposes a full and competent authority. We cannot wonder that they dread, and that they would fain postpone, a dissolution, of which the last two years, with their remarkable series of electoral reverses, have already given them a melancholy foretaste.”¹

I.—The Liberal Domestic Programme.

MR. BALFOUR says we have no programme, but only a policy of negations. Now, even if that were the case, the rectification of the mis-
“A pretty chief of the last ten years is a pretty good programme of itself.
good But I do not regard as a negation the endeavour to place the
Programme.” system of national education on a permanent basis of public control and management. I do not regard as a policy of negation the abolition of tests or the removal of schools from the sphere of sectarian strife, which we hold to be incompatible with secular efficiency. I do not regard as negation the attempt to which we are committed to reassert the control of the community over the liquor traffic, which control Mr. Balfour went far to stultify by that most pernicious and shameless measure for converting an annual licence into a permanent freehold. Again, is economy a negation? I will answer that by another question. Is the raging torrent of expenditure of the last ten years a constructive policy? If not—if it represents, as indeed it does, a diversion of wealth from useful and profitable channels to channels which are useless, unprofitable, and mischievous,—then a policy which seeks to recover some of these wasted millions for the community is not a policy of negation. That, if we came to power, would be our aim.”²

The Threefold “The difficulties before the Liberal party are threefold. In the first
Difficulties of place, there is the multiplicity of the subjects to be dealt
the Liberals. with; in the second place there is the condition of the national finance; and in the third place there is the re-awakening activity of the House of Lords.”³

¹ Stirling, January 18th, 1905.

² Norwich, October 26th, 1904.

³ December 8th, 1904.

“If a reforming Government were in power that House would be certain to hamper it at every turn. Well, what are we to do? It is a gigantic problem. I will tell you the first thing you have to do—strengthen the people’s House, and then you can try conclusions with the other.”¹

“There is a cardinal, abiding, necessary difference between the Liberal party and our opponents which is as a chasm yawning between us athwart almost every public question. Where **The Classes** and **the Masses**. the interest of classes, or of individuals, of what calls itself society, or of the Church, or of a branch of the public service, comes in conflict with the public interest, we will, with firmness and generosity, but without fear or scruple, stand by and uphold the public interest and make it supreme. If you survey the whole field of Liberal deeds and doctrines—all the achievements of the past, as well as the ambitions of the future—you will find this to be universally true.”²

“It may accurately be said that there is practically but one great impediment in the way of a sweeping improvement which would **The Land** elevate the physical and moral welfare of the people. This is **Question.** the interest, and the overdue regard to the interest, of the landowner, and the political and social influence that he and his class can exercise. Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let contribution be made to those public services which create the value.”³

“What is our rating system? It is a tax upon industry and labour, upon enterprise, upon improvement; it is a tax which is the **Our Rating** direct cause of much of the suffering and overcrowding in the **System.** towns. And remember that overcrowding is not a symptom only, but a cause of poverty, because it demoralizes its victims and forces them to find relief in excesses. By throwing the rates on site values, communities which have created these values will be set free—free, in the sense that they can expand, free to direct their own destinies.”⁴

“What are our domestic duties? Foremost among them is the succour of the masses who are in poverty. If it can be shown that **On Domestic** poverty, whether it be material poverty or poverty of physique **Duties.** and of energy, is associated with economic conditions which, though supported by the laws of the country, are nevertheless contrary to economic laws and considerations and to public policy, the State can intervene without fear of doing harm. Is there any lack of such conditions among us? I fear not. The country is still largely governed by castes, and it has to compete with nations which have shaken off the feudal ways and privileges which we continue to tolerate.”⁵

¹ Leeds, March 19th, 1903.

³ Leeds, March 19th, 1903.

² Leeds, March 19th, 1903.

⁴ Newport, November 30th, 1903.

⁵ Newport, November 30th, 1903.

“It cannot be too often repeated and enforced that the way to go to work to organize your home market is not the crude and unequal and exploded method of setting up tariffs. It is to raise the standard of living, abolishing those centres of stagnant misery which are a disgrace to our name, and when once your home market is so organized the demand for labour will be larger and more sustained, and more capable of ensuring itself against fluctuation. The wisest course is to attack these bad conditions boldly and fearlessly, to abolish them, or, if we cannot do that, to modify them, deal rigorously with vested interests and monopolies which cause public injury or stand in the way of improvement; enlarge the powers of local authorities, readjust our rating system, and so alter our land laws as to increase the supply of houses and of available land in town and country alike, equalize burdens local as well as Imperial, give, as far as laws and customs can give them, give a chance to every man. Give every man a chance; those are the lines of progress and development. It is along those lines that lies the path of prosperity, happiness, and strength. There lies the true wisdom, and not false, sham wisdom; true patriotism, and not tinsel patriotism; aye, true Imperialism, and not treacherous Imperialism.”¹

“I am not prepared to erase from the tablets of my creed any principle, or measure, or proposal, or ideal, or aspiration of Liberalism.

Electoral Reform. The cupboardful of measures which we left behind us in 1895, are they out of date and musty? Take, first of all, the whole range of reforms which seem to be necessary in order

to simplify and complete our electoral and legislative machinery—the simplification of registration, the abolition of the plural vote, the reduction of electoral expenses, the removal of every bar to the free choice of electors, and, above all, the adjustment of the relations between the two Houses of Parliament, which in 1895 seemed to us among the most urgent, and to some of us to be the very one most urgent, of all the necessities of the day, are changes which the working-man ought to claim as his birthright. It is these that will give him the power to obtain, with the consent and co-operation of other classes of the community, changes which he specially desires and demands, without waiting upon the condescending benevolence or the grudging necessities of the hereditary House.”²

“I am greatly mistaken if these reforms must not come first. We have long been anxious that the representation of the people of this country should be as full, as real, and as simple as possible. We have wished that the workman who follows his work and changes his house should not be hustled and chivied out of his vote.”³

“The condemnation of the Education Act, as ignoring popular rights, as excluding from their proper share of influence the parent and the ratepayer, the two classes most concerned, and as writing upon the door of entry to a great, and honourable, and beneficent profession a sectarian test—that is a standing condemnation which time can never wither.”⁴

¹ Stirling, January 18th, 1905.

² Leicester, February 19th, 1902.

³ Leeds, March 19th, 1903.

⁴ Scarborough, May 15th, 1903.

“That must be put an end to as soon as possible, and the public, whose money is taken, and who, as patriots and as parents, are intensely interested in the character and quality and nature of the education given to children at the most receptive period of their lives, they must have the command in this matter, and not any self-constituted body of managers, or any man, whether he be parson or layman. On these points we are all agreed.”¹

“Violent measures provoke retaliation, and they invite early repeal of any Bill carried as was the Licensing Act. I deny absolutely the right of a moribund Government to make this testamentary disposition of other people’s money; I deny the moral validity of such a measure so obtained, and Liberals will carry their appeal with confidence to the tribunal of the nation.”²

“What we have got now to do—the first thing, the most urgent thing, but no easy thing—is to repair as far as it is possible the damage that Act has done. I think there are two great objects in that; the first is to restore the local licensing authority to the full powers and discretion that they possessed, and to extend those powers considerably. Then the next thing is to impose a limit of time to the artificial provisions of the Act. Those are two things of themselves which will be of great difficulty to carry through any House of Commons—and the House of Lords perhaps still more. But that is the first thing we have got to do. It will be a heavy task, and I do not think that we can at present with any great advantage look very far beyond it. I think we have quite enough before us at present when we consider the business of what you call reversing—that is plucking as far as we can the mischief out of—the Act of last year. This should be done early. With regard to further advance, we must exercise a certain degree of caution, but we are agreed that the great, the best, and the supreme judges were the inhabitants of a district whose daily lives were affected by the liquor traffic. That is the cardinal principle they must bear in mind. When the time comes we shall deal with the Scottish licensing question in view of the wants and wishes of the Scottish people.”³

“Another great object would be to improve our land system and our agricultural conditions so as to keep more men on the soil and take others back to it. It is not in our Colonies only, and our dependencies across the seas, that we have a great estate to develop; we have it here under our eyes. The Protectionists tell us that Free Trade has ruined agriculture. Let us try the experiment first of getting the people on the soil and encouraging them to engage all their energies in its improvement. Let us get rid of anything that hinders the development of agriculture, restrictions that we have outgrown, and habits that belong to a patriarchal state of things. There is a general awakening and broadening of view on this subject. There is a growing belief in co-operative methods, both in purchase, transit, dairying,

¹ Bolton, October 17th, 1903.

² Hanley, June 30th, 1904.

³ Reply to a Temperance Deputation, April 14th, 1905.

and so forth, in the application of scientific processes, in the adoption of what may be called a forward policy to meet the changes and surmount the difficulties which time has brought with it. And if our system of tenure in this country hinders this development and cramps in any way the freedom of the cultivator, then let such changes be made in our system as shall give the requisite security and independence to the cultivator, and enable him, to the great benefit not only of himself, but of his landowner and the nation at large, to take full advantage of the new methods. The Agricultural Holdings Act of 1900 was a bitter disappointment to the farmer. We did our best in the House of Commons to amend and extend it, but we failed, and all I can say is that these are the general lines on which legislation will have to move forward to bring our agricultural system into harmony with the latest methods, in whose adoption lie our best hopes of agricultural prosperity. These are the ways to encourage enterprise and good farming, to bring labour and capital both in larger quantities to be applied to the land and to build up a healthy rural population."¹

The Condition of the Rural Labourers. "I hold that there are three main divisions of operation for the amelioration of the condition of the rural population. First of all it is necessary to provide healthy, comfortable homes in the country. Secondly, there is the furnishing to the labourer in the country the opportunity of a career, so that by industry and intelligence he may raise himself, for, after all, they must not forget the influence of schools since 1870. Thirdly, there should be freedom in that career. Greater power is wanted for local authorities to acquire and lease ground for a cottage, and for an adequate garden to accompany it."²

The Position of Trades Unions. "What the trades unions ask is that they should not be subjected to restrictions from which others are free; that their freedom of combination should not be hampered by such a stretching of the law of conspiracy as to deny to working men rights which belong to any body of citizens taking action for the protection of their legal interests. That being so, I hold this to be a perfectly honest, justifiable, and proper contention on their part."³

The Unemployed. "I am in favour of exemption from disfranchisement of recipients of temporary Poor Relief, and do not see why a man who had always kept his head straight, and who, temporarily falling into distress through want of employment, had to accept temporary relief, should lose his citizenship. While the central authority ought to give large latitude to local authorities, the central authority ought to have large powers of compelling the local authorities to do their duty. Those were two directions in which, perhaps, an alteration of the law or the practice of the department might be desirable."⁴

¹ Norwich, October 28th, 1904.³ Scarborough, May 15th, 1903.² Westminster Palace Hotel, May 11th, 1904.⁴ Manchester, November 30th, 1904.

“The key to the London situation was recognition of the unity of the Metropolis. The poor of London were a common obligation, and it was not equitable that the poorest districts should bear the heavier portion of the burden. The whole area of London should be one for rating purposes. In Limehouse the rates had risen from 6s. 10d. in 1896 to 9s. 3d. in 1904, while wealthier districts showed no such increase. It was wrong in principle and disastrous in practice to constitute a system of administration for London in water-tight compartments.”¹

“On the subject of the extension of the suffrage to women, while I am well aware of the strong arguments that can be used on the subject, I am not quite convinced by them. In the meantime I give all the assistance I can to the more immediate claims that women should be eligible for service on the various local bodies which control the administration of education, sanitary law, &c.”²

“I fully recognize that there are large interests in this country on which women are as good judges as men, or even better. Take, for instance, the questions of temperance, Free Trade, education, and local government. In all these matters the logical force of events is working in favour of the cause, and I believe the country at large will become more and more favourable to the enfranchisement of women, in view of the fact that Parliament was dealing, or trying to deal, one after another, with those social questions on which women may not only be held entitled to vote, but on which their opinion is even more valuable and essential than the opinion of men.”³

“The Liberal party is for Free Trade. We prefer the security which Free Trade offers for the efficient conduct of business versus “Fiscal Reform.” towards the country as a whole.”⁴

“Liberals in this matter are not fighting a single proposal, but a whole spirit and tone of policy and administration and legislation. These fiscal proposals are saturated, as the whole policy of the present Government had been found to be, with restriction as against freedom, with inequality between trade and trade, with injustice towards the community and consumers, with privilege and monopoly, with jealousy and unfriendliness towards other nations. They are essentially part of a retrograde and anti-democratic system, and they will never, I trust, be accepted by an intelligent and free nation.”

Mr. Chamberlain’s Mistake “The mistake Mr. Chamberlain has made during the later years of his career, and it is a gross mistake, is to treat Imperial sentiment as a marketable commodity.”⁵

“I do not trust 10-per-cent.-duty patriots, and I do not like Imperialism—I do not much like Imperialism of any kind—but, above all, I do not like Imperialism at so much a quarter.”⁶

¹ Limehouse, December 20th, 1904.

² March 28th, 1903.

³ January 26th, 1904.

⁴ Manchester, November 29th, 1904.

⁵ Manchester, November 29th, 1904.

⁶ Alexandra Palace, June 4th, 1904.

“Keep clearly in mind that the keystone of Mr. Chamberlain's plan is the taxation of food. The entire policy collapses if food is not to be taxed.”¹

“The Sugar Convention was framed on the very lines of the Sheffield policy. It is a triumph of that policy, and all the more a triumph because it was accomplished before the policy was announced—a triumph of that policy, coloured and adorned by a dash of Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialistic grandeur.”²

“Let us have a conference by all means. The more conferences you have with the Colonies the better. The more free communication of ideas and desires you have with them the better. Every man of sense will say so; but it must be on some definite subject, and it must be also of such a nature as to exclude all possibility of any one being misled by it.”³

“We see how the new Imperialism nearly spells old despotism. When we play fast and loose with constitutional liberties and rights at the other side of the world, the evil that we do is not confined to that distant sphere, but its mischievous consequences come home among us here, and may have this effect, that the barriers which the stout hearts and clear heads of our forefathers have designed and erected against tyranny and absolutism may be invalidated and destroyed.”⁴

“The framing of laws, the voting of supplies, the sanctioning of taxes, are high and important functions indeed, but not one of them is a more vital function than that which is expressed in the consecrated phrase which speaks of Parliament as the Grand Inquest of the nation. It is this function, the function by which the Executive Government is made answerable to the people, that we believe to be threatened by some of the proposals of the Government; not, let us hope and believe, from malice aforethought, but out of sheer supercilious indifference to popular rights. I hold that we cannot be too jealous and too pertinacious in guarding our privileges against usurpation. Facilitate business, curb prolixity, prevent disorder and obstruction, suppress useless forms, and no one will object; but leave intact the free privileges of the representatives of the people.”⁵

II.—Imperial Questions.

“The education policy of the Government is bad, bad their licensing system, bad their degradation of a British colony by the importation into it of servile labour without taking the means of consulting the citizens of the colony on the subject, but worst of all is their squandering of hundreds of millions on unnecessary wars, and the adding in nine years of no less than fifty millions a year to the normal peace expenditure of the country.”⁶

¹ June 27th, 1903.

² Manchester, November 29th, 1904.

³ Norwich, October 26th, 1904.

⁴ December 10th, 1901.

⁵ Leicester, February 19th, 1902.

⁶ Norwich, October 26th, 1904.

“I stand by my ideal, and I object to that of the Government as to the armaments which we need. The difference between us is crucial and fundamental. I say that we are not called upon to vie, and it would be the height of folly for us to attempt to vie, with our great military Continental neighbours. We do not want 70,000 men to launch upon Europe. I am thoroughly opposed to the whole idea. I am opposed to it on strategical grounds. I am opposed to it as a conception of international relations, and provocative of unnecessary friction and of war. But I am opposed to it on another ground. I am as friendly to, and as cordial an admirer of, the Army as any man, and as anxious to protect our safety and our interests. But I remember what a witty Frenchman once said of the kingdom of Prussia—that Prussia was not a country with an army, but an army with a country. I don't want such conditions to be realized, or even approached, here. I do not want to see a military England, still less a military Scotland or Wales, saturated with military ideas, regarding military glory, military aptitude, military interests, as the great thing in life.”¹

Against Militarism. “Reorganize your army system if you must, not with ignorance and recklessness, but patiently, and with knowledge; reconstruct, if necessary, your administrative machine. I, at least, have shown myself not indifferent in this matter when I was responsible; for when I quitted office, in 1895, I left for my successor a carefully elaborated scheme for an administrative board, which would give the Secretary of State the benefit of the best and most direct advice of the most capable and experienced soldiers and civilians. It was on the eve of being issued by me, and it was practically adopted by my successor; and what did he say of it? He has said, in a published letter, that, but for this scheme, inherited from me, it would have been impossible to have placed and maintained in the field the South African Army.”²

“For my part I am not going to put forward any theories or views of my own, nor any rigid rule, but there are one or two cardinal points which I think ought to be kept in view. In the first place we ought to have no addition made—I am putting it mildly; I do not speak of reducing, which would be desirable—but, at all events, let us have no addition made to the standing Army, and if any country, or colony, or dependency, or garrison require for their own purposes an additional force, then let it be done at their own charge. We are relentless in applying this rule to our people in India, and I do not see why it should not be extended elsewhere.”³

For Army Reform. “We have in the Militia and the Volunteers two forces which, furnishing a congenial field for the different sections and classes of the population, are, I believe, capable of being developed and extended into very formidable forces. They should not be nibbled at and altered in their character, but they should be encouraged, their duties enlarged, and their efficiency raised. And my last observation on this subject is that as to the conditions of service in the Army and the terms of enlistment of

¹ Newport, November 30th, 1903.

² Newport, November 30th, 1903.

³ Edinburgh, November 5th, 1904.

recruits, the very kernel of the whole question upon which, in this country with a Voluntary Army, its efficiency and its maintenance depend, let these be regulated, not according to the theories of smart writers in the Press, but according to the watchful experience of competent soldiers, and competent men at headquarters."¹

“How have the Government fulfilled this self-imposed function of Army reform? They have done four things in the four years that have elapsed. They have created a great system of army corps—that was the first thing. Then they have demolished the system of army corps that they themselves had erected—that was the second thing. They have made the Army a short-service army; and, as the consequence, as everybody told them, they have dried up the sources of drafts for our foreign garrisons, and have produced chaos in the task of replenishing and keeping in efficiency the Army in India; and they have incurred great expenditure in redressing their own blunders—that was the third thing. And now they have flown to the opposite extreme, and have ordained that the Army shall be wholly a long-service army.”²

“The Army Estimates in the last year of the Liberal Government were eighteen millions. They are now thirty-four and a quarter millions, an increase of 90 per cent. The men were in that year 155,000. This year they are 235,000 odd, an increase of 50 per cent., so that whereas the number of men is only increased by 50 per cent. the administration has been such that the cost has been increased by 90 per cent.”³

“We all desire to see a very strong Navy having the full command of the sea. It is necessary for our position, for the nature and character of our Empire, for our immense trade, as well as for the protection of our shores in this island.”

“But the increase of our Navy estimates has been 90 per cent. since 1895. Is this race forced upon us by the ambitions and actions of other Powers, or is it in any degree our ambitions, our actions, that are forcing it upon them? That is the thing which ought to be brought home to the conscience of the country. As a matter of fact, the increase of the naval estimates of Germany, Russia, and France has only been 50 per cent. There used to be a standard that we should have as many ships as any other two Powers, but last year France, Germany, and Russia combined spent £32,000,000, and in this year we are spending £34,500,000, so that we are exceeding the expenditure of the three Powers. This may be proved to us to be necessary. But one would think that so great an increase of Navy Estimates would be accompanied by a corresponding diminution of Army Estimates, because if we have the command of the seas, and our shores are therefore all but absolutely safe, there seems to be surely room for a large reduction in Army expenditure.”⁴

¹ Edinburgh, November 5th, 1901.

² Norwich, October 26th, 1904.

³ Leeds, March 13th, 1903.

⁴ Leeds, March 13th, 1903.

“The Navy is not only our first line of defence, it is our second and third as well. But there is another line of defence, which comes before the Army and Navy, and that is ‘friendly relations with other countries.’ Would to heaven that this nation of ours in the years to come might regain something of its old fame, when it stood among the nations for the belief that right-doing and honest-dealing are the surest tower of strength, and that no object to be sought by human statesmanship transcends in importance the cultivation of relations of mutual confidence and respect between the families of mankind. In this view—and it is the true view and the highest view—what do we not owe to his Majesty the King, who has set us all an example, and who, by throwing his personal influence unreservedly on the side of peaceful settlement, has done more to strengthen his country than all the plans of soldier, sailor, or Minister have effected?”¹

“It has long been the avowed policy of the Liberal party to have a frank and sincere and honourable understanding with the great power of Russia, which meets us on so many points in Asia. When we were in office an arrangement was carried out with regard to an old and stubborn question in Central Asia which has settled the matter ever since, and if the same course had been taken in China many evils would have been avoided. Why should we not be cordial friends with the Germans, our Teutonic brethren on the Continent? Our commercial rivalry, no doubt, is keen, but it need not make us anything but friends. I protest against the culpable bandying of angry recriminations with which the press in both countries has tried, but happily in vain, to arouse a factitious hostility between us. As to France, I am too true a son of Caledonia to have anything but gratitude and affection for the ancient ally of my country. With the France of to-day we have no quarrel whatever. We in this land of inherited and settled liberty recognize the French people as being on the Continent the foremost champions, after much toil and storm, of enlightened freedom, and the large and happily ever-growing intercourse, commercial and social, between the two neighbouring and neighbourly peoples bring us closer every day.

“The insane race and rivalry of armaments does not conduce to the strengthening of these friendly relations. The authoritative unanimous voice and opinion and direction of all the Great Powers of the world demanded at the Hague their limitation for the material and moral welfare of humanity. Overtures to this effect have been made and rejected. Let us make them again and again until we succeed. I cannot express my views on this matter more forcibly than by quoting the solemn warning and advice of Lord Salisbury, uttered in November, 1897. ‘The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort of mutual destruction, which will be fatal to Christian civilization, is that the Powers may gradually be brought

¹ High Wycombe, February 9th, 1905.

to act together in a friendly spirit on all subjects of difference that may arise, until at last they shall be welded together in some international constitution which shall give to the world, as the result of their great strength, a long spell of unfettered commerce, prosperous trade, and continued peace.'¹ A great step was accomplished for civilization and humanity when a shrine was set up consecrated to the common interests, the common conscience, and the common purposes of the human race."

III.—Ireland and South Africa.

"THE question of the better government of Ireland directly and imperatively concerns both parties. That has been admitted by us when we voted for the amendment to the Address moved by Mr. Redmond. The present system of government in Ireland is in opposition to the will of the Irish people, and gives them no voice in the management of their own affairs; that the system is consequently ineffective and extravagantly costly, does not enjoy the confidence of any section of the population, and is productive of universal discontent and unrest, and has proved to be incapable of satisfactorily promoting the material and intellectual progress of the people. The truth of this indictment has practically been admitted by the Government when they made Sir Antony MacDonnell's appointment, and has been confirmed by the justification offered for the recent Irish policy of the Government by Lord Lansdowne. The Unionist party and the Unionist Government handed over the control of the local affairs of the counties of Ireland to the very men whom they denounced as unworthy of trust—and Dublin Castle itself, on examination of the manner in which those affairs were controlled, has expressed its approval of their management. Is that no new element in the case?"¹

"They have advanced them a hundred millions to buy out the landlords. Who, after that, can pretend that the Irish are not to be trusted? I rejoice for my part that this party—we can hardly now call it the Unionist party—let us take a convenient phrase—this *ad hoc* party—has at last purged itself from the pestilent and pernicious prejudices which have for the last few years poisoned its relations with Ireland."¹

"The principle of self-government, the principle that the elective element shall be the governing element in Ireland, remains, in my view, the only principle consonant with our constitutional habits and practice, and, above all, the only principle that will ever work. Until the principle of representative authority is applied in such a form as shall give the people of Ireland the effective management of Irish affairs you will go on as you like with a system like the present. I would be for adopting such methods, and such a plan, as may appear to me most likely to bring to a successful issue

¹ Leeds. March 19th, 1903.

² Scarborough, May 15th.

this principle, and the policy arising from it. If I am, however, asked to state details as to the particular plan or method, I altogether decline to do it. There is a great mass of arrears of British legislation to be dealt with, and there are other questions calling for consideration, one of the most urgent being the education question. For twenty years of effort and sacrifice the Liberal party, amid misrepresentation and vilification, have contended for the cause of good government in Ireland, and as time and circumstances allow we will prosecute the same beneficent cause, not without hope, thank Heaven, that both parties in the State, as the goal to be reached becomes better realized, will unite in the effort to attain it.”¹

The indictment brought by the Report of Lord Elgin’s Committee on the conduct of the war lies, not at the door of any office or department; it lies at the door of the Cabinet itself. **The Government and the South African War.** The charge against them is that they never counted the cost in men or money; that they undertook an enterprise far exceeding their provision for it; that they erred against the clearest light; that they had full information of the nature and requirements of the war and disregarded it; that they slammed the door against unpalatable opinion; that they listened to those outside the official circle who assured them the Boers would not fight, but would yield to threats and bluster; and that therefore they went lighthearted into the war—that is the charge against them, written on every page of this Blue-book. It was no system, no office, no soldier, no civilian that brought the catastrophe—it was the Cabinet itself.”²

“If we are to maintain the political supremacy of the British power in South Africa it can only be by conciliation and friendship; **The Future of South Africa.** it will never be by domination and ascendancy, because the British power cannot, there or elsewhere, rest securely unless it rests upon the willing consent of a sympathetic and contented people.”³

“The Dutchmen at the Cape are Europeans like ourselves, capable of the highest European civilization, endowed with European virtues and European faults. We have got to live with them. They are to be the instruments in common with our own countrymen in the government of the country. If we are to maintain our sway in South Africa at all it must be by their willing help; it cannot be in spite of their enmity: but you may be sure that they will never become either contented or loyal under a system of government which they at least regard as government by red tape, if not government by barbed wire.”⁴

“Therefore we should display not the temper of dictation or subjugation, but the temper of respect and amity towards men who have proved themselves brave foes in the past, and whom we ought to make, ay, must make, because

¹ House of Commons, April 13th, 1905.

³ Oxford, March 2nd, 1901.

² Newport, November 30th, 1903.

⁴ Bradford, May 15th, 1901.

the maintenance of our power in South Africa will brook no other alternative—whom we must make into loyal and faithful and friendly fellow-citizens in the future.”¹

“We always maintained that as soon as the war was over, as soon as it can possibly be done, full representative government should be granted—the same as our colonies elsewhere enjoy. We believe in self-government. We treat it not as an odious necessity, not as a foolish theory to which unfortunately the British Empire is committed. We treat it as a blessing, and as a healing, a sobering, and a strengthening influence.”²

“Therefore, whether with excuse or without excuse, there ought—if we are to keep in view the contentment and prosperity and safety of our Empire in South Africa—to be no delay beyond the pure necessities of order in granting those free institutions which are associated with the very name of a British colony, wherever the main portion of the inhabitants are of European blood.”³

The Liberal Party and Chinese Labour. “The position of the Liberal party was that the introduction of Chinese labour could not come to good. Their hands were free and their conscience was clear. They never sanctioned the war, and they had given no sanction to this last and culminating step. If and when the time comes for us to take over the responsibility of government, we shall approach the question from the point of view of the permanent interests of the country, and not merely from the point of view of the temporary exigencies of those who financed the gold mines. For my part I see no light for the Transvaal until a full and encouraging measure—an honest measure—of self-government is granted, which will enable white men of all races to join hands in restoring the fortunes of what is now their common country.”⁴

The High Commissioner-ship. “The representative of the Crown ought to be a man who does not favour either the anti-Dutch or the anti-British faction. He ought to be absolutely impartial, and avoid even the imputation of partisanship, and if it is so, and it is universally so—and whenever that rule has been departed from disaster of one sort or another has followed—if that be so in ordinary times, in a case like the present, where we can only maintain our position in South Africa by succeeding in reconciling the two races, surely the negotiations should be entrusted to some one who is acceptable to both. The merest common sense and worldly prudence require it.”⁵

“Lord Selborne was for many years associated with Mr. Chamberlain in his duties. He made a speech in which he said, ‘They heard a great deal of hysterical nonsense as to conciliation.’ ‘Hysterical nonsense as to conciliation!’ What a sentiment to come from a Minister who has been

¹ Oxford, March 2nd, 1901.

³ Oxford, March 2nd, 1901.

² Bradford, May 15th, 1901.

⁴ Dundee, November 18th, 1904.

⁵ Dunfermline, December 10th, 1901.

engaged in the conduct of those delicate affairs! May we not find in it the keynote of much of the policy which has been pursued? It is as if one would say, 'What is the good of having enemies, either in private life or in public life, or as director of Imperial affairs, if you cannot trample upon them?'¹

"What we want in South Africa to-day is another Elgin, pouring the oil of good sense and sound constitutional principles upon the troubled waters in which the affairs of that continent have been plunged, and bringing a like measure as in Canada of loyalty and strength to the Empire."²

"The Unionist Government have amply shown their hand. We know now what their ideals in administration are. If our party had any such opportunity, I hope it would have the courage to boldly to set in contrast our ideals, which are the very opposite of theirs, and to carry out those doctrines of freedom and equal justice which underlie our creed. Freedom is our keynote. Freedom, yes, and equality; and the louder we sound it the better our case will be. And if it were the lot of the Liberal party to give in its turn to the country ten years, or—let us be modest—five years of Liberal administration, let them not be years of compromising or of temporizing, but let them be years of resolute action. Then at the end of that time, so many of us as shall survive to see it, we may not have created a new heaven and a new earth, but we shall be able to point to burdens removed, to liberties extended, to opportunities equalized, to the resources of our country more fully developed, comfort better diffused, independence encouraged, and by these peaceful and quiet methods an accretion of strength given to the Empire through the happiness and welfare of our people."³

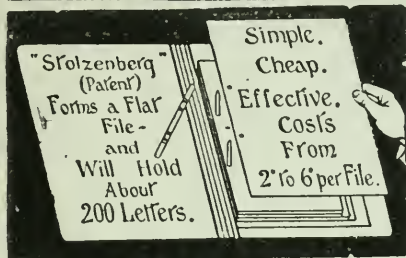
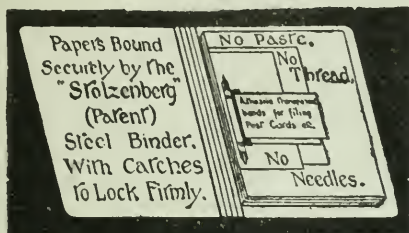
¹ Bradford, May 15th, 1901.

² Dunfermline, December 10th, 1901.

³ Edinburgh, November 17th, 1904.

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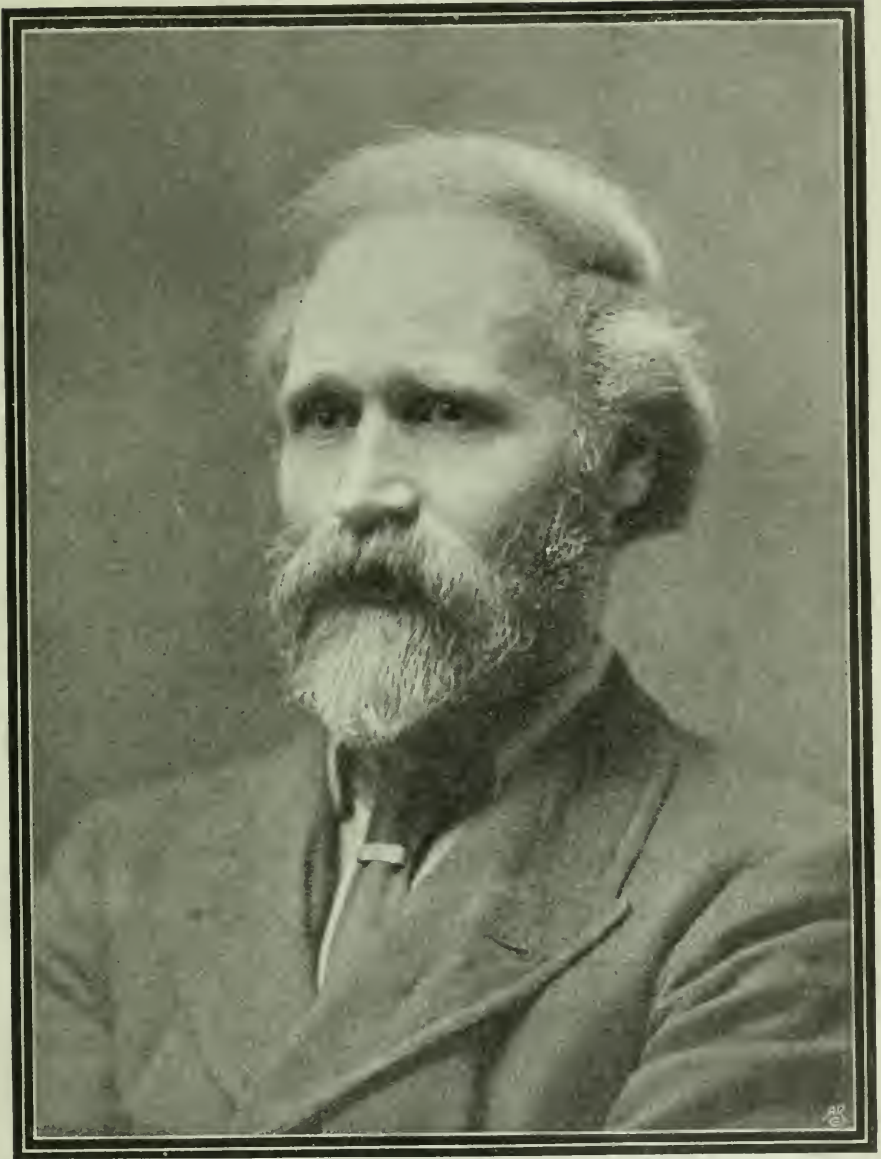
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THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN.

A Plea for Woman's Suffrage.

By Mr. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, LONDON.

May 13th, 1905.

ONE PENNY.



No. 1 of this Series was "Why I am a Free Trader": by WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P. No. 2 was entitled "Leaders in the Lords: Earl Spencer and Earl Rosebery." No. 3 was "The Physical Improvement of the People": by Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P. No. 4 was "The Financial Case for Home Rule": by JOHN REDMOND, M.P. No. 5 was "The Next Prime Minister: Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman." All these may still be had.

MR. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

MR. KEIR HARDIE is one of the few prophets who have found their way into the House of Commons. That does not mean that he is a political tipster predicting coming events. He belongs to the order of the seers. If the major and minor prophets of the Old Testament and the fisherfolk who became apostles in the New Testament were to rise from their graves and enter the House of Commons, they would probably find themselves more at home in the company of Keir Hardie than in that of any other member of the House. It is his distinction to be a prophet among politicians, and a politician among prophets. And the strange thing is that the prophet has not spoiled the politician, nor the politician the prophet.

Like most prophets, he is somewhat difficult to get on with. There is in his composition a trace of ancient Ishmael. He reminds one at his best moments of the prophet Elijah; but sometimes he is a twentieth-century edition of Habakkuk Mucklewrath. If Mrs. Lynn Linton's Joshua Davidson had not perished beneath the hobnailed boots of a Church and King mob, he might have preceded Mr. Keir Hardie as founder of the Independent Labour Party. He is no prophet of smooth things, this Caledonian seer, and he is no respecter of persons. He has flouted everything and everybody, from the Prince of Wales to the Leaders of the Liberal Party. It is the way with prophets. Nothing is sacred to them,

because everything is sacred, and when they are on the warpath in the name of the Lord they smite and spare not.

It is thirteen years since Keir Hardie sent a shudder of horror through the Mother of all Parliaments by presenting himself at the bar of the House to take the oath, on his election as Member for North-West Ham, clad in the costume of his class. George Fox's leather breeches never created such a sensation as Keir Hardie's blue Scotch cap. Parliamentary Mrs. Grundy almost fainted when she scanned the costume of the new-comer. He was "dressed in blue serge double-breasted jacket and waistcoat, fawn-coloured trousers, and, in the place of the decorous starched linen, a striped flannel shirt, with a coloured scarf tied round its collar in a sailor knot." It was as if the *avant courier* of the social revolution had knocked at the portals of Parliament.

When he began to speak, his rough Doric was not attuned to the piping of courtiers. Did he not make one unreportable speech on a motion for a wedding dowry of an August Personage, in which the said illustrious bridegroom was, in the rudest vernacular, accused of bigamy? while Mrs. Grundy, shocked into speechlessness, glared unutterable things.

If Keir Hardie spared not princes in his wrath, he was as fierce with prime ministers in his hot displeasure. One sentence of an article which he contributed to a magazine in 1893

still dwells in my memory. He was writing on the Church and the Labour Problem. He said :

"Are we agreed on the treatment to be meted out to the owners of slum property? I, a rough impulsive man of the world, would not remain a member of any club which admitted to membership his lordship the Marquis of Salisbury, who was convicted the other day in a London police court of letting property unfit for human habitation. Will the Church of England, of which I believe Lord Salisbury is a communicant, make an example of the illustrious sinner by expelling him?"

He was as plainspoken in his dealing with men of his own side of the House. His open letter to Mr. Morley in 1903, "Ishmaelitism Justified," was a very vigorous piece of writing. Mr. Morley had deprecated the Independent Labour movement, which tended to make the Labour party "a sullen and scowling class sitting apart." Keir Hardie replied :

"Even a 'sullen and scowling class sitting apart' would be preferable to a besotted and unthinking class dragged hither and thither by unscrupulous guides. Most of your speakers were living in a far-off past. They reminded me of a gathering of ghosts of other days revisiting the scenes of former triumphs. Their speeches and battle cries were all of the past. The men by whom you were surrounded had no message for the present, no inspiring hope for the future."

Keir Hardie is emphatically a man of the future. He sees visions of the coming time. He is, therefore, eminently fit to be selected as one of our Coming Men to deal with one of

the most important of all our Coming Questions.

No one should ever look at Keir Hardie without remembering the pit from which he was digged. He was sent down the coal mine when a bit laddie of eight. He never had a day's schooling in his life. His mother must have taught the lad to read, for Keir Hardie says he cannot go back in memory to a time when he could not read. He finished that part of his education by reading from the picture books in the booksellers' shop windows. He was twenty-three before he left the pit. To-day he is a man of culture, much superior to the majority of the college-bred members among whom he sits. He contributes frequently to our first-class magazines. He is a forcible, lucid, and occasionally eloquent speaker. He is the founder of a party, the leader of the disinherited of the land. He was born the son of a vigorous and militant atheist, who confounded the Calvinism of "Holy Willie's Prayer" with the faith of the Author of the Sermon on the Mount. He is now an earnest Christian, who ceaselessly urges the Church to regard itself as an organized army of people seeking to establish God's kingdom on earth by every legitimate means, of which political action is one of the most powerful.

He learned to speak in public at temperance meetings. How he learned to read I do not know; but he was seventeen before he knew how to sign his name. But before he was twenty-three he had not only learned how to read and write, but he had taught himself shorthand. When he had a little spare time in the pit, he took his pit lamp,

blackened with its smoke the white stone, and scratched upon its surface the shorthand characters with a pin. It recalls familiar stories of the early struggles of some of the great painters.

James Keir Hardie was born in a pit village in Lanarkshire in 1856. His father was a ship's carpenter, and after having been six months unemployed in the city of Glasgow, and the family undergoing much hardship, Hardie *père* went to sea, and the family removed back into the country. Young Hardie had been at work as errand boy and rivet-heater for some eighteen months, and now, just as he had turned his ninth year, he entered the coal pits. When he was twenty-three he left the hewing of coal and became secretary to a Miners' Union. Two years later he betook himself to journalism, and for four years toiled as sub-editor of a local provincial newspaper. After a brief period of agitation, he aspired to a seat in Parliament when only thirty-two. He stood for Mid-Lanark in 1888, was defeated as a matter of course, but being in no whit disheartened, he went back to his political spade work, and in 1892 was elected as member for South-West Ham by a majority of 1,232.

In 1895 he was defeated, together with twenty-seven other Independent Labour candidates.

During the trying times of the Boer war Mr. Keir Hardie's conduct was simply splendid. He was not content with emitting a protest against the infamy of the attack upon the Boers and then acquiescing in the prosecution of a war which he believed to be unjust. He was a stop-the-war man of the first rank. He spoke in all parts of the country

in denunciation of the great South African crime, and then, to the amazement of the Jingoës, he was returned for Merthyr Tydvil, in the Khaki Election of 1900, by a majority of over 1,700.

This is not a biography of Mr. Hardie. It merely is an introduction and an explanation. His political views were thus defined by himself when he first entered Parliament:—

“ I am a Socialist, and until industry is organized on a co-operative basis, wherein men shall work, not to make profit, but to produce the necessaries of life for the community, the evils complained of will never be eradicated. But much might be done by providing work for the unemployed on home colonies, where those out of work could provide for themselves the necessaries of life. A minimum wage might also with advantage—especially to working girls—be established, making it a penal offence for an employer to engage a worker under a sum sufficient to ensure the necessaries of life. A restriction of the hours of labour to eight per day, or less, in dangerous and unhealthy occupations; a drastic reform of the land laws which would stop or tend to minimize at least the influx of the agricultural labourers to the town; the prohibition of work in dwelling-houses, and the erection of workshops by the municipality wherein work now performed at home could be undertaken, these having *crèches* attached for the benefit of women with children called upon to earn a living for themselves; and the establishment by the State of provision for the disabled, whether by old age, sickness, or accident—all these would tend to check the deterioration now going on, and give

the workers an opportunity to work out their industrial freedom on the lines which experience will suggest as being the best. The municipalities should provide homes which would conform in every particular to sanitary laws, and provide such appliances as are deemed absolutely necessary in middle-class houses, so that the people, and especially the working women, would be able to maintain a sense of cleanliness, which is utterly impossible to-day. Recreation-rooms and reading-rooms should be abundantly provided, especially in poor quarters, together with small open spaces laid down in grass for children to play upon, and thus preserve their contact with nature and mother earth, the loss of which is accountable for much of the atheism which is a natural product of city life."

The other day at Manchester, at a demonstration of the Independent Labour Party, he was presented with an address, illuminated by Mr. Walter Crane, and signed, among others, by Alfred Russell Wallace, George Meredith, Dr. Clifford, and other well-known leading reformers. The address stated that for twenty years he had occupied positions of responsibility in the Labour and Socialist movement, and had toiled incessantly as a working-class leader to arouse and organize the people to accomplish their political and social freedom. All who signed the address joined in declaring their high appreciation of Mr. Keir Hardie's great work as a pioneer, and in recording their appreciation of his services in the cause of international peace, his championship in the cause of the unemployed, and his splendid advocacy of the movement for Labour representation. The tribute was not

undeserved. He has been a good and faithful servant, and even those who differ from him must needs cry "Well done."

In the House of Commons this session he has distinctly gained ground, and in the next House he will be one of the recognized leaders of the extreme left.

He has thought out a scheme for the better organization of labour, which he described in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, and subsequently expounded to the House of Commons.

Following out the recommendations of the Committee on Afforestation, Keir Hardie advocated the acquisition by the Government of three large estates of waste land of 100,000 acres each—one in Scotland, one in Yorkshire or Lancashire, and one in Wales. The land could be bought outright for 25s. per acre, and from five to ten thousand men could be immediately set to work on each of the estates to prepare land for afforestation. The imports of timber, especially of fir-wood trees, amounted last year in value to £21,000,000 sterling, and this wood might just as well be grown in our own country as in foreign lands. He also proposed the creation of a new county authority for the special purpose of administering the Acts already in existence in regard to small holdings, allotments, and technical instruction, and he would also confer on those bodies the powers already possessed by boards of guardians for dealing with the unemployed. The powers in question were very extensive, and included the acquisition of fifty acres of land in each parish, the building of factories and workshops, and, in fact,

everything necessary for setting the unemployed to work, not in the form of pauper relief, but as workmen employed for wages. He was not proposing colonies, but the placing and settling on the land as peasant cultivators of at least one million people. The money necessary for carrying out these ideas might be found in the proportion of two-thirds by the State and one-third by the localities, and would in the end prove, as all municipal undertakings had hitherto done, a profitable investment bringing in revenue.

Whatever may be thought of the practicability of some of his ideas, he can at least claim for them that at present his is the only comprehensive proposal before the country. It holds the field for the time, and we

shall hear much more about it at the coming election.

Mr. Keir Hardie is somewhat unduly nervous about identifying himself with the Liberals. He only consented to deal with the Woman's claim for citizenship in this series of articles on being satisfied that the Coming Men were not being selected exclusively from the Liberal party.

That, however, is perhaps only the natural consequence of the preponderance of the well-to-do in the Liberal ranks. He is not the spokesman of the Comfortables. He is the voice of the Uncomfortables, and he will make many of us very uncomfortable before he is done with us.

He is married, and has three children. He lives at Cumnock, in Ayrshire.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN.

A PLEA FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

By Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.

It is not my purpose to write a learned dissertation or even an elaborate essay on the Woman question; this has been done by men and women well qualified for the task, and doubtless will be again. My present object is to re-state in plain and homely language the case for Woman Suffrage. To deal with the Woman question as a whole would involve a long inquiry into the causes responsible for the differences in the status of the sexes, including woman's economic position, the marriage laws, and our social polity. These are all subjects interwoven with the position of women, but they are beyond the scope of my ability, and for the moment I leave them aside and confine myself to the one question of their political enfranchisement. I do so mainly because that is a question ripe for settlement by legislation. The other questions hinted at may be left to evolve their own solution as time and chance determine. None of them are within the ken of politics, nor should they be brought into the political arena until women are in a position to influence equally with men the creation of opinion upon them, and, where necessary, the legislation which may be required to assist in solving them. John Stuart Mill declared it to have been one of his earliest, as it remained one of his strongest, convictions, "that the principles which regulate the existing social relations between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—is wrong in itself, and now one of the chief hindrances to human improvement; and that it ought to be replaced by principles of perfect equality admitting no power or privilege on the one side nor disability on the other." I hold it to be true with those who say that the foundation upon which this equality is to be reared is the political enfranchisement of women.

In sentiment we have advanced somewhat since 1790, when a learned writer of the period explained that people who should not be included in the county franchise were those who "lie under natural incapacities, and therefore cannot exercise a sound discretion, or (who are) so much under the influence of others that they cannot have a will of their own in the choice of candidates. Of the former description are women, infants, idiots, lunatics, of the latter, persons receiving alms and revenue offices." We do not now speak of women as being in the same category as "idiots" and "lunatics," but for political purposes we treat them as if they were.

No one seeks to deny the existence of differences between the sexes, differences subtle, deep seated, and ineradicable. But these, being admitted, afford no justification for the usurpation by man of the right to say what

duties and responsibilities woman may be allowed to undertake, and what must be withheld from her because of her sex. Such a theory can only be upheld on the old tradition of the East that woman is one of the lower animals over whom lordly man was given dominion. The harem is the logical outcome of this belief. It is only by removing the disabilities and restraints imposed upon woman, and permitting her to enter freely into competition with man in every sphere of human activity, that her true position and function in the economy of life will ultimately be settled. We can at present form no conception of what woman is capable of being or doing. We have no data upon which to base any real conclusions. Nowhere is woman treated as the free and equal companion of man. Amongst coloured peoples living in a state of nature and in a tribal environment which has evolved itself, and wherein custom is the only law, the woman, though far from being the degraded creature which she has so often been pictured by superficial observers, is still her husband's drudge, and frequently a part of his wealth. In the military state of social evolution, or the age of chivalry as it has been dubbed by persons of a poetic temperament and a vivid imagination, woman is the weaker and more spiritualized sex, requiring to be protected by her lord, and almost worshipped as a superior creation. "Half angel, half idiot" aptly describes this conception of woman. This is but a perverted way of declaring her inferiority; the homage paid to her is much like that we should pay to a child: in no sense is it a recognition of equality; very often it is the exact opposite. In modern life we get back to the savage stage. Woman of the working class is again the drudge who does the menial work. Her husband works for, and is dependent for the opportunity to work, upon a master; his wife works for, and is dependent for her livelihood to, a husband. That there are varying degrees of this feeling of subjection goes without saying, and I think it could be shown that the position of women, as of most other things, has always been better, more near an equality with man, in Celtic than in non-Celtic races or tribes. Thus in Scotland a woman speaks of her husband as her "man," whilst in Staffordshire he is always spoken of as "the master."

The universality of this subjection of woman is assumed by many as an infallible testimony to the truth of the theory that woman must in some way be inferior to man. Were it not so, say these quidnuncs, there would be some exceptions to prove the contrary. They overlook the one obvious explanation which explains everything—Motherhood. In the early days of the race, the days of the huntsman and the warrior, when the spoils of war and the trophies of the chase were the only wealth of nations, child-bearing must have been a serious handicap to the woman: add to this the fact that war meant prisoners, and that from the very first, probably, even when men captured in warfare were killed as an incumbrance, women, for reasons which will be understood without being stated, were spared by their captors, and, coming down to later times, when men captives were made slaves and women-raiding became a favourite pastime, we can see explanation enough of the position which in process of time woman came to occupy, and from

which she is only now slowly and toilsomely emerging. Already we see how the intensity of the struggle for political recognition is developing, in individual cases, those qualities of mind and brain which man has been wont to assume as being his special monopoly; and from these cases we may infer how richly endowed the field of human thought will become when enriched by the products of the brains of men and women working together on terms of equality, and free from the debasing and sinister influences which subjection, in any form, imposes alike upon the subdued and the subduer. So true it is that one end of the chain which binds the slave is fastened round the life of his master, that the emancipation of women will also infallibly give freedom to the man.

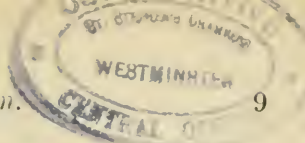
Curious are the changes which a quarter of a century produces in the political horizon. Questions arise, no larger than a man's hand at first, and are driven by the force of agitation nearer the arena in which the political strife of the day is waged, and keep gathering size as they approach, until they obscure everything else. They are debated, wrangled over, and made leading issues at General Elections, and even whilst the strife which their coming has caused waxes hot, they begin to move away from sight without having been resolved. Disestablishment and Republicanism are questions which illustrate my meaning here. But so also does Woman Suffrage. In the days of the franchise agitations, the enfranchisement of woman, promoted by Mill and strenuously supported by Fawcett, Dr. Pankhurst, and other leaders of reform, promised to become a question of first political importance, but with the passing of the one and then of the other of these friends of the movement, leaving no successors to carry on their tradition, it gradually passed into semi-obscurity. As it is again emerging and showing fresh vitality,¹ it may not be amiss to briefly record its history, particularly as it connects itself with the various Reform Bills.

In the Reform Act of 1832 the word "male" was interpolated before "persons." Never before and never since² has the phrase "male persons" appeared in any Statute of the Realm. By this Act, therefore, women were legally disfranchised for the first time in the history of the English constitution. In 1851 Lord Brougham's Act was passed, providing that the word "man" should always include "woman," except where otherwise stated. That seemed to clear the ground, and give women the same legal status as men. But, alas!

In 1867 the Representation of the People Act came before the House. John Stuart Mill's amendment, that it should be made expressly to include women, was defeated, but so also was the amendment that the phrase "male persons" of 1832 should be replaced. The word "man" was used

¹ On Friday, May 12th, when the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill was down for second reading, there were 300 women in the lobbies canvassing for the Bill, and when it was talked out, these marched out and organized a meeting of protest in the open air. The opposition to the Bill came from both sides of the House in about equal proportions.

² Whilst these sheets are being revised a Bill comes to me, introduced by W. R. Cremer, M.P., and others, which proposes to confer the vote upon every "man" and "male person" of full age.



instead. During the discussion the Hon. John Denman, Justice of the Common Pleas, asked the following question :—

“ Why, instead of the words ‘ male person ’ of the Act of 1832, the word ‘ man ’ had been substituted in the present Bill? In the fifth clause he found that after saying that every ‘ man ’ should be entitled to be registered, it proceeds to say, ‘ or a MALE PERSON in any University who has passed any senior middle examination.’ In the light of Lord Brougham’s Act, if the Court of Queen’s Bench had to decide to-morrow on the construction of these clauses, they would be constrained to hold that they conferred the suffrage on female persons, as well as on males.”

The Government did not answer this question, and passed the Bill as it stood. It was thought, therefore, that women were now entitled to vote, and in Manchester 5,347 women got on the register as voters. In Salford 1,500 (about) were registered, and large numbers in other places. Great uncertainty prevailed as to how to treat them, but most revising barristers threw them out. The Manchester women consolidated their claims, and appealed against the decision, and the case of *Chorlton v. Lings* was heard in 1868.

The case was tried in the Court of Common Pleas, with Mr. Coleridge, afterwards Lord Coleridge, and the late Dr. Pankhurst representing the women. It was argued that inasmuch as women had in the middle ages been recognized as voters by the State, and as that right had never been expressly taken away, therefore they had a *prima facie* right to vote. Further, it was contended that under Lord Brougham’s Act referred to above, the Franchise Act of 1867 must apply to women, since the term used was “ men,” and not “ male persons,” as in the Act of 1832. Despite this pleading, the judges decided that women had no statutory right to be recognized as citizens, and that until that right was expressly conferred upon them by Act of Parliament, they must remain outside the pale of the franchise.

In 1884 Mr. Gladstone procured the rejection of the amendment to his County Franchise Bill, which would have enfranchised women, by threatening to abandon the Bill if the amendment was carried. In 1889 came the case of *Beresford Hope v. Lady Sandhurst*, in which it was decided that women are incapacitated from being elected members of a County Council. The case is important from the point of view of the Franchise (Parliamentary) question, because the judges quoted, approved, and confirmed the decision in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*. One of the judges, Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, in delivering his judgment, said :

“ I take the first proposition to be that laid down by Justice Wills in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*. I take it that by neither the common law nor the constitution of this country from the beginning of the common law until now can a woman be entitled to exercise any public function. Justice Wills said so in that case, and a more learned judge never lived. He took notice of the case of the Countess of Pembroke in the county of Westmoreland, who was hereditary sheriff, which he says was

an exceptional case. The cases of an overseer and a constable were before him, and what I deduce from his judgment is, that for such somewhat obscure offices as these, exercised often in a remote part of the country, where nobody else could have been found who could exercise them, women had been admitted into them, by way of exception, and that, striking out those exceptions, the act of voting in such matters being a public function, *primá facie* and according to the constitutional and common law, a woman cannot exercise it. But that case goes further. It says that this being the common law of England, when you have a Statute which deals with the exercise of public functions, unless that Statute expressly gives power to women to exercise them, it is to be taken that the true construction is, that the powers given are confined to men, and that Lord Brougham's Act does not apply."

The judges had in this case to interpret the Municipal Corporations Act, in which the word "PERSON" is used throughout. In addition, there is an interpretation clause (63rd section), which provides that for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal election words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women. It was held that the right to be ELECTED was not conferred by the Act, but only the right to VOTE, the word "person" not being regarded by the judges as including women, Lord Justice Fry going so far as to say :

"I regard the 63rd section as ascertaining both affirmatively and negatively the rights which have been conferred upon women ; ascertaining them affirmatively by express statement, and ascertaining them negatively by necessary implication. What is given to them is the right to vote, what is denied by the necessary implication are all the other rights which may be conferred by the Statute. I do not regard the negative implication arising from that section (63rd) as applying to the whole Act, as applying to crimes, or to the obligations on the duties of witnesses or matters of that sort, but I regard it as applying to the RIGHTS granted by that Statute."

In Miss Hall's case, 1900, the right of a woman to become a law agent in Scotland was denied by the judges on the ground that "person" when it is a case of exercising a public function means "MALE PERSON." The judges relied on the case of *Chorlton v. Lings* as the ground of their decision. Now, in view of these decisions, the situation is quite clear.

A woman, for the purposes of citizenship, has no legal existence in England, and has to be created before she can be enfranchised. To the uninitiated this may appear absurd and ridiculous, but it the plain, unvarnished truth none the less. A woman may be a criminal, a queen, a tax and rate payer and owner of property, but she may not be a citizen of Great Britain and Ireland until a right to become such has been created by Act of Parliament. If only people would bear this fact in mind they would be saved from much error when considering her claims to the franchise.

During the past two sessions of Parliament a measure has been introduced, at the instigation of the Independent Labour Party, having this for its object. It is a Bill of one clause, which reads as follows :—

“ In all Acts relating to the qualifications and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.”

There are those who see in this innocent-looking measure a sinister attempt to extend and strengthen the property qualification, and by enfranchising propertied women enable these to range themselves on the side of the reactionaries in opposing the enfranchisement of working-class women. Needless to add, a strong section of the Liberal Press adopts and enforces this mis-statement with all the ingenuity which a fertile and untrained imagination can lend to a bad cause. One would have thought the record of the Liberal party in connection with Woman Suffrage would have chastened the ardour of those organs of Liberalism which are opposing this Bill in the interests of “ true female suffrage ”; but the gift of perspective is rare in politics, and a strict desire for accuracy an inconvenient failing when there are party ends to serve. The late Mr. Gladstone, as already stated, threatened to abandon his Reform Bill in 1884 if the Woman's Enfranchisement Amendment were carried. There have been three Conservative premiers who have publicly committed themselves, in speech at least (none of them have acted), to this reform, which has yet to find the first Liberal premier who will say a word in its favour.

Any one who takes the trouble to read the Bill quoted above will note that it does not propose any franchise qualification, but asks that, whatever the qualification, women shall enjoy the franchise on the same basis as men. It is a Bill which only proposes to do one thing, and that is, to remove the sex disability which debars a woman, because she is a woman, from becoming a voter. If the qualification for men be a property one, it shall be the same for women, no more and no less; and if it be a manhood suffrage, it shall also be a womanhood. A woman may have the brain of a Bacon, the talent of a Shakespeare, the eloquence of a Demosthenes, and the wealth of a Cræsus all combined, but being a woman she may not vote for a member of Parliament, and this Bill proposes to remove the disability which stands in the way of her becoming a citizen; to remove her from the sphere of “ idiots, lunatics, and paupers,” and to recognize that, woman though she be, she is a human being who may become a citizen.

And now let us ascertain, if we can, what women would be enfranchised under the terms of the Bill quoted above.

There are four main heads under which the franchise qualifications fall to be grouped—(1) Owners of property; (2) Householders; (3) Lodgers; (4) Service. One set of opponents of the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill

say that it would be from classes one and three that the new citizens would be drawn, which, if true, would leave working-class women out in the cold. Few working women own property, and not many earn wages enough to pay the four shillings a week for unfurnished apartments, which is necessary to qualify for the lodger franchise. Rich men, they assert, would be able to put their wives and daughters on as voters and outvoters, which would tend to greatly increase an evil which is already of sufficient magnitude. Fortunately, we have already an index to guide us as to the extent to which this statement is true, even were the worst fears of our opponents to be realized. There are, roughly, 7,000,000 electors in Great Britain, of whom 220,000 are lodger voters. A very large proportion of these are workmen, and it is doubtful whether rich men's sons, qualifying from their fathers' property, account for more than 20,000 of the whole. Even were a like number of daughters to be put upon the voters' roll, they would not, save in those few constituencies where the property vote is already overwhelming, and where, therefore, they could do no harm—save in these few cases, I say, they would not constitute an appreciable fraction of any constituency. As for the outvoters, we may surely anticipate, with some degree of assurance, that the coming Liberal Government will at least put an end to their existence, and so we need not worry ourselves about them one way or the other. In so far as the service franchise will give women the right to vote, those brought in will be working women, and we may pit these against the daughters of the rich. It will, I think, be concluded that the great bulk of those who will be enfranchised by the Bill will be householders, and here, I repeat, we have reliable data upon which to base our conclusions. Women may not be elected to a town or burgh council, but she may vote in the election of such councils. Owing to a difference of opinion in the ranks of the Independent Labour party over the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill, it was decided to make a serious effort to obtain from the municipal registers some guidance as to the class of women already registered as municipal voters, and who would be entitled to be placed upon the parliamentary list should the Bill become law. Accordingly, a circular was issued to every branch of the party, some 300 in all, containing the following instructions:—

“ We address to your branch a very urgent request to ascertain from your local voting registers the following particulars:—

“ 1st—The *total* number of electors in the ward.

“ 2nd—Number of women voters.

“ 3rd—Number of women voters of the working class.

“ 4th—Number of women voters not of the working class.

“ It is impossible to lay down a strict definition of the term ‘working class,’ but for this purpose it will be sufficient to regard as ‘working class women’ those who work for wages, who are domestically employed, or who are supported by the earnings of wage-earning children.”

The returns to hand are not yet complete, but they comprise fifty towns or parts of towns, and show the following results :—

Total electors on the municipal registers	372,321
Total women voters	59,920
Working women voters, as defined above	49,410
Non-working women voters	10,510

Percentage of working women voters, **82·5.**

As will be seen at a glance, the proportion of women voters on the registers tested for the purposes of the above return—and these were not in any way selected, but were included because they were in the ward or parish within which the branch was situated—is equal to one-sixth of the whole. Assuming, as we may fairly do, that the same proportion obtains for the country as a whole, it would give us 1,250,000 women voters, of whom 82 per cent. are working women, and every one of whom would at once be placed upon the parliamentary register were the Bill now before Parliament to become law.

Here, then, we have it proved beyond cavil or question that whatever the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill might do for propertied women, it would for a certainty and at once put 850,000 working women on the parliamentary voters' rolls of Great Britain, and a like proportion in Ireland. The fact speaks for itself. The Woman's Enfranchisement Bill does not concern itself with franchise qualifications; it is for the removal of the sex disqualification only; and yet on the present franchise qualifications and reactionary registration laws it would at once lift 1,250,000 British women from the political sphere to which "idiots, lunatics, and paupers" are consigned, and transform them into free citizens, and open wide the door whereby in the future every man and every woman may march side by side into the full enjoyment of adult suffrage.

Hitherto I have been dealing with those opponents whose objection to the Bill is that it does not go far enough, and who prefer waiting for a measure of adult suffrage under which every man and every woman, married and single alike, shall be enfranchised at one stroke. Now, I have had some experience of politics and of political methods, and I give it as my deliberate opinion that nothing would so much hasten the coming of that much-to-be-desired time as would the passing of the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. If the workers were prepared to lay every other reform on the shelf, and begin an agitation for adult suffrage, they might, if specially fortunate, be successful in getting it about the year 1929. Manhood suffrage could probably be secured almost at once and for the asking; but the complete enfranchisement of all men and all women at once would be resisted bitterly by all parties. And the main difficulty in the way would be the enfranchisement of all women, married and living with their husbands, as well as single. The leap from what is now to what this proposes is too great for the mind of the British elector to grasp, and not by any means the least of the opposition would come from the working classes. Reformers gain nothing by shutting their eyes to facts which stare up at them from every part. I speak what most people know to be true when I say that the chief obstacle to

reform of any kind in England is the conservative, plodding, timid mind of the average man. Hence the reason why all our reforms have come to us, not leaping and bounding, but slowly and hesitatingly. Even the franchise, such as it is, has been dribbled out to us in almost homœopathic doses. This difficulty applies to women's enfranchisement in a special degree. The male man, even he of the working classes, will not lightly or all at once part with the authority which has so long been his, and admit that the wife of his bosom is his political equal. But once women are admitted to citizenship and some women become voters, the male mind will insensibly accustom itself to the idea of woman citizenship, and the way be thus prepared for adult suffrage complete and unrestricted by sex, poverty, or marriage.

To those who are opposed on principle to women having the vote at all I have little to say. These I find it easier to pity than to reason with. But when they foresee the deluge following upon the enfranchisement of women, I refer them to the Colonies. There women are citizens and voters, but they have not because of that ceased to be wives—even housewives, or mothers. Their outlook on life has been a little broadened by the possession of the vote which, willy nilly, forces them to interest themselves somewhat in political and social questions. They are thus in a fair way to become better companions to their husbands, and—and I say this with deep conviction—better mothers. Women whose circle of interests is circumscribed by her pots, pans, and scrubbing brushes, varied by an occasional gossip with a neighbour or quarrel with her husband, can never, however affectionate, be other than a curb upon the opening, eagerly questioning intelligence of her children. Broaden the outlook of the mother, and you open a new world for childhood to grow in, and bind many a wild, wayward youth to his home-life who is now driven out into the hard world for lack of that sympathetic, intelligent companionship which an educated and enlightened mother can alone supply. Colonial statesmen and social reformers all admit that woman's influence in the sphere of politics has been healthy and quickening, and, as it has been there, so undoubtedly would it be here.

The "half angel, half idiot" period is over in the woman's world. She is fighting her way into every sphere of human activity. Her labour is coming into competition with that of man in nearly every department of industry. In the learned professions she is forcing herself to the front by sheer determination and force of intellect in a way that will not be denied. Sooner or later men will be compelled to treat with her and recognize her as a co-worker, and they could not begin better than by admitting her right to be a co-voter. Those who prate so glibly of adult suffrage might surely learn something of men's opinion of women by taking note of the way in which lawyers and doctors are resisting her encroachments upon their preserves. A woman may be Queen of England, but she may not enter the profession from which Lord Chancellors are drawn.

The enfranchisement of women is not a party question. Its supporters and opponents are distributed over all parties. The measure is again coming well within the sphere of practical politics, and it is for women to see that it is kept there until a settlement is reached. If they will, as I think they

should, make it not a test but the test question at elections, and resolutely refuse to work for or in any way countenance any candidate who is not whole heartedly with them, they will, if not in this Parliament, then certainly in the next, secure the passage of a measure through the House of Commons at least which will place them on terms of political equality with men. If this comes as part of a measure for giving complete adult suffrage, well and good; but political equality they should insist upon, whatever the conditions of that equality may be.

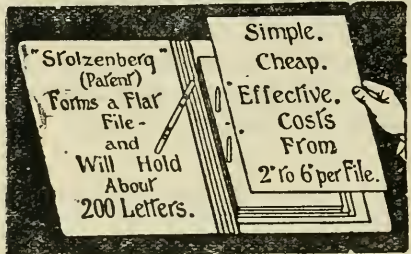
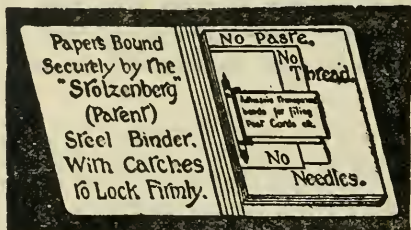
Disraeli, speaking on this question in the House of Commons, said :

“I say that in a country governed by a woman—where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm—peeresses in their own right, for example—where you allow a woman not only to hold land, but to be a lady of the manor and hold legal courts—where a woman by law may be a churchwarden and overseer of the poor—I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote.”

And with these words I conclude.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

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Number 25



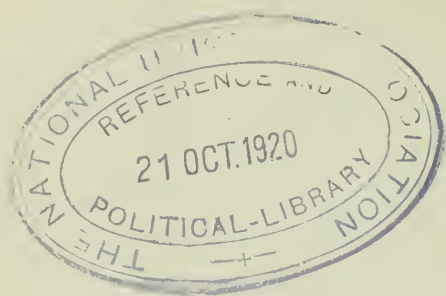
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THE RIGHT HON. R. B. HALDANE, K.C., M.P.

"Mr. Haldane," said one Liberal recently in the Lobby of the House of Commons, "is transcendently clever." "Yes," retorted another Liberal, "a damned sight too clever."

The two remarks sum up the general impression of the author of this paper on "The Executive Brain of the Empire."

"Confound Haldane!" said another, "he is always tramping up the back stairs." While a leading member of the Salisbury Cabinet is said to have groaned on one occasion, "Is there nothing that the Administration can do without calling in the aid of Haldane?"

"Haldane is the King's man," said an M.P. recently in the smoking room. "His Majesty consults him about everything. Lord Halsbury may be the official keeper of the King's conscience, but the custodian of the King's confidence, that, sir, is not Halsbury, but Haldane." "Haldane," said a distinguished Liberal recently, "is the *âme damnée* of Lord Rosebery, the Mephistopheles of the Liberal League. There is no man so distrusted by his own party. He is a born intriguer, a typical Scottish Jesuit who never goes straight to his point if by any means he can reach it by going round a corner." "Yes," said another, "but he always gets there, no matter how many corners he goes round to reach his end."

For the last ten years Mr. Haldane has been the intermittent astral control of the Unionist Cabinet. From time to time the Administration has gone into a seeming trance, when the spirit that directed its action was not Lord Salisbury's or Mr. Balfour's, but Mr. Haldane's. Like all mediums, the Cabinet was constantly waking up and repudiating its controlling spirit, but

R.B.H. is ever invisibly present, ready to step in and assume control. He has thus been in the Cabinet in astral while his body was seated on the Opposition Benches. It is a great tribute to his ingenuity and resource. But plain men with no astral that they know of, and whose simple personality is solely manifested in their physical form, get worried over this Haldane, who seems to be able to be in two places at one time.

The famous compliment paid to an English statesman, "that there was none of that damned intellect about him," can never be applied to Mr. Haldane. This in itself is sufficient to cause distrust among the commonplace practical men of the world, in the midst of whom he lives and moves—in their world, but not of it. The instinct of recoil is natural. As Lowell made the American legislator say:—

If brains was to settle it, horrid reflection;

Which of our honorable body'd be safe?

But how can the stodgy Saxon of the south feel at ease with this brilliant Scot, who was first class in philosophy at the University of Edinburgh when hardly out of his teens, and who is not only a K.C. and an M.P., and a P.C., but a Gifford Lecturer, who knows all about "The Pathway to Reality," which to the ordinary man seems to be a piece of utterly incomprehensible nonsense, leading the reader into a hopeless fog. But what can be expected from a man who studied metaphysics under the famous Professor Lotze, at the not less famous University of Göttingen, who translated that intolerable pessimist, Schopenhauer, into English before he was 30, and who chopped logic in fine style with Lord Halsbury over the mysteries of predestination? "Hang

up philosophy," cried Romeo, "unless philosophy can make a Juliet"; and the matter-of-fact Parliamentarian, sick and tired of his philosophic Premier, looks askance as an even more erudite philosopher appears in the offing in the person of Mr. Haldane. "Will he be a thimble-rigging philosopher like Mr. Balfour? If so, angels and ministers of grace defend us!"

From all which observations, polite and impolite, it will be perceived that Mr. Haldane is a very considerable personality. If he, being in opposition, can become the astral control of the Unionist Administration, and hold the informal appointment of custodian of the King's confidence, what will he not be and do when the Liberals come into office?

In the opinion of the true believers in the Haldane Cult, there is only one possible place for Mr. Haldane in the new Ministry, and that is on the Woolsack. Not that the country has any particular need for Mr. Haldane as Lord Chancellor, as mere Lord Chancellor. But the devout Haldanian points out that Mr. Haldane on the Woolsack would be very much more than mere Lord Chancellor. He would be Prime Minister *in petto*. He would be the suffragan Premier. His duties in the Law Courts or in the House of Lords would be of small importance compared with the use to which he would put his leisure. He would be a Lord Chancellor of the old school, the keeper of the King's conscience, the harmoniser of all difficulties, the general smoother, the universal inspirer, the supreme intellect who would permeate, influence, and more or less control all the departments of the State.

Unfortunately for the realisation of this inspiring ideal, there stands in the way the almost insuperable obstacle of the English historical precedent which governs the promotion of the great officers of the Law. The Lord Chancellorship is, by ancient usage, always bestowed upon the former Attorney-General, unless he has done something

to forfeit the confidence of his party or unless he objects to occupy the Woolsack. Sir Robert Reid, as the Attorney-General in the last Liberal Administration, has the right to the Lord Chancellorship, if he wants it. Mr. Haldane has never been even Solicitor-General. To promote even the most transcendently clever of Gifford lecturers, *per saltum*, over the head of the late Attorney-General would be to take a liberty with ancient usage and well-established tradition violent enough to convulse the Inns of Court. The story goes that Lord Salisbury proposed to pass over Sir Hardinge Giffard in 1895. But Sir Hardinge, by simply asking "What have I done to forfeit my right?" secured the Lord Chancellorship, which he has held ever since. It is certain that no Liberal Prime Minister would go out of his way to affront the traditions of a profession so powerful as that of the law.

Mr. Lowe once said Mr. Gladstone could explain away anything, even the existence of an inconvenient spouse. The combined resources of the metaphysics of Lotze and the philosophy of Schopenhauer will be hard put to it to explain away the existence to the claims of Sir Robert Reid. If he preferred the Speakership, that would alter things. But as things stand now, Mr. Haldane's capacity to found an *imperium in imperio* in the House of Lords must "bide a wee."

Mr. Haldane is not yet 50 years of age. He was born in 1856, just after the Crimean War had ended. He has been in Parliament for twenty years without becoming a great Parliamentarian. He is a great wire puller; a masterly manager of men—what some of his enemies call a born intriguer. He has an immense capacity for work. If he has ever got into mischief it has only been because his own party did not keep his hands busy. If he is not to get into mischief in the new Administration he will have to be placed in some department which will afford full scope for his energies. He has yet to

win his spurs as the head of a department. He has a safe seat in the House of Commons. He is sound in the main upon all questions relating to Labour. All these considerations point to his being appointed to the Home Office. He would not like it. But he would probably grin and bear it. If he were Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith at the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Grey at the War Office, not even Lord Rosebery could complain that his henchmen had not been well taken care of in the new Administration.

Mr. Haldane bears a name distinguished in the annals of Scotland. James Alexander and Robert Haldane were the leaders of one of those great religious revivals which from time to time influence so blessedly the moral life of nations. Both the brothers began life in the Navy, but both found their true vocation in the service of the Church Militant. They were the great Evangelical lay preachers of Scotland at the end of the Eighteenth Century. They fell under the influence of the strong Evangelical view of Christianity that was associated in England with the name of Charles Simeon. To the propagation of this belief both of them devoted their lives and their substance. They preached, they travelled, they wrote books, they were weariless missionaries in the cause of the Revival. To this day their memories are held in high honour in their native land as men not unworthy to be remembered in the succession of pious and eloquent preachers of the Word which has never failed in Scotland from the days of Knox till our own time.

It is probably from these pious forbears of his that Mr. Haldane has inherited his passionate love for metaphysics, his keen interest in abstruse points of Calvinistic theology, and over and above all his conception of the great and crying need for supplying the State with a scientific brain. The men of old time who indissolubly united Church and State, the great Popes who dreamed of making the Catholic Church

the soul and intellect of the world, all believers in the Theocracy in every age, have each in their own way testified to the same great truth which inspires Mr. Haldane, and to which he bears testimony in his plea for the better organisation of the brain of the State.

The fundamental idea of the Medieval Church at its best was to pool the brains and consciences of the world in one great organisation, which would make the best results of thought, science, and philosophy universally accessible. Even to this day the ideal is more or less realised in the person of every missionary who, equipped with the resources of the civilisation and the wealth of the culture of the modern world, goes forth to place them at the disposal of every reclaimed cannibal in Congoland or New Guinea. As is the missionary to his cannibal converts, as was the Church in the midst of the barbarians of the Dark Ages, so in Mr. Haldane's vision are our men of science to the rule-of-thumb politicians, who are more or less ignorantly endeavouring to govern the State. The aboriginal New Guineans do not at first feel more disdain for the strangers who can show them how to use iron ploughs and harness steam to the service of man than the average political man in the street feels for the scientist. But after a time the superior results attained by the superior culture of the missionary compel recognition, and before long the whole tribe consults him as if he were an oracle of God. So Mr. Haldane hopes it will be with the State in the future. It will recognise its own ignorance. It will see the hopeless incompetence of its machinery. And out of its latent resources of scientific students it will organise the grey matter of its brain, and reorganise its machinery in accordance with the counsels not of the foolish men who prate, but of the wise men who think.

It is an illuminating conception, and Mr. Haldane as Home Secretary will not have much time for securing

realisation of his ideal, even within his own department. For in a year or two, when the old men make way for the new generation, Mr. Haldane may be able, if not from the first place, then from the second, to do something practical towards readjusting the antiquated machinery of our Imperial Administration on the lines sketched in this paper.

Of his public career there is not much to say. Educated first at Edinburgh Academy, then at Edinburgh University, he distinguished himself at the university by obtaining the Ferguson Scholarship of the Four Scottish Universities, and the Bruce of Grangehill Medal. After graduating at Edinburgh he went to Göttingen, and there established that close connection with German thought that has stood him in such good stead ever since. It was not merely Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Lotze who influenced him. He saw the beginnings of the great industrial and scientific revival of Germany in the seventies, and the lessons which he then learned he has been teaching his countrymen ever since.

In 1879 Mr. Haldane was called to the Chancery Bar. In 1882 he edited *Essays on Philosophical Criticism*. Then he translated Schopenhauer's "World as Will and Idea" into English, and soon made his mark. In 1885 he was elected as M.P. for Haddingtonshire, a seat which he retains to this day. In 1886 he stood as a Home Ruler. In 1904 he described himself as one who voted for Mr. Gladstone's Bills, and has never either repented of having done so, or taken exaggerated views of their consequences. Mr. Haldane published a life of Adam Smith in 1887. In 1890 he became K.C. In 1892 he was passed over by Mr. Gladstone in the distribution of the law offices of the Crown.

In 1895, seeing that the Unionists were in office to stay, Mr. Haldane worked diligently like a mole underground, in the hope of influencing

their policy in a Liberal direction. Being in such close relations with Ministers, and being also devoted to Milner, it is not surprising that he fell into the mortal sin of supporting the war against the Dutch Republics. "Pecca, pecca fortiter" has ever been Mr. Haldane's motto, and having taken the plunge at Milner's bidding, he wallowed and weltered in the consequent carnage with the worst. It was not until Milner's mad attack on the Cape Constitution that reason began to assert her sway. To-day Mr. Haldane, once more clothed and in his right mind, brings his keen, critical Liberal intellect to bear upon the fantastic folly of the South African administration of Lord Milner.

Mr. Balfour sent him on a secret mission to Ireland to settle the Irish University question. He was successful in securing the adhesion of the Catholic Bishops and the Presbyterians to the principle of two Universities, in which no State funds should be applied to the promotion of religious education. They were even willing to trust the Government with the appointment of representatives of education on the governing bodies. But the Orangemen of the Ministry rebelled. Lord Londonderry was too strong for Mr. Haldane, and, although Mr. Balfour in 1899 had declared that Unionist policy would be a failure if the University question was not settled, the question remains unsettled to this day.

If Mr. Balfour and Mr. Haldane could be made Consuls, or, better still, if they could be converted into a two-headed Dictator, many things would happen which are impossible to a world still governed by politicians instead of philosophers. Mr. Haldane was in his element as the legal member of the Explosives Committee. It is not his fault that he did not assist in similar capacity in realising other ideals which he holds in common with the Prime Minister.

As Gifford Lecturer he discoursed learnedly on the Pathway to Reality in a metaphysical sense. As the active

and guiding brain of the Liberal League he published a little book on "Education and Empire," which gave a valuable impetus to the work of higher education.

When Mr. Chamberlain galvanised the "dead and damned" corpse of Protection into temporary life, Mr. Haldane addressed himself to the destruction of the Vampire with great energy. But while hewing our latest Agag to pieces before the Lord, Mr. Haldane was urgent in insisting that it was not enough to take up a negative attitude towards Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Speaking June 2nd, 1903, he said:—

We who believe in the Empire, we who wish to see it more closely united, must show a path of development clearer from pitfalls and obstacles than his appears to be. The policy of Liberal Imperialism may be defined to be to take no step which goes beyond the common purposes of the Empire—and I have shown that in the Zollverein proposals there is no common purpose—but to give effect to common purposes wherever they are ascertained, and to adapt the machinery of the Government to that end. I believe that if we can hold on our connection with the colonies and dependencies of the Crown for another fifty years, the problem will be solved. It is a question of the evolution of the means to give effect to the common purposes, an evolution which through conference, through more complete concentration on common ends, should quite naturally and not artificially proceed.

Now there are five heads under which common purposes are already developed, and may develop still more largely in the future. There is first imperial defence. The cost of this we bear unaided at the present time. As the colonies become larger in the course of years, it will be natural that they should assume an increasing share of burdens of this kind, and as they do they will be entitled to more participation in the control of Imperial policy. That brings me to my second head, that things are slowly shaping themselves for the further evolution of the means of giving advice to the Crown. The time will come when the colonies must outgrow the period of trusteeship, and when that time comes, and it appears to be approaching, a

Cabinet, which depends on the will of the constituencies, can no longer be an adequate means of advising the Crown in matters of purely Imperial policy. It may be possible to do what was done in this country 200 years ago, to summon as a Cabinet of advice on Imperial matters an Imperial committee drawn from the King's Privy Council and representative of the interests of the distant parts of the Empire. As the giving of the control of policy will always be largely financial, and as the colonies were to take more and more of the burden, it may be possible without dislocating the existing machinery of Parliament, without setting up any cast-iron scheme of Imperial Federation, to adapt the Executive which advises the Crown so as to give effect to the fulfilment of Imperial ends. The third great subject which has been very unfortunate in its treatment by the present Government, and which is at present in a very serious position, is the question of the establishment of an Imperial Court of Appeal. It is to be hoped that in the administration of the supreme form of justice by the best intelligences of the Empire, yet another real link may be made to hold the colonies and the home country together. In the fourth place, education promises to form yet another link. Next month a conference will take place in London between the heads of the various Universities of the Empire, at which there will be discussion of schemes for the interchange of post-graduate students and the distribution of special subjects of instruction among those Universities. We may thereby redeem the reproach that the best students of the Empire go to Germany and the United States to get their post-graduate instruction. In the fifth place, the policy of grants-in-aid in the shape of expenditure on improving the great ocean highways and postal and telegraph systems and the other means of communication between the various parts of the country is possible.

Mr. Haldane defined his position in relation to Ireland in a letter dated January 2nd, 1904. He said that in next Parliament the fiscal question must have precedence of Home Rule, an observation which does not seem so obvious to-day, seeing that there will be no fiscal question in the new Parliament to discuss. He wrote:—

Thanks to the progressive element introduced into the Irish policy of Parliament under Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Wyndham, the Irish question is entering on a new phase, in which I hope to see both political parties doing their best to develop the work that has been begun. If success attends the new endeavour, it will probably lead to a large devolution to the Irish people of the power of managing their own business. Whether this will be so depends on the extent to which the Irish leaders can gain and keep public confidence here.

Mr. Haldane has always been an advocate of the enfranchisement of women. As to the law of conspiracy and the responsibility of trades unions, he said a year ago :—

Some of them thought that the amendment of the law they wanted was a sweeping away of the technical distinction which had been set up by the Courts, and a simple enactment that any man or number of men could combine for any purpose they liked, so long as what they did did not amount to what was in fact a nuisance. The amendment of the law of conspiracy they wanted was this—that every man should be allowed to do anything he pleased in the course of his business which did not amount to injury to his neighbour; but when he got to that which in point of fact would be regarded by a jury as amounting to a nuisance, that should be illegal, whether it was done on the part of the employer or of the workman. There they had a suggestion of a single remedy for a very complicated state of things.

He has since pointed out that such a change must be accompanied with some reforms of the Tribunal which will ensure the workmen against the existing prejudice about the trades union system.

Mr. Haldane's own programme as he expounded it at Edinburgh not so long ago was :—(1). £5,000,000 off Army Estimates. (2). £1,000,000 on to the vote for higher education to develop

Universities and University Colleges in this country, making the higher education accessible to every section of the community. (3). Take the foundations of the Education Act and build a much bigger and more suitable edifice than now existed. They should redress the injustices in Clauses 6, 8, and 9, and put education under popular control. (4). Create a Ministry of Trade and Commerce. (5). Old Age Pensions. (6). Radical Poor Law Reform. (7). Put a time limit to the Licensing Act.

Mr. Haldane is an enthusiast for higher education. Lord Kelvin told him that our chief need is to educate our manufacturers and our foremen, especially the former. What we want is more science—science, science everywhere. We lost our coal tar, indigo, and alcohol products industries because we were not scientific. Mr. Haldane has not confined himself to preaching.

I have said enough to indicate the manner of man Mr. Haldane is, and the drift of his ideas. It was a cynical friend of his who said “The last word of philosophy in the science of Government is to abolish Parliamentary Government, and establish in its place the King as Padishah and Mr. Haldane as his Grand Vizier.” It was a word spoken in jest. But the speaker was no fool.

Mr. Haldane is not married. He belongs to the dangerous group of bachelors who have figured too conspicuously of late years in our Imperial affairs. Mr. Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, Lord Milner, Mr. Balfour, Lord Kitchener, and Mr. Haldane—bachelors all!

Mr. Haldane's town residence is 3, Whitehall Court. His chambers are 10, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn. His country seat is Cloanden, near Auchterarder, N.B. Our portrait of Mr. Haldane is from a photograph by H. Walter Barnett, Hyde Park Corner.

THE EXECUTIVE BRAIN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

You have asked me to write something about the task that lies in front of the Liberal Party, and I will try. Since the disaster of 1895 I have thought that task a difficult one, and I think so now. That the difficulty is insuperable, I have never believed. At the time of the General Election of that year we were an aggregate of incoherent sections. The very sweeping success of the Liberal cause up to ten years previously had helped to make us so. The nation is now loudly calling to us to return out of the wilderness into which we wandered. I believe the old strength to be in us. The indications point to a strong majority for the Liberals after the next election. But the truth never stands still, and if we are to be again a progressive and effective party which has regained the confidence of the country, we too must not stand still.

Words that once expressed a real battle cry have in certain cases ceased to represent what is real. If we are to do the business of the nation with power and fruitfully, we must survey our political past and take stock of our present resources. Sectional and narrow views the nation dislikes in a party that calls itself progressive. Much is forgiven to any body of public men who have the root of the matter in them. And in order that they may have in them the root of the matter it is necessary that such men should see their political life steadily, and see it whole. I have never been so good a party man as to be able to believe that my fellow Liberals have been always in the right through these past years. But in the colleagues with whom I sit on the opposition benches I have confidence. The Opposition has, like other human institutions, its shortcomings, yet in the main I would rather work with it than with any other party in the State. In that faith I have lived, and in that faith I believe that I shall remain. And therefore it is in no captious spirit that I, a mere private member of the party, venture to say something about certain things which it has got to accomplish in the process of winning complete public confidence in its capacity to direct national business. Let us see then where we stand.

It is close on twenty years since the Liberals had a majority of their own over the Conservatives. At last it looks as though they were about to be given another chance, and a good one. The Government has lost its hold on the regard of the Constituencies, and public opinion already indicates that an alternative Government must be created. The only practicable course for the Country is to create its new Government out of the Opposition. And it is, accordingly, more than probable that the country will give the new Government, as part of the terms on which alone it can take office, certain powers which it will demand. If it exercises these powers wisely and with moderation it will be able to amend the Education Act, and to straighten out the existing Labour Laws. It will be looked to to

diminish expenditure in some directions, while it may be called upon to increase it in others. It will be instructed to turn its attention to neglected social problems, and to much-needed reforms at home. The path to the accomplishment of these things will be beset with unusual difficulty, but if the right spirit is put into the effort to tread it, the country, which has a strong sense of fair play, may not improbably prove willing to remove obstacles which nothing but public opinion can remove, especially where there is a double chamber constitution such as ours. But whether public opinion will shew the requisite zeal will in all likelihood turn out to depend on something that must not be forgotten. The new party in power has got to interest the people sufficiently to make them hold it worth while to keep that party in after putting it in. And this depends on whether the new party can touch the public imagination. It is not merely hard labour at a programme, which in this case has already been assumed and, discounted, that is needed, but something else besides. Ideas, it has been said have hands and feet. They govern the public, and it is by suggesting ideas and shewing capacity for their realisation that men gain the power to rule. What chance, then, has the Liberal Party of at once bringing new ideas into the public mind and of shewing that they can be realised? I doubt whether there has ever been a period when the public called more loudly for ideas. Our countrymen have an uneasy sense that they are not keeping abreast of the times. It is to no mere conservative attitude on the part of Liberals that they look for the alternative to the Chamberlain programme. They want a lead, and if the Liberals are to regain the public confidence a lead they must be prepared to give.

Of the forms, and there are several, which such a lead may assume there is one which seems to be more easy than the others.

For the reorganisation of the machinery of administration but little legislation is required. Neither shortage in Parliamentary time nor the attitude of the House of Lords can hinder it. Ministers who have it in them can reform here with a free hand. The importance of each Department of the State depends mainly on the personality of the Minister who presides in it. The Home Office became a great one between 1892 and 1895 under Mr. Asquith. The Colonial Office became later on a great one—under Mr. Chamberlain. But apart from personality there are other forces which profoundly affect administration. One of these is the force of clear conception and resolute purpose. To bring into play greater brain power in *Administration* is in itself a task for the reformer, and a task of the first magnitude. Slowly, very slowly, people are realising its necessity. And because the things that have already been done, few and comparatively small as they are, suggest greater things that in this sphere remain undone, I wish to call attention to one or two of them. I will begin with an illustration.

In the year 1900 the Country was engaged in a formidable war, and it presently turned out that before the outbreak of the struggle the last button had by no means been put on the last gaiter. Among other things that came to light was this that our Military and Naval guns were rapidly having their insides eaten out by the high temperatures produced by the nitro-glycerine in the cordite. Lord Lansdowne acted with promptitude. He summoned outsiders

who had long before warned the War Office of the defects of the powder, and asked how an expert Committee on the national explosives could best be constituted. He was told that the work of such a Committee required the very best scientific brains that existed in the country, and that France had years before, to her great advantage, constituted just such a Committee with Berthelot, her greatest chemist, at its head. Who was the English Berthelot! The answer was quickly given, and Lord Rayleigh was requested to preside over a new scientific body in the War Office, with two of the greatest living authorities in ballistics, Sir Andrew Noble of Elswick and Sir William Crookes, among his colleagues. That Committee has sat steadily through the last four years. It has solved its early problems. It has brought to light fresh ones. It has made changes. It has its laboratories and its permanent scientific staff at Woolwich, to which it has attracted some of the finest intelligence of the young chemists of this country. It is now a permanent body, and if the public hears but little of its work the reason is that most of its work is necessarily secret.*

But although the Explosives Committee has been welcomed into the bosom of the War Office it has had difficulties to contend with, difficulties which have been due not to any fault of the War Office, but to the defects of our system of Administration. Its members and its experts belong to this Department. If it has discovered a remarkable young chemist and set him to work in it, it is difficult to keep him there. For he is a mere civilian among soldiers, however great his scientific attainments. The army gives its rewards to genius on the field and not to genius in the laboratory. For the rest its officials are units and must conform to a system. And this is true in an analogous fashion of the other Departments of Government also. They organise a Civil Service under a system which allows only a limited scope for individuality. If exceptional services are wanted from some distinguished individual the general regulations make them difficult to get, and still more difficult to keep. For, as soon as his value becomes known, private firms and sometimes Foreign Governments begin to bid for him in a fashion with which the organisation of the Department to which he belongs prevents it from competing. If the British Government is to have adequate command of scientific talent of the highest order it must make arrangements which will enable it to reward and honour that talent on an adequate scale without exciting ill feeling. And this seems to require an addition to the departments of the Executive Government. I have long felt, and my feeling is the outcome of some experience, that there ought to be at the elbow of the Head of the Government an Advisory Body with a *corps scientifique* ranged under it, into which could be got, permanently or temporarily, the exceptional talent which the State is more and more requiring every day. The individual who was a member of this Corps would be, what he cannot be as a mere Departmental Officer under the present system, paid and honoured according to what he individually can give. Such a body would not only be a new source of strength to the State, but would afford a new opening for the highest talent in the country.

* The naval guns' shortcomings turned on different considerations, outside all this.—
R.B.H.

It would remove the existing difficulties. If the War Office required the services of a special chemist, either temporarily or permanently, it could get him from the New Department, where he would have his own status and his adequate remuneration without regard to any rigid scale. Suppose again that some special research has to be undertaken! Only the other day a new and serious disease was discovered in this country. The miners in certain of the Cornish Mines grew pale and anæmic-looking. Ordinary medical skill could discover no explanation. The Home Office had to get permission from the Treasury to engage special scientific assistance. Research brought to light the fact that the miners in question were infected with the disease called Ankylostomiasis, infection with myriads of minute worms, a disease hitherto unknown here but which is endemic in India, and had been brought from abroad by English miners. It had also broken out on a large scale in the mines of Westphalia, where the German Government was grappling with it, and a highly qualified expert had to be despatched from here to study on the spot the results. It was done, but with difficulty, for our existing system makes no provision for any systematic command of the requisite skilled assistance. Nor is it enough to call in experts at a late stage. In our mines dangers to health of the gravest kind often escape attention for want of a kind of inspection which no ordinary departmental organisation can provide. The mortality from what is called Miners Phthisis, disease of the lungs caused by the particles of hard dust set free by the rock-drill, is in certain regions as frightful as it is preventable. When the mine owners and the Inspectors know what is wrong and how to remedy it they can act. But there is no regular provision of the special guidance they need. Under a better state of things when suspicion arose of something unusual in a mine the Home Secretary would refer the matter to the Head of the Administration for inquiry by his scientific advisers, who would engage, if they did not already possess it, the best specialist assistance and report what should be done. Had, for instance, such machinery been available, years would not have elapsed before it was discovered that the cause of death in the ordinary coal mine explosion was in reality due, not to shock, but to the generation of carbon-monoxide, the poisonous gas produced by imperfect combustion of coal dust. The proper rules for the guidance of the imprisoned miners and the rescue parties would have been ascertained at an early stage, and many valuable lives would have been saved. But there was no machinery for securing continuous and systematic investigation, such as the Departmental Committee of the War Office to which I have referred has been able to make in connection with the munitions of war.

That these suggestions are practicable will be seen if we turn to a case in which something of the kind has actually been accomplished. For long the Army and the Navy had overlapping policies and spheres of activity, with no machinery for mutual adjustment of ideas and work. The Navy was supposed to defend our shores, but then so was the Army. The War Office was constantly spending large sums on fortifications, and collecting large bodies of men for Home Defence. But then so was the Navy preparing to intercept every possible force attempting to land from abroad. We were as a nation in fact insuring our home against the same risk in two offices, each of which was by hypothesis solvent. We were paying two premiums against the same risk. To a large extent we are still doing it, and therein lies the problem of the future. That problem will only be solved when the Army and the Navy are administered as parts of one whole, and their work no longer overlaps. But a first step has been taken towards its solution. There has been criticism of Mr. Balfour's Defence Committee. Its creation meant a new Department, presided over by the Prime Minister, in which were to be brought to a decision certain great questions

which had hitherto been considered, if indeed they were considered, in the Cabinet alone. While formally the ultimate decision would rest with the Cabinet, there was no doubt that the creation of this body tended to withdraw certain subjects and to strengthen the hands of the Head of the Government individually. But the counterbalancing advantages were enormous. To begin with, the new body surveys *both* Army and Navy questions from above and with a detached mind. The result had already been the condemnation in principle of the system of double insurance. With the acceptance of the "blue water" principle, that the defence of our shores depends and must depend on sea power alone, have come new views about the functions and organisation of the Army, in which it tends to become mainly a striking force and the nursery of a striking force. These views ought to lead to substantial retrenchment in Army expenditure, and to increased efficiency. How far the Defence Committee aided in the great reorganisation of the Fleet which Lord Selborne and Sir John Fisher have recently effected, with what we are led to anticipate will prove to be excellent results in both economy and efficiency, we do not yet know. But we do know that the Committee has thoroughly sanctioned the step, and has inspired the public with confidence in the outcome, just as we know that the new principle above referred to as the foundation of the future plan of Home Defence is the outcome of the work of the Committee. No body of less authority, no mere Departmental Committee, could have done this work. Nothing but Departmental Science wielded by more than Departmental authority could have been equal to the task. The example shews that there are cases where it is a positive mischief for the executive authority of the State to be wielded in separate compartments. If the official conclusions of the Committee as announced in his speech on Thursday, May 11th, by Mr. Balfour, and by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne in earlier debates about the real basis of Home Defence resting on command of the sea are accepted, the obvious conclusion is that untold millions of public money have been wasted for want of this co-ordinating authority, and that for the future the Army and the Navy must no longer be managed wholly apart. And the question arises whether what was proved to be true of the Military and Naval forces may not be true of other Departments of Administration. Now there is at least one other sphere where this question raises itself sharply. In a paper read the other day at the Colonial Institute, and which represented the conclusions of an informal Committee over which he had been presiding for the last two years, Sir Frederick Pollock drew attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the machinery by which the affairs of the Empire are carried on. There arise from time to time matters which concern the relations of the distant dominions of the Crown to other Great Powers. Examples of these are the recent controversy over the Alaska boundary between Canada and the United States, and the differences between Newfoundland and France over the fishing rights. Three separate Departments of the King's Government have to deal with every such question, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the Colonial Government concerned. The last has no direct access to the second, and is often dissatisfied with the apparent powerlessness of the first as to affairs outside its own sphere. The notion of Sir Frederick Pollock and those who worked with him was that, just as certain questions arising out of the relations of the Army and the Navy now come under a more than Departmental authority, so it should be with a certain class of questions which touch the policy of the Empire as a whole. There are various forms in which the Home and Colonial Governments may be more systematically than at present brought, on the necessary occasions, under a common roof. The idea is not wholly novel. It was contained in germ in the periodic Colonial Conferences initiated by Lord Ripon and developed by Mr.

Chamberlain, and which now take place at fixed intervals. But our system of administration makes no provision, either for the intervals, or for a multitude of affairs which are neither properly matter for these conferences nor for a single department. Topics of law reform arise which affect the Empire as a whole. Such are copyright and merchant shipping. Again the state of the Supreme Court of Appeal is unsatisfactory. Just now it is split into the House of Lords, which acts for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Judicial Committee, differently organised under a different roof, which acts for the rest of the King's dominions. The neglect of statesmen has led to the second being starved for the sake of the first. It is no part of the business of the Colonial Office to look after it, and there are murmurs, loud and long, every now and then, over the state of what after all is an important link between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Again there are questions of communications, of steamship lines, and of cables, which belong to the development of that policy of Imperial Unity which rests on common ends and constant intercourse, and which is free from the galling associations of Preference. But there is no Government Office whose duty it is to watch these things, to collect information, and to see that opportunities are not neglected. An Imperial Government Committee, containing representatives of the Colonies, and in continuous communication with their Governments, seems as necessary as in the somewhat analogous case of Imperial Defence. Its functions need not be more than advisory. They need not interfere with those of the Colonial Office, any more than do those of the other Committees interfere with the work of the War Office and the Admiralty. But the existence of such a body would secure the continuous attention of the Government as a whole to matters which have a common interest for the whole Empire, and it would enable the Colonies and the Home Government to take counsel together in a way which is not possible at the present time. A capable official Secretary, doing the work which Sir George Clarke does for the Defence Committee, would secure the collection of the necessary materials, and would be the guarantee for a certain continuity of policy.

The word "continuity" suggests important considerations. When one Government succeeds another its business is generally to initiate a different policy, in legislation and in other ways. But there is, and always will be in the handling of the business of Administration, much necessity for continuity. Not the least valuable feature of the Defence Committee is that it provides for this. The same thing would unquestionably be true of such a Committee of advice on Colonial matters as has been suggested. It would give the Government of the day not only eyes and ears but a memory, and an accumulation of knowledge such as it does not possess at present.

No country has a finer civil service than ours. But that service wants enlargement, as the burden and the responsibility of Government are increasing, and I see no way to do this except than by developing the executive brain in some such fashion as I have tried to indicate in outline. In every department of the State there is room for the improvement of the grey matter of that brain. I will speak of another of which I have some knowledge.

It is a superficial estimate of the agitation for tariffs which Mr. Chamberlain has led that assumes the country to be content with things as they are. For a time the movement appeared to be producing great effect. By degrees the people made up its mind that a policy of protection was ill-suited to these islands. But everywhere there was recognition of the fact that some branches of British Export Trade were not succeeding so well as formerly, that this falling off could only be checked by an improvement in the quality of the goods exported, and that this meant putting more mind into their manufacture and, as a condition precedent, the improvement of higher education in this

country. Indeed for years past we have had an uneasy sense of being behind our competitors in this matter of higher education, and this uneasiness has not been without its fruits. During the last ten years new Universities have, I am glad to say, been established in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield. But to these Universities comparatively little State assistance is given. The Colleges in populous centres in England which give teaching of a University type received among them from the State for the encouragement of their teaching up to last year only £27,000 in annual grants. It was complained that this sum ought to be increased, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer referred it to a new Special Committee to report how an addition, bringing the £27,000 up to £100,000, should be apportioned. Up to now the Treasury, whose business it is to apportion these annual grants, has had no organisation for doing so. Every five years it has been in the habit of getting a report on the state of the Colleges from a small Committee called into existence for the occasion. The result has been that the money has been mechanically distributed among the University Colleges substantially according to their wealth and size. To him, in other words, that hath has been given. But the House of Commons looks with jealousy on such mechanical methods of expending public money. It wants to get the most for the expenditure of public money and to use the subsidy for stimulating to greater exertion locally. Accordingly it became plain to the New Committee of Enquiry that, if there were to be large increases of the grants to the Colleges, Parliament would insist that more mind should be shewn in their distribution. They have accordingly recommended (see their Report Cd. 2422 of 1905) the establishment under the Treasury of a permanent advisory Committee, whose business it shall be to study the condition of the institutions which give teaching of a University type, to pay special attention to the remedies for certain existing deficiencies, and to lay down a policy for their future development which may encourage aid on a larger scale. The Executive brain, in other words, ought to be strengthened here also.

I will take yet another case which has come into prominence since the fiscal controversy. For years past Germany has been famous for a kind of Institution called the Central-Stelle, an establishment run either by the State or by some great combination of Manufacturers with a common interest. The function of the Central-Stelle is to put at the disposal of those who bring to it for solution problems arising in the manufacturing industries scientific knowledge of a kind so high that it cannot be obtained by the private manufacturer. In the manufacture of steel, of nitrocellulose, of coal tar products, such problems are constantly baffling the enterprising manufacturer, and in Germany he is thankful to pay a small fee to a central institute and get the requisite information. The example of Germany in founding these practical research Institutions has been followed by the United States and by France, and very recently by ourselves. The National Physical Laboratory at Teddington is only partially a State institution. We give it a very small annual Grant, just about a tenth of what the Germans give to their corresponding Institution, and much less than the United States and France give. It has a splendid staff and it is doing valuable work in aid of certain of our industries. But it is starved, and but little interest is taken in it. In Germany this kind of institution is regarded as a necessary part of the Executive brain. Here we ignore it. It is time for the State to take the lead in this direction also, if we are to hold our own in the international competition which is more and more coming to depend on the application of science to industry.

I have reserved to the last not the least of the great administration reforms which await accomplishment, that of the Board of Trade. I am writing these

lines in Germany, where I am surrounded by evidence of the things the Government does to help the manufacturing and industrious classes. Germany is not a country to be copied. In the main things are better with ourselves. But she is a country to be studied, and we have some things to learn from that study.

It is illustrative of the point to refer to the case of the use of Alcohol for manufacturing purposes. Up to 1902 our law treated the manufacturer who used alcohol and the man who drank it as on the same footing. They had each to pay a duty of about 1,000 per cent., or else to use it in the polluted form of methylated spirit. In 1902, in the Budget discussion, some of us agitated for a change in the law in the interest of the British manufacturer, whom we believed to be injured in the competition, especially with Germany, for the market for dyes, cellulose products, drugs and other products which required cheap and pure alcohol for their production. We got Sir Michael Beach to change the law, and we then asked the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to appoint an expert Committee. This he did, with the result that the law is to be still further reformed, and the British Manufacturer is to have new chances. But in preparing its highly interesting Report the Committee discovered that want of scientific knowledge had hit our manufacturers more hardly than even want of cheap alcohol. Here is an abstract from that Report, which has just been published, recording what they ascertained from the German witnesses to be their views of the cause of the failure of the British Nation to keep the lead in coal tar dye industry, itself the discovery of Perkin and other British Chemists:—

“They were unanimously of opinion that the real cause of the failure of the dye industry to develop in the United Kingdom was the lack of appreciation by British Manufacturers of the scientific side of the Industry. Thirty and forty years ago the whole business was conducted by the manufacturer without much thought of its scientific aspects, and without any adequate recognition of the place of the trained chemist in connection with it. In Germany the case was different. There the rise of the industry coincided with an immense development of activity in the study of organic chemistry and its application to industry, stimulated largely by the influence of Kekulé, his coadjutors and immediate followers. Dr. Gläser gave it as his opinion that Kekulé’s conception of the Chemical structure of benzol was the germ out of which has grown the modern colour industry. The output of chemists by the German Universities was relatively enormous, and has continued to be so for the past forty years, and the services of competent chemists became obtainable at salaries of no more than £100 per annum. Consequently they were engaged by hundreds to act practically as foreman in the Works, and the whole of the subordinate provision was in the hands of scientifically trained men. This was of immense advantage to the business of manufacture, and at the same time it provided a large field from which to select the more competent men for the work of research and invention; and those thus advanced were given a leading part in the management and the profits of the business. Nothing of the kind was possible in England at that time, perhaps it is not so even now.”

Comment by me on these words, published a few weeks ago, is superfluous.

The main defects of the Board of Trade are twofold. In the first place, as the outcome of our ridiculous traditions, this office is, though a Cabinet one, of secondary rank, in point both of status and of salary. Our system of ministerial arrangements is thoroughly antiquated and ought to be reformed root and branch. There are five Secretaryships of State which rank along with the

Office of First Lord as of the first class. These fall as prizes to the most important members of the party that come into office. Then there are the second-rate cabinet places with which provision has to be made for the lesser men. The result is that the chances are adverse to the occupant of the office of President of the Board of Trade being a man who is specially fitted to fill it. And yet every year this position is becoming a more important one. The first necessity is to improve the position of the Office. A glance at its origin shews why this is unsatisfactory from a modern point of view.

The Board of Trade was established as a permanent Committee of the Privy Council in 1786, and its present constitution is based on the Order in Council of that year. There have been since its foundation two changes in its organisation, the appointment of an independent President; and the substitution of a Parliamentary Secretary for the old Vice-President. These two officials to-day constitute the actual Board, and they are assisted by a permanent staff. The Board is chiefly concerned with the relation of the State to Trade, including Shipping, Railways, Bankruptcy, and other matters. It is also charged with the preparation and publication of Statistics, including statistics relating to Labour. But it is not a Ministry of Labour. That subject falls to the department of the Home Secretary. It is therefore by no means odd that, in view of the close relation of Labour to Trade interests, there should have arisen a demand that the present administrative scattering should cease. There seem to be, indeed, three principal heads under which the reform of the Board of Trade is called for. The first is that the position of its Chief should be developed into that of a great Minister of Commerce, watching more closely, and with more adequate machinery at his disposal, over the interests of our Foreign and Home Trade. The second is that he should also be, to some extent at least, a Minister of Labour, and should have certain, if not all, of the powers which are now assigned to the Home Office over Mines, Factories, and other matters affecting the working classes. The third is that much more information should be collected and published about trade and labour at home and abroad.

If these reforms are to be made it would seem that there ought to be two Parliamentary Under Secretaries, instead of one as at present, to represent Trade and Labour respectively. The Official Staff would have to be re-organised in accordance with this division, and in addition there would be necessary an Intelligence Department which should deal with statistics on a more complete basis than at present, and which should among other things collect a complete and carefully indexed library available for public information of home and foreign publications relative to trade and industry. The importance of a really systematic index of the available information contained in British and foreign publications on these topics can hardly be exaggerated. It is not too much to say that for practical purposes such an index does not exist. Valuable as was the information published by the Board of Trade during the recent Fiscal Controversy, it became plain that much more was wanted. As to home Trade we know almost nothing. The United States Government issues a decennial Census of their home Manufactures which contains an enormous mass of information. This may be imperfect. But it is better than having nothing—which is our case. Again the Board of Trade is only now improving its old classification of Exports and Imports. Formerly the statistics were given merely with reference to the Ports of Shipment. Now we are getting details of the Countries of origin and destination, a great improvement. But much remains still to be done. During the Tariff controversy I was struck with the fact that so far from the markets of the great protecting Countries becoming gradually closed to us, they must in reality be opening. For their export trade is increasing and the goods exported are, with them as with us, paid for by an increasing quantity

of goods imported. Particular industries may suffer, but in the aggregate new and increasing openings must be arising. I found from an examination of the German, Russian, and French Statistics that this was actually so. I worked the point out with such materials as I could obtain and published the results. But I sought in vain in our own official publications for the figures. Certainly we ought to have full information as to what industries are suffering from foreign Tariffs and what are not. We ought further to have the benefit of more complete official study of the statistics collected by Foreign Governments than we have now. Again we ought to be fully advised about such matters as Tariff Charges abroad, actual and prospective; currency changes and present and prospective financial conditions; crop conditions and prospects, and other matters of detail, information as to which is not readily accessible to our traders. These want to know why they are losing a trade, and where they may develop a new one. This involves systematic survey of the periodical condition of British trade and a parallel series of reviews of the industries of other Countries. Some of the work may prove of too special a character for the Department. If so it should be open to the Minister to go to the Head of the Government and get special scientific assistance such as was suggested in the earlier part of this paper. Provision for such special assistance is made both in Germany, where the Government calls in, when requisite, "*Wissenschaftliche Hüfsarbeiter*," and also I believe, though I do not know this at first hand, in the United States, particularly in the American Labour and Statistical Bureau. We should be the better for special reports furnished to us on occasions by men of the standing and special knowledge of Professor Marshall and Professor Ashley. Moreover the Consular Service needs much improvement, and its investigations and reports should be made in a more systematic form and after consultation with the Board of Trade. The French and German Consuls communicate directly with their Trade Ministers, and this much at the very least is requisite with us.

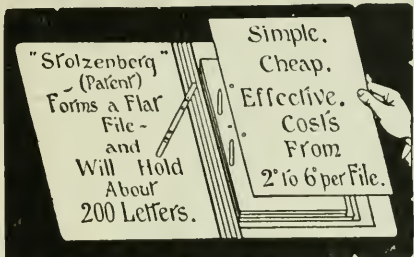
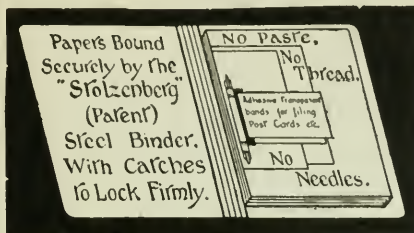
I have endeavoured to indicate some of the points to be included in any great scheme of reform of this Department of the State; that the public is ready for such reform the report of the recent Committee on the subject shews. But here as elsewhere the work can be accomplished only by new and fresh minds, and with the accession of energy, which comes after a General Election.

The next Ministry will have a very difficult task. Its supporters have been trained in the ways of Opposition, and not in the straight and narrow path of support to a Government. It is only with the display of capacity and of mind in its Chiefs that the requisite authority and discipline will be obtained. The rank and file must feel that they are fighting for what is worth getting. The battles in the Houses of Parliament will be mainly over legislation, and the results may prove sometimes disappointing even when adequate.

That is why I suggest that there is an additional and not in the least alternative field open to the Liberal Party, upon which it would do wisely to enter. Nothing done here will interfere with other parts of its programme. No great amount of Parliamentary time will be consumed. The recess is better for the work than the period while Parliament is sitting. No opposition is able to obstruct this kind of work. What is wanted is a band of resolute and capable men furnished with fresh ideas and united for the accomplishment of a common plan.

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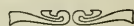
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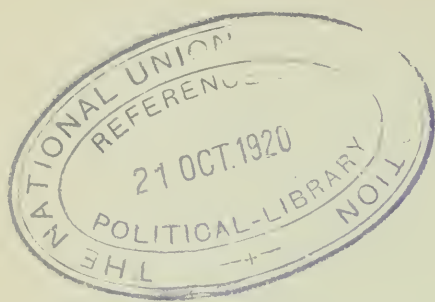
OLD AGE PENSIONS.

By Mr. GEORGE BARNES.

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June 1st, 1905.

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GEORGE N. BARNES,

Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Chairman of the National Committee of Organised Labour, and Parliamentary Candidate for Hutchestown Division of Glasgow.

THAT George Barnes is known to be a coming man in British politics is one of the most cheering signs on the political horizon. In the Labour world he has long since arrived; and the position he holds there is a notable witness to the insight and judgment of the working classes behind him. The prospect of his arrival in the House of Commons encourages new hopes for the future of that sadly discredited assembly. For he embodies the elements most needed in our legislature. He is one of the best types of British Labour.

He belongs to the working people by blood and bone, as well as by their choice and his own. He is a native of Scotland, having been born at Lochee on January 2nd, 1859. Thanks to the migratory habits of his parents, his boyhood was spent in different parts of Great Britain, finding a home now in Lancashire, now in Middlesex, and again in Scotland. Thus, though essentially and unmistakably Scotch, he is much more of a Southerner than many of his compeers whose formative years were all spent north of the Border. His only schooling was taken in England. He used to attend an Anglican school at Enfield Highway, which cost him daily a two-miles' trudge there and two miles back. He finally left school just before completing his eleventh year to start work in a

jute factory. He began his apprenticeship in the engineering line in London when he was 13, completing it five years later in Dundee. At 18 he set out from home as an independent workman, and followed his trade for fifteen years in Scotland, Lancashire and London.

Needless to say, he was a strong Trade Unionist. His abilities and the confidence he inspired won for him an ever-increasing influence in the councils of his craft. In 1892 he was promoted to a post in the general offices of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. After holding this office for three years, he returned to the workshop for a year or two. Then, eight years ago, he was elected to the proud position of General Secretary to the A.S.E. That organisation is, if not the strongest, one of the strongest Trade Unions in the world. It contains some 96,000 of the ablest and best paid and the most trusted of British workmen. It is also one of the compactest and best disciplined of our industrial armies. Its power was grimly shown in the eight-hours' struggle which began in 1897 and for many months paralysed the mechanical activity of Great Britain. The elective head of such a force is a far more weighty factor in the general life of the community than many a Cabinet Minister.

Mr. Barnes owes his position to

none of those arts which the terrified imagination of the employing class is apt to associate with the successful Labour Leader. He is no lurid demagogue or platform incendiary or wily panderer to the passions of the mob. His speeches are as innocent of turgid rhetoric as of claptrap; they show as little trace of truculence as of sycophancy. Their note is common-sense touched with emotion and governed by conscience. Mr. Barnes charms his hearers by his transparent sincerity, his evident desire to get at the facts, his practical earnestness, and his broad human sympathy. Here, you feel, is a man of level head, large heart and lofty principle, with resolute convictions of his own, yet fairminded to those who differ from him; above all, a genial brotherly soul. In a word, it is in his character that his power lies. In the conduct of the A.S.E. he has an ever-increasing demand for the exercise of his distinctive qualities. In conjunction with colleagues he is for ever moving from part to part of his huge diocese, mediating between masters and men, endeavouring at once to secure with the least possible friction the concession and the acceptance of the best terms available. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, his task is that of a peacemaker. Only very rarely and very reluctantly is resource to sterner measures adopted. The Employers' Federation knows and respects him. And mutinous branches of the A.S.E., even when they dominate the constituency which he aspires to represent in Parliament, know that he will speak his mind. The strength of the man is seen in the fact that he calmly perseveres with his candidature unmoved by conflict with his members, and perhaps the most remarkable proof of his magnetic grasp is that though defeated in the fight for an eight-hours' day his position in the A.S.E. was stronger than it was before—stronger after defeat than the position of many a labour leader after a triumphant victory.

As Secretary, Mr. Barnes is also editor. He has made the *Journal of the A.S.E.* more than a trade register. He has developed it into a real magazine, an organ of technical instruction and a channel of general literary interest. In the papers which he contributes there are many gleams of poetic, almost of mystic insight.

The scant schooling of his earlier days has been more than made up by the wide reading and travel of his maturer life. He is a great admirer of John Bright, a diligent student of his speeches, and he is also a reader of Ruskin, and, thanks to his initiative, the A.S.E. has made several levies for the support of Ruskin Hall, at Oxford. He takes care to keep himself in touch with the current of periodical literature. He has paid several visits to Germany and closely studied the conditions of German labour. He was also a member of the Mosely Commission and contributed his report on a comparison between American and British Labour. He is an enthusiastic advocate of improved education, technical and general, both for workmen and masters. He is convinced that Britain in competition with other nations suffers most from the lack of suitable training in the directors of industry.

Like most British Labour leaders, Mr. Barnes has not denied himself the privileges of domestic life. Mr. Barnes' birthday is always celebrated by a children's party, and the sight of the great Trade Unionist romping with the youngsters on that festive occasion might reach the heart of even the most militant capitalist. Another glint of the man's inner life appeared one day when in addressing a company of working men he deplored the fact that the general movement towards reform had come to a standstill, and he asked from what quarter were we to look for fresh impetus for the cause of progress. It would not come, he said, from the clash of parties or the conflict of economic forces. It certainly would not come

from the ethical societies with their chop-logic. It would only come through the bursting forth afresh of those religious instincts which remain deep and indestructible in the heart of the masses of the people.

Mr. Barnes has never allowed either the Trade Unionist or the paterfamilias to swallow up the citizen. Early in his career he was actively associated with the Land Reform Movement initiated by Mr. Henry George. To all the leading social reforms he has given frank and sustained support. He was one of the founders of the National Committee of Organised Labour, which came into being in 1899 to promote the enactment of pensions for all in their old age. This was the movement which first drew the previously warring sections of British Labour into effective agreement. In combining Socialist and Individualist, old school and new, Liberal and Tory, on the demand for justice to the aged, Mr. Barnes displayed those synthetic gifts which are distinctive of him. He is essentially a cohesive personality, and the diffusion of his spirit formed a sort of vital cement to solidify the new edifice of industrial unity. In the subsequent concentration of working-class force which took shape in the Labour Representation Committee, Mr. Barnes naturally found himself at home. Without desiring to antagonise either of the historic parties in the State, Mr. Barnes feels that the education of both parties and the welfare of the nation will be best advanced by the formation of a self-dependent Labour party. He has been chosen as the Labour candidate for Hutchestown in Glasgow. Should he be returned, great hopes are entertained of the constructive effect which his character and capabilities will produce amid the chaos of Parliamentary factions.

For Mr. Barnes is an eminent example of the sort of man which British workers select to administer their affairs. The great national Trade Unions are primarily not so

much organs of agitation or industrial war as huge business concerns. On the way in which they are conducted depends the wasting or saving of tens of thousands of pounds, and, what is even more vividly recognised, the presence or absence of food and warmth in tens of thousands of homes. Among the qualities required in their management a sound judgment, a conciliatory temper, a ready tact stand far before mere platform gifts, desirable though these be. The British workman enjoys rhetorical fireworks as much as any man, nor is he above appeals to his vanity or class prejudice. But he has more than the average Englishman's distrust of the brilliant orator. He has an uneasy feeling that the master of phrases is not always master of the facts, that truth may suffer by being squeezed into an epigram, that a tongue so plausible can persuade to any course, right or wrong, expedient or inexpedient. He would as little trust a mere talker with the management of a great Trade Union as he would trust a clever barrister in an Admiralty Court to fit a ship with her engines, or a successful railway lawyer to run the Flying Scotsman.

That the British workman is beginning to act on the same principle of selection in the choice of our national directors forms the significance of the appearance of men like Mr. Barnes in the Parliamentary arena. The nation as a whole may well greet his arrival, for he represents a new and sorely needed type of statesman. He is the product of a newly discovered school of statesmanship. For compare with his the traditional training of our legislators. What is a course at Eton or Oxford beside eight years spent in assisting to administer the affairs of a great national organisation like the Amalgamated Society of Engineers? With a membership of well-nigh one hundred thousand artisans holding in their hands for better or for worse the industrial efficiency of Great Britain, that body is a State in itself, and its

Head must be no mean master of Statecraft. Every day he is bound to be faced with the actual conditions of life which press so heavily upon the vast masses of the population and clamour for reform; conditions which the fledgeling from public school and university has often only seen afar off, through the windows of castle or mansion. Again and again he is called upon to exercise the deftest of diplomacy in the settlement of disputes between employer and employed, in adjusting strained relations between different Unions or different branches

of the same Union; a diplomacy requiring tact as nice and attended with perils almost as formidable as are involved in the conduct of international relations. The nation is beginning to learn that in those who have graduated in the management of our great Trade Unions there is a reserve of statesmanship which will stand us in good stead when Parliament ceases to be a bedlam of babblement, and becomes a real workshop for the shaping of such measures as will promote plenty at home, peace abroad, and happiness everywhere.

OLD=AGE PENSIONS.

By GEORGE BARNES.

The Cast Off.—On the Road.

SOME time ago, during one of my walks abroad, I overtook an old woman on a country road, and in the course of a walk together for a mile or two I elicited her life's history, which might indeed be called a life's tragedy.

She was a widow, her husband, who had been a contractor's man, having been killed some twenty-five years before, or, as she put it—with that naive habit common to the poor of associating their own private misfortunes with some outstanding public calamity—"he was killed the year after the 'Tay Bridge,'" meaning, of course, the year after the falling of the Tay Bridge. She had followed the fortunes of the same class of worker to which her husband had belonged, a class with which I was familiar during my life as a working engineer, and which has, I know, many claims of a special character to commend it to favourable consideration, in addition to those to which eloquent testimony was borne, many years ago, by Sir Thomas Brassey in his interesting comparisons between English and European navvies. It is more distinctively British, perhaps, than any other class of labour, being recruited mostly from the inland districts during the progress of public works, but being migratory, has no vote, and, until the advent of Mr. John Ward and the Navvies Union a few years ago, it had no voice in the Councils of the nation. Its members are rough of speech as well as strong of limb, industrious almost beyond the point of virtue: spending freely and having that tinge of mysticism which an open country life brings to the simple mind.

Of such was my companion of the country road. She had earned her living for twenty-five years by washing and similar work for the navvies and engine drivers on public works, flitting from place to place with her fellow workers, until at 64 years of age she had reached the borderland of "age and want, that ill-matched pair," which rounds off the life of the average manual worker. The workhouse seemed to be her only refuge after a life of labour, and she was making a supreme effort to escape its forbidding portals by tramping to her native place of Doncaster, where she hoped to find asylum in the home of a married daughter. She had no complaint to make, taking the position with quite stoic courage, but, as she left me and I looked after the brave old soul

trudging along to complete the seventeen miles which was to be her day's task, old-age pensions appealed to me more strongly than ever before. My mind projected itself forward to Doncaster, which, in all probability, she would reach in a few days. I saw the home of her married daughter, and I knew the hand-to-hand struggle going on there to spread the wages of a labouring man over the necessities of a growing family. I knew the mingled feelings with which the poor wanderer would be hailed, and the deepening poverty consequent upon another mouth to fill, and, even beyond that, I looked forward to the canker which would begin to eat into the heart of the old wage earner, when no longer able to maintain herself.

The Problem in Its Magnitude.

Multiplied by a million such is the old-age problem as it exists in Great Britain to-day. The old veteran of the workshop when no longer able to make profit for employer; the widow, broken in health and spirit by incessant toil; the factory worker unable longer to keep up with the increased speed of factory life; simply throw themselves on the bounty of friends and relatives, to whose credit, be it said, the appeal is seldom made in vain. Or, if friends fail, they perforce throw themselves on the parish and end their days in the cheerless walls of the "house." Those whose lot it is to get an inside knowledge of the homes of working people, or who have experience of workhouse life, are familiar with these aged relics, but they are seldom heard of in the outside world except in figures of Old-Age Commissions and Committees of Enquiry.

Let us consider the question in its magnitude as indicated by Government figures. A return obtained from Parliament last year, on the initiative of Mr. Thomas Burt, shows that there were 490,513 paupers over 60 years of age in England and Wales alone—exclusive of lunatics. The number of paupers over 65 years of age on September 1st, 1903, was 284,265, but these are exclusive, not only of lunatics, but also of those whose wives or children had obtained relief. The report states that the number of paupers over the age of 65 has increased since 1892, and on that date as well as throughout, up to 1903, "formed more than half of the total number of paupers over 16 years of age."

The figures and evidence supplied by Lord Aberdare's Old-Age Commission of 1895 cover the ground most completely, as they take in the whole of the United Kingdom, and although somewhat out of date, they best convey an adequate idea of the extent of the problem. They give the number of people over 65 years of age as 1,980,000, and these may probably now reach two millions. The number in want varies from district to district; London showing a high percentage of old-age paupers, while the provinces are below the average, but, taking the figures as a whole, the Commissioners found that "nearly 20 per cent. of the total population over the age of 65 receive parish relief on any one day, and 30 per cent. in the course of a year. Deducting those belonging to classes above the possibility of want, it is evident that the percentage of those actually relieved must be greatly increased."

This means that there are about 400,000 paupers at any given date who are over 65 years of age, and it is fair to assume that there are a great many more

on the *verge* of pauperism. The figures give thirty as the percentage for a year, so that some 600,000 are pauperised at all events once a year.

But we have not yet plumbed the depths of poverty in old age, inasmuch as the figures given are but a symptom of it. There are many who prefer death by starvation rather than resource to the parochial authorities, so that it is safe to say that over a million old people over the age of 65 are either in want or on the borderland of want.

Politicians, Promise, Proposal, Performance.

I pictured on my country ramble what ought to be their lot ; and what *might* be if Parliamentarians would turn their eyes from the end of the earth and give heed to the needs of the people at home.

I imagined my worn-out friend in receipt of a small pension from the State, carrying with it no stigma of pauperism, but hers by right and in recognition of her life's work, sufficient to give her a place without sense of dependence at the ingle neuk of her people, where her declining years would taper off in a well-earned and honoured rest, the daughter meantime ministering to her few needs, and the third generation adding the cheer which only the young can give.

This rich country of ours has not yet, however, attained to this simple act of justice. The aged and worthy poor are dependent upon their friends, or, being driven to bumbledom for the bare necessities of life, are treated without discrimination, in common with, and on terms suitable to, the wastrel or the criminal. Promises and proposals in regard to pensions have in turn served their purpose in exploiting the poor for political profit, but of performance there has been not a scrap on the part of those who have climbed to office and power. Ample provision has certainly been made for highly placed Parliamentarians and soldiers, civil servants and public officials of all grades, but for the manual worker nothing but words, words, and still words. No effort has been made to give legislative embodiment to the principle of pensions except as applying to those least in need of them. A Return of the House of Commons dated last August gives, for instance, the names of certain Right Honourable ex-Cabinet Ministers who, if not poor in purse, had certainly been poor enough in spirit to quarter themselves on the public purse during the previous thirty-six years to the tune of £110,000 in pensions for short periods of service, during which they were in receipt of large salaries. Of some politicians it might indeed be said that they have been too busy looking after themselves to find time to redeem promises made to constituents—in the words of the old jingle,

“ They have revelled underneath the moon,
And basked beneath the sun,
They have lived a life of ‘ going-to-do,’
And died with nothing done.”

Mr. Frederick Rogers, in an article in “The Treasury” of April, 1905, says that Old-Age Pensions were discussed in the time of Edward the Sixth. I hope we may see the discussion come to fruition in the reign of our justly popular Edward the Seventh. Indeed the present occupant of the Throne might well

add to the prestige he has already won by following the example of his youthful predecessor, who had, we are told, a Committee formed, over which the Lord Mayor presided, and of which the Bishop of London, two Aldermen, six commoners and eight "worthy citizens" were members, and which recommended for "the honest and decayed householder, that he should be relieved at home at his house and in the parish where he dwells by a weekly relief and pension." The only alterations I would suggest are that the King himself should take the place of the Lord Mayor, and the Committee be formed of those who represent the great industrial organisations, with the Bishop thrown in.

During comparatively recent times the discussion of State Pensions has ranged about the two principles, contributory and non-contributory; that is to say, those schemes requiring contributions from the individual recipient, and those giving the pension entirely from public funds. The logic of events as well as the weight of argument has been, I think, entirely in favour of the latter principle, which, promoted by Mr. Charles Booth, has been endorsed by the Trade Union Congress, the Co-operative Congress, the National Conference of Friendly Societies, and by special conferences covering all the great working-class organisations at any time during the last five years. I shall endeavour in what here follows to give the arguments in favour thereof, as well as to deal with a few of the arguments which have been urged on the other side.

Examination of Alternate Methods.

First let me briefly deal, however, with some of the methods which have been advocated, and to some extent practised, for making provision for old age. First of all, there is that of individual effort. It is said by some that the poor are themselves to blame, that they should have made some provision in the time of their strength and manhood. Examine this in the light of fact. Mr. Charles Booth tells us that about one-third of the population in the East End of London have to exist somehow on wages less than twenty-one shillings per week per family. Mr. Rowntree tells us that these figures may be applied with equal truth to York, and it is probable that wage conditions throughout the country generally are even worse than the conditions revealed by these figures in respect to London and York.

A few weeks ago Mr. Winfrey, the well-known Norfolk publicist, initiated a discussion in the columns of the *Daily News*, on the condition of the Norfolk labourer, whose wages, he said, were fourteen shillings per week, and this was followed by other correspondents, one of whom said that he could give the names and addresses of many who were receiving not more than ten to twelve shillings per week, and another who gave the case of an old man whose wages had been about ten shillings, who had never received parish relief, still working at 86 years of age, and "looking forward with hopefulness to a speedy death in order to avoid the other necessary alternatives—pauperism and disenfranchisement."

It is simply fatuous to talk of saving in the light of facts such as these. Economic pressure tends to reduce wages of the unskilled but nevertheless

useful worker to the level of bare subsistence. The wages of the great mass of the people are scarcely enough to cover the decencies, let alone the comforts, of civilised life, and I therefore dismiss the idea of saving as beneath serious consideration; discreditable alike to the heart and head of those who urge it.

There are two other methods which have been to some extent practised, but neither of which offers any full solution. First of these is the system of purchasing State annuities. Acting on the principle of "to him who hath shall be given," these have been made the basis for proposals to give grants from the State to those purchasing them. Such schemes can never touch the necessitous, and in fact are not likely to touch in any large proportion even the well-to-do. State annuities were instituted in 1865, and but a few thousands have, as yet, been taken up.

The Old-Age (Royal) Commission, 1895, in its report says that "deferred annuities are unpopular, not only with the working classes, but with every other class in the community." In the evidence of the Commission Canon Blackley says that "The vast majority of the thrifty . . . cannot be induced to begin paying for a period which they may never live to enjoy." The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies (Brabrook) says "that he never met more than one person in his life who had bought one."

The reasons for the unpopularity of deferred pensions are not far to seek. The young man does not look favourably upon paying away money for an old age which he may never reach, money which might be better used for supporting wife and family. Out of one hundred workmen of 25 years of age, not more than forty live to 65, and even these are subject to unemployment, sickness, and various mischances of life, which are quite enough to cope with without being further saddled with old-age liabilities which they may not be able to fulfil. Yet this scarecrow of deferred annuities has been made the basis of schemes innumerable by the Parliamentarians, and has, I think, been treated far more seriously than a consideration of the facts and figures bearing upon it would seem to justify.

The second but still inadequate method of dealing with the matter collectively is through the Trade Unions and the Friendly Societies, and it is but fair to say that this method has been more helpful than deferred annuities as affecting the better-paid workmen. Of Unions reporting to the Board of Trade, however, only a small number make any provision for old age. Of a membership of two millions, no less than one million four hundred thousand belong to Unions which make no provision whatever for Old-Age Pensions. Only those in receipt of comparatively high wages can pay the high contributions exacted by the Unions which make such provision. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, of which society I have the honour to be chief officer, supports 4,941, or nearly one-half of the Trade Union pensioners, and its annual expenditure already exceeds one hundred thousand pounds sterling in this way. The pensions range from seven to ten shillings per week, but the engineer pays an average of 1s. 9d. per week into his Union, and even this sum is becoming quite inadequate to the growing strain of expenditure. Such payment is altogether beyond the power of the agricultural labourer, the factory operative, or woman worker, and these, according to the evidence of Mr. Charles Booth to the Old-Age Commission,

form two-fifths of the entire industrial population, and provides eighty per cent. of the pauperism of the country.

These considerations apply, of course, to the Friendly Societies as well as to the Unions. The two classes of organisations cover the same class of people, and although they have done a great deal to spread those burdens of sickness, unemployment, accident and other mischances of life over the broad back of the many, which might otherwise have fallen with crushing weight upon the shoulders of the few, they are quite unequal to the task of solving the question of Old-Age Pensions.

It has been stated that they might be assisted by State subsidy, and the offer is a very alluring one. State assistance, however, involves State interference with the administration, and to this Friendly Society and Trade Union members will never assent. With them it is a matter of first principle that they must be left to manage their own affairs. They have had to get along up to now without Governments—and very often in spite of them—and will continue to do so. Moreover the membership of Friendly Societies and Trade Unions is for all practical purposes confined to men—and to men in good health; and it would be a manifest injustice to tax the women and the physically unfit who are debarred from membership for the benefit of robust men more able to look after themselves. State subsidy would be unfair to others then, as well as unacceptable to the Friendly Society members and Trade Unionists themselves, and, besides this, all contributory schemes, whether by way of subsidy to Friendly Societies or Trade Unions, Government or Insurance Annuities, are all open to the same objection. They all assume a sufficiency of wage over and above living requirements during working life—that is to say, they assume something contrary to the fact, and for this reason I am glad that contributory schemes have been ruled out by Lord Rothschild's Committee as well as argued out in discussion due largely to the initiation of Mr. Charles Booth. The field has thereby been cleared for something better.

The Only Way.

I submit that the only solution is in the recognition by the State of the principle of universal pensions, drawn from the national exchequer, paid as a civic right to all fully-qualified citizens who claim at a given age, and without respect to sex or social status. Most of the proposals hitherto made have had reference only to men, and to men who are poor. I submit that women are just as much entitled as are men, or even more so, because less able to make provision for themselves, and that pensions must be made applicable to all, and be drawn from funds to which all subscribe, in order that they may be removed from the taint of pauperism.

The principle of universality may appear to be a stumbling block to some. There are those who would freely give pensions to the necessitous, but not to those who are not in need of them, just as there were some who objected to giving education freely to the children of the well-to-do thirty-five years ago. It is evident, however, that the same considerations apply to pensions as to education, and they must be settled in the same way as education was settled,

namely, as a national concern—as a something to which all are entitled and to which all must contribute ; and, just as free education—or, more properly speaking, public provision of education—has led to the elimination of those feelings of petty caste which ranged round the free and fee schools of the middle of last century, so would the feeling of social stigma now associated with State payment disappear from the mind of the deserving and self-respecting poor with the inauguration of a system of pensions in which rich and poor alike would be entitled to share.

Similarly in regard to the deserving and the undeserving. There are those who would discriminate, forgetting that ascertainment of desert is a question involving some of the most profound and subtle considerations with which the mind of man has ever been called upon to deal. Heredity, environment, mental bias, physical equipment, social status, and the temptations to which each individual had been subjected from youth upwards—all these would enter into the question as points to be considered in reaching a just conclusion, and a Solomon might well quail before the task. The average public official—who is not a Solomon—is the last person in the world who is ever likely to reach such a conclusion.

Discrimination is, in short, an impossibility, and, moreover, misfortune is not now dealt with in that spirit. The man meeting with an accident in the workshop, or the woman who is run over in the street, are promptly taken to the hospital, and as promptly dealt with by skilled doctors and kindly nurses, their wounds bound up, and their sufferings assuaged, although the one may be a murderer and the other a Magdalen. The broad principle of humanity is instinctively felt to be the right one, and no enquiry is made as to character or antecedents. Let us, then, get rid of the Pharausaical spirit in the treatment of our aged fellow citizens, and remembering our own shortcomings, “judge not, lest ye also be judged.”

The primary consideration is the making of provision for the aged poor, but in order to do this on terms honourable and acceptable to the poor, provision must be made for all.

“Oh, but,” I can imagine some of my readers now saying, “how about the cost of pensions to such an enormous number of people?” Well, how about it? Surely there cannot be anything very formidable about the cost of maintaining the old folk of a country which can—and did—pay as much as would be necessary in money, to say nothing of the sacrifice of life, for the political rights of a cosmopolitan crowd of money grabbers in the heart of Africa.

Much has been said recently about the resources of the country, its enormous trade, its swelling wealth, and its great prestige. But what of these unless as a result the people find it easier to live, and are relieved of want, and the fear of want? Instead of which, intensification of competition and improved methods of production have been the means of throwing the workman out earlier in life than ever before. Educational facilities, leading to sharpened wits and greater efficiency of labour, have been at once the cause and effect of intensifying the struggle of life so that the very forces which increase wealth, and wealth-producing capacity, militate against the wealth producers.

Surely something is wrong or this would not be allowed to continue, at all

events as affecting the old folks among us. Even if something may be said in favour of subjecting the young and strong to the hurly-burly of the competitive struggle, surely the aged should be protected from it, and, having done their share in building up the wealth of the country, should be a legitimate charge upon the strength and wealth of those who follow.

The Cost in Money.

Taking five shillings per week, or £13 per year, as the basis, and allowing for the payment of a pension to every man and woman over the age of 65, the cost would be twenty-six million sterling per year. But the actual cost in practice would be by no means so formidable as this outside figure would seem to indicate, inasmuch as there are large deductions to be made.

First of all there is a large amount of money spent in Poor Law Relief for the aged, much of it spent in dubious ways with ill results. The cost of maintaining an old person in a workhouse averages nine to ten shillings per week, and in London it is much more. From twelve to thirteen million pounds sterling is raised in Poor Rates every year, five millions of it being largely wasted in old-age maintenance, and, deducting this, the outside figure is reduced to twenty-one millions, with which a pension might be paid to everyone, from duke to docker.

But it by no means follows that the duke would claim. As a matter of fact he is entitled now to send his children to the elementary school free of fees, and rightly so, since he pays in common with his plebeian neighbour for its maintenance; but the budding duke is, nevertheless, sent to Eton and Oxford or Cambridge because it is thought best that he should mingle only with his peers. And so it would be with pensions on a universal plan. They would be paid only to the persons entitled to them on a given date at some Government Office—say the Post Office nearest to the residence of the applicant—and a large number under these democratic conditions would not claim. Mr. Charles Booth, I think, estimated the number of these at fifteen per cent. of those entitled, and this might as well be taken as any other figure. It is just as likely to be under as overstated. Deducting the fifteen per cent. then, our outside figure is reduced to something like seventeen millions sterling.

But there are still large deductions to be made, as there are large numbers of ex-public servants, from the cabinet minister to the common constable, already in receipt of pensions, and who would not, of course, be entitled twice over. Deducting these from the outside figure already given, it is probable that another two or three millions could be "saved."

Further there are those included in the aged who are not qualified by residence or labour in the country, or who may be disqualified by crime, so that our formidable sum of twenty-six millions gets reduced to about one-half, which would be the net cost of giving effect in a practical manner to the principal of universal State pensions. It is a large sum, but if the country were really in earnest about the matter the cost would soon cease from troubling and the objectors be at rest. As a matter of fact the aged poor, as has been said, are maintained now in a barbarous sort of way, and, of those maintained by the

State, the least deserving fare best. It is the brazen-faced ne'er-do-wells, who can tell any tale and submit to any indignity, who for the most part brave the workhouse with success; the self-respecting and deserving poor often shrink from the inquisitorial official mind till compelled by sheer necessity and hunger; being assisted meantime by friends or relatives too often steeped in poverty themselves.

A Readjustment of the Burden.

Old-Age Pensions will simply mean a readjustment of the burden, and there are plenty of ways and means open to meet their cost by the community as a whole. There is, for instance, the enormous potential source of income accruing to vacant land, a fund which, although social in origin and growth, has, as yet, strangely enough been left entirely alone, and is still untapped.

Or resource might be made to the income tax. The savings of the well-to-do amount every year, I believe, to some two hundred million pounds, one-twentieth of which would be almost sufficient to cover the cost of the modest pension which has been suggested.

There are some interesting figures as bearing upon this point supplied by the Annual Return of the Inland Revenue Commissioners issued a few weeks ago, which show that the incomes coming under the review of the Commissioners have increased during the last few years at a rate exceeding that of any previous time in our history, not even excepting the abnormal period of prosperity following, and largely consequent upon, the Franco-German War.

The Blue Book, for instance, shows that assessable incomes have increased from £673,711,988 in the year 1893-4 to £879,638,546 for the year ending 1902-3. (The figures for the more recent periods are not yet out). It should be the business of those who look wise and sit on Treasury benches to tilt some of this wealth, so as to supply the needful money for pensions; it is the business of those, who—like myself—aspire only to be agitators, to generate the desire and promote the demand for it being done. Half of these incomes, at least, are wasted in the employment of labour for personal service, in converting a nation of potential producers into a nation of consuming flunkeys, and are, therefore, spent as well as obtained in a manner, I believe, inimical to the interests of the community.

The Objection respecting Thrift.

Apart from the cost, which seems to me to be the only serious difficulty, a difficulty after all, as has been shown, more apparent than real, there are several other objections frequently raised against the universal plan of pensions. It is said that the incentive to thrift would be lessened. Without considering whether thrift in the sense here meant is a good thing or not, of which for my part I have my own opinion, I am quite sure that thrift would be in no way lessened by the prospect of a small pension being paid to every person on reaching a given age.

For what do we find to-day? Where do we find thrift most practised but among the comfortably placed in each class and section of the community?

And, on the other hand, where do we find the most thriftless and shiftless but among those constantly under pressure of misfortune, the chronically hard-up, whose spirit has been broken, and who are without hope in the world? Instead of pensions tending to eliminate incentive to thrift I believe that they would form a nucleus around which effort would grow and fertilise; they would give fresh heart and courage to many now crushed by the hopelessness of their position. The assurance of a small sum being forthcoming at a given age would lead to efforts being made to do something to add to it, just as we find to-day that those who have a little have most the desire for more. In short, the lifting of the treatment of the aged and indigent from the level of the wastrel to the higher level of the self-respecting old workman would tend to raise the wastrel out of himself.

Family Life.

Another objection is frequently made that the sense of filial affection would be lessened by State pensions relieving the young from the duty of maintaining their parents. It is curious, by-the-by, to note the assumption here that parents are a proper charge upon their children, an idea altogether different to the theory and practice among the well-to-do, where it is usual for the sons and daughters to look to the parents for material assistance as well as advice and counsel. But, in any case, filial affection is not likely to be lessened by improving the position of the parents, making them less dependent and more in the position of the elders of the comfortably placed.

I do not want to do anything which would diminish that respect for family life which has been one of our national characteristics. But, consider! there are some two hundred thousand indoor paupers over the age of 60. Family life is not respected by pauperising these old folk; the unity of the family is not promoted by separating them from their sons and daughters, and filial affection cannot certainly be engendered by compelling these sons or daughters by process of law to contribute to their support. On the contrary, the evidence is all the other way. If they were in receipt of a small payment very many of them could find a place in the homes of sons or daughters with mutual advantage to all and probably at less cost to the community.

Sapping Independence

The third and last objection to which I shall allude is that pensions from the State would sap the independence of the individual, and discourage the making of provision through Friendly Society and similar agencies.

This is perhaps the most far-fetched, inconsequential and even fantastic objection of all. When pensions are on hand for public officials, from the Parliamentary down to the common policeman, never a sap is suggested, and no one seems to imagine for a moment that the independence of the civil servant or the schoolmaster is sapped by qualifying for a pension by years of service. Why, then, this concern for the independence of the struggling poor? No one really believes in this miserable bogey, but nevertheless it is put forward against pensions.

Besides, every individual and every agency will as a matter of fact be left exactly in the same position relatively as occupied now in the event of universal pensions being agreed to. If a person has saved, that person will in old age be in a better position than another who has not saved by the amount of the saving. If a person has subscribed to a Friendly Society or Trade Union, or even bought an annuity, such person will have the State pension just the same, and therefore, whatever inducements there may be now to maintaining independence by individual effort or provision through mutual helpfulness, they will still remain, and, as I have before shown, will in fact be encouraged rather than discouraged by State aid.

The Practical Application.

How is it to be done? How put in a Bill? I don't know. I am not a Parliamentary draughtsman and will not expose my 'prentice hand on Bill framing; nor do I think the question at all important. What is important is the getting up of steam behind the demand. That done, Bills will come along all right. I do not believe that we shall ever get pensions either from Tory or Liberal Government unless they are forced by political pressure. Three years ago the thing could easily have been done by the present Government. There was a surplus almost large enough for the purpose, but other interests were stronger than the claims of labour. A Liberal Government will probably come into office soon, but one looks in vain to the deliverances of Liberal spokesmen for any indication of help voluntarily coming to the old workman from that quarter. They are more concerned in retrenchment than wise expenditure.

I conclude, therefore, that the real important thing about pensions, as well as about a good many other things of social moment, is to get labour well organised on a political basis, and, just as need gives a new seeing to the eyes, so would such organisation clarify the mental vision of politicians and statesmen, and enable them to see clearly a good many things which they now see as "only through a glass darkly."

For my part I believe that public opinion would back up any statesman who really tackled the question in a broad, human, and sympathetic spirit. Our country has spent millions in money and poured out some of its best and bravest blood in foreign missions, has opened up the dark places of the Earth to civilisation, has raised its voice generally on the side of right against might abroad, and I refuse to believe that it would stubbornly continue to leave its worn-out workers at home in want and hunger if only a strong lead were given by those in the seats of authority.

GEORGE N. BARNES.

NOTE.

The National Committee of Organised Labour at its conference two years ago discussed and adopted a Bill, the main features of which might here be given. Mr. Frederick Rogers, of Browning Hall, London, the Secretary of the Committee, and to whose indefatigable efforts is largely due the development of opinion in regard to pensions, would, no doubt, be glad to give further information.

1. The Bill provides for five shillings per week being paid to every British subject, male or female, applying in the appointed way, and certified to be not less than 65 years of age, excepting such persons as :—

- (a). Are domiciled outside the United Kingdom.
- (b). Were born outside the United Kingdom and have resided less than 20 years in the United Kingdom prior to application.
- (c). Are under police surveillance, or
- (d). Have on conviction of crime been sentenced to deprivation of pension.

2. Everyone desiring to receive a pension under this Act

- (a). Shall apply to the Registrar of Births and Deaths in his district (1) in person, or (2) in case of the applicant's physical incapacity, in prescribed and attested form, and next
- (b). To the Superintendent Registrar of the same district in like manner, and
- (c). Shall, on satisfying them as to his qualifications, receive from them, along with a pension receipt book, a signed certificate to the effect that he is a duly qualified pensioner.

4. The pensioner shall,

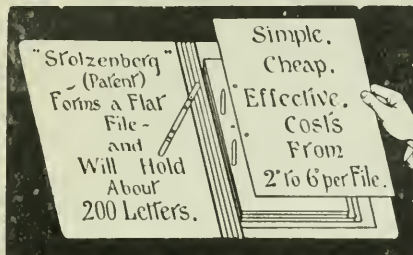
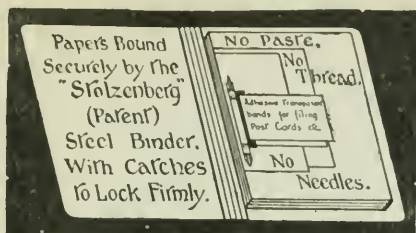
- (a). On appearing in person on the day prescribed at the money order office which is nearest his domicile, and on presenting his pension certificate and receipt book, receive his week's pension.
- (b). The pension may be paid to a person representing the pensioner only when there is presented along with his pension certificate and receipt book a certificate of illness signed by a duly qualified medical man, or of legitimate absence from home, signed by a county, or borough, or urban, or rural district councillor.

5. If the pensioner becomes chargeable to the Guardians of the Poor as an inmate of workhouse, or workhouse infirmary, or asylum, his pension shall be paid over to the Guardians of the Poor responsible for his maintenance, during such time as he continues to reside under their care.

6. If a pensioner be convicted of any crime he shall forfeit his pension

- (a). If he is imprisoned, during imprisonment ; or
- (b). Where no imprisonment follows, for such period as the convicting court shall determine.

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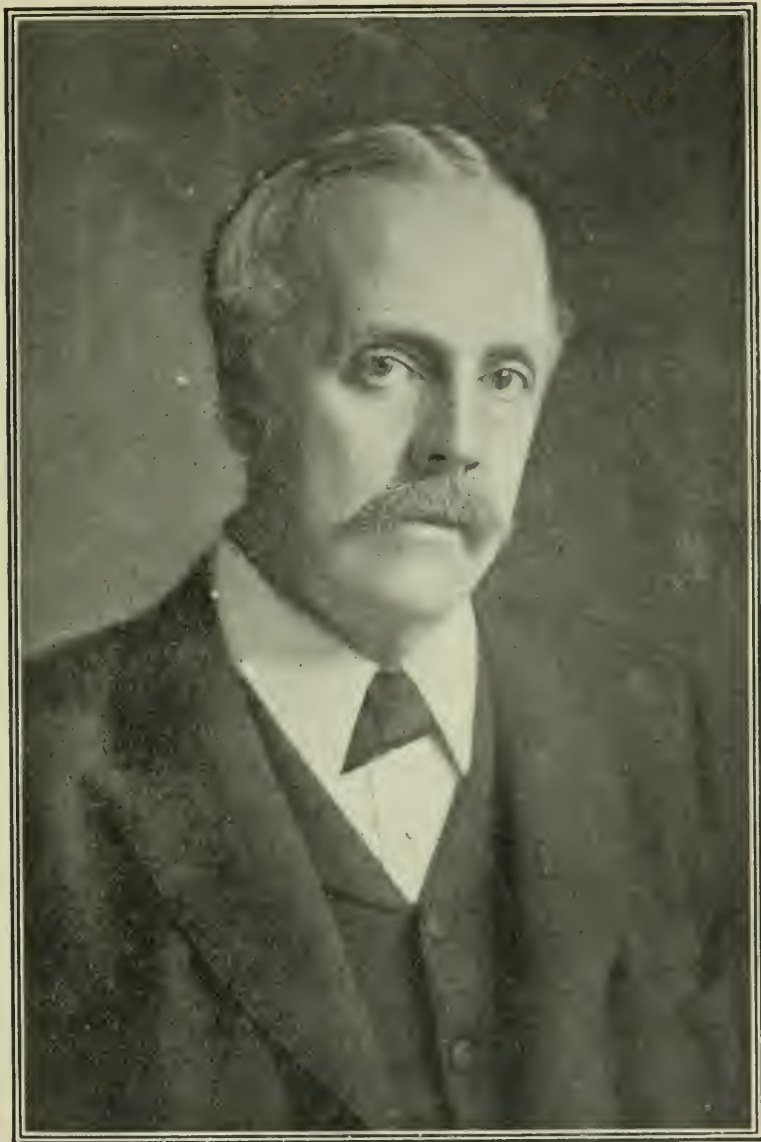
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By Rt. Hon. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR. *Empire of Britain*

WITH A LETTER FROM LORD ESHER.

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THE

RIGHT HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M.P.,

PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

MR. BALFOUR can hardly be regarded as a Coming Man. He arrived some time ago. Neither can he, unfortunately for the Liberal Opposition, be regarded as a young man. For, like Marshal MacMahon in the Malakoff, he says, "Here I am, and here I'll stick." Nevertheless I include him in this series, because he has dealt with a great coming question—that of Imperial defence—with an authority which no one else can command. He has done so in a speech which he has circulated as a kind of personal gift to Members of Parliament. But it is not accessible to the general public, except in the practically inaccessible columns of back numbers of the *Times* newspaper, and the almost equally inaccessible pages of *Hansard*. Even those who have the *Times* file and the *Hansard* debates at their elbow may be glad to have not only the Prime Minister's discourse but the authorised construction of the speech which Lord Esher communicated to the military correspondent of the *Times*. It is necessary to include the latter in this pamphlet, because if so acute a critic as Lord Esher's correspondent can "miss the points of a great argument" it is obvious that it would be impossible to expect the general public to grasp them without

the assistance so obligingly furnished them by Lord Esher, whose qualifications for acting as interpreter of the Prime Minister's views are undeniable.

As Mr. Balfour is not a Coming Man, it is unnecessary to devote any space to his character sketch. It is sufficient to quote Lord Esher's tribute to the Prime Minister in his pamphlet on the Army:—

"In Mr. Balfour the country possessed a Minister, with a mind sharpened with dialectics and a temper chastened by philosophic inquiry, who was peculiarly fitted for the task of sifting the often conflicting opinions of Military and Naval experts. His judicial summaries and final decisions are recorded in State papers of quite extraordinary interest and value." (p. 13).

To this personal tribute may be added the following extract from the letter addressed to Mr. Balfour by the triumverate Lord Esher, Admiral Sir John Fisher, and Sir George Clarke:—

"We have before indicated our view of the incalculable value of the work of that Defence Committee, due to the initiate and resource of the Prime Minister. We suggest that, with few exceptions, none of your predecessors since 1815 was so qualified by aptitude and initiation to undertake this special duty."

THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

IN the House of Commons, May 11th, 1905, on going into Committee of Supply on the Civil Service Estimates, Class II., Mr. Balfour rose and spoke as follows :—

I.—The Committee of Defence.

If I depart from the single precedent which we have on this Vote and begin its discussion by a statement, it is because that, having listened to the debates which have taken place earlier in the year on subjects connected with both the Navy and the Army, it seems to me that probably it would be convenient to the Committee if I should endeavour to give some account of the conclusions we have arrived at on some of the most important subjects which have come under the consideration of the Committee of Defence.

I may, perhaps, fitly begin by endeavouring to remove a misconception which certainly has no justification in anything I have ever said or suggested, but which has taken deep root, and which I shall feel it to be my duty to contradict and to dispose of as often as I hear it. This error consists in supposing that the Committee of Defence is a new executive Department, added to the existing organisation of the Government, which has in some way the duty thrown upon it of supervising the Departmental work entrusted to the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War. Now that is not the case. The Committee of Defence is not an executive Committee, and if it were an executive Committee instead of being a consultative Committee it would be in the highest degree inexpedient that it should deal with matters of purely Departmental interest. If the Committee were to be treated as a Court of Appeal—and some hon. Gentlemen have endeavoured to say as much—against the decisions come to in their own Departments either by the First Lord of the Admiralty or the Secretary for War, in the first place the Committee would be hopelessly overburdened, and in the second place the efficiency of the Departments which it is supposed to supervise would be destroyed and the responsibility of the Ministers at the head of them would be absolutely shattered. Our functions are not, indeed, less important, but they are of a wholly different character from those which a particular class of critics suppose. It is not for us to advise, much less to determine, what type of battleship, or armoured cruiser, or field gun shall be adopted, or what military organisation or naval distribution shall be accepted by the Government, by the House, and by the country. But

although these are not within the purview of our functions, I think that the longer our labours have gone on the more convinced, I believe, is every member of the Committee, every Minister who sits on that Committee, of the necessity of the work which the Committee carries out. I say that in no spirit of criticism of our predecessors, because we, for the most part, are ourselves first in this movement. But my sense of astonishment is a growing sense that we should ever have got on without some kind of organisation such as we have now.

Of course, from time to time, the sort of questions with
 Its Continuity. which this Committee has to deal have been confided to successive Committees appointed *ad hoc*, consisting of eminent sailors and soldiers, and no doubt in many cases with a strong civilian element. These Committees—and this is the main point to be remembered—kept no continuous record. They dealt with a single and isolated subject apart from other questions: and although their labours remained for all time in the Report which they gave to the Government or to the House, a series of Committees appointed *ad hoc* is a different thing from one having a continuous existence, and leaving behind records of its decisions, or it may be indecisions, for the instruction and use of those who from time to time are called to the service of the Crown as responsible Ministers. That want is filled by this Defence Committee as it never could be filled by a temporary Committee; and I venture to go further and to repeat what I have said before—namely, that as time goes on I am convinced that the various Colonies of the Empire will bring before this Committee matters in which they feel special interest, and will send to this Committee their representatives to act in respect of these matters on perfect equality with the members of the Committee who sit week after week in Whitehall. I do not venture to prophesy of what Colonial developments this Committee may prove itself capable; but we have sown a seed which may bear great fruit, and we have already been enabled to lay foundations on which a noble building may be erected. Of that there is no question at all.

(In replying in the Debate, Mr. Balfour said: It may
 Its Constitution. seem a paradox, but, after having given the matter the most careful consideration in my power, I have come to the conclusion that the only member of the Defence Committee who ought to have an indisputable right to be a member is the Prime Minister himself. It is perfectly true that as a matter of practice and in relation to almost all the subjects that we have had under discussion there have been summoned to the meetings of the Committee, not as witnesses, but as members, the two members of the Cabinet responsible for the Army and the Navy respectively and their chief naval and military advisers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is an almost constant attendant because, unfortunately, it is impossible to discuss a large number of these questions irrespective of the state of the national finances. Constantly, also, questions have arisen in which we have been obliged to ask the overburdened Minister for Foreign Affairs to come to assist us. Indeed he has asked us to deal with questions in which his own and other Departments are concerned, and on those occasions, of course, he has to be present. In the same way the Colonial Secretary attends whenever any question is raised in which the

Colonies are directly interested ; and we have had on more than one occasion also not merely the Colonial Secretary, but the Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who has given us valuable assistance.

Observe the enormous advantage of this flexibility of
 Its Flexibility. constitution. If you laid down fixed members of the Committee every other person would come to the meetings on sufferance, either as an additional member or with a different *status*, and that would carry with it what would be regrettable in the highest degree—namely, that when any Colonial representative came over on a question on which the Colonies were interested, he would not come on precisely the same footing as the other members, but in the form, I will not say of a suppliant, but of a witness or of an ambassador bringing a request, or in some other capacity than that of a member of the Committee. He is now a full member of the Committee for a particular purpose, and that arrangement has the advantage of making known to him the documents of the Committee, some of which are of the most confidential character, and are not to be scattered broadcast all over the world.

They remain in the keeping of the only fixed and permanent
 Its Records. member of the Committee—namely, the Prime Minister himself. I admit that that constitution, which has no statutory obligation, and which can be changed by any successor of mine who desires to do so, is in itself at first sight singular. But those who habitually attend the Committee have found it convenient and flexible ; we have not found it open to any objection ; and if it be urged that it takes away from the Committee its authority, because no one knows of whom it is constituted, I would say that the Minutes state who was present and who agreed to the resolutions at which the Committee arrived. These resolutions remain on record for the benefit of ourselves and our successors, and there is not the slightest danger of the House of Commons believing that the resolutions are expressed on the authority of an important body, when, as a matter of fact, they are expressed on the opinion of a single individual who has perhaps very little authority.

The hon. Member for King's Lynn said, and said truly,
 Its Legal Adviser. that some questions that the Committee of Defence have discussed involve very nice points of international law. That indeed is a fact, as anyone who has served on the Committee during the present war knows to his cost ; but for those purposes we ask the Attorney-General to attend. He is for those purposes a member of the Committee. He comes and gives us his opinion ; if there is a vote taken he will give his vote, just like any other member of the Committee. So that, again, gives a further illustration of the great adaptability which the present constitution of the Committee gives to the varying circumstances of the national need).

But the real and main function of this Committee comes
 Its Three Functions. in, in the first place, where two Departments of the home Government are concerned—like the War Office and the Admiralty, or the Foreign Office and the War Office and the Admiralty—as often happens ; and secondly, where the home Government and a Colonial Government have a common purpose to serve in connection with

defence; and thirdly, to bring into co-ordination the Indian Government and the British Government for the purpose of common Indian defence. There is nobody who is at all acquainted with the history of the Anglo-Indian problem of Indian defence but has had it most forcibly brought to their minds how great has been the lack in past times of some body of this kind, and how exceedingly difficult it is even for this Committee to work with perfect smoothness and rapidity through the complex problems which the Government of India and of this country have to face in common and have to deal with on some common and accepted plan. I need not say that the number of topics that come under one or other of these heads is very great. Some of the topics themselves are comparatively small.

For instance, there is the question of how the ports, commercial and other, of this country may be best defended. **For instance, the Defence of Ports.** That is a question not for the Army alone or for the Navy alone, but a matter of common duty between the two; and there may be differences of opinion between them. It is only the Committee of Defence who can settle this question; and I may remark that the actual result of long and anxious deliberations which we have had on this subject is to reverse the hitherto accepted policy as to the advantage of defending our ports by the use of submarine mines. The Admiralty are of opinion, and the Committee of Defence agree in thinking, that the submarine mine is, at all events as far as this country is concerned, a very inexpedient method of attempting to secure the safety of these ports. It is a method more likely to produce an injury to the defenders of the ports or to the commercial interests concerned than to the enemy; and other methods should be substituted for this method, which, in our opinion, is not only antiquated but dangerous. Some hon. Members may not have given attention to this subject, and therefore I remind them that in speaking of submarine mines I am not referring in the most distant way to the blockade mines, as they are called, which are playing so important a part in the Far Eastern War now going on. In regard to the use of the blockade mines, we are not going to allow ourselves to fall behind what we understand other nations are doing; but I cannot forbear expressing my opinion that the use of blockade mines is a subject that must and ought to come under the consideration of some international tribunal, that the damage and the danger to neutrals which must result from sowing broadcast in the waterways of the world these undirected engines of destruction is so great that I do not think civilised mankind can in the future allow them to be used in a haphazard fashion.

II.—Home Defence.

I propose, to-day, to confine my observations to the broader issues of national defence. I shall venture to divide national defence into the three branches—home defence, Colonial defence, and Indian defence; and the House will recognise that when I mention these three great divisions, I cannot from the very nature of the case attempt to go into anything like every detail that each may suggest; and that I can only indicate in somewhat broad outlines the conclusions at which the Committee of Defence have arrived.

The Central
Problem.

The first of these great divisions is home defence, and it is certainly the most important. If home defence be ill-secured, the British Empire, though it may be a magnificent structure, a magnificent monument, rests on feet of clay.

We are perfectly useless for purposes of defence in far-off seas if the very centre and heart of the Empire is really open to serious invasion. But though everybody recognises that this is the central problem of Imperial and national defence, we go on year after year with something in the nature of a profitless wrangle between the advocates of different schools to which the puzzled civilian attaches himself either on one side or the other, and which leaves in the general mind of the country an uneasy sense that, in spite of the millions we are spending on the Navy and the Army, the country is not after all secure against some sudden and unexpected attack levelled at us by neighbours with whom certainly we do not wish to quarrel, but who for some reason or other may desire to shatter the great fabric of our Empire. It seemed to us that this long-standing quarrel was the first matter with which we had to deal.

The Possibility
of Invasion.

And remember, this division of opinion goes far beyond the living memories among us. It goes right back to Elizabethan times. You will find the same two opposed schools urging the same arguments far back in the time of

Drake. You will find that great soldiers in the sixteenth century believed the invasion of England possible—great Continental as well as great British soldiers; and you will find that British sailors did not believe it possible. If you go down the stream of time, you come to an exactly similar state of things during the Napoleonic Wars. There is no doubt that Napoleon conceived that invasion of these islands was possible. No man studying the facts can accept the hypothesis put forward by some historians that the materials, the men, and the ships which Napoleon assembled at Boulogne early in the last century were merely a feint to distract some other Power. It is certain that Napoleon believed invasion to be possible; and it is equally certain that Nelson believed it to be impossible. You come to a generation later, and you find the Duke of Wellington, in the forties, in a very famous communication which was made public at the time, expressing the most serious alarm, in terms almost pathetic in their intensity, as to the safety of these islands from invasion from across the Channel. Sailors, I believe, have been unwavering in their opinion. I am not aware of any considerable naval authority who has ever held that serious overseas invasion is a thing of which we need be greatly afraid. But that was the state of things which we found unaltered when we took up the subject; and it appeared to us, I do not say that agreement could be come to, but that something nearer agreement might be come to than ever had been come to before, if we could lay down a specific and concrete problem for discussion by our expert advisers—a problem which, if extreme in its character, should be extreme against this country, and should assume things far worse than they are ever likely to be; but a problem which should not belong either to the hypothesis advocated by the extreme military or the extreme naval school.

The Committee's
Hypothesis of
"Greatest Possible
Weakness."

I will endeavour to explain what the hypothesis was which we devised in order to attempt to bring this matter, I will not say to a conclusion which would satisfy everybody, but which would at any rate satisfy every practical man who chose to devote his mind to the subject. We thought that

we were going far enough in devising a hypothetical state of things adverse to this country if we assumed that our Army was abroad upon some oversea expedition, and that our organised fleets were absent from home waters. I do not see that we could be asked to go much further than that. Then the question arises: What exactly do you mean by the Army being occupied in some oversea expedition, and what do you mean exactly when you say that your organised fleets are absent from home waters? How do you translate these two statements into concrete figures?

No Army at
Home—as in
1900.

We thought that we could not be going far wrong as regards the Army if we assumed our military position to be what it was during the few days—for it was not more—at the very worst moment, from this point of view, of the South

African War. As the House is aware, that war threw a strain upon our military resources quite unexpected in its magnitude, and the end of February or the beginning of March, 1900, was the lowest point reached during the whole of the war from the point of view of military defences at home; and as we were at the moment straining every nerve in meeting the unexpected crisis 7,000 miles away, it did not seem to us that that was otherwise than a reasonable hypothesis to take as showing the lowest depth which we were ever likely to reach in the matter of home defence. The actual state of the home Army at the beginning of that week—because the position improved afterwards—was as follows:—We had 17,000 infantry and cavalry, and twenty-six batteries of artillery; and that was the Regular Force that we had at home in organised units. We had 141,000 Volunteers who would, under the existing organisation, be used for garrisons; there were 85,000 Volunteers remaining; there were regiments of Militia, and there were soldiers under age, soldiers ill, and soldiers insufficiently trained, who were not in any organised units at all. As regards the Volunteers, their number was large, but from the point of view of a field army they were not organised, and there was not in the country at that moment any machinery for organising them. There was no headquarters staff and no sufficient arrangements for instantaneously using them as a field army. Though no doubt, with sufficient notice, that organisation could be improvised more or less, it did not exist at the precise psychological moment to which I ask the House to direct its attention. That is what we mean by saying that our Army is absent on an oversea expedition.

And no Organised
Fleet.

But what do we mean by saying that the Fleet was away—had wandered off somewhere into space—and what degree of maritime helplessness did that leave us in? I ought, perhaps, before answering my own question, to say that this idea of

our organised fleets being lost in obscurity, in some unknown ocean, is a very extreme one to take, and it is not one which I can bring myself to pretend to the House comes very much within the region of reasoned probability. But let

us take it that the Mediterranean Fleet, and the Atlantic Fleet, and the Home Fleet, were, like the China Fleet, far away from these shores, incapable of taking any part in repelling invasion of our shores.

It may be worth reminding the House that even if the
Our Real Reserve Home Fleet of twelve battleships and the Atlantic Fleet
Fleet. of eight battleships were away, we should, under the new Admiralty system, have ready for sea in a comparatively few hours—I believe that six hours would be sufficient—six battleships, and six first-class cruisers in reserve, with nucleus crews ready to put to sea at very short notice—as soon as the fires are lighted, in fact—and capable, when they put to sea, of taking part in an action, because, as the House knows, they will be manned by crews thoroughly acquainted with them, who do not come as strangers, and who have gone through all those peace evolutions which are the necessary prelude to war. We should have at home besides, irrespective of the organised fleets of which I speak, the twelve cruisers which cruise in home waters; there would be twenty-four destroyers in commission; and there would be in reserve with nucleus crews, ready for very rapid action, no less than ninety-five more torpedo craft, some of them destroyers, some of them torpedo boats proper. That would be the position if our organised fleets were away.

But I am ready to take the hypothesis even at a lower level than I have put it; because, when this subject was first examined by the Defence Committee, the new Admiralty plan was not in operation, and the reserve squadron ships, though they existed, could not be counted on at that time for rapid action and mobilisation—rapid action and mobilisation being action and mobilisation measured not in days but in hours. I have omitted from that enumeration submarine boats, on which, no doubt, expert opinion may differ, but which, I believe, are destined to be of great importance, if not in naval warfare generally, yet in that part of naval and military warfare which consists in an attempt to land soldiers in crowded seas upon a hostile coast.

I have now described the actual condition of Great Britain
The Irreducible and Ireland at what seems to me its moment of greatest
Minimum Invading possible weakness, a moment of weakness which we did reach
Army. for a few days as regards the Army during the South African War, but which we have never reached, or nearly reached, I am glad to say, as regards the Navy. At all events, the problem, it will be noticed, is a precise problem. The question that we could put to our military advisers was a precise question, and it was this: Given that Great Britain was reduced to the position which I have described, what is the smallest number of men with which, as a forlorn hope, if you please, some foreign country would endeavour to invade our shores? Observe I say “What is the smallest number of men?” That may seem a paradoxical way of putting the question, but it is really the true way. We are apt in comparing the defensive power or offensive power of Great Britain and her great military neighbours to compare the number of our soldiers with the number of theirs, and to say, “If they can get across the sea, how could we hope to resist the masters of these innumerable legions?” But, sir, that is not the problem. The problem is how to get across

the sea and land on this side ; and inasmuch as that difficulty, which thinkers of all schools must admit—the extreme military school will admit it as well as the extreme blue-water school—inasmuch as that difficulty of getting men over increases in an automatic ratio with every new transport you require and every augmentation you make to the landing force, it becomes evident that the problem which a foreign general has to consider is not “How many men would I like to have in England in order to conquer it?” but “With how few men can I attempt the conquest?”

Lord Roberts
fixes it at
70,000.

Very well, I have made that clear to the House. The answer which was given by Lord Roberts,¹ and accepted by all the other military critics whom it was our duty to consult, was that he did not think it would be possible to make the

attempt with less than 70,000 men ; those men to be lightly equipped as regards artillery and as regards cavalry, because, of course, horses and guns are things which most embarrass the officers responsible for transport, embarkation and disembarkation. Now, I make no pronouncement upon that figure of 70,000 men. I am not in a position to do so ; but Lord Roberts was distinctly of opinion that even with 70,000 men to attempt to take London—which is, after all, what would have to be done if there were to be any serious impression or crushing effect produced—he was of opinion that that was in the nature of a forlorn hope. The Committee, therefore, will see that we have got one stage further in the argument ; and the problem now is, is it possible, with the Fleet and with the military defences in the state I have described, is it possible to land 70,000 men on these shores ?

The Problem to
be Faced.

Sir, may I be permitted to interrupt the argument in its most direct shape—but not to interrupt it with anything which is irrelevant—to point out here that in this way of

stating the problem we avoid all the controversies raised by what are called the blue-water school, because we assume that there are home defences, and it is necessary that we should assume that there are home land defences. If this country can be conceived as being as helpless as, let us say, some island in the South Seas, where the inhabitants know not even the humblest arts of war, why, I suppose 5,000 men, if they could get on shore, if they could squeeze a way through the Navy, could march from end to end of the island, as white men have marched from end to end of Australia, unresisted by the blacks. But, of course, that is a state of things which does not exist, and cannot exist. Some people put a dilemma. Either the Navy can absolutely stop an invasion—if so, why do you ask anybody to learn the use of the rifle ; or else the Navy cannot stop an invasion, and then you must have a force at home competent to deal with a foreign force. But those dilemmas are very misleading. And not only that, but they lead in this case to a completely false impression.

¹ In reply to Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman Mr. Balfour said: I mentioned Lord Roberts because the question was particularly put to him. The right hon. Gentleman will remember that there are other military members in the Defence Committee, and there is no difference of opinion, I believe, upon that point.

Some Home Force Indispensable. The difficulty of invasion depends upon the men that have to be landed, the number of men that have to be landed depends chiefly on the difficulties they will find when they come to be landed, and therefore some home force is an essential part of the argument I am advancing, and, however little I may personally believe in the possibility of evading the British Fleet, I do not ask them to accept any conclusions on that point at all; I do not ask them to accept the doctrine of the blue-water school in any shape whatever; but I ask them to take the problem as I have given it, namely, an insignificant body of Regular troops here, and an unorganised body of persons with some knowledge of arms, while we suppose that the enemy will require at least 70,000 men in order to reach London.

If the House agree with the Committee they will assent to the view that we have stated the problem in a very concrete and very moderate shape, and yet a shape which, if answered satisfactorily from our point of view, will relieve everybody's mind.

The Influence of Steam and Wireless Telegraphy. Having got so far let me observe that since the days to which I have alluded earlier, the old days of Nelson and Wellington, there have been great scientific changes which all, I think, make in favour of defence, and I particularly notice two of them. One is the use of steam and the other is the use of wireless telegraphy. When Napoleon was collecting his legions near Boulogne the British Fleet was, of course, watching him, but it was no doubt possible for the panic-monger of those days, if panic-monger there was, to say, "If the Fleet can reach the scene of action in time no doubt they will absolutely prevent any landing on these shores, but suppose a dead calm or head wind prevented the Fleet from coming up, how do you know Napoleon could not land a sufficient number of men to make resistance impossible?" I will not argue whether that could happen in those days or not, but it certainly cannot happen now. Steam makes for concentration, and concentration can be effected with infinite facility now by means of wireless telegraphy. It is not necessary now that our ships should be in port or near a land telegraph station, or should be kept in close touch with the shore; it is sufficient if the cruisers which I have described as always remaining in home waters should always keep within the range of wireless telegraphy in order to concentrate at any moment at the point of danger.

And of Torpedo and Submarine. But that is not the only change. There are two other changes introduced by the torpedo and the submarine, which must qualify the extreme doctrine of the command of the sea which used to be held, and perhaps is sometimes still held, by the so-called blue-water school. The command of the sea at one time really meant the command of the sea, of the whole of the ocean right up to the shore, and superiority in battleships gave that command. But it does not give it now in the same full sense; and I do not believe that any British admiral, even though our Fleets rode unchallenged in every part of the world, would view with serenity the task of convoying and guarding during hours of disembarkation a huge fleet of transports on a coast infested by submarines and torpedo boats.

And let it be remembered, no strength in battleships has the slightest effect in diminishing the number of hostile torpedo craft and submarines. A battleship can drive another battleship from the sea, but it cannot drive a fast cruiser because a fast cruiser can always evade it. A strong and fast cruiser can drive a weak and slow cruiser from the sea; but neither cruisers nor battleships can drive from the sea, or from the coast I ought to say, either submarines or torpedo destroyers which have a safe shelter in neighbouring harbours, and can infest the coast altogether out of reach of the battleship, which is very likely to be much more afraid of them than they have reason to be of her. Those are great changes, and they are changes which nearly touch the particular problem on which I am asking the Committee to concentrate its attention—the problem whether it is possible, under the conditions named, to land 70,000 troops on the island.

To proceed now to the precise difficulties which an invader will have to deal with. He has first got to get transport for 70,000 men. I am obliged to suppose from what follows, whether I like it or not, that our enemy in this case is France, because, as the problem is one of invasion, I am bound to take as the potential invader the great nation which is nearest to us and from which invasion would be most easy. I need not tell the House that the last thing in the world I regard as possible is an invasion by France, but everybody will agree that in taking a concrete instance I am obliged, whether I like it or not, to take that country, friendly though it be. How is France going to get the transport for 70,000 men? If it is a matter of long and open preparation, then it is clear that we cannot suppose that our fleets have gone on this wild-goose chase. We must suppose, therefore, that it is a fairly rapid proceeding. On a particular day in last year it appears there were in French ports on the Channel and on the Atlantic steamers of about 100,000 tons under the flag of the French. I do not quite see how, if the matter is to be a matter of surprise, the French Government could count on more than the ships they actually had in port at the time. But 100,000 tons is absolutely insufficient to carry 70,000 men. The calculation that the Admiralty favour is that for such a force you would require 250,000 tons. I am informed, however, that some experiments made by French authorities a year or two ago indicate that perhaps that estimate may be too high, and that it would be possible to carry out the operation with 210,000 tons. I am dealing with the information supplied to me by those whom I have cross-examined and who, I think, are well qualified to judge, and they think 210,000 tons is a low estimate of the amount of tonnage required. Whether that be right or whether that be wrong, it is plain that the steam tonnage in the Atlantic and Channel ports of France at any given moment is wholly insufficient to carry that number of men. I do not believe it would carry more than half. It is no small matter to collect those transports, even if they had them in some harbour. The nearest harbour available is Cherbourg, which is a very bad harbour in which to make such arrangements, because it is entirely exposed to view, and operations could not be carried on in secrecy. Brest would offer very much better facilities.

Brest is quite as far from any place where a landing is likely to be attempted, and every mile you add to the distance exposes this huge fleet of transports—if you have them—to the attacks of torpedo boats, and that irrespective of the strength of the convoy. It would be quite impossible to carry out the operation of transporting 70,000 men from Brest, or even from Cherbourg, in daylight. Some hours of darkness there must be, in which protection would be almost or quite impossible against the species of attack to which they would then be exposed. Assume them to have reached our coast. I ought, perhaps, to say that by the time they reached our coasts the alarm would long since have been given to every ship between the Faroe Islands and Gibraltar, and every ship available, every cruiser, torpedo-boat, destroyer, every craft that could be made available for resisting invasion, would be concentrated at the point of danger; and when this huge convoy reached the point of danger, what is it to do?

Disembarking 70,000 men on a coast like the coast between Portsmouth and Dover is not a very easy operation, and, above all, it is not a quick operation. I do not believe anybody will estimate the time it would take at less than forty-eight hours. My advisers say that is a most sanguine estimate. Forty eight hours involves two nights. Then calm weather is required. The operation cannot be carried out or attempted except in calm weather. That is exactly the time at which, if torpedo-boats or submarines get their chance, they have that chance in the greatest perfection. How does anybody imagine that this fleet of inexpert transports, which could not be provided with nets, because nets cannot be improvised, as the ships have to be structurally devised so as to bear them—how is it possible that this helpless mass of transports could escape the attacks of these torpedo-boats and submarines, putting out of account everything that cruisers, battleships, or any other naval weapon at our disposal could accomplish? The thing is impossible. Conceive the position of the invading soldiers—the pick, no doubt, of the invader's Army. It is not as if they were fighting for glory on a stricken field. Packed in these transports, commanded not by men of the French Navy, but by ordinary merchant captains, not knowing when, or where, or how the attack would take effect, knowing only that if it did take effect it would mean the sudden hurling into infinity of a whole helpless regiment of soldiers—does anybody think that is an enterprise which would be undertaken by any sane person?

I do not know whether we have the right to measure the courage of our opponents by our own, or their readiness to take responsibility by that of our own naval officers, but I am certain there is no admiral in the British Fleet, and there never has been an admiral in the British Fleet, who would undertake a task such as I have supposed. If a French admiral were to have committed to him the expedition which I have endeavoured to draw in imagination, he could not protect the transports, he could not even protect his own ships, if they were obliged to lie there in positions perfectly well ascertained, absolutely known, within a few miles of torpedo stations of our own, two days and two nights. Why, it is not the transports alone that would suffer loss and destruction in

that time. If the protecting fleet itself did not suffer some great calamity while they were lying helpless off this shore, naval authorities have very greatly over-rated the efficiency both of torpedo craft and the submarine.

The Committee will, perhaps, think I have gone into sufficient detail. I have missed out some details, but I think I have said enough to show that we have really endeavoured to put to ourselves the problem in a very concrete form. We have not gone into generalities about the command of the sea or the superiority of our Fleet, or this difficulty or that difficulty; we have endeavoured to picture to ourselves a clear issue which is very unfavourable to this country, and have shown at least to our satisfaction that on that hypothesis, unfavourable as it is, serious invasion of these islands is not an eventuality which we need seriously consider. I am not sure that I have made the matter as clear as it can be made, but I think, at all events, I have to-day put forward, in adequate outline, what I have endeavoured to embody in the Memoranda which will be available to any gentleman who follows in office.

III—Colonial Defence.

I have now finished the first branch of the task which I set myself. I must be very quick over the second. The second dealt with our Colonies and what is called the problem of concentration. It seemed to us with the changes in naval warfare, with the changes in the seat of sea power of other nations, a redistribution of both our Fleet and our Army was desirable; and we have gone upon the broad line that, as the British Fleet and as the British Army should be available for the defence of the British Empire in all parts of the world, our force should be as far as possible concentrated at the centre of the Empire, from which it could be distributed as each necessity arose to that part of the Empire which stood most in need of it. I have to acknowledge that this has rendered unnecessary expenditure, which has been undertaken under a different view of our military needs.

The most notable case is the case of St. Lucia. The general problem was considered by a Commission, of which Lord Carnarvon was the head, and it was in deference to Lord Carnarvon's recommendation that St. Lucia was made a great naval base. One of the reasons for making it a great naval base was that it was not further than eighty miles from the French naval stations in those seas. What was a reason for having such a base at St. Lucia in Lord Carnarvon's time is a reason for not having it there at the present time. We have to take into account the theory of torpedo-boats. It is a distinct disadvantage for any harbour required as a place of repair, refitting, and refreshment that it should be within easy reach of a hostile or potentially hostile Power. There is more in the abandonment of St. Lucia than that. The Defence Committee, who have considered the matter with the advice of the Admiralty and War Office, do not think St. Lucia is likely to be the scene of any great naval operations. It is not a place which we think could be with advantage used, or is likely to be required to be used for our purposes; and with

the modern battleship there are strong reasons for thinking that, in so far as we required any place of coaling and refitment in those seas, both Jamaica and Trinidad would be better. The harbour of St. Lucia, though sheltered, is not very convenient, and does not hold a large fleet. These are the reasons why St. Lucia ceases to be regarded as a great naval station. This is all in obedience to a trend of opinion which Lord Carnarvon's Commission were strongly in favour of—namely, that we should cease to scatter our forces in small isolated bodies throughout the world, and that we should concentrate them in important tactical units, have them under our hand, and be able to use them in places where they would be most likely to control the hostile forces of any enemy we are likely to have to deal with.

(In replying in the debate, Mr. Balfour regretted that we **The West Indies.** had abandoned a place upon which much money had been spent, and which they thought would be still extremely useful as a base for naval operations. The money may have been ill-spent, but the fact that it was ill-spent does not make it better to say that you will keep a place which on strategic grounds you had better abandon. I do not think that the fact that money has been wasted is a reason for wasting more. The expenditure is now brought to an end. The reason why the expenditure was originally undertaken was in consequence of the Report of a very strong Commission—the Carnarvon Commission—whose general tendency was to concentrate our forces, and who carried on the old tradition that the West Indies were likely to be the centre of an important action between different Powers. The Report was based on the view that the West Indies were likely to be the scene of a great fleet action, and that decision seemed to us to be in the least degree probable. We thought that actions between the fleets of any European Powers were likely to take place in a theatre of war far to the east of the Caribbean Sea; and although some of the great naval battles of the world have been fought in those regions, I hope and believe that we shall never again be engaged in a great fleet action in the Caribbean Sea.

It has been made a matter of reproach that all this was **Cutting our Loss.** not thought of before, and that more caution was not shown in this expenditure. Let the Committee consider for a moment how this kind of criticism would tell upon any great change and any great reform either in naval or military or other matters. You could not get certitude in these matters even if you had to do with persons of infinite knowledge as regards the existing conditions. The conditions change, the dispersion of sea power throughout the world varies, the size of vessels varies, the weapons used by the vessels vary, tactical methods vary, and with these variations there inevitably occur the sort of variations that render useless the expenditure which at the time may have been fully justified. And, of course, that expenditure will be carried on, and ought to be carried on until it becomes quite clear that the new view is the correct one. To remain in a state of floating indecision, neither dealing with the old policy as if it were true nor making up your mind upon a new policy, cannot be wise and is not wise. A wise man would pursue the opposite course and say, "We saw that circumstances were changing and considered them, and, after having fully considered them, we see that some vital

and fundamental alteration must be made in our strategic considerations." The part of the wise man is, in what I understand is a City phrase, "To cut your loss," to admit that the old conditions have changed and that you have been mistaken, and to redistribute the forces of the Empire as sound strategy and sound economy best dictate. Now, I am not prepared to deny that there was a mistake made in the case of St. Lucia. But it was not wholly a mistake. The conditions have greatly altered since the decision was originally come to.

The hon. Member for the Isle of Wight devoted a great deal of his time to an argument by which he seemed to indicate that the Defence Committee and their advisers were wrong because many Boards of Admiralty and many War Office Administrations have been wrong in the past. Of course they have been wrong. The naval and military history of this nation and of all nations is strewn with mistakes, and will continue to be strewn with mistakes. In questions so difficult and so changing it is impossible to get in every case a decision which wisdom after the event will ultimately show to be the right one. The members of the Defence Committee do not claim, either for themselves in their individual capacity or in their collective capacity, that they are endowed with any special wisdom. What is claimed for the Defence Committee is that it provides mechanism by which such wisdom as we can collect together may be brought to a convenient focus, and worked not in antagonism but in harmony for the attainment of a common object.

On this question of costly error there is one other observation suggested to me by the interesting speech of the hon. and learned Member for Haddington. He spoke in laudatory terms of the Committee of Defence, and he looked forward to the period when the Committee of Defence, or other bodies constituted on the lines of it, should bring the scientific element into every Department of our Government, and he would desire to have something analogous to the Committee of Defence dealing with such matters as public health. Every one who will look through the history of medical opinion as regards public health during the last fifty years, and the amount of money spent in obedience to medical opinion, will find as great a crop of errors and as large an expenditure of public money which subsequent knowledge has shown to be ill-spent as anything connected with the Army and the Navy. It is regrettable, but it is inevitable. As long as we are fallible, as long as the House of Commons is not entirely composed of men possessing Solomon's wisdom, so long shall we, acting on the best opinion we can obtain and which science can give, commit errors which the science of the next day will say have been of the grossest description).

IV.—The Defence of India.

I pass from that, which is comparatively a small matter, and address myself to the question of India. The invasion of India has been the dream of many military dreamers in the past, and the bugbear of successive Governments in this country.

Napoleon certainly thought it could be accomplished, and I believe he thought it could be accomplished even after his abortive expedition to Egypt. The Emperor Paul had a plan for accomplishing it; and there is no doubt the development of Russia towards India has caused great alarm from time to time in this country; and we have endeavoured, quite in vain, by diplomatic arrangement, to prevent that expansion, which I will neither justify nor criticise, but which we have to take as an accomplished fact, and accept, whether we like it or do not. I think the anxieties of our predecessors were in one sense most unreasonable, and in another sense had real foundation in truth and fact. They were unreasonable because the idea of invading India from the Caspian, or any place close to it, in the absence of railways and means of transport for any large force is, I believe, totally illusory; and therefore, much of these previous terrors were, I think, ill-founded.

But it is true, and unfortunately it remains true, that the steady progress of Russia towards the borders of Afghanistan, and still more, the construction of railways abutting or closely adjoining the Afghan frontier, which we can only regard as strategic railways, place the whole military situation in the East on a totally different footing, and we have in all seriousness to consider what can and cannot be done by our great military neighbour in the Middle East. Here, again, I may say, although the invasion of India is a topic much debated among Russian officers, it is not, I believe, any part of the scheme of the Russian Government. As I said in the case of France, this is a matter which we have indeed to consider, and which is of pressing importance, and may become of still greater importance; but I am talking now of the general problem. I am not intending to lead the House to suppose that I shall come down to them next week, or next month, and say a war with Russia on the North-Eastern Frontier is either possible or probable.

The real new features in the case are these two lines of railway which I have mentioned; but I think possibly an exaggerated importance might be attached to them, important as they are, by those who read too hastily the lessons of the war now going on in Manchuria. In Manchuria there is but a single line of railway, and it might seem as if on that the Russians have been enabled to feed and supply at the front an enormous body of men. I do not know that we have authentic information as to the exact numbers, but they certainly are very large; and it might be supposed that, with two lines of railway, something like double that effort could be made on the frontier of Afghanistan. I need not tell the House that is not the case. The Manchurian Railway is a railway which goes through, and has always gone through, to the front of the Russian position wherever that may be. They have always been able to bring up on that railway men to the extreme position they wish to occupy. In Afghanistan the railways have yet to be made. One of the most important considerations in connection with the problem forced upon our attention is that these railways, if they ever have to be made, must not be made in time of peace.

The House is well aware that the invasion of India can only take place, speaking very broadly, through the two lines of Kabul on the North, and Kandahar on the South. There are, of course, other lines which have to be considered. Small bodies might penetrate north of Kabul through the almost impenetrable mountains which lie at that end of the Hindu Kush, and it is conceivable that another force might even come through Baluchistan; but I do not mean to complicate the problem unnecessarily, and perhaps the House will permit me to assume, for the sake of the exposition of the general situation, what I think nobody will deny, that the two main lines of advance must be through either Kandahar or Kabul, or both. (MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Through Kandahar). MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My hon. friend's opinion is a very natural one, but I am not absolutely sure it is correct, and I will tell the House why. It is much easier to make a railway, no doubt, from the Kush Post, which is the nearest place on the Russian line of railway, through Herat to Kandahar than to make it upon the northern line, where the railway will meet almost insuperable difficulties. But supposing a British force repulsed at Kandahar, and defeated at Quetta, and an advance successfully made along that route which my hon. friend thinks the best, I must remind him that, after having surmounted these great military difficulties, the invading army would find itself in a most unfortunate position for a further attack upon India. It would find itself upon the right bank of the Indus, in a desert country—in a very sparsely-populated country—with Karachi at the South always open to us, with the power of bringing troops down from the North and from the more thickly-populated parts of India.

The Kabul Route Probably Preferred. It could not advance due east because it would meet with the great Sind desert; and I am not at all sure any invader in the future would not follow the example of his predecessors in the past, and prefer leaving the immense difficulties of the Kabul route for the apparently easier ground which would be traversed by an army approaching from Kandahar and Quetta. At all events, it must be one of the two; and it is to be remembered, with regard to the northern route, if we are to assume, as I think we must, that no invasion in force is possible without the assistance of railway transport, that making a railway through the plain of Afghanistan up to Kabul is a most tremendous operation, and that there are no less than 200 miles of mountain where rock-cutting and other immensely difficult and laborious processes would have to be undertaken by the invading army. I may observe that the Afghans are not likely to welcome these railway makers in their fastnesses. I quite agree that the Ameer would probably find it quite impossible to resist in detail the attacks of the disciplined forces of Russia; but they would become very formidable opponents indeed when the approach was made to their mountain fastnesses and when they obtained, as they certainly would obtain, the assistance of the British in preserving their independence.

The Commissariat Difficulty in Afghanistan. I have assumed, perhaps without sufficient argument, that railways are a necessity in dealing with India on a large scale; but I will mention one concrete fact, which I think proves it conclusively. Lord Roberts informed

the Defence Committee that during the eight or nine months in which he occupied Kabul in 1879-80 he had the utmost difficulty in feeding 12,000 British troops. Whereas Manchuria is a country rich in foodstuffs, and, above all, rich in transport, Afghanistan is poor both in foodstuffs and transport. It is, therefore, quite inconceivable that any large bodies of men should come into collision at any early stage of a war between the two countries. In fact, the problem I am now discussing of Indian defence is precisely the converse of the problem of British defence. An attack on these islands, impossible as I think it, is only conceivable if it is something in the nature of a surprise and rush. No surprise and no rush is possible in the case of India. The problem of Indian defence is difficult enough, but India cannot be taken by assault; and that is the cardinal fact which the House I do not suppose is disposed to forget, but certainly ought not to be allowed to forget. We may assume, therefore, I think justly, that the problem of war with Russia on our North-West Frontier is a problem of transport and supply more than of anything else.

It follows from that as an inevitable consequence that in trying to estimate at what period of a war between the two countries there could be a collision of magnitude between their main forces the main point to consider is the rapidity of railway construction. Now, I do not pretend that this question of railway construction has been much debated by Lord Kitchener, the Indian Government, and ourselves. I mean the rapidity of construction that might be expected in view of the difficulties that lie in the way of the railway makers on both sides of the frontier, and therefore I have no conclusion to offer to the House on this question. I am sorry that is so, because, after all, it finally rests upon that—not perhaps, the number of men which would be required, but the rapidity with which they would be required. The speed with which they would be turned out does depend upon that, and on that I cannot offer on behalf of the Imperial Defence Committee any settled definite conclusion.

It is an unfortunate thing that we have in the case of India necessarily to discuss these difficult questions by correspondence, which carries with it delay on both sides. I cannot help feeling that if we had Lord Kitchener on this side of the water for a fortnight we could do more to settle all outstanding problems, as far as they can be settled in this way, than we can do in a corresponding number of months when we have to carry on our communications by letter. But, though I should not be justified in giving the exact time in which, in the opinion of the Imperial Defence Committee, the reinforcements would be required in India, Lord Kitchener's view is that in addition to drafts there should be available in the relatively early stages of the war, which if it is to be conclusive must be certainly a very long one, eight divisions of infantry and other corresponding arms. I have not the least doubt that Lord Kitchener's demands are not too great.¹ But what I am not sure of

¹ Subsequently in the debate Mr. Balfour said: I do not agree in thinking that a total reconstruction of our Army system will be necessary, and I am afraid that we cannot look forward to any great reduction. I am afraid I see no chance of diminishing the number of troops in the Indian Army.

is the exact time in which they would be required. That is the doubtful point. But even in the extremist view it is quite impossible for me to believe that more than that could be required in the first year of the war. I think the House may take it as a most safe estimate that not more than that would be required during the first year of hostilities with Russia. That, broadly speaking, is the exact condition of the question as it now stands between us and the Indian Government so far as the reinforcements from this country are concerned.

(Replying in the debate Mr. Balfour said: I did not say anything of what might be anticipated in the first year of a war, but I am afraid that in the first year of a war it will be found by the Government responsible for meeting its needs that the enormous reductions which some hon. Gentlemen seem to anticipate will be quite impossible. I do not mean to develop that point; but I raise a note of warning, because I understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen drew from what I have said the inference that the first thing which ought to be done in consequence of the statement of the Committee of Defence was to begin to reduce the Regular Forces of the Crown. I do not think that the Indian problem is otherwise than a grave problem. Some hon. friends of mine seem to think I rather contemplated as a remote and impossible danger that we should be invaded by any neighbouring Power, and that if we were so invaded the difficulties of Afghanistan and the provisions necessary would make the military attempt an impossible and illusory one. That is not my view.

On the contrary, I think a war which was really undertaken for the conquest of India by any foreign Power, though not impossible, a war which in its inception and earlier stages would be a slow war—I mean that not in one or two or three months should we see the collision of great forces or even later—yet it would be a war that would impose a strain on all our resources, and would require a great force of Regular troops even in what may relatively be described as its earlier stages—relatively, that is, to the duration of the operations. I do not think that anyone who really heard and weighed the speech which I delivered this afternoon could doubt that that was what I intended to convey.

With regard to Persia, I did not deal with Persia; but, of course, the question of Persia has engaged our most anxious attention, and necessarily will do so. But I do not think that it is so important a matter as those matters which I did discuss in connection with India. I do not think it probable that the main attack on India will be through Persia. I do not at all deny that subsidiary and collateral dangers might be apprehended upon the regions to the west and south of Afghanistan itself; and I indicated that in my speech. But I confined myself, and I think rightly confined myself, to the two lines of advance which all military critics are agreed are those which would be the principal lines along which dangerous invasion is likely to take place).

The only moral I would draw outside the strictly military moral I have just pointed is that, if we are to sleep in peace over the Indian problem, it can only be on condition that we maintain undiminished the existing difficulties which

No Reduction in the Army.

An Attack on India not Impossible.

No Attack probable through Persia.

The Veto on Railways in Afghanistan.

a hostile force would have to meet. As transport is the great difficulty of an invading army, we must not allow anything to be done which would facilitate transport. It ought, in my opinion, to be considered as an act of direct aggression upon this country that any attempt should be made to build a railway in connection with the Russian strategic railways within the territory of Afghanistan. I have not the smallest ground for believing that the Russian Government intend now, or, I hope, at any time, to make such a railway. But I say that if the attempt were made, remote as it might at first seem from our interests, I think it would be the heaviest blow directed at the very heart of our Indian Empire that we could conceive. If this country is prepared resolutely to say that railways in Afghanistan may indeed be made, but they shall only be made in time of war and not in time of peace, then I think it is not at all beyond the military power of this country, without any fundamental reorganisation of its forces, such as would be implied in conscription, or any similar device, to make absolutely secure our Eastern possessions, as I hope we can make secure not only the shores of these two islands, but all the Colonies which depend upon us.

An Afghan
Railway means
Conscription.

If, however, by laxity, by blindness, by cowardice, we permit the slow absorption of the Afghan kingdom in the way that we have necessarily permitted the absorption of the various Khanates in Central Asia, if Russian strategic railways are allowed to creep closer and closer to the frontier which we are bound to defend, then this country will inevitably pay for its supineness by having to keep on foot a much larger Army than anything which any of us can contemplate with equanimity. Foresight and courage will obviate these dangers. Without foresight and without courage they may come upon us; and if they do come upon us, we shall be throwing upon our children, if not upon ourselves, the greatest military problem that has probably ever confronted the Government of this country.

I most sincerely apologise to the Committee for the long time I have occupied in this statement. But I am not sure, looking back upon what I have said, so far as I can remember it, I could with advantage have cut down my remarks to any narrower limit. I have endeavoured to give an outline, not an account, of the work of the Defence Committee, or, at all events, some account of their work and their conclusions in those great and fundamental departments of national life which are concerned with the defence of the mother country, with the best use of our forces for the defence of our possessions oversea, and last, but not least, for the defence of that great dependency which only within the last few years can in any true military sense be said to have become conterminous with one of the great military monarchies of the world.

AN EXPLANATION BY VISCOUNT ESHER.

WRITING from St. James's Palace on May 19th, Lord Esher addressed the following letter to the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, which the correspondent forwarded to his Editor, who published it on May 22nd. I reprint both letters as they appeared in the paper:—

MR. BALFOUR AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

SIR,—I shall be obliged if you will publish the following letter from Lord Esher, and add, for my part, that I am very pleased to consider myself safely authorised to accept the construction which his Lordship places upon the Prime Minister's speech.

I am, &c.,

YOUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, *May 19th*, 1905.

I have never known you before to miss the points of a great argument.

At the present moment I will not discuss with you whether the Prime Minister was prudent or not to attempt to argue these vital strategical problems in the face of the country. Nor am I concerned with the particular line of argument which he adopted. The former is a matter of opinion, and the latter a matter of choice, and I never yet met a soldier who did not prefer his own line of reasoning to every other man's.

But let us come to the substance of the Prime Minister's speech.

1. He stated as the reasoned conclusion of the Defence Committee that, given the Fleet to be constituted, distributed, and organised as it is to-day, the invasion of these islands is impossible.

He is speaking of to-day and perhaps to-morrow, but not of the day after to-morrow.

Is this a statement which should lead Parliament to reduce our naval armaments?

"In the absence even of our main Fleets invasion is impossible," says the Prime Minister. Why?

Because, even then our naval resources are not exhausted, and, thanks to the *numbers, distribution, and mobility* of our naval craft, we could make the landing of a large force within these islands an operation of such danger that it would never be attempted.

But what is the imperative condition of this immunity? Why, a naval force so large and so mobile, that while the main Fleets may be *temporarily absent* in search of the main fleets of the enemy, we have still sufficient force within territorial waters to render the landing of troops an operation of war too dangerous to be undertaken.

Is this an argument for the reduction of the Navy?

2. I refuse, says the Prime Minister, to discuss with you possible or probable wars all over the world, but I draw your attention to a point on the surface of the Empire where the *maximum* danger exists.

A war there would be of such magnitude as to include all other wars. Therefore, the Prime Minister selects that point of danger, and that illustration.

There is, he lays stress on the point, no imminent danger. Why?

Because our frontiers are not yet conterminous with Russia.

If they were, the Prime Minister leaves it to be inferred, the country would not be discussing military organisation based upon voluntary enlistment.

As matters stand, and subject to existing conditions, it is sufficient to be ready to supply Lord Kitchener's demands of eight Divisions of Infantry with proper proportions of Artillery and Cavalry, in addition to the troops now in India and the necessary drafts for them, during the first year of a war. And then the Prime Minister explains with great directness and clearness the possible *casus belli*; and it is an attempt on the part of Russia to advance her strategical railways beyond the present frontiers of Afghanistan.

Virtually the Prime Minister's meaning, in Parliamentary and Diplomatic language, which he is bound by his position to use, comes to this:—

To save the nation from conscription for the present, always assuming that India is to be defended as an integral portion of the Empire, one condition is essential—*i.e.*, to maintain the *status quo* as regards Afghanistan.

In order to do this, the British nation must be prepared—

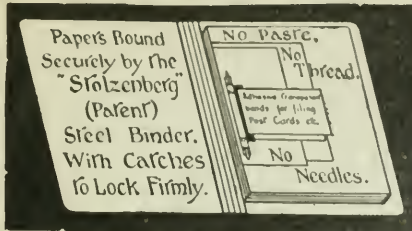
- (a). To maintain the garrison of India at the present figure, together with the necessary drafts for the first year of a war.
- (b). To send out reinforcements of at least eight divisions of Artillery and Cavalry during the *first year of a war*.

Can any unprejudiced person distort this into an argument for the reduction of the numbers of our existing Army, or infer from it that we do not require an Army highly organised and perfectly trained, or that because the illustration of a war of the first magnitude on the Afghan frontier is chosen as an illustration, no other land war is contemplated as a possibility by the Defence Committee?

Yours very sincerely,

ESHER.

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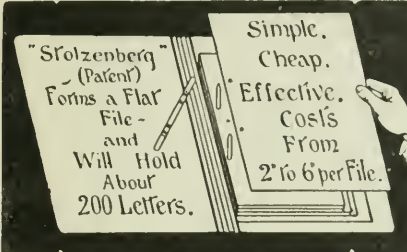
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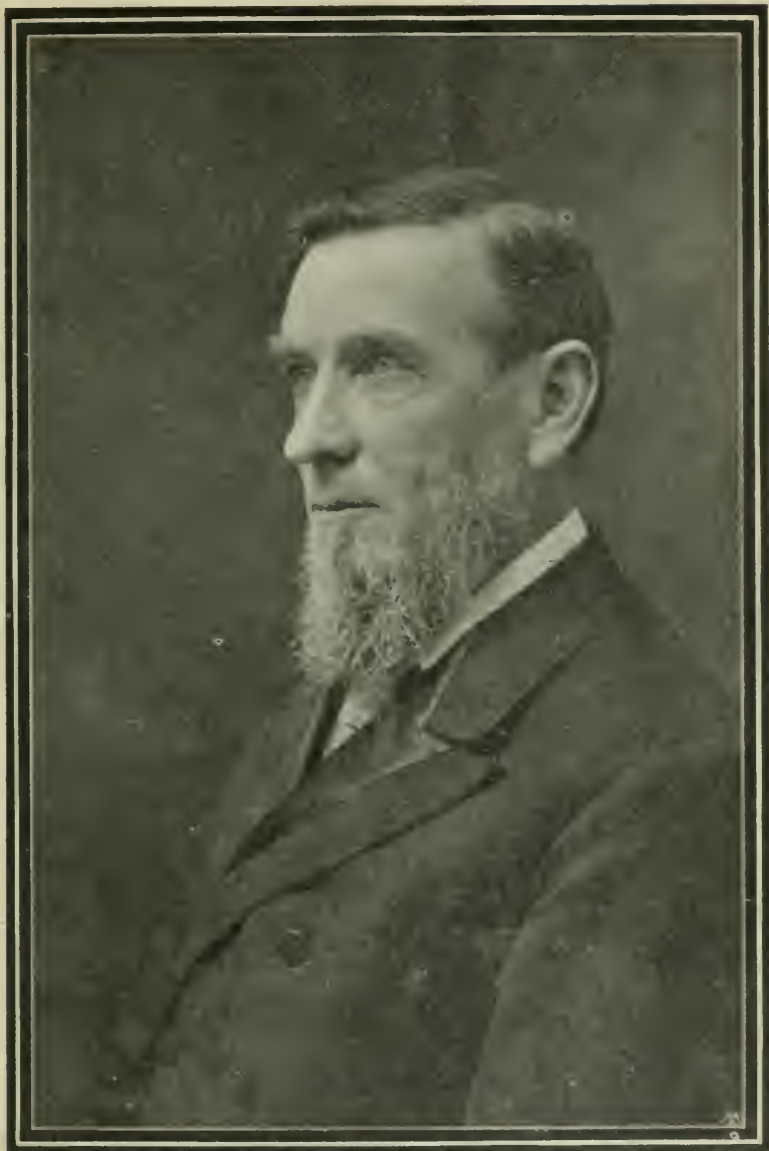
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THE CASE AGAINST THE EDUCATION ACT.

By Mr. GEORGE WHITE, M.P.

Publishing Office:

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ONE PENNY.

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Mr. George White was President of the Baptist Union, 1903-4. He is a man whose youth was passed in the days of Nonconformist storm and stress, when Mr. Miall was a power in the land. He is a Lincolnshire man, having been born at Bourne, in Lincolnshire, in 1840, and went to Norwich when 16 years old. When 23 years of age he married into the family of the Ransomes of Norwich, and there he has remained ever since. He is Chairman of the manufacturing firm of Howlett & White (Lim.), an Alderman and J.P. of Norwich, Sheriff of Norwich in 1892, and Chairman of Norwich Corporation Education Committee, having been on the School Board for 30 years and Chairman for 15. He was leader of the Liberal party at Norwich for 12 years prior to entering Parliament. He was first elected as M.P. in 1900, when he polled 4,287 votes for the North-West Division of Norfolk against 3,811 given to his Unionist opponent.

The Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, who, as Mr. White's pastor, knew him very well, contributed to *The Baptist Magazine* a character sketch, from which I may quote the following passages :—

If the Nonconformists of the good old city of Norwich were asked to name the man who stood in the midst of them as the best and highest type of Free Churchism, and who was most influential in politics, education, temperance, and philanthropy, it is certain that Mr. White would obtain a practically unanimous vote. He represents a type to which Nonconformity can point as its best result and gift to the Church and to the nation, and of which it may be most justly proud.

He became a clerk in the firm of shoe manufacturers now known as Howlett & White, of which he is the chairman and managing director, and of which all five

partners are connected with St. Mary's Baptist Church. He undoubtedly owes his present position to the laborious and careful husbandry of those early years, and to the inflexible resolution and high principle which characterised him even then. He would spend the early hours of the morning, before the world was awake, in the study of the great works of the master minds of all ages. As a traveller "on the road" he fought stubbornly against the drinking customs of a bad time, and no man ever made him swerve from what he judged to be right.

The passing years have brought to him much prosperity and influence. Sometimes it is said that prosperity weakens principle and that the second horse leads to the church door, but in this case it has not been so. The services which Mr. White has rendered to the Church of St. Mary's, of which he is a deacon, have been invaluable. For some years he has been superintendent of the Sunday school and leader of the first day adult school for men. In his devotion to the work he has been an example to all. It was no light programme which he carried through on Sundays for years—to begin with the men's school at nine o'clock, which involved a walk of nearly two miles from his house to the chapel; to be at the reading desk at the morning and evening services in the sanctuary, and at the Sunday school in the afternoon. In the city he holds, or has held, almost every public office of the first rank. In the denomination he is President of the Total Abstinence Association, a member of the Council, and I trust one day he will be President of the Baptist Union.

Mr. White is at his best in a fight—he is a born fighter—cool and good-tempered, but very alert and strong. He can give some very hard knocks indeed when he is in a corner in a School Board or political controversy, and the probability is that if he is in the fight the other side will lose. Yet the extraordinary thing is that even his opponents like him. They cannot help it. He is stern, yet genial; of iron will, yet plea-

sant and yielding where principle is not involved; without a redeeming vice, but also without a fad; brimful of convictions, but destitute of even a single crotchet. I have never known a man so free from prejudice, and from trivial, petty-fogging, and hair-splitting contention. Yet in one sense this is not very wonderful, for it is the weak and not the strong man who is obstinate about little things.

Mr. White is one of the ablest speakers in England to-day. I know no layman who is his superior in this respect. He

has the enviable faculty granted to the best speakers of saying exactly what he wants to say, and of thinking clearly and strongly while he is on his feet. An audience puts him in possession of all his powers. When Mr. Gladstone spoke in Norwich a few years ago, after hearing Mr. White speak, he said publicly: "You need go no further for a Liberal candidate for this city."

[Our portrait of Mr. White is by the *Biograph Studio*].

THE CASE AGAINST THE EDUCATION ACT.

By MR. GEORGE WHITE, M.P.

THE special phase of the Education question upon which I am asked to write is not to me its most attractive side—far rather would I deal with its influence upon national progress and happiness; but at this crisis in our Educational system it is necessary the case should be stated in defence of that half of the nation represented by the Free Churches, to whom scant justice has been done in the schemes of the past, and who intend to be heard in any future settlement; and therefore I gladly use the opportunity offered me to define their position and desires.

First I must briefly refer to the past history of Education
Past History. in this country, to show the part which Nonconformists have played therein.

The charge constantly brought, and as often conclusively refuted, that they have cared little in the past for education *per se* will be best met by stating two or three historic facts. The only ruler of the nation for centuries who discerned the real value and importance of national education was Oliver Cromwell, a separatist, and a representative in this respect, as in many others, of the class from which he sprang; had he lived a few years longer the whole course of education in this country would have been altered, and England might have shared the benefits which Scotland has possessed for many generations. Further—what was the action of those who, escaping from the persecutions of their times, crossed the Atlantic that they might breathe a free and purer air? At once they commenced to lay the foundation of that system of education which is now enjoyed by the United States, and which has had so large an influence in building up that great nation alike in its national prosperity and its love of freedom. These facts show that centuries ago the early Nonconformists appreciated the value of education, and were prepared to make great sacrifices for its advancement; and the penal statutes enacted against them are the best evidence that zeal was not lacking at home; but how could they act when every

effort was made during the reign of the Tudors and Stuarts, and down to the Georges, by the dominant church to prevent them opening schools, becoming school teachers, or in any way assisting in the instruction of the children. Canonical and other laws of the most oppressive kind were passed with this object. Dissenters could not even teach their own children without risking the penalty of imprisonment, and heavy fines were levied upon anyone who, not being an attendant at the Established Church, should teach in any public or private school; this was followed by the Schism Act, which absolutely forbade a person to teach without first making a declaration of conformity, and getting a license from a Bishop.

When the days of this more virulent persecution had passed, a conflict of a different kind arose; the clergy, as representing the Established Church, still held as firmly as ever that the sole right of dispensing Education remained with them, consequently every attempt was made to thwart educational efforts which they could not control. The plans of Joseph Lancaster, so often referred to in these controversies, were countervailed by Bell in the interests of the Church, and two societies (destined afterwards to play an important part in this struggle) were started. One, the British School Society, which was unattached to any Church and supported secular teaching, combined with simple Bible lessons, and the other the National School Society, established "to instruct the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England," and no child was allowed to attend these schools who did not attend Church on Sundays. Proposals made in Parliament met with similar opposition. Whitbread's Bill of 1807, which provided a rate-aided school in every parish, controlled by the ratepayers, was opposed when it reached the Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, because it took the power over Education away from the Clergy; and so this beneficent measure, which 100 years ago (think of it) would have given us a national system of education, was thrown out, and to-day we are fighting precisely the same battle of principles and against the same enemy. All subsequent attempts at Legislation for the next 50 years, both on behalf of the children and the training of teachers, which were not based on the ascendancy of the Church, were opposed and defeated, not in the interests of education, but because they would have given Nonconformists a position in educational matters which the Church claimed as her own. How she occupied and cultivated this domain let history tell; but this must be said—that at the beginning of the 19th century the great bulk of the "common people" were in such a state of deplorable ignorance and corresponding vice as to stir the pity of all humane hearts, and foremost amongst these sympathisers were men and women outside the Established Church. What becomes then of this taunt against Nonconformists, that they did next to nothing in School building or provision for this sore need? I have very briefly pointed out already the penal enactments which, right down to the 19th century,

prevented them from any active participation in the work; but in the first half of that century, when persecution ceased, they did much more, considering their means, than the rich church which continued to oppose them—the beneficent work started by Robert Raikes enlisted their hearty support, and a large number of Sunday Schools were established in connection with their chapels. They built many British Schools in the more populous places or wherever they had a few adherents able to make the outlay, and this solely in the interests of Education, and, notwithstanding the heavy expense, occasioned by their growing numbers, for chapel building and the maintenance of their ministers, from both of which burdens the established church was free, yet these efforts were trivial compared with the need. At length the nation began to feel that something must be done to overtake the appalling ignorance which prevailed, and the first subsidies were given by Parliament in aid of so-called educational efforts; and from this point must be dated the greater activity of the Church of England. It is necessary here to state the exact position of the bulk of Nonconformists towards these grants. They held two principles very firmly—first, that religious teaching was a necessary part of the school curriculum, and second, that the State had no right to make grants for such teaching: therefore, holding to the first, they were compelled to refuse the second. Under such conditions it was not possible for them to make school provision comparable to their richer and well-endowed competitor, and so it was that for a generation before the Act of 1870 the Church of England obtained the great bulk of the grants, and her system of Education became practically a monopoly in the nation. Ever alive, however, to the condition of the poorer classes, amongst whom they chiefly worked, the Nonconformists became painfully conscious that their purely voluntary efforts could never overtake the educational needs of the nation, whilst those of the National Society were equally ineffective, and at the same time most unjust to the ever-growing numbers of Free Churchmen. Consequently, when the Liberal party came into power in 1868 they gladly welcomed, in the interests of the children, the promise of a comprehensive scheme of National Education. The character of the Bill of 1870, and the methods by which it was passed, were a sore disappointment to the great bulk of Nonconformists. They were prepared to forego the long-cherished principle to which I have just referred, viz., that schools subsidised by State funds must not teach religion, because otherwise they feared the Bill might be wrecked, and they would not incur this great responsibility; but they fought strenuously against the grave injustice which the Bill, as originally introduced, brought upon the citizens at large, and upon them in particular, the result being that some clauses were struck out (the principles of which are, by the way, revived in the Act of 1902), and a compromise was carried frequently with the help of Tory votes and against the Nonconformists, and the Bill was got through and

became law. It is often now brought as a charge of inconsistency that some of the provisions of that Act were consented to, and are now opposed; but this is ignoring facts—they never were willingly accepted, and Free Churchmen showed their resentment on the first opportunity by turning out the Government which imposed these disabilities upon them; nevertheless, they at once commenced to take their place on public bodies, and loyally to administer the Act, and in the course of years it would slowly but surely have worked into a fairly good national scheme, but the long tenure of office which the Conservative party have enjoyed has been used by the enemies of national education to the best advantage, with this result, that the agreements of 1870 have been broken whenever the system showed signs of too great progress, and the State has had constantly to make terms with Denominational obstructors instead of fostering the plan which best served the interests of Education.

The "Free Education" Act was simply a method of handing over a further large gift to these managers under the head of "Fee grant." The "aid grant" helped to give another lease of life to a number of very inferior schools, which must otherwise have succumbed, and in various other ways the bargain made in 1870, that schools receiving aid from Parliament should provide half their income from private sources, was gradually whittled away, and the principle upon which it was based destroyed, and it was only realised when too late that the far too patient way in which we bore these infractions of the compromise only encouraged worse steps in the same direction, as evidenced by the Bill of 1902. I have in the foregoing tried as concisely as possible to refresh the memory of the reader by recapitulating some of the most salient facts in the history of the Education controversy in order to lay a foundation for the demands which are to follow.

When the Bill of 1902 was laid upon the table of the
1902 Bill. House the first great disappointment felt by Nonconformists and shared by all Educationalists, without distinction of sect or party, was its treatment of teacher training and secondary education; one of the leading organs of the Government said "instead of aiding secondary education it only hinders it," whilst it did nothing to remove the gross injustice of existing Denominational Training Colleges, and left the question of the provision of teachers in the hands of the localities under such conditions that in the great bulk of cases there has been no attempt to work it; and a very cursory knowledge of its details showed that instead of being a Bill to promote national education, it was a Bill to increase and consolidate the power and place of sect, and was a response to the demands of Convocation, regardless of the rights of that large portion of the nation over whom Convocation had no power, and who had not, in any way, been consulted. Heedless of the earlier and wiser advice of the then Bishop of London (Dr. Temple), the whole of the schools had been

placed upon "the slippery slope of the rates," though still retaining their right to teach dogma through the clergy or by teachers chosen from one sect only. Moreover, the control of the ratepayers over the Denominational Schools, which henceforth they had to maintain, was of a doubtful character, whilst the religious teaching, being solely in the hands of the clergy (so far as one-half of the children were concerned), opened the door to grave abuse and to the teaching of doctrines which the majority of the nation entirely disowned. Such a Bill brought in by a Government which had already lost the confidence of the nation, and submitted to a Parliament elected to deal with the South African question, at an election where, in consequence of the nature of the appeal, many thousands of Free Churchmen for the first time supported Conservative candidates, was sure to encounter the strongest possible opposition. Both inside the House and in the country the Prime Minister was warned, in the plainest language, that we would not submit to its provisions; notwithstanding this, however, it was forced through Parliament, every clause being carried by a merciless use of the closure, and was ultimately passed (Churchmen and Catholics closing their ranks for the purpose) without any substantial amendment of its most obnoxious provisions. The difference of opinion amongst friends of education in regard to the Municipal working *versus* the *ad hoc* or School Board principle was responsible for some defects in the Bill, as it ultimately passed the House of Commons; but this is not a side of the question upon which I need enlarge here.

Our greatest grievances were that the real educational
Grievances. interests of the children were neglected—the rights of minorities in districts where there is only one school still ignored—religious tests re-applied to civil servants after generations of relief—the lack of control by the ratepayers over the expenditure of their own money—the absence of opportunity for earnest co-operation by the people in the work of their own schools, and the want of stimulus toward efficiency or penalty for inefficiency, and the ineffective provision for undenominational training colleges. All these things show conclusively that the interests of a political party and of denominations were the main if not the sole objects of the Bill, and that these objects were to be attained by ruthlessly ignoring the rights of the citizen and the foundation principles of religious liberty.

The results of the administration of the Act show all the evils, both nationally and locally, which were predicted of it.
Results of Working. The Board of Education have shown much disfavour toward any desire to transfer schools to the Authority, whilst the clergy have in many cases refused to renew leases of schools previously held by School Boards, thus increasing rather than diminishing the number of parishes where there is only one school, and that denominational, a state of things which the Prime Minister admitted over and over again was a great difficulty in the

way of fair settlement. The despotic action of the clergyman as Chairman of the managers in refusing or neglecting to summon meetings—in conducting correspondence on behalf of the managers in which they have not been consulted—declining to produce minute books and a variety of other acts by which they keep an authority at least equal to their old position, and without any of the checks which before were often exercised by some of the principal subscribers claiming payment for the religious literature obtained for teaching their own dogmas, which the Prime Minister distinctly promised they should not be permitted to do.

Failing in many cases to have any survey of the school buildings, and thus throwing unnecessary cost on the locality—equipping new schools at the cost of the ratepayers, though commenced before the Act of 1902 was passed, making general claims under the wear and tear clauses, both unfair and illegal, but getting them passed by a pliant Court because mainly composed of men favourable to the spread of such schools, these demands covering such expenses as partitions in school buildings, asphaltting or repairing playgrounds, gas-fittings and the like, and amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of pounds.

The determination in many instances to take children to church for the religious teaching, although they have secured teachers of their own faith for the purpose—the numerous saints' days amounting in some instances to as many as twenty-two in the year, in which they claim the right to be free from school that the children may attend public service.

The establishment of a committee with a large majority of Churchmen, where the School Boards were progressive.

The selection of so-called representative managers, so as to place men where they can do the least possible service—Nonconformists being kept off High Church managements—and the vast preponderance of Anglican as representative managers, even where the district is largely Free Church, as, for instance, Oxford, where in twenty schools there are four Nonconformists out of 120; Wisbech, two out of eighteen; and such instances might be multiplied by the hundred.

The selection of teachers too often made by the clergyman of the parish alone, and the best teacher often passed over for reasons other than educational unfitness.

The discharge of Nonconformist teachers when discovered in the non-provided schools, although Mr. Balfour described the Clause which gave permission to employ them as one of the great boons of the Act.

The persecution of children who claim exemption under the conscience clause, many cases of which have come to my knowledge of such a nature that I know numbers of clergy would reprobate as strongly as we free churchmen.

A determination to give what is called "definite religious teaching" to *all* the children, and not feeling bound by the provisions of the Act by which they should be protected.

This long catalogue is but an illustration of some of the methods by which the Act is worked in the interests of denominations and against the civil and religious rights of the citizen, and each one of these charges could be proved by actual cases did space permit; and such things will continue so long as the lack of public control exists.

Nature of the Struggle. To any careful and unbiassed student of the history of Education in England it must be plainly evident that the conflict is not between Church and Chapel, as is often alleged, or between sects contending for supremacy, for the Nonconformist claims his rights as a citizen and in no other capacity, and therefore seeks for a national system as against a dual—or, in other words, the control of the people as against the control of the priest. All through the past century the claim of supremacy made by the Established Church in religious matters generally has been pressed most severely in regard to the education of the young; little by little it has been compelled to relax its hold upon the nation as a whole, and the schools are its last bulwark. The crux, therefore, of the question is the position of the priest in popular education—shall he be treated simply as a citizen with no more and no less rights than he, or must he still continue to be the virtual ruler of at least half the nation's schools, appointing the teachers whose salary the State has to pay, controlling the religious teaching with only an appeal to his superior ecclesiastic, the Bishop, in the event of any dispute, and using the School as the door into the dominant Church, taking care that its atmosphere is such as will make the passage from one to the other easy and natural. This is a fair and honest deduction from all the past history of the education struggle, and it will be my business to show it is strictly in accordance with present-day facts. We therefore, in the interests of education, civil liberty, and freedom of conscience, challenge this position, and both in the parish, at the polls, and in Parliament shall continue to fight the battle of freedom from clerical control. For ourselves we ask nothing but our rights as citizens; we can accept from the State no help to teach our own special beliefs, much less a preference, and we can submit to no Parliamentary enactments which place us at a disadvantage, for the same reason.

Our Claim. What we have ever contended for is a real national system. Such a system must, in the first place, be absolutely independent of voluntary or charitable aid; national needs in all matters except Education are in the hands of local or imperial authorities who are controlled by the people, whose needs they supply, and who in their turn provide, directly or indirectly, the cost of such undertakings (that the Act

of 1902 unintentionally but still surely brings us a step nearer this goal is in my judgment its one merit).

None will deny that a more complete and generous system of education is a national need. Whatever private agencies may do, they should at best be treated as auxiliary to and not as substitutes for the nation's own work, and as we now compel every child to attend school, we must provide instruction upon fair and equitable terms.

The act of 1902 destroyed the *ad hoc* principle of School Boards instead of extending their areas, and places the work in the hands of our County Council and Municipal authorities, with full powers (subject, of course, to the Board of Education) so far as a portion of the schools are concerned, and with limited powers in a much larger number of cases. These full powers must be extended to the whole of the schools maintained by the public, and include possession or control of all the school buildings, and the necessary provision of school places where any deficiency exists.

The contention that the buildings the denominations provide are an equivalent for the privileges they possess we cannot for one moment admit. The financial value of these school buildings has been enormously exaggerated. The contribution which they make to the total cost of Education is not more than one-tenth, whilst their capital value has long since been worked out : but whatever it is, it must be extinguished either by rent or purchase, and can be no pretence for allowing two-thirds of the management for a contribution of one-tenth of the expense. If it is contended that this will mean thousands of new school buildings, my answer is that a very large number of the 14,000 schools affected are not private property, but held in trust for educational purposes, and would be used for these purposes under public management, whilst in no way alienated from the parish for such uses as may be required out of school hours ; but even if it entailed in many cases new buildings, the cause of Education and religious equality would be best met by such a plan, and surely it cannot for a moment be contended that a wealthy country like England cannot afford this necessary expenditure for elementary education, which at the outside could not amount to more than five millions, part of which would be saved in the readjustment of school accommodation. No complete and efficient system will ever exist until it is admitted that Education must be one of the first charges upon the national exchequer, and that large expenditure upon it is economical and necessary. With the question of school buildings other vital principles are linked ; with these in the hands of the public authority there remains no ground whatever for excluding complete public control in the management of the schools ; and so in the 8,000 parishes, in which there is at present no choice, the schools would pass from the control of the clergyman (because, disguise or deny it as we may, this is the practical working of the present system) into the

hands of representative managers. No doubt the old system has sometimes produced a benevolent despotism of a fairly innocuous kind, but more often it has developed a priestly arrogance, alike destructive of the best interests of education and religious equality, and therefore its abolition is the first step towards freedom.

The Religion Question.

Given public management over the schools in buildings possessed by the authority, and the other two most obnoxious provisions of the present Act must go, viz., dogmatic religious teaching at the public expense and religious tests for the teachers; and here we reach the real battle-ground. It was vigorously contended by the Prime Minister that this Act did not in any way aggravate, if it did not entirely relieve, the disabilities of Free Churchmen, and in these two particulars it left things as they were. But can this be seriously believed? One cardinal principle of the Act of 1870 was that in all rate-aided schools no religious dogma or doctrine peculiar to any particular church should be taught. The Act of 1902 entirely destroys this, and in our judgment alters the position altogether; but it is said if we did not pay through the rates we did through the taxes, which is from a conscientious standpoint the same thing. Our reply is we did neither. The contribution made by adherents of the Church to its own schools by direct monetary payment, though, as I have previously shown, greatly reduced, was still amply sufficient to pay for the teaching of their religion, and was enough to give them a claim to some control; but the present Act throws all the cost upon the citizens generally, whilst it gives the entire control of the religious teaching into the hands of the sects. I know all the arguments about the conscience clause, and I also know that it can be made a futile and obnoxious arrangement in its practical working, throughout the rural districts at least, and did my space permit I could give plenty of instances to prove this; and therefore I attach small value to it. But it is urged with great vehemence that whilst by the abolition of specific religious teaching you save the conscience of the minority, by the same act you outrage that of the majority, who object just as strongly to what is known as undenominational teaching. Now such an objection is entitled to thorough scrutiny and, if sustained, to great respect; but can it be sustained? What is there in the ethical teaching of the Council School to which a sincere Churchman can object? (I deal further on with the Catholic and Agnostic). Let him take, for instance, the syllabus of the late London School Board, and point out one thing which is an outrage on his conscientious convictions. He cannot do it. It contains the common elements of our religious belief about which we are agreed, and it is these which have the chief influence upon the child's life. Hence his position is entirely different to that of the Free Churchman, who denies most strenuously many of the statements in the Catechism, and still more, much of the teaching

given in the schools by clergy of pronounced High Church opinion. It is true the Churchman may contend that he does not value this (the denominational teaching) very highly or at all, and he desires his child to be taught more definite doctrines; so does the Free Churchman, but the latter says we must both teach these free from the interference of the State and at our own cost. Then we are met with the demand of the parent to have his child trained in his own beliefs and at the public expense (a demand, by the way, which is really made *for* the parent, and seldom *by* him). But can such a demand be seriously maintained? In the first place, it is entirely new. For generations it has been ignored by the action of the very people who now strenuously put it forward, and who have compelled children to accept their religious teaching or none; but surely to contend that in a nation like ours the State has a right to provide at the public expense the teaching of all forms of religion carries its own refutation. Where and from whence does the parent derive the right to make me pay for teaching his child that salvation comes through the sacraments, and these sacraments are efficacious only through the medium of one church? To such an assumption we present the most uncompromising opposition, and yet, in the judgment of many, the final method for securing complete religious equality is to permit the right of entry into all elementary schools, during school hours, to every religionist who may claim to have scholars in the school, and the subsidising of all kinds of religious teaching. I cannot believe that Free Churchmen will ever help to convert our schools into an arena in which are gathered groups of little theologians, to be thus early taught their own special way to heaven; neither do I believe the Romanist or High Anglican would ever open their schools to receive him—such a scheme would be destructive alike of the best interests of the child and the discipline of the school. It may be an easy method for politicians, but one which all who treat their religion as a concern of conscience must and will resist to the very end. For these reasons dogmatic teaching must not have a place in State schools, or grievous wrong is done to a large portion of the nation, a wrong so acute as to provoke resistance to the law, and entail prosecution and imprisonment for its enforcement, and thus to re-enact the persecutions and bitterness of past generations, which it is quite certain the majority of the nation to-day will not tolerate.

It is, therefore, doomed, and this condemnation is rendered the more certain by the fact that it can only be maintained by the appointment of teachers, because of their special religious beliefs rather than educational fitness; and yet this is a religious test for a civil servant, which even the most pronounced bigot hesitates to defend. The fact that a ratepayer has to contribute toward the salaries of a profession which his own son is prohibited from entering because of his religious belief is taking us back to the Middle Ages and to the

disabilities of the early Nonconformists, and so dogmatic teaching at the expense of the State and the religious inquisition, which determines the fitness of the teacher, both fall together, a catastrophe which will be contemplated with profound satisfaction by all lovers of justice and equality.

I have now on paper (would that I had done in reality) cleared the ground of everything that belongs to private and denominational interests in our system of Education—the buildings in the hands of the authority, dogmatic religious teaching abolished, tests for teachers gone, complete control over all schools maintained by the Authority; and I think it is now pertinent to ask what portion of the inhabitants of the realm are unjustly treated by such a system, or who have reason to complain? It is seen at once that the religious question is the one bone of contention left, and that this is largely a question of finance, after all. For by this system no one is prevented promulgating his own religious views at his own expense, so long as it is free from State influence and prestige. What facilities the use of denominational school buildings may give I, for one, should be quite willing to grant out of school hours; and this is the most that can be done with justice to the whole community. But it is contended that such an arrangement, whilst it may not leave any real ground of complaint to those who can accept simple Bible teaching, ignores the position of the Romanist, the Jew, and the Agnostic, and therefore is and can be no final settlement. I admit that in matters of conscience where religion is concerned that a minority, however small, are entitled to consideration; and therefore they must be met, and that a conscience clause is an unsatisfactory method of meeting them. On the other hand, the nature and the extent of the claim made by a minority has to be well weighed before it can be allowed to over-ride the acts of a majority. In this case there is little doubt by far the larger number of the people are against the actual exclusion of the Bible as a lesson book from our public schools, and to attempt to place a ban upon it would retard educational progress for the next generation. They feel also that, in our large towns especially, hosts of children will never see it at all unless at the day school, and that it is desirable they should know that such a book exists; that it is the oldest literature in existence; that many parts of it are full of the finest ethical teaching, couched in the best form of prose or poetry; that as a reading book alone it would be a shame to exclude it (and why should we allow history books of Greece and Rome and debar that which tells of one of the oldest and most interesting peoples of the world); and that, above all, it teaches the existence of a God and our relations toward Him. They are willing to let it be its own witness, but they are not prepared to yield to the opinions (however honest they may be) of a small number who, denying the existence of a God, desire to keep this great moral influence outside the child's school life. I speak from a long

experience, and can testify that many of these honest doubters allow, if not encourage, their children to come to Sunday School; and I cannot believe there are any large number who would object to the child's life being influenced by the beautiful teachings of the New Testament if he were assured it would be free from that clerical control which has so often marred the beauty of this teaching by the traditions of men or by theological tenets utterly unsuited to the child's mind. The position of the Jew or the Romanist has also to be met. The case of the Jew is of a different character to either the Anglican or Romish Church. He does not seek to proselytise; he desires a school for the children of his own faith. This could only exist where the numbers were sufficient to warrant the provision—an arrangement which, I believe, is already in work under the London Education Committee. Such a school must be treated as "special," and without the ordinary Bible teaching, the religious teaching being given outside the school hours, and by teachers specially appointed for the purpose, paid for by the religious community to which they belong, and where, in consequence of the small numbers, they had to mix with other children, in common with the children of the Agnostic or the Romanist, they must be protected by giving them opportunity to withdraw whenever Bible reading takes place.

There now remains the Romanist. It may be argued that there are districts in England where special schools might well be provided (as in the case of the Jew) wholly for Catholic children—a question which possibly the local authority might be left to decide; in such case, however, some security would have to be taken against the entry of Protestant children, as teachers of this faith, being nuns and missionaries, are under bonds of obedience to their church, and would, as a matter of conscience, seek to influence the children. But where the numbers are insufficient then the provision must be of a like character to that already described; if, on the other hand, such a proposal is not acceptable to either religious community, then their schools must be treated as private schools, as in America, and supported by the sect to which they belong, though they may, if the authority so desire, be recognised as efficient if up to the proper standard of secular instruction.

There are, however, some members of the Free Churches who favour purely secular instruction without Bible reading in the whole of our State Schools, as they contend we have no logical standpoint short of excluding the Bible altogether. It may be so, though this is quite open to question, but even if it is, how much of the constitution under which we rejoice to live would bear this logical test? Moreover, are they prepared to define secular instruction, or are they sure that even in "secular instruction" they have found a safe place on which to stand. Logic would compel the Agnostic to demand the exclusion from the list of our reading books of much of the very best of the school literature in

use every day in the schools, because it recognises a Higher power and the principle of revealed religion, whilst it would also induce the Romanist to demand a history of England and of some Continental countries entirely different from those at present in use, on the ground that they do a grave injustice to the past records and work of his church. Logic cannot rule issues such as this; common sense and fair play are the ruling sentiments, and if, in addition to full public control and the abolition of tests for teachers, the local authority has continued to it the right of deciding whether there shall be simple Bible teaching or no religious teaching at all within its jurisdiction, nine-tenths of the Free Church adherents will be content, the vast mass of the population outside all the churches will be entirely satisfied, and the murmurs of the Anglican at the loss of his supremacy will gradually die down as he learns that "eternal justice" (to quote the Prime Minister) can only be secured by the sects keeping outside the State schools altogether.

Feeling then that this great commonwealth can only maintain its present commanding position if its power rests upon a well-educated people, I call upon all to co-operate for this end, and especially do I appeal to the great Wesleyan denomination to respond by transferring their remaining schools to the public authorities, and thus by following the example of others complete the great army of Free Churchmen who have absolutely a clear record in this matter. Many have already taken this step with splendid results. At Banbury a Wesleyan school built at a cost of several thousand pounds has been handed over to the authorities, and is the most popular school in the district; and there are similar instances in various parts of the country, and the time has surely come to complete these transfers, so that it can no longer be said there are amongst the Free Churches some who take State money without public control. This will hasten the day, which cannot now be far distant, when it will be said in regard to Education that "none were for a party, but all were for the State"; when a sense of injustice shall no more rankle in the breast as the child is sent to school or the rate collector calls, and when everywhere the nation's schools, open to all and controlled by the people themselves, shall be the pride and strength of our land.

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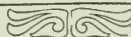
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GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER'S REPORT ON ARMY
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ONE PENNY.

WAT
WAL UNION
REF
21 OCT 1950

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER.

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER is the hero of the hour. His report upon the system by which Army stores were disposed of in South Africa is a service only second to that which he rendered six years ago when he vainly endeavoured to save the Empire from the disaster into which Lord Milner plunged South Africa by his war with the Dutch Republics. In those days General Butler's voice was silenced. A more subservient soldier was sent out to replace him as Commander-in-Chief. Lord Milner and Mr. Chamberlain were supreme. They had their evil way, and we have been paying the piper ever since.

The war, although conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, was believed by millions of Englishmen to have been a heroic enterprise undertaken for the suppression of corruption and the establishment of a pure and righteous government in the Transvaal. These millions are to-day sadly disillusioned, for this Report confirms, so far as it goes, the statement constantly asserted by a few who knew the facts, that for years the whole of South Africa has been one huge Imperial thieves' kitchen. The kind of work that went on everywhere has long been notorious in South Africa. But "in the best interests of the army" the whole infernal system of rascality was hushed up. At last, in six—only six specific cases—the probe has been inserted, and the Report of Sir W. Butler is the result.

The salient passages of this Report form the substance of this pamphlet. The title is my own. I say this, firstly, because I wish to clear Sir W. Butler of all responsibility for the phrase; and, secondly, because I am rather proud of inventing a form of sound words which ought to become historic.

Sir William Butler is standing as Liberal candidate for a Leeds division. There is an unfortunate split in the constituency, owing to the refusal of the Labour party to allow their man to be adopted as the Liberal candidate by the local Liberal Association. If there be any genuine patriotism left in the division Sir W. Butler ought to be returned unopposed. If what Sir Edward Russell calls "the tragedy of our Empire's decay" is to be averted at the eleventh hour, it will be because General Butler, and General Butler alone, has had the splendid courage to throw a flood of light upon the darkest corners of Imperial corruption.

General Butler, like Lord Roberts and Lord Wolseley, comes from the sister isle. He is a native of fighting Tipperary. The Butlers are a rather remarkable family. In their family seat at Ballycarron, on the town lands which lie along the banks of the lovely river Suir, they have preserved their independence and their Catholicism for centuries, despite all the pressure, penal, social, political, and religious, which was brought to bear upon the old Catholic families

of Ireland. Possibly it may be the inheritance of such memories that inspired the passionate sympathies which Sir William Butler has ever felt with those who suffered wrong.

He has been a man of war from his youth up. He entered the army when he was twenty, and he has been almost continuously engaged in active service since 1869. Born in 1837, he is now in his sixty-eighth year. But, unlike many of his brother officers, he has had no Indian experience. He joined the army two years after the Peace of Paris, and was learning the A B C of his profession when Lord Roberts was in the thick of the Mutiny. From 1858 to 1869 he had little opportunity of active service. He was of a restless disposition, to whom barrack life in garrison towns was by no means the ideal of a happy existence. He loved travel, and, although he studied hard and kept his pen as busy as his sword was idle, he chafed against the commonplace monotony of military routine.

His first chance came when Riel, the French half-breed, raised the standard of revolt in the Wild North-West of what is now the Dominion of Canada. Lord Wolseley, then plain Garnet Wolseley, was entrusted with the task of re-establishing the authority of the Queen over the rebels who made Fort Garry the capital of their revolt.

With his young and intrepid chief he made the famous Red River Expedition, the amphibious excursion which was the progenitor of a much more famous but less fortunate expedition up the Nile in years that were to come. Riel, like the wise and elusive Osman Digna, did not wait for the arrival of the expedition, but disappeared into the wilderness.

Wolseley returned home, but Butler was despatched into the Wild Lone Land as Special Commissioner to the Saskatchewan Indians. He travelled three thousand miles in midwinter across vast solitudes, sometimes on horseback and sometimes on dog-sleighs—a lone Irishman speeding across a continent to confirm the loyalty of the Redskin to the Pale-face Queen.

From his boyhood General Butler was reared in the traditions of a persecuted race and a proscribed Church. Although he became in his maturer years a potent instrument in the hands of the Imperial race, he never for a moment disguised his sympathies with the peoples whom they governed, sometimes justly, sometimes not. It is probable that this fact has much to do with the unsympathetic treatment which he has received of late, for while little prejudice exists against a Tory Catholic, when that Catholic happens to be both an Irishman and a Liberal he is seldom a *persona grata* with our governing classes. You cannot take up any book of General Butler's—and he has written many, and all of them are good—without finding the pages palpitating with a thrilling human interest in the oppressed races of the world. The first expression of this spirit that is to be found in any of his writings may be quoted from the remarkable book in which he describes his experiences in the Far North-West of the Canadian Dominion.

Like most Celts, his sympathies are much more with the peasant than with the townsman, and again and again in the course of his writings he has sounded a note of eloquent warning as to the dangers

which we are incurring in permitting the gradual extinction of the Highland crofter and of the Irish cottier.

He was a man of observation, and of a meditative mind, and in his "Wild Far West" and "The Great Lone Land" he gave the world the benefit of his adventures, his observations, and his reflections in the region of Backo'beyont, which lay anywhere between Niagara and Klondyke. So far, although he had risked his life recklessly enough, he had imperilled it as a traveller rather than as a soldier. The time, however, was now at hand when he was to have his baptism of fire. From the precincts of the Arctic circle he was summoned to join the staff of his former chief on an expedition to the torrid and pestilential region of West Africa. King Koffee Kalkallee of Coomassie, resenting the transfer of Dutch forts on the Atlantic littoral to Great Britain, raided our Protectorate, and rendered necessary the despatch of a punitive expedition. It was memorable in many ways. The Ashantee Expedition of 1873 was the first of the innumerable expeditions which followed in rapid succession, until the whole African Continent was partitioned among the nations of Europe. At its close Wolseley recognized Butler's devotion, and when the honours were distributed Butler found himself a major and a Companion of the Bath.

It was in the following year that he made his first visit to South Africa. But before he accompanied Sir Garnet Wolseley to Natal he married Miss Elizabeth Thompson, in the first blush of her fame as painter of "The Roll Call."

His first visit to Natal was on no warlike mission; but he had not been

there long before the horizon began to darken. The annexation of the Transvaal was speedily followed by the Zulu war, in which he rendered useful, though not very conspicuous service as Quartermaster-General at Durban. He was a capital administrator, who had everybody's confidence, and was one of Wolseley's "indispensable men." He was the friend, and was subsequently the biographer, of Sir George Colley, whose defeat and heroic death on Majuba Mountain exercised so deep and fatal an influence upon the course of South African history.

The year after Majuba, the revolt of Arabi and the Colonels brought about the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts and the Expedition to Egypt. As Sir Garnet Wolseley had the command, it goes without saying that Major Butler accompanied the Expedition. This time he had his full share of fighting. He was present at Tel-el-Mabula and Kassassin, and he took part in the famous night march which led up to the decisive battle of Tel-el-Kebir. It was the opening of the campaign which closed when the Khalifa, surrounded by his Emirs, died like a hero beneath the hailstorm of bullets rained upon him by the soldiers of General Wingate.

Two years later Lord Wolseley sent for Colonel Butler and entrusted him with the duty of preparing the Nile Expedition which was despatched—too late—for the rescue of General Gordon. His experience in the Red River Expedition stood him in good stead. He got together a flotilla of 400 boats, in which a picked force of 4,000 men in two months passed the cataracts and made their way without a hitch to Dongola.

The story of the heroic defence of

Khartoum against the forces of the Mahdi has found a sympathetic historian in General Butler, whose little "Life of Gordon" is one of the best biographies of the kind in our language. Sick at heart and crushed with unavailing regret, Lord Wolseley led his gallant soldiers home, leaving Colonel Butler to cover his retreat with the rearguard at Merawi. From Merawi the troops fell back to the frontier at Wadi Halfa, where in December, 1885, Butler brilliantly distinguished himself in command of the cavalry at the battle of Giniss, notable as being one of the first opportunities afforded to the Gippies of showing what they could do under British leadership. It was in the despatch reporting this battle that Butler, who now became a major-general and a K.C.B., was described as an officer whose "clear head, cool sound judgment, quick intelligence, and intimate knowledge of his duties qualify him for high command."

It was the last occasion on which he met foes in the field. He was appointed in 1890 to the command of the troops in Alexandria. In 1893 he came home and was stationed at Dover as Commander of the South-Eastern District, where he remained till 1898. He received Lord Kitchener on his arrival at Dover after his victorious campaign in the Soudan, and shortly afterwards was appointed to the Chief Command in South Africa.

In less than twelve months General Butler was forced to resign.

Everything went well in South Africa until Lord Milner came back to England at the beginning of 1899. Lord Milner appointed General Butler as Acting High Commissioner during his prolonged absence from the Cape.

The War party began operations by getting up an agitation in Johannesburg against the Government of the South African Republic. General Butler saw their manœuvres, and believing that the Government wished for peace and not war in South Africa, he set his face against them as a flint. This it was his duty to do as Acting High Commissioner. It had nothing to do with his duties as Commander-in-Chief. The first great move of the conspirators was to get up a Petition to the Queen, which was to be forwarded home by the Acting Commissioner. When the suggestion was made to General Butler, he is said to have exploded with indignation, and to have telegraphed to the British Agent in Pretoria, in language more soldierlike than diplomatic:—"Forward their petition to the Queen! Tell them I'll see them damned first. I will not allow the Queen's Government to be made the tool of those fellows in Johannesburg."

When Lord Milner returned he brought matters to a head by suggesting that the garrisons on the frontier should be reinforced by a thousand men here and a thousand men there. "A thousand men!" said General Butler. "If you mean business, it is not a thousand men you will want, but a hundred thousand." Sir Alfred Milner did not like this, and communicated his dissatisfaction to Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain made representations to Lord Lansdowne, who sent out something of a reprimand or a remonstrance. General Butler at once offered to resign if his presence in South Africa in any way embarrassed the Executive.

"If you mean war," he told Lord Milner, "you should at once recognize the following facts:—The Boers are

well armed; they can mobilize all their forces at short notice, and in case of war it will be absolutely impossible to hold Northern Natal. All the districts north of the Tugela—including Newcastle, Dundee, Glencoe, and Ladysmith—should be evacuated and immediate measures taken to place a force of at least 20,000 men to guard the line of the Tugela. If this were done the rest of Natal would be secure. Preparations should be made to have in readiness a force of not less than 100,000 men, who would have to advance through Bloemfontein from their base in the Cape Colony." General Butler knew, of course, what was absolutely incredible to Mr. Balfour, that in case of war we should have to encounter both the Free State and the South African Republic. What Lord Milner said in response to this faithful and, as the result has proved, accurate foreshadowing of events to come, we do not know. But neither Lord Milner nor the Government at home took the least notice of General Butler's warning.

Finding himself in hopeless antagonism to the policy of the Government and the High Commissioner, General Butler resigned his command, but made no stipulation whatever about re-employment. The offer of the Western District Command at Devonport was made to him after his resignation had been most reluctantly and upon considerable consideration accepted.

There is no need to dwell here upon General Butler's evidence before the Elgin Commission on the conduct of the war. The *Review of Reviews* Annual of 1904 (1s. 4d. post free) contains all the information that the electors need on that score. That I am not wrong in crediting the authorship of the Stores Report to Sir William Butler will be questioned by no one who is familiar with the trenchant style and literary skill of the redoubtable General, who is as familiar with the pen as with the sword.

[*Our portrait of General Sir William Butler is by Elliott & Fry.*]

AN IMPERIAL THIEVES' KITCHEN.

BEHOLD, ONE HALF HAS NOT BEEN TOLD!

The Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Army Council to consider the question of the Sales and Refunds to Contractors in South Africa (Blue Book Cd. 2435, 4½d.) is prefaced by a note signed by Mr. Arnold-Forster, Secretary for War. In this he states that he thinks it his duty to observe that "the evidence is clearly and admittedly incomplete, and requires to be supplemented in many important particulars." He points out that the Report is not judicial, and that the evidence was not given on oath. He adds, "Further investigation will be necessary, and, as far as charges against individuals are concerned, the matters dealt with in the Report must be regarded as sub judice."

To this official notification by the Secretary for War it is necessary to add that "Meyer, Limited" and "Wilson and Worthington," whose conduct is commented on in General Butler's Report, declare "they court the fullest inquiry, and deprecate criticism founded on statements made before a Commission, not on oath and without cross-examination."

In justice to the very few individuals named in this Report, it is evident that even if these particular persons are as innocent as babes unborn, a matter on which no opinion is expressed here, further investigation of a very drastic kind will be necessary; for the Committee has but scratched the surface of a festering mountain of corruption. What is wanted is that General Butler's Departmental Committee, transformed into a Royal Commission, strengthened possibly by the addition of a smart criminal lawyer, should be sent out to South Africa to take evidence on oath, and empowered after cross-examination of the accused to mete out summary justice on the criminals. To secure that end the present Government should be turned out and replaced by men not compromised by complicity in any of the scandals of South Africa, from the Jameson Conspiracy to the Army Stores Contracts.

THE COMMITTEE.

The Committee consisted of the following members :—

- Lieut.-General Sir W. F. Butler, K.C.B. (Chairman).
Colonel C. A. Hadfield, Director of Supplies and Transport (Southern Command).
Major C. B. Little, Somersetshire Light Infantry.
Mr. H. J. Edwards, I.S.O.
Mr. H. E. Davies (Secretary).

It was constituted at the end of January, 1905. The first meeting took place February 10th. It met fifty-four times, held fifty-eight formal examinations of witnesses, to whom nearly 8,000 questions had been put. The Minutes of Evidence are published in a Blue Book of 530 pp. (Cd. 2,436, 4s. 3d.).

ITS TERMS OF REFERENCE.

The following are the terms of reference upon which the Committee was set to work :—

1. To investigate and report on the terms of contract and other circumstances connected with sales and refunds to contractors in South Africa at the end of the war.
2. To make special inquiry into the following transactions :—
 - (a) Refund on forage contract to Mr. Stepney. 12/V. 7/88.
 - (b) Sales to Mr. Stepney. 12/V. 7/136.
 - (c) Meyer refund and sales. 12/V. 7/71.
 - (d) Refund, Wilson and Worthington (bisenits). 12/V. 7/130.
 - (e) Wilson, tinned meats refund. 53/Cape/9010.
 - (f) Belated claims for Natal Brewery. 12/V. 7/135.
3. To report upon the responsibility of those concerned.

The Report, which was published on June 15th, is reproduced in the following pages, with the exception of a few passages of no material importance. As the paragraphs are numbered, every omission is indicated.

The first information of the depredations going on—cleverly contrived frauds which cost the country four to five millions sterling—was communicated to the General Commander-in-Chief, General Lyttelton, in a letter from Colonel Hackett Pain, commanding in Bloemfontein. It ran as follows :—

It has been brought to my notice by Captain Harrison, Army Service Corps, that Messrs. Meyer & Company must be making an enormous fortune out of the contract for oats, possibly as much as four or five millions a year.

As regards this station, Messrs. Meyer and Company pay Government 11s. per 100 lbs. for oats and 10s. per 100 lbs. for hay, and though the stuff is not removed from the Supply Depôt, they sell it back to Government at 16s. 4d. and 13s. 7d. per 100 lbs. respectively.

Thus at this station in January they made an estimated profit of £10,872, less cost of pay to agent, clerk, and native employés.

Oats here can be bought for 14s. 6d. per 100 lbs., and it is not likely that the price would go up in winter, as a contractor gets them up duty free, provided they get them from British sources, and gets a rebate from the railway.

I would therefore suggest that an enormous saving would be made if the Army Service Corps bought and supplied the forage required. I do not know, of course, how the general conditions of the country affect this contract, but I think it right to mention the matter, as I am aware there was a great outcry at home, some time ago, owing to the enormous profit made by the Cold Storage Company out of their contract for the supply of meat.

Bloemfontein,
13th March, 1903.

Captain Harrison was locked up as a lunatic, and no notice was taken of this startling intimation, with results set forth in the following Report.

REPORT.

PART I.

1. To understand the subjects which will be dealt with in the following Report, it will be necessary to outline the state of affairs existing in South Africa at the termination of hostilities—so far as the economic and food supply questions were concerned.

General economic condition in South Africa at the end of the war.

2. In June, 1902, the military authorities held immense accumulations of food supplies in South Africa. These would have sufficed to feed more than 300,000 men and 200,000 animals for four months. This food and forage were distributed among numerous depôts in the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, Cape Colony, and Natal. The chief depôt was at Pretoria, where were also the military headquarters and the office of the Director of Supplies. Outside the military bases, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony had been completely denuded of food supplies, whether of meat or cereals. The price of provisions, always high in South Africa, had become abnormally extravagant. Money, however, was plentiful, owing to the high rates at which labour had been remunerated, and to the wages paid to the irregular corps. Its distribution was general throughout the country.

3. Under such economic conditions the holders of the only food supply in a territory of great extent might reasonably have anticipated being able to dispose of their surplus stocks of food and forage at rates advantageous to the State. They held this food under conditions of cost price, freightage, and transport of a distinctly favourable character.

4. That anticipations of this nature existed is to be seen from the telegram from Lord Kitchener of the 10th June, 1902, in which he "contemplates being able to sell locally good quantity of reserve of forage at good prices." Some days earlier, on the 3rd of June, he had recommended that a system of local contract should be adopted for supplying the troops with food, "this course being likely to be most satisfactory for peace conditions."

Local sales and contracts proposed by Lord Kitchener.

The War Office do not appear to have approved these general principles of future supply action for some days.

6. On the 11th June the Quartermaster-General minuted, in the War Office, proposals as to contracts (made on 3rd June) as follows:—

Q.M.G. suggests contracts being made at home.

"As regards local contracts, I think that so long as a considerable force remains in South Africa it will be preferable to adhere to the present system of keeping South Africa supplied (except for such articles as are produced in the country, *i.e.*, mealies, &c.) under contracts to be made from this office, but it is a matter which should be referred to the Financial Secretary."

On the 18th June Lord Kitchener, while still unable to give a definite answer as to the amount of surplus forage available asked for by the War Office on 11th June, cables that he is "putting in orders to-day the organization under Colonel Morgan, Army Service Corps, of a special department called Sales Department, who will take over all surplus animals and articles for disposal, and keep strict ledgers and accounts of all transactions." He adds, as a reason for giving the officers of this new department special rates of pay, the remark:—"I think this is advisable, as the money involved will reach probably some six or seven millions."

On the 20th the War Office approved the proposal as to the supervision of sales by the Army Service Corps.

8. On the 23rd of June Lord Kitchener left South Africa.

9. A perusal of the foregoing telegrams shows that the idea of a dual system of sales and contracts (to which attention has been directed by the Controller and Auditor General), in other words, a system under which the Army would concurrently sell with one hand and buy with the other the same article, or a similar description of the same article, had its inception in South Africa, and that those concurrent dealings were to be worked by the Army Service Corps, under Colonel Morgan as Director of Sales as well as Director of Supplies.

10. Lieut.-General Sir Neville Lyttelton assumed command on the departure of Lord Kitchener.

The proposal of the Quartermaster-General that the contracts should be made in England was then changed on July 5th. They are to be made *locally* in South Africa, but not necessarily limited to contractors in that country.

15. Notices calling for tenders for the supply of bread, groceries, forage, &c., &c., were issued from Pretoria on 4th August, 1902. The contracts were to take effect from the 1st January following, and to run for nine months. On the 31st July, 1902, the Quartermaster-General telegraphs that "it has been stated too high prices are being asked for animals offered for sale by the Sales Department," and on the same date the War Office cable ordering "reports to be sent each month by telegram, showing receipts on account of stores, supplies, remounts, &c., sold by army to civil authorities or to private buyers." On the 18th August War Office telegraphs that the "price of animals, stores, &c., taken over by the Civil Government . . . has now been settled for a lump sum of £1,391,000. On the 23rd August the Quartermaster-General telegraphs that a change in the command of the Army Service Corps in South Africa has been decided, that Colonel Hipwell was to relieve Colonel Morgan as Director of Supplies, and the latter officer was to return to England (which he did on 5th November, 1902).

16. We have traced thus far the situation in its economic and administrative aspects through the three months succeeding the war, as it is shown in the telegraphic correspondence between the War Office and the military authorities in Pretoria. It is more difficult to follow the development of the policy through the three succeeding months, September, October, November, 1902. There are, however, in the latter period, some omissions and silences which require notice. The telegrams to the War Office upon the administrative question, so far as the Committee have seen, cease after the date of the message signifying the coming relief of Colonel Morgan by Colonel Hipwell.

The returns from the Sales Department, ordered in the telegram from the Quartermaster-General on the 31st July (and covered by letter of the same date), are not forwarded in compliance with that order subsequent to those for the month of August, but on the 31st October a letter, signed by Colonel Hipwell, is sent, forwarding sales made in September and October, but only those to the Repatriation Department, and omitting reference to sales to the general public.

The omission to comply with the orders given on 31st July (Monthly Return of Sales) is noticed by the War Office in an inter-departmental minute of 8th October, 1902, but it does not appear that action was then or subsequently taken in regard to it, and the return was cancelled on 24th April, 1903. Had this order been complied with, it might have been possible for the War Office earlier to have realized the nature of the transactions proceeding in South Africa in regard to sales of their vast surpluses, contracts, and the dual system generally.

17. On the 25th September Colonel Hipwell arrived in Pretoria, Colonel Morgan, however, continued still in the office of the Director of Supplies, and a system of joint administration, or, it would be more correct to say, of divided responsibility began; Colonel Morgan retaining in his exclusive charge all questions of sales, retrospective and prospective, and Colonel Hipwell assuming the conduct of current and future business in other matters.

In this divided responsibility and joint administration Colonel Morgan would appear to have been the predominant partner.

18. Of the sales made during this interval, the Committee have only had particulars in regard to a single item—that of chaff, which has since become the subject of legal action in South Africa and in England. These particulars will be stated in detail further on (*see* paragraphs 83-97).

19. In addition to the conduct of sales, and to other work in the Office of Supplies, Colonel Morgan appears to have been engaged throughout September and October in winding up and transferring to other hands the numerous subsidiary administrations which he had controlled, such as the Sales Department, the Farms, Field Force Canteens, Cattle Ranger Corps, &c. Meanwhile the transport of supplies from the sea to Pretoria apparently

continued without cessation. At a further stage of the report this point will be again referred to.

20. In answer to the notices issued in August, 1902, tenders for contracts to supply the troops were received in the Director of Supplies' Office on 1st October. **Tenders for supply received.** These were opened in the presence of the Assistant Director of Supplies (Captain Limond), who states that he took them to Colonel Morgan. Their number is variously described, but the general result of the evidence has been to convince the Committee that they were few.

Major Long states: "Meyer and Company was the only one I can remember." And again, "I think Meyer and Company were the principal and only ones."

Whatever may have been their number, it appears that they were first scheduled in the room of the Assistant Director of Supplies, and then taken by him to Colonel Morgan.

21. There is a conflict of testimony as to their subsequent treatment. Colonel Morgan has stated that he repeatedly urged Colonel **How dealt with.** Hipwell to deal with these tenders. Colonel Hipwell says that he was advised by Colonel Morgan to accept Meyer's tender. Major Long states that before he left Pretoria, at the end of October, it had been fully decided there should be contracts, and that Meyer should have the contract. He also says that Colonel Morgan had approved this course. Sergeant-Major Bevan corroborates this. "They (the tenders) were all ready when Colonel Morgan left."

22. A more detailed description of the office of the Director of Supplies is necessary to enable the reader to understand the methods by which the decisions in the specific cases which have been referred to the Committee were subsequently made. Colonel Morgan succeeded Sir Edward Ward as Director of Supplies in the end of 1900. The office under Colonel Morgan became extremely centralized, and its *personnel* was necessarily large, but its work did not end with supplies. Allusion has already been made to various other offices and administrations held by Colonel Morgan in 1901-02. The Field Force Canteen, the various farms which were established in the Trausvaal and the Orange River Colony for the reception of captured cattle, hospital supplies, &c.—notably that known as Eloff's Farm, near Pretoria, the Sales Department already mentioned, the Detective System, the Native Labour Corps, and the Corps of Cattle Rangers: these offices and administrations were all worked and controlled by Colonel Morgan, in addition to his own special business as Director of Supplies.

23. The working and results of these various offices have not been included in the reference to the Committee. But it would be quite impossible for the Committee to eliminate from their **Outside Agents.** consideration some at least of these outside administrations; because of the interchangeable action which passed between these various bodies and the central directorate of supplies; and also because

the *personnel* in many cases were identical. Thus a Mr. Saunders, an Army Service Corps subordinate, who is described as a "personal clerk" to Colonel Morgan, was the accountant at Eloff's Farm after it became the property of the Sports Club. Mr. Letter of G.O.C., South Africa. F. C. Morgan, brother of Colonel Morgan, is described in the same paper as civil adviser and treasurer of the Sports Club, at Eloff's Farm, while he also appears to have been the holder of various agencies and occupations in the companies or firms who tendered for the supply and purchase contracts. He is said to have been a frequent visitor to the office of the Director of Supplies, both before and after Colonel Morgan left Pretoria, and in the former period he appears to have resided with his brother.

He is agent for Meyer and Company, for English and Company, and, subsequently, or at the same time, he appears in a similar capacity, or as a partner, to Wilson and Worthington in the deal over chaff already mentioned. He was also connected with the Field Force Canteen, in the purchase of cigarettes in Egypt. He appears to have arrived in South Africa about July or August, 1902.

Some witnesses have stated that he was there at an earlier period, and it is certain that he remained in South Africa after Colonel Morgan quitted the country. His connection with Meyer and Company is described by Colonel Morgan, in letters submitted to the Committee (Appendix I.).

24. We now turn to the firm of Meyer, Limited, to whom the correspondence quoted refers.

Meyer, Limited. Of the six cases specifically referred to the Committee, that known as the "Meyer sales and refund" is the only one which is a direct connecting link between the office of the Director of Supplies under Colonel Morgan and Colonel Hipwell.

It draws into line many personalities and projects, and brings the subject of the contracts and sales into one focus.

25. Of the head of the firm, Mr. Meyer, we have frequent mention. He figured in the first Cold Storage Company, as agent, and in that capacity entered Pretoria with Earl Roberts. He also figures in prominent connection with the second Cold Storage Company, the Imperial, an organization which will be specially referred to later on (*see* paragraph 57).

In the refund case immediately under notice, he takes first place; and he is also a tenderer to purchase our supplies of forage at the same time that he has been selected to supply us with forage. He is spoken of by many witnesses in different terms, and various nationalities are ascribed to him; but all are agreed that he was a person possessing a remarkable mental grasp of the necessities of a financial situation. The exact date or cause upon which Mr. Meyer severed his connection with the second or Imperial Cold Storage Company is not clear to the Committee, but it would appear that he had formed the company known as "Meyer, Limited," in August or September, 1902. The company, outside Mr. Meyer, is not so easily described.

Various witnesses refer to the company as consisting of Meyer's relations. "A family concern" "formed to take over the contract" [for supply], "and they got it." "A mushroom firm," "A firm of yesterday," "depended upon the acceptance of that tender" [for supply], in Colonel Morgan's own words. While Meyer himself, who personally conducted the negotiations, is described by the Pay Department as "a very difficult man to get money from," "generally slipped out of his undertaking," "in danger of going into liquidation" [unless assisted by the army, &c.].

A person named McGee, mentioned as belonging to the company, is described as "a racing man," "not reliable," "not a man of much substance," "decidedly addicted to drink," &c., &c.

26. It will be our business later on to record our opinion upon the fact that a company thus formed and constituted was recommended, and finally became the contractors for supplying our troops with several hundred thousand pounds' worth of food and forage; and that at the same time they were declared the purchasers of our supplies to the extent of more than a quarter of a million sterling.

27. On November 2nd, 1902, when Colonel Morgan left Pretoria, the situation might be thus described:—

General situation at the date of Colonel Morgan's departure from South Africa.

- (a) The original proposals for sale of supplies by the War Department, and contracts to supply the troops from outside sources, had moved concurrently forward to points at which failure (so far as the sales were concerned) was evident, and to a point just short of completion so far as the contracts for supply were concerned.
- (b) Tenders to supply had been received, considered, and discussed for a month, and the Committee are of opinion from the evidence that they had been recommended by Colonel Morgan.
- (c) As regards "Sales," the Committee are not in possession of the dates at which the tenders were received. But there can be no doubt from the evidence that before Colonel Morgan left Pretoria the subject had been fully discussed by him with would-be purchasers in the office of Director of Supplies.
- (d) The Repatriation Department had ceased to buy supplies from us in any considerable quantities. "Rings," it had been stated, had been formed against our food supplies in Johannesburg, but the balance of testimony is against that statement.
- (e) Demobilization and withdrawal of troops had reduced our garrison to 87,000 men and 97,000 horses and mules.
- (f) Deterioration of our supplies was said to be increasing.
- (g) The enormous bulk of food and forage at Pretoria was having constant accessions made to it through the arrival from oversea and from the clearance of seaport bases.
- (h) Meyer and Company stood almost alone in the field of tender.

28. We now continue the course of events from the departure of Colonel Morgan. Meyer's tender for the supply of forage, submitted on the 1st October, was formally accepted by Colonel Hipwell, in the name of the General, on 25th November. His tender to buy forage from us was formally submitted on 4th December.

It is admitted that for many weeks prior to both these dates Meyer was a frequent visitor at the office of the Director of Supplies,—“He was in my office every day.” It is also admitted that Meyer was permitted to amend his formal tenders to buy, a privilege not given to others.

29. Meyer's tender to purchase our supplies does not appear to have been formally accepted until the 10th January, 1903, but a fortnight prior to that date a telegram was sent from the office of the Director of Supplies, Pretoria, to all the districts in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, ordering them “to hand over to Meyer, Limited, Box 684, Pretoria, at once, all sound oats surplus to requirements at 11s. per 100 lbs.”

There is a further telegram, dated 30th December, directing all surplus forage of every description to be handed over to the same contractors, and the rates which the contractors are to pay are specified in every item. A comparison between the prices at which Meyer was to buy from, and sell to us at Pretoria (*e.g.*) will be easily seen from the following table:—

Meyer paid us.	We paid Meyer.	Difference in Favour of Contractor per 100 lbs.
		s. d.
For oats 11s. per 100 lbs.	17s. 11½d. per 100 lbs. ...	6 11½
„ oat hay and hay 10s. per 100 lbs.	17s. 8½d. per 100 lbs. ...	7 8½
„ bran 9s. 3d. per 100 lbs.	14s. 3d. per 100 lbs. ...	5 0
„ mealies 9s. 6d. per 100 lbs.	16s. 0½d. per 100 lbs. ...	6 6½

30. As already stated, on or about January 10th, 1903, Meyer was formally declared the purchaser of a vast quantity of forage throughout the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Ten days earlier he had already begun to supply the troops at rates which probably made him the readiest reckoner of profit of whom the history of military contracts has any record.

How it operated. Taking the item of oats as an example, the conditions of his double deal left him approximately a gainer of £1 sterling upon every 300 lbs. of oats which we sold him, and which he transferred back to us.

31. The evidence given by Colonel Lewis and others shows the actual method or machinery of exchange which followed. We still continued to store and issue practically as before the contract had been made, and some 60,000 animals became the machines by which Meyer was made the daily gross gainer upon oats alone of something over £2,000 sterling.

32. Just before the date upon which this consummation had been reached, Mr. F. Morgan had quitted the employment of that contractor.

33. Before approaching the serious question of personal or collective responsibility for the loss to the public indicated as above, and illustrated in detail in the six specific cases referred to them (and dealt with in Part II. of this Report), the Committee wish to record the general trend or direction of their thought during the process of this investigation. The course of inquiry has been marked by the growth of an increasing sense of suspicion regarding the entire character of the various transactions presented to them. What in earlier

stages of inquiry appeared to be isolated instances of error, on the part of some particular official who had dealt with the case, assumed, as investigation proceeded, first the aspect of continuous negligence, until, as fresh instances arose of such palpable misdoing, the idea of even culpable negligence had to be abandoned, and in its place the impression of cleverly arranged contrivance substituted.

34. And if the field of inquiry covered by the six specific cases before the Committee was wide in its geographic aspect, extending through all the colonies in South Africa, that area which might be called the central zone of inception and contrivance was a small one. All these cases emanated from, and returned to, the single office of the Director of Supplies in Pretoria.

35. The Stepney forage refund, the Wilson and Worthington biscuit refund, the Wilson and Son's preserved meat refund, the Meyer oats payment, the double concurrent sales to and purchases from Meyer, the Boards of condemnation irregularly held upon supplies which had already passed into contractors' hands, the loosely worded tenders and contradictory acceptances, which were no contracts because of the most obvious verbal inaccuracies, the favourable procedure as to amendment of tenders shown to particular persons, the authorities for the various refunds, contractors allowed to be their own sureties—these and many similar irregularities were the work of the office of the Director of Supplies, and the military *personnel* concerned in them might be reckoned in a single numeral.

36. The impression may have arisen that the whole Army Service Corps in South Africa was concerned in these transactions. There is no evidence in support of this idea. On the contrary, there is proof that decisions by which these transactions were authorized were given in opposition to the opinion of the officers of the Army Service Corps who at outside stations had to deal locally with these questions.

37. In all these transactions we find the office of Director of Supplies, Pretoria, which in the natural order should have been the central controlling influence upon exterior extravagance—and the main safeguard of the public purse against the irregular demands of the contractor—we find this body acting in a spirit directly at variance with these duties. The refunds granted are now seen to have been given against just claim or common sense. Indeed, had the contractors changed places with the officers of the Director of Supplies, neither in the management of the contracts and concurrent sales, the looseness of their wording, nor in the decisions which were

Cumulative effect of an inquiry upon the mind of the Committee.

The result of this process.

subsequently given upon them, could the unfavourable mind of the controlling body against the public interest have been more strongly manifested.

38. Reviewing, from the telegram of the 1st July, 1902, the entire course of these sales and contracts, with the losses that followed them, the Committee can only see a succession of situations by which an ultimate goal has been attained—that goal being handing over to a few contractors the great bulk of the surplus food and forage belonging to Government at “absurdly low prices.” First, we see the inception of the sale and the contract systems—put forward with anticipations of profit and success. We come next to the failure of the sales, to the continued increase of stocks, not only automatically produced by continuous decrease of garrison, but by pouring into Pretoria stocks from the seaport bases, and the fresh stocks of oversea imports. We find that this steadily increasing congestion was never referred to specifically in the correspondence with the War Office, but, on the contrary, we find silence and omissions, which all tended to obscure from the War Office the knowledge of what was happening to these supplies in the Transvaal. A single telegram would have sufficed to clear the situation. It was not sent.

39. Then we have in long series manipulated tenders—the many visits of a few favoured contractors to the office of the Director of Supplies; understandings and conversations many, documents few, loose and inconclusive; “underhand tenders” they are described by the highest legal authority in the Transvaal.

Behind these elusive companies we catch occasional glimpses of some substantial financial persons, moving in a background which we cannot pierce. There are anomalies everywhere. In a country replete with money from the lavish expenditure of the war, and where food, save ours, is almost entirely absent, the Government can get but scanty sale for their supplies.

40. When we sell a consignment to a random purchaser he resells it at a profit of from 50 per cent. to 500 per cent. Food and forage, for which there is no apparent demand in the interior, are continually coming forward from the coast at high cost for railage. They come forward apparently only to be sold on arrival for a nominal price, their sale rendering the Government liable for customs duty, which in some cases is alone greater than the total price they have realized.

41. Through all this maze of seeming ineptitude the figure of Mr. Frank Morgan, the brother of the Director of Supplies, moves continuously—the agent of “mushroom companies,” the salaried servant of favoured firms. He has come upon the scene in August, 1902, but it is not until the 31st October that he receives his brother’s sanction to appear openly as the engage servant of the contractor Meyer.

It is matter of public knowledge now that Mr. F. Morgan’s share in the profits arising out of the single case of the sale of chaff reached the sum of £613.

42. One by one the reasons given for the dual dealings with Meyer have been dissipated under the scrutiny of the Committee.

The anticipated and asserted savings had no foundations in fact. The Supply *personnel* could not be materially reduced, nor the rent of ground, nor the loss through deterioration saved, except in a few isolated instances.

The supplies were still being poured in to increase congestion and deterioration, to diminish values by adding to the Government loss through railage rates and customs duties, and to render generally our position more hopeless, until finally the overweighted ship of Government supplies drifts to shore a derelict in the contractors' hands.

43. One channel of safety lay open all this time. It was safe, simple, and needed no effort of administrative steering to reach. We had only to refuse the tenders offered, and to continue to use our own stuff for our own animals on our own ground. They were both together at our stations. Nothing need have been altered or added to. We preferred to buy our own forage from a man to whom we had just sold it at some 60 per cent. more than he had given us for it. We were still to store it—to carry it to our animals, and it was to stand in our forage yards at our risk of deterioration.

How the loss caused by the system might have been averted.

44. More than this, it was at any moment open to the local authorities, even after they had landed themselves in the dual difficulty, to suspend the working of this enormous profit to the contractor, and to have made issues from our reserve forage to our own animals, under clause 15, conditions of contract.

The Committee feel that it is unnecessary to say more in this Report about these sales and contracts.

They cannot, however, refrain from adding that they have never been able to understand why a method of meeting all the civil and military requirements at the end of the war was not adopted, viz., handing over to the Repatriation Department the whole surplus army stock at a joint valuation. This simple stroke-of-the-pen-administrative method between two departments of the State would, the Committee think, have saved much money and placed an effective barrier against the various activities alluded to in this Report.

How a simple method of avoiding loss might have been found.

45. They turn to consider the question from another point of view, Administration from Home.

It appears to the Committee that a great error was made in not having sent to South Africa at the conclusion of the war a specially trained selected officer of high rank, and a small but very capable staff of civil and military officials, who would have taken in hand the entire business of winding up the war, disposing of surplus stock by sale or by shipment to England, and, generally speaking, replacing the haphazard and always wasteful ways of war by regular methods of peace administration.

The question considered from the point of view of Home Administration.

46. Such a mission would have cost a few thousand pounds, and the Committee think it would have possibly saved the State some millions sterling. Everything called for such action. The officers who had gone

through the war were not only tired and stale from their labours on active service, but they were the least fitted to carry out the new duties. After 2½ years of the waste which is natural to service in the field it would be idle to expect from them a resumption of peace methods upon strict economic lines.

Against them would be pitted men already versed in every detail of the Colonial contractor's art, who would be certain to redouble their various financial activities in face of the cessation of the source of profit from which they had already drawn so large a harvest.

On the one side a few officials anxious to get back to England, on the other new activities and old organizations which had only strengthened and quickened under the pressure of a fleeting opportunity.

47. This is not an imaginary picture. The minutes of evidence hold many proofs that the signing away of thousands of pounds, the granting of rebates or refunds, and the acceptance of a contractor's representation without query or comment, were regarded as ordinary occurrences in everyday administration, worthy of less attention than would have been bestowed upon a few pounds or shillings in a similar situation at home.

48. Nevertheless, the Committee feel (while giving due weight to these considerations) that the losses which the public have suffered through the series of transactions following the war have arisen from causes graver than those of administrative errors, neglect, or omissions.

49. Mitigating circumstances may probably be found to affect the measure and character of the responsibility ascribable to particular individuals in the office of Director of Supplies ;
The question of responsibility. but the Committee do not believe that these mitigations can affect the collective responsibility of the entire office. They have recognized throughout that responsibility for policy and administration in South Africa must reach beyond the office of the Director of Supplies. Cases of individual responsibility particularized must be taken, therefore, as subject to the reservation that, wherever higher authority can be proved to have been given, that authority has covered, in part or wholly, subordinate action.

The Committee have it in evidence that Colonel Hipwell was not himself aware of the dual system until after Meyer had been accepted as contractor on 25th November, 1902.

50. The Committee realize the difficulties which lie in the way of allotting to particular persons exact responsibility upon any matter where collusion has to be proved. In such cases documents are usually unknown, and unless one or other of the parties breaks the compact the secret is not likely to be disclosed.

51. Taking the entire situation in South Africa during the six months following the war, as it has come before the Committee in oral and documentary evidence, and reviewing all the circumstances, they are agreed that it is impossible to absolve Colonel Morgan of having produced and foreseen the situation which was subsequently reached and which was already in sight when he quitted South Africa.

52. As to this officer's precise share of responsibility for the "chaff" case, they leave that incident to speak for itself, as it stands in Part II. of this Report (*see* paragraphs 83, &c.).

53. The Committee hold Colonel Morgan entirely answerable for the grave scandals which have arisen through his brother's connection with contracting firms, and even accepting the explanation that he has given and his correspondence with Meyer attached, they consider that in allowing his brother to enter into agencies or connections with contractors or army purchasers in South Africa, he contravened not only the letter of the regulations defining the conduct of officers, but that he acted entirely in opposition to the spirit and traditions of the army.

54. The Committee do not consider that at this stage they should define more minutely the measures of responsibility to be attached to all the officers (and their subordinates) whose names were connected with the Director of Supplies' office at Pretoria in the year following the close of the war. They put this limitation upon themselves only because there still remained unexamined by them the cases of further contracts with Meyer, Wilson and Worthington, and other persons, which took place in 1902-03. These cases have not been specially referred to the Committee.

55. Further search on the lines suggested may discover instances of contrivance or ineptitude, and even enable investigation to reach that hitherto impenetrable background already mentioned, where some deeper calculator has his abode.

56. Finally the Committee desire to draw attention to the fact that they are not a disciplinary body, nor have they been constituted to receive evidence upon oath. They have had to conduct their inquiries subject to numerous difficulties and several limitations, and time has not been allowed them in which to extend their investigations into the great body of the transactions lying outside the cases specified in the second paragraph of their reference.

57. As already observed, they have only been able to touch the fringe of that region. The case of the Imperial Cold Storage Company, in which Meyer was a prominent figure and Colonel Morgan was closely identified, the fuller investigation into the character of "the companies which had to be created" for the purchase of our supplies, the fact that the members of these companies or firms could seek safety in bankruptcy whenever it suited their designs to do so, the solution to problems suggested by passing reference in the evidence to some shadowy personality occasionally showing in the background of these transactions; these and many other subjects have had to be passed by with scanty and insufficient notice.

58. The Committee feel that before these grave questions can be set at rest, evidence on oath will have to be taken, and the difficulties of place and distance removed or lessened by the original scene of the trouble being made also the scene of its investigation.

59. And there is another point, perhaps the strongest of all, to which the Committee must refer, it is: Are the taxpayers of this country to continue to be the sport of the many questionable contractors who are as ready to follow their several avocations in the wake of a war as they are also willing to be its pioneers?

A general question which has arisen in their minds.

60. In the face of such transactions as the Committee have dealt with a note of irony seems to run through the clauses in the War Office contract forms, which relate at length the pains and penalties visited upon the contractor who has been found practising the arts of corruption or attempting collusive operations with some military underling in the course of an army contract.

One is disposed to ask—are the civil offenders, who are the object of so much precautionary precision in the Army Form, ever brought to book in the substance? Where does their punishment come in? For it seems to the Committee that they, or the nebulous civilian personalities behind them, are the chief offenders against the nation to which by birth or naturalization they belong.

Some clumsy pantaloons in putties—even some agile harlequin in a helmet—may occasionally be caught, but the oldest member of the Committee has informed his colleagues that in the course of many years' experience he can only call to mind one case where the civil practitioner in a military scandal has been brought to justice, and in that solitary instance the offender, when released from a period of fifteen months' incarceration, was received by his fellow townsmen with many manifestations of civic triumph.

PART II.

63. The Committee think that it will suffice to illustrate the salient points of all the transactions of this nature if they take in detail the most important item, that of £21,232 to Meyer upon his contract for the purchase of oats, the general features of which we have just reviewed. The Committee have closely examined all the circumstances under which this large sum was paid.

Refunds and Sales.

69. The wheels of South African contracts can be made to grind quickly when necessary, and each revolution may be said in a double sense to bring grist to the contractor's mill. Meanwhile, so far as the Committee learn, the War Department paid the railage.

70. The Committee do not consider that this payment can properly be described as a refund, because it is clear that the money had not at the time been paid by Meyer; this conclusion only compels the Committee to regard the transaction in a more serious aspect, which is that the money paid to Meyer by cheque on the 18th May (amounting to £21,232 17s. 9d.) was really of the nature of an "accommodation," such as a man might receive from his bankers. There can be little doubt that the payment of so large a sum to Meyer would at once have established his credit, which (so far as can be judged from the evidence) was not at that time flourishing. The facts

before the Committee further show that the oats became the property of Meyer in January, 1903, and the total payments in respect of them were allowed to be extended over a period of 15 months, so that at the commencement of March, 1904, there was due from the contractor on his total account a balance amounting apparently to over £21,000.

Thus the £21,232 paid to Meyer by cheque in May, 1903, was a cash advance given to him instead of his running account with the Army Pay Department being credited with that amount (which method of adjustment would have made it only a paper transaction, whereas as it stood Meyer had the use of this money for ten months).

71. As the matter stands, the Committee can only record their opinion that responsibility rests upon—

- (a) Captain de la Pryme, who signed the voucher as Supply Officer ;
- (b) the officers of the Army Pay Department, Pretoria, who made payment thereon ;

at least until they can explain their action more conclusively than they have done to the Committee.

72. The refund to Wilson and Worthington, £739, is another case arising out of a glaringly loosely-worded contract.

74. That Wilson and Worthington must have found their first transaction in these 3 millions lbs. of biscuit profitable is shown by the fact that they proceeded to purchase the whole of the Government biscuit in South Africa, amounting to some 14 millions lbs., at the same rates.

The firm appear to have found a ready market for their purchase in the mines at Johannesburg and Kimberley. It may here be noted that the Committee procured a box of War Department biscuit from a supply which was advertised in that country as dog biscuit, and which from markings on the cases had evidently returned from the war. The cases, wood, and tin were in the best preservation, and the biscuits of admirable quality.

75. The Committee attach responsibility for this refund, which appears to them to have no justification:—

- (a) To Captain Limond, who made this loose contract, out of which a claim for a refund became possible.
- (b) To Major Walton, who authorized the refund.

76. The refund given to Wilson & Sons, Cape Town, £1,542, on account of preserved meat purchased by them, has features which differentiate it from the other refunds.

77. The local Army Service Corps officer at Cape Town, Colonel Wyncoll, writes, in forwarding the claim for refund to Director of Supplies, Pretoria:—"This firm had every opportunity, I consider, to inspect the meat before taking delivery of same into their stores at Maitland. They were given permission to open what they liked. The officer in charge Supply Depot gave them every facility to do so by my order." Despite the local opinion above quoted, a favourable decision was given by Major Walton, and the contractors' claim granted.

The responsibility for this refund rests, in the opinion of the Committee, primarily with Major Walton, who has, however, informed them that he consulted General Lyttelton on the subject, but the latter has no recollection of any of these refunds.

82. So far the Committee have dealt with the six cases specified in the 2nd paragraph of their reference. There remains still the transaction known as the Chaff Case—a sale only more marked than many other “deals” made at this period because of the prominence given to it through the legal actions which have arisen from it. The case may stand as an illustration of what is in the mind of the Committee when they refer to the vast “outside” which lies beyond the six special cases that have been referred to them—an exterior into which, with this exception, they have not been able to enter.

The Chaff Sales at Pretoria.

83. This case, as it is here represented, has been extracted from the accounts in the War Office.

According to the supply accounts, Pretoria, October, 1902, to January, 1903, the total quantity of chaff sold to Saunders and Hunter, or to Eloff’s Farm, amounted in all to 641,400 lbs. This was sold as damaged forage, and the important points to be determined are:—Where the forage came from, how long it had been in the country, and whether it was properly described as damaged?

Upon each of these points the accounts are practically conclusive. The forage all came from Australia, and was landed at Durban subsequent to the 1st May, 1902.

87. On the assumption that the whole of the chaff was *ex* “St. Jerome,” the cost to the public of the 641,400 lbs. compares with the amount realized by sale as follows:—

Item.	Cost to the Public.		Realized by Sale.		
	Cost.	Working out to Cost per 100 lbs.	Selling Price per 100 lbs.	Quantity.	Amount.
(a.) Chaff, cost at Durban, including freight from Melbourne to Durban.	£ 2,055	s. d. 6 5 nearly.	} 1 6	4,000	£ s. d. 3 0 0
(b.) Demurrage, proportion on s.s. “St. Jerome” at Durban.	213	0 8		193,100	144 16 6
(c.) Landing charges at Durban...	70	0 2½		444,300	333 4 6
(d.) Railage from Durban to Pretoria.	588	1 10		—	—
Cost of 641,400 lbs.	2,926	9 1½		641,400	481 1 0

The loss to the public as shown above is £2,445.

88. From the evidence before the Committee they see no reason to doubt that the whole of the chaff had arrived at Pretoria by the end of October, 1902.

89. The Committee have not yet been able to ascertain who ordered the forage to Pretoria, nor, unless for the purpose of sale to Saunders and Hunter, why it was ordered.

90. The quantity paid for by Saunders and Hunter amounted to 641,400 lbs., whereas the actual quantity railed from Durban to Pretoria was 660,943 lbs., the whole of which disappears from the accounts between October, 1902, and January, 1903. The cost of the 660,943 lbs. was £3,015, a detail of which is given in Appendix III.

91. It will be observed that the cost of the railage from Durban to Pretoria works out at 1s. 10d. per 100 lbs., or 4d. more per 100 lbs. than was realized by the sale at Pretoria

97. In this "deal" it has been possible for the Committee to trace one authentic transaction, in time, place, and circumstance, carried through the labyrinth of distance, loss of documents, and general obscurity which now surrounds these questions.

98. There can be little doubt that an extensive loss or destruction of documents has occurred, and it is to be noted that in the evidence given by the officers and non-commissioned officers who were connected with the Director of Supplies' Office in Pretoria that defective memories are more the rule than the exception whenever the salient or critical points of any question are reached.

Absence of documents, &c.

99. Meyer's connection with the second or Imperial Cold Storage Company has already been mentioned. The Committee consider that Colonel Morgan's part in the management of the contract which produced that company in January, 1902, must be taken in connection with the operations which subsequently produced the agent of that company (Meyer) as the chief forage contractor to the Army in South Africa towards the close of that year.

Connection between second Cold Storage Company and Meyer, Limited.

The Committee have no doubt that Meyer was a "favoured" contractor in relation both to his supply to us and his purchases from us.

100. As an instance of the loss to the public which occurred in some of these sales in the single item of customs duties alone, the Committee have noted that on sales in Natal (between November, 1902, and June, 1903) producing a total credit to the public of £13,034, the custom claims alone amounted to £16,902.

101. As regards the responsibility which the Committee consider belongs to Colonel Hipwell in relation to all these cases, they are of opinion that that officer was entirely unfit for the position of Director of Supplies, South Africa, that he failed to control the working of his office, and that he permitted the subordinate officials an undue freedom in the exercise of functions which properly belonged to himself. In these respects the Committee must hold him answerable in a large measure for the various irregularities in procedure and losses which subsequently occurred.

102. As regards Captain Limond's responsibility, the Committee must take a very serious view. To him more than to any subordinate officer, Colonel Hipwell appears to have delegated authority. Several of the gravest of the irregularities brought to light before the Committee have been the work of Captain Limond. He was the main connecting link in administration between Colonel Morgan and Colonel Hipwell. To him belongs the responsibility for loose wording of contracts upon which refunds were subsequently claimed. Finally, his action in regard to dealings with the contractor Meyer, so far as disclosed by documentary evidence, leaves a distinctly unfavourable impression on the mind of the Committee.

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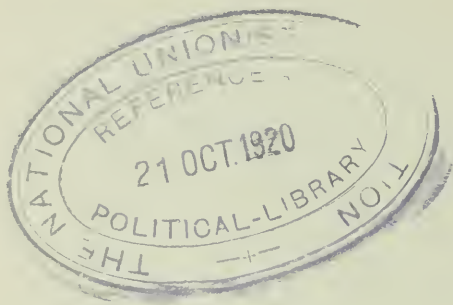
THE LABOUR PARTY.

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

Publishing Office:
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MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

AFTER the election of Mr. Henderson as Labour Candidate for Barnard Castle Division I took the liberty of christening the coming majority in the next parliament. It will be the party of the Lib.-Labs. The Labour Party protested. The Liberals did not like it. But the fact remains. The next House of Commons will be a Lib.-Lab. House with a Lib.-Lab. majority. Still more is the majority in the constituencies a Lib.-Lab. majority. That is to say, the majority of the electors of this country are men who earn their daily bread by labour, and the majority of these men are Liberal in politics, even when they happen sometimes to vote with the Conservatives. They are not going to vote Conservative at the next election. Neither are they going to vote for the Liberal Party as a party. For whom, then, are they going to vote? They are going to vote for the Opposition, and they are going to vote against the Unionist Government; the Government that is responsible for the war, for the enormously increased expenditure, for the Public House Endowment Act, and for the Sectarian Education Act.

The author of the paper on "The Labour Party" would no doubt repudiate with all emphasis the assumption that the Labour Party is in any kind of alliance with the Liberal Party.

Independence is his watchword. Independence—he swears by independence. But seeing that by his own account his Independent Labour Party, although bound by no programme, is bent upon going as far as the Liberals go and a great deal further, it is obvious that they are, to all intents and purposes, the informal but most effective allies of the Liberal Party. So are the Nationalist Irish Party in all that relates to the progress towards Home Rule. So far as the Liberal Party advances in that direction, the

Nationalists, despite their independence, are indistinguishable in the Division Lobby from the ordinary Liberal. And so it must of necessity be with the Labour Party. Occasions may arise in which the interests of Labour and the views of the Liberal leaders may conflict. Then the Labour men will vote for Labour. But the hope of the future lies largely in the probability that the Liberal Party will never be found in antagonism to Labour.

The list of candidates appended to Mr. Macdonald's paper shows that of 48 seats which candidates standing under the ægis of his Committee are contesting, they are only holding their own in four, while they are starting men against 36 Conservatives and against only eight Liberals, not taking any account of two candidates who are contesting two double-membered constituencies, which at present return one Liberal and one Tory.

We have no precise information as to which constituencies will be contested by both Liberal and Labour candidates. At the bye-elections three seats, Barnard Castle, Norwich, and North East Lanark were contested by Liberal, Labour and Conservative candidates. In one the Labour candidate was successful, but in no case did the Lib.-Lab. split result in the return of a Conservative. May that be a happy omen for the General Election. But to run the risk of losing a seat to the Tories by a split between the Liberals and Labour men lays a very heavy responsibility on those at whose door lies the fault.

The clause in the Constitution of the Labour Representation Committee, which was carried at Bradford in February, 1904, runs as follows:—

To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an

Affiliated Society or Societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own Whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidate recognised by this Committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald in his paper does not enter upon details as to the other Labour candidates who are standing not under the ægis of the Labour Representation Committee. According to the Reformers' Year Book there are 26 other new Labour candidates standing who are not on Mr. Macdonald's list, and ten Labour members who will stand for re-election. Of the new candidates nine are miners, chiefly Scotch, four, Hyndman, Hewitt, Quelch, and Ward, are backed by the Social Democratic Federation, while two, Hobson and Littlejohns, are standing as independent members of the Independent Labour Party.

Of the Labour Members in the present House of Commons, there are four—Crooks, Keir Hardie, Henderson, and Shackleton—who are on Mr. Macdonald's list, each of whom receives £200 a year out of the Parliamentary fund of the Committee. The following Labour Members are not supported by the L.R.C. :—

Abraham, W., Rhondda.
 Bell, R., Derby.
 Broadhurst, H., Leicester.
 Burns, John, Battersea.
 Burt, Thomas, Morpeth.
 Cremer, W. R., Haggerston.
 Fenwick, Chas., Wansbeck.
 Parrott, W., Normanton.
 Richards, Thomas, West Monmouth.
 Wilson, John, Mid-Durham.

There will thus be between 80 and 90 labour candidates before the constituencies at next General Election, of whom 48 or 50 are candidates of the

L.R.C., which, although one of the latest born of political associations, has already secured the allegiance of more than half all the Labour Candidates before the Electors.

This result is largely due to the energy, the ambition and the organising ability of Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, the Coming man, who deals in this number with the Coming question of the Labour party.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald must be distinguished from Mr. James Macdonald, Secretary of the London Trades Council. There was also a Murray Macdonald on the School Board, and an indefinite number of Macdonalds of less distinction. But there is only one Ramsay Macdonald, the Secretary of the Labour Representation Committee.

He comes from the hard North-East, was nurtured on North-Easters, and preserves the *perfervidum Scotorum* bred in his bones in the far North to electrify the Cockneys of Thames side. His father was a Scotch peasant. He springs, says Mr. Pethick Lawrence, the editor and proprietor of the *Echo* and the *Labour Record*, who published a charming Character Sketch of his leader writer, from men who have been peasants and village blacksmiths in Lossiemouth, co. Elgin, for generations.

"And always he carries with him in his own person a part of the elements with which they lived and died—the freedom and freshness of the sea, the sturdiness of the moor, the vigour of the forge."

Ramsay Macdonald's life story is one of restless upward thrusts as the thrust of a vigorous seedling which makes its way through all obstacles into the light of day. He was born a Scotch peasant boy in 1866. Before he was thirty years of age he had stood as candidate for Parliament in Southampton, and now before he is forty he is the Sidney Webb Parnell Schnadhorst of the Labour party.

How did he do it? It's dogged as does it in his case as in that of other people. He was a bairn of parts when at his village school in Lossiemouth. His schoolmaster recognised

his abilities and taught him all he knew. Ramsay stuck to his books, was promoted to be pupil teacher, and in due process of time he ought to have gone on to the University. But those were days before Mr. Carnegie had smoothed the way for penniless callants to a college education. So he set himself to study to pass his examinations and so to qualify himself as a teacher. He was a diligent reader and before he was out of his teens he fell captive to Henry George, whose *Progress and Poverty* had a great deal to do with making Macdonald a Socialist. He became a subscriber to the *Christian Socialist*, and when he was 18 he accepted an invitation to join a Social Reformer at Bristol, to help him in carrying on his work. The Social Reformer did not on near acquaintance justify the enchantment that had been supplied by distance.

So after making a beginning with socialistic propaganda in Bristol, he returned a sadder but wiser lad to Lossiemouth.

Then came on the General Election of 1885. Mr. Chamberlain was then the rising hope of young and eager Radicals who saw him from a distance. Ramsay Macdonald, although then a lad of 19, had already been installed as President of the Lossiemouth Democratic Association. The sitting member was a Whig of the name of Grant. Under Mr. Chamberlain's secret patronage, the Lossiemouth Democrats started a Mr. Anderson as a candidate of the Chamberlain stripe, and it was in active canvassing for him that Macdonald had his first experience of electioneering. Anderson was defeated in 1885, but when Grant went over with Mr. Chamberlain to the Unionists, Mr. Anderson, as a Gladstonian, was returned in 1886 for Elgin and Nairn.

But the fire of ambition would not let Ramsay Macdonald rest in distant Lossiemouth. London drew him like a magnet, and before long he was one of the penniless out-of-works who swarm in the streets of the great city.

To keep body and soul together he accepted the work of addressing envelopes, that last refuge of the destitute. It was but a stepping stone. He soon obtained a clerkship at Cooper, Box & Co. His clerkship kept him in bread and cheese, and left him his evenings free. Mr. Lawrence says:—

All day he worked at his office, and in the evening he attended classes in Natural Science, in various branches of which he had already especially distinguished himself. A friend gave him the free run of his laboratory, and, noting his ability, obtained for him some remunerative work in the shape of coal analysis. At the same time he was studying hard to obtain one of the Queen's Scholarships at Kensington.

Frequently this meant going to bed at two or three in the morning and getting up at six or seven o'clock for another day's work. For this kind of thing there is only one remedy; and Nature found it and put a stop to his exertions. Macdonald had a bad breakdown in health, which prevented him from doing any more work for some time. To-day none of Macdonald's "offices" give him more pleasure than his Life Governorship of University College (which he hoped to attend, but never could scrape together the fees), and his membership of the Council of the Birkbeck College, to which nearly twenty years ago he used to rush when his work at Cooper, Box and Co., was over for the day.

Then came his first real piece of good luck. When he regained his health he obtained the much-coveted position of private secretary to a member of Parliament. Mr. Thomas Lough was the man lucky enough to have the services of Ramsay Macdonald, and he enjoyed them for four years.

At the end of 1891 Mr. Macdonald found his vocation in journalism. He was one of the founders of the London organ of the Socialist Union. His contributions to the *Socialist*, however, were of the nature of "pious works." He made his living by writing for the *Weekly Dispatch*, *The Echo*, and other paying papers. He was full of restless vitality, which found vent in all manner of social activities. He worked at Boys' Clubs, became Secretary of the

New Fellowship, and even formed the Women's Industrial Council. This was his second great piece of luck, for he met there Miss Margaret Gladstone, the foreign secretary of the Council, who in 1896 became Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald.

In politics he was Socialist. He worked for Frank Smith when he split the Liberal interest at Sheffield in 1894, and in 1895 he made his *début* as a Parliamentary Candidate by standing as a Socialist for Southampton, where he was at the bottom of the poll with 867 votes.

In 1900 he stood for Leicester, again splitting the party vote, and again finding himself at the bottom of the poll. On this occasion he had ample justification. It is to be remembered to his credit that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was as sound as a bell on the subject of the Boer War. He opposed it from the first, and he opposed it to the last. He was the most uncompromising of pro-Boers, who displayed his patriotism by denouncing the war and its authors wherever opportunity might offer. The Liberal Member who lost his seat for Leicester owing to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's candidature was Mr. W. Hazell, one of the many good abstract advocates of peace who fell before the temptation of supporting the war with the Dutch Republics. Mr. Macdonald fought Leicester not only as Labour Candidate, but as a stout pro-Boer. He did not win the seat, but he polled 4,164 votes, and sacrificed Mr. Hazell to the manes of the Boers. He was roundly abused for it at the time, but when he stands for Leicester at the coming Election the Liberals will vote for him to a man, although he refuses to stand on their platform. It is a well-deserved tribute to the resolute opposition which in 1900 he offered to the Great Crime with which the country saluted the new century.

In 1902, as soon as the war was over, he and his wife went off to South Africa to see with their own eyes the results of the devilry that had been perpetrated in the name of Liberty,

Christianity and Civilisation. On his return he published a little book, *What I saw in South Africa*, which is an admirably written and most accurate picture of the country which our armies had converted into a wilderness.

When I went to South Africa in 1904 I heard only one opinion about Mr. Macdonald's book. It was just, sane, sound and terrible, just because it possessed these other qualities.

At the end of 1901 he was elected to the L.C.C., in place of Frank Smith, for Central Finsbury. In his address to the electors he gave the first place to the Housing Question. He said:

The problem of how to provide decent houses for London's millions can be solved only by those who are determined not to allow the interests of ground landlords and slum owners to stand in the way. I think the greatest care should be exercised to provide fresh accommodation before demolishing existing houses; and I should, therefore, both in the interests of the ratepayers and of the slum dwellers, do what I could to push on the development of the Council's building schemes in the suburbs. These municipal estates should be built of cottage property, as near as possible on the lines of Mr. Cadbury's Bourneville experiment, and be connected with the centre by a quick and cheap service of municipal trams. I hope the time is not far distant when the Council will have powers to fine the owners of unsanitary property, instead of having to buy them out at exorbitant prices, as at present.

But his chief work in 1900 onwards was the organisation of the Labour Representation Committee. That this was regarded with a good deal of jealousy by some other Labour leaders need not be denied. "Macdonald," they said, "means to be Boss." What Macdonald sees is that there is urgent need for union and discipline among the ranks of labour, and if the Masses are to impose their will upon the Classes, organisation is indispensable. More than ever is this necessary now that the scandalous debacle of the South African War has proclaimed the total moral bankruptcy of the so-called governing classes.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,

Secretary to the Labour Representation Committee, and Parliamentary Candidate for Leicester.

I.—Its Origin.

EVER since the working classes in the Boroughs were enfranchised, Labour has been wondering why it should not have its own representatives in Parliament. In the election of 1868, Mr. Cremer and Mr. Howell ran as independent representatives of the working classes, but were defeated, and a similar fate met candidates who contested by-elections in Greenwich and Southwark; in 1869, at the Birmingham meeting of the newly-formed Trade Union Congress, Labour Representation in Parliament was adopted as a cardinal principle, and this, on the approach of the General Election, was re-affirmed by the Congress which met at Sheffield in 1873; in the election of 1874 thirteen Labour Candidates went to the poll under the patronage of the Labour Representation League, which had been formed a few years before, practically as an adjunct to the Trade Union Congress, and of which Mr. Henry Broadhurst was secretary; in the same year Trade Unions for the first time subscribed from their funds in aid of Parliamentary contests.

At that time the political demands of the Unions were limited. They desired certain amendments in the law relating to Trade Unions and Conspiracy, and they claimed that in the House of Commons working men as such should be represented. I cannot write the history of Labour Representation here, and so I hurry on to the end of this preliminary agitation, which came in a year or two, after a Conservative government had amended the offending law, and the Liberal party had smoothed the way to the House of Commons for a few working men.

For some years the agitation slept. But the London Dock Strike of 1889, and the New Trade Unionism which followed, awoke it. It created storms at the Trade Union Congresses from Dundee to Norwich (1889 to 1894), and it led to a resolution being passed at the Belfast meeting in 1893 calling upon the Trade Unions to form a political federation. The resolution was stillborn. The Parliamentary Committee reported next year that only two Unions had signified agreement with the resolution, and for four years nothing further was done.

Meanwhile this movement inside Trade Unionism was being vitalised by one outside. Socialism, embodied in the Independent Labour Party, which had been formed in Bradford in 1893, had produced a profound effect upon the most active spirits amongst the Trade Unions, and when the Plymouth Congress in 1899 was called upon to consider Labour Representation once more, the resolution that was carried showed that a complete change had taken place in the purpose of the Congress. It no longer contemplated a Trade Union movement only, but aimed at a Labour movement in a wide national sense—a movement in which Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Socialist bodies should have a recognised place. In February, 1900, a beginning was made, and the Labour Representation Committee formed. Within four years this body has received the support of organisations with a membership approaching one million; five of its candidates have won seats in Parliament; it has accumulated a fund of £7,000 from a levy of one penny per annum on its membership; it has placed fifty candidates in the field fully equipped for a General Election.* If the Committee were to cease to-morrow, its record of five brief years shows more success in organising Labour for political purposes and in uniting antagonistic Labour sections than has ever been achieved before.

II.—Why *Labour* Representation?

The Labour Party will perform three important functions. It will represent trades; it will represent the working class; it will represent a coherent body of fundamental Labour opinion.

Objection is sometimes taken to what is called “miners’ representation,” “cotton operatives’ representation,” and so on, and if a Labour movement made such representation its only object, it ought not to be supported. Parliament is not a general federation of trades. The House of Commons should no more be the last resort of successful Trade Union Secretaries than of successful business men.

But each year the bulk of special industrial legislation grows, and the Acts of Parliament and Departmental Orders regulating individual trades increase both in numbers and in technicality, whilst our general fiscal and international policy is being more and more moulded by trade considerations. The day has gone by when we could regard politics as belonging to one species of human interest, and trade and industry to a separate and unconnected species. The country has therefore much to gain from a representation of some of the great national trades in the House of Commons. Only by such representation can industrial legislation be moulded and pointed by the criticism of men who have experienced the conditions to which it is to be applied.

The danger is that we may have too much of this representation, but it is comforting to think that only very few, not more than ten or a dozen, trades in this country will think it worth their while to be specially represented in the House of Commons in their own interests. The others support Labour Representation for more general reasons.

* See Appendix., “L.R.C. Candidates.”

It is an essential part of "respectable" politics in this country to join in the chorus of moral indignation against class legislation—providing of course that it is working-class legislation—class representation and class legislation are assumed to be one and the same thing.

This attitude is taken up in spite of the fact that the British Parliament at the present moment is the best type of a class institution which exists anywhere. Not only does the House of Lords exist solely for the purpose of protecting class interests, but the difficulties of entering the House of Commons, and of discharging the duties of membership of it, are such as to limit the selection of the constituencies to rich men who cannot possibly feel that enthusiasm for social reform, or have within them that driving force to get it carried which working-class representatives, who have sojourned in the valleys of the dark shadows of life, possess.

When Mr. Balfour, for instance, stated that it was no use calling an autumn Session of Parliament to deal with the problem of unemployment, he spoke the truth. It was useless, not because Parliament can do nothing, but because *our* Parliament, constituted as it is, can do nothing. The cry of a South African millionaire is heard; the need of the humble workman in the streets at home is neglected. The Church, the brewing and drink interests, the landlord interests are understood, are sympathised with, are satisfied by doles and made secure by buttressing Acts of Parliament. Every Bill dealing with those and similar interests shows knowledge and precise thought. When the condition of the people demands legislation, the Bills are drafted as though by hesitating amateurs, like the Workmen's Compensation Bill, or beset by stringent conditions and weakened by vague expressions, like the Unemployed Bill which has just been published. The mouths of the rich are filled; the poor are turned empty away.

Nor does the class bias of our existing Parliament show itself in acts of commission only; it is responsible for countless acts of omission. Behind both political parties are the gaunt deserted ruins of many a pledge and a programme—Old Age Pensions, Compensation for Injuries, Payment of Members, Taxation of Ground Rents, and so on, resorted to still when votes are required, but deserted immediately practical difficulties have to be faced or King's Speeches compiled.

The House of Commons does not represent the nation, does not understand the thoughts of the nation, has not treasured in its memory the experience of the nation. If it were composed of gods and not men, it might be impartial and mete out even-handed justice. But it is composed of men, and its work reflects the interests, the bias, the prejudices, and the affinities of the class to which they belong. They have not even the imagination to put themselves in other people's places. The House of Commons is middle class.

A strong representation of the neglected democracy would undoubtedly be class representation, but it would readjust the balances in the House of Commons so that legislation would express much more accurately than it now does the communal conscience and the national will. An infusion of labour class representation into the House of Commons would therefore not result in class, but in national, legislation.

But this necessary reform alone could not justify the existence of a Labour Party. A Party that is to have a lasting and direct influence upon our national life must represent opinion systematised into a point of view regarding individual rights and State duties. The Labour Party comes with a fresh mind and an unique experience to the task of formulating this point of view. It is to deal mainly with the social condition of the people. A never-ending industrial conflict which necessitates standing armies of capital and labour, which drags into its noisy and heated vortex Press and Pulpit, Law Court and Parliament, and which throws out a constant stream of maimed, wounded and shattered humanity; an unjust distribution of wealth, and an unfair apportionment between effort and reward; widespread poverty and misery; the dominance of material possessions over men—these are the problems which the Party is to face. And in facing them, it will reject old notions of false individualism. Its mind is moulded in co-operation, and it will therefore have no prejudices against State action in aid of individual liberty; its political axioms will embody its experience that by solidarity and union alone can the individual find freedom; it will be unable to see the false distinction between the State and the individual which has been a stumbling block in our path for so long. Being an industrial party, it will have more accurate ideas of property than the parties inspired by middle and upper-class experience. It will think of social service when property puts in its claims, and will fail to comprehend property rights which rest on no foundation of social utility.

In a sentence, its guiding opinion will be the product of co-operative and industrial experience. That applied to problems of taxation, monopoly, commerce, international affairs, will present them in totally new aspects, and result in totally new policies being adopted regarding them.

This freshness of mind and uniqueness of experience, coupled with the fact that it is the mind and the experience of the great majority of the useful classes in the community, is the foundation upon which the Labour Party places its claims to receive the confidence of the electors.

III.—Its Programme and Method.

The Party has hitherto refused to compile a programme, for the very sufficient reason that a Party is not created upon a Programme, but upon a point of view. Not pledges but standpoints gain the confidence of the people. But the Party has made certain demands which indicate with great accuracy what its programme will be when the time comes to formulate it.

It has backed the Trade Disputes Bill, which seeks to restore Trade Unions to a footing of legal equality with capital; it has taken a decisive stand in favour of the State recognising its responsibility to the unemployed; it has made itself responsible for the practical agitation in favour of the provision of meals for needy school children at the public expense. A conference of its candidates, held some eighteen months ago, agreed upon proposals regarding Chinese Labour, Taxation and National Expenditure, the Franchise, Education, Workmen's Compensation, and one or two other subjects. Amongst the leaflets

officially issued by the Party are some advocating Old Age Pensions, Railway and Land Nationalisation, &c. ; whilst the opposition which the Party has offered to Mr. Chamberlain differed from the ordinary Free Trade position, inasmuch as it involved an attack upon the private ownership of mining rents and royalties, the unfair incidence of home railway charges, and led the workers to consider problems of wealth distribution instead of tariffs. The Party's official manifesto on Free Trade concluded with the following characteristic sentence :

“A Labour Party and a Labour Policy in Parliament will relieve the producers of wealth from the load of the idle classes, will free our home worker from his burdens, and put him on an equal footing with his foreign competitor, and thus, by cheapening production, will make work brisker and steadier, will increase wages, and will make the future of British industry secure.”

Finally, the presence of the Party at the Amsterdam International Congress last August, and its connection with the International Bureau, show its attitude on international matters, and indicate that it will be essentially a Party of International Peace and Goodwill.

But behind its proposals are its methods. The active and intelligent sections of the workers of the country have for some time been coming to the conclusion that there was a great difference between promises and performances, programmes and Acts of Parliament, and have been shaken in their political allegiance in consequence. The fire has gone out of Radicalism, and, at the same time, the terrors have vanished from Toryism.

Moreover, whilst political enthusiasm was cooling—and partly, indeed, owing to its cooling—the fact was forcing itself upon the recognition of the workmen that in Trade Union matters Liberal employers and Tory employers were pretty much alike. They locked out their men at the same time ; they reduced wages together ; in conjunction they took every opportunity which the condition of trade gave them to maintain profits at the expense of labour. Trade Unionists began to remember these industrial experiences when employers, as politicians, talked sympathetically to working-class electors, and the feeling spread that it was an act of folly to support, on a political platform in the evening, a man whom the Trade Unionist was opposing all day in the factory or across a table. At the same time political division spread in every Trade Union branch and Co-operative Society in the country. Great industrial districts like Lancashire and Yorkshire neutralised each other when they voted to old Party cries, and the Lancashire and Yorkshire operatives, or the Birmingham and Leicester workmen, suffering from the same social evils, victimised by the same economic monopolies, nevertheless voted in elections in such a way as to render their social salvation by political means hopeless for ever. Labour had surrendered its duty of keeping itself in touch with public life and thought, with the result that none of the intellectual axioms which decide what men's views upon conduct are to be, accepted the right of labour to be considered on terms of equality with the rights of capital, or to protect itself by an act of war if need be and as a last resort.

This state of political disruption amongst the working-classes gave capital a magnificent opportunity. Labour experience had no chance of influencing public opinion, because it had lost a means of expressing itself except upon odd occasions, and indirectly through a coloured political medium. Press, pulpit, platform and Law Court ceased to feel the impulse of labour's will, ceased to feel the beat of labour's heart. Considerations of the rights of property and of the employer became predominant, for they were always active. The organisation of labour began to be considered as akin to an anti-social conspiracy. A view of labour's subordination to capital and of the injustice of labour interfering with the peaceful operations of industry in self-defence, which would have been rejected as unfair in 1870, was solemnly accepted as just in 1900. From that point of view the Statute Book was interpreted with such revolutionary results as the Taff Vale decision. And this, happening at a time when capital was organising itself with a completeness and an efficiency undreamt of a quarter of a century before, threatened the very existence of labour combination for any but charitable and insurance purposes. The closing years of the last century saw this downward movement touch bottom. It had become essential for labour to reconsider its position for the purpose of creating from its social experience a bond of political unity, and this could not be done until its sections consented to cast off the signs and symbols which had hitherto kept them in separate political camps.

Whilst they were considering the policy which the political divisions in organised labour dictated to them, the creators of the new Labour Party had also to take cognisance of the Socialist movement. This had won the allegiance of some of the ablest captains of the labour forces. In membership it was perhaps small, but its energy was unlimited, and it was evident that the new Party could not succeed unless it could secure Socialist co-operation. Moreover, it was evident that the work of the Party would have to be socialistic from the very nature of its circumstances.

Such were the elements which the new Party had to face in devising its method.

On paper, several policies were possible. It could ally itself with Lancashire and Toryism, or with Yorkshire and Liberalism. But if it did either, it could not have secured unity, because it could not have swung round Lancashire to the side of Liberalism nor Yorkshire to that of Toryism. If it had become a wing of either of these parties, it would have isolated itself from all other sections of the Labour movement, and as the Party did not believe in the policy of isolation it had to devise another.

The alternative to isolation is independence, and that the Party adopted. As a matter of fact, it could have done nothing else. From the beginning it proposed to itself the task of being a Party, not merely a wing, of building up a body of progressive opinion on a Labour foundation, and of creating a machinery by which that opinion could express itself. It had therefore to get down to real grievances and not stop at affixing political labels. It had to force the Trade Unionists to think about the things they were agreed about, and not of the symbols which brought division into their ranks. But whilst it was doing this, it had to keep reassuring its federated sections that it was quite independent,

and that it was not at the beck and call of any other party. Had it not been able to do that it would have been split up by this time, and at the present moment Lancashire would have been sinking back into its old ruts, Yorkshire would have been doing the same, and one more effort to create a great national Labour Party in direct touch with the workers, inspiring them with a sense of their power and responsibility, and based upon a systematised body of political thought and opinion, would have been ended in failure. Its independence has made the Party.

IV.—Its Parliamentary Attitude.

“But,” it is said, “however independent a Party may be out of Parliament, in Parliament it can only support or oppose some other party.” That is only partially true. In Parliament a Party does its own work, drafts its own Bills, makes its own proposals. That will be the primary duty of the Labour Party.

“There are but only two lobbies in the House of Commons.”

Yes, but they can be used either by men who are followers, like the Liberal Unionists, or by men who are leaders, like the Irish. The Labour Party will use them to advance its own policy.

“But when all that is done, the Party will still have to decide its attitude to the Government. Is it to give a Liberal Government general support, or is it to join with the Opposition?”

That depends upon what the Government is going to do. If it is to disentangle some of the messes into which the present Government has brought the country, if it is to contribute to the solution of the social problems which the present Government has either shirked or aggravated, if it is to bring the House of Commons into more direct touch with the people, the new Government need not fear the presence of a Labour Party in the House of Commons. If the new Government is to evade these issues, it will have to reckon with the Labour Party's opposition.

There is nothing unreasonable and nothing impossible in this. The Liberals have not been in office for a dozen years, and during that time they have been rent into two camps, one of which has cleaned its slate and has laid more stress upon negations than affirmations. During the war the Liberal Party was paralysed, some of its leaders, like Mr. Asquith, changing their opinions day by day as the tides of mob lust rose and fell, whilst most of them, with rare exceptions, like Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, stood by in silence whilst the country in a passion shattered the most “precious” principles upon which their Party had been built up, and in accordance with which it had done its most permanent work. Since the Party has been drawn together in opposition to the Government, it has continued to show a lack of striking energy which indicates to some of us a lack of purpose and conviction. Further, on its front bench sit some men whose conceptions of policy are so different from ours that their presence in a Government would compel any Labour Party worth the name to treat that Government with suspicion and distrust. But it is useless to anticipate a situation which has not arisen.

There are three main questions which a Liberal Government is expected to deal with : Education, Temperance, and National Finance ; whilst it will of course stand by the policy of Free Trade.

Upon the last the Labour Party is united, but, as I have said, it will supplement its defensive position by constructive work, which by easing the burdens of industry and readjusting them so as to secure a better distribution of the wealth amassed under Free Trade will place our present fiscal policy on a more unassailable basis than it now occupies.

In Education, the Labour Party will carry out the resolutions passed from time to time at Trade Union Congresses in favour of what is offensively called "secular" instruction. The leading Nonconformists and large sections of Churchmen and Catholics are beginning to recognise that this is the only way out of sectarian strife ; but if this policy of "thorough" cannot be carried out, the more halting proposals to place publicly financed schools under public control, and to secure that teachers will be appointed on grounds other than sectarian, will undoubtedly be supported by the Party.

On Temperance, a majority of the Labour Party will again lay down a policy of their own. They believe in municipalisation, not because, as so many temperance advocates seem to suppose, they are so abandoned as to desire to drink the community into funds, but because municipalisation is the most democratic, the most comprehensive and the most certain way of reducing intemperance to negligible proportions. The Party will support the Veto as a kind of minimum, but many of its members have no great faith that the Veto will carry us very far. Some of us, who are municipalisers, would also like to see experiments in prohibition tried if the people would consent. Prohibition, however, will not in our day pass through the British Parliament as a legislative proposal. If we had municipalisation we would have both the power to reduce licenses and to sweep them away altogether, so that under it prohibition could be secured by administrative enactment. There is no machinery for controlling the Drink Traffic which can respond so readily to every popular advance in sober habits and in self-respect as municipalisation. Therefore, most of us, though not all, favour the more comprehensive and positive method, rather than the piecemeal and negative one which the official temperance movement has as yet been content to adopt.

As regards National Finance, the Labour Party again has a position of its own. It would of course oppose the inefficiency and extravagance of present expenditure upon armaments. But it holds out no hope that the aggregate of national expenditure can be reduced. It rather desires to apply to National Finance the same principles which are being applied to Local Finance. Though the burden cannot be lightened, it can be readjusted. And for the purposes of this readjustment the Party brings a new point of view into politics. Hitherto, discussions upon the incidence of taxation have proceeded upon the assumption that taxes were portions of private property taken from individuals for State purposes, and the problem which these discussions aimed at solving was how the State could make its claims so as to do a minimum of injustice to all classes.

The Labour Party starts from a different point of view altogether. It sees that a very large part of what is now regarded as private wealth is, in its origin

and nature, communal wealth which has been appropriated by individuals in precisely the same way as commons and roadsides have been swallowed up into private estates. The unearned increment in land and incomes of over certain amounts are types of this social wealth appropriated by individuals. The problem, from this point of view, therefore, is not how the State can skim private fortunes in the most scientific way, but how common property is to be retained for common use. We thus leave the idea of taxation altogether and start our constructive financial proposals on the assumption that society itself has the right to property, and that that property should find its way into the national exchequer.

I need not pause to apply this idea, but, knowing that we hold it, the electors need not be in doubt as to what attitude we take up regarding National Income and Expenditure, and the necessity of easing in every possible way the burdens of taxation and rating imposed upon legitimate industry.

From what has been said, the attitude of the Labour Party to the next Government can be imagined. It is necessary to repeat here, however, that that attitude will always be influenced by the facilities which the Government gives for our own proposals of social and industrial reform, such as those relating to the unemployed, the provision of meals for school children, and the Trade Disputes Bill.

To look ahead beyond the coming Parliament with a view to imagining what the influence of the Labour Party on the two other parties is to be, would be futile. Everyone recognises that in all probability the next Election is to create a new situation which will be a point of departure for new policies and new experiments in legislation. Whether or not our system of Party government has broken down—whether or not we have seen the last of the battles between two fairly well-defined political armies, one standing for the existing order, the other striving with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other to build up a new State upon certain rational principles which have sprung up from past experience—it would be rash to say. To prophesy upon the signs and the occurrences of what is undoubtedly a transition generation is a vain pastime. The only claim I make for the Labour Party is this: The presence of more working men in the House of Commons will be beneficial to the State, and if these men are part of one of the old parties and are controlled by them, their value will be greatly diminished; legislation directly based upon the industrial experience of the wage workers will be for the good of the whole nation and not merely for the benefit of a class, though it may cause certain anti-social and sectional interests to suffer; above all, the Labour Party brings into politics a new point of view, a new experience, a new conception of constructive political policies, and this point of view is not the ephemeral result of a passing grievance, but is the outcome of a life spent in industry—it is the experience of the industrious and industrial functions in the nation translated into political thought and transformed into a political guide. Its final effect upon politics and parties remains to be seen.

APPENDIX.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF L.R.C. CANDIDATES.

- ASHTON, THOMAS, 39, Belmont Street, Oldham. (Oldham). Result at last election, September, 1900:—A. Emmott (L.), 12,947; Winston S. Churchill (U.), 12,931; W. Runciman (L.), 12,709; C. B. Crisp (U.), 12,522.
- BARNES, GEO. N., 110, Peckham Road, London, S.E. (Hutchestown). Result at last election, September, 1900:—C. S. Dickson (U.), 5,032; A. F. Murison (L.), 4,041.
- BOWERMAN, C. W., 7—9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C. (Deptford). Result at last election, September, 1900:—A. H. A. Morton (U.), 6,236; B. Jones (Lab.), 3,806.
- CLYNES, J. R., Oldham Trades Council. (N.E. Manchester). Result at last election:—Sir T. Fergusson (C.), 4,316; Aug. Birrell (L.), 3,610.
- COIT, STANTON (DR.), 30, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W. (Wakefield). Result at last election, March 25th, 1902:—Edward A. Brotherton (U.), 2,960; Phillip Snowden (Lab.), 1,979.
- CONLEY, JAMES, 6, Sutherland Street, Glasgow. (Kirkdale Division, Liverpool). Result at last election, September, 1900:—D. MacIver (C.), 4,333; R. Cherry (L.), 1,738.
- CROOKS, WILL, 8, Gough Street, Poplar. (Woolwich). Result at last election (Bye), March 11th, 1903:—W. Crooks (Lab.), 8,687; G. Drage (C.), 5,458.
- CURRAN, PETE, 1, Pretoria Avenue, Walthamstow. (Jarrow). Result at last election, September, 1900:—Sir C. M. Palmer (L.), returned unopposed.
- *DEW, ALD. GEORGE, 264, Milkwood Road, Herne Hill, S.E.
- DUFFY, T. GAVAN, 11, Westmoreland Street, Skipton (Whitehaven). Result at last election:—A. Helder (C.), 1,553; W. McGowan (L.), 876.
- DUNCAN, CHARLES, 16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, London, N. (Barrow). Result at last election, September, 1900:—Sir C. W. Cayzer (U.), returned unopposed.
- GILL, A. H., 61, Hampden Street, Bolton. (Bolton). Result at last election, September, 1900:—H. Shepherd Cross (U.), G. Harwood (L.), returned unopposed.
- GLASIER, J. BRUCE, Townend, Chapel-en-le-Frith, *viâ* Stockport. (Bordesley). Result at last election:—Jesse Collings (L.U.), returned unopposed.
- GLOVER, T., 56, Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens. (St. Helens). Result at last election, September, 1900:—H. Seton Carr (U.), 5,300; C. A. V. Conybeare (L.), 3,402.
- HARDIE, J. KEIR, 14, Neville's Court, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. (Merthyr). Result at last election:—D. A. Thomas (L.), 8,598; J. K. Hardie (Lab.), 5,745; W. P. Morgan (L.), 4,004.
- HENDERSON, A., M.P., 30, Windsor Terrace, Darlington. (Barnard Castle). Result at last election (Bye), July 24th, 1903:—A. Henderson (Lab.), 3,370; Col. Vane (C.), 3,323; Beaumont (L.), 2,809.
- HILL, W., 208, Langland Road, Govan. (Govan). Result at last election, September, 1900:—R. H. Craig (L.), 5,744; R. Duncan (U.), 5,580.

- HODGE, J., 38, Bignor Street, Cheetham, Manchester. (Gorton). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—E. F. G. Hatch (U.), 5,761 ; W. Ward (Lab.), 5,241.
- HOLMES, A. E., 4, Kenilworth Avenue, Walthamstow. (Walthamstow). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—D. J. Morgan (U.), 9,807 ; Sam Woods (Lab.), 7,342.
- HOLMES, JAMES, 29, Alfred Street, Roath Park, Cardiff. (East Birmingham). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir J. B. Stone (C.), 4,089 ; J. V. Stevens (L.), 2,835.
- HUDSON, W., 35, Melrose Avenue, Fairview, Dublin. (Newcastle). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—W. R. Plummer (U.), 15,097 ; G. Renwick (U.), 14,752 ; S. Storey (L.), 10,488 ; Capt. Hon. H. Lambton (L.), 10,453.
- JENKINS, J., The Laurels, Grangetown, Cardiff. (Chatham). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir H. D. Davies (U.), returned unopposed.
- JOWETT, F. W., 2, Grantham Place, Bradford. (West Bradford). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—E. Flower (U.), 4,990 ; F. W. Jowett (Lab.), 4,949.
- KELLEY, G. D., 63, Upper Brook Street, Manchester. (S.W. Manchester). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—W. J. Galloway (U.), 4,017 ; F. Brocklehurst (Lab.), 2,398.
- MACDONALD, J. RAMSAY, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C. (Leicester). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—H. Broadhurst (Lab.), 10,385 ; Sir J. Rolleston (U.), 9,066 ; W. Hazell (L.), 8,528 ; J. R. Macdonald (Lab.), 4,164.
- *MACPHERSON, JAS., 122, Gower Street, London, S.W.
- MACPHERSON, J. T., Billingham Avenue, Norton-on-Tees. (Preston). Result of last election (Bye), May 14th, 1903 :—J. Kerr (C.), 8,639 ; J. Hodge (Lab.), 6,490.
- MITCHELL, I., 168—170, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, E.C. (Darlington). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—H. Pike Pease (U.), returned unopposed.
- O'GRADY, J., 72, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C. (East Leeds). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—H. S. Cantley (U.), 3,453 ; J. R. Maguire (L.), 1,586 ; W. P. Byles (H.R. and Lab.), 1,266.
- *PARFITT, H., 34, Monk Street, Aberdare.
- PARKER, J., 7, St. James' Street, Halifax. (Halifax). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir S. B. Crossley (U.), 5,931 ; J. H. Whiteley (L.), 5,543 ; A. Billson (L.), 5,325 ; J. Parker (Lab.), 3,276.
- PROCTOR, T., 2, Boscawen Place, Devonport. (Grimsby). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—G. Doughty (U.), returned unopposed.
- RICHARDS, T. F., Archdale Street, Syston, Leicester. (W. Wolverhampton). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir A. Hickman (U.), returned unopposed.
- ROBERTS, G. H., 34, Cardiff Road, Norwich. (Norwich). Result at last election, January 15th, 1904 :—Louis Tillet (L.), 8,576 ; E. Wild (U.), 6,756 ; G. H. Roberts (Lab.), 2,440.
- ROSE, FRANK, 399, Stretford Road, Manchester. (Stockton). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Col. R. Ropner (U.), 5,272 ; J. Samuel (L.), 4,873.

- SANDERS, W., 18, Brynmaer Road, Battersea, S.W. (Portsmouth). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—J. H. A. Majendie (U.), 10,818 ; R. Lucas (U.), 10,383 ; Sir J. Baker (L.), 10,214 ; F. A. Bramsden (L.), 10,031.
- SEDDON, J., St. Helens, Lancashire. (Newton, Lanes.). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Lt.-Col. R. Pilkington (U.), returned unopposed.
- SEXTON, J., 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. (Central Hull). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir H. S. King (U.), 5,257 ; G. G. Greenwood (L.), 2,465.
- SHACKLETON, D. J., M.P., 51, London Terrace, Darwen. (Clitheroe). Result at last election (Bye), August 1st, 1902 :—D. J. Shackleton (Lab.), returned unopposed.
- SNOWDEN, PHILIP, Gathorne Terrace, Leeds. (Blackburn). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir W. H. Hornby (U.), 11,247 ; Sir W. Coddington (U.), 9,415 ; P. Snowden (Lab.), 7,096.
- STRANKS, SIDNEY, 52, Edward Road, Croydon. (Croydon). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Rt. Hon. C. T. Ritchie (U.), returned unopposed.
- STUART, G. H., 1, Ryde Villas, Kingston Road, Hampton Wick. (York). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—J. G. Butcher (U.) and G. D. Faber (U.), returned unopposed.
- SUMMERBELL, T., 14, Vincent Street, Sunderland. (Sunderland). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir W. T. Doxford (U.), 9,617 ; J. Pemberton (U.), 9,566 ; G. B. Hunter (L.), 9,370 ; A. Wilkie (Lab.), 8,842.
- THORNE, WILL, 214, Pentonville Road, King's Cross, London, N. (West Ham). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Major G. E. Banes (U.), 5,615 ; W. Thorne (Lab.), 4,419.
- TILLET, BEN, 425, Mile End Road, London, E. (Eccles). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—L. Clare (U.), 6,153 ; J. P. Fry (L.), 5,934.
- TURNER, BEN, 97, Taylor Street, Batley. (Dewsbury). Result at last election, January 28th, 1902 :—W. Runciman (L.), 5,660 ; J. Haley (U.), 4,512 ; H. Quelch (Soc.), 1,597.
- WALSH, S., Avondale Road, Wigan. (Ince). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Col. H. C. Blundell (U.), returned unopposed.
- WALKER, W., 83, Stratheden Street, Belfast. (North Belfast). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir J. H. Hazlett (U.), 4,172 ; T. Harrison (Ind.), 1,855.
- WARDLE, G. J., 251, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. (Stockport). Result at last election, September, 1900 :—Sir J. Leigh (L.), 5,666 ; B. V. Melville (U.), 5,377 ; G. Green (L.), 5,200 ; A. Hillier (U.), 5,098.
- WILKIE, ALEX., 8, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. (Dundee). Result at last election :—E. Robertson (L.), 7,777 ; Sir J. Leng (L.), 7,650 ; A. D. Smith (C.), 5,181 ; J. E. Graham (L.U.), 5,152.
- WILLIAMS, T. RUSSELL, Airedale, Kildwick, near Keighley. (Huddersfield). Result at last election :—Sir J. T. Woodhouse (L.), 7,896 ; E. H. Carlile (C.), 6,831.
- WILSON, W. T., 248, Oxford Grove, Bolton. (West Houghton).

* These Candidates have been adopted by their Trade Unions, but have not yet selected constituencies.

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**THE IRISH LAND QUESTION:
WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.**

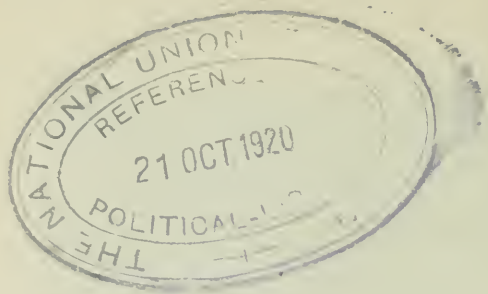
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Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, M.P.

IN Ireland, as the result of long centuries of mismanagement, things have come to such a pass that every Nationalist M.P. is pledged by a solemn vow never to accept office in any British administration, even if that administration came into being solely for the purpose of conceding Home Rule to Ireland. But for that pledge and the atmosphere in which it was generated Mr. John Redmond ought to be Chief Secretary. But it is out of the question. Failing Mr. Redmond, the next most typical representative of the Irish people is Mr. T. W. Russell. He represents the North, as Mr. Redmond represents the South. He is under no self-denying ordinance which forbids him placing his services at the disposal of the Crown. His appointment to the Chief Secretaryship would be regarded by every tenant in Ireland as a most effective guarantee that there would be no paltering in a double sense with the pledges which accompanied and secured the passing of the last Land Act. But for the post of Chief Secretary no Irishman need apply.

No one can deny Mr. Russell's ability, integrity, experience, intimate knowledge of Irish affairs, and familiarity with the details of administration. He is an eloquent speaker, a ready debater, a tireless worker. There is no better Parliamentarian in the House of Commons, with the exception of Mr. Redmond.

Mr. Morley once declared that Mr. Gladstone was a Highlander in the control of a Lowlander. Mr. T. W. Russell is a Lowland Scot inspired by an Irishman. Comparatively few of

those who have listened to the fervid eloquence of the member for South Tyrone, who have admired his unconquerable pugnacity, ever dreamed that he was anything but an Irishman bred and born. In reality there is not a drop of Irish blood in his body. He was born in Cupar, Fife, according to the usual formula, of poor but honest parents, like Mr. Carnegie, and also, like Mr. Carnegie, he quitted his native kingdom for another country in his early youth. And just as Mr. Carnegie, although true-born Scot, became more American than the Americans, so Mr. Russell, crossing the Channel to Ireland, became, like all who migrate to that enchanted isle, more Irish than the Irish.

And no one can say that he has proved himself lacking in loyalty or in devotion to the people of his adopted country. In the far-away past Ireland sent her apostles to Scotland to convert the heathen to be found in the midst of her savage fastnesses to the kingdom of the Prince of Peace. Nowadays, as if by way of attempting to repay the debt, on the instalment plan, Scotland sent Mr. Russell to Ireland to be baptised in the Irish spirit, in order that he might help the Irish to do for themselves that which by themselves, under existing conditions, they never would be able to do for themselves.

Mr. Russell was born on February 28th, 1841. His father was a stonemason of the name of David, a fellow workman of Hugh Miller's. Thomas Wallace took his second name from the maiden name of his mother. He was the youngest of a family of six.

He was educated at a private school—the Madras Academy of Cupar—but he was not in his teens when he left school to fend for himself. He got into a shop as errand-boy, and made a bad start. His employer went bankrupt, and he lost the pittance which ought to have been paid him for his year's work. He got another place, and then another behind the counter, but at last he crossed over to Ireland and settled at Donaghmore, intent more than anything else upon earning a living wage, and little dreaming of the leading part he was destined to play in the country which was henceforth to be his own.

He was then eighteen years of age, "ill-equipped, penniless, and somewhat delicate," a stranger in a strange land. The odds against him seemed somewhat heavy. But Thomas W. Russell was sober and industrious, fond of his books, and his physique, though "somewhat delicate," as he says, was tough as leather, and springy as steel.

When Mr. Russell was asked by an interviewer of *The Young Man* to what he attributed his success, he replied, chiefly to his total abstinence both from drink and tobacco, and to his early training in debate when still in his teens.

He was a Presbyterian, a Scotch Presbyterian, who soon found himself at home in Ireland. He was young; he was zealous; he cared for the welfare and for the souls of his fellow-men; and he founded a Young Men's Christian Association in Dungannon, and learned in its debates to speak in public. Naturally he was soon put to work in the vineyard where the harvest is great and the labourers are few. He developed considerable capacity for effective popular speech. He favourably attracted the attention of his employer, Mr. James Brown, J.P., who, seeing that he was not particularly fitted for commercial life, helped him when but a stripling of twenty-three to the Secretaryship of the Irish Temperance League in Dublin and the South of Ireland.

To this was speedily added the duty of acting as Parliamentary Agent for the Temperance party. The duties of his new post brought him to the lobby of the House of Commons. He had to shepherd the flock of Temperance members whom the Sister Isle sent to Westminster. He was as familiar a figure in the outer lobby as he is to-day in the penetralia of the House. He won for himself recognition as a temperance sleuth, keen, merciless, intemperately temperate, and zealous even to slaying in support of Irish Sunday Closing.

Mr. Russell's views at this earlier period of his life were not so decidedly Unionist as to render it impossible for him to have served with Mr. Parnell. It was probably in the later seventies that the Secretaryship of the Home Rule Association was offered him. He refused it; but that the offer was made was a tribute both to his reputation as an organiser and to the absence of any strongly developed sentiment against Home Rule.

The work of the secretary of a Temperance Society is no sinecure. It brought Mr. Russell into contact with many of the best people in the world, but among them there were a large proportion of the crankiest of cranks, the most one-sided of politicians, the most difficult of all uncompromising fanatics. Ireland is sodden in whisky, and the Temperance forces are always mobilised. Mr. Russell conducted for ten years a Temperance Mission in the Rotunda, Dublin, every Sunday night. Mr. Russell was a keen chief of the staff, and in those years, from 1864—1882, he rendered yeoman service to the cause.

After 1882, Mr. Russell, who had married his first wife, a Miss Agnew, of Dungannon, set up in business as the proprietor of a Temperance Hotel in Dublin. This still kept him in touch with Temperance work, while it gave him more leisure. Three years later he contested Preston as Liberal candidate in 1885, and, like all Liberal candidates who stand for Preston, he

was unsuccessful, although he polled 6,500 votes. Then came the great Home Rule split, and when the first Unionist majority was elected in 1886, Mr. T. W. Russell was to be found in its ranks as Liberal Unionist M.P. for South Tyrone, the county division in which he had settled when twenty-seven years before he had first come over from Scotland to seek a living in Donaghmore. His opponent was Mr. W. O'Brien, and his majority was only 99. From that time forth Mr. Russell flung himself with characteristic ardour into the anti-Home Rule propaganda. His long training on the Temperance platform had inured him against fatigue. People talk of Mr. Chamberlain's "raging, tearing propaganda," but for each meeting Mr. Chamberlain has addressed last recess, Mr. Russell was wont to address a dozen and think nothing of it. Between 1886 and 1900 he addressed no fewer than 1,400 Unionist political meetings, and took part in nearly every by-election. He was constantly on the platform, speaking with all the passion of an Irishman against the Nationalist cause.

I have no disposition to draw aside the veil which now mercifully conceals most of those fierce platform performances from the memory of men. Suffice it to quote his own words in 1901. "Against the Nationalist leaders I said strong and bitter things. I felt all that I said." This witness is true. It is the habit of the Temperance orator to say "strong and bitter things" about the publican, and Mr. Russell simply transferred his invectives to the leaders of the Plan of Campaign and the Land League. No one probably regrets more than Mr. Russell himself the harshness of some of the judgments which he then pronounced. But Mr. Russell does not do things by half. He is not a man of half tones. With him everything is either white or black, the white very, very white; the black very, very black. He has no use for greys and neutral tints. He was fighting for

the Union. Therefore he painted the Nationalists in lurid colours, of mingled flame and soot—as befitted men of whose ultimate destination no true Unionist could be in any doubt.

No one questioned his sincerity. He was regarded by the Home Rulers as a fanatic from Ulster. They were not unfamiliar with the breed, and they are too familiar with the whirling of the national shillelagh to take Mr. Russell's adjectives as seriously as did some of his English audiences. To the Unionists he was unquestionably useful. He was, on the whole, their best all-round Irish member for the work of political propaganda. It was, therefore, but in accordance with the fitness of things when, in 1895, the Unionists came back to office, that Lord Salisbury offered his faithful henchman from South Tyrone the post of Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board. Mr. Russell was fifty-four when he became a Minister of the Crown.

He was a useful official, somewhat inclined to optimism, a word unfamiliar previously to "T.W." He served on the Hibbert Departmental Committee, which resulted in the reorganisation of the department, which when he entered it was undermanned, with sad arrears of work waiting attention. In his official capacity he presided over Select Committees on Want of Employment, the Sale of Food and Drugs Bill, and the Money Lending Curse. Together with the Attorney-General he introduced the Money Lending Bill into Parliament.

Nor did he forget Ireland while in office. He had, even while a Temperance secretary, been zealous for land reform. He was in the lobby and all through the fights for the Land Act of 1881, and he helped to pass the long series of Land Acts which followed 1887, 1888, 1891 and 1896. Before taking office he moved for and sat upon the Morley Select Committee on the Irish Land Acts of 1894, which resulted in the Land Act of 1896. He took an active part in promoting

Social Reform, and made several speeches in favour of improving the condition of the outworn veterans of industry who find shelter in the work-house.

He was diligent in business, and he curbed the natural vehemence of his disposition by the reflection that he was no longer an independent member, but a member of an administration which it was his first duty to keep in office.

It was Mr. Russell's misfortune to be in office when the Boer War broke out. He had been in South Africa in 1894, and he had fallen as naturally as did the Rev. R. J. Campbell into the hands of the ascendancy party. "The retrocession of the Transvaal," he told an audience in Edinburgh, "could only be defended on the highest Christian principles," and therefore Mr. Russell did not defend it, but abused it on principles that were neither high nor Christian. It was his lot as a subordinate Minister to defend his chiefs, and his speeches must be set down to the debit of the Parliamentary Secretary for the Local Government Board, and which the member for South Tyrone has probably long ago forgotten.

During his term of office Mr. Russell was bold enough—considering his position as a representative of a constituency in Orange Ulster—to declare his adhesion to Mr. Balfour's statement in favour of a Catholic University for Ireland. These views did not please many of his constituents, and to their dissatisfaction with his leaning to a Catholic University the *Times* sardonically attributed his sudden appearance as a land reformer of the first rank.

It was at Clogher, on September 20th, 1900, and during the General Election, that Mr. Russell suddenly astonished and delighted the tenant farmers by declaring in favour of compulsory purchase in order to settle the land question. He was opposed by the landlords, but won the seat despite their opposition. He lost his

office, however. He told his constituents:—

They attempted to bribe me to go out of Parliament. They offered me a position of £1,500 a year.

Mr. Russell was unmuzzled. The Unionists woefully underestimated the value of his muzzling when they fixed it at only £1,500 a year. His silence would have been cheap at ten times that figure.

Being unmuzzled and therefore free to vote and speak as he thought right, he flung himself with all his energy and enthusiasm into the cause of the tenants.

Into the details of that memorable campaign it is needless to enter now. Suffice it to say that before that combination Ministers capitulated. Mr. T. W. Russell was a member of Captain Shawe Taylor's famous Conference, which resulted in the Land Act of last Session.

This was hailed by men of all parties as a final settlement of the difficulty which has been the curse of Ireland. That it has not quite fulfilled its promise Mr. Russell has been one of the first to admit.

The failure, temporary or otherwise, of the Land Act brings Mr. Russell once more to the fighting front of the political situation.

In Irish politics he is for compulsory expropriation of the landlords. Landlordism is in his eyes Nehushtan, the accursed thing, and he would fain be the Hezekiah who would grind it to powder. The settlement of the land question is to him the most urgent of all questions; unless it is brought about, and that right speedily, "Ireland in ten years' time will be a country inhabited only by old people."

Mr. Russell is a Free Trader out and out. He has no tolerance for Protection in any shape or form. It repels him as an economist, it disgusts him as a humanitarian, and he detests it as a Radical. For, as Mr. Russell maintains, he is, and always has been, a Radical in politics. He is also a

staunch advocate of Woman's Suffrage, for his sympathies with justice are not limited by the sex of the citizen. He is, of course, still as stout a Temperance man as ever he was, and a social reformer of a very thoroughgoing type. To him the present House is abhorrent as being too predominantly plutocratic.

His constant cry is, "a plague on your party politics. Union—let us have union of the Irish among themselves irrespective of religious differences." He has crossed swords more than once with Archbishop Walsh on the education question, and he has, to keep the balance even, dangerously strained the loyalty of his Orange supporters by the candour with which he recognised the grievance of the Catholics in the matter of University education.

Mr. Russell has always been a Home Ruler on conditions. That is to say, he has been an anti-Home Ruler because he believed that the Unionist majority in Westminster could or would redress every Irish grievance. If it did not, then he admitted the case for Home Rule was proved. He now admits that with regard to the financial relations of the two countries and as to the University question, the British Parliament has not done and will not do justice to Ireland. His objection to Home Rule, even in his fighting days, was more to the Home Rulers than to Home Rule itself. He always keenly appreciated the impossibility of carrying on government against the consent of the governed side by side with representative institutions. Home Rule, when

it comes, will come by a process of evolution rather than by revolution; perhaps it would be better to say by Devolution than Revolution. The gradual elimination of points of difference, the *rapprochement* between Ulster tenant farmers and the Nationalist party, the extension of local self-government—all point towards the union of the Irish of all parties for the defence of Irish interests.

But if the Irish are united among themselves, how long would the Union last? On this subject Mr. Russell is naturally somewhat reticent. But he knows that Home Rule must come sooner or later, and as a man who has an interest in the good government of the Empire at large, he sees how hopeless is the situation so long as eighty members are returned to Parliament with an express mandate to sprag the wheels of the machine. His own suggestion is that the Irish should have their own Parliament at Westminster; in other words, all Irish legislation should be discussed and practically settled by the Irish members in Grand Committee assembled, subject, of course, to the veto of the House as a whole. That veto would seldom be exercised. Mr. Russell's scheme is practically a revival of a proposal made by Mr. Bright. There is this at least in its favour. It could be put into operation at once.

Whatever may be the arrangement finally decided upon, Mr. Russell is as sound as any Nationalist in asserting that the interests of Ireland ought to be placed in the responsible control of the representatives of the Irish people.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION : What Remains to be Done.

By T. W. RUSSELL, M.P.

It is now possible after long years of despair and trouble to write in the spirit of hope regarding this problem. From the Union down to 1860 the Irish Land Code stood for pure and unadulterated feudalism. The tenant who tilled the soil had no rights. The landlord who was, in the main, an alien in race and creed was everywhere supreme. In 1860 the English land system was introduced in its entirety into Ireland, and the letting of land became a mere matter of contract. This was done under what is known as Deasy's Act, which practically repealed all previous agrarian legislation. Under this measure the landlord was assumed to own everything above and beneath the soil, and the law of what was called free contract was applied to a country which knew little of contract and less of freedom. Then came the first of Mr. Gladstone's great reform measures in 1870. It was the beginning of great things—the beginning, in fact, of the end. But of, and by itself, it was a halting tentative measure. It sought primarily to penalize what were called harsh and capricious evictions. This was its main object. But the Irish landlord was then pretty much what he is in many cases to-day. He evicted a tenant in those days, and had under the Act in certain cases to pay compensation. But there was nothing to prevent his charging the incoming tenant, by way of fine, the entire sum he had been compelled to pay the outgoing man. And so the Act of 1870 was reduced to a nullity in actual practice. Its great outstanding merit, however, lay in the fact that for the first time in English legislation the tenants property in the soil was recognised. Out of this recognition great things came. And, Parliament once having taken the step of admitting the property of the tenant—and having legislated to prevent the issue of what Mr. Gladstone rightly called "sentences of death" against the occupiers of the soil—could not tamely see its work undone by what Lord Clarendon called "felonious landlordism." The Act of 1881, born of blood, misery, and tears, was the result. The landlords overshot the mark in resisting the Act of 1870. They sowed the wind. They reaped the whirlwind. I have described the Act of 1870 as halting and tentative. No one can apply these terms to the Act of 1881. It was thorough in every respect. And although it was maimed by the Irish

Courts and weakened by maladministration—as all ameliorative measures are in Ireland—it saved the country and gave the people hope and courage. This great measure not only recognised the property rights of the Irish tenant. It declared that rent was not to be charged on that which belonged to the tenant. And it appointed a tribunal to assess the relative interest of the landlord and the tenant in each holding. This once done, a fair rent was fixed—and the tenant, subject to certain statutory conditions, could sell his interest, and complying with those conditions, could not be evicted. But for this great measure it is not too much to say that the Government of Ireland by England would have been impossible. Mr. Gladstone may be called a separatist. His intervention in 1881 undoubtedly saved the situation. This Act was amended in 1887—and again in 1896. But, apart from its actual and beneficial operation, it produced a state of affairs which convinced the saner landlords that the old game was up. These men saw that a system under which they could not call the land their own—a system which recognised and established the tenant as a co-owner in the soil, could not endure. And a return to single ownership, *i.e.*, the ownership of the occupier began to be seriously discussed.

This problem was first given practical effect to in 1885, when the first Purchase Act was agreed to, commonly called the Ashbourne Act. This measure placed a sum of Five Million Pounds at the disposal of the Irish tenants for the purchase of the landlords' interest in their holdings. The whole of the purchase money was advanced, and by a 4 per cent. annuity the tenant purchased and repaid the loan—capital and interest—in 49 years. In 1888 a second sum of Five Millions was advanced. And in 1891 Mr. Arthur Balfour carried a measure which placed credit amounting to £33,000,000 at the disposal of the Irish landholder for the same purpose. So far all had been by way of experiment. But the very success of the experiment—and it was great and undoubted—produced a difficulty. It was speedily found that those who were able to buy under the Purchase Acts—*i.e.*, those whose landlords were willing to sell—had an enormous advantage over those who had perforce to remain tenants. It was not alone that the purchasers became owners; the terminable annuity which they paid was less by 20 per cent. than the judicial rent of the ordinary tenant. Such a condition of affairs could not endure. Legitimate discontent was engendered. Agitation arose—not less strong in the North than in the South—for compulsory sale. And after nibbling at the question in 1901-2, the Government rose to the occasion and produced an epoch-making measure in 1903.

The Land Purchase Act of that year was in every respect epoch-making. It was preceded by, and founded upon, the report of a Conference held between the representatives of Landlord and Tenant in Dublin. The Landlords' Convention, the official representative of the Landlord party, held aloof and refused to join in the Conference. Typical landlords, such as the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Barrymore, and Colonel Saunderson, refused to serve, ridiculing the project as absurd and quixotic. Lord Dunraven led a saner section of landlords, with the result that, after a session of five days, the Conference agreed to a report, upon which the Government acted. The official landlords, seeing the reasonableness of the findings and recognising their own folly, succumbed at

once, and fell in with the general tendency for settlement. Substantially the Act of 1903 accepted the principle of universal sale of the landlord's interest to the occupier. It ignored legal compulsion. But it accepted what was finely called the principle of compulsion by inducement. It placed the sum of £100,000,000 at the disposal of landlord and tenant for the purposes of the Act. It went further—for it enacted that out of a fund called the Land Purchase Aid Fund each landlord who sold should receive a bonus (Latin for gift) of 12 per cent. on the purchase money. It appointed a new tribunal to administer the Act. And to this tribunal were given powers of re-settling congested districts by the purchase of grass lands, the enlargement of uneconomic holdings, and the restoration of certain evicted tenants where possible. It was an Act sufficient of itself to make and secure the reputation of any statesman. Already in eighteen months since it came into operation land value for £20,000,000 has been sold under it. Properly and reasonably administered, it contains all the elements of a settlement of the problem. Let us see where and how it has broken down.

First.—There has been a serious hitch in the finance of the Bill. One Hundred Million Pounds sterling was the estimate of the money required to carry the operation of transferring the land from owner to occupier through. But an understanding was arrived at during the passage of the Bill through Committee that for the first three years the outlay should not exceed Five Millions in each year. The state of the Money Market was assigned as the chief reason for the limitation. But, beyond all doubt, the result has been a serious hitch and great disappointment. Nobody perhaps could have quite foreseen the rush to sell. At the present moment agreements have been signed for sale and purchase between landlord and tenant representing £20,000,000. The Estates Commissioners have received, roughly speaking, £11,000,000 from the Treasury. They have paid out to vendors of land in or about £5,000,000. And another sum approaching £5,000,000 has been paid over in the Bank of Ireland to the credit of estates—these estates awaiting proof of title. To meet claims of £10,000,000, therefore, the Commissioners have £1,000,000 on hand—and the prospect of a further loan of £5,000,000 in November next. But it must be remembered that the delay thus caused has exercised a most regrettable influence upon purchase. Landlords very naturally say that if compelled to wait two or three years for the purchase money they are at a great disadvantage—the tenant purchaser only paying $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the purchase money, pending the issue of the vesting order. The work of agreeing as to sale, therefore, has been seriously impeded where it has not been brought to a standstill by reason of this hitch. On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that the raising of even £5,000,000 has been a serious matter for Ireland. A selling landlord is paid in cash. But whilst he gets £100 in sovereigns, the discount, amounting probably to the difference between £87 and £100, has to be paid out of the Irish Equivalent Grant, an arrangement which keeps the British Treasury safe, but is of serious import to Ireland as a whole. This is one of the first things which have to be set right. Some plan must be devised by which the Act can have free and full scope. This and other things being done, there is no reason why ten years should not see the Irish Land Problem solved.

Second.—The Act has all but completely broken down in the West. Here, where its healing influence was most needed, its failure has been most marked. And for this breakdown the cupidity of the Irish landlord is wholly to blame. What the Act contemplated in this respect is quite clear. It was quite impossible to apply the same rule to Connaught and to other similar areas as to Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. In the West the holdings are small and hopelessly uneconomic in their character. Parliament felt, and rightly so, that to make the occupier of a five-acre bog holding an owner was to do him no good. Such a feat in statesmanship merely freed the Western landlord from a risky security and transferred the risk to the State. It was, therefore, enacted that the large grass holdings which abound in that region—and which are held by graziers on a tenure of eleven months, the object of the term being to avoid the creation of a tenancy—should be bought and wherever possible should be distributed amongst the small holders, thus rendering a decent living possible. And in several cases this has been successfully done by the Congested District's Board, with the very best results. It was a big, bold thing to attempt. But it was manifestly the right policy. And Mr. Wyndham in passing the Act justly placed it in front—as, perhaps, the main object of his policy. In considering the breakdown of the Act at this point it is necessary to look at the terms upon which it was passed. The landlords as a whole professed at the Land Conference and in Parliament their entire willingness to sell, provided they received a price equivalent when securely invested to their Second Term net income. To enable this to be done the bonus of £12,000,000 was sanctioned by Parliament. The whole thing was a bargain—a clear case of contract. And what the Western landlords have been guilty of is a simple breach of faith. They are quite ready to sell the bog holdings, the barren mountain tracts out of which a decent living cannot be had, demanding for this wretched land in many cases more than is being asked in Antrim and Down for the best land in these counties. But the grass ranches they refuse to part with. And so the whole plan of the Act—the whole scheme for the re-settling of the land, and raising the station of the small holder—has been brought to nought. In this connexion another difficulty has arisen. When the Western sections of the Act were being passed, Mr. Wyndham—who was in grim earnest about these poor people—provided for the sale of Congested Estates to the Estates Commissioners or to the Congested Districts Board. Special inducements were given to sales under these sections. The cost of sale was borne almost entirely by the State, and the Commissioners were authorized in such cases to spend money upon the improvement of the holdings. The policy was excellent. But the landlords have ruined it. They quickly discovered that if they sold to the Estates Commissioners the land would be inspected by an expert valuer, and its price would depend upon its value. This was not their idea of how things should be done. They preferred to sell to the tenant direct, against whom they could use the screw of arrears of rent, and from whom they could exact a higher price. Hardly a case of sale to the Estates Commissioners has taken place under these well-meant sections. And for the reasons I have stated.

The Irish Members were under no illusions whilst the Act was being passed. We warned Mr. Wyndham, and we cautioned Parliament, that a breakdown

was imminent at this point. The fact is, compulsory powers of purchase in all such cases ought to have been frankly given. But to mention the word compulsion to the then Chief Secretary was to send him into a fury. He would not hear of it. It was the agitation for compulsion that had produced the Land Bill. But the landlords had bound Mr. Wyndham to resist even its beginnings. And so the right hon. gentleman had his way. And what is the result? The big well-to-do farmers of Kildare—the men whose ancestors were brought by the Duke of Leinster from Scotland after the famine—have all bought their land under the Act, and the Leinster Estate has ceased to exist as such, something like Half a Million Pounds being paid for it, including bonus. But the wretched holders of small bog holdings in the West are still left in their misery, and even where there is a chance, as there was at Cloonka, in co. Galway, the other day, of relieving a small number of these men, Lord Ashtown stepped in and bought the grass land over their heads. This is the most serious point of failure. With the West unsettled nothing is settled. It is here where trouble has always been born. It is here that Land Acts have always had their origin. It is well to make an end of landlordism anywhere. Here its fell influence is most severely felt. Here the load must be lifted. In a word, both the Estates Commissioners and the Congested Districts Board must have compulsory powers against men who persist in a whole province being steeped in misery, with the means of relief at hand.

Third.—There has been great and to some extent just complaint against the treatment meted out to the Evicted Tenants. When the Act was passing through Committee this class was the theme of warm and sympathetic debate. But it is just possible that hopes were raised which can only end in disappointment. There are two classes of Evicted Tenants. There are, first, the soldiers of the war, and, second, there are the unfortunates. It was possible to deal with the first. It was not, and it is not possible, to deal with the second. To all who suffered under the Land War of the eighties and under the Plan of Campaign reparation might be made. Mr. Wyndham certainly intended that this should be done. To propose to reinstate every tenant evicted since 1879, from whatever cause, is, of course, at once inexpedient and impossible. What ought to be done is to create a Sub-Department of the Estates Commissioners to deal with this question. Already the Evicted Tenants on the Brooke Estate, in co. Wexford, have been reinstated. Arrangements are in progress on other properties that were the scene of great battles under the Plan of Campaign. No one now objects. But the Treasury vetoed the creation of a Sub-Department to take charge of the operations, although it is manifest that these are precisely the cases which are most urgent and which brook no delay. It is quite true that the Land Act, as Mr. Long says, was not passed for the mere purpose of restoring the Evicted Tenants. This is quite certain. But it is also true that Parliament recognized that the Act could not succeed as a great appeasement if those men who had fought and fallen in the long struggle were not provided for. The delay in dealing with this serious issue has caused endless heartburning, all the more so since it is clearly due to the intervention of the English Treasury, never friendly—and certainly not more so now—to Irish Claims.

Fourth.—What are called the Zones in Section 1 of the Act have also turned out to be a fruitful source of discontent. The Land Conference recommended as a standard of price that not less than 20 per cent. should come off Second Term rents, with its fair equivalent in regard to those which had been fixed for a First Term. They also recommended that the system of Decadal reductions in vogue under the Act of 1896 should be continued. The Act largely set aside these recommendations. It abolished the Decadal reductions—a most unwise policy. And it substituted a $3\frac{1}{2}$ for a 4 per cent. annuity as a sort of makeweight, this, in reality, being no makeweight at all. In regard to limits of price, it allowed holdings under Second Term rents to be sold without inspection at a price from 10 to 30 per cent. less than the rent. In the case of First Terms the limits were from 20 to 40 per cent. less than the rent. Non-judicial rents were left free for bargain between vendor and purchaser, the price to be equitable and all the circumstances of each case to be taken into account. Mr. Wyndham and his advisers doubtless thought that in framing the Zone limits the landlords would sell mainly at the mean price—that Second Term rents would be subject to 20 per cent. reduction and First Terms to 30 per cent. The facts do not bear out this conclusion. In the North many landlords refuse to sell unless at the highest Zone price—and with the bonus added the purchase money invested at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. gives them much more than their Second Term net income, the price at which they covenanted to sell. But their rents being as regularly paid as the dividends on Consols, they are, in the absence of compulsory powers, masters of the situation, the result being a bitter feeling of discontent and disappointment amongst those who are the stoutest in maintaining the duty of loyalty towards the Crown and adherence to the English Connexion. Practically the average price of all classes of rent—First, Second, and Non-Judicial—is 23 years purchase or 25 per cent. off the present rent. But this is a matter where averages are specially misleading. And it is fairer to say that men who would gladly have sold under the old Acts at 20 years purchase are now selling at 24 years and a 12 per cent. bonus, not a very bad outcome for them of what they were prone to denounce as a Confiscation. I think there is grave danger in regard to these prices. Nothing is more certain than this—that if Canadian Store Cattle are allowed free access to English ports these prices cannot be paid. Such a change would strike Irish agriculture a serious blow. And some steps should certainly be taken to revise the Zones, which as they stand give free play to the grasping cupidity of the ordinary Irish landlord.

Fifth.—By and by a great difficulty will arise, perhaps the greatest which has yet been encountered. In a few years—a very few years at the present rate of purchase—the problem will have to be faced—“What is to be done with those landlords who will not sell at any price?” Be this class few or many—I think they will not be numerous—a solution of the difficulty must be found. I never sympathized with the arguments against Compulsion. The moment the Act of 1881 was passed—the moment Parliament fixed the rent that was to be paid to a landlord—the argument against Compulsion disappeared. Whether a landlord receives his income as rent or in the shape of dividends on Consols does not appear to me to be a question of principle. But when the time arrives for dealing with this residuum of Irish landlords, the Nation will for once be

driven to Compulsion. A handful of men cannot be allowed to thwart a great National policy. And, curiously enough, it will be in Ulster the problem will be most acute. It is there the resisting landlords are most numerous. They rely upon the Orange Drum. But this instrument of faction is not what it once was. And as against the Land it will not count.

Sixth.—There is finally the question of the Administration of the Act. And it is here that the pinch comes in all Irish affairs. Parliament means well. But Irish Officialdom is a very different thing. The Morley Committee proved to the hilt that the Irish Courts and the Irish Administration had maimed the Act of 1881. So far the Courts have had very little to say to the Act of 1903. And in the only case which I have noticed in the Court of Appeal Chief Baron Pallas and the Court promptly reversed Mr. Justice Meredith, who as adviser to the Estates Commissioners had taken a narrow and restricted view of the section involved. But it was an evil hour when the Irish Members consented that the Estates Commissioners should be under the general control of the Irish executive. It was assented to because they would thus be subject to review in Parliament. The tenants are likely to suffer severely from this policy—too hastily adopted. The truth will never be fully known as to the methods by which the Estates Commissioners, trying to carry out the policy of a great Act in the spirit in which it was passed, have been hampered and impeded by the Castle. In an evil moment Mr. Wyndham's grip of affairs appears to have become nerveless, and the Castle Gang triumphed. Probably a select Committee to enquire into the working of the Act when the present advisers of the King have gone to their own place will lay bare some of the secrets of the prison house, and reveal to an astonished public the puny players of this wretched game, by which it is sought to thwart the policy of the Act and to secure for Irish landlords a high and dangerous price for the land. Until that time comes the friends of good Government must be content to mark time. And in this respect the want of money to complete the sales may turn out to be a blessing in disguise.

But making every allowance for shortcomings, nothing can be surer than this—that the Act, properly administered by officials and sensibly treated by the people, has all the elements of a Final Settlement of Ireland's Agrarian Problem.

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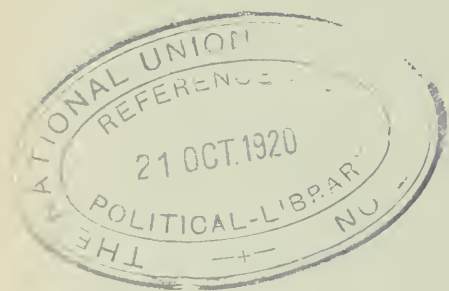
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SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I.

SIR HENRY COTTON, who contributes this paper on India, is an official of thirty-five years' standing, but he is none the less a bold advocate of a very unofficial conviction with regard to the future of India and her peoples. Instead of the present bureaucratic régime, he foresees a federation of free and separate states, each with its own local autonomy and independence, under the immediate supremacy of England, and on a fraternal footing with our great self-governing colonies.

Sir Henry Cotton does not preach the complete severance of the British connection with India; on the contrary, he considers that India is bound to England as England is bound to India, while at the same time he maintains that the present form of administration cannot be permanent. This point of view is ably set forth in his remarkable book, entitled *New India*, originally published twenty years ago, but of which a new and partially re-written edition was published last year by Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. It is worthy of mention that even the *Times* recommended this volume—so heterodox from the official standpoint—to all students of Indian politics.

Sir Henry Cotton's career in India was a most distinguished one. He has

occupied almost every post in the service which it was possible to hold, and during the last six years of his official life was Governor of a Province. The son and grandson of members of the Indian Civil Service, he was born in India in 1845. He was educated in England, partly at Oxford and partly in London; and throughout his official career his literary gifts constantly evoked the commendation of the Government, both in India and in England. As a young man he excelled in outdoor exercises, and in the early sixties, before he was eighteen years of age, he climbed Mont Blanc. In 1867 he went to India as a member of the Bengal Civil Service, and came quickly to the front.

As a public servant Sir Henry's work has been marked by a thoroughness, a mastery of details, and a grasp of principles rarely equalled, but, above all, by so generous and sympathetic a treatment of the people of the country that his name has become a household word among them. "What gives him a place all his own in the hearts of Indians," writes one of his personal friends, "is his consistent, fearless, and sincere interpretation of their innermost feelings and aspirations, at a time when the dictates of self-interest would have suggested silence."

Sir Henry's evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1887 is of particular interest. Of the 442 witnesses examined by the Commissioners almost all assumed the Covenanted Civil Service as the *sine quâ non* of the Indian polity, and the schemes propounded by them had all more or less reference to the re-modelling and recruiting of the service as necessitated by the altered conditions of the time. Sir Henry alone ventured to modify the central position and formulate a scheme of reconstructive policy. While not slow to accord praise to the able band of administrators belonging to the Covenanted Service, who have contributed so much towards the consolidation of the Empire, he held that so centralised a system of Government was already outworn in the more advanced provinces, and that the time had come for replacing it by some more suitable machinery. Sir Henry was among the foremost, if not the first, to advocate the extension of local self-government and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils. To maintain English supremacy in India intact, and at the same time to shape into another mould the favoured monopoly of the Civil Service, to utilise all that is wisest and most effective in English guidance, and yet to develop native powers of government, to reduce the cost of the administration, to promote sympathy between rulers and ruled, to bring justice to the doors of the poor, to kill the anomaly of the prosecutor-judge—these are the problems with which Sir Henry has busied himself with the attempt to solve.

As the author of *New India* and the advocate of the beneficent policy of Lord Ripon, Sir Henry could not be a *persona grata* to the Government of India, but he never failed to uphold

the honour and dignity of the great Service to which he belonged. In a speech made to the members of the Bengal Civil Service in 1894 he emphasised the need for adaptation to the new era that must come in India, and added, "It devolves upon us who represent the Government of the country to exercise the influence and power with which we are vested by bridging over the transition, so that the changes shall take place with the minimum of friction and disturbance. The difficulties with which we are confronted can only be overcome by foresight and a policy of sympathy, patience, and conciliation."

Throughout his career Sir Henry Cotton practised the sympathy he preached. He prided himself upon his accessibility as an official, regarding it as an elementary duty and the root of popular and successful administration. Among the many notable services rendered by him to the people of India, the one which, perhaps, stands out pre-eminently is his noble championship of the cause of the Indian labourers in the Assam tea gardens. His experience in the Province convinced him that the interests of the planters had, in too many cases, made them callous to the voice of reason and justice towards the workers on whom their success depended. He advocated improved conditions and increased wages. The immediate result was a terrific storm of vituperation levelled at the head of the "unpatriotic" Governor; but he stood firm. In his speech before the Viceroy's Council, when he advanced convincing arguments as to the position he had taken up, he said:—"I am not undertaking a pleasant or agreeable task. I am adding to the obloquy I have already incurred, but I am convinced of the

justice of the cause and the righteousness of the claim I have put forward on behalf of labour." Eventually the increase of wages was agreed upon, but only to take effect after the expiration of two years.

When Sir Henry left India a series of unparalleled demonstrations took place in his honour, not merely in Bengal and Assam, where he was well known, but in Bombay also, with which Presidency he had never been officially connected. Retirement, in his case, has not meant idleness. He is a constant writer and lecturer on behalf of India, and he is the authority to whom public opinion looks for an expression of expert knowledge when Indian affairs come to the front in this country. It will be remembered that he took up an uncompromisingly hostile attitude to the Tibet Mission, and more recently he has opposed the establishment in India of a military autocracy. In home politics Sir Henry is a staunch Liberal, and is at present

the Parliamentary candidate for East Nottingham in the Liberal interest.

In December last, at the unanimous call of the people of that country, Sir Henry re-visited India as the President of the Indian National Congress, an annual assembly which may be said to form the nearest approach to India's Parliament, and which was attended by twelve thousand persons from every part of the dependency. The spontaneous and extraordinary demonstrations of affection with which he was received, both in Bombay and in Calcutta, were only equalled by the enthusiasm shown towards Lord Ripon at the conclusion of that Viceroy's term of office. Nothing could better prove the power and influence of Sir Henry Cotton over the educated classes of India than the farewell words spoken by the Maharaja of Durbhunga:—"Sir Henry Cotton knows us, and we know him; there is a bond between us which neither time nor space can loosen or sever."

INDIA : A POLICY AND A PROSPECT.

By SIR HENRY COTTON.

IN a new Parliament we may be sure that Indian questions will push themselves to the front. The policy of Lord Curzon, whatever it may be in other directions, has been to give a stimulus to Indian agitation, of which more than an echo has been heard in this country. The people of India are looking forward to the appointment of a Liberal Secretary of State for India and of a Liberal Viceroy, under whom they expect to see not only the undoing of many of the mistakes committed during dark years of reaction, but also some definite advance in the work of reconstruction. They see before them a period of hope of which for so long they have been unable to catch a gleam. There has been a great uprising in that country. Great changes are taking place. There is a general revolt of discontent. We have witnessed the unparalleled spectacle of mass meetings of indignant protest at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Lahore. Lord Curzon is a man of exceptional ability and extraordinary industry and not incapable of great sympathy, and if only he could have sympathised with the aspirations and hopes of the Indian people, he might have made his Viceroyalty memorable in the annals of India. But he has failed in this matter. He sees from one standpoint, the Indian people from another. No Viceroy was ever so unpopular in India as Lord Curzon now is. The result of reaction is always to galvanise the elements of progress into fresh life. The revolution which has been wrought by English influences and civilisation in India will always constitute the most abiding monument of British rule. It is hundred-armed, and leaves no side of the national character untouched. But the Government is irresponsive; it remains the same, a monopoly of the ruling race; there is no diminution of suspicion, distrust, and dislike of the national movement. The aim and end of the new Imperial policy is to knit with closer bonds the power of the British Empire over India, to proclaim and establish that supremacy through ceremonies of pomp and pageantry, and by means of British capital to exploit the country in the economic interests of the British nation. The encouragement of Indian aspirations falls not within its ken. It would be strange indeed if the fire of a patriotic opposition were not kindled. A sense of political disabilities is the dominant note of discontent among the educated classes, and to this has been superadded the consciousness of the economic evil which the exploitation of the country by foreign capital and foreign agencies inflicts on it. Their anti-official

sentiment is due to their practical exclusion from participation in the higher official life of their country; the anti-commercial feeling is due to their practical exclusion from participation in the higher walks of industrial and commercial life. The burning embers are slowly rising into a flame. The great gulf which separates Englishmen from Indians is widening, and an increased bitterness of race feeling is now reflected by Indian as well as by English prejudice.

The Political Problem.

Lord Curzon lately declared that he could not conceive of a time as remotely possible in which it would be either practicable or desirable that Great Britain should take her hand from the Indian plough. That is the popular view, and I do not doubt that it voices the unreflecting opinion of the majority of Englishmen. But it is not my conception of India's future. It is not possible that the British tenure of India, as it is now held, can be of a permanent character. The administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation, produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never exist as a permanent state of things. The progress of education renders it impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection. The emancipation of India has become inevitable ever since a system of English education has been established and the principle of political equality accepted. The increasing influence of a free press, the substitution of legal for discretionary forms of procedure, the extension of railways and telegraphs, the easier communication with Europe, and the more ready influx of Western ideas and liberal principles have produced their effect. The power of public opinion is growing daily. The great upheaval which has revolutionised all departments of Indian thought, inspired the aspirations of diverse communities, and infused the sense of nationality through a vast and surging empire can only find its peaceful fulfilment in the wise recognition of changes inherent in the situation which the British Government itself has created. We have to deal with this new-born spirit of progress so as to direct it into the right course and to derive from it all the benefits of which its development is capable, and at the same time to prevent it becoming through blind indifference or repression a source of serious political danger. It is vain and worse than vain, it is the purest folly, fraught with danger to ourselves, to continue to rule on worn-out lines which are only suited to a slavish and ignorant population. India is rising again as a great power in Asia, and the action of her rulers should be devoted to facilitating her progress to freedom. Not in mere vague talk, but strenuously and of set purpose, it should be the principal object of the Indian Government to address itself to the peaceful reconstruction of native administrations in its own place.

An abrupt retreat from India would be advocated by no one; it would be to act like men who should kidnap a child, and then in a fit of repentance abandon him in a tiger jungle. The progress of reconstruction cannot be effected otherwise than by slow and gradual means, and many years must elapse before we

can expect the consummation of a reconstructive policy. But it is a policy which we should always keep before our eyes. Sooner or later India must again take her own rank among the nations of the East. That great country is not inhabited by a savage primitive people who have reared no indigenous system of industry or art, who are ignorant of their own interests, and who are incapable of advance in civilisation. They look back on their past with a just sense of pride, and under the influence of English education are stimulated with legitimate ambition. They are striving for the attainment of high ideals which, however they may be delayed or marred in execution, are sure in the event.

No Rupture with England.

There is, fortunately, little reason for apprehending the introduction of any anarchical element in India's future. There is no sign of any rupture with the past. The shadow of danger which casts itself over the future exists only in the attitude of Englishmen and in the policy of the British Government. It is not literally true that India is governed by the sword. If this were true it would mean that the people are continually in a position of antagonism to the Government, and that it is force alone that keeps them down. But whoever knows the facts knows that this is not so. The sword has no occasion to come into play, for there is no resistance. The leaders of the Indian national movement do not desire that the connection between India and England should be snapped. The English language, while it is the means of enabling the different populations of India to attain unity, binds them also to Great Britain. It is from England that all the ideas of Western thought which are revolutionising the country have sprung; the language of Shakespeare and Milton has become the common language of India; the future of India is linked with that of England, and it is to England that India must always look for guidance, assistance, and protection in her need.

India's Loyalty and Indian Aspirations.

The people of India do not like the British dominion, but they do not wish to see a change of masters. They know that the abolition of English dominion would be accompanied by incalculable disaster. There is not the faintest wish on the part of the educated classes of India to turn the British Government out of the country. They have the greatest dread of Russia. The dislike of Russia by educated Indians is probably far stronger than that felt by ordinary Englishmen, and if there is any Russian who dreams that India is looking forward to the day when Russia would take the place of England he is profoundly mistaken. The Indian people are loyal to England. When Lord Curzon returned to India the other day, he said to the people of Bombay who were receiving him: "I pray the Native community in India to believe in the good faith and high honour and in the upright purpose of my countrymen." The people of India do believe in the good faith, honour, and integrity of Englishmen. They are

grateful for the education with which they have been endowed ; grateful for the liberties they enjoy, and grateful for their immunity from foreign invasion. But this gratitude is tempered by a feeling that the pledges held out to them by her late Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, and by men in exalted positions, have not been fulfilled. Their faith has been shaken and a sense of disappointment, rapidly rising into bitterness, has been kindled amongst them. They are embittered at the contemptuous manner in which they are treated, and at the insolence with which their aspirations are spurned and set aside. Subordinate offices in any number have been made over to them, but there has been no practical recognition of the great growth of English education during the past fifty years, and comparatively little has been done to encourage them to take that part to which in the fulness of time they are entitled in the administration of the affairs of their own country. They claim that the Government should repose confidence in them, and not shrink from raising them to the highest posts. They demand real, not nominal equality, a voice in the government, and a career in the public service.

Political Education.

Lord Ripon, who was the most benevolent and popular Viceroy that India has ever seen, justly urged, on behalf of his scheme of local self-government, that it would be an instrument of political education. And it may be as truly said that if we desire eventually to establish an independent government, we can only do so by training the people to a sense of self-help and self-reliance. The period of Lord Ripon and of his Finance Minister, who is now Lord Cromer, is the Golden Age of Indian reformers when education was encouraged, liberty was fostered, and the foundations of Indian nationality were firmly laid. The natural trend of official opinion has been to assert itself in a reactionary outburst against this development, disparaging the vantage ground acquired in the past. We are told that the salvation of India is not to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, that there are many other fields of usefulness and power which lie around the citadel of politics, and that when these fields are occupied the entrance to real political life will be easy, natural, and safe. We read in the columns of the *Times*: "We must wearily retrace our steps and devote our energies to educating the Indians in character and common sense. Then, and not till then, can we put them out into the polytechnic of local self-government." We must wait "until generations and generations of really educated Indians have come and gone." We are told that the weakness and limitations of the newly-educated classes are now more clearly perceived, and that the complexities of the problems of Oriental politics are more distinctly realised. These are the vapourings of reaction. All this is but canting sentiment. How can we expect progress in the development of national character while we employ a comparatively feeble implement to improve, and at the same time apply a powerful engine to deteriorate? A system of government which deliberately excludes the people from power is more efficacious in depressing their character than all our laws and school books can be in elevating it. The growth of a nation is incompatible with its permanent dependence on foreign

rulers; and it is in proportion to the degree of confidence which we repose in the people, to the share which we give them in the administration of their own affairs, that we shall witness the development of their "character and common sense." British officials in India have a great and unexampled sphere of work before them. But, however great may be their energy and activity, it counts as dross if they lack the higher genius of training the people by making them work for themselves, of evoking their powers by affording them opportunities for their exercise, and of raising them from a condition of mere passive subjection to a capacity for the discharge of higher responsibilities. A nation is the best administered which can manage its own concerns with the least aid from Government, and no system of administration can be progressive or beneficial which does not foster the self-reliance of the people and encourage their aspirations to realise their destiny through their own exertions.

Autonomy.

Autonomy is the keynote of England's true relations with her great Colonies. It is more than this: it is the destiny of the world. The tendency of Empire in the civilised world is in the direction of compact autonomous states, which are federated together and attached by common motives to a central power. In the United States of America, with their vast and compact area and fairly homogeneous population, autonomy and assimilation have been happily combined. In the Old World, Continental States have settled themselves within narrower limits, and are less troubled than Great Britain with the complex problems of extended empire. But, generally speaking, they are compact powers linked together by common memories and associations and common objects. Local autonomy has been conceded where the difficulties of assimilation would otherwise have been insuperable in the face of local interests or of an irreconcilable national spirit. None are in a better position than Englishmen to appreciate the value of this principle in fostering national progress and material wealth. In our Canadian Dominion and in Australasia autonomy has long ago been granted to its full extent, and we have established a Federal Government in a Commonwealth of autonomous states. These Colonies have all the elements of great and growing nations. We have enjoyed in the amplest measure the reward of this policy in that union of hearts between Colonials and Englishmen which forms a far firmer guarantee of national prosperity than could ever be found in any scheme for representation in an Imperial Council, or in incorporation into one military and commercial empire. It is due to the sagacious prescience of our great Liberal Statesmen during a past generation that the Colonies were given that varied and supple constitution and practical independence which is the basis and condition of their friendly concert in the Imperial policy of the parent state. Freedom, so far from weakening the bonds between England and her Colonies, has cemented them, and we have only to look to the outburst of loyalty and affection of which we reaped the harvest during the South African War to know that our Liberal Statesmen were wise and right.

The Solution of the Problem.

The solution of the Indian problem is to be found in the adoption of this policy. There are already local legislatures in which a certain measure of representation has been granted to the Indian people. A small concession has been made in this direction, but it is wholly inadequate to meet growing demands. In the cautious and gradual development of representation, in the increased delegation of power and influence, involving the ultimate extension of autonomy, we shall find the appropriate and natural prize and legitimate goal for Indian aspirations. This is no unworthy aim to hold out to the rulers of India for attainment. It is our title to glory that we found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of subjection, and that we have so governed them as to make them desirous of the privileges of citizenship. "It may be," said Macaulay in the House of Commons more than seventy years ago, "it may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown our system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to arrest or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in England's history." The dawn of that day has now risen. The full development of autonomy is still far distant, but the beginnings have been laid and the paths have been made straight.

The Ideal of India's Future.

It was the dream of John Bright, and he indulged in no mere mystic prophecy when he foresaw that India would fulfil her fate by a process of evolution, out of which she would emerge, not through force or violence, as an independent State, or torn from the mother country, or abandoned to England's enemies, but as a federated portion of the dominions of the great British Empire. The destiny of India is to be placed on a fraternal footing with the Colonies of England. The ideal of the Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate states, the United States of India, corresponding with existing local areas and administrations and independent chiefships, each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the *egis* of Great Britain. This is a forecast of a future, the gradual realisation of which it is the privilege of Government to regulate, and the aim and hope of the Indian people to attain. It demands from the Indian Government a capacity for reconstruction and for guidance and sympathy during a period of transition. It calls for the qualities of statesmanship rather than of administrative ability. There is no country more easy to administer than India, where the people are so docile, so law-abiding, and so amenable to influence. It is easy to administer uprightly the affairs of a docile and subject people; it is easy with the power of British bayonets to coerce refractory rajahs, to annex provinces, and by despotic rule evolve order out of chaos. It is a sublimer function of Imperial dominion to unite the varying races into one empire, "broad based upon the people's will," to afford

scope to their patriotic tendencies, and to wait upon, foster, and protect the peaceful organisation of their political federation and autonomous independence as the ultimate basis of relationship between the two countries. This is the ideal of India's future. Statesmanship consists in foreseeing, and we are all of us the better for the exercise of forethought. It is well, therefore, to be familiar with a conception of India's future, which gathers as it grows, and insensibly attracts into the political situation all other problems of economic and social reforms which are awaiting solution.

The Economic Problem.

One word on India's economic problem. It is the poverty of her people. No one who considers the economic condition of India can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people are dependent upon the cultivation of the soil. The establishment of large industries capitalised by Englishmen affords but a poor compensation for the variety of indigenous industries once spread through the country. An India supplying England with its raw products and dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures is not a condition of affairs which Indian patriots can contemplate with equanimity. The spectacle of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon their country and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give them sustenance finds no favour in their eyes. Their opposition to the exploitation of their country by foreigners is based upon a conviction that this exploitation is a real obstacle to their progress. They are convinced that the prosperity of the country depends on the diminution of its economic drain and on the conservation of its resources for ultimate development by indigenous agency. I am glad to recognise the growing tendency of Indians to help themselves. There are satisfactory evidences of this tendency. The difficulties are immense, for the essential difficulty always hinges on the disagreeable truth that there can be no revival of Indian industry without some displacement of British industry. But the first steps have been taken and a start made by Indian capitalists. The beginnings are small, very small at present, but, like the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, they may grow and swell with a full promise of abundance.

The Problem of Western Influences on the East.

The force which has made Japan what she is is an absorbing patriotism derived from, and dependent on, her national existence. It is based on collective action, which independence alone can give. What an inspiration is afforded by the character of these Eastern islanders! What an example have they not set to the East of the power of a patriotic spirit! That example is not lost on India. Although the conditions there do not point to any early renaissance such as we have witnessed in Japan, the changes taking place are as remarkable in their social, moral, and religious relations as in their political

aspect. India is bereft of its independence. But a nascent nationalism is the magnet which holds together the solvent influences of Western civilisation, let loose in the simple society of the East. Under the immediate effect of these influences the old organisations are crumbling up. The result of English education has been to break the continuity of centuries, and India has entered upon a period of transition preparatory to the establishment of a new order. It is in matters of education more than any other that the people of the country are ripe for self-government. Systematic education is already falling into the hands of private enterprise. A policy which endeavours to knit together still tighter the bonds of official control is absolutely retrograde. It has been condemned by every section of Indian opinion, and though it may temporarily prevail, it will be as evanescent as it is unsound. It is only through the educated members of the Indian community that it is possible to guide the people at large so as to bridge over the period of disorder with the least disturbance. It is reserved for them to introduce modifications, with due regard to the antecedents which must always powerfully affect the environment in which they are placed. The problem of grafting Western ideas on to an Oriental stock can only be solved by Orientals who are thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of Western civilisation, and have at the same time not lost sight of the traditions of their past.

Reconstitution of the Civil Service.

I recur to political considerations. The keynote of administrative reform is the gradual substitution of Indian for European official agency. That is the one end towards which India is concentrating her efforts, and the concession of this demand is the only means of satisfying the most reasonable of her aspirations. To meet this end the complete reconstitution of the Indian Civil Service is necessary. It is surprising how little change there has been in the form of administration in India during the past century. The character of the Civil Service has been theoretically unchanged. It is a fine old service, of which I, of all men, have reason to speak with respect. It has enrolled within its ranks men of whom the mother country may well be proud. It is, however, a form of administration both bureaucratic and autocratic, and an organisation suited only to a government by foreigners. It has been perceptibly weakening from its inherent inapplicability to the altered conditions it has to face. It must pass away after a prolonged period of magnificent work, to be replaced by a more popular system, which shall perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects. The Government should now find expression in a form of administration more representative and less concentrated in individuals. The principles of administration for which we are indebted to Lord Ripon have paved the way for this reform, and centralisation is already giving way to local self-government. In the natural course of things administrative officers must be chosen more and more from the permanent residents of the locality. The injurious custom of constant transfers and changes will then cease. The interests of economy and efficiency will alike be served by the appointment of Indians on the spot, to

perform functions for which we now import foreigners from Europe and Indians brought from every other part of the province than that in which they are employed.

The Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions.

In the judicial branch of the service re-organisation is immediately required. The members of that service when very young and, in the case of Englishmen, very ignorant of the language, are vested with magisterial powers beyond comparison greater than those possessed by corresponding functionaries under any civilised government, and it would be strange indeed if they were not led into occasional errors and sometimes into abuse of power. It is the system that is to blame. There is no longer any reason why, over the greater part of India, important judicial functions should be discharged by persons, whether English or Indian, of immature years, and it is a crying reform in regard to the administration of justice (in all but backward tracts, where the patriarchal system must still prevail) that only those persons should be vested with judicial powers whose age, training, and experience afford a guarantee for the proper exercise of authority. Patience and discrimination, respect for the forms of law, rigid imperviousness to rumour and to outside report—these are some of the qualifications which are the essential attributes of the judicial office. There is no stage in the career of a civilian which affords him the opportunity for their acquisition. The whole training of an Indian civilian unfits him for judicial work. The remedy lies in the complete separation of the judicial from the executive service, and judicial appointments should be reserved, as they are in other countries, for members of the legal profession who are trained to undertake the duties attaching to them. In no other way would the separation be really complete, and by no other process of selection is it possible to secure the proper discharge of judicial functions.

Reform of the Legislative Councils.

The greatest of the administrative reforms which have been effected in India since Lord Ripon's time is the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis. The Indian Councils Act which was passed in 1892 has operated to the general satisfaction of the public and to the advantage of Government. But it was not a perfect measure, and it labours under defects which no amount of tactfulness or happy give-and-take on the part of Provincial Governors or elected members can obviate. It is necessary to increase the power of these councils, especially in regard to matters of finance. At present a budget is submitted to them for their information, and they are entitled to criticise it, but they have no power to control or vote against its provisions. Vast sums of money are annually spent on enterprises which exclusively affect the interests of the Indian people, but their representatives possess no check whatever over the outlay. That is the first reform needed. But it is necessary also to enlarge the Councils. We cannot pretend to give adequate representa-

tion to a Province containing many millions of inhabitants in a Council of only twenty members. It is expedient also to secure their stability and dignity by including in their constitution those noblemen whose position and status in the country demand recognition. We ought never to lose sight of the fact that India, in spite of all its changes, is an aristocratic and conservative country, and that any attempt to democratise Indian institutions is calculated to result in failure. The adoption of a scheme for enlarged Councils on a really representative basis would not only afford satisfaction to the educated classes of the community, but it would gratify and conciliate the nobility and provide for them a share in the responsibilities of administration commensurate to their rank.

Army Re-organisation.

In the presence of a Committee of Imperial Defence it may seem useless to speculate about the reduction of the British army in India. But with a proper re-organisation of the native army it should be possible to effect a material diminution in the number of troops required. There are only two ways of governing a conquered country; there is no safe standing point between absolute suppression and absolute equality. The last is the goal towards which we tend, and in military no less than in civil reconstruction it is necessary to identify the interest of individuals with the State. The native army is, however, now organised on a mercenary basis. It is more and more replenished by raw and ignorant recruits from the borders of our frontier or beyond it, and the martial spirit of our own Indian subjects is dying out. The Russians can get from the territories they have absorbed in Central Asia an Alikhanoff or a Loris Melikoff. We can only produce men who rise to the rank of Naik, Havildar, or Resildar, or to some other subordinate post, the name of which perplexes the English public. The Mogul emperors adopted heartily and completely the policy of trust; Akbar's greatest generals and most devoted adherents were sons of the very men his grandfather had conquered. The Rajput chivalry was the main bulwark of the Mogul throne. The British Government, on the contrary, has adopted a policy of suspicion; the officers of the native army are only non-commissioned old-soldiers, promoted from the ranks, who in virtue of their longer services draw larger pay and are permitted to sit down in the presence of an English subaltern. The first step towards re-organisation is to augment the power of the native officers and to afford some scope to their abilities and ambition. The conversion of a mercenary army into a national force is the logical complement of this step. The establishment of provincial army corps, with an *esprit* and traditions of their own, recruited from the common people, and officered by the gentry of the provinces in which they are to serve, would prove both a safeguard against internal disorder and a protection against attack from without. Just as the Rajputs and Musulmans under the Moguls formed separate armies with their national chiefs, and inspired by rivalry distinguished themselves by feats of valour which are still remembered, so the provincial armies of the future, animated by a similar emulation, would display equal valour and hardihood in fighting for a common cause.

The Bogey of Russian Invasion.

Mr. Balfour has rendered an inestimable service by his recent speech in the House of Commons on Imperial Defence. It marks an epoch in the history of Anglo-Indian militarism. It comes to this, that in the opinion of the Committee of Defence the invasion of India, "the bugbear of successive governments," is practically out of the question. The fear of Russian invasion is a strange hallucination, which has existed without intermission for nearly a century, and even now, when we have seen the annihilation of Russia's forces in Manchuria, the apprehension has not been altogether dispelled. But Mr. Balfour's speech has done much to place matters in a proper light. The truth is that the obstacles which nature has placed between the land of the Tsar and the Indian Dominions of the British Crown are insuperable, and that aggression on the part of Russia towards India would be as suicidal in her case as aggression on the part of England into Central Asia would infallibly result in the destruction of an army despatched thither. Mr. Balfour has not gone so far as to admit this, but he has pointed out that not only is the invasion of India no "part of a scheme of the Russian Government," but that "no surprise and no rush is possible in India," and that "India cannot be taken by assault." Transport and supply are a physical impossibility without railways, and the construction of railways across Afghanistan would be the labour of years. "The Afghans are not likely to welcome these railways in their passes"; that was another wise reminder; and the opponents of a forward policy have no reason to object to the declaration that if any attempt is made to build a railway, in connection with the Russian strategic railways, in the territory of Afghanistan, it ought to be considered an act of direct aggression upon England. "Railways in Afghanistan," Mr. Balfour hastened to add, "shall only be made in time of war"; and though the point was not raised in the debate, it follows from this that England in her turn must refrain from railway interference. No one will welcome the enunciation of this policy with more cordiality than the people of India. None will pray more fervently that it may never be repudiated. Their minds are not agitated by the conflict of opinion, which looms so largely in the public eye, between Lord Kitchener and the military advisers of the Viceroy. A plague on both your houses is the Indian commentary on this dispute, for, whichever view may triumph, while their rulers are engaged in controversy, it is the people who have to pay. It is against a militant and aggressive policy in all its aspects that they unreservedly protest—against pyrotechnics in Tibet, in Beluchistan, on the Persian Gulf, and generally beyond the frontier, which have contributed so greatly to the increase in military expenditure. They will rejoice at the Prime Minister's discouragement of Imperialism in Asia. It is true that he was considering the matter from the British point of view. But the adoption of his conclusions cannot fail to have an important bearing upon taxation and expenditure in India. It must logically lead to a reduction of expenditure upon the North-West frontier, where enormous sums of money have been poured out like water during the past twenty-five years. A nail has been driven into the coffin of the forward frontier policy. And all who are concerned with peace, retrenchment and reform in India, will recall the extravagance and suffering which that policy has involved.

England's Attitude towards India.

I conclude these remarks with a few observations on the attitude of Englishmen towards India. It is a common complaint that the politics of India find no place in the life and interests of Englishmen. Nothing short of a great famine or a great Durbar, a great earthquake or a terrific pestilence, a victory or a defeat, will attract attention to our vast dependency. It is perhaps inevitable that it should be so. But England's Empire is India, before which even our great Colonies pale into comparative insignificance. Our responsibilities to India are unique in their wide-reaching influence and operation. It is with Englishmen that the great questions on which the fate of India depends must ultimately be decided. It is our privilege to assist and determine action and to formulate policy. I do not deny that English opinion may be profitably exercised on particular subjects, but it is of greater importance that it should be directed to moulding general principles. I have deliberately confined myself in this paper to the discussion of general principles, avoiding detail as much as possible because details are unsuited to the reader to whom these remarks are addressed. A new Parliament will be confronted with such questions as the institution of a Parliamentary enquiry into the affairs of India, on the same lines as those enquiries which were formerly held every twenty years on occasion of the renewal of the old Company's Charter. These enquiries marked epochs in the march of progress. A new Parliament will be confronted with a proposal to bring the salary of the Secretary of State for India upon the estimates. This necessary reform will tend both to facilitate discussion and to fix responsibility. There are many other questions which will be brought before the House. I look forward to the representation in Parliament of men who are not only possessed of an adequate knowledge of Indian affairs, but are also imbued with a hearty sympathy for the grievances and aspirations of the Indian people. India owes a deep debt of gratitude to those honourable members who are always willing to press Indian questions upon the House; but I need not say that the number of men in the present House of Commons who combine this knowledge and sympathy may be counted on the fingers of one hand. We want more members for India. We want to hear more of India in the House of Commons. We want members of the House who will devote themselves to India as an integral and vital part of the British dominions, as a portion of the Empire which is not directly represented, and calls therefore for special attention. But it will not be profitable for the members of a new Parliament to absorb their energies on the details of Indian administration. I remember the words of Mr. Gladstone when he spoke in the House of Commons¹ of the relations between Parliament and the Indian Government. He said:

“It is not our business to advise what machinery the Government of India should use. It is our business to give to those representing Her Majesty's Government in India ample information as to what we believe to be sound principles of Government. It is also the duty and function of this House to

¹ Debate on the Indian Councils Bill, June, 1892.

comment upon any case in which we think the authorities in India have failed to give due effect to these principles; but in the discharge of their high administrative functions, or as to their choice of means, there is no doubt that that should be left in their hands."

Those words were wise. They do not imply any abnegation of the responsibilities of Parliament for the good Government of India, and there is little echo in them of the pitiful appeal of the official bureaucracy to preserve India from Parliamentary interference. But they are a timely reminder that the function of Parliament is not to make any attempt to extend its direct rule to India, and that the details of administration must be left to the local authorities, upon whom must rest the personal responsibility of giving effect to the general principles which are laid down for their guidance. For them there is good and noble work remaining to be done. The difficulties accompanying the present period of transition can only be overcome by the cordial co-operation of local officials during the crisis. By the exercise of personal influence, which in virtue of their position is almost indescribably great, by the force of a strong example of tolerance, courtesy, and good-will, they have it in their power to do much to temper prestige and pride, and to establish a more kindly relationship with their fellow subjects. The duties of the people of England lie in a different direction. Busied with the affairs of our own country it is not possible for us to familiarise ourselves with Indian detail. Our interests are nearer home. But our responsibilities remain. A spirit of indifferentism is not less dangerous than the spirit of the new Imperialism. A policy of neglect is one of the greatest calamities that could befall India. The duty of Englishmen is to make themselves acquainted far more nearly than they do at present with the current events and history of India—so much, indeed, is easy—but, above all, on the basis of such acquaintance, to form convictions on the general policy which should guide the Government, and to labour in the creation of a popular opinion which shall share those convictions, and stimulate and strengthen the authorities in putting them into practice.

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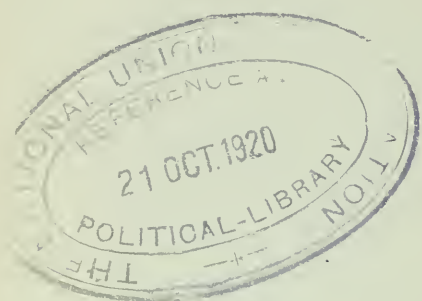
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He unites two of the qualifications for high office in being born a Scot and educated at Balliol. He is the second son of the late Sir J. J. Reid, of Mouswald Place, Dumfriesshire. His mother also was Scotch. He was born April 3rd, 1846, so that he is now in his sixty-first year. He was educated at Cheltenham College, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1869. He was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple in 1871, took silk in 1882, and became a Bencher in 1890.

He first entered the House as Member for Hereford, which he represented from April, 1880, to November, 1885. He was defeated when he stood for Dumbartonshire in 1885, but in the following year he was returned for Dumfries district, a seat which he has held ever since.

In May, 1894, he was appointed Solicitor-General, and in October of the same year he was promoted to the Attorney-Generalship, which he held till the Liberals left office.

He was knighted in 1884, and received the G.C.M.G. in 1899.

Sir Robert Reid was one of the British arbitrators in the International Arbitration at Paris on the boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana.

During the war in South Africa Sir Robert Reid was a staunch opponent of the whole iniquitous business. If he had been on the South African Committee the war would never have taken place.

His residence is Kingdown, Dover; his chambers are at 1, Temple Gardens, E.C., and his clubs are Brooks's and the National Liberal.

This is not the place to attempt any general survey of the political opinions of Sir Robert Reid. He is notable as having been able always to combine the most uncompromising assertions of stalwart opinions with the maintenance of excellent personal relations with every one. He is not "all things to all men" by any means. But his strongest opponents vie with his staunchest friends in the sincerity and fervour of their expressions of personal respect. Of this the latest instance was afforded in his selection by his own side as the mover of the vote of censure on the South African Stores policy of the Government, and by the cordial tribute paid to him on that occasion by Mr. Balfour as the leader of the House and chief of the impugned Ministry.

Perhaps the most emphatic utterance that ever fell from his lips was

his famous impeachment of the Hush-up Committee. He denounced the conduct of that Committee as a scandal, dishonouring to the House of Commons and to the country. "Never before," said Mr. Brodrick, in reply, "had he heard a member dare to tell the House that the proceedings of its own Committee were dishonouring to the House." Sir Robert Reid, nothing abashed, declared, after the war had broken out, that "it was the duty of the House to take up the broken thread of that inquiry, and to pursue that inquiry to its ultimate conclusion."

During the war it was he who was the stoutest champion of the rights of free speech at a time when Mr. Balfour was excusing and condoning the brutal violence of Jingo mobs.

These, it may be said, are bygone issues. These, it may be replied, are the crucial tests which circumstances apply to enable us to ascertain the moral and intellectual value of statesmen.

If we turn to the future, we find that Sir Robert Reid sounds the same stalwart note. "The true Little Englanders," he declared last year, "were those who wasted the resources of the country needlessly; who break up, or try to break up, the industry and commerce of the nation in defiance of experience, and who by so doing reduce our strength and weaken us in the counsels of Europe."

The important questions before the next Parliament, he asserted, were:—

(1) Strong temperance reform, giving the people complete power to

say how many licences there should be in each district.

(2) A drastic measure of housing reform, the cost of which he would meet by taxing land values.

(3) A radical amendment of the Education Act, giving the people complete control over their own schools.

But more important than all else was, in his eyes, the re-establishment of the efficiency of Parliament. At present the House of Commons was the most inefficient institution in the country. The House had broken down because it was completely overloaded with work. There was not a business in the country that would not be in the Bankruptcy Court if its affairs were conducted like those of the British House of Commons. When asked how he would improve matters, he replied, the country must insist upon relieving the House of Commons of some of its work. We should keep absolutely unimpaired the supreme authority of Parliament; but should devolve upon the largest possible scale to all parts of the United Kingdom that business which the House of Commons was now fruitlessly asked to discharge. His hearers would say that this was Home Rule all round. So it was, and it was the only way in which the business belonging to this part of the country could be got through, and the only way in which the frightful Irish question could be settled. Parliament would then have time to deal with great Imperial questions.

When it comes to deal with such questions, the country will find no more sagacious and courageous adviser than Sir Robert Reid.

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EMPIRE.

It is not surprising that the complacent satisfaction with which we used to regard the immense extent and wonderful progress of the British dominions should of late years have been somewhat overcast by anxiety. The conditions have been essentially altered. In the old days foreign Powers had ceased to envy, or if they envied they had ceased to covet, our possessions. An occasional alarm lest Russia might invade India could be assuaged by pointing out on a large map the impossibility of such an enterprise. No foreign Power, except France, then owned or seemed to desire a great navy, and we could deal with one rival. Colonization beyond the seas had not, as yet, attracted the slightest interest among the other great Powers of Europe or America. And the art of war still remained in a comparatively primitive state, without the terrible weapons of precision which seem to place nations at the mercy of chemists and mechanics even more than of soldiers and sailors.

I.—What has happened since 1871.

SINCE the last great European war ended, in 1871, four out of the five great Continental Powers have pushed, with much energy, a policy of colonial expansion. It is unnecessary to speculate on their motives, for which certainly they have not to account to us, or to criticize their wisdom. Italy has now withdrawn from the race after dreadful experiences in Abyssinia. France, besides securing herself in Algiers, has acquired territory in Cochin China, Siam, Tunis, West Africa, and Madagascar, and now is supposed to have aims in Morocco. Hitherto she has escaped serious reverses. Germany, who in the whole course of her previous history had kept aloof from colonial adventure, has entered upon it with unflagging energy. She has obtained great territories both in the East and West of Africa, together with some islands in the Pacific, a district in China, and a part of New Guinea. Germany has already learned in the Herrero war that the control of savage tribes is sometimes a bloody and costly business, and cannot fail to realize by this time the seriousness of her position in China. But what other nations have risked or suffered is not to be named beside the humiliation which has befallen Russia. For generations that huge impenetrable Power has been creeping across Central Asia, absorbing this tribe or that, and slowly adding to her already vast territories. Recently the government of the Czar accelerated the movement and extended its scope. The result has been to reveal the existence of an Eastern Power unsurpassed in courage, foresight, and military skill. The modern superiority of Europeans,

till lately so constant as to resemble an ordinance of nature, does not date back much beyond 200 years, and was established solely by better organization and more scientific weapons. Science has now crossed the Pacific.

While other nations have been busy with schemes of territorial aggrandisement, a marked change has been going forward in the foreign and colonial policy of Great Britain also. Expansion is no new thing with us; but from the time of Mr. Disraeli's accession to power in 1874 our expansion has been more systematic, more deliberate, and in the process we have been more embroiled with other civilized Powers. In 1876 we espoused the cause of Turkey in her quarrel with Russia, and came to the brink of war, notwithstanding the conviction expressed by Lord Salisbury that in the Crimean war we had put our money on the wrong horse. In the course of that controversy, Cyprus became a British possession. In 1877 we seized the Transvaal in time of profound peace, an act which has been the source of numberless difficulties. We stretched our arms into Afghanistan in 1878, despising former experience, and have ever since been eager to recover the Ameer's friendship. When Mr. Gladstone returned to office in 1880 he intended to quell the spirit which had led to these new departures, and the country meant that he should do so. But that element in the official Liberal party which has favoured what is called a spirited foreign policy hindered his efforts to undo what had been done, and even drove him to fresh enterprises. The Transvaal Boers, disappointed of the freedom they had been led to expect, rose in rebellion. They obtained what they sought, for a time. Then came the invasion of Egypt in 1882, the expeditions to Khartoum and coast of the Red Sea in 1884-5, with the tragedy of Gordon's death and the ultimate evacuation of the Soudan. In 1885 we again came near to war with Russia, on false information, and upon that, perhaps partly because of that, fell the last Liberal Government that has been in real power. It became then evident that the forces favourable to peace and non-intervention had been overwhelmed.

Imperialism, or a spirited policy, or whatever you please to call it, gained the ascendant twenty years ago. Thenceforward it has proceeded with unabated vigour to its natural catastrophe. Lord Salisbury did make some effort to check it. He even wished to quit Egypt in 1887. It was too late. Mr. Gladstone protested against the growth of military and naval expenditure. He was overruled. We have since then been near a quarrel with the United States about Venezuela, with France about Fashoda, with Germany about nothing in particular. On each occasion the danger was inflamed by the violence of the Press. We have had wars and expeditions to satiety; fourteen of them, great or small, between 1895 and 1904. One Christmas, ten years ago, we heard with amazement of the Jameson Raid, and were told to hail its authors as heroes and Empire builders. At last, after being, as Mr. Chamberlain told us, four times on the verge of war with the Boers in the short space of five years (without knowing it), we came to blows. That at least we know, and are still living in the shadow of it.

It would be unjust to lay all these alarms and excursions at the door of our own Government. Some of them were certainly unavoidable. To others the unreasonable action of foreign nations or tribes at least largely contributed. There remains, however, a residue which might and ought to have been averted in the larger interests of this country, but the nation was in a fighting mood, and was led to expect both honour and profit in "pegging out claims for posterity." The rivalry of other Powers rendered all protest ineffectual. We have been successful in that rivalry if victory is to be measured by the extent of territorial acquisitions. Between 1880 and 1905, not far from four million square miles (according to the rough estimate alone possible in unexplored and savage tracts) have been added to the British dominions. Before that, the British Empire consisted of about eight million square miles, so that nearly one-third of its present area has been added in the short space of twenty-five years. Everyone has been snapping up unconsidered territories, and we have snapped up more than anyone else.

II.—How do these changes affect us ?

WHAT concerns us at present is the degree and manner in which these events have already affected and may hereafter affect the great problem of maintaining the British Empire. Our own expansion and that of others in the last twenty-five years has brought us into contact with nations from whose frontiers we had previously been remote, or into contact at far more points with nations already coterminous. It has also brought us nearer to once distant neighbours, and multiplied by many fold the possibility of quarrel. Contiguity on the outskirts of civilization is apt to mean dispute and jealousy, even collision. That is the first consequence affecting Great Britain of Europe's expansive fever. Our danger zone has been enlarged. Another consequence—we have enormously added to our expenditure in the time of peace. Instead of one, there are now four Naval Powers to confront us on the Continent—Germany, Russia, and Italy, as well as France. Outside of Europe, America and Japan have also entered the lists. Now, Captain Mahan, whose admonitions have done much to multiply the World's Navies, may have exaggerated their influence on warfare ; but neither he nor anyone else could exaggerate the danger to this country if we should be overpowered at sea. Accordingly, the growth of Naval armaments elsewhere has been accompanied by an enormous increase on our part also. Whether we began and they followed, or they began and we followed, is a profitless inquiry. Any addition to Naval strength by one Power has been, and we may be sure will be, followed by similar efforts on the part of other Powers as far as their resources admit, unless some method can be found of checking the ruinous rivalry. For ruinous it certainly is. During the four years 1900-3 inclusive, the last for which we have official particulars, the principal spendthrifts, viz., Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and America, have between them spent upwards of 332 millions sterling on Naval armaments, or at the rate of

83 millions a year. Of this total Great Britain is accountable for almost 140 millions, or an average of 35 millions a year. These figures are taken from the Return of 16th of July, 1904. Mr. Bowles makes them even greater. Ten years earlier our annual Naval expenditure is stated, both by Mr. Bowles and by Sir H. Fowler's Return, at a little above 15 millions. It has been the same with the Army. In this case Mr. Bowles' figures for 1893 and 1903 show Army expenditure for the former year at $21\frac{1}{2}$ millions, for the latter year $46\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Sir H. Fowler's Return shows corresponding figures of 18 millions, and $30\frac{1}{3}$ millions. How such a discrepancy can possibly arise may well excite amazement among those unacquainted with the manner in which Parliamentary Accounts are handled in these days. The Fowler Return is far below the truth, but let us take it. Even so it will be seen how heavy has been the increase.

Unfortunately, this is not all. The South African War cost sums which have been variously stated. Let us take the figures supplied to the Colonial Conference in 1902, viz., 223 millions, though that is much below the actual cost if consequential outlay is included. Somaliland and the China expedition cost about ten millions more. This heavy total added to the vastly increased annual estimates will enable us to measure, in some degree, the strain that has been placed upon our resources since we, in company with other Europeans, embarked anew upon a course of Colonial expansion. We find ourselves with a greater Empire in point of size, but with greater dangers to meet, and with financial embarrassments which have already become serious.

The financial embarrassment arising from these causes is acknowledged on all hands. The National credit has been impaired since 1899 by about 18 or 20 per cent., and all other securities have drooped in sympathy with Consols. We have come to an epoch of high taxation which has stunted enterprise, and has been felt seriously by all classes, and with exceptional severity by the poorest. Now this strain has come at a peculiarly unfortunate time. For some years there has been going forward by committees and commissions, and by the effort of voluntary explorers, a kind of microscopic examination into the conditions of our social and industrial life. Very painful revelations have been published of the conditions under which many of our countrymen live, the extreme poverty of some, their want of mere necessities of life, the terrible state of housing, the depletion of country districts, the growth of unemployment, the privation of school children, the helpless indigence of the old. We have seen growing up in the last few years among the working classes, and largely among the younger generation of all classes, a demand that, so far as laws can reach these evils, these evils shall cease. Excellent. But the chief difficulty is the money difficulty, as evidently appears from the suggested remedies. Labour colonies, re-housing, garden cities, afforestation, creation of small holdings, feeding of hungry school children, pensions or cottage homes for the aged poor—all these things mean money. Suppose that some of these projects are chimerical.

Others certainly are not; and all mean money. A generation has grown up which will not endure, as they ought not to endure, what their fathers suffered, and remedies are postponed because we cannot afford them.

Let me ask this question, as one who sincerely desires to see the British Empire maintained for all time, of those who are likeminded. Is it likely that the majority of Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen at home will remain enthusiastic in this cause if they are called upon to make sacrifices which entail continued suffering and disease and penury for millions of men, women, and children? Or, if the present scale of national outlay is to be maintained and the burden of it be shifted, supposing that to be possible, will the middle classes, fewer in number, and not themselves free from care, bear the crushing weight with equanimity? Again, is it not true that an overflowing exchequer is one among the sources of strength which a possible enemy would well consider before he embarked upon war? It does not signify from what point you choose to look at it. It is essential to the maintenance of the British Empire that the United Kingdom, which is the heart of it, shall not be crippled by a continuance of the excessive financial strain which has been of late so enormously increased.

III.—The Financial Burden of Empire.

THESE considerations have disposed the public to look a little more closely into things that formerly passed almost without notice. All our wars, great and small, with very few exceptions, during the last ninety years, since the fall of Napoleon, have been undertaken in the interests of our Colonies or dependencies, and, save in the case of India, the cost of all these wars have been almost entirely borne by the United Kingdom. Many have been in India or on its borders, many in Africa, North, South, East and West, two or three in China. Indeed, an enumeration of our wars with map annexed would make a respectable atlas. There has been the frontier expedition to subdue savage tribes on the fringe of civilization, the expedition to forestall some other Power suspected of designs upon territory in our vicinity, the punitive expedition to avenge border crimes, and the regular Colonial war (like that of 1899-1902) to settle, at our expense, quarrels between sections of our countrymen, or between them and their neighbours. Fortunately, there have been few of this last type. It is difficult to find one, great or small, upon which we should have entered but for Colonial or Indian considerations. Perhaps the Crimean war may by some be thought to be on a different footing, but our attitude towards Russia on that occasion was really determined by regard for the security of India. The Battle of Navarino was the outcome of purely European policy, and the Abyssinian war perhaps arose from what may be termed an accident. All the rest had their origin in the interests of some possession of the Crown beyond Europe. And as of

the past, so of the present. Every difference or conflict of policy which may bring us into antagonism with other countries at the present moment relates to some possession outside the United Kingdom. Yet, if war should come, the cost of it would fall now, as always, upon the British tax-payer, unless, indeed, it be an Indian war.

The same thing is true of ordinary estimates. Our annual expenditure for naval and military purposes is, in a great degree, incurred by reason of our duties and obligations to the Colonies throughout the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain told the Colonial Premiers in 1902 that "if the United Kingdom stood alone, as a mere speck in the Northern sea, it is certain that its expenditure for these purposes of defence might be immensely curtailed." Obviously the Navy protects every part of the Empire, and the commerce of all the Colonies as well as our own. Now, about one-fourth of the seaborne commerce of the Empire is not directly connected with the United Kingdom, but wholly appertains to the British Dominions beyond the seas, and of the remainder nearly one-fourth concerns them as well as us. Of course, the strength of the Navy is proportioned to the work it has to do. It is equally obvious that the Army is maintained in great measure for ultra marine purposes. Indeed, the Prime Minister stated in May that this country would be absolutely secure from any serious invasion even if the fleet were decoyed for a week from our shores, and our Regulars, excepting 17,000 men, were on service abroad at the same time. If this, or anything like this, be the case, then it must be true that the regular Army is maintained not principally for the defence of these shores, but for the defence of India and other portions of the Empire. India pays her share, but we have to pay for practically everything else. Suppose that the Army and Navy, with their accessory works, cost us 84 millions a year, including everything, which is Mr. Bowles' estimate, then every person, young or old, in this country on an average pays £2 per head. The Crown Colonies contribute nothing, or nothing worth speaking of, to either service. The self-governing Colonies contribute nothing to our Army, though they maintain small irregular forces of their own, and £328,000 to the Navy, or about sevenpence per head. This is not stated here as a matter of complaint. We have no right to reproach our Sister States for the policy they think fit to pursue. It is stated simply to show that practically the entire cost of the Navy, and what may be called the Central Army, is borne by the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is the arsenal, and the recruiting ground, and the bank to supply the engines of war, the men, and the money. The necessity for these great standing armaments is to a large extent the necessity of the Empire, not of the United Kingdom, and their use for warlike purposes arises nearly always from causes not connected with any direct interests of these islands.

And the burden has now become so heavy that, in the opinion even of men prepossessed toward a sanguine view, it cannot be continued. Mr. Chamberlain, in 1902, spoke of it as "a state of things which cannot be permanent"; yet it is worse to-day than it was then. Sir Michael Hicks-

Beach's statement in introducing a deputation to the Prime Minister on Dec. 10th, 1904, is so explicit on this subject, and his authority so high, that it is better to give his actual words: "Now, Mr. Balfour, I, as you know, have had charge of the finances of the United Kingdom for a considerable term of years. I wish to state to-day that it is my deliberate conviction, looking at the enormous efforts now being made in all parts of the world by Great Powers in increasing their Naval strength, that without recourse to a system of borrowing for current expenditure, which to my mind would be contrary to all sound finance—which would be deeply injurious to the credit of this country, and which would deprive us of the resources necessary for carrying out any great war—without such recourses it will soon be impossible for tax-payers of the United Kingdom to continue to bear alone this vast and ever-increasing burden of the Naval defence of the Empire."

Sir Michael was speaking only of the Navy. There is the Army also to consider, and the contingency of war. What should be brought home, above all things, to the minds of those who are anxious for the maintenance of the Empire is this question of the burden upon the United Kingdom. Nothing is easier than to excite the imagination by pointing to the diversity of the British Empire, its magnitude, its strange past and illimitable future, as if a thing so wonderful could stand for ever by its own weight. Chant pæans, if you please, at the greatness of the superstructure, but do not omit sometimes also to examine the foundations and see if they can be strengthened. It is unsafe to go on as we are. We have already an enormous National Debt, and if we continue to spend so much on wars and on armaments as we have spent during the last ten years, it seems certain that one day there will be a reaction which may imperil the Empire itself. What methods can be adopted to reduce the strain?

IV.—Can this Burden be Shared?

ONE method, that of Colonial Preferences, with or without a scheme of concerted duties on foreign imports all over the Empire, to provide a fund for common defence, has been urged by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends. The argument on either side is a very long one, far too long to be discussed here. Suffice it to say that this paper is written from the point of view that Mr. Chamberlain's project is impossible of attainment, and would be disastrous if attained. It is not by financial legerdemain or by protective duties that an escape from the difficulty can be found.

Another thought naturally suggests itself, that the burden should be shared, according to their ability and the benefit they derive, by other portions of the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain deserves credit for having openly made this demand. In the Colonial Conference of 1902 he spoke very plainly. He said, among other things, that it was inconsistent with the position of the self-governing Colonies, inconsistent with their dignity as nations, that they should leave the mother country to bear the whole, or almost the whole, of

the expense, and he declared that the existing state of things could not be permanent, and that the sacrifice now made by the United Kingdom was inordinate.

Now, so far as the Crown Colonies are concerned, they probably cannot afford to make any substantial contribution, though they might place their own defences upon a better footing. And the same is true of India. Undoubtedly the self-governing Colonies could make a greater contribution if they thought proper, but the response to Mr. Chamberlain's appeal in 1902 has been a very slight addition to the trifling sums they previously contributed, and there are no signs of anything more.

It would have been better if the Blue Book of 1902 had recorded not merely Mr. Chamberlain's appeal, but also the answers made to it by the several Colonies. We do not possess any authoritative statement of the reasons for their decision. Possibly some of them may have been actuated by an apprehension that if they made a common purse with the United Kingdom for defensive purposes they might find themselves committed to share in the policy of expansion pursued by this country during the last twenty-five years. Some, at least, of the Colonies do not appear to sympathize with this policy. But their main ground of refusal seems to be that the direction of Imperial Policy is entirely in the hands of the Home Government, and they do not feel disposed to remit large sums of money to England for the purpose of upholding armaments which may be used without any control on their part. There is force in this contention, though many may not think it justifies the practical conclusion.

Suggestions have been made of some constitutional change, which should enable the self-governing Colonies to take part in the direction of British Policy all over the world. The duty of contributing on an adequate scale would necessarily follow. Nevertheless, no proposals have hitherto been made which have the least likelihood of success. Twenty years ago much was heard of Imperial Federation, but closer examination has proved that, for the present at all events, it is not possible. Imperial Federation imports the setting up of some legislative authority which shall pass laws to govern the whole Empire, and shall include representatives of the whole Empire. In theory, Parliament at Westminster can now pass such laws, but it never does so, or pretends to do so in the case of the self-governing Colonies, except by the wish of those Colonies themselves, and as a convenient method of giving technical effect to their desires. If anything different be contemplated, it can only be carried out by the practical surrender to a new legislative body of some powers already enjoyed, as regards Great Britain by the British Parliament, and as regards the Colonies by the Colonial Parliaments. Each self-governing community in the British Empire would have to be shorn of some among its self-governing powers, and submit to the decision of an assembly in which it would have a very small representation. This would be a very serious change, and might easily produce excessive friction. Whether the different parts of the British Empire will

at some future time be so welded together by absolute unity of interests as to admit of such an experiment time alone can show. At present the Colonies would not accept any such proposal, even if we were ready to consent. Sir Wilfred Laurier has explicitly stated that Canada would not on any account give up any part of its own independence, and no one who is acquainted with the facts can suppose that either Australasia or South Africa would take a different view.

Another less ambitious project has been ventilated of late, rather in the form of a sketch than a complete design. It is suggested that an Imperial Council should be formed, consisting of Privy Councillors representing all parts, or, it may be, selected parts, of the British Empire, who should be consulted upon important questions of Imperial Policy, with power to advise but not to control executive action. There could be no objection to any systematic method of obtaining the opinions of our countrymen beyond the sea upon questions of policy affecting them. It does not, however, appear that for this purpose it is necessary to set up a Council in London. Ample machinery exists already, through the Colonial Office, for obtaining the advice of Colonial Governments upon any subject. Advice obtained direct from the Colonies is more likely to represent with accuracy the Colonial point of view, and there is some danger that resident representatives in this country would be less in touch with Colonial opinion. At all events, it would be necessary for them to act upon the direction of their respective Governments, and thus the projected change would mean no more than that, instead of Colonial advice being obtained through the Colonial Office, it would be obtained through an accredited representative in London. If the Colonies should prefer this method, or think that it would facilitate a more systematic communication between themselves and the executive Government in Great Britain, there cannot be any objection to the project. But we can hardly suppose that the objections felt in the self-governing Colonies to bearing their full share of Imperial defence would be removed by a mere change in the channel of communication without an increase of actual power. And, indeed, so far as is known, the proposals in question have not emanated from the Colonies, who have never asked for any constitutional change, but are the outcome of patriotic aspirations at home.

The truth is, and we had better face it, that we cannot expect any considerable increase in Colonial contributions. We shall have to pay for our Army and Navy; we shall have still to bear the cost of wars out of our own purse. And it is our business, as practical men, upon our own judgment to prescribe the scale and regulate policy upon that footing. We are therefore driven to take stock of our responsibilities and to consider whether they cannot be discharged without a continuance of the excessive expenditure under which the country is now suffering. Hitherto the armaments of the United Kingdom have been based upon certain views, which, though not absolutely constant, have nevertheless been adhered to in the main.

V.—Can it be Reduced ?

IT has been assumed that we require a Regular Army in numbers to provide, in the time of peace, a force of about 75,000 British troops in India, adequate garrisons for the Crown and other Colonies, and enough troops at home to replenish the battalions abroad, and in addition to furnish a "striking force" of about 70,000 men always ready for use in whatever part of the world they might be needed. There has been no change for a long time in the numbers maintained in India. Colonial garrisons, on the other hand, have been largely increased within the last ten or twelve years. Ten years ago 37,000 men sufficed. Two years ago the number rose to 72,000 men, chiefly owing to the necessity of keeping a large garrison in South Africa. To-day the figure is 61,000 men, if we are to credit the estimates. Also there has been a great increase in the number of troops in the United Kingdom. Ten years ago they were 116,000; now we have 156,000, or, at least, we are expected to pay for that number. These figures relate exclusively to Regulars. Behind them are the Reserves and the Auxiliary Forces of all kinds, which need not be discussed here, because, though not wholly inexpensive, their cost is small in comparison with that of the Regulars. So much for the Army in time of peace. Mr. Balfour indicated in his May speech that in the event of a war with Russia we should have to furnish from 80,000 to 100,000 Regulars for service in India every year the war lasted. He did not indicate how the men were to be found, but it is reasonable to infer that in his opinion the peace establishment ought to be maintained on such a footing that this additional demand could be met. It is a formidable addition to the demands on the Army as heretofore understood.

In regard to the Navy the principle professedly adopted has been that of the Two-Power standard, or, in other words, that we should be strong enough to encounter any two Naval Powers with a practical certainty of success. In fact, our armaments have been for a good many years past largely in excess of that standard, and it must be admitted that with the rise of powerful navies all over the world it would be impossible under all circumstances to abide by any hard and fast rule. One point, however, deserves notice. It has been assumed, in preparing the Naval Estimates, that not only must the Navy be strong enough to defeat hostile fleets, but also that it must be equal to the task of keeping open the routes of commerce, which means that it must be able to dominate the sea all over the world. Obviously this is an enormous undertaking, and must of necessity involve an enormous expenditure.

Such, then, are the efforts we are called upon to make, judged by the conduct and statements of Ministers. We must keep nearly 140,000 Regular troops beyond the seas, about half of them at our own expense, and keep 156,000 in the United Kingdom wholly at our own expense, so as to be ready to furnish a striking force of 70,000 whenever needed, and to supply at least 80,000 every year to India in the event of a Russian war. Also we

must maintain a Navy, almost entirely at our own expense, strong enough to defeat any two or even any three other navies, and to police the seas so as to protect ourselves, our Colonies and dependencies, and our and their commerce in every part of the world.

Is it really true that all these great armaments, especially these military armaments, are necessary? Can no reduction be safely made? We must look at the conditions in different parts of the Empire to ascertain the measure of our necessary expenditure.

In India, with its population of 300 millions, there is no danger of external attack except on the North-west. Russia is now only 400 miles distant from that frontier, as we were significantly reminded not long ago by a Minister of the Crown, and has excellent railway communication with her advanced posts. It is probable that the warlike tribes of Afghanistan would offer a desperate resistance before any invading army could reach Indian territory. What degree of danger there might be in the event of an attack in this quarter is a question for soldiers. They appear to be divided in opinion, some regarding the danger as chimerical, others thinking that the attempt might be made. No statesman can ignore the possibility that the attempt may be made, or omit to consider how, if made, it can be effectually repelled. In time of peace there are in India, besides 76,000 British troops, a force of 157,000 native troops under British officers. We have seen that in the event of a Russian invasion we are asked to supply an additional 80,000 British troops every year so long as the war might last. Now, the population of India is more than twice that of Russia, and includes many warlike races. A distinguished officer declared the other day that India could provide a native army equal in numbers and in military qualities to any that Russia might array against her. Granting, however, that further British help would be needed on the scale named by the Prime Minister, our present military establishments would not suffice, and none has contended that we can or ought to increase the Regular Army at home in order to meet such a contingency. It follows that the demand, should it come, would have to be met by Volunteers. The crisis could not arise without most ample notice. Upon that subject Mr. Balfour was most explicit. The difficulty of the country and the distance makes surprise impossible, and there would be abundant time to raise and train for a twelvemonth the necessary troops. Beyond the British force now in India, which cannot be diminished, and the men in training to keep that force up to strength, the country can be defended by its own troops, aided, so far as is necessary, by levies made for the purpose in the United Kingdom, when the occasion arises. •

Now to consider the Crown Colonies and similar possessions, including such fortresses as Gibraltar and Malta, including also Egypt, though Egypt is not a British possession, but excluding the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, which are soon to receive responsible Government. They are scattered over every continent and in every sea. At one point or another

they are coterminous with possessions of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Holland, Belgium, Brazil, Venezuela, Abyssinia, China, Siam, and almost countless small or savage races. Some are of great value as fortresses and coaling stations, but not one of them maintains or can maintain itself unaided against attack. It is a curious illustration of our modern thoughtlessness and restlessness that this is precisely the class of acquisition we have been multiplying during the last thirty years. In some parts we might possibly find ourselves some day in embarrassment from our landward neighbours, in which case British troops would have to be sent from home. But, in general way, attack must come by sea, and the Fleet alone can give protection.

The United Kingdom, which has assumed the sovereignty of these multifarious dominions, is of course bound to make proper arrangements for their protection. But, apart from the great fortresses and coaling stations, which must always be strongly garrisoned, they do not make any heavy demand on the Army. In old times it was not thought necessary to maintain an Army sufficient to secure every British possession from even temporary capture. When Lord Chatham was Minister, Minorca, then a British possession, was captured by the French; but although Chatham succeeded in driving the French fleets from every sea and in wresting from them great territories in North America, Africa, and India, he never thought of sending an expedition to recover Minorca. It was restored as a matter of course to the victors at the close of the war. Where is the necessity of maintaining, in addition to the Fleet, a "striking force" of 70,000? Nothing like that number is needed. For a great war over sea it is too small. For that we must rely upon Volunteers. It is too large for the small expeditions which recur with provoking regularity. The Crown Colonies cannot afford any great expense, but they can and ought to provide an efficient Militia strong enough to repel any attack on a small scale or any incursion of savages, and must for the rest rely upon the Navy.

VI.—The Position of the Self-Governing Colonies.

TURN now to the self-governing Colonies, in whose rising strength so many who seem to despair of England fondly seek their consolation. Those who do not despair of England look with equal goodwill, and share the wish that our union may be perpetual.

In point of population, area, revenue, and resources the three great groups of self-governing Colonies, North America, Australasia, and South Africa, stand by themselves. No other nation in the world possesses anything of the same kind. The self-governing Colonies contain about 11 millions of European race, all British subjects. They cover an area of 7 million square miles, mostly in the temperate zone. Their united annual revenue exceeds £60,000,000. What their resources may be no one can tell, for, owing to their immensity, only a small part has been thoroughly explored,

and much is unexplored altogether. In point of individual well-being, our countrymen in these favoured regions are better off than our countrymen at home. We must look a little closer to see what they add to our strength or the burdens that tax it, and what are the elements that make for or against their permanent union under the British flag.

In speaking of the North American group, it will be sufficient to consider the Dominion of Canada; for Newfoundland, which still stands apart, has not as yet any large population. In a military sense no nation in the world is more secure than Canada from molestation by any European Power. Any Continental minister that dreamt of sending an expedition across 3,000 miles of sea to encounter a hardy population of 5 or 6 millions in a country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and for half the year frozen under a semi-Arctic winter, ought to be lodged in a madhouse. In the event of invasion from the United States, the case would indeed be very different. If among other dangers we had to reckon as at all probable so frightful a contingency as that, the most sanguine among us might well stand aghast at the measure of our responsibilities. Fortunately, few things are more improbable than a conflict of that kind. It is not likely that the United States will pursue against a kindred nation a policy of conquest alien to the traditions which it has almost uniformly followed, and even less likely that we shall embark in a course of senseless antagonism to a Power whose friendship for every reason we desire to cultivate. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that Canada pays very little attention to military preparation. Her Militia consists of about 40,000 men, not trained as regular soldiers, and, if Mr. Brodriek's and Lord Dundonald's criticisms be well founded, not highly efficient. Navy she has none, nor does she contribute anything toward our Naval expenditure. Whatever chance there may be of the Canadians breaking away from the British connection depends entirely upon themselves, and, so far as can be ascertained, they have no such thought. It is true that nearly one-third of the Canadians are French by race and language. It is also true that of late years by far the greater number of immigrants have come from Continental Europe, or from the United States, and comparatively few from the United Kingdom. We may legitimately hope that just as the French Canadians, whose opinions and action are perfectly unrestrained, deliberately prefer to remain under the British Crown, so the incomers will mingle with the old stock, and accept with equal loyalty the flag of the country which they have adopted. In any case the future of Canada is in the hands of her own people. It does not depend upon our wishes, which are well known. It does not depend upon anything we can do. Canada needs no garrison, and for the future will provide for her own military requirements. It is otherwise with the Navy, which affords the sole protection for her extensive commerce. But, so far as territorial defence is concerned, alike for Army and for Navy, we need take no thought for Canada. Her risks are at once so gigantic and so improbable that it would be a waste of money to provide against them. We might

reduce the Army and the Navy to any extent without practically affecting Canada, and without a word of remonstrance on her part.

The conditions of Australasia (that is, the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand) are different; almost the entire population, numbering a little under 5 millions, are of pure British stock. New Zealand, itself about the size of the United Kingdom, has a population less than that of Glasgow. Australia is nearly twice as large as the whole of Europe put together, if Russia be excluded, and its population smaller than that of Ireland. There is no land neighbour to vex her. On the other hand, Australia is not situated like Canada in regard to invasion from the sea. No powerful state with the Monroe Doctrine among its maxims of policy is at hand to forbid attempts at conquest. And the approach to the vitals of Australia is not practically confined to one river like the St. Lawrence. Descents might be made and settlements effected at countless points along the coast line, effectually defended only by Naval armaments. Four millions of people in a continent of 3 million square miles, could hardly protect an entire coast line without a powerful Navy. In point of fact, Australia possesses neither Army nor Navy. There are military levies numbering 58,000 men, of whom 5,000 are cadets and 31,000 merely members of rifle clubs; there are also a few ships to police the home waters, and Australia pays £200,000 a year as contribution toward the British Navy. New Zealand has military levies of the same kind, numbering 250 permanent Militiamen and 20,000 Volunteers.

Freed in this way from anxieties of self-defence or cost of armaments, the Australasian Colonies have attained a high degree of prosperity. Students of social problems will find in the Australasian Statute Books interesting legislative experiments on such subjects as Trade Unions, Trade Disputes, Compulsory Arbitration, and Old Age Pensions. With the main drift of their labour movements we need not here concern ourselves. One feature, however, requires special notice. The world in which they live is not our world. We are in densely populated islands, with a plethora of labour ready to hand, and all the countries near to us occupied by nations of European race. Australia is so thinly populated, that even if the vast almost desert tracts of the interior be left out of account, there still remains a field for immigration of unsurpassed value. Now, it has been a part of Australian policy for a considerable time to discourage all immigration, and to prohibit some of it very rigorously. No artisan can enter Australia under a contract to work there. If strictly enforced, their laws might exclude immigrants of every kind, for under a recent Commonwealth Act an officer may prevent any one from entering who fails to write out fifty words of any European language he (the officer) may select. Probably no human being alive is sufficiently acquainted with every European language to comply with this test. Its object, however, is not to exclude Europeans, though it might at any moment be used for that purpose, if thought desirable. Its object is to exclude Asiatics or Africans without provoking by an express statutory discrimination the resentment of any Asiatic Power. Asiatic immigration

has always been dreaded by Australians. The feeling is quite intelligible. Australia and New Zealand form white communities, separated by many thousands of miles from any other of their own race. Their neighbours are Polynesians, East Indians, Chinese, Japanese. Their policy is for a White Australia. An importation of Chinese or other cheap labour would not merely dislocate the existing industrial system of highly-paid white labour, but would also disturb other branches of trade by competition of a kind which Europeans find it very difficult to sustain. There are other objections of a sanitary or moral order which need not be discussed. Yet the subject is full of difficulty. Along the Northern Coast of Australia stretches a great tract of territory admirably suited for cultivation, but it is not cultivated. Excellent harbours abound, but they are hardly occupied. The climate is tropical, and Europeans cannot settle there—at least, cannot labour there. The Government will not tolerate the introduction of Asiatics or Africans. Accordingly a great space of territory lies waste and undeveloped. European dominion in the Pacific has to this extent produced not progress but sterilization.

Whether the Australians will persist in their rigid attitude towards Asiatic labour remains to be seen. Probably it would be found, if the archives of the Colonial Office were made public, that representations, if not remonstrances, have been received from Japan on this subject, and perhaps from the Indian Government as well. It is a curious situation. We used to regard as unreasonable the ancient exclusion of foreigners from China and Japan. Only the other day we organized an expedition professedly to secure among other things the reversal of a like policy of isolation in Thibet. To-morrow we may find ourselves confronted with a similar problem, but from the other side of it, and without any constitutional right to do more than offer advice and friendly appeals to our Colonial countrymen. This, with the exception of the South African imbroglio, bids fair to create the most delicate and difficult of Colonial problems. Our Australian countrymen so cling to an ideal of racial purity that they will not admit either Asiatics or Africans to till their uncultivated lands, or allow them in their unpeopled territory. If this ideal is to be upheld by force of arms, it must be by the arms of Great Britain as things are; for Australia has no fleet. At the same time a new Power of unsuspected genius and daring has arisen in the Far East, claiming with justice to be the equal of European States in the arts both of peace and war. What is to be the outcome? Perhaps it is better to refrain from speculation. One thing, however, is clear. We cannot possibly contemplate the maintenance of a Regular Army in the United Kingdom on a scale sufficient to undertake the land defence of an entire continent 12,000 miles away. If, which Heaven forbid, Australia should be the scene of hostile invasion, its land defence must be, from the nature of the case, primarily and mainly the task of Australians. It is to be hoped that in good time they will recognize the necessity of provision for Naval defences as well.

Let me now turn from Australasia to South Africa. What is to be said of that country, so much in our thoughts during the last six years. No foreign Power, be it never so strong, would conceive the folly of landing an expedition in South Africa. A large part of the white population is trained to arms. The distances, untraversed by waterways, and with few railways easy to destroy, are prohibitive. And all would unite to repel an invader. There are no considerable forces organized for war, but levies are unnecessary in such a country, where so large a proportion are experts in handling a rifle, and possess a natural genius for war. So far as any danger of foreign aggression is concerned, no Regular troops are needed in South Africa except to defend docks and naval stations. For years the garrison did not exceed 4,000 men. Now it is 20,000, but the presence of this force is not due to fear of invasion. Our difficulties there are internal. Of a population numbering eight or nine millions, seven or eight millions are negroes, with a small addition of Indians or Chinese. About 1,100,000 whites are dispersed among them, and of these, three of every five are of Dutch origin. Unhappily, during the hundred troubled years of our rule in South Africa, many events have tended to produce estrangement between British and Dutch. Still more unhappily, there has arisen within the last ten or fifteen years a combine or alliance of industrial interests far more powerful than any of the greatest Trusts in America or elsewhere, for it has been able not merely to govern markets or regulate production, but even to control the policy of the Home Government. By the influence of these capitalists, as well as by the intemperate policy and language of Ministers, we were led into the war and all which has followed.

Is there ground for hope that after so many sacrifices we may henceforth see peace in that distracted country and be free from the constant drain it has imposed on our resources? It largely depends upon ourselves. If we insist upon interposition from Downing Street in the antagonism between British and Dutch, the feeling will not only be maintained but artificially fostered, and our responsibility may entail the continuous maintenance of an armed force in South Africa, and even some day the renewal of hostilities. There is only one way : to bestow responsible Government upon both the new Colonies as we have upon the old, and leave them to shape their own destinies. At the same time we must realize that we thereby abandon the right to interfere in their affairs except by advice. Even in the vital question of their relation with Great Britain, self-governing Colonies are masters of their own fate. Unlimited as this power is, we are not able, even if we desired, to withhold it indefinitely. It was promised in the Treaty of Vereeniging. The only open question is whether it shall be granted now or a little later ; and, danger for danger if you will, the safer course is to grant it now, before the friction, which always accompanies half measures, shall have increased existing difficulties. Moreover, it is becoming clear that both British and Dutch will unite in an attempt to overcome the capitalist domination that has grown up in their midst. That battle can only be

fought under a free Constitution. If we claim to direct policy in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, instead of allowing the white inhabitants to direct it themselves, we shall have to regulate the relations of black with white, of British with Dutch, and of the whole community with the industrial magnates, and to keep ready the forces necessary for enforcing our will. I believe that such a course would before long insure the total loss of South Africa to the British Crown. Certainly it must involve a very heavy burden upon the British tax-payer.

VII.—How some Relief might be secured.

THIS rapid survey of the conditions under which the British Empire is maintained seems to show that the relief which is needed can be afforded without any sacrifice of security.

First, as regards the Army, it ought to be established as a maxim that the self-governing Colonies and India must provide for their own defence against foreign aggression. That does not mean that in the event of difficulties we would not do our best to help them. Of course, we should do our best to help them. But it does mean that the United Kingdom can no longer maintain military establishments based on the assumption that we are to be always ready with a large Army to dispatch at once for their relief. There is no reason to suppose that the self-governing Colonies would make any difficulty in accepting this position. Canada appears to have already accepted it. There are at this moment no British troops in Australia, and although there are 20,000 in South Africa, the sooner they are withdrawn and responsible government set up in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, the better it will be for all concerned. India alone presents difficulties, and in that country it is no doubt necessary to maintain the existing force for which India pays. But in the event of an invasion from the North-West, of which so much has been said, native forces must necessarily take the lion's share in the defence. No doubt, in that event, we should send out a large additional number of British troops. But they would have to be raised when the danger became apparent, of which, fortunately, there must be ample notice.

In the same way there is no necessity for maintaining any large Army in Great Britain for the purpose of defending the Crown Colonies by land. Sufficient garrisons must, of course, be maintained in the great fortresses all over the world, together with the proper number of men in training to keep them at full strength. But the old idea that we ought always to have a striking force of at least 70,000 to send at a week's notice to any part of the world is, or ought to be, exploded. A much smaller force is sufficient to meet sudden calls for minor expeditions. For the rest the Navy must provide protection, together with the local levies which every Crown Colony should provide out of its own resources.

Let me put this in the practical form of figures. In the Estimates of

the present year it is stated that 76,000 regular troops are in India, 61,000 in the Colonies and Dependencies, and 156,000 at home. Why should not the 61,000 in the Colonies be reduced to the figure of 37,000, at which they stood ten years ago? Why should 156,000 Regulars be maintained in this country? It is enough to have the necessary men in training for India and the foreign garrisons, together with a small regular force for our own defence, or to supply troops for the small expeditions which we cannot hope altogether to avoid. There would still remain a great number of Reserves consisting of men thoroughly trained in the Regular Army, and for the rest we should rely upon Militia and Volunteers. Tell the Volunteers that we do rely upon them. Let them feel that the responsibility for defending their own country does really rest upon them; provide them with efficient officers, and be sure that when the danger arises either at home or abroad, there will be plenty of men ready to offer their services either for the defence of their own country or for the maintenance of British honour abroad.

Turn now to the Navy. No one questions that a powerful Navy is a prime necessity of this country. Nor does anyone dispute that our Naval outlay must be relative to that of other Powers. A Return dated April 18th, 1904, shows the relative expenditure of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and America for the years 1880-1903 inclusive:—

Year.	Great Britain.		France.	Russia.	Germany.	America.
	Estimated.	Expended.				
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1880	10,702,935	10,513,469			Information not obtainable.	
1890	19,415,682	17,042,182	8,125,929	4,268,208	3,938,869	4,627,203
1900	32,570,014	32,131,062	12,511,054	10,962,801	7,472,656	13,385,574
1901	33,824,515	33,726,491	13,107,701	11,659,766	9,624,956	16,012,438
1902	35,062,904	34,201,994	12,271,948	10,667,983	10,029,063	16,203,916
1903	39,134,887	39,060,887 Estimated	12,538,861	12,349,567	10,252,014	16,824,058

These figures are very suggestive. In the first place let us put America out of account. If we seek to run a race in Naval construction against the United States we might easily come to ruin. Nothing is less likely than a combination against us of the United States and any other Naval Power. The action of nations as well as of individuals must be governed by probabilities. Some risks must be taken, and this is the slightest of imaginable risks. Next, in regard to Russia, Russia has greatly increased her expenditure in the last fourteen years, but recent events enable us to disregard the Russian Navy for years to come, and that country may also be

for practical purposes left out of the account. France and Germany alone remain. Now, in the case of France there has been an addition of 50 per cent. to her Naval expenditure in the last fourteen years. Germany has also greatly added to her Navy. But, look a little more closely. Can anyone say that a combination of France and Germany against this country is in the least degree likely? Or even if it were to take place, the total Naval expenditure of these two countries taken together was less than 23 millions in 1903. In that year Great Britain spent 39 millions on her Navy, not to speak of the enormous superiority we had over these two countries at the beginning of 1903. I repeat that nations, like men, must act upon probabilities. Let me add that even in the event of war, financial strength is almost as important as Naval strength, and needless excess of armaments is obviously our main source of financial weakness.

How far these considerations may justify a diminution in our ship-building programme is a question to which no precise answer can be given, for the answer must depend partly upon the course which other nations take. Unless they increase their activity in this field, it would seem that for some years, at all events, we may diminish our own. But, is it not possible to offer other Governments some inducements to limit their Naval armaments without any detriment to our own interests? I believe it is possible.

What are the reasons which lead foreign nations to maintain powerful fleets? There is the protection of their own coasts, but this must be a minor consideration for the great Continental Powers. No coast descent could be more than a temporary annoyance, and fortresses at vital points could more cheaply and effectively afford protection. Wars between Continental Powers will be settled on land. Another reason is the protection of Colonies, or, in the case of Russia, distant possessions in the Far East. This, no doubt, is a powerful motive, but it can hardly be supposed so powerful as of itself to warrant the enormous cost of great Navies in addition to the immense Armies maintained by all the Continental Powers. A still stronger, indeed the strongest, reason is the necessity for protecting commerce.

Now, the necessity for protecting commerce on the high seas is mainly created by the present condition of International Law. Fifty years ago not only were the ships of a belligerent liable to capture and confiscation, but also the property of belligerents even though carried in neutral vessels. By the Declaration of Paris in 1856, most nations, including Great Britain, agreed to exempt from capture the private property of belligerents when carried under a neutral flag, and to abolish the practice of privateering. The United States, however, declined to concur unless the exemption was extended so as to prohibit the capture of private ships and private property at sea altogether, with the sole exception of contraband. This contention of the United States has been repeatedly advanced ever since that date, and has been put forward again by President Roosevelt for consideration by a new International Conference to be held at the Hague. It is no new pro-

posal. During the last fifty years Russia, Germany, Austria, and Italy, as well as the United States, have advocated this view, and some of them have acted upon it or offered to act upon it in time of actual war. Great Britain and France alone have hitherto refused to consent to this change in International Law. Whether the other States, now that they have become Naval Powers, still remain of their former opinion cannot with certainty be affirmed, except in the case of the United States. But it is not known that any of them have indicated any change of view, and there is, at all events, ground for hope that if this country and France were willing to assent, President Roosevelt's proposal might be accepted on all hands.

If a new rule were adopted, that all private property at sea should be free from capture, except in case of contraband, there would be far less inducement than there is now for nations to spend their resources on Naval armaments. Of course, there would still remain the motives of colonial and coast defence, and it is not pretended that the command of the sea would cease to be an object of ambition to aggressive nations; but the plea of necessity could not be urged with the same force by Governments, nor would the cost be so readily incurred by peoples, if they felt that their commerce on the sea would be as safe in time of war as in time of peace. At the least such a change must tend toward a diminution of Naval armaments.

But it has been urged by some, whose opinions are entitled to weight, that however this proposal might tend to the advantage of foreign nations, and predispose them to be content with smaller Navies, it would be incompatible with the true interests of Great Britain. This view is generally urged upon historical ground. We are told, with perfect truth, that in some of our bygone wars the pressure of the overwhelming Naval strength of this country has been the principal factor in securing victory. No doubt this is the case. In the Seven Years' War, for example, and again in the Napoleonic Wars, France was reduced to the utmost distress by the interruption of her commerce. Nor can it be disputed that the fear of an enemy lest her merchant navy might be destroyed would still be a useful weapon in the hands of Great Britain. Nevertheless, the conditions are very different now from what they were in the old times. Modern methods of transport are so immeasurably superior that the wants of a Continental nation could be now readily supplied by land. And the rule adopted in 1856, that neutral ships make neutral goods, enables any belligerent to receive whatever supplies she may require by sea, provided they are not carried in her own ships. Accordingly, the pressure would be much less effective now than it was then. It would operate, not to deprive the enemy of necessary supplies, but merely to confine his merchant navy within his own ports. In the same way that Great Britain could now inflict less injury, she could herself sustain more injury than in former times under the existing law of capture at sea. Our own merchant navy is immensely greater than it was in the old time, and therefore more liable to molestation by swift ocean-going cruisers, which i

would be very difficult to sweep from all the seas that are traversed by our commerce. Again, we are now dependent for our very subsistence upon imported food in a degree which was never dreamed of 100 years ago. Military authorities warn us that in the event of war our most formidable danger would be the interruption of our food supplies by foreign cruisers. We could not make good that loss as could Continental countries by the use of land transport. It is true that we could still receive food supplies in neutral ships, even if the Navy were overpowered, but that would mean the laying up of our merchant vessels. In that event our loss would be great beyond all comparison with that of any Continental power, and would throw into other hands our enormous carrying trade. Carrying trade is easier lost than recovered. Such are the salient reasons for the belief widely held that the acceptance of President Roosevelt's proposal would lead not only to a general reduction of Naval armaments, but also to the benefit of commerce—in a special degree to the benefit of British commerce. When the new Hague Conference meets, as it surely will on the conclusion of the present war between Russia and Japan, it is most earnestly to be hoped that Great Britain will be found supporting the United States in this most important proposal. We should be able largely to diminish the number of our cruisers.

But however diligently we may economize by careful management, and a scientific adaptation of means to ends, or even by successful negotiation with foreign Powers to diminish the need of armaments, all our efforts will be fruitless unless we also adopt a wiser, perhaps one might say a scientific, policy. We must recognize our actual position. It is perfectly safe, as safe as any country can reasonably desire, if there is common sense; but if the spirit which has been too prevalent of late is to continue, there is no safety. Within twenty-five years, as I have already said, nearly four million square miles have been added to the British Empire, not one acre of which either has added or ever will add any strength, only anxiety and cost, and in some cases actual danger. No further extension of territory ought to be admitted, except under pressure of the most extreme necessity. Vast spaces of the world have been led to civilization, and have derived advantages from the establishment of British rule, whatever may be said by unfair detractors. But there is a limit to the capacity of any nation for undertaking that kind of work. We have reached, if we have not passed, the limit, and for the future any fresh annexations can only be effected at the expense of our own power and internal prosperity. Partly in acquiring these territories, and partly in other ways, we have been led into a good deal of fighting of late years. On more than one occasion we have learned, after the event, that the fighting has been undertaken upon representations by the "man on the spot," who has turned out to have been misinformed or wrongheaded. More restraint will have to be placed upon the ambition and enterprises of a class of men whose services have, nevertheless, upon the whole, been of great value to this country, the class of Colonial Governors, Viceroys, and Commissioners in distant parts of

the world. These officials are exposed to special difficulties and temptations. They are placed often at the head of dependencies managed by a small British community, in the midst of a great coloured population, with all the inclination toward autocracy which such a situation is apt to foster. Every Colony has its own problems, often very pressing, upon which it is naturally intent. Naturally, therefore, the difficulties of a country thousands of miles away, even if that country be the mother country, are less thought of. The Colonists, themselves a racial aristocracy, are impatient; they think force is the remedy, and the Governor is apt to take his bias from those among whom he lives. In this way too often the United Kingdom has been beguiled into a needless sacrifice of blood and treasure. Patience is derided, the patience which, in the words of the great Duke of Marlborough, overcomes all things. Why should that modest virtue be highly rated by men who can invoke the alternative remedy of violence at the expense of others? We have had such conclusive illustrations of this evil quite recently that it is superfluous to enlarge upon it. Clearly the authority of Ministers must be more firmly used to prevent the repetition of similar blunders by "strong men," silent or otherwise. Wars are not only costly in themselves, but they leave behind a legacy of extravagance which it takes years to overcome. We must check wars, or we shall be undone.

In the last resort everything must turn upon the moderation and good sense of public opinion. The extravagances of Colonial representatives of the Crown may be checked more effectually by the example of Ministers than by their precept, and Ministers may, in turn, be more disposed to prudence if the people whom they govern themselves first show the way. The spirit which has led to so many difficulties, is not the spirit of a few men, however conspicuous, but of the nation taken as a whole. We are all collectively responsible. At all times in our history, as foreign critics have not failed to note, the British people have been easily roused to warlike passions. But our forefathers had not music-halls or a yellow press, and perhaps on that account did not exhibit their feeling in the manner lately familiar to us. Nay, so far as the great men of the old time were concerned, Walpole, Chatham, and the younger Pitt, a certain solemnity and awe, even akin to pity, can be discerned in their language when they spoke of war. We have changed all that, and now the greatest danger to the British Empire is the false spirit of Imperialism which has already placed upon our shoulders a grievous burden, and, if persisted in, will in time undo our national greatness. The greatest duty of patriots is to preserve peace.

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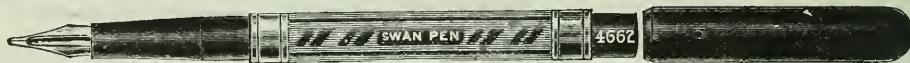
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THE LIBERAL MAJORITY

At the Next General Election.

A DETAILED ESTIMATE BASED ON THE BY-ELECTIONS.

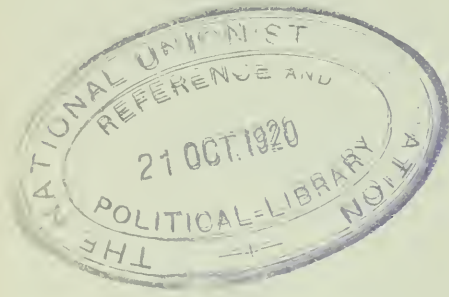
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ONE PENNY.



WHAT WILL BE THE LIBERAL
MAJORITY AT THE GENERAL
ELECTION ?

A Detailed Estimate Based on the By-Elections.

BY

“ACCOUNTANT.”

WITH INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR,

**BYE ELECTIONS
SINCE MAY 1902**



THE LESSON OF THE BY-ELECTIONS.

July 20, 1905.

THE calculations contained in this number were prepared last April, after the election in Brighton.

The results arrived at were so startling that I postponed their publication until there had been a sufficient number of additional by-elections to afford at least a *prima facie* verification of the soundness of the conclusions presented by my accountants.

The figures resulting from an actuarial calculation based upon the by-elections from the end of the war till April, 1905, showed that in the next House of Commons there will probably be only 207 Conservatives and Unionists that the Liberal and Labour Party will have a majority of 90 above both Unionists and Nationalists combined, and that the Liberal, Labour and Nationalists combined will outvote the Unionists by more than two to one, or, to be more exact, by 463 to 207.

Such a prediction, it must be admitted, stood in need of verification. So I waited until five additional by-elections supplied materials for checking the actuarial estimate. My accountants had prepared for me a detailed tabular statement showing what results might be expected if, as the previous by-elections seemed to prove, the Liberals would poll 30 per cent. more votes than they did in 1900, and the Conservatives would poll 7 per cent. less. Since their figures were prepared, five by-elections have taken place—not reckoning those in Ireland. Of these only one (that for East Finsbury) had been contested in 1900, three had not been contested since 1892, and Carlisle not since 1895. The test, therefore, of the deductions of the accountants was very severe. In 1892 the Liberals were returned to power by a majority of 40 over the Conservatives. If the by-elections had gone “as in 1892” they would have portended a Liberal Majority. The addition of 30 per cent. to the Liberal poll on which the accountants’ calculations were based was not 30 per cent. on the poll of 1892, which gave the Liberals a majority of 40, but on the poll of 1900, which left them in a minority

of 135. Exception might thus fairly be taken to the application of the 30 per cent. rise to the polls of 1892, but I did not shrink from this test. The following table shows the result :—

	Last Poll.		Estimated Result.		Actual Result as by-election.	
	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.
Whitby, 1892	4,909	3,826	4,566	4,973	4,102	4,547
Chichester, 1892	4,236	2,361	3,940	3,069	4,174	3,762
East Finsbury, 1900	2,174	1,827	2,023	2,373	1,552	2,320
Kingswinford, 1892	5,371	3,800	4,996	4,940	5,490	4,887
Carlisle, 1895	2,853	3,167	2,654	4,117	2,586	3,616
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Majority	19,543	14,981	18,179	19,472	17,904	19,132
	4,562			1,293		1,228

The result is an amazing confirmation of the actuarial calculation. In seats the result was exactly the same. The Liberals retained Carlisle, and captured the two marked beforehand for transfer to the Opposition ; they failed to capture those which were allotted to the Conservatives. The result in votes shows that the basis of 30 per cent. increase for the Liberals and 7 per cent. drop for the Conservatives is so trustworthy a rule-of-thumb measurement that when 37,036 electors voted in five constituencies, the difference between the estimated Liberal majority and that actually recorded was only 65, an error of about one-sixth of one per cent, or say 0·175. It may be said, however, that the basis of averages given on page 14 is not 7 per cent. reduction on the one side and 30 per cent. increase on the other. A careful checking of all the figures has brought out the actual percentages at 3·30 and 35·06. This correction, however, leaves practically unchanged the estimated results already worked out for the next General Election.

Nor is this the only remarkable confirmation which the last five by-elections supply of the soundness of the estimate formed in the April essay. It was there pointed out that if we excluded Woolwich as not a strictly party vote, the average increase of Liberal strength in London was nearly double the all-round average of the rest of the country. East Finsbury on the general average ought to have been carried by the Liberals with a majority of 350. It was actually carried by a majority of 768. This justifies a hope that the Liberals will at next General Election carry a majority of the seats for London. At last General Election the Liberals only held 8 out of 61 seats. If London polls as the rest of the country has done since 1901 the Liberals will have 21 against 40. But if London polls as East Finsbury, Mile End, Dulwich and Lewisham have polled there will be returned at next Election 35 Liberals for London against 26 Conservatives.

WHAT WILL BE THE LIBERAL MAJORITY?

I.—Introduction.—By the Editor.

LIFE is full of contradictions. Every man knows that one day he will die. Yet most men spend all the days of their life trying to forget that one day life itself will come to an end. Even among the most pious of men there are few who ever seriously attempt to forecast the result of the casting of the final balance sheet at the Day of Judgment.

It is much the same with politicians and parliaments. Every Parliament will one day be dissolved, and after that comes the General Election, the nearest approach which we have to a Day of Judgment in the political world. But although every politician is mindful of that great day of account, which, indeed, is too often the utmost limit and verge of his horizon, how many are there who seriously attempt to reckon up the chances of the result of the pending appeal to the country? Everything, politically speaking, depends upon the nature of the national verdict. The personal fortunes of all our politicians will be directly affected by it. The fate of innumerable reforms, and the perpetuation of innumerable abuses, depend absolutely upon the majority that will issue from the polls. But whether it is from a fearful shrinking from peering into futurity, or whether it is from an ignorant belief that nothing can, with any confidence, be foretold, the fact remains that until now not one of all our innumerable political writers and speakers has ventured seriously and in detail to discuss this question of all questions—this question which dominates all other questions, viz., What will be the probable constitution of the next House of Commons?

I remember as if it were but yesterday being present at Madame Novikoff's salon in Symonds' Hotel, now, alas, nearly thirty years ago, when Mr Gladstone was expounding to his charming Russian Egeria the art and mystery of gauging the drift of national opinion. Madame Novikoff naturally wanted to know what were the chances of the upset of Lord Beaconsfield at the General Election. Mr Gladstone said that there was absolutely no evidence that could be relied upon as an indication of the real set of national opinion except the voting at by-elections. Newspaper articles were of no value. The opinions

What Mr. Gladstone Thought.

expressed in Clubs or in Society afforded no clue whatever to the convictions of the constituencies. Public meetings were worth something, but they were not conclusive. Only when there were by-elections, and many of them, was it possible to forecast with any degree of confidence the result of an appeal to the country.

That was in the later seventies. I was at that time editing the first halfpenny morning paper that was published in England, the *Northern Echo*, of Darlington.

At that time the science of electoral meteorology was in a most rudimentary condition. If the parliamentary poll book was to be found in the editorial sanctum it was seldom or never referred to. Each by-election was regarded as if it stood alone. Seldom was any attempt made to estimate the comparative value of its poll, viewed in connection with its antecedent electoral history. I began the careful study of by-elections in a very crude fashion, but I had grasped the right principle. Regarding the polls of 1868 as representing Liberal high-water mark, representing a majority of 120 in the House, and the polls of 1874, which gave Mr. Disraeli a majority of 51, the high-water mark of Conservatism, I compared the result of each by-election with the two high-water mark polls in the same constituency. The result was that I was soon satisfied that the polls of the next General Election would be as in 1868, only better. I constantly and confidently predicted all through 1879 that whenever the General Election came Mr. Gladstone would be returned by a three-figure majority. Most people thought I was crazy. The Conservatives were confident that the appeal to the country would renew their lease of power. Lord Beaconsfield was absolutely certain that he would win hands down. Mr. Adam, the Liberal Whip, however, had arrived at much the same opinion as myself. But we stood almost alone. Nevertheless, when the glad news came that Parliament was to be dissolved, I printed next day in the *Northern Echo* a pious expression of gratitude for an announcement which rendered it certain that in a few weeks Mr. Gladstone would be in office with a three-figure majority behind him. All the papers were against me. But the result proved that I was right.

After 1880, I came up to London, and on the *Pall Mall Gazette* I had a wider field for expounding the true principles of the Science of Electoral Meteorology. In the hands of Mr. E. T. Cook, who succeeded Milner as my assistant, and who replaced me when I left Northumberland Street to found the *Review of Reviews*, the science underwent a rapid development. For several years, first on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then on the *Westminster*, and later on the *Daily News*, Mr. Cook expounded and enforced the true principles for estimating the results in by-elections, and by much persistence and the incontrovertible evidence of continually fresh reinforcements of statistical results, he did succeed in impressing upon the more intelligent politicians and journalists the fundamental principle that in a by-election it is the figures of the poll that count, and not the loss or capture of a seat. But despite all the teaching of the electoral meteorologists, candidates, and even ministers and editors, continue from time to time to misread the significance of by-elections in the most extraordinary fashion.

Of this a very striking illustration lies ready to hand in the result of two Unionist victories in London which undoubtedly damped the spirits of the Liberals—Dulwich and Mile End. In each of these constituencies the Liberals made a dashing assault on a Tory stronghold. In both cases they failed to carry the seat. But in both they succeeded in showing such an increase of Liberal strength as to make their polls rightly understood, far more reassuring omens of Liberal victory than the capture of a couple of seats in constituencies very narrowly divided.

To make this quite plain I quote the polls :—

		1885.	1892.	1895.	1900.	1903.
Dulwich.	C.	4,406	5,318	5,258	unop.	5,819 + 11 per cent.
	L.	2,712	3,138	2,176	—	4,382 + 100 per cent.
	C. majority	1,794	2,180	3,082	—	1,437

		1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1900.	1905.
Mile End.	C.	2,091	2,110	2,204	2,383	2,440	2,138 - 12½ per cent.
	L.	1,442	1,281	1,931	1,516	1,280	2,060 + 61 per cent.
	L.	420	—	—	—	—	—
	C. majority	229	829	273	867	1,160	78

Now it is evident that if we could but generalise the result of these two elections we should simply wipe the Tories out of London. If we could always secure an increase of the Liberal poll over the figures of 1900 or 1895 by either 61 per cent., as at Mile End, or by 100 per cent., as at Dulwich—we can ignore the fluctuations in the Conservative poll, for they about balance each other, 11 per cent. plus at Dulwich and 12½ minus at Mile End—how many seats would be left to the Tories in London? Yet so obstinately wedded are politicians to the old habit of looking only at the fate of the seat that even electioneers as astute as Mr. Chamberlain have pretended to see in the Dulwich poll a great victory for Tariff Reform!

It follows from the foregoing observations that the proper person to employ to predict the probable result of a coming election is not a politician but an accountant. The rise and fall of the Party vote in each constituency can be registered like the rise and fall of the tides. The calculation of the probable majority becomes a mere matter of arithmetic.

Of course all calculations might be upset by the sudden introduction of a new and unforeseen factor, such as the outbreak of war, but in the absence of any such incalculable new factor the result can be calculated by the rule of three. The ebb and flow of the political tide is very much like that of the sea. When there is a strong gale blowing the tide will run higher than its normal height, but it is the moon, not the wind, which really governs the tides. In like manner it will be found by an examination of the results of the by-elections that the most sensational event in recent politics, the shattering of the Unionist Party by the attempt to revive Protection, produced much less effect on the polls than

might have been anticipated. The drop in the Conservative poll, the rise in the polls of the Liberals, were quite as marked before Mr. Chamberlain's plunge as they are to-day. But to that I will return after printing the figures of my Accountant.

The question as to the strength of the Liberal Majority in the next Parliament assumes that there will be a Liberal Majority. As Mr. Chamberlain has repeatedly recognised this as a foregone conclusion whenever the General Election takes place, and as his admission has been reluctantly endorsed by more than one of his former Ministerial colleagues, no time need be wasted in discussing that point. The only question is how large will the majority be?

That the time has come for a change no one would admit more frankly than the Prime Minister himself. In 1892 I remember well how he formulated the theory that the true principle of the British Constitution was that parties should follow each other in office as elevens follow each other at the wicket. He pointed out that ever since household suffrage had been established the rule had been invariable. The only apparent exception had been the General Election of 1885, but it was an exception that proved the rule. For the old electorate had been submerged by the newly enfranchised county householders, who converted what would have been a Liberal defeat into a Liberal victory. But even then the triumph was very short-lived. The law of the swing of the pendulum, which would otherwise have been invariable, was interfered with by the snap General Election of 1900, when an appeal to the country was precipitated on a false issue, and the khaki fever and the pro-Boer cry succeeded in averting what would otherwise have been a crushing Unionist defeat.

The figures of the alternating Liberal and Conservative majorities since household suffrage are very interesting:—

							Irish Nationalists.
1868.	Liberal Majority	...	...	...	...	120	—
1874.	Conservative Majority	...	...	...	...	51	59
1880.	Liberal Majority	...	...	...	...	118	62
1885.	Liberal Majority	...	...	...	...	166	86
1886.	Unionist Majority	...	...	...	...	118	85
1892.	Liberal Majority	...	...	...	...	40	81
1895.	Unionist Majority	...	...	...	...	152	82
1900.	Unionist Majority	...	...	...	...	134	83

The Conservative majority is a majority over both Liberals and Nationalists combined. The Liberal majority is only a majority of Liberals and Nationalists over Conservatives.

The exact strength of parties in March, 1905, according to Vacher—adding the two seats then vacant to the Liberal total—was as follows:—

Conservatives	...	...	315	Liberal Unionists	...	...	69	Liberal Unionists	...	...	202
								Nationalists	...	...	83
								Winston Churchill	...	...	1
			<hr/>				<hr/>				<hr/>
			384								285

Unionist majority, 98.

The Political
Philosophy of
Mr. Balfour.

Mr. Balfour, as a philosopher, ought to regard with profound dismay the return of the Unionist majority, which as a Party leader he professes so earnestly to desire. He must indeed consider such a victory as a great national disaster

for the following sound reasons :—

- (1). It is indispensable for the safe working of the Party system that there should be always an alternative Government *in posse*, so that if any disaster befell the party in power a team of trained administrators should always be in readiness to take over the reins of government.
- (2). Because after ten years' uninterrupted administration Ministers have gone stale, and in their own interest they need a rest.
- (3). Because if the Liberals, or indeed any other party, are kept too long out of office they are apt to become irresponsible and bitter, to advocate reckless wild-cat schemes without any steadying sense of the possibility that they may be any day called upon to give effect to their own proposals.
- (4). Because it is vitally important to keep up a keen popular interest in politics, and this becomes increasingly difficult if the other side is never allowed to have a chance at the wicket.

As the Liberals are certain to come in with a thumping majority, our philosophic Premier will retire to Whittinglame with the pleasant consciousness that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

The first thing that confronts any speculator as to the probable dimensions of the Liberal majority is the certainty that there will be at least 83 Irish Nationalists in the new Parliament who, although safe to vote against the Unionists, can never be counted upon by the Liberal whips. If, therefore, the Liberals are to have a majority independent of the Nationalist vote, they must have a majority of 166 to tie against a combined Unionist and Nationalist vote. As at present they are in a minority of 98, it is evident that the displacement of electoral forces necessary to give them a working majority must be of the nature of a political earthquake.

II.—Previous General Elections.

The Legal
Nation.

Before entering in detail into the probable strength of parties in the next election it may be as well to give the figures from the latest parliamentary return as to the legal nation or the registered electors in town and country, whose votes will settle how we are to be governed for the next five years.

	Population in 1901.	Inhabited Houses in 1901.	Electors for Counties.	Electors for Boroughs.	University Electors.	Total for 1905.
England and Wales	32,527,843	6,260,852	3,289,474	2,454,370	18,434	5,762,278
Scotland	4,472,103	926,914	410,866	303,680	21,218	735,764
Ireland	4,458,775	858,158	578,814	113,426	4,692	696,932
Grand Total ...	41,458,721	8,045,924	4,279,154	2,871,476	44,344	7,194,974

The Results in
Five General
Elections.

The following return of the results of the last five General Elections shows exactly how each division of the United Kingdom has been represented in Parliament since the establishment of household suffrage in town and country :—

	1885.			1886.			1892.			1895.			1900.		
	L.	P.	C.	L.	P.	U.	L.	P.	U.	L.	P.	U.	L.	P.	U.
England :—															
Boroughs.....	84	1	80	49	1	115	68	1	96	43	1	121	40	1	124
Universities..	1	—	4	—	—	5	—	—	5	—	—	5	—	—	5
London	25	—	36	11	—	50	25	—	36	8	—	53	8	—	53
Counties	133	—	101	64	—	179	103	—	131	64	—	169	77	—	154
England	243	1	221	124	1	340	196	1	268	115	1	349	125	1	339
Wales	27	—	3	24	—	6	28	—	2	22	—	8	26	—	4
Scotland	62	—	10	43	—	29	50	—	22	39	—	33	34	—	38
Great Britain...	332	1	234	191	—	375	274	1	292	176	1	390	185	1	381
Ireland	—	85	18	—	85	18	—	80	23	—	82	21	—	82	21
Total, U.K. ...	332	86	252	191	86	393	274	81	315	176	83	411	185	83	402
Majority	L. 166			U. 116			L. 40			U. 152			U. 134		

When we come to enquire how the legal nation voted in previous elections we are brought up short by the difficulty of the uncontested seats. Mr. E. T. Cook, our chief electoral statistician, had a theory that the fair thing to do was to estimate that 75 per cent. of the electors in uncontested constituencies would have voted if they had the chance, and that the minority would not have numbered more than one-third of the number who would have voted or one-quarter of those on the register. By this means he arrived at the following result of the voting in Great Britain :—

	1892.	1895.	1900.
Liberals	2,093,257	2,019,060	2,049,064
Unionists	2,112,272	2,329,467	2,465,935
Unionist Majority	14,015	310,407	416,871

These figures are Mr. Cook's. The *Pall Mall Gazette* arrived at different totals, viz. :—

	1895.	1900.
Liberals	2,019,755	2,055,951
Unionists	2,266,948	2,360,852
Unionist Majority	247,193	304,901

It is curious that it is the Liberal statistician who credits the Unionists with 100,000 more votes than are claimed by the Unionist statistician.

Whichever estimate we accept, it is clear that in Great Britain, excluding Ireland, the Unionists have had a majority

**The Shifting
Balance of Votes.**

of the electors since 1892, varying 14,000 in 1892 to a maximum of 416,000 in 1900. On Mr. Cook's figures, a

drop of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the Liberal vote of 1892, and a rise of 10 per cent. on the Unionist vote, was sufficient to increase the Unionist majority for Great Britain from 292 to 390, and to reduce the Liberal minority from 274 to 176. That is to say, that a change of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the poll made a difference of over 30 per cent. in the voting strength of each party in the House, and converted a Unionist net majority of 18 in 1892 to one of 213 in 1895. These figures are noteworthy as indicating what an immense effect can be produced upon the balance of parties in the House by a comparatively trifling percentage in the polls. If a net addition of under 15 per cent. to the Unionist poll raised the Unionist majority from 18 to 213, what will be the effect on the balance of parties in the House of a net addition to the Liberal poll of nearly 40 per cent.?

The preponderance of the Unionists in Parliament is altogether out of proportion to their strength in the con-

**One Vote
not One Value.**

stituencies. If the seats were distributed proportionately to the aggregate voting strength of the parties, the Unionist

majority in Great Britain, instead of being 195 as it stood in 1900, would only have been 53. If the Irish vote were added, the net majority of 135 against Home Rule would dwindle to a narrow majority of 26.

Putting all these facts together, we may fairly assume that if the net addition to the strength of the Unionists of less than 15 per cent. of the voters in the constituencies converted a majority of 18 in the House to a majority of 213, a similar net increase added to the Liberal side would suffice to reduce the Unionist British majority of 195 to zero. This, however, would not be sufficient to give the Liberals a safe working majority. If, however, there was a net addition to the Liberal poll of double that percentage, the majority would be safe.

The question, therefore, is whether we have any data to

**The Evidence of
the By-Elections.**

justify a belief that when the polls are opened the Liberals will be 30 per cent. better off than their 1900 form. There

is only one method of discovering the requisite data, and

that is by the careful and scientific examination of the by-elections. If we want to know how all constituencies will vote when the ballot boxes are opened, our simplest and most obvious course is to see how many constituencies have voted when an opportunity was afforded them of expressing their opinions at the ballot box. Merely to count up seats lost and gained is a very rough-and-ready method which affords little or no trustworthy guide as to how the General Election will go. The only vital question is how the polling has gone in comparison with previous pollings in the same constituency. Every constituency is a little world by itself. It forms part, no doubt, of the whole electorate, but it stands in a distinct and definite relation thereto. There are constituencies which have always returned Tories in the heyday of Liberal ascendancy, and there are others which have been not less faithful in the Liberal cause in the

darkest hour of Liberal depression. For any one of these faithful Abdiels to desert the party to which it has hitherto been true is a political portent of infinitely greater significance than the loss or gain of half-a-dozen seats in constituencies where the transfer of a score of votes from one side or the other would decide the victory.

Some constituencies are so evenly divided that any chance such as the absence of a fishing fleet on the polling day, coinciding with a cheap trip, may upset the balance. A seat won is a seat won when nothing else is chronicled but the transfer of one member's vote from one side to the other. But in reality it would be far less significant as a gauge of the rise or fall of the popularity of the Government than the transfer of some thousand voters from one side to the other in a constituency where the majority was still large enough to prevent the loss of the seat.

In order to ascertain how the General Election is going
to go, the first thing necessary is to see how the by-elections
have gone since the South African War came to an end.

The Turning
Point.

So long as the war lasted, the by-elections showed no signs of any change in public opinion. When the war was practically over—peace was actually signed at the end of May—Bury election, on May 10th, 1902, gave the signal for the Liberal revival which has persisted ever since.

III.—The By-Elections.

The following is a complete list of the by-elections for Great Britain, with their dates, down to the election in Brighton, giving the figures of the poll at the latest by-election at which the constituency had been contested, and the figures for the by-election, with the percentage rise and fall of the voting at the bye, compared with the previous poll in the same constituency.

For convenience and simplicity, when two by-elections have been held in the same constituency, only the second is given. The votes given for Labour candidates are added to those polled by the Liberals, and the fact noted in a footnote. By this means we have ready to hand a clear gauge of the rise of the Liberal tide all over the country, and also of the ebb of Unionism. The net result of this table is to show that on a series of by-elections held in every part of the United Kingdom, from the Orkneys to Devonport, the average increase of the Liberal poll since the end of the war is 35 per cent. on the last recorded poll in the same constituencies, and the net average decrease of the Conservatives is about $3\frac{1}{3}$ rd per cent. Taking the whole of the by-elections since February, 1901, the exact result is an increase of 32·95 to the Liberal poll and a decrease of 3·30 on the Tory poll:—

BY-ELECTIONS.

Date.	Constituency.	Poll at By-Election.		Poll at 1910 Election.		Percentage of Change in Poll.				Seats gained by Opposit'n.
		U.	L.	U.	L.	U.		L.		
1901.										
Feb. 26	Lancashire, S. E.	7,088	5,791	7,519	4,938			5.73	17.27	
Mar. 1	Maidstone	2,182	2,375	2,163	2,201		.87		7.90	
May 7	Monmouth Dist.	4,604	4,261	4,415	3,727	4.27			14.32	
„ 31	Essex, Saffron Walden	3,202	3,994	3,137	3,247	2.07			23.05	
June 26	Warwick, S. W.	4,755	2,977	4,598	2,827	3.41			5.30	
Aug. 26	Hants, W.	3,696	3,473	4,559	3,109			18.93	11.70	
Totals.....		25,527	22,871	26,391	20,049			3.26 net	14.70 net	
1902.										
Jan. 21	Dewsbury	4,512	7,266	3,897	6,045	15.78			20.19	(a)
„ 24	Hampstead	3,843	2,118	3,848	2,239		.12		5.40	
Feb. 3	Sheffield (Eccleshall)	5,231	4,119	5,059	3,230	3.40			27.52	
Mar. 25	Wakefield	2,960	1,979	2,864	2,165	3.35			8.59	
May 10	Bury	3,799	4,213	4,132	3,283		8.05		28.32	1
July 29	Leeds, N.	6,789	7,539	7,512	4,995		9.63		50.93	1
Aug. 21	Kent (Sevenoaks)	5,333	4,442	6,604	1,792		19.23		147.87	
Nov. 6	Liverpool (E. Toxteth)	3,610	1,705	3,628	3,233		.49		47.23	
„ 18/19	Orkney and Shetland	740	4,413	2,057	2,017	64.02			118.79	1 (b)
	Yorkshire, N. (Cleveland)	3,798	5,834	4,175	4,762		9.03		22.51	
Totals.....		40,615	43,629	43,776	33,761			7.22 net	29.22 net	3
1903.										
Jan. 2	Cambridge (Newmarket)	3,907	4,414	4,295	3,218			9.03	37.16	1
„ 20	Liverpool (West Derby)	5,455	3,251	4,622	1,686	18.02			92.80	
Mar. 11	Woolwich	5,458	8,687	6,662	3,857		18.07		125.22	1 (c)
„ 17	Sussex (Rye)	4,376	4,910	5,376	2,887		18.60		70.06	1
April 9	Cornwall (Camborne)	2,869	3,558	2,993	3,101		4.14		14.73	
May 14	Preston	8,639	6,490	8,944	4,834		3.41		34.25	(d)
July 24	Barnard Castle	3,323	6,179	3,545	5,036		6.26		22.69	(e)
Aug. 26	Argyllshire	2,740	4,326	3,834	3,234		28.53		33.76	1
Sept. 17	St. Andrew Burghs	1,288	1,324	1,148	1,094	12.19			21.02	1
„ 23	Rochester	2,504	1,983	2,152	1,673	16.35			17.93	
Oct. 23	Warwick, L.	2,689	2,499	2,785	1,954			3.44	27.79	
	Chorley	6,226	4,798	5,867	2,808	6.13			70.86	
Dec. 15	Dulwich	5,819	4,382	5,258	2,176	10.66			101.37	
„ 15	Lewisham	7,709	5,697	5,309	2,895	45.22			96.79	
„ 22	Shropshire (Ludlow)	4,393	3,423	5,965	2,146		26.35		59.22	
Totals..		67,395	65,921	68,755	42,599			1.98 net	54.74 net	5

BY-ELECTIONS—(Continued).

Date.	Constituency.	Poll at By-Election.		Poll at 1903 Election.		Percentage of Change in Poll.				Seats gained by Opposit'n
		U.	L.	U.	L.	U.		L.		
						+	-	+	-	
1904.										
Jan. 7...	Mid-Devon	3,588	5,034	3,716	4,487		3.44	12.19		
„ 15 ..	Norwich	6,756	11,016	8,166	7,330		17.00	50.00		(f)
„ 20 ..	Gateshead	7,015	8,220	5,711	6,657	22.83		23.47		
„ 29...	Ayr Burghs	3,177	3,221	3,101	2,511	2.45		28.27		1
Feb. 12...	Mid-Herts	4,625	4,757	4,987	2,573		7.25	84.88		1
„ 26...	S. Birmingham	5,299	2,223	4,830	1,257	9.71		76.85		(g)
Mar. 1...	Normanton (Yorks)	2,909	6,855	3,606	5,025		19.35	36.41		
„ 16...	E. Dorset	5,109	5,929	4,776	4,680	6.97		26.69		1
June 17...	S. Leicester	6,110	7,843	5,946	7,269	2.76		7.89		
„ 20...	Devonport	5,179	6,219	6,853	7,164		24.44		13.19	
July 2...	Sowerby (Yorks).....	3,877	6,049	4,067	5,528		4.67	9.42		
„ 6...	Surrey (Chertsey)	5,425	4,876	5,367	3,080	1.08		58.21		
„ 26...	Shropshire (Oswestry)	4,157	4,542	4,605	3,598		9.72	26.23		1
Aug. 6...	Reading	4,540	4,770	4,353	4,592	4.29		3.89		
„ 10...	Lanark, N. E.	4,677	9,603	5,567	7,120		15.98	34.86		(h)
Oct. 7...	Kent (Isle of Thanet)	4,048	3,666	3,901	2,857	3.78		28.31		
Nov. 3...	Monmouth, W.	3,360	7,995	2,401	5,976	39.94		33.78		
„ 11...	Sussex (Horsham)	4,388	3,604	4,303	2,268	2.00		58.90		
	Total.....	84,239	106,422	86,256	83,972		2.34 net	26.73 net		5
1905.										
Jan. 7...	Stalybridge	3,073	4,029	3,321	3,241		7.43	24.34		1
„ 12...	Mile End	2,138	2,060	2,440	1,280		12.37	60.93		
„ 26...	Dorset, N.	3,330	4,230	3,705	3,165		10.00	33.65		1
Feb. 22...	Liverpool (Everton)	3,854	2,543	3,954	2,165		2.53	17.50		
Mar. 2...	Appleby	2,702	2,922	2,256	2,835	19.77		3.06		
„ 3...	Buteshire	1,426	1,460	1,241	1,046	14.90		39.57		1 (i)
April 5...	Brighton	7,392	8,209	7,858	4,693		5.93	74.92		1 (i)
	Totals	23,915	25,453	24,775	18,425		3.88 net	38.77 net		4
SUMMARY, 1901-1905.										
	1905	23,915	25,453	24,775	18,425		3.88	38.77		4
	1904	84,239	106,422	86,256	83,972		2.34	26.73		5
	1903	67,395	65,921	68,755	42,599		1.98	54.74		5
	1902	40,615	43,629	43,776	33,761		7.22	29.22		3
	Result since the War	216,164	241,425	223,562	178,758		3.30	35.06		17
	1901	25,527	22,871	26,391	20,049		3.26	14.70		
	Result since last									
	General Election...	241,691	264,296	249,953	198,806		3.30	32.95		17

(a). Lib. and Soc. Vote added together. (b). I.L. and L. Vote taken together. (c). Lib. and Lab. Vote taken together, 1895. (d). Highest Vote taken of 2 Cons., 1900. (e). Lib. and Lab. Vote taken together, 1903. (f). Lib. and Lab. Vote taken together, 1904, and highest of Conservatives and Liberals in 1895. (g). 2 Un. Candidates, 1892. (h). Lib. and Lab. Vote combined. (i). Highest of 2 Unionists taken, 1900; Protestant Cand. taken as Liberal.

There are several notable characteristics about these 57 contested elections. They constitute a record. To have fought 57 contests without losing a single seat previously held—for the loss of Devonport in 1902 was brilliantly retrieved in 1904—is an unprecedented achievement. Without losing one of their own the Opposition captured 16 seats, counting 32 on a division for the Ministry. If the Isle of Wight be included, which Major Seeley vacated as a Unionist and was re-elected without a contest as a Freetrader, the net gain is 17 seats, counting 34 votes on a division.¹

The mere transfer of seats is, however, of far less significance than the constant rise in the Liberal poll and the not less constant although comparatively smaller fall in the Unionist vote. The net result of the by-elections fought since the Peace of May, 1902, shows that the Unionists are on an average everywhere 7 per cent. weaker than they were in 1900, and the Liberals are everywhere 30 per cent. stronger. We have here a rough-and-ready clue to the probable result of the next General Election. Every by-election is a plummet cast into the deep to gauge the height of the rising tide of Liberal revival. The readings of the

¹ As statisticians differ slightly, it may be well to add, for purposes of comparison, two other estimates of the results of the by-elections, both of a later date, when two more seats had been captured. The following is the *Westminster Gazette's* calculation (July 15) :—

Since 1900 there have been in Great Britain sixty-one contested elections. The result in seats is as follows :—

	1885.	1900.	By-elections, 1900—5.
Liberal	27	17	36
Conservative.....	35	45	26
Majority	C 8	C 28	L 10

In votes the following are the figures :—

	By-elections, 1900—5.	1900 (or last previous contest).	
Opposition Vote	290,553	213,637	Increase 36 per cent.
Ministerialist Vote.....	266,621	271,760	Decrease 2 „
Majority	L 23,932	C 58,123	

The *Daily News* of July 5 says :—

Kingswinford is the fiftieth constituency that has been contested in Great Britain since the close of the war, and if we look at the votes cast, in the light of the Kingswinford result, we see how enormous has been the growth of feeling against the Government. Here are the aggregate figures for the fifty constituencies—votes at the by-elections and at the last preceding elections :—

Liberal by-election vote	251,285
Liberal previous election vote	181,647
Aggregate increase	69,638

The Conservative figures are :—

Tory by-election vote	224,174
Tory previous election vote.....	230,534
Aggregate decrease	6,360

line show uniform results; wherever a sounding has been taken the Liberals are 30 per cent. stronger and the Unionists 7 per cent. weaker than they were in 1900. The area within which the by-elections have been held is practically coterminous with the United Kingdom. It is therefore no unfair or unsafe inference that when the General Election comes, the same general law of rise and fall will be found to prevail in the constituencies which have not yet had an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the issues before the country.

It is, of course, not always possible to compare the results of the by-elections with the polls of 1900, or even in 1895, for eight of the 57 contests were fought in constituencies which had been left in the undisputed possession of the Unionists since 1892, and in one case since 1885. The improvement upon the polls of 1885 and 1892 elections, which placed the Liberals in office, is almost as marked as the improvement on the polls of 1895 and 1900, which resulted in a Unionist majority.

It is interesting to compare the results of the contests in the 55 (for two were twice contested) constituencies with the results in the two General Elections which returned the Liberals to office:—

1885.		1892.		1900.		To-day.	
L.	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.	L.	C.
29	26	30	25	16	39	33	22

In no case was a seat lost by the Liberals at the by-elections that they held in 1885 or 1892, with the exception of those for West Birmingham and Warwick. But they now hold the following seats which went Unionist in 1885, that year of Liberal victory:—North Leeds, Mid-Herts, Devonport, West Shropshire, Staleybridge, Rye, and Brighton. If the by-elections are any test, it is tolerably safe to assume that outside the Birmingham district the Liberals will hold all the seats that they won in 1885, before the Home Rule split, and more besides.

It may be noted that the notion diligently put about by those who dislike to face the facts that the steady rise in the votes given to the Opposition was due to various cries invented for electioneering purposes finds no support in the result of the by-elections. The rise in the price of sugar, the outcry against Chinese labour, the excitement about Fiscal Reform, however much they may have bulked in the campaign, appear not to have very appreciably affected the polls. The constituencies went against the Government as soon as the war was over by just as heavy majorities before yellow labour was heard of. The cry of Free Trade in danger and the split in the Unionist camp did not even succeed in keeping the Liberal revival in 1904 up to the high-water mark of 1902. The improved position of the Liberals in Chertsey at the second by-election tells, however, in the opposite direction. But in 1905 the Unionists have suffered from Mr. Balfour's tactics, and the longer the General Election is postponed the heavier will be the Conservative defeat.

IV.—Next General Election.

In order to calculate the result that may be expected at next General Election, all that is necessary to do is add 30 per cent. to the last recorded Liberal poll, and subtract 7 per cent. from the votes last recorded for the Unionists.

In this calculation the Irish polls or those of the Universities may be omitted. It is assumed that they will vote in 1905 as they did in 1900. If there is any change it will probably be slightly in favour of the Liberals. But for practical purposes the Irishmen and the Universities can be depended upon to vote as they have always voted.

The net result, therefore, of "Accountant's" calculation on the broad general basis suggested by the by-elections, viz.,

The Net Result. that there will be an all-round rise in the Liberal poll of 30 per cent. and a decrease of the Conservative poll by 7 per cent., is to present us with a House of Commons in which there will be 384 Liberals and Labour members, 83 Nationalists, and 207 Unionists.

This gives the Lib.-Lab. party a majority over the Unionists and Nationalists combined of 98, a majority over the Unionists alone—the Nationalists being left out of account on either side of 73, and a majority of Liberal, Labour, and Nationalists combined over the Unionists of 256.

The question arises how far the influences which affect by-elections are local or confined to a definite area. London, for instance, forms a group by itself. There are 61 seats in London, including West Ham, of which 8 only were held by the Liberals in 1895 and 1900. But in 1885, and again in 1892, the Liberals held 25.

How will London
Vote?

LONDON.

	1885.	1886.	1892.	1895.	1900.	Bye.	Poll last General Election.		Estimated Poll next Election.		Result.	Seats given by Liberals.
							Lib.	Con.	Lib.	Con.		
Hampstead	C	C	C	C	C	C	2118	3843	2753	3574	C	
St. Pancras, North ...	L	C	L	C	C	C	2345	3056	3048	2843	L	1
" West	L	L	C	C	C	C	1553	3220	2018	2995	C	
" East	L	C	C	C	C	C	2106	3016	2736	2806	C	
" South.....	L	U	U	U	U	U	1113	2273	1446	2114	C	
Islington, North.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	2567	4881	3337	4540	C	
" West	L	U	L	R	R	R	3178	3159	4131	2938	L	
" East	L	C	C	C	C	C	2586	4203	3362	3909	C	
" South	L	C	C	C	C	C	1665	3881	2164	3610	C	
Hackney, North.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	2437	5005	3168	4655	C	
" Central	C	C	C	C	C	C	2243	3747	2916	3185	C	
" South	L	L	L	C	C	C	4376	4714	5689	4385	L	1
Hammersmith.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	2166	5458	2816	5076	C	
Kensington, North.....	C	C	L	C	C	C	2527	3257	3285	3030	L	1
" South	C	C	C	C	C	C	1022	4156	1328	3866	C	
Paddington, North.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	1518	3364	1973	3129	C	
" South	C	C	C	C	C	C	769	2576	1000	2396	C	
Marylebone, West.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	1532	3487	1991	3243	C	
" East	C	C	C	C	C	C	1126	3106	1464	2889	C	
Finsbury, Central.....	L	C	L	C	C	C	2523	2872	3280	2671	L	1
" Holborn.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	2477	4969	3220	4622	C	
" East	C	L	L	C	C	C	1827	2174	2375	2022	L*	1
Shoreditch—												
Haggerston	L	L	L	C	R	R	2290	2266	2977	2108	L	
Hoxton	L	L	L	R	C	C	2595	2866	3373	2666	L	1
Bethnal Green—												
North-east	L	L	L	C	C	C	2609	2988	3392	2779	L	1
South-west	L	L	L	R	C	C	2514	2862	3268	2662	L	1
Tower Hamlets—												
Whitechapel	L	L	L	R	R	R	1679	1608	2183	1496	L	
St. George's.....	C	C	L	C	C	C	1141	1437	1483	1337	L	1
Stepney	L	C	C	C	C	C	1718	2783	2234	2589	C	
Mile End	C	C	C	C	C	C	1280	2440	1664	2270	C	
Limehouse	C	C	L	C	C	C	2070	2608	2691	2426	L	1
Bow and Bromley	L	C	L	C	C	C	2558	4403	3325	4095	C	
Poplar	L	L	L	R	R	R	3992	2840	5190	2642	L	
West Ham, North.....	L	C	L	C	C	C	4133	6613	5373	6151	C+	
" South	L	C	L	C	C	C	4419	5615	5745	5222	L+	1
Fulham.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	4247	6541	5521	6084	C	
Chelsea	L	C	C	C	C	C	3806	4637	4298	4313	C	
St. George's, Han. Sq.	C	C	C	C	C	C	1278	3852	1661	3583	C	
Westminster	C	C	C	C	C	C	1916	3548	2491	3300	C+	
Strand	C	C	C	C	C	C	1508	5034	1960	4682	C	
City	2C	2C	2C	2C	2C						2C	3
Wandsworth	C	C	C	C	C	C	3248	5913	4222	5500	C	
Battersea	L	L	L	R	R	R	5860	5606	7618	5214	L	
Clapham	L	C	C	C	C	C	3084	7504	4009	6979	C	
Lambeth, North.....	C	C	L	U	C	C	1795	2677	2333	2490	C	
" Kennington.	C	C	L	C	C	C	2309	4196	3002	3903	C	
" Brixton	C	C	C	C	C	C	2199	4198	2859	3905	C	
" Norwood ...	C	C	C	C	C	C	2584	4147	3359	3857	C	
Newington, West	C	C	L	R	R	R	3559	2403	4627	2235	L	
" Walworth	C	C	L	C	C	C	2233	3098	2903	2884	L	1
Southwark, West ...	L	L	L	R	R	R	2893	2763	3761	2570	L	
" Bermondsey	L	C	L	C	C	C	3717	4017	4832	3737	L	1
" Rotherhithe	C	C	C	C	C	C	2358	3989	3065	3711	C	
Camberwell, North ...	L	C	L	C	R	R	4820	3485	6266	3242	L	
" Dulwich ...	C	C	C	C	C	C	2176	5258	2829	4890	C	
" Peckham..	C	C	C	C	C	C	3031	4453	3979	4142	C	
Deptford	C	C	C	C	C	C	3806	6236	4948	5800	C	
Lewisham.....	C	C	C	C	C	C	2895	5309	3763	4938	C	
Greenwich	C	C	C	C	C	C	3484	5454	4529	5072	C	
Woolwich.....	C	C	C	C	C	L	3857	6662	5014	6195	C	
Total	f Lib.			8			150965		196247		21	13
	{ Con.			53				232726		216467	40	
				61							61	

* Since this calculation was made an election has taken place. The Liberal vote was 2,320, but the Conservative vote was only 1,552. † North and South West Ham are technically in Essex, but as they are virtually in London they are included here. ‡ Socialist Candidate as Liberal. § Independent Conservative in 1900. ¶ No contest since 1892, 3 Conservative Candidates for 2 seats.

If the rise of the Liberal vote was only 30 per cent. and the Unionists lost 7 per cent., the Metropolitan Boroughs would at next election return 21 Liberals and only 40 Unionists. But there is reason to believe that the influences which have destroyed the Unionist majority in the country tell more powerfully in favour of the Liberals in London than anywhere else. The following is a list of the by-elections that have taken place in the London area since the General Election. I have included Hampstead to make the total complete, but as it was fought before the Boers laid down their arms it ought properly to be excluded. Its exclusion, however, makes so little difference that the total may stand:—

London Constituencies.	Last General Election.		By-Election.		Rise and Fall.	
	L.	U.	L.	U.	L.	U.
Hampstead	2,239	3,848	2,118	3,843	+ 5'40	- 12
Lewisham	2,895	5,309	5,697	7,709	+ 96'79	+ 45'22
Dulwich	2,176	5,258	4,382	5,819	+ 101'37	+ 10'66
Woolwich	3,857	6,662	8,687	5,458	+ 125'22	- 18'07
Mile End ..	1,280	2,440	2,060	2,138	+ 60'93	- 12'37
	12,447	23,517	22,944	24,967	+ 89'00	+ 50

According to this table, we would be justified in at least doubling the expectation of increase in the Liberal poll. Instead of net 37 per cent. to the advantage of the Liberals, there ought to be a net 88·50. If we make a liberal allowance for the exceptional vote at Woolwich and knock off 14½ per cent., we still have double the Liberal increase. Allowing the Unionist poll to fall 7 per cent. while the Liberal goes up 60 per cent., London would be represented in the next House of Commons by 35 Liberals and 26 Unionists. The only seats that the Unionists would retain if there were such a tidal wave of 60 per cent. Liberal increase are

Hampstead.	Paddington, North.	Strand.
St. Pancras, West.	" South.	City (2).
" South.	Marylebone, West.	Wandsworth.
Islington, North.	" East.	Lambeth, Kennington.
" South.	Finsbury, Holborn.	" Brixton.
Hackney, North.	Mile End.	Camberwell, Dulwich.
Hammersmith.	St. George's(HanoverSquare).	Woolwich.
Kensington, North.	Westminster.	

It is obvious if London contributes so largely to the Liberal increase, there will not be so large a Liberal increase in the rest of the country. How much less than a Liberal rise of 30 per cent. and a Tory fall of 7 per cent. would secure the necessary majority? To answer that question it is necessary to examine the various groups in turn. Begin with Wales.

Wales, which in 1892 reduced her Conservative representation to two seats, saw in 1895 the number of Welsh Tories swollen to eight. Wales was then almost the only part of the country which was so immune to the khaki fever that in the Jingo Election of 1900 it won back four seats. But the Welsh have still four to win at the next election in order to clear the Tories entirely out of the Principality. The only county seat that went Tory in Wales in 1900 was South Glamorgan. It was a Liberal seat in 1885, in 1886, and in 1892. It was lost in 1895. In 1900 the figures were:—Conservatives, 6,841; Liberals, 6,322; Conservative majority, 519.

Now here it is obvious, if the average holds true, the Liberals are certain to

capture South Glamorgan. An increase of 10 per cent. on the Liberal poll would win the seat. In South Glamorgan the Liberal ought to romp in. The other three Tory seats are in the Welsh burghs—Denbigh, Montgomery, and Pembroke. Denbigh has been stolidly Conservative since 1885. In the two elections when the Liberals triumphed the Conservative majority was 306 in 1885 and 98 in 1872. Montgomery was also Conservative in 1885 by 83, and 1892 by 118, although oddly enough it went Liberal in 1886. Pembroke was Liberal in both 1885 and 1892, and Conservative in 1886, 1895, and 1900. Now every one of these seats will be captured if only 20 instead of 30 per cent. of the average net increase of Liberal voting strength is registered in these three boroughs and the Tory poll is kept up to its old mark.

Denbigh	...	...	...	...	C.	1,862	Estimate.	1,862
					L.	1,752 + 20 per cent.		2,102
	Majority	...	...	...	C.	110	L.	240
Montgomery	...	...	...	...	C.	1,478		1,478
					L.	1,309 + 20 per cent.		1,569
	Majority	...	...	...	C.	169	L.	91
Pembroke	...	...	...	...	C.	2,679		2,679
					L.	2,667 + 20 per cent.		3,200
	Majority	...	...	...	C.	12	L.	521

If the Liberal poll were only 10 per cent. in excess of that of 1900 it would sweep every constituency in Wales excepting Montgomery. As the average rise throughout the country is nearly a net 40 per cent., Wales ought not to return a single Tory member at the dissolution.

There were no by-elections in Wales to afford a clue to the state of political feeling in the Principality. North of the Border there have been six by-elections, including that for Orkney and Shetland.

The Vote of Scotland.

Scotland, at the General Election of 1900, returned for the first time a majority of Conservative members. The figures were then 38 to 34. Four seats have been won on six by-elections, including Orkney and Shetland, where Mr. Wason, returned as a Unionist in 1900, sought and obtained re-election as an independent Liberal in 1902. Omitting Orkney, where the result was unduly favourable to the Liberals, but including the Labour vote with the Liberals in North-East Lanark, the increase in the Liberal vote in the by-elections in Scotland since the end of the war has been 25 per cent., while the Unionists have not dropped materially. Omitting Lanark, we have the by-elections at Ayr and St. Andrews in the burghs, Argyll and Bute in the counties. They are hardly enough to generalise upon, but so far as they go, they suggest that the rise of the Liberal poll in Scotland will not be so great as in England and Wales. But it would be over 20 per cent., and 20 per cent. increase of the Liberal vote in Scotland, even without the customary falling off in the Tory poll, would reduce the Scotch Conservative contingent to 17, including the two University seats. In 1885 Scotland sent up only 10 Conservatives. Home Rule sent them up 29 strong in 1886, but in 1892 they dropped to 22. If at next General Election the Liberal tide rises as it has done in the five counties and two burghs, where by-elections have been

fought, the number of Tory members will be—for Burghs, 8; for Counties, 7; for Universities, 2. Of the eight borough seats left, 5 belong to Glasgow, 1 to Edinburgh, and 1 to Inverness. If the Liberal tide were to rise in Scotland to the English Liberal average of 40 per cent., the following are the only seats that would be left in the hands of the Conservatives:—West Edinburgh, Glasgow Tradeston and Glasgow Central, Lanarkshire Partick, Sutherlandshire, Wigtown, and the two University seats—that is to say, they would only hold 8 seats, or two fewer than they held in 1885. But the figures of the Scotch byes do not justify any expectation of reducing the Scotch Conservative contingent below 15.

By this method of more exact estimate according to districts we arrive at this result. Ireland remains stationary. In London the Liberal poll should rise 60 per cent., in Wales 20 per cent., in Scotland 20 per cent. Substituting these percentages for the General 30 per cent. Liberal rise and 7 per cent. Unionist fall, we have this result. In the next House of Commons the following contingents will come from the Celtic fringe and from the heart of the Empire.

				Liberals.	Nationalists.	Conservatives.
Ireland	...	...	...	—	82	21
Wales	...	...	...	30	—	0
Scotland	...	...	...	55	—	17
London	...	...	...	35	—	26
				—	—	—
				120	82	64

This would give a majority against the present Government of 138 before the English boroughs and counties began to be counted.

The predominant partner is England. Even without London she returns 404 members to the House of Commons. Of these, in 1900, 118 were Liberals and 286 Conservatives. It is certain that England will not poll as she did in 1900. How many of the 286 Conservative seats must be captured to give us a majority over the Unionists?

First let us see how many are necessary supposing we eliminate the Irish Nationalist vote altogether. In that case the House of Commons would be, for practical purposes, a House of 584 members, and to secure a majority of half plus one the Liberals would need to keep all their English seats, and capture 61 seats now held by the Unionists. This would work out as follows:—London, 35; Scotland, 55; Wales, 30; English seats won in 1900, 117; new seats to be captured, 56 = 293. The Conservatives would, in that case, retain the following seats:—London, 26; Scotland, 17; Ireland, 21; England, 227 = 291. That is the minimum stipulated for by Sir Edward Grey.

But much more than this is to be anticipated. For the Liberals expect with reason to secure a majority not merely over the Unionists, but over the Unionists plus the Nationalists. That is to say, they hope to carry not merely 56 of the 284 seats held in 1900 by the Conservatives in England outside London, but count upon capturing 83 more, or 139 in all.

Now is there any precedent for such a reduction of the Conservative representation of English borough and county seats? The nearest approach to it since the establishment of household suffrage was in 1885, when the Liberals

held 217 of these seats against 181 held by the Conservatives. What was done in 1885 can be done in 1905. There is no antecedent impossibility in doing at least as well as 1885. In that year we lost heavily in the boroughs, but recouped our losses in the counties. Next election the Liberals ought to sweep the board in both boroughs and counties. If we went back to the 1885 standard for London and the boroughs, we should win enough seats to wipe out the Tory majority, and place us in a majority over the Unionists without taking the Nationalists into account.

In calculating what seats will be won we have two things to guide us. First, the probability that they will revert to the *status quo*, 1885, especially if the constituencies stood to their guns in 1892, and, secondly, the presumption that the average rise of the Liberal strength registered in all the by-elections since the end of the war will be maintained throughout the whole country.

Proceeding upon this basis of calculation, the following seats now held by the Liberals will be captured by the Conservatives, although they lost them at the byes :—

Brighton and Woolwich.

On the other hand, the following seats will pass into the hands of the Liberals :—

ENGLISH BOROUGHES.

BEDFORDSHIRE.	LANCASHIRE (cont.).	STAFFORDSHIRE (cont.).
Bedford.	*Manchester, N.E.	Stoke.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.	*" " South.	*†Wednesbury.
*†Cambridge.	Salford, North.	*West Bromwich.
CHEESHIRE.	†" " West.	Wolverhampton, West.
*†Birkenhead.	*†Stallybridge.	SUFFOLK.
†Chester.	*†Warrington.	†Ipswich (2nd seat).
†Stockport (2nd seat).	*†Wigan.	WARWICKSHIRE.
DEVONSHIRE.	LEICESTERSHIRE.	Birmingham.
*†Exeter.	Leicester.	†Edgbaston.
*†Plymouth (2).	LINCOLNSHIRE.	*Coventry.
DURHAM.	†Grantham.	WILTSHIRE.
Darlington.	Lincoln.	†Salisbury.
†Stockton.	NORFOLK.	WORCESTER.
*Sunderland (2).	*Great Yarmouth.	†Dudley.
ESSEX.	†King's Lynn.	†Kidderminster.
*†Colchester.	†Norwich (2nd seat).	YORKSHIRE.
GLOUCESTER.	NORTHAMPTON.	Bradford.
Bristol, North.	Peterboro'.	" Central.
†" South.	NORTHUMBERLAND.	" East.
*†Cheltenham.	*†Tynemouth.	" West.
HANTS.	NOTTS.	Halifax (2nd seat).
*†Christchurch.	Nottingham, East.	Hull, East.
Portsmouth	*†" South.	Leeds, Central.
†Southampton (2).	OXFORD.	Middlesbro'.
KENT.	*†Oxford City.	*†Pontefract.
*†Chatham.	SIRKOPSHIRE.	*†Scarboro'.
*†Hythe.	*†Shrewsbury.	Sheffield, *†Brightside.
*†Rochester.	SOMERSETSHIRE.	" *†Central.
LANCASHIRE.	*†Bath (2).	" *†Eccleshall.
*†Bolton (2nd seat).	*†Taunton.	" *†Hallam.
Burnley.	STAFFORDSHIRE.	Wakefield.
†Bury.	Hanley.	*†York (2).
*†Liverpool (Aberc.).	Newcastle-under-Lyme.	

In 1892 the representation of Southampton and York was divided ; and the representation of Bath both in 1885 and 1892.

* Signifies that the seat was held by a Conservative in 1885.

† " " " " " " 1892.

The Liberals, therefore, on the 30 per cent. plus and 7 per cent. minus basis will win 78 English borough seats, 39 of which they did not hold in 1885 and 50 in 1892. The results in the Boroughs will, on the 30 per cent. basis, be far and away above those of 1885 and 1892.

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

NORTHUMBERLAND. Tyneside.	CHEESHIRE (cont.). *†Altrencham. †Hyde.	SUFFOLK. South-Eastern.
DURHAM. South-Eastern.	DERBYSHIRE. Southern.	GLOUCESTER. Northern. Eastern. †Southern.
CUMBERLAND. Northern. †Mid. *Eastern. *Western.	LINCOLNSHIRE. Gainsboro'. *†Stamford.	HERTFORD. *†Mid. *†Western.
WESTMORLAND. *†Southern.	STAFFORDSHIRE. *†Leek. †North-West. †Handsworth.	ESSEX. †South-Western. *†North-Eastern. *†South Eastern.
YORKSHIRE. <i>North Riding.</i> *†Whitby. <i>East Riding.</i> *†Howdenshire. <i>West Riding, North.</i> Shipley. <i>West Riding, South.</i> Doncaster. <i>West Riding, East.</i> †Ripon.	WORCESTERSHIRE. *†Western. *†Southern. †Mid.	WILTS. †North-Western. *Eastern. †Southern.
LANCASHIRE. <i>Northern.</i> *North Lonsdale. *†Blackpool. <i>North-Eastern.</i> *Darwen. <i>South-Eastern.</i> Heywood. Middleton. *Eccles. †Stretford. Gorton. †Prestwich. <i>South Western.</i> *†Newton. *Ince.	WARWICK. †North-Eastern.	BERKSHIRE. *†Northern.
CHESHIRE. *†Wirrel. †Macclesfield.	NOTTINGHAM. *†Bassetlaw.	HAMPSHIRE. †Eastern. *†New Forest. *†Isle of Wight.
	LEICESTER. *†Eastern.	KENT *†North-Western. *†North-Eastern. *†Thanet. *†Northern. *†Southern.
	NORTHAMPTON. *†Northern.	SOMERSET. *†Northern. †Eastern. †Western.
	HUNTS. †Southern. *†Northern.	DEVONSHIRE. Western.
	NORFOLK. *†South-Western.	SHROPSHIRE. *†Western. †Northern.
	OXFORD. Northern. Mid. *†Southern.	CORNWALL. †Truro. †South-East.
	BUCKINGHAM. Northern.	
	BEDFORD. Northern.	
	CAMBRIDGE. Northern. *Western.	

In the Counties the Liberals on the actuarial basis of 30 per cent. plus and 7 per cent. off stand to win 79 seats, of which they did not hold 39 in 1885 and 52 in 1892.

As the net result of the whole calculation we have the following estimate of the next Liberal majority, supposing that Ireland and the Universities remain as they were, and that the Liberal poll rises everywhere else 30 per cent. on the

last recorded poll at a General Election and the Conservative vote drops 7 per cent. :—

	Liberal	Result. Parnellite.	Conservative.	Seats to be won by Liberals.
England—				
Boroughs.....	115	1	49	74
Counties	159	—	75	79
London	21	—	40	15
Universities	—	—	5	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	295	1	169	168
Wales	30	—	—	4
Scotland	55	—	17	17
Ireland.....	—	82	21	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	380	83	207	189

Liberal majority over Conservatives (omitting the Nationalists altogether)	173
Liberal majority over Conservatives and Nationalists combined	90
Liberal and Nationalist majority over the Unionists ...	256

There may be some shifting in the figures, as, for instance, the Liberals may win another dozen seats in London, and fail to win as many elsewhere, but substantially the main result is not likely to be materially affected by these local changes.

We may take it then as tolerably certain that the electors would, if they were but afforded an opportunity, return a House of Commons in which the Conservatives would not number much more than 200 members.

What a light these figures shed upon the unconstitutional refusal of Mr. Balfour to dissolve a Parliament which no longer can claim to represent the people.

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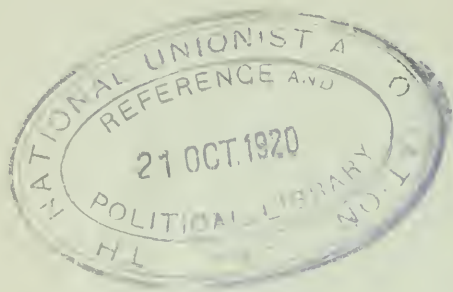
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SIR JOHN GORST.

SIR JOHN GORST was not born in the purple. He is the second son of the Clerk of the Peace of the County of Lancashire. If Sir John had been the third cousin of a duke, there is no question whatever but that he would have been one of the first to have been selected as a member of the Cabinet in 1886. Not having any such aristocratic connections, and being, moreover, of a distinctly democratic turn of mind, he has been compelled to take a back seat and serve those who are much beneath his level both in native capacity, in administrative experience, and in practical knowledge of the world and its affairs.

Born in Preston, and educated in the local Grammar School, young Gorst escaped the disadvantage of a public school training. When he was eighteen young Gorst went to Cambridge and entered St. John's College, where Mr. Courtney had preceded him by two years. At Cambridge Mr. Gorst distinguished himself in many ways, taking a mathematical degree and fellowship, and generally making his mark as an able, active, and alert young undergraduate with a political turn of mind, full of enthusiasm, and not easily daunted. Shortly after taking his degree he left Cambridge to come up to London to read for the bar. When he was twenty-three years of age his father died, and without completing his terms, young Gorst cut his cable in the old country and started off by sailing vessel from Liverpool for New Zealand.

Sir John Gorst actually left this country when a young man with the intention of being a lay missionary in the South Seas.

Sir George Grey, when he became for the second time Governor of New Zealand, was attracted from the first by the brilliant and enthusiastic young Englishman, and his offer of

a commissionership in the native district of Waikato decided him in favour of a civil as opposed to a semi-religious career.

In one of his journeys up country he made the acquaintance of "Te Waharoa," generally called William Thompson, a Maori chief, who had been Christianized and civilized, and with whom he soon formed an acquaintance which ripened into a warm and lasting friendship which coloured the whole of Sir John's career. Many things might have gone differently if Mr. Balfour had had an Irish foster-brother, if Lord Salisbury had learnt to love and esteem a South African Kaffir, and Lord Palmerston had in early youth been mated with an intelligent Mandarin.

It is a long tragic story, the gradual drifting of the British Empire into an easily avoidable war with the fast-vanishing remnant of the Maoris of New Zealand. Mr. Gorst saw it approaching, as you see the advance of the tide, with the sense of utter helplessness of any effort to avert what was once a crime and a catastrophe. It was with a heart all ablaze with a feeling of passionate indignation against the injustice which had entailed such disasters upon his Maori friends, and such a stain upon the good name of his country, that Mr. Gorst returned to his native land, bringing with him his wife and two children, who had been born at the Antipodes.

He had to begin life anew, and at once resumed his preparation for the bar. He finished his terms, and while preparing for the profession in which he was destined to ultimately take such a high position, he passed through the press the book "The Maori King. By John E. Gorst. M.A." Before long he was destined to add other initials to his name than that of Master of Arts.

He had not long qualified for admission to the Bar, when, by a rare piece of good fortune for one so young, he was elected member for the town of Cambridge, at a by-election, on April 24th, 1866. It was not, however, until after the General Election of 1868 that he first made his mark in the political world.

1868 was the great cataclysmal year for old-fashioned Toryism. Mr. Gorst and Mr. Powell both were turned out at Cambridge, and a Liberal majority of 120 confronted Mr. Disraeli as the first-fruits of his concession to democracy. Then most of the chiefs of the houses of English Conservatism lost heart and withdrew from the field. Mr. Gorst was selected by Disraeli as the Carnot who must organize victory for the Conservative cause. Mr. Gorst was entrusted with the work of organizing, on a semi-democratic basis, the Conservative party in all the constituencies.

Mr. Gorst flung himself into the task with hearty good-will. He travelled all over the country, inspiring the down-spirited and all but despairing party managers with somewhat of the buoyancy of his own optimism. He carried out, with Mr. Disraeli's entire approval, a scheme of electoral decentralization. He looked after the doubtful constituencies, and long before Mr. Gladstone's Parliament came to its untimely end in 1874 he was in a position to speak with confidence as to the results of the election, no matter when it came. It was disheartening work, not enlightened by even a ray of recognition on the part of the great aristocratic houses who had quitted the field in despair. It is hardly too much to say that Lord Salisbury in 1868 never thought to see a Conservative Administration again established at Downing Street. It was not only the peers who despaired. At the Carlton Club there were probably not half-a-dozen men who shared with Mr. Gorst his conviction that a victory was possible at the General Election.

Even Disraeli himself did not anticipate the triumph which was awaiting him. The triumph was more due to Sir John Gorst than to any living man, excepting, perhaps, Mr. Forster and Mr. Chamberlain, who between them split the Liberal party and so rendered the Conservative victory possible. Mr. Gorst, in his peregrinations about the country, had gauged the extent to which the Education Act, with its fatal 25th clause, had paralyzed the enthusiasm of the Nonconformists, who always constitute the vanguard of the Liberal party.

On the eve of the election Mr. Gorst carefully drew up an estimate of the result of the General Election which showed the Conservatives with a majority of fifty. When this was produced at the Carlton a roar of derision was raised against its sanguine author. The very idea of a Conservative majority was scouted in the headquarters of the Conservative party. Mr. Disraeli thought that Mr. Gladstone's Income-tax bribe would be fatal to Conservative success. The authorities at the club christened Mr. Gorst's prophetic paper as "Gorst's Champagne Estimate," declaring that it only could have been drawn up after liberal libations of champagne. This general disbelief led Mr. Gorst to revise his estimate before presenting it to Mr. Disraeli. He carefully went through it once more and cut down the Conservative majority to twenty-five.

The result showed some twenty-five or twenty-six seats over estimate, the figures of his original "champagne estimate" being exceeded by one or two votes. No electioneer ever enjoyed a more brilliant triumph than did Mr. Gorst. He could say, with good reason, "Alone I did it." His star seemed to be in the ascendant. The young barrister who played ducks and drakes with his practice at the bar in order to serve his party was declared on all hands to have established a claim to the best office that could possibly be given to a man of his years. Alas

for the vanity of human expectation ! The old aristocratic gang, which had sulked in its tent during the time when Mr. Gorst was toiling and and moiling in the constituencies, returned with a rush as soon as the spoils of office were within reach, and established themselves in full possession of the field.

Mr. Gorst was left out in the cold. Nothing whatever was done to recognize his unparalleled services to his party. He was one of the new school, the old gang were supreme, and Mr. Disraeli forgot his young lieutenant in the satisfaction with which he saw himself surrounded by those who had deserted him seven years before. Among the other promises which the Conservative chiefs had made him, and had failed to fulfil, was the promise of the first safe seat. In 1875, however, Admiral Sir George Elliot accepted the Chiltern Hundreds on being appointed Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth. Mr. Gorst went down to the constituency, and was elected member for Chatham, February 16th, 1875. His seat he retained till 1892, when he was elected member for Cambridge University. But it was a very different Mr. Gorst in the Parliament of 1875 from the Mr. Gorst of 1866. When he entered Parliament it was with a somewhat cynical determination to say his say and go his own way without regard to the convenience of party chiefs. From 1875 to 1880 he was the nearest approach to a free-lance of which the Conservative party could boast. He was then devilling for Sir John Holker, the Attorney-General, and making a tolerably fair practice at the bar. He was an original speaker and an effective debater ; and he had a wide and independent range of outlook, which most of the Conservatives below the gangway lack. On two occasions he temporarily joined forces with the Opposition in order to bring home to his own party a sense of our enormities in dealing with the native races. It was characteristic that on both occasions on which

he led the Opposition into the lobby against his own side it was in defence of the natives.

Shortly before the dissolution, Lord Beaconsfield sent for him, and expressed in the handsomest manner his regret that his services had been overlooked. "Why did you not come to see me?" he said, "to remind me of your existence. It is impossible for me to keep everybody in my mind, especially when so many are pushing." Beaconsfield was a finished actor, and Sir John's cynicism melted before the frank apology of his illustrious leader. From that day forth to the end of Lord Beaconsfield's life, the friendship which had produced such happy results between 1868 and 1874 continued without a break. The General Election of 1880, which placed Mr. Gladstone in power, was foreseen by Mr. Gorst.

Mr. Gorst has always done his most successful work in Opposition, and when Mr. Gladstone resumed office in 1880 he had a fresh field for the display of his resourceful ingenuity. Sir Stafford Northcote, who was then leader of the Conservative party, was very unpromising material for the designs of the Member for Chatham. It was therefore necessary to operate outside the Conservative party, and a recognition of this necessity led to the creation of the famous Fourth Party—a party of four, of which Lord Randolph Churchill was the figure-head, Sir Drummond Wolff the counsellor, Mr. Balfour the ornamental attaché, while Mr. John E. Gorst, M.A., M.P., was wirepuller-in-chief. These four men made the running for the Conservative cause during the whole of Mr. Gladstone's Parliament. Scouted, ridiculed, and denounced by the leaders on both sides, they nevertheless contained the real fighting force of the Opposition. During all these stormy times Mr. Gorst was always in the centre of the *mêlée*, as cool as a cucumber, but by no means tending to produce coolness in others.

This responsibility, however, did not weigh heavily upon him. He

continued his work at the bar, had a good deal of practice, and, among other plums, carried off a handsome fee of £1,000 a month for a four months' visit to India in connection with the state affairs in Hyderabad. When in the spring of 1885 Mr. Gladstone's Government decided to commit suicide rather than face the inevitable difficulty over the renewal of the Coercion Act for Ireland, the Fourth Party was recognized as a power in the land. Lord Randolph became Secretary for India, and Sir John Gorst became Solicitor-General. When the Unionist Administration was formed in 1886, Sir John Gorst was made Under-Secretary for India, a position of considerable importance, inasmuch as the Secretary for India was Lord Cross. As Under-Secretary for India Sir John Gorst possessed his soul in peace and laboured with diligence for some years.

Then came the Labour Conference summoned by the German Emperor at Berlin, to which Sir John Gorst was accredited as first British delegate. It was a post for which he was eminently qualified, and it opened opportunities of which he was not slow to take advantage. Sir John's sympathies have always been democratic, and he endeavoured, so far as he could, to second the efforts of the German Emperor in the amelioration of the condition of the toilers of Europe.

At Berlin Sir John came into contact with the leaders of what may be called the practical Socialism of the Continent. From the German Emperor to the Bishop of Breslau, who may be said to have attended the Congress as the special although informal representative of the Pope, he met all the men who were most in sympathy with the social aspirations of the New Era. Immediately on his return from Berlin, Sir John sought to give practical effect to the immense impression which had been produced on his mind by the Labour Parliament at Berlin. He saw that this country, although in many

respects leading the van of civilization, had in others lamentably lagged behind its Continental neighbours and rivals. The least therefore that we could do was to level up and to bring ourselves abreast with the most advanced nations of Europe.

His idea was an eminently practical suggestion, The State is a great employer of labour. The first great plank, therefore, in the social programme which Sir John had drawn up, may be succinctly formulated as follows: The State must be the ideal employer of labour. How far short it comes of this few people adequately realize, as it is impossible to realize an ideal before the ideal is defined. This leads up to the second plank in the programme, namely, a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of labour as at present existing in the countries of the most advanced nations of the world, with a view to ascertaining how far the existing conditions of labour are capable of being improved.

Unfortunately, however, for the immediate execution of this double-barrelled programme, which Sir John Gorst brought home with him from Berlin, it was found difficult, if not impossible, to induce the Government to act.

It is an open secret that many Ministers were heartily in favour of Sir John Gorst's proposals. Rumour says that they even went so far as to discuss the *personnel* of the Commission. But the departments which may be said to represent the capitalist side of the Administration, those which employ the greatest number of workmen, were up in arms against the idea of making the State an ideal employer. The authorities at the War Office and the Admiralty shook their heads. "Let sleeping dogs lie," they said; "our workmen are perfectly contented. Why should you stir them up with dreams of Utopian excellence?" So strong was this feeling that their colleagues, seeing that no direct political advantage was to be gained by entering upon reforms which would certainly increase the burdens

of the taxpayer, did not press his scheme. As to the second proposal, that of a Commission into the Condition of Labour, the field opened is so wide that it is not surprising that Ministers shrank back in some alarm.

This being the case, Sir John, seeing the old year '90 out without any practical progress being made towards the execution of the project which he brought back from Berlin, appealed from the Administration to the nation, and in a remarkable speech addressed to his constituents at Chatham in February, 1891, he roughly outlined a programme of Practical Social Reform which, although a first draft, afforded an admirable groundwork upon which to construct a practical programme of Politics for the People.

Sir John's programme may be summarized as follows:—

First—LEGISLATION.

1. Employers' liability.
2. Prevention of loss of life at sea.
3. Settlement of trade disputes.
4. The establishment of Colleges of Arbitration.
5. Raising the age of permitted child labour from ten to twelve.
6. Six days' working week.
7. In addition to free education, industrial, agricultural, and housewifery education.
8. Allotment grants.
9. Ministry of labour.

Secondly—INQUIRY.

1. Royal Commission into Condition and Hours of Labour.
2. Royal Commission into the whole question of Poor-law Relief.

As the result of an interview with Sir John Gorst, which I published in *Help*, the Royal Commission into the Conditions of Labour was appointed, with Sir John Gorst as one of its members.

In 1891 he helped to defeat his own Government by describing how he had in their name advocated the raising of the age of child labour at Berlin to twelve, while they opposed raising it to eleven in English factories. Hence, when Parliament rose Sir

John was recognized as the strongest Conservative member in the House after Mr. Balfour, and in recognizing the responsibilities of his position, Sir John devoted the recess to a careful study of the actual condition of the labourer in England and Ireland. The result of his inquiries was given in a series of three speeches which he delivered quite recently. In the first he urged the national importance of making labour much more skilled and effective than it is at present; in the second, he put forward his ideas as to the best method of staying the exodus of the agricultural labourers into the towns; and in the third, he pleaded for old-age pensions.

The Liberal victory of 1892 relegated him to the Opposition benches. When, in 1895, the Unionists were again successful, his independence was remembered against him. He was kept out of the Cabinet and appointed Vice-President of the Council. This post he held till August, 1902.

Since 1892 he has been an independent Conservative member for Cambridge University, diligent in the promotion of all measures directed to improve the physique of our people, and zealous for Free Trade.

Although seventy years old, he is more vigorous than most men of fifty-five. His town address is Queen Anne's Mansions; in the country he lives at Howes Close, Cambridge.

It will be noticed that the paper describing the system of State insurance in Germany, although fathered by Sir John Gorst, is not written by him. Its author, although not a Coming Man in the sense in which that term is used in this series, was nominated by Mr. Haldane as the best authority upon the subject in England. In order to bring such a useful paper within the scope of the series I asked Sir John Gorst to stand sponsor for it, a request with which he was good enough immediately to comply.

SIR JOHN GORST ON THE GERMAN EXAMPLE.

July 19th, 1905.

MY DEAR STEAD,

I am much obliged to you for sending me the paper on German Insurance, which I have read with great interest and profit. It is a clear, and so far as I can judge correct, description of German law, and avoids perplexing the reader with details, which, though essential to the working of the scheme, do not affect its principles. Fifteen years ago I used to go about the country making speeches on the necessity of insurance against sickness, accident, and old age, and holding up the German laws then recently passed as an example. But nobody paid much attention to what I said, and when I became an official, the Department to which I was attached had nothing to do with questions of this kind. It was not until I left office that I was again in a position to study the progress and development of the German laws and the great benefit they have conferred on the German people.

It is only one instance amongst many which shows how much more efficient the Governments of Germany, central and local, are in promoting the welfare of the people, than our own. The Germans are governed by skilled experts: we, by ill-informed amateurs. All the energies, moreover, of our rulers, such as they are, are absorbed in political intrigues, and in foreign, colonial, and domestic questions, which, whatever may be their intrinsic importance, have the effect of deluding the people into forgetfulness of their true interests. Our governing classes thus lose all sense of proportion in the treatment of public affairs. Such a Report as that of the Committee on Physical Deterioration failed to touch the sensibilities of nearly all our public men. They were far too busy with fiscal and financial questions, with foreign differences of which the importance is magnified as much as possible, with military reforms, and with personal and party conflicts, to spare much thought for so prosaic a subject as the condition of the mass of the people. They fail to recognize that, important as are the matters about which they busy themselves, this last is the most important of all. A nickname has been invented by the governing classes to discredit those who pay regard to domestic questions; they are called "little Englanders"; and elections are fought upon questions of extension of Empire, free trade and protection, redistribution of seats, anything to make the people forget that which is of transcendent importance to them—the health and vigour of themselves and their children. "A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land: the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means: and my people love to have it so."

Yours faithfully,

JOHN GORST.

THE INSURANCE OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN GERMANY.

IN the history of social reform there is no piece of work more remarkable than the system of almost universal insurance for the working classes in Germany, which was inaugurated by Bismarck a little more than twenty years ago. Provision is made by it for sickness and accident, and for permanent disability arising from either of these causes or from old age; and its importance to Germany itself is shown by the fact that in 1901, out of a total population of 57,730,000, over ten millions of workpeople were insured against sickness, over seventeen and a half millions against accident, and nearly thirteen and a half millions against disability arising from ill health or old age.

The motives which influenced the originators of the policy in the early eighties were twofold. There was a genuine desire for social reform—a real anxiety to do something to improve the conditions of life for the working classes. That idea found clear expression in the explanatory memorandum which accompanied the first legislative proposal made upon the subject by the Imperial Government in 1881:—

“That the State should interest itself to a greater degree than hitherto in those of its members who need assistance, is not only a duty of humanity and Christianity, by which State institutions should be permeated, but it is also a duty of State-preserving policy, whose object should be to cultivate the idea—especially among the non-propertied classes, which are at once the most numerous and the least educated part of the population—that the State is not merely a necessary but also a beneficent institution. These classes must, by the evident and direct advantages which are secured to them by legislative enactments, be led to regard the State not as an institution contrived for the protection of the upper classes of society, but as one serving their own needs and interests. The apprehension that a socialistic element might be introduced into legislation in pursuance of this policy should not act as a check upon us. So far as that may be the case it will be no innovation, but simply the further development of the modern idea of the State, the outcome of Christian ethics, according to which the State should discharge, besides the negative duty of protecting existing rights, the positive duty of promoting the welfare of all its members, and especially those who are weak and in need of help, by means of wise institutions and the employment of all the available resources of the community. . . . With a single measure, such as is now proposed, it is, of course, impossible to remove entirely, or even to any considerable extent, the difficulties which are contained in the social problem. This is, in fact, only the first step in a direction in which a difficult work, which will continue for years, will have to be carried through gradually and cautiously, and the completion of one task will produce new ones to be commenced.”

The reference in this passage to "State-preserving policy," and the fear of socialism, indicates the second motive for the reform legislation of which the insurance schemes formed so important a part. In the late seventies the socialist propaganda had made great progress, and the anti-socialist laws had been of little effect—in fact, socialism (like most other creeds) prospered under persecution. The Government became convinced that repressive enactments were almost useless; it must adopt preventive measures, and do something to remove the causes of that discontent which was rapidly driving the workmen into the socialist camp. In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Imperial Parliament in February, 1881, the Emperor William I. said:—

"At the opening of the Reichstag in February, 1879, the Emperor, in reference to the law [against socialism] of October 21st, 1878, expressed the hope that the House would not refuse its co-operation in the remedying of social ills by means of legislation. A remedy cannot be sought only in the repression of socialistic excesses; there must be simultaneously the positive advancement of the welfare of the working classes. And here the care of those workpeople who are incapable of earning their own living is of the first importance. In the interest of these the Emperor has caused a Bill for the insurance of workpeople against accident [to be introduced]. His Majesty hopes that the measure will in principle receive the assent of the Federal Governments, and that it will be welcomed by the Imperial Parliament as a complement of the legislature giving protection against the Social-Democratic movements. Past institutions intended to insure the working classes against the danger of falling into a condition of helplessness owing to the incapacity arising from accident or age have proved inadequate, and their insufficiency has to no small extent contributed to cause the working classes to seek help by joining the Social-Democratic movements."

These, then, were the motives which produced ultimately the Sickness Insurance Law of 1883, the Accident Insurance Law of 1884, and the Old Age and Infirmary Insurance Law of 1889. All these have been greatly extended and amended from time to time, and it is the purpose of this paper to describe briefly (without entering into all the elaborate details of administration) the system actually in force at the present time. But it is first of all desirable to draw attention to certain general principles which underlie the whole scheme.

The first of these is that participation in the insurance schemes is *compulsory* for all members of the classes to which it is applied; in the occupations and classes of workpeople specified in the laws every person must be insured—there cannot be any "contracting out." Whilst the compulsion applies primarily only to what may be called the "wage-earning classes," it can be extended to others by direction of the Federal Council; and persons not obliged to insure may do so voluntarily in the institutions established by the various laws. Secondly, if the insurance was to be compulsory, Bismarck thought it inevitable that it must be through the State: "The corollary of compulsion is, in my opinion, insurance through the State, either through the Empire, or through the individual State; without that, no compulsion. I should not have the courage to exercise compulsion if I had nothing to offer in return. . . . If compulsion is enforced, it is necessary that the law provide at the same time an institution for insurance, which shall be cheaper and securer than any other. We dare not expose the savings of the poor to the danger of bankruptcy, nor can we allow a deduction from the contributions for the payment of dividends or

interest on shares. . . . We could not, I think, in justice compel insurance in private companies which might become bankrupt, even with good management, owing to accidents or great calamities, and which are compelled to so fix their contributions that dividends can be paid to those who invest their money in the concerns." That is to say, the State must see that there are abundant opportunities of insurance in mutual benefit societies, working with special facilities granted by the State, under State control, and, in the case of the pension societies, with financial assistance from the State. This is the third important principle, that the system is not one of State insurance, but of insurance enforced, controlled, and assisted by the State government. There is no idea of making the workman in any sense dependent upon the State. And, finally, the feeling of independence is promoted and strengthened by the arrangements which give the insured a large share in the management of the various institutions, and encourage the workpeople and employers in separate trades and districts to form insurance societies of their own.

I.—Insurance against Sickness.

INSURANCE is compulsory for all workmen in building occupations, mines, quarries, factories, foundries and smelting works, railways, shipyards, and other trades and commercial pursuits, and for all such persons as foremen and clerks in these occupations whose salaries do not exceed 2,000 marks (£100) a year. Compulsory insurance can also be extended to workmen in irregular employment, or engaged in occupations not yet included in the range of the law, by order of the Federal Council. Persons not under any obligation to insure may do so voluntarily in one of the special institutions, if their income does not exceed 2,000 marks a year. [In considering the figures given in this article, the lower range of wages and salaries in Germany, as compared with Great Britain, must always be taken into account.] The following table gives the number of institutions for insurance against sickness, and the number of persons participating in their benefits in the year 1901 :—

Population.	Working Class Population.	No. of Societies.	No. of Insured.	Percentage of Working Class.
Males, 27,981,000	10,700,000	} 22,770 {	8,020,514	62·5
Females, 28,881,000	5,800,000		2,299,050	
56,862,000	16,500,000		10,319,564	

Thus, approximately two-thirds of the wage-earning population in Germany are insured against sickness, and it is unnecessary to point out that this is a very much larger proportion of workers so insured than we have in Great Britain. The policy of the German laws upon this subject has been to encourage the formation of trade or factory societies, or voluntary societies open to any persons coming within the specified classes; and if these should not be formed, or should be inadequate in any district, then the necessary institution is organized by the local authorities.

In all cases of compulsory insurance one-third of the contributions is paid by the employer, and two-thirds by the workmen. Where the insurance is voluntary the person insuring, of course, pays the whole of the con-

tributions. These are fixed in amount by each society for itself, usually as a percentage of the average daily wage of its members; but in no case may the total contributions for each person insured exceed 4 per cent. of the average wage. In return for this the *minimum* benefits are:—

- (1) Free medical treatment in the insured person's own home (including everything necessary for a cure); and
- (2) Sick money amounting to one-half of the average earnings in his trade in his particular district, from the completion of the third day of illness for the whole period of disablement up to twenty-six weeks.

Or alternatively—

- (1) Free treatment and maintenance in a hospital or similar institution; and
- (2) Half the amount of the sick money indicated above to be paid to the sick person or those dependent upon him.

Additional benefits obligatory upon the Society are:—

- (3) Sick money to women during confinement (for six weeks).
- (4) In case of death, funeral money amounting to twenty times the average daily wage of the deceased member.

These are the minimum benefits, but any society may increase the benefits given (within certain limits) according to the contributions levied by it. The administration is carried on by committees of members; the employers are entitled to representation in proportion to their contributions towards the funds (*i.e.*, to a maximum of one-third); but in the main the responsibility rests with the insured themselves, subject to the supervision of the local administrative authority, which in Germany is largely official and representative of the central government.

It will be convenient to give here a few figures which will show the extent of the financial operations of the sickness insurance societies, and the nature of their activities, in 1901.

A.	Number of Societies	22,770
	Number of Persons Insured	10,319,564
	Total Receipts	200,350,577 marks (£10,017,528)
	Total Expenditure	194,060,030 marks (£9,703,000)
	Reserve Funds	186,645,198 marks (£9,332,260)

B.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Item.	Amount.	Item.	Amount.
From Employers	£2,931,244	Medical Assistance, Medi- cine, &c.	£3,305,389
From Workpeople	6,539,198	Payments to Hospitals, &c....	1,159,126
Interest and Miscellaneous ...	547,086	Sick Pay	4,150,896
		Lying-in Benefits	130,966
		Funeral Money	276,542
		Administration and Miscel- laneous	680,091
Total	£10,017,528	Total	£9,703,000

The total number of persons who received sick pay (or its equivalent) during the year was 3,983,898.

II.—Insurance against Accident.

THIS may be compared roughly with our own system of Employers' Liability, though it seems to be much more effective. It is compulsory for all work-people employed in great industrial establishments, such as mines, factories, and metallurgical works, in the building trades, agriculture and forestry, railways and shipping, and many other occupations; and it is more extensive than the sickness insurance, since it includes all *employés* whose salaries do not exceed 3,000 marks (£150), and a larger number of persons employed in agriculture, and may be extended by the Federal Council to others. The responsibility for the insurance rests with the employer, and he pays the whole of the contributions. The employers, either of one particular industry or of a number of industries, are organized into "professional associations," in which the liability is mutual. For State or municipal industrial undertakings there are special organizations. The following table gives the number of institutions and persons insured in 1902:—

<i>Nature of Institutions.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Persons Insured.</i>
Industrial	66	7,100,537
Agricultural	48	11,189,071
State and Municipal	481	793,150
		Total ... 19,082,758

The payments made by each employer are fixed each year according to (a) the amount paid by him in wages and salaries during the preceding year, and (b) the amount and character of the risk incidental to his industry or trade. The rates adopted by each institution need the approval of the State Insurance Office.

In the event of an accident not resulting in death, the injured man becomes a charge upon the funds of a sickness insurance society (if a member of one) for thirteen weeks. At the end of that time, if inability to work continues, the accident insurance comes into force—of course it does so earlier if the injured person is not in a sickness insurance society. The accident compensation in such a case as the one we are now considering consists of

- (1) Free medical aid, in the patient's own home; and
- (2) A pension graduated according to the degree of incapacity—the maximum is two-thirds of the average salary or wage.

Or alternatively—

- (1) Free maintenance in an institution; and
- (2) A smaller pension to the persons dependent upon the patient.

Provision is made for the alteration of the pension from time to time, either by way of increase or decrease, according to any change which may take place in the circumstances which determined the original amount of the pension. It should be added, also, that if a particular course of treatment is already likely to bring about a complete cure, and so rid the insurance societies of the permanent burden of the pension, the patient is bound to undergo it; but this does not extend to operations, and the liberty of the patient is carefully safeguarded.

In case of death resulting from accident, the insurance society is bound to pay—

- (1) Funeral money amounting to one-fifteenth of the average annual earnings of the deceased (with a minimum of 50 marks = £2 10s.); and
- (2) A pension to the survivors dependent upon the deceased (in the case of children up to fifteen years of age). The maximum total of such pensions is 60 per cent. of his yearly wages. In the event of the widow marrying again at any time, she receives a payment of one year's pension in settlement of all claims.

Since the whole of the insurance funds are provided by the employers, it is natural that the management of these funds should be in their hands alone. But the workmen are given a very important share in the decision of the question in which they are mainly interested—the amount of the compensation to be awarded. They participate in the work of the societies in three ways:—

- (a) They take part in the inquiries into accidents. A representative of the sick club to which the killed or injured person belongs is appointed by the committee of the club to take part in the inquiry into the accident which is held by the accident insurance office.
- (b) They have representatives upon the courts of arbitration to which disputed questions as to pensions are referred. These courts are composed of representatives of employers and employed, and both groups are upon an equality, under the presidency of a Government official.

The work of these arbitration courts is carefully made, and is simple and rapid; legal representation is not required, even in the courts of appeal. There is practically no expenditure necessary; and the simplicity of the procedure, and the representation of the workmen upon the courts, seem to have created a general confidence in the tribunals and their working.

- (c) The workmen are represented also upon the committee appointed by the various societies to draw up regulations to guard against accidents. The societies are empowered by law to make rules and regulations with regard to the precautions to be taken by employers against accidents, and rules “for the behaviour of the insured” for the same purpose. In order to secure obedience to these rules the societies are authorized to appoint “technical inspectors” to visit the various workplaces; in cases of non-compliance with the regulations employers may be fined up to 1,000 marks (£50), or charged higher premiums, and the workmen are also subject to fines. The result is that the “professional associations” have in many cases outpaced the State in insisting on the better protection of the workpeople; thus the agricultural societies are turning their attention to regulations as to the handling of agricultural machinery. In the preparation of all these rules and regulations elected representatives of the workpeople take part.

The next table gives the receipts and expenditure of the Accident Insurance Societies in 1903.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
<i>Item.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	<i>Item.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>
From Employers ...	£6,283,165	Medical Aid (including Hos- pital Treatment)	£361,093
Interest and Miscel- laneous	786,511	Pensions to Injured	3,975,155
		Pensions to Survivors... ..	929,009
		Funeral Money	27,075
		Commutation of Pensions	111,323
		Administration	833,190
Total ...	£7,069,706	Total ...	£6,239,845

The reserve funds at the end of 1902 amounted to £9,959,718.

III.—Insurance against Infirmity and Old Age.

THE legislation which established compulsory insurance against incapacity arising from infirmity or old age was not passed by the German Imperial Parliament until 1889, and took its present form ten years later, in 1899. The obligation to insure is imposed upon all workmen and apprentices, domestic servants, and ships' crews, whatever their salary; and upon all others employed in industrial occupations (such as foremen), and all commercial clerks, teachers, and tutors, whose salaries do not exceed 2,000 marks (£100) a year. It may be extended to any classes whose inclusion is thought desirable by the Federal Council. The obligation to insure commences at sixteen years of age. Voluntary insurance in the same institutions is allowed to all industrial *employés*, clerks, teachers, &c., with salaries of less than 3,000 marks (£150) a year, and to small tradesmen, farmers, and others, on condition that they have not exceeded the age of forty years at the time of entry. The total number so insured in 1902 was 13,381,000.

The institutions for insurance of this kind are either "general" or "special." The former (thirty-one in number) are coincident with the great administrative areas, and include all persons within those areas who liable are bound to insure, with the exception of any who belong to the other group of organizations (nineteen in number) which have been formed for large industrial undertakings, such as the railways and the mines. Both classes of institutions work under the strict supervision and control of the central government. *The contributions are paid by the employers and employed in equal amounts*, and vary according to average earnings. The law of 1899 sets up five classes of wage earners, and fixes the weekly contributions for each class as follows:—

Wage Class, and Wages per annum.	Weekly Contributions.
I.—Up to 350 marks (£17 10s.)	14 pfenning (1 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.)
II.—Up to 550 marks (£27 10s.)	20 „ (2d.)
III.—Up to 850 marks (£42 10s.)	21 „ (2 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.)
IV.—Up to 1,150 marks (£57 10s.)	30 „ (3d.)
V.—Over 1,150 marks	36 „ (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.)

The insured may, if they choose, pay contributions on a higher scale than the one fixed for them by law.

In return for these contributions the following are the benefits:—

- (a) In the case of permanent incapacity arising from ill-health (“incapacity” being defined as inability to earn one-third of the average local wages in the insured person’s trade) no claim to a pension is valid unless contributions have been paid for at least 200 weeks (or five years, since not more than forty weekly contributions are necessary in any year). If the payments have been made, then the insured is entitled to a pension varying according to his wage class. Each annual pension consists of—
- (i) A Government subsidy of 50 marks (£2 10s.).
 - (ii) A fixed minimum sum for each class:—

Wage Class.	Fixed Minimum.
I.	60 marks (£3)
II.	70 „ (£3 10s.)
III.	80 „ (£4
IV.	90 „ (£4 10s.)
V.	100 „ (£5)

- (iii) An additional sum of so many pfennig for each contributory week, thus:—

Wage Class.	No. of Pfennigs.
I.	3 ($\frac{3}{16}$ d.)
II.	6 ($\frac{3}{8}$ d.)
III.	8 ($\frac{4}{5}$ d.)
IV.	10 (1d.)
V.	12 ($1\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

So that, if we take the simplest case, a man who in Class I. had contributed for 200 weeks, and then became permanently disabled by illness, would be entitled to receive an annual pension amounting to 50 marks (£2 10s.) + 60 marks (£3) + 200×3 pf. (= 600 pf., or 6 shillings), *i.e.*, £5 16s. in all. The maximum amount of such a pension appears to be £20 15s.

The usual arrangement is for the pension for incapacity arising from ill-health to commence at the end of the twenty-six weeks of sick pay, but the insurance institutions have the same right as the accident societies to require that all proper and reasonable means of securing a complete recovery shall be taken by the patient. They may themselves provide the requisite medical assistance, either in the patient’s own home or in a suitable institution.

(b) The pensions for incapacity arising from old age can be claimed first at the age of seventy, and the minimum number of weeks in which contributions must have been paid is 1,200 (*i.e.*, 30 years). The annual pension then granted consists of two parts:—

- (i.) A Government subsidy of 50 marks (£2 10s.)
- (ii.) A fixed additional sum varying with the wage class to which the recipient has belonged, thus:—

Wage Class.	Amount.
I.	60 marks (£3).
II.	90 „ (£4 10s.)
III.	120 „ (£6).
IV.	150 „ (£7 10s.)
VI.	180 „ (£9).

If the worker has paid various rates of contributions (owing to changes in earnings), an average contribution is calculated and the corresponding pension given. It will be seen that the minimum pension is £5 10s. a year (or a trifle over 2s. a week), and the maximum, £11 10s. (about 4s. 6d. a week). These amounts are not large, and the criticisms most frequently directed against the scheme are that the pensions commence very late (there have been many proposals for reducing the age to 65), and that the amounts obtained then are too small. Admittedly the scheme is not all that could be desired, but it must be remembered, first, the pension can be obtained at an earlier age if incapacity is due to ill-health (as a matter of fact, it is very commonly claimed on that ground before the age of 70 is reached); and, secondly, that the amount, though small, may be of considerable use, and as Bismarck long ago pointed out, it may render it possible for relatives to undertake the maintenance of the recipient when they could not do so if he were entirely dependent upon them.

It will be noticed that the invalidity pension may be higher than the old age pension, and that the accident pension may be higher than either. The invalidity pension must, of course, be claimed before seventy, but, apart from that, the general rule is that the highest pension may be claimed. It would not normally happen that an old age pension would be higher than an accident insurance pension, but it might be higher than an ordinary invalidity pension, and in that case it could be claimed. It may be added that an insured female person who has paid contributions for at least 200 weeks may, on marriage, claim the return of half the contributions paid, and so may the widow and children under fifteen years of age in the event of the death of the insured person who has paid contributions for a similar period.

Weeks of sickness and of military service are counted as contributory weeks.

It is not necessary here to set out all the elaborate details of the administration of this great system. It is necessary to notice only the following points:—

- (a) In the management of the insurance institutions the employers and employed share equally. The institutions may not undertake other insurance business, and the regulations drawn up by them for the conduct of their business must be approved by the Imperial Insurance Department. On each directorate there are official members appointed by the Government or the principal local authorities as its agents; one of the official members is chairman of the board.
- (b) The courts of arbitration are composed of a Government official and of representatives, in equal numbers, of the employers and employed. They may not be members of the directorate of the insurance institution. The procedure is as simple and rapid as possible, and there are no costs attached to an arbitration. Appeal lies to the Imperial Insurance Office.
- (c) Contributions are payable by the workmen by the purchase of stamps, which are fastened on to the contribution card; but generally the employer pays the whole amount due from his undertaking, and then deducts the workmen's shares from their wages, putting the corresponding stamps on their cards.
- (d) Pensions may not be pledged, or made subject to any charges, by the pensioner. There are other attempts to guard against abuses; and if he is a confirmed drunkard the pension may be paid in kind, and not in money.

(e) Applications for pensions must be made (usually) to the local administrative authority, which inquires into the circumstances and reports to the pension office. The pensions are paid through the post.

The following table gives the receipts and expenditure of the pension institutions in 1902 :—

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
<i>Item.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>		<i>Item.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	
From Employers	£3,474,644		Invalidity Pensions	£3,928,297	
From Employed	3,474,645		Old Age Pensions	1,175,364	
From the State	1,892,484		Medical Assistance	456,180	
Interest, &c.	1,692,082		Sick Pay	90,549	
			Return of Contributions	356,705	
			Administration	610,991	
Total	£10,533,855		Total	£6,618,086	

The reserve funds at the end of 1902 amounted to £50,373,876.

As to the number of pensions, there were in force at the commencement of 1902 :—

For Invalidity	£486,945
„ Sickness (regarded as temporary)	8,700
„ Old Age	179,450
Total	£675,095

In 1902 there were granted the following numbers :—

For Invalidity	142,750
„ Sickness	8,734
„ Old Age	12,885
Total	164,369

So that making a large allowance for those pensioners who dropped out, there must have been at the commencement of 1903 some three-quarters of a million persons in receipt of pensions of this kind in the German Empire.

It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the far-reaching importance of the system which has now been briefly outlined. The cost to the individual, employer or employed, is comparatively trifling, and the benefits to the community are incalculable. It greatly lightens the burden of poor-law administration, and secures a provision for the times of sickness and incapacity which can be claimed as a *right* by the worker, and does not come to him as a dole from the State or as a charity. It assuredly keeps many homes intact which otherwise must inevitably be broken up, and by bringing employers and employed constantly together in the administration of the insurance societies, it helps to promote that mutual understanding which is the surest guarantee for the maintenance of industrial peace. So successful has the system of insurance been that there are many schemes in the air for its extension, so as to provide against non-employment, and for widows and orphans. But whatever may come of these, the existing scheme deserves the closest study on the part of all who are interested in social reform and believe that a constructive social policy is the primary need in Great Britain to-day.

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**SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL HOPE:
A LIBERAL FORECAST.**

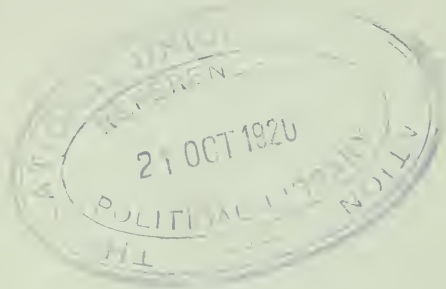
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MR. THOMAS SHAW, M.P., K.C.

IF I were asked to indicate who was the comingest of all the coming men in the new Parliament, I should astonish most people outside the House of Commons, but few people inside it, if I were to name Mr. Thomas Shaw, who in the last Liberal Administration was Solicitor-General for Scotland. In the coming Liberal Administration, if the Prime Minister be well advised, Mr. Thomas Shaw will have a seat in the Cabinet as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He will probably object to wear that crown of thorns. In the natural order of events he would become Lord Advocate, and in due course he would be appointed to a judgeship, and the political world would know him no more. That, however, is a loss which the political world will not tolerate. There are too few Thomas Shaws in the House of Commons for Great Britain to be willing to spare so statesmanlike a politician, so capable a parliamentarian. He is more needed for the legislature than he is wanted as a mere interpreter of the Acts passed by legislatures. Hence his personal predilections and financial interests will have to be remorselessly sacrificed on the altar

of his country. Mr. Thomas Shaw is much too important a Liberal asset to be side-tracked into the office of the Lord Advocate.

Mr. Thomas Shaw is a man of the people. He belongs to the democratic contingent in a Cabinet which, like all British Cabinets, will contain a large aristocratic element. "C.-B." is a baronet, a man of wealth, and a landed proprietor on both sides of the Tweed. Lord Spencer is one of the historic chiefs of the British aristocracy. Even Mr. Winston Churchill is the grandson of a duke.

Mr. Thomas Shaw's father died early, but one of the widowed mother's chief cares in life was the education of her infant son. When thirteen he was Dux Medallist in Dunfermline High School. He served his articles to a solicitor, but left the office for a University culture and career. He became the witness of not a few struggles to cultivate literature on a little oatmeal, and it was probably the memory of these struggles that prompted him in later life to suggest to Mr. Carnegie the creation of the magnificent Carnegie trust, whereby a couple of millions

sterling has been set apart for the aiding of poor scholars to secure the advantages of a University education. He graduated with honours, and soon obtained an appointment as assistant to Professor Calderwood, who held the Chair of Moral Philosophy. His list of University honours include, besides his M.A., a Fellowship in Mental Philosophy. He carried off the Lord Rector's Historical Prize in 1874. In 1875 he was LL.B. of Edinburgh, and 1902 LL.D. of St. Andrews.

It is significant that Mr. Thomas Shaw and Mr. R. B. Haldane, the two distinguished Scotch lawyers who will represent the opposing schools of Liberal policy in the next Cabinet, were both immersed in philosophy in their early manhood. Mr. Shaw's politics show the moral and Mr. Haldane's the metaphysical bias of their early philosophical studies.

Mr. Shaw became an Edinburgh advocate in 1875. He soon made his mark as a sound lawyer, and had prospered sufficiently to marry in 1879, when he was twenty-nine years of age. In 1886 he had achieved sufficient distinction both as a lawyer and a Liberal to be appointed Advocate depute by the short-lived Home Rule administration. In 1892 he was returned to Parliament for the Hawick Burghs, a constituency which he is likely to represent for the rest of his life; for the Scottish burghers know a good man when they have got him, even when he is an Englishman, but when he is a "brither Scot" they cleave unto him as Jonathan clave unto David.

In 1894 he received silk, and was described as Thomas Shaw, Q.C.,

M.P. In the same year he was appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland on the re-constitution of the Liberal Cabinet consequent on Mr. Gladstone's retirement, and held the office until Lord Rosebery's resignation in June, 1895.

Up to this time Mr. Shaw was only known as a shrewd, capable Scottish lawyer. The fact that he had in him the calibre of a statesman was only revealed by the time of stress and strain that began when, by refusing arbitration, the Jingo Government precipitated the country into war with the Boers. It was a great testing time. There are Liberals, and Liberals who will be in the next Cabinet, who will nevertheless be branded for all time with the scar of a shameful apostasy. In that supreme crisis, when the crucial test was applied to the morality and Liberalism of our leaders, they were weighed in the balances and found wanting. They are forgiven, as was the Apostle Peter after he denied his Lord. But just as Peter ever afterwards winced when he heard a cock crow, so these sombre penitents shudder when South Africa is mentioned. But if the crisis proved fatal to the pretensions of many, it revealed, as gold is brought to sight in the refiner's crucible, the sterling qualities of those who had a really strong grip upon the fundamental principles of liberty and justice. Among those who triumphantly stood the test were few Englishmen. But conspicuous amongst the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh Abduls of Liberal principle stand Mr. Thomas Shaw and Mr. Lloyd-George. Both in the country and in the House these two men bore the brunt of the Jingo

savagery. Mr. Shaw vindicated the right of free speech at Edinburgh as Mr. Lloyd-George vindicated it at Birmingham. Both men risked much. Both men came off scatheless, certified "for valour." It was in April, 1901, in his eloquent impeachment of the policy of farm-burning and devastation, that the House of Commons woke up to the discovery that it had in Mr. Thomas Shaw an orator and a debater of the first rank. He had spoken before, and had acquired a reputation for dry humour and masterly handling of intricate details. His analysis of the confused and confusing clauses and schedules of the Scottish Agricultural Holdings Act in 1900 was ruthlessly effective; but everything is forgotten to-day save his happy illustration, "The climax of confusion was reached in the schedules. There was nothing in literature like it," he said, "except the reference that Captain Cuttle made to the qualities of his watch. 'A parting gift,' said Cuttle; 'if you put it back half an hour in the morning, and a quarter of an hour now and again in the afternoon, it is a watch that will do you credit.' That was exactly the position of Scotch farmers in relation to the gift of this Bill." His speech on the Chinese Labour Ordinance has become one of the text-books on that controversy.

Mr. Shaw is as able a writer as he is a speaker. He is a frequent contributor to our leading reviews, and the article on Talleyrand in the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica is from his pen. He is a close student of history, and he is not ashamed to admit that he considers a knowledge of the settlement

of our troubles in Canada is indispensable to those who would attempt to secure the contentment of the South African Colonies. His article on that parallel in the *Nineteenth Century* attracted much attention.

Mr. Shaw's chief achievements, after the splendid fight which he made against the Jingoism, have been in connection with Scottish Universities and Scottish Churches. It is an open secret that, he, more than any man, was godfather of Mr. Carnegie's splendid Educational Trust. He is one of the most trusted of the trusty ones to whom the administration of the great benefaction is entrusted. As counsel for the United Free Church, he piloted the Church safely through all legal quicksands. So long as the question was in his hands, the Church won every point. It is true he was on his native heath, and he had to plead before judges who were neither as ignorant as Lord Halsbury about the facts of the case, nor so preoccupied with the niceties of Calvinistic theology. When the case passed into other hands, he was not responsible for the disaster which ensued—a disaster which has, however, one redeeming feature, in that it has done much to discredit the authority of English Tory landlords when dealing with questions beyond the Tweed. After the mischief had been done, it was Mr. Thomas Shaw who was the first to indicate the only way out. In a speech which he addressed to his constituents shortly after the decision was pronounced, Mr. Shaw clearly and explicitly laid down the outlines of the settlement by an Executive Commission, which was subsequently

recommended, almost in his very words, by the Royal Commission, whose report is the basis of the Government Bill. Lord Rosebery missed his chance by letting the Scottish Church crisis pass without reminding any one in Scotland, or out of it, that he counted for anything in the settlement of a question that touched the national sentiment to the quick. Mr. Shaw made no fuss and no phrases. He simply pointed out what must be done, and every one has been trying to do it ever since.

Mr. Shaw is a keen Liberal, and his interest in domestic questions is continuous and intense. On the question of Temperance reform he is a high licence man. In a very interesting paper which he contributed to the *Independent Review* of last January, he set out his reasons for believing that it would be possible by a judicious increase of the licence duties for selling strong drink, to raise an additional revenue of eight millions annually from intoxicants. He maintained that substantially for the first time in British politics the conflict between those who desire to raise revenue and those who desire to put limits upon the consumption of drink and the power of the Liquor Trade has disappeared, and that the high licence system is one which may command the sympathies and unite the efforts of financial and Temperance reformers.

He has also not less pronounced views as to the possibility of increasing the revenue by taxing land values, and this brings me to another of Mr. Shaw's characteristically courageous forecasts. Without definitely committing himself to an advocacy of so startling a plan, he has thrown out

for discussion the suggestion that, after the next General Election, the Liberal leaders should refuse to undertake the responsibility of office until the Crown has guaranteed its support to carry through the House of Lords a Bill rendering a second demand of the Commons made on the same issue, and substantially on the same terms, imperative and final. To the natural objection that the King would not assent to any such revolutionary condition, Mr. Shaw replies:—"Very well, what happens? The Tories are again called to office, and the House of Commons, composed of a Liberal majority, steadily refuses Supply until its demand is conceded. There is another interview between the leaders of the parties, and I think it extremely unlikely that when the same point has again been reached the House of Lords will refuse a working arrangement. If it did so, a wholesale creation of new peers would settle the difficulty, and that step would, in my opinion, be justified. These peers would be expressly created to pass a measure on which everything else would hang—namely, that a Bill on the same issue and in the same sense, presented a second time by the House of Commons to the Lords, should pass through that chamber *pro forma*. This measure once on the Statute-book, it would not matter what our newly created peers subsequently did."

"Thorough" is Mr. Shaw's maxim. And there is no doubt that if the new Liberal Government is not to be hamstrung in advance, it will have to arrange for some such hamstringing of the permanent Tory majority

in the Upper House as Mr. Shaw suggests.

Mr. Shaw, it need hardly be said, is a thorough-going Home Ruler. That is one reason, and a very vital reason, why he, of all men, must be the next Chief Secretary for Ireland. Scotchmen always get on better with Irishmen than do Englishmen. In the next administration both the Viceroy and the Chief Secretary will be Scots, and as the Irish wish to have it so, and we have no Englishman who is particularly anxious to go to Dublin Castle, it will be during the next administration a Scottish preserve. Of course, if the relations between the two countries were not so hopelessly embittered, Mr.

Redmond ought to be Chief Secretary. As no Nationalist will take office, the next best thing is to ascertain who is the man with whom the Liberal Government can best establish harmonious relations with the representatives of Ireland in Parliament. And on that point there is no room for hesitation. The fact that Thomas Shaw would be the ideally good selection for the Chief Secretary is probably the one solitary question of fact upon which Mr. Redmond and Mr. Healey agree. When they do agree, their agreement is so wonderful and so conclusive that there is nothing left for the new Prime Minister but to ratify their choice.

SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL HOPE: A LIBERAL FORECAST.

By Mr. THOMAS SHAW, M.P., K.C.

THERE is much in the retrospect of events in South Africa which will remain indelibly impressed on the minds of those who, like myself, took the unpopular side during the war. Great Britain was plunged into that unhappy conflict because, as I still think, passion and folly predominated over reason and wisdom in regard to our relations with the two Republics. The love of money is the root of all evil, and if to money be added territory and power, then the love of these lies very near the heart of our South African trouble. When Lord Salisbury said, "We seek no gold, we seek no territory," I believe him to have been sincere. But there were gigantic forces around and behind Lord Salisbury; the territory has been taken and the gold secured. When one thinks of the diplomacy of the autumn of 1899; when the sad spectacle of the abuse not only of the passions but of the generous instincts of a great people falls under review, and when the promises and hopes of that time are compared with realizations to-day, it would appear that the golden apple has turned to ashes; and a sense of disappointment, of shame, and almost of despair fills the mind. The object of this short sketch is to show that while disappointment may well be justified, and shame will always remain, the case is not one for despair. Just as I have throughout valued the finer qualities of both combatants, just as I have declined to see honour on the one side or shame on the other of a contest in which victory went to the side of overwhelming resources and of battalions which numbered twenty to one,

just as upon both sides it has been easy to see the elements of tenacity, of courage, and of love of country, so the reasons for despair disappear, and I truly believe that it is not too late for British and Dutch statesmanship to succeed in evolving out of the chaos of affairs in the late South African Republics the fabric of well-ordered freedom.

It was no doubt a trying time. It will not be expected that either as to the past or the present situation this paper will be of the nature of an elaborate or statistical review. What I wish to get at is: Is there both for this country and for the late Republics a well-grounded hope of good government, of racial peace, and of true civilization, notwithstanding all that has occurred? I believe that there is. Well do I remember, in the course of Mr. Chamberlain's correspondence with the officials in Cape Colony, how earnestly Mr. Schreiner, the Prime Minister at the Cape, pled the example of the Canadian precedent,—seeking for merciful courses as a means of peace. Well do I remember the keenness of disappointment with which those of us who were similarly engaged found his earnest plea set aside. I have urged before now the closeness of the analogy, and with Mr. Lyttelton's dispatch transmitting the new constitution for the Transvaal in my hand I feel inclined to urge it again.

But think for a moment of those times in the autumn of 1899. Those who love peace by recourse to arbitration are not likely to forget that when the clouds appeared to be lifting, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner at the last moment declared that they would not submit to arbitration these three simple questions: (1) The position of British Indians; (2) the position of other coloured British subjects; and (3) our claim that all British subjects should be entitled to treatment at least equally favourable to that of the subjects of any other nation. The Transvaal asked for arbitration, and conceded that the arbitrator should not be a foreign Power. We refused. Our refusal can never be counted to us for reason. No one is now deceived as to the Boer ultimatum. The whole situation had in it elements that smacked of cruelty, and made for the exhaustion of the patience of the adversary, leaving us to watch for his halting, and make his first slip an occasion for the declaration of war. The student of history no longer thinks of the ultimatum as a cause; he inquires what caused the ultimatum. At that time the position of the Transvaal was peculiar enough. But as to the Orange Free State—its pleading that we should fulfil our promise and state our terms for a settlement was indeed pitiful. I venture to say that the correspondence between Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Steyn, from the 19th of September to the 7th of October, 1899, is almost without parallel in its deprecation of our menace of

massing troops and its entreaty for a statement of terms. We need not go over it all again. It is as well that memories are short.

Nor need we recount the course of the war: the waste of treasure, the loss of life, the protraction of hostilities—all these on a scope and scale enormously in excess of the anticipations of the British authorities, either military or civil, or of the mass of the British people. It is so difficult to extinguish the flame of liberty and love of country, it is so hard to gauge its vitality and measure, it is so tempting to think that these things are the possession of our own but of no other race. But when in the third year of the war, when nearly 400,000 troops had been dispatched to Africa, when we had stepped from illegality to illegality, notably in declaring territory to be ours which we did not effectively occupy, and in involving non-combatants in punishments due only to a combatant population—the misery of the concentration camps was touching the hearts of our people, and the truth in many of its naked horrors was at last reaching this island—then the acceptance by the Boers of the terms of peace was received, it may be remembered, with a vast sense of relief. Even at that stage, or shortly thereafter, the grotesque had its turn, and when the Boer generals visited this country there was seen in journals which had exhausted almost their last ounce of energy in denunciation of the Boers as a race, and in questioning even the humanity of their conduct under arms, a revulsion to laudation which stupefied many but deceived none.

The truth is, the testing time was not then, but is now. By our conduct in this year 1905, and for ten years henceforth, we shall earn or lose our title for constructive statesmanship. Every year well employed now may make for a quarter of a century of peace. Every month well employed now may do much to obliterate the miseries and the mistakes of past conflict. It is from this point of view that I deplore more than I can say the introduction of the Chinese into South Africa, under what is known as the Chinese Labour Ordinance of February, 1904. In the first place, it gave a damaging blow to that sense of co-operation between the Colonies and the Mother Country in an hour of peril which had been so much belauded. It had been contended that this evidence of the solidarity of the Empire was not only a consequence, but was a justification of the war itself. Now, when the war was over, and when it was open to this country to justify Lord Salisbury's declaration, to repel the suggestion that the war had been largely engineered through capitalistic motives, to prove to the world, and in particular to our population and to our Colonies, that our professions of "equal rights" and the opening up

of new markets for British labour were not vain boastings, but would now be established before the world, affording a true measure of the highest standard of our policy as a civilizing power—with all these things and all these opportunities opened to us came this Chinese Ordinance, leaving a sense in the minds of most of the British people not only that it had been disappointed, but that it had been duped. The Blue Books contain the records of opinion in Cape Colony, and also the texts of the telegrams of the Prime Ministers of New Zealand and the Commonwealth of Australia, foreseeing “grave perils, racial, social, political, and sanitary, inevitably induced by alien influx, injurious to ourselves and neighbouring territories with which our future is linked indissolubly, and finally to Empire.” Such warnings, however, were disregarded, and language was held in this country which was, substantially, contemptuous of colonial opinion. Imperialism, it was felt, had received a shock. Capitalism appeared to have mastered it. Further scrutiny disclosed the fact that the procuring of labour for the mines had been the subject of curious attempts founded upon wholly uneconomic principles, regardless to some extent of native rights and stretching back far into the Kruger régime. The attempt had been made indeed to do this impossible thing, namely, to force up the supply and at the same time keep down wages. Coercion was, however, found to be impossible, and it was a bitter complaint against President Kruger that he would not permit it. One illustration may be given. Shortly after the war the Chamber of Mines reported that the schedule of wages in existence before the war had been abandoned, and that instead of about £4 a month, a scale with a minimum of 30s. and a maximum of 35s. per month had been adopted. With the wages thus limited, with a rate of mortality in the main very high, it is not to be wondered at that a scarcity ensued. Yet by January, 1904, a certain increase of native wages having taken place, labour was again returning to the mines, and the actual output had reached what would appear to most people the fabulous rate of £1,226,000 in one month, or at the rate of nearly fifteen millions sterling in one year. But by this time the Kruger régime was gone, and the Chamber of Mines had a more complaisant Government to deal with; and—a fact absolutely repellent to every lover of British citizenship—it appeared to have become part of the capitalist's policy that they could more fully and completely control the Government by the exclusion of white labour, which might claim political influence and rights! Mr. Percy Tarbutt's letter establishing this grave charge stands recorded. It is in these terms:—

DEAR MR. CRESSWELL,—With reference to your trial of white labour for surface work in the mines, I have consulted the Consolidated

Gold Fields people, and one of the members of the Board of the Village Main Reef has consulted Messrs. Wernher, Beit & Co., and the feeling seems to be one of fear that having a large number of white men employed on the Rand in the position of labourers, the same troubles will arise as are now prevalent in the Australian Colonies, namely, that the combination of the labouring classes will become so strong as to be able to more or less dictate not only on questions of wages, but also on political questions by the power of their votes when a representative government is established.—Yours sincerely,

PERCY TARBUTT.

What happened to Mr. Cresswell is well known, and the case of Mr. Money Penny, editor of the *Johannesberg Star*, will not be forgotten. In his closing leading article of December 3rd, 1903, he announced his antagonism to Chinese immigration and accordingly his difference with the Chamber of Mines. In consequence he was forced to resign his position. This is a sample of what was going on in the sub-continent—distortion and suppression of the truth. No one indeed cares to look back at that part of the chapter. The art of duping the British public is still practised, but, fortunately, with less success than formerly. The great fact, however, remains, that with a racial question serious enough to hand, namely, the question between the blacks and the whites, a new racial trouble has been deliberately introduced, and an industrial, social, and racial complexity has been produced that might well have been avoided. It is one of the most remarkable features of the situation that even upon the other racial problem, the rivalry and conflict between Dutch and English, the introduction of the Chinese has had its influence. I do not altogether regret to learn that even out of this trouble some means of unification may be found of Dutch and English sentiment. The Dutch resent the introduction of the Chinese, not only on industrial grounds, but because it is a part of British policy notably antagonistic to that followed by President Kruger. The English population resist it both on industrial and political grounds. On industrial grounds, because while ostensibly confined to only unskilled labour, it is becoming more and more manifest that such unskilled labour as was British—and there was not a little of it—is being ousted, but also that devices are being adopted, notably in the case of hand drilling as against machine drilling, to widen the area of unskilled labour and restrict that of skilled labour, which was formerly open to the British workman. Politically it is resisted by the men out there, as by the great body of the British population at home, on the substantial ground that, under the British flag,

human beings are being kept under conditions of non-citizenship, a whole criminal code is being set up alien to the idea of labour being the subject of a merely civil contract with a civil remedy as between men of an equal civil status. And so the mischief ramifies. Already as I write the statistics show that 41,000 of these Chinese have been imported. As an illustration—and one can touch on such a matter but lightly—of the social side of this problem, it need only be noted that, whereas the privilege was to be accorded and explained that the Chinese should bring their wives and children with them, only twelve women have accompanied these 41,000 men. Tumults and riots have occurred, and the statistics for one recent month appear to show that one out of every eight of these Chinese labourers has been convicted as an offender before the criminal law. It is a mistake to suppose that there is any objection to Chinese labour as such or to the Chinese as such. If the Chinese care to come and vend their labour in the markets of the world, that is one thing; but it is a very different thing if they are to be brought under conditions of non-citizenship such as the ordinance prescribes. The cost of government in such circumstance is largely added to, local opinion is substantially defied, the experience of other British Colonies remains unheeded, and a state of unrest accompanied by not a little political danger ensues.

What would the Liberal policy be in such circumstances? I think it hardly doubtful that these things, to begin with, would at once come into play. First, further importation would cease. For that importation not the Colony but this country is responsible, and this country has accordingly the initial right to terminate that stroke of policy. Second, the keenest scrutiny would have to be exercised as to the performance by the mine owners at the expiry of the terms of service now running of the contract for repatriation of the imported Chinese. Third, special and further arrangements for the inspection, if possible with the co-operation of the representative of the Chinese Government, would be made for guarding against abuse and outrage of every description. That such precautions are required is evident enough from the fact, that although it was upon the special request of the Chinese representative that the lash was forbidden by the terms of the ordinance, it now turns out—for I accept Mr. Burt's word upon the subject—that flogging has been going on. Fourth, the grant of full responsible government must be hastened so that the Transvaal may have the fullest control—control equal to that of Australia or Canada—over the influx of Chinese. We may differ as to whether Australia has been altogether wise upon that head, but that it is a branch of self-government falling within the scope of colonial home rule it would be

pharisaism to deny. And the right which has been given to the populations of Australia and New Zealand cannot be long denied to these colonies.

This leads me to the broader question of responsible government. It is well known that the constitution of March, 1905, is a constitution to be set up for the Transvaal alone, and that in the meantime even what is granted under it is to be denied to the Orange River Colony. To that matter I shall, later, return. It is further well known that the Constitution does not in the ordinary sense set up self-government. As Mr. Lyttelton admits, by self-government is meant "the system under which not only legislation, but the very existence of the executive is based upon the consent of the majority of the legislative chamber." Such self-government is denied. A legislative assembly is set up, but the executive officers are nominees of his Majesty's Government. The result is perfectly manifest. Control by the Legislative Assembly of the executive is non-existent. This is the pinch of every real struggle in the region of self-government, and upon this point there is a complete denial and refusal. The result is a half-way house of the most unsatisfactory description. Mr. Lyttelton defends this on various grounds. He says that full responsible government is a growth, and I regret that in his speech in the House of Commons the other day he should even have referred to the growth through centuries of the British constitution. Such a reference surely is not helpful.

It is not for persons who have reached the light and rejoice to walk in it to prescribe semi-darkness as a necessary condition for all the children of the light. But upon examining his despatch of March 31st a very serious prospect opens up for the Transvaal. We can leave his reference to the evolution of the British constitution on one side. But in his despatch he specifically refers to three instances. In the first place, to Canada, where there was a transition period from 1840 to 1867, namely, of twenty-seven years; in the second place, to the Cape Colony from 1853 to 1872, a period of twenty-nine years; and to Natal from 1856 to 1893, a period of thirty-seven years. I protest against dashing the legitimate hopes of the inhabitants of the Transvaal, Dutch or English, in this manner. Were these periods to be treated as relevant precedents—periods of from twenty-seven to thirty-seven years—it appears to me that a premium would be put upon those subterranean movements of political activity to which it must be the desire of every lover of sound progress and of peace in Africa to offer no encouragement. But in the next place I totally dissent from the view taken by the Colonial Secretary—in the despatch and in his speeches—of the Canadian precedent. He appears to think that he will "emphasize and stereotype

the racial line by making it also the dividing line between government and opposition." He cannot get out of his head that the Dutch will be all on one side and the English all on the other, and hence his extraordinary and dangerous language about a "political vendetta." Now all his fears as to that prospect might have been expressed with tenfold more force if he had only cited Lord Durham's language not only as to the racial conflict, but as to the aggravation of such antagonism by the evils of a recent war. Says Lord Durham: "The national feud forces itself on every sense, irresistible and palpable, as the origin or the essence of every dispute which divides the community. We discover that dissensions which appear to have another origin are but forms of this constant and all-pervading quarrel; and that every contest is one of French and English in the outset, or becomes so ere it has run its course." The remarkable fact about Lord Durham's policy is that, in so far as he conquered this, he conquered it by absolute trust in the people of both races to work out on constitutional lines, and by the friction which joint constitutional action produces, their common destiny.

But not only so. When Lord Durham failed to have the courage in policy of these views so splendidly expressed in his report, he failed altogether. The illustration of this failure was his action in uniting the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in order to produce such an overwhelming force of English opinion, taken *en bloc*, as to overrule the will of the one race in that province where it was predominant. It was a species of gerrymandering founded upon mistrust of political institutions, and resulting in seven-and-twenty years of great unrest, until finally, in 1867, peace was procured, and only procured by a full and whole-hearted grant of representative institutions to each province, allowing each to work out its own destiny, and having full confidence that the rule of the majority of the population would not be inimical to the welfare of the Dominion as a whole. Similar things have happened elsewhere. No gerrymandering to avoid a full, free, and thoroughly representative expression of the opinions of the population and of its self-governing will bring peace in the presence of a racial trouble. But the other, the more generous and trustful policy, can and does bring peace. It has been so in other departments. The Colonial Secretary fears a "political vendetta." Does it never occur to him that there may be materials in the Dutch population, just as there were materials in the French population, which make for the stability of British institutions, instead of their weakening? I have urged this in recent years; ¹ particularly did I urge it as a precedent for the grant of amnesty

¹ "The Durham Road to Peace," *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1901.

to political offenders and for generous repatriation. As in the case of Canada, so in the South African, the "loyalists" avowed that this was truckling to treason. The immediate Canadian policy after the rebellion was to give amnesty and a generous restoration of homesteads. The "loyalists" of Canada were roused to frenzy by these offers, and rioted in the streets of Montreal, setting the Government buildings on fire and subjecting even the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, to assault. But the Liberal policy triumphed. The lessons of the loss of America had not fallen into dim obscurity, and Canada was retained for this country, not by exhibitions of pride and force, but by exhibitions of forgiveness and trust even in the people with whom we had been at war. Within a few years the leaders of those people became the safest and most trusted advisers of the British Crown. But, as I have said, the defect of the Canadian policy was that it, so to speak, "jibbed" just at the point of full responsible government—and during the whole of a quarter of a century, while that refusal lasted, unrest and peril, and that in increasing measure, were the result. May I venture to hope that in South Africa this lesson may be learned by both sides. By promptitude, by generosity, by trust upon our part, we shall have adopted to a foe whom we cannot but respect, and whom we decline to fear, a policy justified by the best British Imperial experience. And by a response in Africa on the part of the Dutch people, including the Dutch leaders, such as has been given by the French and their leaders in Canada, a new avenue may be opened up to the energies of that much more virile population, which in the practice of free constitutional government may help to win for both races a worthy place in the annals of civilization.

Strangely enough, upon this constitutional question, as upon the Chinese Labour question, new lines of union and co-operation are being formed. The Colonial Secretary is mistaken. It is not the case that the Dutch are for, and the English against, this project. A most remarkable and a most hopeful sign is that the English workman and the Dutch labouring man make common cause in the claim for responsible government. My esteemed friend, Mr. Burt, having just returned from South Africa, where he had watched quietly and keenly the whole social and industrial situation, makes use of these hopeful words:—"Between the workmen and the Boers there is indeed fundamentally much political agreement. On the controversy now being waged between the advocates respectively of representative and responsible government, working men and Boers are, in the main, on the same side, both being in favour of immediate responsible government." I should not be surprised if one of the very earliest acts of Liberal policy were,

after due consideration and inquiry into the entire position—if possible, inquiry on the spot—the granting of such a measure of responsible self-government as would not only give scope to this new and wholesome union, but by doing so remove the reproach and the danger which attach now, as in the past, to that middle and transition stage which British citizens guided by experience and imbued with a just sense of their privileges do well to deprecate.

I have said nothing of the Orange River Colony. I honestly avow that I cannot understand what the Orange River Colony has done that its claim for self-government should be actually postponed to that of the Transvaal. It has been always well governed. Its population is the most orderly in the world. The complexities arising from a sudden influx of alien population are far fewer than in the other province. It contains, on the whole, a highly educated people, fit by the virtues of frugality, industry, and self-control, and by the practice of its own constitution, for the exercise of the full rights of citizenship. It would almost seem as if its virtue were its punishment. I agree with those who think that if an immediate all-round grant of self-government were to be withheld, and only localities were to be selected, the Orange River Colony should first have obtained all that was going in the shape either of full self-government or of approaches towards it. Here, at all events, Liberal policy is clear enough. The postponement of the grant of political rights cannot continue.

For both these Colonies, strange to say, I look for a future, the same as that I had thought they might achieve through constitutional means long before, and without, the war. How few people there are who remember the strides that the Transvaal was making towards freedom, towards a forward policy! Such a policy as would have placed it in line not only with communities self-governed in the ordinary sense, but with those communities of mixed races in the Cape and in Natal which would have formed, and will yet form, the material for a great South African federation. The Progressive party, headed by Joubert, was being consolidated, was powerfully represented at the polls, and Joubert almost defeated Kruger for the presidency. The blessed prospect of this constitutional movement in the direction not only of South African freedom but also of South African unity was overclouded and the hopes of the lovers of progressive government were rudely dashed by the infamy of the Jameson Raid. The immediate effect of the Raid was to consolidate anti-English feeling and to disrupt all tendencies which seemed to threaten the *status quo*. This arrest of the progressive movement, synchronizing with the enormous development of the gold mining industry,

produced a state of affairs in which, unhappily, English diplomacy at a critical period was not exercised to delay the distrust which had not unnaturally been caused, and then—the war ! But now that it is over, and we stand ten years removed from that fatal Raid, willing to acknowledge the merits of both races in the bloody conflict which has since been waged, may we not hope that the old ideals, even in the minds of the Dutch race, may be revived ? It was their own ideal—a progressive policy of free opportunity for the energies of both races. Much that has happened has sapped the foundations of one's belief in the wisdom of statesmen, and in the ability of the moral elements of our nation to withstand the temptation of passion and cupidity ; but after the bitter lesson—a lesson for both races—there has come a season for hope. Dutchmen and men of British blood may yet co-operate in making South Africa, on Australian and Canadian models, a home of loyal and confederated free men.

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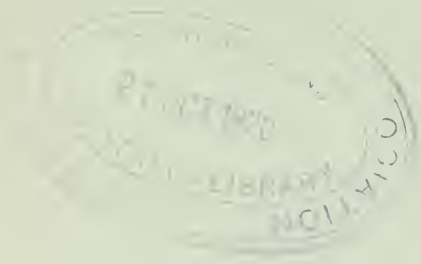
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BACK TO THE LAND :

A PLEA FOR STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION.

By Mr. H. RIDER HAGGARD.

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MR. H. RIDER HAGGARD.

MR. H. RIDER HAGGARD is British-born, although he began his career in South Africa, and his forbears came from Scandinavia. He is a Norfolk man, the son of a Norfolk man, and of a literary mother, who brought him into the world on June 22nd, 1856, at Bradenham Hall, in Norfolk. He married in 1880 a Norfolk lady and heiress, who brought him Ditchingham House, his present residence. His South African career began in his teens, when in 1875 he went out as secretary to Sir Henry Bulwer to Natal. Sir Henry Bulwer soon gave place to a much more masterful spirit. In 1877 Rider Haggard was transferred to the staff of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who, on April 12th, annexed the Transvaal. Sir Bartle Frere had arrived at Cape Town on April 4th, and Sir Theophilus acted upon direct instructions from Lord Carnarvon. On May 24th, 1877, Mr. Rider Haggard, on Shepstone's behalf, hoisted the Union Jack over Pretoria. When only twenty-two he was appointed Master of the High Court in the Transvaal.

Rider Haggard was at Pretoria when the news of the fatal fight of Isandhlwana reached the town. He joined the Pretoria Horse, a body of English gentlemen who volunteered for service against the Zulus. He was elected lieutenant and adjutant, but the Pretoria Horse never reached Zululand. They had something else to do nearer home, for the Boers had

risen in revolt, and for some time Rider Haggard was kept busy in keeping the Boer camp under observation. He does not appear to have had any actual fighting to do. Afterwards he bought an estate, and started farming in the Newcastle district of Natal.

At the end of 1879 he went home to marry Miss Margitson. After the wedding in 1880 he returned to Natal, and no sooner had he reached Maritzburg than he heard that the Boers had risen, in earnest this time, and the first Boer war had begun. When it was decided to abandon the Transvaal, the Convention with the Boers was signed in his house. Rider Haggard was so disgusted with what he regarded as the cowardice of the surrender that he packed up his belongings and departed from the country in which, he maintained, no self-respecting Englishman could care to live. This was in 1880. On his return to England he began to study for the Bar. In 1882 he published his first book, *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours*. He was only twenty-six, and the publishers were slow to recognise the capacity of the young author.

His first novel was published in 1884. That was *Dawn*. The net profit accruing to the author was £10. Literature did not seem to offer him any rich rewards. He devoted himself to his legal studies, when one fine day an idea occurred

to him which extinguished all chance of his success at the Bar by making him famous as a novelist. The thought struck him that he might have the knack of writing stories for boys. He tried his hand, and *King Solomon's Mines* was the result. Its success was immediate and immense. But he became so famous as the romancer who wrote *King Solomon's Mines* that no one hereafter would trust him with a prosaic brief. Mr. Haggard is a prodigiously rapid writer. He wrote *She* in six weeks—*She*, the most popular of all his stories.

At the General Election of 1895 Mr. Haggard contested unsuccessfully the East Norfolk division in the Unionist interest. His electioneering experiences were not happy, and they seem to have effectively cured him of any ambition to enter the House of Commons. He took the keenest interest in the local administration of his district.

But his *magnum opus*, a work to which he devoted several years of almost incessant labour, is his masterly survey of "Rural England." In order to present an accurate picture of the exact condition of our agricultural districts to-day, he travelled all over the land, interviewed everybody, and embodied the result of his observations in two of the most interesting fact-cramped surveys of contemporary England that have ever been published. To save our people from deteriorating physically it was necessary to check the depopulation of the rural districts. He insisted that the remedy lay in the multiplication of small holdings, in people's banks, and in the establishment of an agricultural parcel-post. He denounced fiercely the conversion of land that could profitably carry men into a wilderness dedicated to game for the amusement of a few plutocrats. He said:—

The agricultural interest had at present three great necessities—first, a lessening of the burdens upon land; secondly, an extended system of co-operation among producers; and, thirdly,

cheap carriage. He wanted the present parcel-post system to be extended, so that packages up to 100lb. in weight should be carried. These packages should include agricultural products of every kind. If the railways would not play their part it would be necessary to employ large motors to compete with the railways. If his proposals were adopted, thousands of persons who could not now support themselves by agriculture would be able to make a living on the land. The proposed extended parcel-post would also be a general advantage, as it would be available for the tradesmen as well as for the farmer.

He spoke strongly as to the need for decent houses for the people.

Mr. Rider Haggard's latest achievement has been to visit the United States as an Official Commissioner for the British Government, "to inspect and report to the Colonial Secretary upon the conditions and character of the agricultural and industrial settlements which have been established there by the Salvation Army, with a view to the transmigration of suitable persons from the great cities of the United States to the land and the formation of agricultural communities." "Some analogous system," Mr. Lyttelton thought, might be applied with advantage to "transferring our urban populations to different parts of the Empire."

In two months Mr. Haggard travelled over six thousand miles by train. He found that President Roosevelt had read his *Rural England*, and was intensely interested in the object of his mission. The President (he says) is one of the clearest-visioned and most able statesmen that he ever met. He does not report his confidential talks with the President, but he does report his conversation with Mr. Wilson, the Secretary for Agriculture, who entirely approved his views of the possibility of mitigating human misery and carrying out colonisation by the combined agency of the Government funds and the waste forces of benevolence.

Mr. Haggard visited Philadelphia to see the way in which the vacant lots of town sites are utilised as gardens for the poor, who can be ejected at ten days' notice, but who pay no rent and are assisted with seeds and tools by local philanthropists. After this preliminary canter he struck off across the Continent, suffering much from the overheated sleeping cars in which Americans seem to prefer to be stewed alive. He saw the President of the Mormons at Utah, and examined their system of "small holders." He devoted most of his time to the two Salvation Army Farm Colonies proper at Fort Romie, California, and at Fort Amity, Colorado. He subsequently visited their Inebriates' Home and Training Colony at Fort Herrick, in Ohio. Then striking across into Canada he got the promise of a land grant of 360 square miles of good land, with more to follow, from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when he was the guest of Lord Grey at Ottawa. Everywhere he was entertained and feasted and interviewed. Everywhere he found a friendly welcome and a practically universal consensus of opinion on two points. First, that the colonisation of the unemployed could be undertaken on a business basis, and, secondly, that the Salvation Army were the people to make it a success. Even Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who is a Roman Catholic, is at one with all others of all religions and of none as to the capacity and usefulness of the Salvation Army.

As the net result of his interviews and investigations, Mr. Haggard drew up a scheme which he strongly urges the Government at home to adopt and to act upon without delay.

Since Mr. Rider Haggard drew up his Report—the substance of which will be found in the following pages—the Government have announced the appointment of a Royal Commission into the above question of the Relief of the Poor with special reference to the problem of the Unemployed. The Unemployed Bill has been passed, which practically affirms the doctrine of the Right to Work, and relegates the duty of creating farm colonies, etc., to the local authorities.

Under these circumstances, although Mr. Rider Haggard is not a Coming Man in a Parliamentary sense—for all the other contributors to this series either sit in Parliament or are seeking election to the House of Commons—I have thought it permissible to embody in this number his views upon the burning question of the hour. The introduction to the paper is taken from a speech which Mr. Rider Haggard addressed to the Canadian Club when he was in Canada; the substance of it embodies his views on the practicability of State-Directed Colonisation. It will be seen that although his Report deals almost entirely with the question of Colonisation in the Britains beyond the seas, the principles laid down are capable of application to carrying out the policy of Back to the Land at Home.

BACK TO THE LAND!

A Plea for State-Directed Colonisation.

THE time comes to every writer, I suppose, when he has an inspiration and does something which he knows to be better than he ever did before. Then, perhaps, he begins to think, and wonders whence his inspiration came. And he turns and looks at the dull masses of misery that pervade the globe, he looks and wonders, and he thinks: Is there nothing that I, humble as I am, can do to help to alleviate that misery, to lift up those who are fallen, to lift them up for their own good and for the good of the world? Then he knows that that, not the gaudy, exciting work, is the real inspiration of his life.

And, perhaps, he turns and tries to match his own single strength against the prejudices of generations, and tries to get men to think as he does, tries to show them where the evil lies, and where, too, lies the remedy. I have spoken, as it were, in allegory. Years ago I saw what I have just described; I saw the evils with which, since then, I have attempted to cope. I recognised that it was my duty to cope with them if I could.

Well, what is it; what is this problem that moved me? I will tell you in a few words. I perceived and realised the enormous change that is coming over the western world; how those who for countless generations dwelt upon the land are deserting the land and crowding into the cities. I studied the reasons for this. For two years I studied them, going through England village by village, county by county, town by town. And I found out what they were. In England the chief cause was lack of prospect on the land. We are cramped and coiled in England with the remains of a feudal system which works nothing but ill; and under that system it is so that no man on the land seems to have a chance to rise. The labourer on the land, say at two-and-twenty, is earning as high a wage as he can ever hope to earn.

The Exodus from
the Country.

I ask you how should any of us like to know that at two-and-twenty we were doing the best we could hope to do in life? That is the lot of the labourer on the land. All that he has to look forward to at the end of his long career of forty or fifty years of toil is probably a place in the workhouse. Is that an attractive prospect? Then, no doubt, the spread of education, the facilities of travel, and other things of that kind conduce to the immigration into the cities, and this movement goes on with ever-increasing rapidity.

At the present moment in England, I believe, we have but one-seventh of our population living on the land. And so it is in other countries—everywhere the land dwellers heap themselves in the cities. And what happens to them when they go there? How many succeed? Not one in five, I say. The rest of them for the most part get nothing. As sickness strikes a man when he arises from his bed his place is gone. His children grow ill through crowding together in narrow courts and insanitary rooms, and become decimated by disease. Bad times come, and the workmen are dismissed by the thousands from their employ. Gray hairs at any rate come at last, and with gray hairs the notice to quit; and so they go down, and they go under and become part of that mass which is known as the submerged tenth—though I imagine there is a good deal more than a tenth. And there they are—miseries to themselves, useless to their country, and a burden upon the town that has to support them.

You will scarcely believe the suffering—the horrible suffering, the inconceivable misery of these great cities, which the foolish peoples of the earth rush into to dwell there.

And you may say: Well, these people went to the cities of their own accord; let them expiate their fault in the city; let them welter and let them perish there, dead beats, and the world is well rid of them. But if you do not want to do anything on the ground of humanitarianism to help the people, I submit that there is another ground on which the thing should be done; and that is the ground of the welfare of the nation.

I will start out with an axiom. If the western nations allow this sort of thing to go on, allow their population to crowd into the cities, then, I say, the career of the western nations is going to be short. The city folk, those who remain, will never hold their own in the world—not only because of the weakened physique and changed character, but because of another and more final reason. The children are not bred in the cities. There will come a time when the children bred there are too few—it is coming now. And if the children are not bred, if there is not the supply of healthy children to carry on the nation, how can the nation stand! With the people on the land it is different. Self-interest comes into play.

A large family is a valuable asset to the small holder ; in the city it is nothing but a drawback. Let any one of you think of himself with a home consisting of a single room in a tenement in New York or a back slum in London, and with six or eight children ; and then think of the contrast with those six children upon the land and able to assist in your business of caring for the cattle or carrying on many of the other operations of the farm. We must look at facts. With dwellers on the land self-interest comes in ; on the land only will the supply of children be available that is necessary to carrying on our white races.

The truth, the essence, the fibre, the marrow of the thing, and that truth, that essence, that fibre, that marrow, is that you must get your people on the land out of the cities, keep them on the land there to multiply as God commanded them of old.

Of what use is wealth unless you have men and women—healthy men and women—these are the real wealth of the nation. The strength of a people, gentlemen, is not to be found in their Wall Streets, it is to be found in the farms and fields and villages. I will only add just this one word—that I do hope that what I have so humbly, so inadequately tried to say before you may perhaps go deep into the minds of some of you and set you thinking. For myself I can only say that I have tried to carry out this task—not the task of speaking, but the bigger one—with a single heart, because I believe in its necessity, because I believe that no man can serve his generation better than by trying to point out these things and try to make the people think. If I have done that, gentlemen, I have not lived in vain.

[So far I have followed and condensed Mr. Rider Haggard's address to the Canadian Club. I now proceed to quote from his report on State-Aided Colonisation, the official copy of which can be bought for 8½d. from Wyman & Son, Fetter Lane, E.C. While reading his suggestions on the best method to plant out our people on Canadian soil, the following passage from his Report should be constantly borne in mind :—

The criticism may be advanced that there is no need to go to distant Colonies in order to place such a scheme as I have outlined in operation ; that its benefits, at any rate, should not be confined to outlying portions of the Empire, as there is nothing to prevent their application at home.

With such a criticism I am myself in great sympathy. I shall, therefore, be glad, if I am so directed by His Majesty's Government, to prepare a separate memorandum upon the possibility of the establishment of rural Colonies in the United Kingdom, by the aid of the same machinery which I have suggested as suitable to the case of their establishment overseas.

The whole of what follows should be read in the light of this declaration.—Ed.].

What Canada has Offered.

In Canada I obtained a promise of a free grant of land from the Canadian Government suitable for settlement, and amounting in area to not less than ten townships or 240,000 acres (say, 360 square miles), with a promise of extra land to be given if necessary in the future. This area, allowing 160 acres per family, which is the ordinary Canadian homestead lot, would accommodate about 1,500 families, or, if an average of five persons is reckoned per family, 7,500 souls. The sole condition is that the liberal conditions of settlement prescribed by the laws of Canada be complied with. The Prime Minister has also assured me that he has no doubt that his Government will be disposed to set aside other tracts of land under similar conditions, the selection of all such land, and this is a very important boon, being left entirely to the Commissioner appointed by the Imperial Government.

The cost of the transportation and the settling of that number of people in Canada, where the land is given, may, I think, be put down roughly at about £200 per family, or £300,000 in all. This, however, is only an approximate, not a final estimate.

The Land Settlements of the Salvation Army.

I will now proceed in general terms to outline the plan which I have evolved for putting into practice upon a large scale the principles that underlie the Land Settlements of the Salvation Army in the United States. Before doing so, however, I think it may be advantageous if I make a few general comments upon those Settlements, summarising the information and views which will be found set out in full in my "Remarks upon Fort Amity and Fort Romie."

As may be gathered from my observations upon these Colonies, I am very glad to be able on the whole to give a favourable report of them. Fort Herrick, the third place which I was directed to visit, although it has been called a Colony, is, in reality, at any rate at present, little more than a farm where experimental work is being carried on, and a home for inebriates. For the purposes of this report, therefore, it may in practice be omitted.

The sworn figures given to me show upon these two Colonies a total loss of, roughly speaking, about £10,000.

I will add at once that when the remarkable results achieved are taken into consideration, this loss, in my opinion, is insignificant, and, indeed, is more than counterbalanced by the great value of the experience gained.

From these particular examples may be extracted lessons that are easy of application upon any scale which is desired.

Lessons Bought by their Experience.

The first of these lessons is to avoid the mistakes of the past, especially by refusing to attempt any further settlement unless sufficient capital is available to inaugurate and to carry it on upon proved and business-like principles. The second is that the land should be cheap as well as suitable. The third that the Colonists should be very carefully selected, all the circumstances and conditions of the individual families being considered. The fourth that they should pay a fair price for their land, spread, however, over a considerable number of years,

and the fifth, perhaps the most important of them all, that they should remain during that period under skilled, but sympathetic management. Markets also, with the accessibility and convenience of location, should be borne in mind, while the principle of settlement in communities ought, in my judgment, to receive strict adherence, as it has many social and other advantages. I may add that possibly it might be found wise to form the individual communities of persons collected from the same town or district.

Given these requisites, it will, I consider, be strange if success is not attained even in the case of poor persons taken from the cities, provided that they are steady in character, the victims of misfortune and circumstances rather than of vice, having had some acquaintance or connection with the land in their past lives, and having also an earnest desire to raise themselves and their children in the world.

Any scheme, therefore, that is to succeed should, in my judgment, provide for the fulfilment of these essentials, at any rate, to a large extent.

I will now outline the plan which I have evolved.

**His Plan for
Settlement.
(1). Capital.**

These suggestions are as follows:—

That a sufficient loan whereof the exact amount may be decided hereafter, or rather the interest on such loan, shall be guaranteed by His Majesty's Government, or, in cases where the Governments of individual Colonies are willing to co-operate, by His Majesty's Government and such Colonies jointly, it being agreed that each Colony shall share in the benefits of the Land Settlements to be made under the loan in proportion to the amount of its guarantee, plus the value of its land grants.

If land settlement is to be successful it must be conducted upon the strictest business lines, such as would be adopted if the building of a railway or any other industrial enterprise were concerned, and these, of course, include the provision of sufficient capital at a reasonable rate of interest.

If such capital is not forthcoming it would be better to leave the scheme untouched, since to undertake it relying upon what I may call a Trust-in-Providence system of finance will be to court disaster, and possibly to throw the movement back for many years. Nor can the gifts and contributions of the rich, or any other form of charity, which is often fickle in its preferences and uncertain in its action, be depended on in such a case. To relieve our congested cities, and place those that are suitable among their people upon the empty or depopulated lands of the British Empire is a work which the Empire should undertake for its own general good. Nor, in my opinion, need it fear that it will lose by this venture, even in money, for which the land settled and the improvements thereon would be the security, while its gain in other directions must be very great.

When this question of a guarantee comes up for discussion, however, it will be well worthy of consideration as to whether the large Municipalities of the United Kingdom should not be asked in what shape they would be prepared to assist the movement so far as the law allows, or by emendation can be made to allow. Probably they could best do this by promising a fixed sum towards the

expenses of any indigent but deserving and suitable family who might be taken off their rates. The same suggestion applies to the Poor Law Unions throughout the land. Of course all such contributions would be purely voluntary, but that difficulty might to some extent be met by giving preference in the matter of the emigration of families to those towns and Unions which elect to pay such contributions.

The capital being provided, I suggest that a Permanent Imperial Officer should be appointed, to be known as the Superintendent of Land Settlements, or by some similar title.

In him these capital sums should be vested as a Corporation Sole, as a trustee for the Government. Or, if it were thought more secure and desirable, the money might stand to the credit of a Board whereof this Superintendent of Land Settlements was a member, which Board might possibly be formed of himself, the Agents-General of the Colonies, and representatives from the Colonial Office and the Treasury.

The actual administration of the funds, however, should, in my opinion, and subject to proper audit, be left to the judgment of the Superintendent of Land Settlements, upon whose ability, knowledge and method of conducting his business much will depend, especially during the first years of the working of the enterprise.

Here I may say that one of the duties of this official ought to be, in person or by deputy, occasionally to visit and to report upon all Colonies that may be established. The expenses of his salary and office should be a charge upon the Land Settlements Loan, to the satisfactory and economical administration of which it would be his duty to devote himself.

A further and very important part of that duty also would be to stand between the Government and the Charitable Bodies, whose part in the business I will explain presently; to receive from them and to check their returns; to investigate any complaints which might be made against them, and if found correct, to remedy the same; to watch that they put no undue religious or sectarian pressure upon the Colonists in the various settlements, let us say in such a matter as the forcing of them to educate the children in a fashion of which their parents did not approve; to be careful that such Charitable Bodies selected the settlers fairly and judiciously from among British subjects only, and so forth.

The capital being found, and its safeguarding and wise management provided for, it will next be convenient to consider the exact objects upon which it should be expended, and how these objects can best be attained.

First, what are those objects? To relieve, at any rate to some extent, the congestion of our cities, which results in so much degradation, misery, and expense to the public, by exporting from them those who are physically, mentally, and in other ways suitable, and who are found to have fallen into, or to be threatened with poverty, or who, being weary of towns, desire to attempt the adventure of a different life in new homes upon the land.

To advantage the Empire by the introduction on to its unoccupied spaces of large numbers of persons whose existence otherwise would have been wasted or

worse. Who also, whatever the troubles into which circumstances may have brought them, are of British blood, and the parents of children that will hand down to the future the traditions, characteristics, and virtues of our race, which children in new countries will find many opportunities of rising to positions different indeed from their parents' humble state.

An obvious criticism of these axioms will be that such Applicants in persons taken from cities, however willing they may prove Plenty. to go when in extremity, are not suitable for the purposes of land settlement at home or abroad. Also, that even if they were, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to select them properly, and quite impossible when selected to manage them through that period of years during which they must be nursed into success.

The answer is that even in a single great city such as London, where, I believe, last Christmas over 127,000 persons were in receipt of Poor Law Relief, if only hands can be laid upon them, there are numbers of indigent people who are in every way fitted to such purposes. For instance, here may be found many men and women, brought up upon the land, who have drifted to the town, perhaps recently, and failed there, and now in middle life, with a family of young children, would accept with the utmost gratitude the chance of returning to conditions such as formed the company and surroundings of their youth, and of rectifying their own mistake by placing their children's feet upon the paths of prosperity and peace. The same remark applies with even greater force to provincial towns which are in closer touch with the rural districts.

“Land,” said Commander Booth Tucker, in the interview which I held with him and others on the 5th April at Fort Capital and Direction Lacking. Amity, “is abundant throughout the world. The people of the cities are hungering for the opportunity of getting at it. They only want leadership and business management. The only requisite that I see that is absolutely not to be gotten over is a supply of the necessary capital. Our experience goes to show that the man without money makes a better average colonist and a better average settler than the man with money, and it seems to me a radical mistake that this and other countries should confine their settlements to the man with money, and ignore the man whose capital consists of brain and muscle, but who can be turned into a prosperous ‘home-owner.’”

With these remarks of Commander Booth Tucker I entirely agree.

It may be admitted, however, that the finding of these The Salvation Army. city folk, the selection from among them, and the watching of those selected for a while before final choice of them is made are difficult tasks. Indeed, if all this had to be done through officials of any sort it would, in my opinion, and, I may add, in that of President Roosevelt, be an impossible task, or at the least so costly as to be out of the question. As it happens, however, a Body exists to which this matter is easy, that, moreover, is willing to undertake it for nothing, merely as part of what it considers to be the duty which it has towards suffering and bewildered humanity.

I allude to the Salvation Army, a charitable and philanthropic Institution, which I have found even better known and more respected in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada than it is in the British Isles. This vast Organisation is, I am authorised to say upon its behalf, able and willing to make the selection of suitable settlers to any extent from among the poor of the cities of Great Britain, conducting their operations under the authority and direction of an Imperial Officer, appointed, as I have suggested, to control them.

Further, if only the necessary capital be found, it is prepared to move these selected persons to settlements to be established at places chosen anywhere within the borders of the British Empire. There it will provide them with skilled instruction in the local agriculture, and with the counsel and assistance needful to beginners in every path of enterprise, which will be furnished to them by means of trained officers stationed in each Colony, and receiving only the small remuneration that the Salvation Army pays to its active members for their support.

To sum up this branch of the matter I believe that persons with families suitable for settlement (for to such I suggest preference should be given) can be found in the cities of the United Kingdom in even greater numbers than could be dealt with under a really extensive scheme.

**How the Scheme
would Work.**

Thus the capital would be provided, its supervision would be arranged for, and the Salvation Army, or any other approved and responsible religious, charitable, or social Organisation, would undertake the selection of the Colonists; their transportation to their future homes; the building of their houses and barns; the advance of cash to them for the purchase of stock, seed, agricultural implements and other necessaries; their instruction by trained persons in the arts of husbandry; the collection from them of the amounts due annually to satisfy the sums advanced and interest thereon; and their permanent care until everything was paid off and they could be left masters of their business to pursue their own destinies free of debt.

In the case of Canada the land also is now provided, and this without any cost; an example that other British Colonies may be willing to follow in varying degrees.

There remain for consideration, however, the matter of safeguarding the repayment of the capital advanced; also that of the cost of starting such Land Settlements. The former of these points will, I consider, prove the crux of this proposed national experiment, since, unless it can be shown that it is possible to carry this out without loss to the guaranteeing Government or Governments, it must break down. Whereas if this can be shown there is absolutely no limit to the possibilities of the scheme.

Land settlement cannot be permanently conducted upon the system of a hospital. Its objects should be to teach people to support themselves, and to become useful and productive citizens; not to live upon charity. Moreover, unless it is demonstrated that it can be made to pay its way upon a business basis, no Government or other Authority would continue to guarantee the

interest of loans, whereas, if this is demonstrated, after the first step is taken, money will be forthcoming to any extent. Why not? Of capital there is plenty awaiting safe investment at a fair interest, of possible settlers there are plenty, and of land there is plenty also within the broad boundaries of the British Empire, in places where suitable population is often the greatest need.

Now, as regards the first of these points, namely, the repayment of the capital, the only actual precedents with which I am acquainted give every ground for hoping that under the conditions which I have set out, the venture of land settlement can be carried through on a sound commercial basis.

Still, it should be remembered that each country in which settlements are made will present its own difficulties, that must be overcome by skill, patience, and experience. For all these difficulties in various lands it is impossible to make provision in a preliminary report, since every case must be treated separately, and each danger guarded against by whatever means seem wisest when it arises.

Roughly, however, I would propose to follow the example set by that brilliantly successful measure, the New Zealand Advances to Settlers Act. Under this Act I may state that up to the 31st March, 1904, the advances made since about 1895, when it began to operate, amounted to £4,009,520. The securities for the net authorised advances, per contra, were valued at £8,704,640, while the 1 per cent. sinking fund in the hands of a public trustee totalled £158,520. Further, so far as I have been able to discover from the reading of the various documents, no loss whatever was incurred. On the contrary a considerable profit has been realised.

I have no doubt that with variations, such as local conditions may make necessary in different countries, the above system of proportionate payments can very well be adapted to any scheme of land settlement conducted by means of Government advances.

The utter impossibility at this stage of giving an exact estimate of the cost of settlements which are not yet fixed upon does not in any way shake my conviction that where the lands and the markets are good, the people wisely chosen and wisely distributed, and the management is experienced, continuous, and sympathetic, the enterprise can be carried on without loss and very possibly at an actual profit, after allowing for the payment of 5 per cent. interest on money which would be borrowed at about 3 per cent., and an extra 1 per cent. for sinking fund.

I would propose that the settlements should not be too small, say not under one hundred families each, since numbers insure plenty of society, which, in the case of persons taken from cities, is, in my opinion, almost a condition of success, especially in a country where the winters are long. Also, I propose that co-operative institutions for the sale and purchase of produce and necessaries should be established in each Land Colony, and with these Peoples' Credit Banks on the well-tested and approved Raffeisen principle that has shown itself to be so successful abroad and, I believe, in Ireland. In this

Size of
Settlement.

maiden soil both these institutions should flourish greatly, and to the public benefit.

A danger that must be guarded against would be that of the creeping in of the land speculator, who might try to buy out the colonist as soon as he saw that his holding was increasing largely in value. This, I think, could be met by giving to the Superintendent of Land Settlements, or to the Salvation Army, or to whatever body the title is vested in until the settler had earned his right to it by the payment of all his liabilities, a power of pre-emption, the amount payable being fixed by independent valuation.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, for the sake of General Summary clearness I will recapitulate the suggestions which I have the of Scheme. honour to advance. They are :—

- (1). That the interest of a loan, or loans, of an amount to be fixed hereafter, should be guaranteed by the Imperial Government, or by the Imperial and certain Colonial Governments jointly, if that is thought desirable and can be arranged.
- (2). That the Poor Law Authorities in the large cities of Great Britain should be approached in order to ascertain whether they would be prepared to make a *per capita* contribution for every selected family of which the burden was taken off the local rates.
- (3). That a permanent officer should be appointed by the Imperial Government, to be known as the Superintendent of Land Settlements, whose duties and responsibilities I have sketched out above.
- (4). That the Salvation Army, or any other well-established and approved social, charitable, or religious Organisation, should be deputed to carry out the work of selecting, distributing, and organising the settlers on Land Colonies anywhere within the boundaries of the British Empire, who should remain in charge of such Organisation until all liabilities were paid.
- (5). That no title to land should be given to any Colonist until he had discharged these liabilities, on which he should pay 5 per cent. interest and 1 per cent. sinking fund, recoverable in an agreed period of years.
- (6). That the possibility of establishing similar Colonies in the United Kingdom should be carefully considered.
- (7). That, if these suggestions are approved, a Bill, to be designated the "National Land Settlements Act," embodying and giving life to them, should be laid before Parliament.

Before I close this report perhaps I may be allowed to state my general conclusions upon the questions with which it deals.

For a good many years I have studied this matter closely in all its bearings, and, as time goes by, my conviction is strengthened that there is but one cure for certain of the evils which our civilisation has brought with it; to get behind them, to dam them at their source. The wretchedness of our overcrowded cities, indeed, may be beyond any complete remedy, but it can, at least, be palliated by bringing numbers of their poor inhabitants into contact with the healthful plenty of the land.

Some say, however, that even such palliation is impossible, for the reason that the dwellers in cities, or those who purpose to dwell in them, desire to have nothing to do with the land, and refuse to live thereon.

This has never been my experience; in fact, every year considerable numbers of persons write to me individually asking me to help them to convey themselves and their families back from the towns to the country. I believe that in a majority of cases village-born folk go to cities, and in many instances remain in them, because they can find no opportunity or prospect upon the land and, subsequently, because they have not the means to escape with their wives and children from the web of town life in which they have entangled themselves. Given that prospect and opportunity, and given those means, such folk will avail themselves of them with eagerness.

These are the views in which my recent investigations confirm me, and I think that much support of them will be found in the individual statements made by the Colonists of Fort Romie and Fort Amity. I believe that in our great cities there exist tens of thousands of persons qualified to make good settlers who would rejoice in an opportunity of escaping from the poverty, sickness, and vices of such places, and with their families, of establishing themselves under healthful conditions upon the land, either in Britain or in her Colonies, with the prospect of obtaining there an independence for themselves and health and plenty for their children.

If, in the face of the facts which I have adduced, my opinions are still thought visionary or optimistic, I can only point out that, speaking broadly, I am delighted to find them shared by such men as Mr. Roosevelt, the enlightened and far-seeing President of the United States, whom, if I may venture to say so, I thought one of the clearest visioned and most able statesmen that ever I had the honour of meeting; by the Honourable Mr. Wilson, who was born a Scotchman, but is the Secretary for Agriculture in the same country, a man of vast experience; by Earl Grey, the Governor-General of Canada, who knows so much of colonisation and its possibilities, and with whom I had many conferences upon this subject; by General Booth, of the Salvation Army, whom I saw before leaving England, who, perhaps, is better acquainted with the actual conditions of our poor than any other living man, who, moreover, is the author of practical experiments in land settlement in many climes, and by others of equal ability and weight. If my views are visionary, then all of us suffer from similar delusions.

**Its Adoption
Essential.** I venture to submit, however, for your consideration and that of His Majesty's Government that they are sound. I will go further even, and state my profound conviction that

the future welfare of this country, and indeed of others which might be named, among them the United States, depends upon whether or no it is possible to retain or to settle upon the soil a fair proportion of its, or their, inhabitants. Upon that soil men and women grow up in health, and become furnished with those sober and enduring qualities which have made the greatness of our Nation in the past, who, if they are relegated to the unwholesome conditions and crowded quarters of vast cities, must dwindle in body and change in mind.

Nor is this all, since in these cities, as statistics and experience prove alike, the families are smaller than those that are born upon the land. Children there are called, and, indeed, often are, "encumbrances." More of them die in infancy also, and of those who grow up, many, at any rate in the second generation, are of a stuff so different that except for the accident of their common speech they might well be supposed to belong to another race.

How is it possible, indeed, that children should be born in adequate numbers, or, if born, thrive, in the crowded slums of London or in the tenement houses of New York, and how can that people remain great and powerful whose supply of healthy children is curtailed? If these are lacking, all the merchandise of the seas and all the treasures of the earth will not supply their place.

Therefore, if the future safety of their countries is to be made secure against obvious and disastrous contingencies, in my humble judgment one of the chief aims of the Governments of the highly civilised white nations should be to keep population upon the land; to multiply the numbers of those modest rural homes where men and women desire offspring for their own sakes, and to share their labours and their plenty.

This, it seems to me, can best be done by turning to **The Two Forces to be Combined.** practical account the public Credit and the waste forces of Benevolence; by using these powers to counteract, at least to some extent, that tendency towards race-ruin, a product of our western culture, whereof the end must be a progressive national weakening and depletion which, if unchecked, may well bring about national defeat at the hands of those ruder peoples of the World that remain land-dwelling and agricultural, and again, as in past ages, culminate in national despair and death.

Finally, I suggest that notwithstanding the miscalculations which have been made there, the instances of Fort Romie and Fort Amity do point out a road which may lead to successful colonisation upon a large scale. Again I would repeat, however, that if this is to succeed, there are three essential conditions which must be recognised:—

- Sufficient capital, obtained at a moderate rate of interest:
- Careful selection of the settlers and of the land:
- Skilled and sympathetic management of both after settlement.

The Magic of
Property.

It cannot be too clearly understood that neglect of any of these requisites, and especially the want of a proper system of finance, will almost certainly end in failure; whereas if they are strictly adhered to, I believe that success can be made very probable, if not absolutely assured.

I have carefully considered the nature of the tenure which could be given to land settlers with most advantage to themselves and the greatest security to the Authorities guaranteeing the Settlement Loan.

On the whole I agree with the view expressed by Mr. Secretary Wilson, and give my voice in favour of freehold, wherever it is possible to grant that boon.

That great investigator of agricultural conditions, Arthur Young, wrote one hundred and thirty years ago of the "magic of property." What he said then holds true to-day. Perpetual leasehold may be virtually as good as a freehold and cheaper to acquire, but sentiment must be taken into account, and considered from this point of view, it does not look the same. The man who starts out to work a piece of land would like to know that a time must come when he will be able to call it his very own. It is because this is impossible that thousands of those who are employed in English agriculture are now deserting the country for the towns. Without the prospect of ownership, or at the least, becoming farmers on their own account, they will not stay upon the land.

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MR. CHARLES TREVELYAN, M.P.

MR. C. P. TREVELYAN is a Trevelyan of the Trevelyans. And to be a Trevelyan in the North Country is to a Liberal *sans peur et sans reproche*. He is the son of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland for 1882-4, and who is even better known as the author of *Competition Wallah* and the *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*. Sir George Trevelyan was the son of the first baronet, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the distinguished Anglo-Indian who married the sister of Lord Macaulay. The great Whig historian was therefore the great-uncle of Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, who is the son of one distinguished statesman and the grandson of a not less distinguished Indian administrator. His election for the Elland division in 1899 was therefore the recognition by the democracy of Yorkshire of the principle of heredity, a mode of recognition to which no one can take any exception.

Mr. Trevelyan has already won his spurs in the Parliamentary arena. He is one of the younger Liberals who stick to business, live simply, work hard, and cherish high ambitions of self-sacrificing service in the cause of the Commonweal. He was born in 1870. His mother was the daughter

of the late Mr. R. N. Philips, of Lancashire, whose seat at Welcombe, Stratford-on-Avon, has now passed into the hands of the family of the Trevelyans. Mr. Charles Trevelyan, like his father before him, was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He made his *début* in public life as private secretary to Lord Houghton, when he was Viceroy for Ireland, 1892-3. In 1895 he unsuccessfully contested North Lambeth, but a vacancy occurring in 1899 in the Elland Division of Yorkshire, he was returned by a constituency which, as it re-elected him in 1900, will probably go on re-electing him with the proverbial fidelity of popular democratic constituencies. He was a member of the late School Board for London.

In Parliament Mr. Trevelyan has taken a distinct lead on the question of the Taxation of Land Values. He has also been very much to the front in opposing the Aliens Bill, and on all the great fighting questions he has always been found in the right place at the right time.

He married last year the daughter of the late Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell, and he resides in North Street, Smith Square, Westminster.

LAND TAXATION AND THE USE OF LAND.

By CHARLES TREVELYAN, M.P.

“WHAT are the Liberals going to do when they come into power?” is the question in the minds of men to-day. Everybody, even the Balfourians themselves, are agreed that the country is sick of the Balfour government. Everybody, even the Chamberlainites, believe that Protection is beaten for the time. But it is equally impossible for any Liberal to assert that the progressive majority of Liberal and Labour members who will dominate the next House of Commons will be chosen to carry out one special programme. What they will have is a general mandate to maintain Free Trade and to govern and legislate in the interest of the average citizen and not of cliques, classes, and monopolies. Never will there be such an opportunity. Never has more depended on the way in which that opportunity is used.

The Chamberlainite view is that the Liberal Government will soon make such a mess of home and imperial administration that the country will revert in disgust to the one man who has executive force as well as ideas. As far as they rely upon Liberal blundering, I hold that to be a miscalculation. The standard of expectation in the mind of the citizen who cares for efficiency is very low, far lower than it ought to be, owing to the long Balfour rule. But even if that standard were not attained, the deciding question will not be who the men are who compose the new ministry or what blunders they commit, but something very different. Will they stand bravely for causes for which a great and growing body of electors will care to do work and make sacrifices? In one sense alone the Chamberlainites are right. To them, and not to Balfour, will come the reversion of power if the Liberals fail at once. They have an idea and a cause. Balfour has only his interesting self and a party. Chamberlain has appealed to an ideal. His scheme is one of modest beginnings, but of large possibilities. And by instinct the friends of monopoly and privilege have flocked round him. He not only appeals to the cupidity of those who hope to better themselves by Protection, he makes other monopolists feel that herein, too, lies their defence, and that under his system, in a Parliament elected for his purposes, there is security for the liquor lord, the legislative lord, and the landlord. His is the aggressive policy of Conservative defence.

Although we are far off from Protection yet, we are not safe from it until there has entered into the minds of a great mass of electors a rooted faith in a counter-ideal to strive for, which is something more than a passive defence of Free Trade. We, too, need an aggressive policy for our security, which shall appeal to the instinct of the poor, the humble, the hard-working, the unprivileged, and which shall offer large possibilities to him.

I am not a one-reform man at all. I do not believe that one act of national wisdom will bring out the perfection of our human nature. I do not therefore want to see the Liberal party wedded to one cause only, and it is not the object of this pamphlet to assert that the Land question is the only question and Single Tax a sovereign remedy. But I do wish to insist that Taxation of Land Values is not only to be regarded on its separate merits as a small relief of town rates. It has in it the elements of peaceful revolution. It involves the acceptance by the community of a new view of taxation, of the social obligation of landlords, of the relation of land to industry: it begins a new economic policy; it is utterly incompatible with protection; it has far-reaching effects on other social efforts and changes which form part of the hopes and activities of Progressives of all kinds. The more conscious the electors are of the greatness of the question the more likely the Liberal government are to pass an effective measure. And above all, if this consciousness exists, the strife for Land Reform will do more to rally the necessary phalanx of social reformers than if it passed as a modest administrative reform at the dictation of the municipalities.

The Progress of Taxation of Land Values in Parliament.

It is interesting to begin by comparing the recent history of the movement for Taxation of Land Values with the progress of Protection. In the year 1902 both questions were brought before the present Parliament. It might have been expected that a Conservative House of Commons would have benignantly patronised the new Protection while indignantly repudiating Land Taxation. The story has been very different. Session after session the new Protection has lost ground. It has never been openly discussed and voted upon, because its advocates dare not venture upon debate in the open. In 1905, obediently to the orders of Mr. Chamberlain, they deliberately fled from the Chamber. As a consequence their cause has failed in the country. It is no use Mr. Chamberlain comparing himself to Nelson while he adopts the tactics of Byng. The country are politically treating him as they treated the too discreet admiral long ago.

Our tactics have been different. We have session after session challenged discussion and offered our proposals in concrete form in order that critics may do their worst. What has been the result? In the same House of Commons which, no doubt against its inclination, has been forced to reject the proposals of its dominant statesman, a few private members of no special notoriety have

twice carried the principle of Land Taxation. The record of our progress is as follows in second reading debates :—

1902. Mr. Trevelyan's Bill. Lost, 229—158. Majority against—71.

1903. Dr. Macnamara's Bill. Lost, 183—170. Majority against—13.

1904. Municipal Bill (introduced by Mr. Trevelyan). Carried, 225—158. Majority for—67.

1905. Ditto, ditto, ditto. Carried, 202—112. Majority for—90.

So stands a question which ten years ago was regarded as a faddist's ideal and as one of the most objectionable parts of the Newcastle programme. Our progress so far has been due partly to audacity, which was born of the conviction that our objects and arguments would bear the ordeal of parliamentary censure and would soon attract the support of men with unbiassed judgments.

Public opinion has also been widely affected by the Minority Report of the Local Taxation Commission, published in 1901. The Majority Report was adverse. But the signatures of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Blair Balfour, Sir Edward Hamilton, Sir George Murray, and Mr. James Stuart were given to proposals for the Rating of Site Values. They recommended a very moderate application of the rate, but their report is a repository of clear statement of our principles and aims. They were assisted in their conclusions and drafting by a young civil servant, Mr. Theodore Davies, a man of singularly bold and sane ability, whose recent death has been an irreparable loss to the public service and to many good causes. Their work has once and for all made it impossible to class Taxation of Land Values among the dreams of impracticable revolutionaries. For have not a Conservative Cabinet Minister and the leading financiers in the Civil Service given it their imprimatur?

Finally the movement has for two years had behind it the driving force of the great urban local authorities. In a series of conferences, organised by the Glasgow Corporation, the Town Councils and Urban District Councils of Great Britain and Ireland have urged the demand for Land Taxation and formulated their proposals. At the beginning of this year no less than 166 Town Councils, 4 County Councils, 152 Urban District Councils, and 128 Poor Law Authorities had passed favourable resolutions. The names of almost all of the great cities appear in the list.

The Burden of the Rates upon Industry.

It is indeed the necessities of local finance that have given Land Reformers their opportunity. Our method of raising local revenue is absurdly primitive as compared with national taxation. While the minds of a succession of great statesmen have for more than a century been applied to the reform of our national system, the local rates have never obtained more than a passing consideration from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We have some bad national taxes remaining, such as the sugar and tea duties. Others need alteration and graduation, such as the income-tax. Above all we want less unproductive expenditure. But we are nevertheless able to bear without disaster our enormous national burden, because it is so largely raised from taxes which do little to burden industrial enterprise.

Our local rates present a very different picture. It is on the face of it improbable that a practice of rating established by Queen Elizabeth's statesmen will suit industrial England of to-day. As long as the rates remained at 2s. or 3s. in the £ in the towns the particular incidence of the burden did not excite discussion. But year by year the rates have risen, and they continue to be levied as they increase on the same assessment as before. In twenty-five years since 1880 the rates in England and Wales have nearly doubled, rising from £26,800,000 to about £50,000,000. It is no wonder that the ratepayer who is called upon to pay from 6s. to 8s. in the £, with the prospect of indefinite increase, is becoming desperate. His vague rebellion is seeking expression every day. Sometimes it takes the form of a wild proposal to refuse to work a new Act, as East Ham proposed to do in the case of the Education Act. But there is after all nothing financially abominable in the Education Rate. It was only the last straw which broke the camel's back.

"But," it is often said, "after all, the towns of England are more prosperous than ever. Is not their wealth fabulous? Cannot the ratepayer afford to pay for municipal benefits of which he reaps the chief advantage?" It is very true in one sense. The cities can indeed afford to pay, if the local taxes are raised where the wealth accumulates. That is the very basis of our reform. There is an almost unlimited reservoir of annual value derived from the activity, industry, and progress of the cities, which could easily supply far more than present rates without injury to the community.

But this is not the fund from which the present rates are chiefly raised. Rates are levied on the annual value of real property. But the distinction between "real" and "personal" property is deceptive. The true distinction is between land on the one hand and on the other hand buildings, improvements, and wealth, which is the result of labour on the land. The present rates on real property do, it is true, partially tax the land, but they tax also the building, mill, or improvement upon the land. And they tax all such buildings and improvements on the enormous scale of one-third or more of their annual value every year. That is to say, that our present rates very largely tax not the accumulated wealth of our cities, but the industry by which that wealth is made and the houses in which the people live who labour to create that wealth.

It is true that we see in the lot of the average man an improvement at which we may rejoice. There are higher salaries, a higher customary level of wages, more to be bought for money, more sobriety than in the past. But it is impossible to argue that the ordinary citizen can better afford to have the house-rate and factory-rate doubled than his father could have done in the smaller and poorer cities of fifty or a hundred years ago. It is not twice as cheap for A to start a factory, B the builder does not expect twice the return on his outlay, C the shopkeeper does not find it twice as easy to balance his accounts.

It is difficult to find words strong enough to condemn such a tax. If a tax is put on corn, corn will rise in price. Fewer people can pay the required price for corn, and less will be eaten. If the tax is large enough, the poor begin to starve. In the same way, if a tax is put on houses, houses will rise in price. Fewer people can pay the required price for houses, and fewer houses will be

built. If the tax is large enough, the poor begin to be horribly overcrowded. Surely any Free Trader must admit the analogy. And yet we continue to tolerate a house-tax of one-third of the total annual value.

It is in this light that the burden of the present rates presents itself to Mr. Charles Booth, when he summarised the conclusions of his vast investigation into London :—

“When for the advantage of the consumer, and in the interest of the towns and of trade, the food of the people was relieved of a large part of the taxation it had borne, it seems to have been overlooked, or not fully foreseen, that the houses that the people lived in were, or would come to be, even more heavily taxed than their food had ever been, and that free internal development would be hindered by the peculiar incidence of this burthen.”

The Wealth of Cities Stored in Land Values.

The increased wealth of the cities lies beyond any dispute or cavil in the great land values. Their vast increase is the real economic wonder of industrial England. What a little thing it is to boast of that such and such a Trade Union has raised the average wage 1s. a week! Such and such a firm captured a great contract from German competitors! Every workman gets his daily paper, be it only the *Daily Mail*! Is there not meat once a day in every house now! What is all this, and anything else in token of prosperity we care to cite, compared with a few figures of the growth of town land values? Take a quotation from a Manchester paper :—

“One remarkable example of increased values relates to the Prince’s Tavern, at the corner of Cross Street and John Dalton Street. The tavern has been razed and a block of business premises built in its place. It was sold by auction in 1885 for £14,300, which works out at the rate of £54 a yard, and it was resold privately in 1904 at a price which, we are informed, was considerably over £100 a yard.

In the last twenty-four years there has been a steady and substantial advance of values in Market Street. In 1880 there was a sale of 81 to 89, Market Street, at £63 10s. a yard; in 1883 a sale of 102 and 104, Market Street, at £73 10s. a yard; in 1894 a sale of 35 and 37, Market Street, at £95 a yard, and in July of the present year a sale of 72 and 71A, Market Street, at £100 a yard. A plot of land and buildings at the corner of Cross Street and King Street with a chief rent of £4 was put up for auction in 1881 and withdrawn at £20,250, which worked out at £60 10s. a yard. The same property was sold in March, 1900, for £40,000, which is at the rate of £120 a yard. The 1881 bid was at the rate which generally obtained at that time, for we have details of a sale in the same year of shops and offices at the opposite corner of Cross Street and King Street.”

Consider the case of unfortunate East Ham. Is East Ham really so absolutely impoverished that it cannot afford an 8s. rate? Its shopkeepers and householders indeed cannot, who are striving hard enough to make both ends meet. But what was East Ham twenty years ago? Marshes or farm-land. Then London workers flocked out to live on the marshes and farms. The marshes and farms did not come to London. Rapidly the values of the marshes and farms sprung to what they are now, draining in ever-increasing rents the produce of the activities and necessity of the crowding population. There are these immense values being reaped with no effort, with no risk of loss, with no responsibility. Why should the meagre and precarious earnings of the men who make these values be further depleted? Let the city values pay for the municipal needs, to make the city a good one to live in.

This then is our main position. We are faced with a great and increasing evil, the burden of rates upon buildings and improvements. It is a tax on the life and industry of the community which ought to be entirely removed. It is a question of politics, it is a question for statesmen how far or how quickly the emancipation of industry should proceed. Great as the change would be there is nothing impossible in placing the whole of the rates upon the land values. Mr. Charles Booth has pointed out that "it would not even be a new tax, but only a rearrangement of an old one." Certain properties would be more highly assessed than at present if the valuation were based upon the selling value of the land; others would escape more easily. The gain would be to those properties where a very large part of the present valuation now represents buildings and improvements. The deficiency would be made up by properties with a very high land value in the centre of towns, or undeveloped land in the suburbs which ought to be used and now escapes rates. It is true that the immediate effect would be in some cases a rise of rate. But it would be on properties which could afford to pay, whose value is attested by the saleable value of the land. But they, like other properties, would enjoy the advantage that whatever improvements they henceforth effected would no longer be penalised by a higher rate. For improvements made upon land worth £50 a square yard would, in future, be as free from rates as upon land worth 5s.

The bolder the plunge we make the greater will be its economic results. Mr. Charles Booth is logical when he proposes to end the system of assessing houses and improvements altogether. His plan is that "some gradual process should be adopted. For instance, if accepted in principle, the alteration in the incidence of rating might be spread over ten years. Then for the first year the rates would be assessed 1-10th on site value, and 9-10ths on the present plan; for the second year 2-10ths and 8-10ths, and so on till the desired end was attained."

The Colonial Example.

From every part of the Empire news is coming that the old system of rating the annual value, inherited from the Motherland, is being supplanted by rates on land values alone. The new Johannesburg municipality demanded it after the war. But they had to be content with half measures from the Milner government. And the rates are divided on the Rand between buildings and a separate rate on the selling value of land. In Toronto recently a large majority exempted from taxation by plebiscite all houses of a value less than 700 dollars. In Australia and New Zealand Land Values are rapidly becoming the sole subject for local taxation. The plan adopted in the New Zealand law gives every local government area the right of voting once every three years for or against land values as the basis of assessment for the greater part of the rates. It is being so widely adopted and is so unquestionably successful when adopted that

Mr. Seddon has declared his intention of proposing a Bill to make it compulsory without delay. In Queensland it has for some years been accepted as the sole basis for local taxation. Why should we in our crowded country be behind the Colonies? They have adopted this system to escape overcrowding, to free their industries from local taxation. How much greater is our necessity! Vast municipal expenditure can alone make town life tolerable to the millions whose lot it is to live in cities. And all that expenditure goes for nothing where overcrowding and slum-life saps all health and power of enjoyment. We demand simultaneously by taxation of Land Values the right to spend the massed wealth of the cities, and the right to have good houses built without taxation.

The Taxation of Vacant Land.

But there is another benefit at least as great as the removal of the house-tax which the rating of Land Values will confer on the community. It will cheapen the land on which the cheaper houses are to be built. At present the rates are levied on the actual letting value of a property. The consequence is that the owner may put that property to what use he pleases or to no use at all, with the certainty that, however inadequately he may use it, he will get enough rent to pay the rate. No landowner need let his land go for building until he pleases to do so. He may continue to let his land for farm land long after he could sell or let it for building. If it is his whim, if he thinks it to his interest, he may keep it perpetually unbuilt on while the town has crept all round him. He may cease even to graze an ass upon it. It may lie derelict, a dumping ground for rubbish, a home for cats, live or dead. He need pay no rates if he gets no rent. Yet this land is of increasing value as the town increases. And that very value is an evidence of the need of the community for the land of which they are refused the use.

The rating of land upon its selling value would make it to the interest of the landlord to let his land in order to pay the rate or sell it in order to escape the rate. He would be unable to go on using his land as agricultural land when builders were ready to pay three times the agricultural value in order to erect houses upon it. That would be a luxury for which very few could afford to pay. Even the richest and largest landowner would soon be glad to use his land to the public advantage instead of starving the community of the first requirement of life. Let us take a very glaring case. In the city of Manchester, within a mile of the Exchange, lies a wedge of vacant land about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long by $\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad belonging to Lord Derby. It is kept vacant. It pays hardly any rates, because it is hardly used at all. There is a brickfield on it. All around it the city has spread. So crowded are some of the districts in the neighbourhood that the City Corporation has felt bound to destroy some of the slum property and re-house the people living in it. But not only does Lord Derby, by refusing to use his land, contribute to the overcrowding, but he refuses to part with the land to the Corporation to build new houses, or even to make roads across the sacred tract. The Corporation have had to re-house the people some two miles further away. Of course Lord Derby or any other landlord who acts in a similar way is perfectly within his rights. We may think it grossly unsocial so to act. But we have no right to complain, because we choose to permit it when the remedy is simple. That land has a great untaxed value. If we taxed it the owner would very soon be bound to put the land to economic use in order to avoid great losses.

But these more flagrant cases in the centres of towns are only an extreme form of what happens with almost all land round developing cities. What ought to be the price of land for building? The value of the best agricultural land

will be perhaps £100 to £150 an acre, say at the outside 6d. or 9d. a square yard. The town grows. The land begins to be needed for building. The landlord has done nothing. He has sat still, collected his agricultural rent, and watched the approach of the town. All is pure gain to him, without any expense or effort. What would be the hardship of requiring him to convert his land into building land when it became worth 1s. a square yard, or double the agricultural price? He is a lucky fellow to double his land values while he twirls his thumbs. But at present he can wait and wait till his land has reached 2s. 6d., 5s., 10s. a square yard, any price he pleases. The £150 acre is very rarely sold near our large towns till it has risen to £800, and generally well over £1,000. All this we can prevent by the simple expedient of taxing the land on its selling value. Then land must come into the market as it is wanted, at a price not very much above the agricultural value. The original cost of all building operations will be enormously reduced. Houses will be cheaper to build. There will be more demand, and more will be erected. There will be a general fall of rents, and overcrowding will begin automatically to disappear.

Here again Colonial experience comes to our aid to prove how the land speculator is destroyed by land taxation. Speaking in the New South Wales Parliament in 1897, Mr. Reid, then Premier of the Colony, gave the result of their land tax:—

“It has killed the trade of the land gambler. One of the greatest things the land tax has done in this country is to bring land values to an honest footing. With land values down to an honest footing, the increases in value that will follow will follow according to the prosperity and industry of the country. By that fictitious value any man who desired to make a home found himself ruined at the start by paying fabulous prices for the land, and I claim for this tax that it stopped that cursed gambling that went through this country and Victoria; that it absolutely killed it for ever; and that the gamblers must now go over to West Australia.”

The Municipal Bill.

It has been this aspect of land taxation that has taken the firmest hold upon the municipal authorities of England. And the Bill for the Assessment and Rating of Land Values which I introduced and carried in 1904 and 1905 on behalf of the Municipal Conference was primarily directed to taxing land into the market. Its proposals were that a new assessment should be made of the selling value of land, and that there should be a new column in the rate-book consisting of the figure representing 3 per cent. of that selling value. Wherever this figure exceeded the present assessment on letting value it would become the amount on which the rates were to be levied. This would immediately put the full rates on unoccupied land and would compel the use of all land needed for building. In short, it would break the back of the land monopoly.

The opponents of land taxation have frequently attempted to make out that the separate assessment of land values is impossible or too expensive to make it worth adopting. They are very fond of citing the opinions of land agents and surveyors in England. It is perfectly easy to set against their authority the conviction of the officials of many of the great municipalities, who have just as good a claim to be respected. Possibly the speculative opinion of both may be somewhat biased by the view of their employers on the main question. But we have the overwhelming evidence of every country which has tried the system that there is absolutely no difficulty of obtaining the valuation. The most recent and striking instance has been in New York. As late as May 8th, 1903,

a law was approved requiring the tax commissioners for greater New York to assess "the sum for which, in their judgment, each separately assessed parcel of real estate under ordinary circumstances would sell if it were wholly unimproved; and separately stated, the sum for which, under ordinary circumstances, the same parcel of real estate would sell with the improvements, if any, thereon." Next year, in 1904, the assessment was completed, and I have copies of the New York assessment containing in two columns the unimproved value of every separate plot of land in the whole great city, and the same land with improvements. The same was done a few years ago in Paris with very little expense. The town clerks of the cities in Australia and New Zealand, such as Brisbane and Wellington, declare that the assessment is as easy and as cheap as the old one based upon the annual letting value.

The Experience of Prussia.

But the experience which demands our closest scrutiny is that of Prussia. The Prussian Minister, Von Miquel, passed in 1893 a law to re-mould the system of local taxation for Prussia. Great latitude was given to municipal authorities to raise their revenues from a variety of sources, but among others they were permitted to put a tax on undeveloped land. Gradually a good many towns began to adopt it. In 1899 the Government issued a Memorandum urging the adoption of the law, and in 1904 a second Memorandum referring to the Taxation of Land Values was circulated, from which I propose to quote. I have got abundant other evidence of the admirable results of the law and of its popularity. But the official circular explaining its success and urging its further adoption is more impressive than any outside opinions. The Memorandum commences by saying:—

"It has been shown by practical experience that a rate placed upon land values, in localities where both population and land values are on the increase, results in an alleviation of the burdens borne by those landowners who are not able to bear such heavy burdens by shifting them on to the shoulders of those who are capable of bearing them. . . .

"The statistics prove that building sites, which are only touched insufficiently by the taxation on letting value, will be much more sharply hit by the rate on the land value. . . .

"For instance, under the State assessment the unbuilt-on sites of a certain locality were liable to bear 3 per cent. of the rates falling on land and houses, while after the imposition of a rate on the land value they would have to pay something like 36½ per cent., while the rate upon buildings would fall from 97 to 63½ per cent. In larger towns, in suburbs, and in industrial localities, where a lively demand for building space might cause the owners of land to keep it out of the market even when it is ready for building in order to raise the price, the higher rating of building sites is calculated to discourage such speculation, and to prevent an unhealthy rise in price. . . .

"By the introduction of a rate upon ground values no great addition to the labour of assessment is felt, and the cost of the new system of assessment has not in any locality reached an amount which is worthy of notice when compared with the advantages of the new system. To this fact those places which have already adopted the new rate bear witness in expressing their approval of the new system."

The Memorandum proceeds to give elaborate tables explanatory of the working of the law, and concludes with a list of the local authorities which have adopted it. No less than 71 towns and 53 country municipalities were already on the list, which is every day being increased. The names of the following great towns appear among the 71:—Stettin, Breslau, Magdeburg, Kiel, Schleswig, Dortmund, Weisbaden, Aix, Berncastle, Cleve, Coblenz, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Essen, besides several of the Berlin suburbs such as Charlottenburg and Spandau. In the face of these facts it is impossible to assert that the proposals are impracticable. They are being carried out in the country whose industrial conditions most closely resemble our own at the instigation of the Government, and they are realising in Prussia all those advantages which we are confident will accrue to ourselves.

Open Spaces and Municipal Purchase.

There is, I think, only one important popular objection raised to Taxation of Land Values. It is argued that open spaces and gardens which are now valuable as the "lungs" of our great towns will be forced into the market. It is hardly necessary to say that such is not the motive of Land Reformers, whose chief cry is "Give the people room to live." In the first place, if land is brought cheaply into the market all round our cities, it means that many more people will be able to pay for gardens in the suburbs attached to their houses. It may be that a few streets in the centre of the town, inevitably destined to become shop-streets in time, will have their garden frontages built up a few years sooner owing to land taxation. But twenty new streets with gardens will be able to spring up in the suburbs to compensate. And with regard to open spaces, why should there be any fear? In the Bill of 1905 a clause was inserted to permit the dedication of open spaces free of land rates to the public by the leave of the municipality. And the London County Council has given an earnest of its anxiety to avoid the taxing out of such spaces by seeking powers to come at once to arrangements with the landlords of London squares and open spaces, to enable them to be dedicated to the public on the understanding that the Council will exempt them from any future rate upon Land Values.

But the truth is that Taxation of Land Values can alone make an adequate supply of public spaces possible. The supreme difficulty which faces the most willing municipalities to-day in trying to provide playgrounds for the children and parks to the people is the price of land. They are worse off than even the private purchaser. For if it is known that the Corporation with the rates behind them want land, the demands of landowners rise in proportion. English towns own very little property compared with towns in Germany and some other countries. The rent roll of our corporations is astonishingly small. Only thirty-four towns have an income of more than £1,000, and only Bristol, Leicester, Liverpool, Nottingham, and Swansea have more than £10,000 a year. Consequently they have to purchase land at enormous prices for all public improvements, for schools, for new streets, for town halls, for libraries, for playgrounds, for parks. The more active the municipalities become, and the more duties the law imposes upon them, the larger the sums which the ratepayers are constantly having to pay for land. It is quite essential that this plundering of the public should cease, and that there should be an automatic method of arriving at fair selling value. What can be more fair than to allow the public to purchase at the value stated in the land value column of the rate book. If the value has been overstated, the seller can have nothing to complain of. If it has been understated, he will have been evading his obligations as a ratepayer and will

be justly penalised in consequence. The basis of all compulsory purchase in future must be the declared land value upon which the rates are paid. It will then become possible for great public improvements to be made without the public having to pay a huge price, which covers the values which they will create by those very improvements. The unearned increment can then be reserved for those who create it by the timely purchase of property, which public expenditure is going to improve.

The Question of Existing Contracts.

There is a subsidiary question upon which I ought to say a few words, namely, who ought to pay the Land Value Rate? Undue importance has been given to the subject because the movement began in an effort to enable the occupier to shift his existing rates on to the shoulders of the ground-rent holder in leasehold towns. It was an attack on the great landlords, whose wealth naturally excites the jealousy of the communities who contribute to it. As Squire Western says, "Most o' zuch great estates be in the hands of lords, and I hate the very name of themmum." As a matter of fact, that is an entire delusion. In the first place, in leasehold towns the majority of landowners are small people, and there are vast numbers of owners of ground rents who are either building societies or private individuals who have placed their earnings in what they think solid investments. But, further, the majority of English towns are by custom freehold, and therefore shifting the rate from occupier to landlord would mean nothing. We are not concerned in the relations of landlord and tenant. It does not matter who is paying the rate on a mill or a house. The real evil is that there should be a tax at all to make houses and mills more expensive to erect. And it is just as bad a tax and doing just as great injury to trade whether the landowner builds the mill in freehold Halifax or the tenant in leasehold London.

Those who urge the very serious step of requiring the rate to be thrown back on the ground rents, which have contracted out of all rates, ought to ask themselves who is really enjoying the land value now. After all, in most cases the ground rent is a form of deferred payment for the purchase of the land. I have recently taken some land on long lease in the centre of London to build a house upon. If I had wished to do the same in Bradford I should have bought the land outright. But I enjoy the full value of the land as much in London as in Bradford while my lease runs. No one would propose in the case of Bradford that I should be allowed to run to earth the man from whom I had bought the land and clap the new land rate upon him, so evading my own present responsibility. Yet the basis on which I am paying my ground rent in London is arranged on exactly the same considerations as my purchase in Bradford. The truth is that till the end of his lease the occupier has the full enjoyment of the land value. The renewal of his bargain at the end of the lease is the time when the landlord again enjoys the advantage of possessing the land. The rent now paid under existing leases, just as the price paid under recent purchases, may be a great deal more than if a land value tax had existed which brought all available land into the market. But that is the penalty we all pay for past folly and present blindness. It may also be a very good reason, and is in my opinion the best of reasons, for heavy taxation on large incomes derived or large fortunes inherited from such sources. The income tax and death duties can deal with such accumulations. But there is no good reason for going behind hundreds of thousands of transactions which people of very moderate means justly regard as final contracts.

There is, however, a general agreement being reached by most of those who

have paid close attention to this subject that existing contracts must be respected. The Minority Report of the Royal Commission insists on it. Judge O'Connor, in his uncompromising report in favour of land taxation as the basis of all rating, declares:—

“All existing contracts should be absolutely respected. It may be that many of them will have to run not for years only, but for lives and longer. No matter, for although there would appear to be, according to the view in this Report, much that is inequitable in the present arrangement, and much that calls for change in the interests of the public, yet a disregard of contractual relations would be a more serious injury to the public than even the existing system of rating.”

So strongly is this felt in Parliament that after passing by 90 the Bill which I introduced upon April 14th of this year for England, which respected contracts, the House of Commons nearly rejected upon May 19th the Scotch Bill which contained a clause to throw back the land rate upon feu duties. It was only carried by a majority of 20, and by dint of the most explicit declarations on the part of most of those who spoke for it, and by Mr. Thomas Shaw as spokesman for the Liberal side that the clause would be dropped in committee.

The Rural Problem.

So far I have discussed Land Reform as if it were a purely town question. But there is no magic in the boundary of a Borough or an Urban District. Land is of the same nature within the jurisdiction of a County Council. And as discussion proceeds it is becoming clearer that the full results of Taxation of Land Values cannot be realised in cities as long as large tracts of building land outside the municipal areas are unaffected by the land value rate. The towns of Newcastle and Gateshead contain about 3,000 acres of buildings. But it has been recently estimated that within three miles of the Central Station there are at least 10,000 acres which are as yet unbuilt on, and owing to the tram extensions are all practically within the building market. But most of this land is outside the borough boundaries. Much of the land on which a new and larger London ought to be built to house the overcrowded millions is in Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey. Manchester needs to extend into Cheshire. Sheffield ought to overrun Derbyshire and the West Riding. It is quite essential, in order to complete the urban reform, either that there should be a great extension of boundaries sufficient to include all land which for some time to come may become valuable for building, or that Taxation of Land Values should be applied to the whole country, and not only to the towns.

There is nothing but the unripe state of public opinion in the country districts which prevents the demand for the reform being as vigorous from agricultural as from industrial communities. Every argument for Taxation of Land Values in the towns applies with as great force to rural districts. The rates constitute as severe a burden. There is an unending struggle between the farmer and the townsman as to which of them suffers most from the burden. The agricultural interest has got special relief in the Agricultural Rates Act from the present unprincipled and short-sighted government. But the lamentation of the agriculturist is just as loud in 1905 as it was in 1895. He is quite right. Doles from the Exchequer do not alter the intolerable character of the present rates. They are in the country also a special tax upon enterprise and industry. The more valuable a farm is made by labour and capital and skill and thrift the higher the assessment of that farm. The more and the better the

cottages for labourers the more the farmer or the landlord has to pay in rates for them. Is it not a ludicrous system of taxation which at once puts a heavy tax upon the capital and labour of a Scottish or Yorkshire farmer who has been induced to take up a derelict farm in Essex? If the land has hardly any value it ought to have hardly any tax on it, and the public ought rather to reward the enterprising man who has the skill to use it.

How to Re-People the Countryside.

But a great part of the rural land of England is not used as it might be, and is even deliberately refused to those who could use it. Yet it is rated only on the rent which it actually brings in.

Three years ago an old pillar was dug up on the site of the ancient City of Susa bearing a Babylonian inscription 4,000 years old:—

“Land must be cultivated, and if neglected the owner had to pay the same as the neighbouring land.”

These men of old had grasped our principle. There are many estates where the land is neglected, and where mismanagement or lack of capital has reduced the letting value of the farms. There is land near villages wanted for building or small holdings, there is land near railway stations which manufacturers would buy at reasonable prices, there is land near cities which is reserved by the landlords from its best economic use. It is a grave injustice that this land should not be paying on its real value while the well-developed property has to bear the burden. A speaker in a discussion on the subject at the Urban District Council of Chatteris, in Cambridgeshire, put the case well when he said:—

“It seems unfair that land on our fens, worth say £30 an acre, should be assessed at 30s., while land in the town worth £1,000 an acre (forty times as much) is assessed at less than 60s.; but that is the state of things in Chatteris. It is also unfair that fen farms worth not more than £30 per acre, are assessed at several shillings per acre more than land abutting on high roads worth at least £50 per acre. This injustice is very serious, and has existed for generations. Some land in the fen is paying rates on an assessment of 28s. per acre, while some pieces of accommodation land on our main highways is paying on 21s.”

Again as in towns so in the country the stimulus to the proper use of land needed by the community is at least as important as the relief of the present rates. The danger to the national health if we become a city-bred people is beginning to beset our minds. Mr. Charles Booth finds that the generation born in the town tends to work in the lower grades of labour. “Back to the land” is the only security for maintaining the physical stamina of the race. But the exchange of town and country population does not proceed. The Exodus is one-sided. The agricultural labourer is attracted to the towns, the townsman is not attracted to the country. To speak more accurately, country life repels both. It is not that the glare of shops is preferred by all men to the sunset; that the quieter glories of springtime, and haymaking, and gardening cannot compensate for the music-hall and the lure of the crowded city. The same kind of men from town and country settle down happily in Canada and New Zealand on the land. But in England the land is closed to them. No agricultural labourer becomes a freeholder, and very rarely a tenant of any sort. That he should own the land for his cottage is so unthinkable that the Building Societies confine their operations to the towns. No advancement is possible for him.

The one rare chance is that he may have a landlord who chooses to experiment in small holdings. But it is a chance in a thousand. More and more in rural England the controlling question in the use of land is the sporting value of an estate, and independent holdings, above all freeholds, are anathema to the sporting tenant. The rooted objection to breaking up estates and to admitting new industries to country districts excludes the economic use of land except where the towns have crept up very close to the country house. There the landlord begins to feel that it is no use trying to keep away the factory, and, when bribed with twenty times the agricultural value of his land, will begin to sell or let it to the enterprising innovator.

To save rural England from further depopulation and to turn back the flood of men to the land it is necessary that far away from the towns it should be easy for the enterprising man to get land to work on. Taxation of Land Values will make this far simpler. A co-operative society may now be anxious to get land for small holdings, or a manufacturer wish to take his business into the country to some healthy village close to a main line station. But they cannot do it now except by paying land prices which make it economically impossible. It has been necessary, as things now are, in order to get industries into the country to start a Garden City Company which can get enough capital to buy a whole estate outright and offer land at reasonable terms to individual manufacturers. But if the refusal of an offer of twice his agricultural rent were to entail the doubling of his rates, the landlord would quickly enough part with his land to the small manufacturer or co-operator, without the intervention of the Garden City Company.

Even public authorities would be immensely benefited. In the Northumberland County Council we are having to pay 5s. a square yard for land on which to build schools for villages. The value of the land as used at present would generally be at the very outside 1s. a square yard. Land Value Taxation would bring this land into the market at reasonable prices. The County Council of Herefordshire was recently wholly unable to buy any land suitable for an experimental fruit ground. Land Value Taxation would have enabled them to buy it somewhere within the area of their fertile country at a little over the agricultural value.

A National Land Value Tax Possible.

I have said enough to show why the country is just as interested in Taxation of Land Values as the towns. And I am strongly of opinion that when it comes to dealing with it the next Liberal Government will find it very hard to refuse to treat the country districts in the same way as the towns. Their rating question has got to be dealt with. Can any Liberal Government simply venture to continue the Agricultural Rates Act to the counties without alteration? If not, what does it propose to do? It will be an enormous expense to make an equivalent grant to the towns, and yet in strict justice they can demand it. A bolder solution would be to free the national exchequer of the burden of the present nine millions of subventions in aid of rates, and to remit taxation to that extent. Then a National Land Value Tax might be raised from the whole country in aid of rates and distributed according to the necessities of the various localities after the scheme recommended by Lord Balfour of Burleigh in the Local Taxation Commission. A very low estimate of the annual value of land in this country is £150,000,000 a year. If the corresponding capital, value £3,750,000,000, were taxed at one penny in the £ per annum, the revenue would be £15,625,000. Such a sum would nearly double the aid to rates given at present. And in fact it would be nothing more than a national readjustment of rates. Every million raised from Land Values

would be a million saved to the industries on the land. It would probably be a simpler and less complicated method of arriving at the desired results than by making the change a local one. It would moreover offer the additional advantage that it would be a national tax which the House of Lords could only reject at their peril, while all changes in the rating system would have to be presented in the form of Bills which they could mutilate with less fear of popular revolt.

Land Taxation *versus* Protection.

Taxation of Land Values is the economic answer to the new Protection of the Conservative party. Tariff Reform selects some favoured industries for protection at the expense of the rest of the community, encourages every manufacturer who happens to do badly to turn to politics in the hope of winning in the tariff gamble what his own industry and intelligence fail to gain, raises prices to the general detriment, and makes the poor poorer yet. Taxation of Land Values aims at exactly the opposite. It makes no invidious selection of politically powerful trades. It does not leave out of account industries where there is no foreign competition. All are equally favoured by the remission of taxation upon their machinery and mills, and by the new opportunity of obtaining cheap land. Foreign competition will remain the same as it is now, but we shall be better able to meet it. New industries, which are now choked off by the weight of local taxation, will arise. New men, who want to start in a small way, but have not now the capital to pay the enormous prices for land which monopoly can now demand, will be able to try their experiments. But, above all, the eyes of politicians in England will be turned away from the foreigner. New Protection attributes all the evils of our people to the alien, and the competition of the alien, and the incursion of the alien. Bad trade, sweating, overcrowding, unemployment, are all the work of the foreigner. Therefore to fear, to hate, to thwart, to tax, to retaliate upon the foreigner is the truest patriotism to their perverted vision.

We think the causes of economic depression, of social inequality, and of widespread poverty lie nearer home. The vast wealth of England could comfortably feed and clothe and house and employ all her people. But it is ill-distributed. The industrious are taxed. The owners of vast unearned wealth escape far too easily. Men willing to work and to use the land of their country are denied the right to use it, in obedience to the whim of the unenlightened self-interest of landlords. They throng to our towns. They lower wages. They become the unemployed. We demand the use of the land of England. We are no confiscators. But we say that the only terms on which private ownership of the first necessity of man can be permanently tolerable to a democratic people is that this enormous privilege shall carry with it the obligation to bear a large part of the public burdens. And we hold it to be the highest of all patriotic efforts to secure by new and just laws the full and free opportunity to every citizen of using some part of the soil of the country, for which we teach him that it is a virtue to know how to die.

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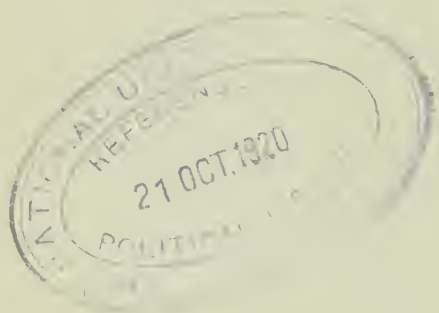
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WHAT LABOUR WANTS.

It is quite unnecessary to give elaborate biographies of the Coming Men who have written the following articles. They are all well known as pioneers in the great progressive movement.

Mr. BURGESS calls himself the political father of the Independent Labour Party, and certainly has a good claim to the title, considering that when editor of the *Workman's Times* he asked for the names of those persons who were desirous of seeing such a Party formed, and in response obtained more than two thousand adherents. He is now an active member of the Glasgow Town Council, and has a good chance of wresting the parliamentary representation of the Camlachie Division from its present Tory occupant at the next General Election.

Probably no other member of the Labour Party has represented the movement at so many Congresses both in Europe and America as Mr. PETE CURRAN. It is really marvellous how he manages to get through the multifarious duties connected with the Labour Representation Committee and the General Federation of Trades' Unions, in addition to his regular work as principal organiser to the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union. Mr. Curran has a very strong election committee working for him,

and everything points to his winning the Jarrow Division by a big majority.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES is also one of the organisers of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union, and his chances of securing the seat at North-East Manchester are daily improving. The present holder is Sir J. Fergusson (an ex-Postmaster-General), but it is probable that he will retire at the end of the present Parliament. Mr. Clynès has lately been made a J.P., being one of the first of the active socialists to receive this honour. The Gasworkers' Union is certainly to be congratulated in possessing two such capable organisers as Mr. Curran and Mr. Clynès.

Mr. G. J. WARDLE has been for many years an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and since 1898 has edited their official organ, *The Railway Review*. He was adopted as Labour Candidate for Stockport two years ago. This is a double-barrelled constituency, and as it is very unlikely that either the Liberals or Conservatives will bring forward more than one candidate each, Mr. Wardle should find no difficulty in securing one of the seats.

The political situation in Norwich is very similar. The City returns two

members, but up to the present neither of the orthodox parties has brought out more than one candidate, so that Mr. G. H. ROBERTS stands an excellent chance of being returned. He is at present Organiser of the Typographical Association, and his fellow-members have recently agreed to pay his election expenses.

It should be remembered that although the candidatures of these writers were promoted in the first instance by the respective Societies

to which they belong, they have since been adopted by the Labour Representation Committee, and if elected as M.P.'s, this committee will pay each of them a salary of £200 per annum.

The passing of the Unemployed Bill was the result of a ding-dong fight by a handful of Labour M.P.'s, and with their number recruited there can be little question that the subjects dealt with in the following pages will be brought rapidly to the front.

THE FEEDING OF CHILDREN BY THE STATE.

By COUNCILLOR JOSEPH BURGESS,

Labour Candidate for the Camlachie Division of Glasgow.

The demand that the State shall assume the responsibility of securing the adequate feeding of the children, from whose ranks the future generation of citizens must be recruited, is only the logical outcome of the demand the State has already made, namely, that all children must be properly educated.

The Results of Underfeeding.

Statistics giving relative heights and weights of children adequately and insufficiently fed are somewhat vitiated by the fact that housing conditions contribute to the disparities disclosed. In Glasgow an inquiry, conducted under the supervision of the Medical Officer of Health (Dr. A. K. Chalmers), showed that children of the same age, living in houses of one, two, and three apartments, varied in height and weight as follows:—

Size of House in Rooms.		Height in Inches (Mean).		Weight in lbs. (Mean).
1	.....	47·7	.....	52·9
2	.....	49·3	.....	56·6
3	.....	50·8	.....	59·6

The class of house occupied is a good indication of the economic position of the parents and the scale of diet of the children, but it is difficult to determine how much of the disparity disclosed in the foregoing table is rightly to be attributed to bad housing, and how much to bad feeding. In another table, however, Dr. Chalmers shows us the weights of children graded in relation to diets described as good, medium, and bad, according to the proteids and fats they contain. All these children belong to the same economic class, as determined by the size (in rooms) of the houses they inhabit. They belong to the two-apartment class, in which 343,751 of the 761,712 inhabitants of Glasgow reside. I give this table entire, merely premising that "Kitchen" is a Glasgow term for occasional tasty bits, which generally take the form of butchers' scraps.

TABLE II.—*Weight of Children in Relation to Diet (Families in Two Apartments).*

		GOOD.		MEDIUM.		BAD.	
BREAKFAST		Porridge and Milk and "Kitchen."		Bread and Butter.		Bread and Tea.	
DINNER		Potatoes and Meat.		Potatoes and Soup.		Bread, Butter, and Tea.	
TEA		Tea and Bread (Occasionally "Kitchen").		Bread, Butter, and "Kitchen."		Bread, Butter, and "Kitchen" thrice weekly.	
GIRLS—		st. lbs.		st. lbs.		st. lbs.	
Age	6	3	0	...	...	2	4
"	7	3	2	...	...	2	5
"	8	3	7	3	2	...	...
"	9	3	12	3	8	...	...
"	10	3	12	...	...	3	5
"	11	4	4	4	10	...	...
"	12	5	2	4	9	...	...
"	14	5	13	4	10	...	...
BOYS—		st. lbs.		st. lbs.		st. lbs.	
Age	6	3	1	2	6	2	0
"	7	3	4	3	4	...	...
"	9	3	13	3	10	3	1
"	12	4	10	...	...	4	5
"	13	5	4	5	4	...	...
"	14	5	10	5	1	4	11

Regarding these figures from the point of view of the Educationalist, what bearing have they on the possibilities of imparting education to the underfed? Reverting to the table in which the children are grouped according to the class of house they occupy, I now extract therefrom the mental capacity, according to the estimate of the teachers, of the children attending school. These children, it must be remembered, are all of one age, and the figures given are percentages:—

MENTAL CAPACITY (*Teachers' Estimate*).

Size of House in Rooms.	Excellent.	Good.	Medium.	Dull.
1	6·6	26·6	26·6	?
2	16·6	45·4	31·2	6·6
3	17·5	49·1	28·0	5·2

Comment is needless. Science tells us that the children of the poor are born with the same endowment, intellectual and physical, as the children of the well-to-do. But they are not adequately fed, and, consequently, cannot be properly educated.

How Underfeeding affects National Well-being.

The children of the poor, or those who survive the ordeal, for there is a terrible waste of precious lives, grow up under a double disadvantage. They are deficient both in education and physique. Dr. Clement Dukes, before the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, put in a table showing the mean height and weight, and the annual rate of increase, of 7,855 boys and men, between the ages of 10 and 30, of the artisan class—town population, and a second table giving the same particulars of 7,709 boys and men of the most favoured classes of the English population—public school boys, naval and military cadets, and medical and university students. The table is too detailed to quote in full, but it shows that at 22 years of age the artisans were 66·60 inches in height, and weighed 130·40 lbs., whereas the professional classes, at the same age, were 68·93 inches high, and weighed 154·7 lbs. This gives an average of more than 2 inches in height and 24 lbs. in weight to the professional classes. Again I must insist that it is not theirs at birth. This loss of stature and weight is the price the nation has to pay for the bad housing, the insufficient feeding, and the premature employment of the children of the poor.

State Feeding of Children the Truest Economy.

Space will not permit me to deal with the objections raised to the State Feeding of Children, such as the alleged weakening of parental responsibility, the effect upon home life, and the argument that what is saved to the parents will be taken from them by lessened wages or increased cost of rent. To all such objections there is one sufficient answer—the children must be adequately fed, or physical deterioration will destroy our strength as a nation. In the face of recent disclosures, the mere cost of providing the food cannot be allowed to bar the way to this reform. That cost is greatly exaggerated. The Glasgow Corporation, in its Family Home for widowers and their children, feeds 150 children under 14 years of age at an average cost of 1s. 4d. per week. This is not one meal per day, but three full meals daily, and a slice of bread and butter thrown in for supper. What the children want is plain food, and plenty of it. They are our chief asset, and it is the truest economy of the State to secure that they are fed and trained so as to be able to take the part of good citizens hereafter.

ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

By G. H. ROBERTS,

Labour Candidate for Norwich.

After much insistent agitation the Labour party is disposing of the fallacious idea hitherto inveterately held that Unemployment is merely seasonal, and is creating a great public knowledge and conscience upon this question of grave national concern, which perceives that whilst competition for individual gain characterises society, and land and capital is privately owned, so that a few people appropriate to themselves the larger share of yearly human production, thousands of industrious citizens are doomed to idleness with all its attendant privation and misery, for even in the most prosperous times there are many unable to find a purchaser for their labour—a condition grievously aggravated during the ever-recurring and increasingly frequent periods of depression.

In the absence of a scientific adjustment of supply and demand the spectre of Unemployment haunts the worker throughout life, placing him at the mercy of the ebb and flow of trade and a victim to every fluctuation of the market. Every fresh invention in machinery, improved method of production, or increased facility of transport and communication adopted, instead of having all-round beneficial consequences, entails the displacement and reduction to extreme poverty of many workers, whilst those retaining their places in the ranks of industrialism find their labour intensified thereby.

Mr. Chas. Booth, in *Life and Labour*, states:—"Our modern system of industry will not work without some unemployed margin—some reserve of labour. Thus it will be seen capital actually flourishes on the unemployed, for monopoly wealth is rooted in labour's poverty, and the workers are mere counters in Mammon's game of greed. Capital, therefore, has need of the unemployed to maintain its supremacy over labour. What an ignoble ideal society clings to which requires that many shall remain idle so as to render it easy for the privileged few to wrest wealth socially produced for private gain and aggrandisement. Does not this show society to rest upon the poverty and degradation and the trampled manhood and debased womanhood of the masses?"

At last, however, an idea of the wrong wrought by subverting the right of human beings to work and live is forcing itself into people's minds, as evidenced in the growing tendency to organise votes and to formulate clear conscious demands regardless of the exigencies of party politics. Current events strongly manifest the wisdom of such a step, proving that those supporting the great evil of capitalistic profit-seeking are not to be differentiated by traditional

political designations. Many politicians are extremely radical in their advocacy of minor reforms, but fatally conservative upon the fundamental question of the economic organisation of industry, in which lie embedded the roots of social problems, of which unemployment is the greatest.

When distress "maketh even wise men mad," charitable doles are impulsively dispensed, which but act as an opiate, giving temporary ease and leaving the social body weakened and enfeebled. Knowing this, it is wiser to locate causes and apply effective remedies thereto. Though the scientific regulation of industry and a just and equitable co-ordination of social interests is a question incapable of immediate solution, still, palliative measures can be adopted when willed, which measures should be designed to directly lead to the goal where the nation's labour shall be adjusted to the nation's needs, and national wealth be used for national ends.

Some are attracted by the crude and illusive, but specious and dangerous, fiscalism now being exploited by certain politicians to divert attention from real issues, under the guise of patriotism and imperial greatness. Socialists and Labour men, knowing unemployment to be incidental to competitive industrialism, irrespective of fiscal arrangements, have splendidly manifested their intent to arrest such retrogressive proposals, simultaneously taking full advantage of every opportunity to point out genuine causes and remedies for enforced idleness and fluctuating employment, thus creating facilities for enhanced progress. Modern imperialism is but a Jesuitical device for binding the workers in closer bondage to capital.

Historically, unemployment appears coincidently with the people's expropriation from the land and their aggregation into towns under the factory system. Land, as the physical basis of life, is the great essential, and free access to it is the incontestable right of a free people; hence the incubus of landlordism must be shaken off and the nation placed in possession of its rightful heritage. Amazing is the folly and indifference which unprotestingly allows good land to fall into prairie wildness, while many thousand willing and able workers yearn for opportunities to apply their labour to it, so that livelihoods be earned and national wealth increased. The re-peopling of the land with an industrious population, utilising scientific and co-operative methods of cultivation, would so enhance its productive capacity as to rapidly decrease our dependence upon foreign nations for food supplies—a source of national weakness necessitating the upkeep of a bloated and burdensome navy. Far better than markets abroad, costly to obtain and keep, and always fickle and unreliable, would be that market created at home by the repatriation of the people upon the land, giving constant and certain demands resting upon the purchasing power of our own population, which, with consequent improved stability of employment, would largely increase.

A bold and comprehensive scheme of afforestation is pregnant with great possibilities. Continental nations have successfully afforested hitherto barren wilds, using much labour and realising handsome profits, whilst experiments privately conducted undeniably show that timber may be profitably cultivated in this country. A nation really in earnest would regard but little land as entirely useless, for cannot sterile land be *made* fertile? The Channel Islands

afford examples of how barren soil may be transformed into fruitfulness by skill and industry. Britain may learn an appropriate lesson from the Chinese motto :— “Suffer not a barren spot to remain in the wilds, or an idle person to abide in the cities.”

The reclamation of foreshores, too, would peacefully add miles of valuable territory to national possessions, giving employment to many. Ceasing to wage flagitious wars for the unhallowed subjugation of other races, and determining upon the complete conquest of our own soil, would soon allay anxiety about fluctuating export trade. It is activity or depression in the home trade which brings either prosperity or distress. Increasing exports may run parallel with internal slackness. To regard progress in one county as involving the ruin of another is a creed we cannot subscribe to. It is in accord with natural evolutionary laws that each nation shall develop, increasingly supplying its own needs, and to that extent closing its markets to other nation's products. This is proceeding as relentlessly as Fate, and true statesmanship will recognise the inevitable contraction of the world's markets, creating greater difficulties in finding outlets for exports, and involving an inability to pay for the food stuffs we are compelled to import since Britain ruined its agriculture and rural population by forcing its people into manufacture and urban wretchedness.

For many years organised labour has advanced its claim for the enactment of an Eight Hour Day. The institution of an Independent Labour group in the next Parliament should ensure attention being given to a measure intended to modify the terrible modern paradox of some working inordinately long hours whilst others are denied work. By raising the school age the tension would also be relieved, besides affording our children fairer opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, which, with the adoption of an intelligently ordained educational system, aiming at the development of each child's particular aptitudes, and placing them in that sphere for which they are adapted, would remove the oft-levelled charge of incompetency, invariably due to the promiscuous choice of trade adopted. This would be regarded as the special function of a State seeking to make the best of its wealth-producers, and to promote universal comfort, content, and well-being.

Unemployment is a national problem, the responsibility for which must be nationalised. The growth of the new Labour Party, and the wide acceptance of newer social and economic theories, denote the intent of the disinherited to cease meekly acquiescing in the merciless conditions which manacle and scourge them, and to institute a juster state, eliminating the carking care and terror of indigence environing them. Struggling towards freedom, they realise its impossibility till they have removed the class restrictions denying their right to work and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Already the light of Right and Justice irradiates their minds, and they spurn demoralising charity and go forward,

“Not as beggars, but as men demanding work,
Not as vagabonds or vagrants, but as men who scorn to shirk.”

LAND NATIONALISATION.

By PETE CURRAN.

Labour Candidate for the Jarrow Division of Durham.

In contributing this short article on Land Nationalisation I feel that it is due to me to say that the famous book entitled *Progress and Poverty*, which was written by the great American apostle of Land Reform, Henry George, was the first work which directed my attention to the depth and seriousness of the Social Problem of modern times, though the final solution therein suggested is in my judgment inadequate to cope with all the social wrongs which afflict Society, yet it is a most eloquent impeachment of present-day Social inequalities.

The general term Land Nationalisation, to most who study the question, presents two separate theories. In the first place there is the school of thought known as single taxers, who believe that the State should appropriate the Land by a process of graduated taxation. Henry George was the pioneer of this school; their shibboleth is taxation to extinction of private ownership. They go on to declare that when the Land of the Country is directly in the hands of the Government it should be placed in the open market and according to the law of competition contracted out to the individual who is prepared to pay the highest tax for the time being, such tax of course going into the National Exchequer. It is perfectly obvious that those who advocate this process of reform, however estimable in its way, do not mean *Land* Nationalisation. In my estimation this simply means the Nationalisation of *Rent*, and would still afford facilities for the Land to become Capitalised by large tracts of it being rented out by the State to the private Speculator, who would be in a position, even then, to use it to the detriment of a large portion of the community. I do not desire to declaim against this Reform, being sensible to the fact that the Revenue derived from land would go far to remove the burden of Taxation from the shoulders of the Industrial classes. My main object is to have this Reform estimated at its proper value.

In dealing with this problem it is necessary for us to always keep in mind the obvious fact that Land is a natural element, and not a manufacturised or a movable commodity, both the surface and the valuable minerals beneath not being placed there by any human hand, but are essentially the gifts of nature to her children.

There is another economic side to this Land problem, which has been set forth by numerous thinkers belonging to the Socialistic school and to which, I am bound to say, I principally adhere, that is, when Land becomes the property of the Nation either by Taxation to Extinction, by appropriation or compensation, it should *remain* the property of the Nation and should be kept under the collective supervision of national and local authorities; for instance, by receiving

Parliamentary powers, County authorities could organise Agricultural contingents, equipped with the most modern scientific implements for cultivation and produce raising. The Mining Industry could be carried on under Parliamentary superintendence with efficient and qualified persons in the position of Management. The City and Urban authorities having Parliamentary sanction could carry on Buildings and other operations without letting out any part of the Land under their jurisdiction for the purpose of individual enterprise.

Of course in a short article of this description it is impossible to treat this vast subject in a comprehensive way, but if future reform of the Land system was conducted on the lines as above indicated it is not claiming too much to say that it would be laying the foundation stone of a future system of public ownership and collective control. It may be here mentioned that the line of demarcation between the two schools that I have briefly treated lays in the point that the first mentioned are collectivists only in so far as Land Taxation is concerned, and that they are strong believers in that form of individualism which is at present the ruling feature in Commerce and Industry, and which is rapidly breeding and fostering a combination of social evils which will ultimately work out its own destruction, while the last mentioned not only wants to establish the principle of complete collective control of Land, but also want to apply that principle to those huge National Monopolies in Manufacture and transit which are at present crippling our whole Industrial system.

The words Land Values are very often used in a vague way by Public Speakers and Writers. I remember a description given by the late Charles Stewart Parnell in the House of Commons away back in the early eighties, when a Land Commission was being appointed to consider the all-important question of buying out Irish Landlords. He stated they (the Landlords) should be compensated according to the *Prairie* Value of the Land. This was a rather sarcastic phrase at that juncture, but it conveyed a lot of deep meaning. What is the *Prairie* value of land? Land has no real value except for grazing purposes, until the hand and brain of labour is applied to it, so that if the Irish Landlords had been bought out at Irish *Prairie* value it would not have cost the British Taxpayer much, but unfortunately such did not happen. The Landlords and Capitalists in Parliament saw to that. All earnest Reformers, however they may differ in detail, are agreed that Land Monopoly is at the root of most of the Social evils.

Those of us who are engaged in the work of Trade-Union Organisation perceive the evils of the system not only in the scantily populated rural districts, but also and even to a keener degree in the overcrowded and impoverished slum dwellings which still exist in certain parts of our large cities. As no serious attempt has been made by either of the great Political parties of the State to grapple with this Social anomaly, we are forced to the conclusion that it will be left to the future Representatives of the Organised workers to promote and fight for a real and adequate solution of the Land Problem. This is perhaps one of the strongest reasons why we stand for Labour's Political Independence.

We are doing our utmost to arouse the workers to a keen sense of their own civic powers. If we succeed in persuading them to use such powers in a solidified way, then Labour's voice will be heard more frequently and with much greater effect in the Councils of the Nation.

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION.

By G. J. WARDLE,

Labour Candidate for Stockport.

The Labour Party supports nationalisation because railways are a monopoly—and all monopolies should be owned by the State. There is no real competition between railways at the present day. Rates are arranged jointly between competing points, and both or all railways charge alike. There is thus no competition, only duplicate management, duplicate stations, duplicate trains, and duplicate staffs.

It would pay the nation to have only one railway, and that owned by the State.

At present there are 51 companies, with 250 boards of directors and 3,000 directors.

The salary of a director averages £500 per year.

Over-Capitalisation.

The railways are enormously over-capitalised.

The Board of Trade returns for 1902 show the total capital of the railways of the United Kingdom as £1,217,000,000.

Of this 189 millions, or 16 per cent., is water.

It takes nearly £7,000,000 every year to pay interest on this "water" at the average rate.

The various companies have paid £93,000,000 for legal expenses in Parliament, which have been added to capital.

It takes nearly £3,000,000 per year to pay the interest on this sum. The landlords have been paid £80,000,000 in excess of the real value of their land by railway companies, which has also been added to capital. It takes over £2,500,000 to pay interest on this sum.

The capital accounts of the railways never grow any less. They provide no sinking fund. In 1870 the cost of railways stood at £34,000 per mile. In 1902 it was £54,000 per mile, an increase of £20,000 per mile.

And it grows worse every year. If the nation were to take over the railways and pay a uniform rate of interest of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., it could save between 20 and 30 million pounds per year. It could create a sinking fund to pay off capital, reduce rates and fares, and give increased wages to the 600,000 employees.

Since 1870 the companies have paid in dividends and interest 1,116 million pounds, more than all the actual capital subscribed, yet in the same period the capital account has been doubled.

In the United Kingdom the railways have cost £54,000 per mile. On the Continent £15,000 per mile. In Australia £14,590 per mile. This is the price we are paying for leaving our railways in private hands.

Once our high roads were private property, and toll had to be paid for their use. Now they are public property, and tolls have been abolished. Railways are the highways of the nation.

Other Forms of Waste.

In addition to the waste which is caused by over-capitalisation, there is the waste caused by multi-management and by the reckless methods adopted to secure traffic.

In the United Kingdom there are 51 companies with separate general managers, goods managers, superintendents, accountants, and secretaries, and 250 boards of directors. In Germany the railways are under the control of one man.

In addition there is an English and Scotch Clearing House with 3,000 clerks, and an Irish one with 128 clerks, which must cost at least half a million per year to maintain. All this is absolutely unnecessary.

At least from one-third to one-half of the clerical work performed by the companies is caused by having separate and rival organisations.

Think, too, of the waste of stations and rolling stock caused by the present want of system. A wagon usually holds 10 tons, but the average carried by each wagon in Britain every 24 hours is only 1½ tons. The receipts per wagon only amount to:—

				Per Year.
Britain	...	...	...	£75
West South Wales	...	...	...	£191
West Australia	...	...	...	£153

Yet we have the greatest density of population.

The average train load is:—

				Tons.
United Kingdom	...	...	...	70
Germany	...	...	...	132
U.S.A.	...	...	...	204

There are five railway companies running between London and Liverpool, and one railway company alone has sufficient rolling stock to carry all the goods between the two points.

Ninety per cent. of the mineral wagons of one of the largest companies are returned empty.

There are also the unnecessary canvassers, agents, touts, and advertising, which are the result of the present system.

It has been estimated that centralisation would save £200,000 per week, which would make a reduction of 20 per cent. in rates possible.

The same things are true of the passenger service. Seven empty seats are run for one occupied. Every 24 hours about twenty-four trains leave London for Scotland, none of them filled, and only giving choice of about five alternative times, viz., 5 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m., 8 p.m., and 12 p.m. There are about forty trains daily each way between London and Manchester and Liverpool. All this waste has to be paid for by the passenger.

The cost of carrying a passenger one mile on our Indian Railways is $\frac{1}{8}$ of 1d. Austrian railways carry a passenger three miles for 1d. In England we are still charged the highest price the law allows, viz., 1d. per mile. Fares could be reduced at least 20 per cent., even on the present inflated capital, if the railways were nationalised.

Railways and Their Workmen.

The railways employ about 600,000 persons. Of these the majority are paid £1 per week or less. The average earnings of the workmen (including all those paid weekly wages) only come to £1 4s. 11½d. per week. Railwaymen are the lowest paid of any class of workers on the average, except agricultural labourers. Nationalisation would enable the State to give a 20 per cent. increase to all these underpaid men at once.

Besides this, their hours would be less and their safety better cared for.

Every year nearly 500 railwaymen are killed and 13,000 injured. Every reform of any importance for the safety of passengers or workmen has had to be forced on the railways by Parliament, and then only after years of unnecessary delay.

In December, 1891, there were 397,053 cases of men who worked over 12 hours at one shift and 21,211 cases of men who worked over 18 hours at a stretch.

In 1901—after the Hours Act of 1893—there were still 216,219 such cases, of which 8,087 represented over 18 hours on duty.

In December, 1902, after Mr. G. Balfour had given notice of his intention to call for a return, these cases were reduced to 75,389 total, and 763 only over 18 hours, which proves that the present long hours are unnecessary, and could be obviated entirely under centralised control and management.

There is a great waste of Life and Labour, as well as of money, and all this might easily be avoided; but there is only one way—by State ownership.

What Could Be Done?

These are a few of the reasons why a Labour Party favours nationalisation. State ownership would stop the waste of over-capitalisation, of manifold ownership and management, of life and labour. It would reduce rates, and thus enable us to effectively meet foreign competition. It would reduce fares, and thus relieve the congestion of our large cities. It would increase wages, reduce hours, and provide for the requisite safety of the men, and thus make them more effective purchasers and better citizens.

Railway nationalisation is necessary, just, and imperative in the interests of the whole community.

THE EIGHT HOURS QUESTION.

By J. R. CLYNES, J.P.,

Labour Candidate for North-East Manchester.

The claim for reduced working hours has at different times differed in degree through the greater prominence or more commanding claims of other questions, and changes in trade, industrial depression, and unemployment have affected the question considerably. The agitation, however, has never entirely dropped, and at certain periods very great interest has been aroused. The demand has been sustained chiefly by the improved aspirations and greater intelligence of the industrial classes, and is not, as some allege, an agitation either inspired or maintained by agents and agitators in the various organisations. The mass of labouring men observe that many work too long, whilst others have no opportunity to work whatever, and these conditions more readily create to-day a feeling of discontent and a sense of social interest amongst the masses. The workers begin to see they are justified in expecting, and are entitled to demand, a share of the greater comforts which can result from the improvement of machinery and the subdivision of labour.

The arguments against the claim are similar to the arguments always offered against any previous regulation or reduction of the hours of labour. All proposals for change in industrial conditions have been met either by very alarming or very doleful prophecies of ultimate results; but the prophecies have always been falsified by events. Foreign competition is the bogey most commonly raised against the request for shorter hours. All manufacturing countries have their foreign competition troubles, and a country whose trading conditions can obviously bear a reform should not delay it merely because the example may be absent in other lands.

We have several instances of the individual success of an eight-hour working day in trades which readily permitted employers to introduce the system without waiting for the law. The experience gained gave no cause to revert to the longer hours. Experiments have been made in Government Factories and Workshops, and returns have recently been published showing that over 40,000 Government workpeople had their hours reduced some years ago to 48 per week. Many different departments of Government service were affected, and a recent communication from the War Office states that, when the 48-hour week was adopted, it was calculated there would be a saving in stopping and re-starting machinery, and as work would not begin till after breakfast, there would be less light and fuel required. It was also expected that the change would ensure

greater regularity of attendance, and that there would be an improvement in the physical condition of the workers, with a consequent increase in their powers of production. As the cost of production had not been increased in other cases, it was calculated it would not be increased in Government Workshops. It is now stated by the War Office that these anticipations have been justified, that no extra cost has been incurred by the public, and that the output of work has not been diminished.

Whilst the universal or hasty adoption of an eight-hour day may involve certain confusion and changes, steps could at once be taken, in all forms of Municipal employment, in Government Workshops, and in connection with Public contracts, without any perceptible strain being felt from the alterations made. The State and Public Bodies can justly be called upon to set some example in a matter of better treatment to the workers, and in regard to a needful industrial reform. New machinery, improved methods, greater and more sustained physical energy on the part of the workers, have rather increased the output than diminished it. Where hours have been reduced wages have not fallen. Though eminent men have been known to declare that one was certain to accompany the other, experience has disproved the theory, and hours have been lessened without a fall in wages.

Assuming the change involved some loss, it may be said that the workers have made so many sacrifices on behalf of industry, that industry can be justly called upon to make some sacrifice for the workers. The enormous incomes derived by Landlords, Capitalists, and by men in our commercial, trading, and business circles, show clearly enough that our industries could afford to give some concession and relief to the millions employed at the laborious work performed in the various trades. If loss resulted, the great gains of the idle could afford to bear it. If some increased cost were incurred at the beginning of a period of reduced hours, it would soon be made up by lessened waste of both material and time, whilst there would be savings in heating, light, improved organisation, better discipline, and in other directions.

Numbers of the unemployed would undoubtedly be absorbed by introducing an eight-hour system in many of the trades in which employees are not affected by machinery and factory conditions. On our railways, tram-roads, canals, in public buildings, in the building trades generally, in various forms of vehicular traffic work, hours could be reduced and an opening made for thousands of the unemployed. In these trades there is no foreign competition, and in some of them there is no home competition. If the law compelled employers in these trades to fulfil a given condition, all would accommodate themselves to necessity and none be able to take advantage of another.

It is now commonly believed that any general alteration in working hours must be by legislation, and not by private arrangement or the organised force of trade union agency. It is as proper for the law to intervene to regulate the hours of work as it is for employers to intervene to regulate wages and prices. If it is right to fix rates in respect to stone, timber, and other material, it cannot be wrong to fix the working hours of human labour. Those who raise the cry of liberty and freedom of contract when an eight-hour day is demanded fail to see that men, now, have not the liberty to work where and how they like.

They are subject to existing trade conditions, and must meet the limits prescribed by custom or established by law.

A reduction in working hours would assuredly do much to reduce the percentage of accidents and injuries caused through excessive hours of work and the overstrain on human nature. The weekly bill of slaughter in the field of industry is heavy enough to justify a change which would at least curtail the enormous sacrifice of life and limb. On human and moral grounds the State should interfere, and State interference would provide its own justification. It would, indeed, ensure liberty by what it repressed and by what it withheld. Under present industrial conditions, nature requires the State to step in between the forces of commercialism and a limited human endurance. Man has made conditions and machinery which threaten to crush him unless they are restrained.

The toilers of to-day toil in a different industrial atmosphere and in circumstances altogether unknown to the artisan of former years. Increased productivity and efficiency should be accompanied by increased leisure and reward for those who both make the machines and work them. Gentlemen engaged in the lighter and more secure forms of service average less than eight hours, and enjoy the reliefs of variety and holidays unknown to the mass of wage earners who are doomed to follow the exhaustive and monotonous tasks in our factories, mines, and workshops. A leading article in the *Times* over 30 years ago, referring to the question of hours in the Engineering trades in the North of England, said: "On moral and sanitary grounds short hours of work are desirable, and so far as industrial interests are concerned, it may be taken for granted that they would gain rather than lose by the further limitation of working hours." Time has only added to the truth of this statement, and the claim, from the workers' standpoint, has become stronger. In the terms of the resolution so frequently passed at working-class gatherings, "An eight-hour day would lessen the number of unemployed, improve the quality of work, and increase the health, strength, and intelligence of the workers."

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THE EARL OF LYTTON.

THE EARL OF LYTTON, who contributes the following thoughtful paper on the Temperance question, is the grandson of Bulwer Lytton, the novelist, and son of the First Earl of Lytton, statesman and poet. His father was Viceroy of India when, in 1877, it fell to his lot, at Delhi, to proclaim Queen Victoria Empress of India. But the grandfather, the author of *Rienzi*, *Harold*, *Last Days of Pompeii*, and other standard novels, was the more distinguished ancestor. It is not surprising that the grandson, the present Earl, should already be making a name for himself, not only in letters, but in the service of the public.

Lord Lytton has been a prominent advocate of the Public House Trust inaugurated by Earl Grey, the present Governor-General of Canada; and he has for some time given great attention to the Temperance question,

studying it closely in all its bearings.

He was born in Simla in 1876, his mother being a niece of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. He married in 1902 Miss Pamela Plowden, a daughter of Sir Trevor Chichele-Plowden, who has been described by Mr. Arthur Balfour as the brightest star in London's social firmament. She is very beautiful, with a delicately-tinted oval face, soft brown eyes and hair, and a slender, graceful figure. She dresses with much artistic taste, and has many accomplishments, sings charmingly, sketches, models a little, reads much, and is a good linguist. She is also fond of more active amusements—skating, motor-ing, and cycling.

Lord Lytton also combines literary and artistic tastes with considerable political talent. In politics he is a Conservative; as a landowner he holds about 5,000 acres, and resides at Westminster.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT AND THE PUBLIC HOUSE TRUST.

By THE EARL OF LYTTON.

IN any programme of domestic legislation with which a new Parliament may deal some measure of temperance reform must certainly find a place. Politicians, therefore, must be prepared to answer the question, "What are you going to do with the drink trade?" It will be useless merely to denounce or defend the Licensing Act of 1904. That Act was intended to remedy certain believed deficiencies in the operation of our existing licensing system. It did not attempt to change the system, and it was in no sense the embodiment of a constructive temperance policy. The question, therefore, for future Parliaments will not be whether the Act should be amended or repealed, but by what more comprehensive measure it may be superseded. At the same time the Act of last year affords a convenient ground from which to consider the whole licensing problem, since it is at once the culminating point of an old order of things and the starting point of a new order.

For many years the vexed question of compensation has proved a barrier in the way of any progressive policy. It was quite clear that in law a license holder had no right to his license beyond the year for which it was granted, and therefore no legal claim to compensation if it was not renewed. It was equally clear that no reduction of licenses on a large scale, and no change of system which involved the wholesale extinction of existing licenses, could take place unless some consideration was shown to those who would undoubtedly suffer great hardship in the process. The extreme section of the temperance party, though unable to explain away the facts of the situation as it has grown up in practice, have nevertheless been reluctant to concede the claim to compensation which conflicted with the theory of our licensing system. For better or for worse, this question was settled by last year's Act. License-holders have now a right in law to compensation, not, it is true, out of public funds, but from a special levy on licensed property, in all cases where the renewal of their license is refused on grounds of public expediency. So far, the Act marks the culminating point of the old order of things. The legal position of existing license-holders is made to correspond more closely to their actual position, and to this extent the Bill received the support of the Trade.

But in the same Act another note was struck which indicated a new departure. The section which refers to the grant of new licenses lays down certain principles for which temperance reformers have long contended. It is now established that the monopoly value of a license to sell liquor should belong not to the licensee but to the public in whose interest it is granted; the magistrates are empowered to attach what conditions they think fit in the public interest to the grant of a new license; and any license may be forfeited through a persistent or unreasonable refusal to supply food. To this extent the Act marks the starting point of a new order of things, and consequently received the support of those temperance reformers at least who were not bound on party grounds to oppose it.

Taken as a whole, the Act was incomplete, and as a measure of temperance reform totally inadequate. Its passing has made more imperative than ever the need of some comprehensive measure which shall deal with the drink trade in all its branches and establish a system whereby the evils of that trade shall be reduced to a minimum, and its actual volume considerably diminished. But the Act will have rendered a valuable service to the cause of temperance if it serves to impress upon all who are working for this cause the necessity of agreeing upon some common policy for the future. The time for discussion and negotiation is not when a Bill is before Parliament and party feeling necessarily runs high, but rather in the intervals of legislation, when questions can be more impartially reviewed and differences of opinion more easily reconciled. The present moment, therefore, is opportune, and all sections of the temperance party should endeavour to come to some agreement before another licensing bill is brought forward. I shall endeavour in this pamphlet to review very briefly the present position of the temperance question, and to indicate the direction in which agreement may be expected.

The Importance of the Problem.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the importance of the temperance problem to the well-being of the nation. Drunkenness lies at the root of most social evils. Crime, poverty, and disease are all aggravated if not actually caused by drink, and even apart from actual drunkenness the economic aspect of the national expenditure upon alcohol is extremely serious. It is calculated that the average expenditure on drink of a working-class family is 6s. 10d. a week, which is more than one-sixth of their average family income, and more than double the amount spent on this item by the people of the United States. It is impossible to exaggerate the folly of this waste of money by those who have not a penny to spare, and who are thereby left in some cases without sufficient means to maintain the necessary standard of physical and mental efficiency. The inculcation of temperance is therefore something more than a good subject for a sermon. It is a work to which men may well devote their whole lives, for with the success of their efforts is bound up the prosperity of their country and the well-being of their race.

Since the evil is universally recognised, one may indeed ask why it is that it

should be so difficult to cure. All bad habits are naturally hard to eradicate—those of a nation even more so than those of an individual—but the special stubbornness of this particular national evil requires some explanation. It is not for want of trying. High-minded individuals have tried, religious denominations have tried, statesmen have tried—all these forces have been exercised now for many generations, and yet the dominion of the habit is as powerful as ever. Different people will offer different explanations, but there are two considerations which I should like to emphasise as going a long way to explain the difficulty; the first is the power of the interests which are at present vested in the drink trade, and the second is the lack of unanimity and cohesion in the temperance party.

1. *The Power and Influence of the Trade.*—We have always got to remember that there is a large class of people who make their living out of the trade in intoxicants, some who even make their fortunes out of it. These people are always united and well-organised in defence of their interests, and vigorously oppose any measures which are calculated to discourage the consumption of alcohol. Under the existing system the consuming passion of our people for strong drink is not universally regretted. If it brings some families into great poverty, it also makes others rich; if it hurries some into the workhouse and the prison, it enables others to rise even to the peerage. I am certainly not blaming those who have made large profits out of the manufacture and sale of beer and spirits. There is a great deal too much recrimination of that sort. These men are engaged in a perfectly legitimate trade, and our laws are so framed as to make their trade a specially lucrative one. While those laws continue they would be bad business men if they did not take full advantage of them, but the moment there is any question of changing those laws all the weight of their influence is used to keep things as they are. “Our trade our politics” is their motto, and they are powerful enough to prevent changes which, however desirable in the public interest, would deprive themselves of the privileged position which they now enjoy. I do not comment on this, I merely mention it as one of the forces against which the temperance movement has hitherto struggled in vain.

2. *The Disunion of the Temperance Party.*—If the opponents of reform are strong and well-organised, what can be said of its friends? Unfortunately the forces which should have made for progress all these years have been spent in fruitless controversy. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and that has been hitherto the state of the temperance party. Its members have been more busy criticising each other than fighting their common enemy. They are split up into numerous organisations, and the funds which they administer are wasted from want of effective application. They speak with different voices in the country and their votes in Parliament are divided.

While this state of affairs continues it is vain to hope for success. However strenuous may be the efforts of individuals, failure will be the result. One might almost be tempted to despair were it not for the fact that the past, if it has done nothing else, has taught us many lessons, and the experience which has been gained will be an invaluable guide to the future. It will be seen that two things stand out prominently from a survey of the past history of the

temperance movement; one is that no real progress will be made so long as a system is allowed to continue under which the profits, and even the livelihood, of private individuals depend on the amount of liquor they are able to sell; and the other is that, to carry out any reform, the advocates of temperance must not be behind their opponents in the unity of their purpose, the organisation of their forces, and the concentration of their efforts.

The Nature of the Problem.

The next point to be considered is the nature of the problem that awaits solution, for unless this be rightly understood, the efforts at reform may be misdirected. According to some, the problem consists in preventing people from obtaining drink. They accordingly seek to devise laws which shall achieve that object. The more extreme would prohibit the sale of liquor altogether, whilst the more moderate desire to reduce the number of public houses, to limit the hours during which they may be open, and generally to put obstacles in the way of obtaining drink. All these measures seem to me to ignore the real root of the evil. People drink because they want to drink, and so long as they want it sufficiently no laws will prevent them from satisfying their want. If liquor exists they will find means to obtain it, and public opinion in this country would not tolerate any general measure of prohibition. The only course which is likely to be successful is one which aims at removing the desire for excessive drinking. In other words, the temperance problem is largely a moral problem, and drunkenness will only be cured finally by education and public opinion. Such laws as are passed should aim at directing public opinion into the right channel.

It may seem at first sight to be much more difficult to prevent people from wanting to get drunk than to prevent them from getting the drink which they want; but this is really not the case. Witness the progress which has been made in one class at least during the last two generations. In the days of our grandfathers it was quite a common custom for gentlemen to get drunk at the dinner table; it was considered manly to drink a great deal of wine and contemptible to be a teetotaler. To-day it is a disgrace for a gentleman to be drunk, and teetotalers are becoming quite common. This change is working downwards through all classes of society, and public opinion is already on the side of temperance rather than excess. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in introducing his budget for 1905 was a striking testimony to the growing sobriety of the nation, and the revenue returns show year by year that the annual consumption of alcohol is at last beginning to diminish. This improvement may be attributed largely to the efforts of the advocates of temperance, who have done more to guide opinion than to influence legislation, and now that doctors are beginning to throw the weight of their influence into the same scale and to preach against the evils of alcohol the improvement should be maintained.

There is one respect, however, in which public opinion is not yet being influenced in the right direction. I mean the attitude adopted towards the drunkard. Though in practice we are learning to regard him with disgust and

to treat him with more severity, in theory he still receives a large measure of indulgence—not to say sympathy. Temperance orators are for ever making excuses for him and telling him that he is not to blame. They dwell at length and with much eloquence upon the large sums of money which are squandered in drink, upon the crime and misery, the ruined lives, the wretched homes, which are caused thereby, and then conclude by laying all the blame for this lamentable state of affairs upon the brewers and publicans, because forsooth they make and sell the poison by which so much havoc is wrought. This charge is not only unjust but unwise. It creates a false impression and leads public opinion astray. The fact is that the responsibility for the damage caused by drunkenness rests not upon those who make or sell, but upon those who buy and drink alcohol, and nothing is to be gained by refusing to recognise this fact. When the individual responsibility of the drunkard is universally recognised it will be easier to shame him into greater self-respect. This may seem hard, but wherever there is justice there must also be rigour. As Carlyle said, “He who does not know rigour cannot know pity either.” I recognise fully the particular temptations which many working men and women have to undergo. Their lives are often wretched, their homes cramped and dingy, their opportunities of meeting friends and finding recreation elsewhere than in the public house are few, and perhaps, most terrible of all, they are born with an inherited taste for strong drink, and with the evil effects of the poison already in their system. Who shall say of such as these that their lot is not hard, that their trial is not great? Who would make haste to blame those who succumb under such circumstances? No, let us never lose sight of their temptations, let us strive to supply opportunities for healthy recreation and uncontaminated social intercourse, let us honour those who rise superior to their surroundings, and even find pity in our hearts for those who fail. But do not let us try to shift the responsibility from off the shoulders to which it belongs or minimise in any way the utter degradation of the state of drunkenness.

Attitude of the State towards the Problem.

If it be true that the problem of intemperance is largely a moral problem and therefore only capable of being solved by moral influences, it follows that we must not expect too much of legislation. It is the business of laws to protect property and maintain order; it is not their business to enforce virtue. Sumptuary laws and those which aim at enforcing virtue have always failed in the past, and if we try to make people sober by Act of Parliament we shall no less surely fail in the future. At the same time, though Parliament cannot abolish the evils of intemperance, it can do something to mitigate them; if it cannot make people sober it can materially strengthen or weaken the moral forces by which sobriety is established. The State, therefore, has some responsibility in the matter, and in every country it is the recognised duty of the Government to exercise some control over the trade in intoxicants. I propose now to consider what are the objects which may be achieved by such State control, and to enquire whether they are fulfilled by the system at present in force in this country.

The objects to be aimed at I would describe as follows :—

1. The abolition of all temptations on the part of those who sell the liquor to encourage excessive drinking.
2. The freedom of licensed premises from any association with immoral accessories such as betting, gambling, etc.
3. The preservation of order in public houses and the rigid exclusion of drunkards and undesirable customers.
4. The creation of genuine refreshment houses rather than mere drinking bars.
5. The complete divorce of the trade in intoxicants from any considerations of personal profit.
6. The appropriation of the profits derived by the retail sale of liquor to purposes which will attract people away from rather than to the public houses.

All these objects are possible. They would not, if achieved, put a stop to drinking or even perhaps to drunkenness, but any system which aimed at achieving them would have the effect of minimising the abuses of the trade and of checking rather than swelling its actual volume. Are then all or any of these objects accomplished by our own licensing system? Are there no temptations to drink? Are betting and gambling non-existent? Are our public houses in any sense real refreshment houses? No definite answer to these questions would be applicable to all the public houses in the country, since there are many well-managed houses in which none of the evils suggested exist, but nevertheless they are all quite compatible with our licensing system, and are in fact to be met with in a very large number of houses. The trade as a whole is in private hands and conducted solely for the purposes of private gain, and so long as this last condition exists it is idle to expect any activity in restraining intemperance or preserving order and decency from the men who stand behind the bars and serve the drinks. Indeed, as Sir W. Houldsworth has well pointed out, it is an anomaly of the most absurd kind for the State first to set up men in business, giving them special facilities for carrying it on at a profit by granting them a valuable monopoly, and then to endeavour by restrictive legislation to induce or force them to curtail their operations and to discourage the consumption of an article which they make their living by selling.

One word on the question of temptations. It has, I know, been denied by some that publicans can do anything to encourage the consumption of intoxicating rather than non-intoxicating liquor, even if they wished to do so. For instance, in his very able book called *Drink, Temperance, and Legislation* Mr. Shadwell argues this point as follows :—“This charge (of pushing the sale of alcohol) is so contrary to my own experience that I have often tried to ascertain from those who use the argument on what evidence it rests, and the only answer I have been able to get is that it stands to reason. It may stand to reason, but does it stand to fact!” Now this question can be answered by anyone who has studied the material collected by the Central Public House Trust Association. The actual experience of the Trust Companies proves

conclusively that this charge is based not only upon reason, but also upon fact. Two instances will serve as illustration:—

1. *Report by Col. Craufurd on Public Houses visited in Derbyshire.*

“Regarding the custom in the trade of pushing drink, Mr. Moore (Secretary to the County Trust Company) told me two curious local customs. One is to stand free drinks early on Saturday evening. This attracts a good “house,” and when thus started the customers go on at full swing standing each other drinks until the publican is amply repaid for his generosity. On Sundays cigars are given away to attract drinkers. Another Saturday custom is for a barber to come, who shaves gratis all those who will put a penny into a mug placed on the table. The mug is emptied from time to time in exchange for drinks all round.”

2. *Report on Trust Houses in Sheffield.*

After describing the management in the Trust Houses, the report continues:—
“Among the many plans for pushing drink in ordinary public houses, one is to have a barman moving about among his customers seated at the tables, who looks into the pots to see which are ready for re-filling—a clever way of hinting at and expediting replenishment.”

More evidence could be produced showing the prevalence of sales on credit and the adoption of other methods of encouraging trade. It fully establishes the contention which is frequently made that so long as brewers own public houses and use them for the sale of their beer, so long, too, as the managers of their houses earn their livelihood by the profit they make out of the sale of intoxicants, so long will expedients of all kinds be resorted to, with the object of inducing the customers to drink.

These considerations indicate that there is a radical defect in our present licensing system, and in addition to what I have already pointed out this final and all-important fact must be noted. The vast sums which are spent every year in the consumption of liquor go into the pockets of the very people whose interests are opposed to temperance. It is calculated by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell that the net profits of the public house trade to-day amount to £20,000,000 a year. All this immense sum goes, therefore, to strengthen what I may call the forces of intemperance, whereas under a different system it might be utilised in providing recreation and social centres which would be free from the contaminating influence of the public house.

At the risk of repetition I will sum up the argument as follows:—Full recognition must be made of the natural desire of human beings living in a northern climate for some form of stimulant, and also of the fact that it is impossible to coerce people by law into the paths of virtue. But when this has been done it still remains true that, in view of the danger which attends the sale of intoxicants, the State is justified in exercising some control over this particular trade. This control should aim at securing the maximum of order and decency, and giving the freest play to those moral forces which make for temperance. An examination of the existing licensing system in this country shows that the control exercised by the State is not sufficiently strong nor indeed of the right nature to secure these objects. We are forced, therefore, to ask whether some other system could not be devised which while safeguarding the rights of the

individual would be free from many of the abuses which are apparent to-day, would ensure that the profits made out of the drink trade should be spent on the encouragement of temperance, and finally would convert the trader in intoxicants and the controlling authority into allies instead of (as they are at present) opponents.

The Public House Trust Movement.

It was to answer this question and to put an alternative system to the test of actual experience that the Public House Trust Movement was set on foot. The object of the Trust Companies, which on the initiative of the Bishop of Chester and Lord Grey have now been established all over the country, is to acquire public houses and manage them solely in the public interest. In these houses all element of private profit is eliminated from the trade in intoxicants. The interest of the shareholders in each company is limited to 5 per cent. The managers receive a fixed salary and have therefore no interest in the sale of liquor, and they are encouraged to sell food and non-intoxicants by receiving a percentage of the profits derived from this portion of the trade. All surplus profits made by the Companies, after paying their dividends and placing a sum to a reserve fund in case of future expropriation by the State, are handed over to trustees to be spent on some public object not chargeable to the rates, special attention being given to objects which might serve as counter-attractions to the public houses.

The policy of disinterested management on which the Trust Companies are founded was first started in the Swedish town of Gothenburg as long ago as 1875, and the results of its operations may be studied in Scandinavia during the last 30 years. But neither in Scandinavia nor yet in the English Trust Companies has the system ever been put to the test in a complete form. In Norway and Sweden the control of the Companies extends only to spirits and not to beer. A large number of houses are licensed for the consumption of beer on the premises, whilst any shop may sell beer or wine in bottles. For instance, in the town of Gothenburg, out of about 850 establishments selling alcoholic liquor of some sort, only 69 are under the control of the Company. In England the limitations to the power of the Trust Companies are of a different nature. They have no statutory authority, are subject to the existing licensing laws, and have to compete with other houses controlled by the Trade. The value, therefore, of any regulations which a Trust house might adopt, such as earlier closing, refusing to serve persons under age, the abolition of sales on credit, etc., is greatly diminished by the fact that the same regulations would not apply to the Trade houses in the same neighbourhood, and it is of little use to exclude drunkards and bad characters from one house so long as there are others for them to go to. Under these circumstances no statistics can be produced to show that the Trust Companies have had any effect upon the country as a whole. All that can be shown is the result in each particular house of the application of Trust principles to the trade carried on there, and to some extent the influence of a Trust house upon the neighbourhood in which it is situated.

The following illustrations of the operation of this system may be quoted :—

1. *Diminished Consumption of Alcohol.* (Report of People's Refreshment House Association, January, 1903).

"The 13 houses which have been under management since 1900 show a considerable decrease in the sale of intoxicants. The years 1901 and 1902 showed about £500 lower than 1900; last year there was another large fall. There is no doubt that, were the methods of the ordinary publican adopted, the sale of drink at most of our inns would go up with a bound." This diminution in the sale of alcoholic drinks still continued in 1904.

2. *Increased Consumption of Non-Alcoholic Refreshment.* (Report by Col. Craufurd on a house belonging to the Staffordshire Public House Trust Co.).

"Before the house was taken over by the Trust the Manager only cared to sell drink, a trade which gave him less trouble and more profits. The non-alcoholic trade was at first only 3d. a day; now it often reaches £3 a day."

3. *Improved Character of the Houses.*

Testimony as to the improvements in particular houses since they have been taken over by the Trust, as well as to the beneficial influence in their neighbourhood of Trust houses generally, has been received from clergymen, from travellers, from the police, and from magistrates. As an example the following may be quoted from the vicar of a parish in which a Trust house was opened: "The existence of the house under your (The People's Refreshment House Association) management has certainly had a very marked influence for good in the village generally. Under the old system there was a great deal of noisy drunkenness, but there has never been a 'row' in the village since you took over the house nearly two years ago."

4. *Appreciation by Working Men.* (Col. Craufurd on a house belonging to the Derbyshire Public House Trust Co.).

"The customers are of the mining class. . . . I had a talk with two rough men sitting in the taproom, one drinking bovril, the other beer. To the question whether they liked the house they replied 'Yes, because we can eat what we like and are not expected to go on drinking. At other houses there is no means of getting bovril, only drink.' They agreed that the management here was stricter than at other houses, but added that it helped a man to keep straight, and they liked it. Most of the miners in the place are of this opinion, and they would almost all vote for Trust houses everywhere."

(Professor Atwater, of U.S.A., in a letter to the Central Public House Trust Association).

"In my very interesting visit to the 'Duke of York' (at Shadwell, a thoroughly East-end neighbourhood) on Saturday evening I had some talks with the manager and his wife, and also with a number of the people. One was with a group of men who were spending the evening over their beer. A number were Irishmen; all I understood to be dock labourers. After they had told some stories I began to ask them how they liked the place, and they gave me their ideas with apparent sincerity. I was especially curious to see whether they had any idea that a public house of that sort was of any advantage to them. They claimed that it was, and took pains to explain why, and gradually got into a decidedly thoughtful talk with a vein of seriousness which surprised as well as pleased me. One made a remark like this: 'When we go into an ordinary public house to get a dinner for sixpence,

we'll take say four penn'orth of beer and bread and cheese for tuppence, but here we can get something good to eat and the price is fair, so we will spend fourpence on food and only tuppence on beer.'"

5. *Influence on Other Houses.*

When the People's Refreshment House Association first took over the "Waterman's Arms" in Bankside, South London, and began supplying meals, all the neighbouring houses put up notices "Refreshments Supplied." But when the "Waterman's Arms" was closed in order to be rebuilt all those notices disappeared.

6. *Early Morning Refreshment.*

Much attention is given by the Trust houses to the supply of proper refreshment to working men before beginning work in the morning, and the action of the "Delaval Arms," situated close to the new works of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., at Scotswood, is worthy of notice.

Work commences at 6 o'clock in the morning, and the workmen make a practice of entering the public house by one door and going out at the other after having had a drink in the bar. As the house did not open until six, and there was only a minute or two's grace allowed at the works, it was hardly possible for the men to drink coffee or tea. In order to remedy this state of things the directors of the Trust Company have obtained leave from the Magistrates to open the house at 5.45 for the sale of temperance drinks only.

The supporters of the Trust Movement firmly believe that if the system of Company management could receive Parliamentary sanction, and be applied to the entire retail trade in liquor throughout the country, the result would be not only a considerable decrease in drunkenness, but even a reduction in the normal consumption of alcohol, that the preponderating influence of the Trade in the sphere of politics would disappear, and finally, that by spending the profits derived from the sale of liquor upon such objects as clubs, reading rooms, recreations, etc., the temptation to frequent the public houses would be largely reduced. It is natural, therefore, that they should look forward to such a change in our licensing system as would enable the Trust system to become universal. Unfortunately, however, the merits of this system are not admitted by all sections of the Temperance party. If, therefore, we are to secure common action this solution of the question must not be insisted upon to the exclusion of all others.

A Practical Policy for the Future

At the present moment the advocacy of one remedy is usually accompanied by a denunciation of all others, with the result that no reform of any kind is accomplished. The only chance of future co-operation amongst the different sections of opinion seems to lie in a policy such as that which has recently been sketched by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, which excludes none of the suggested remedies, but leaves to the different localities the responsibility of choosing between them.

In broad outline the policy required may be described as follows:—

1. All public-house licences granted prior to the Act of 1904 must be secured for a period of time sufficiently long to wipe out the reasonable expectation of renewal which under the pre-ent system has led to the investment of capital in

licensed property. At the end of the period, which after the passing of last year's Act could not be less than 15 years, such licenses would automatically cease, and an entire change of system could be carried out without injustice.

2. Associated with the time limit must be a power of commutation under which local communities, desirous of so doing, may extinguish the licenses within their area before the expiration of the time limit. This commutation process would take the form of money payment determined in amount by the number of years of the unexpired period and based upon the annual profits. That is to say, if an Act were passed fixing the period at 15 years those interested in a license which was withdrawn 2 years after the passing of that Act would be entitled to a sum of money calculated on the basis of the prospective annual income for 13 years.

3. After the extinction of the existing licenses either by the operation of the time limit or by an equivalent money payment if previous to that date, each licensing district would be free to adopt for a period of years one of three courses with relation to the retail sale of liquor within its area. It would decide by the votes of the inhabitants :—

(a). To continue some form of private licensing under Section 4 of the Act of 1904.

(b). To place all its licenses under the disinterested management of a public company specially constituted for the purpose.

(c). To adopt local veto and close all the public houses within the district.

The chief merit of these proposals consists in the fact that they will enable differences of opinion to be settled locally instead of having to be fought out in Parliament. At the present moment one person is in favour of local veto and opposed to company management, another is in favour of company management and opposed to local veto. Neither of these will support the other, and consequently the Trade, which is equally opposed to both, takes advantage of their differences to prevent the success of either. But on the lines suggested above both parties can unite to recover for the community the control of its liquor trade, and each can afterwards endeavour to convince the inhabitants of their respective districts of the right way to manage it.

In 1883 Mr. Bright laid down three conditions which in his opinion were essential to the success of any scheme of temperance reform. The plan, he said, on which people are to unite must be "not violent, not unjust, not regardless of the habits and customs of the people." To these conditions may be added a fourth—that the plan must be comprehensive. Since 1883 many proposals have been made, some extreme, some moderate. The former have usually violated one or more of the first three conditions; the latter have failed to fulfil the fourth. Never, perhaps, since the first temperance society was formed have the chances of finding a plan which would fulfil all the four conditions seemed more hopeful than at present. Agreement in every detail is not to be expected, but if all those who have the same cause at heart could but come together upon the broad outline of a constructive policy, the ultimate success of their efforts would be assured.

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**OUR LONDON:
AND WHAT WE CAN MAKE OF IT.**

By J. WILLIAMS BENN, M.P., D.L., J.P.

Publishing Office:

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J. WILLIAMS BENN, M.P.

MR. BENN'S name is closely associated with all recent Municipal reform in London. It is largely owing to his efforts that the fine L.C.C. electric trams have taken the place of the ancient horsecars. That blessing to Londoners—that tramway purchase—was however only carried by one vote in 1900. Who would wish now to return to the old order of things! Mr. Benn has taken a very active part in the Housing and Water questions. His public life has indeed grown out of the London County Council. He is one of the original members of that body, and organised, when whip, the first Progressive victory in 1892. His party has since then never suffered defeat.

In the same year he defeated Mr. Ritchie, then a Cabinet Minister, and was elected to Parliament for St. George's-in-the-East. In 1895 he was elected Vice-Chairman of the L.C.C., and in 1898 Chairman of the General Purposes and Highways Committees. His success was so great that he held the chairmanship for a period unprecedented in the history of this Council.

In 1900 he won the Tramway Purchase victory by one vote, but in 1895 the narrow margin was on the other side, and he lost his Parliamentary seat by four votes! In 1897 he fought a Bye-election at Deptford, and three years later stood as Candidate for Bermondsey. Although defeated on both occasions, he very largely reduced the Tory majorities. At the L.C.C. election in 1898 he won Kennington from the Tories, having left his own safe seat at East Finsbury for the purpose. In 1904 he was unanimously elected Chairman of the L.C.C., a post which he most ably filled. In the same year he was elected to Parliament, winning Devonport back for the Liberals by a majority of over 1,000. The

following year he was made Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of London.

Mr. Benn played a leading part in putting through the measures which have at last enabled Londoners to travel in comfort on the Thames; and he has most strenuously defended the public interest on the telephone question. In Parliament he is regarded in conjunction with Mr. John Burns as being the mouthpiece of the L.C.C.

Few men have risen more rapidly to a place amongst the foremost workers and reformers of the day. Mr. Benn is only 55, having been born at Hyde, Cheshire, in 1850.

No man loves London better than Mr. Benn, and no man, perhaps, has a keener insight into the pressing problems which confront the municipal statesman in the great city which is the throbbing pulse of the Empire. He is distinguished alike for honesty of purpose, directness of aim, and for the conspicuous ability with which he can give effect to his views. But he is also intensely human and full of sympathy for the suffering and the poor. And John Burns was not overstating his case, when, writing to Mr. Benn during the St. George's election, he said:—"I believe that your loyal, persistent, and disinterested services for our great London municipality and your Parliamentary record have earned for you a greater victory than before. Your successful work, your courage in discharging your duties, and your initiative on London questions have helped the cause of progress in the House of Commons. Your good work on the Unemployed Committee, your immediate aid in dealing with Water, Gas, Tramway, and Railway monopolies, and in numerous questions affecting the real life of the people, such as the Eight Hours, deserves at the hands of the Electors the heartiest recognition."

OUR LONDON:

And what we may make of It.

By J. WILLIAMS BENN, M.P., D.L., J.P.,

Ex-CHAIRMAN OF THE L.C.C.

My friend Mr. Stead requests me to say something "About London; what can be done to improve its administration; what legislation is still needed to make the Great City a fit place for men, women, and children to live in and a worthy capital of the Empire."

It is a great subject, already treated by pens worthy of the task, with which I cannot pretend to compete, but if evidence is desired from one who for over fifty years has worked in, and grown to love, its byways and highways, I am willing to go into the box.

"The key of the British Empire is London; she is the greatest city in the world; she will, I think, always be the greatest city in the world if her sons and daughters are only true to themselves." No better text can be found for my notes than these inspiring words of Lord Rosebery, the L.C.C.'s first Chairman, for they indicate that ideal civic devotion upon which the future of our City depends.

Our London as It is.

It brings no small satisfaction to those who have lived for London to find that at last their hobby is becoming interesting. Cobbett's wen is now said to give promise of beauty, and a recent writer has discovered it has a soul.

One may indeed now venture to express aspirations which a few years ago would have stamped the exponent as an impossible person. And, better still, the mighty city is itself beginning to care. Of all civic worms that of London has been most distressingly inert, but thanks to the kicks of my "Lord High Obstructionist," the greed of certain ground landlords, and last, but not least, the grip of the commercial monopolist, the metropolitan worm at last shows some signs of turning.

It is mainly to encourage that hopeful "turn" in London life that I venture to indulge in this survey of our City and its possibilities.

First it may be convenient to look at our London as it is, and at the risk of giving offence I shall venture to open a few doors which are generally locked against the distinguished visitors who come to study our ways. Such persons generally enquire: "Do you manage your City well?" "Is the cost of local

government equitably distributed?" "Has the trader a proper chance to ply his calling?" "Have the workers the same opportunity and the poor as much consideration as obtains in many other civilised centres?" "No" is, I fear, the truthful answer to each of these queries. Take the management of London; there is nothing more incongruous the world over, except, perhaps, in Rome. We have the heart in the centre, minus arterial connection with the rest of the corporate body. To prevent cohesion the limbs of that body have been skilfully severed by the dissecting knife of timid statesmen, and worse still, the vital parts omit, aye, decline, to contribute to the life of the complete organism.

To vary my metaphor, such Dives' districts as the City of Westminster, proud of their rateable value, wrap their purple cloaks around them, and relying on their legal position, refuse to share the needs of Lazarus and his kin who lie from Bermondsey or Poplar and plead for an equalisation of the burden. It is rather cruel when one remembers that districts like Westminster and Chelsea vastly inflate the price of property by pushing their slum population into squalid districts already congested, and then decline to share the consequent high rates which the poorer districts have to bear. "But it is the fault of the law, not mine," Mr. Dives will probably retort. Yes; but was not the leading plea for this separate corporate existence that it would keep down the rates of such places as Westminster? Now we see this short-sighted policy, like a curse, coming home to roost. Lazarus is still at the gate, and unless something is done to make the great burden of the London poor common to all, the dogs of our city will cease from licking the sores, and may once more turn their attention to the palaces of Dives. Such a resentment—may it never come—is one of the perils of London as it is.

After all is said and done, the seamy side of London shows but poor tailoring on the part of our statesmen. With all its wealth—a ground rent of fifteen to twenty millions of money—one in every five of its population die in the work-house or hospital, and one in every ten has to be classified as an official pauper. This is not a very creditable aggregation for a Christian country.

I have placed the "Condition of the people" question first, but what about the "A fair opportunity to the trader?" Indeed, the two questions are intimately associated. My contention is that the shopkeeper is seriously and needlessly handicapped in London. In other great cities of the Kingdom the principle has been set up and readily confirmed by Parliament that certain necessities of municipal life—water, lighting, power, means of communication, and housing of the workers—shall be kept free of a toll to any of the many skilful financiers who have their eyes on our corporate life as a means of earning dividends. In places like Glasgow, the sensible edict obtains that everything on or under the public streets must be managed for the "common good," and that any so-called "profits" shall be promptly used for reduction of the charge for the service rendered, of rates or other municipal amelioration. But this rule only obtains in a very limited degree in London. Our divided City is the happy hunting ground of an army of peripatetic prospectors, who, failing to get a footing in places blessed by unity of control and civic spirit, "go" for London. Such a scheme as the one which recently sought to place the whole of the electric lighting and power of London in private hands is a case in point. It would not have lived for a day in places like Sheffield or Glasgow, and yet here it very nearly succeeded.

"More Socialism" will most likely be the comment of some of my critics after reading this introduction. But this is really not so; the Socialist bogey won't do. Enquiry shows that the butcher, the baker, and candlestick maker really get the best chance in the cities where the "common good" is thus looked after. Make your city clean, healthy, attractive, and, above all, accessible

and easy to get about in, and people and trade will flock to it in abundance, and the tradesmen will flourish in proportion. Why have Bournemouth and like towns gone ahead in such marvellous fashion? Simply because of the prompt recognition of the municipal principle; that health, life, beauty, and mobility of population must be removed from the stock and share list and handed over to Citizen management. Wise old Tories who are skilled municipal experts in the towns which I have mentioned, smile if you accuse them of being Socialists because they carry out this policy. One distinguished Liberal Unionist, North of the Tweed, said, when I twitted him with such arrant Socialism in the life of his city, "Man, we do not call it Socialism here, we call it 'good business.'" And my Tory friend comes to London and says in astonishment:—

"Why, your trams are twenty years behind the times, your electrical department is piecemeal, muddled and inadequate, your streets are paved on all sorts of systems, with no general plan on continuity; they seem to me to be always 'up.' The trade of your famous Port is going elsewhere for want of the public hand and purse behind it. Your Empire City seems to be at the mercy of any undesirable alien who likes to exploit it; it was not even strong enough in civic spirit or friends to insist that its Water Supply should be retained in its own hands. Is there another City in the Kingdom which would have stood that humiliation? And, worse than all, within a stone's throw of your Palace of Parliament, sadder still of your historic Abbey, there are slums and conditions of life which would disgrace even Constantinople."

Alas! It is all too true. The condition of London is at present much akin to that of the man who went up to Jericho. We cannot afford to wait any longer for the priest and the levite, useful as they may be. The citizens' urgent task is to get London on its legs again; to pour in oil and wine. For the moment it presents a sorry spectacle. Kicked by the Lords, exploited by the monopolist and maimed by an Act purposely designed to destroy its powers of self-preservation, it indeed is an easy prey to any of the many footpads infesting our municipal main roads. But the figure of a Good Samaritan, an awakened civic conscience, already appears on the road, and a new lease of life will be found at the Inn of the Common Good, whose doors have for long been protected by the rusty bars of Greed and Ignorance.

First, a Proper Civic Unity.

Not much good can be done unless you get a proper governing body to focus your endeavours. The Good Samaritan Himself deigned to utilise an ass. "Ah, there you have the London County Council," one of its many critics will doubtless exclaim. I am not sure that my friend is in error. The ass is a most useful animal, much misunderstood and under-rated, and peculiarly adapted to bear without wincing the heaviest blows from the thickest sticks. The ass of Spring Gardens may yet carry London to the goal of good government. I remember seeing a donkey on the cog railway at Pikes Peak, Colorado, and on the patient beast was painted this claim: "I built Pikes Peak Railway." It was true, for he had carried all the material up the mountainside. Born, as it were, by accident, disowned and discredited by its reputed progenitors, and abused more than any creature of its class, the wonder is that the ass of Spring Gardens lives and thrives as it does. Strange to say, the citizens, from those in high places down to the weary and afflicted poor, have come to regard this patient bearer of burdens as a true friend in need. If there is any troublesome baggage that no one else will touch, it is, as a matter of course, lumped on to

the back of the "L.C.C.," and the blundering quadruped goes on its way in such a plucky manner that persons who dislike both its breed and manners are constrained to wish it "God-speed" as it plods on to Jericho.

Here let me say that I have never regarded the London County Council as more than a mere stop-gap. It is the necessary outcome of that timid statesmanship which excluded the Empire City from the operation of Lord John Russell's beneficent Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. Had London been included in that great measure we should now have the joy of seeing the Mansion House as the real centre of Greater London's power.

What a chance our dear old City has missed in letting the mighty work of administering to the wants of the greatest aggregation of people on earth pass into other hands. For thus using endearing terms some readers may perhaps charge me with hypocrisy. The popular notion is that the L.C.C. thirsts for the blood of Gog and Magog, and has but scant admiration for their past or present belongings. "Down with the City" is supposed to be a progressive war cry. "Down with the L.C.C." is rather mine, if it be held to convey the extensions of the rights and dignities of the old City to all its children who now gather round its walls. If the City had only been endowed with the grace to accept in 1878 the scheme of Sir Ughtred Kay Shuttleworth, or in 1884 the still better measure of Sir William Harecourt, London would now be the envy of every capital in Europe. Instead of boldly taking the position made for it by history and good works, the City fathers of twenty years ago only saw, like the man with the muck-rake, the gain of the puny wall-bound territory of a mediæval London, and declined the sceptre of an extended dominion. But their folly did not stop there; they encouraged the growth of that hydra-headed monster, the London Government Act of 1898, and now they have the chagrin of seeing, cheek by jowl with themselves, the City of Westminster boasting of greater rateable value, antiquity, and courtly associations than even the Guildhall itself. Now, jostled by a crowd of rival and heavily decorated Mayors, the poor Lord Mayor has as much as he can do to protect his Right Honourable person from indignity and oblivion, and all because the Old City, the true inheritor of London's glorious story, had not the sense and pluck to take its proper place at the head of the Empire.

Is it too late to remedy this colossal blunder? Perhaps not. For my part I would gladly see the L.C.C. abolished to-morrow if some such comprehensive scheme could be carried. A house divided against itself cannot stand. If the City does not absorb the L.C.C., the L.C.C. must sooner or latter absorb much of the City, and it would be vastly better that the old civic rod should swallow the socialistic serpent. It will be impossible for much longer to maintain this divorce of dignities from drainage. The man who speaks "for London" to Monarchs, and Presidents of Great Republics, must have a stronger backing than some hundred nondescript electors in an obscure and antiquated City ward. He must be able to speak "In the name of this ten-millioned-peopled city," and London will soon justify that title. (It only mustered a population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1837, so that it has more than trebled its population in little more than two generations). If there be any City Fathers left great enough, far seeing enough, to put in this claim for their grand old heritage, let them now speak, or it may be a case of for ever after holding their peace. In my opinion the day of grace has not passed, and a due submission to the whole of the electorate on the part of the City would destroy, and should destroy, any carping objection from Spring Gardens or anywhere else against the prompt formation of a United London, founded as it should be on nine centuries of rights and privileges. Lord John Russell in 1835, in introducing the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, said: "We propose that *the whole work and business of*

watching the town shall be placed completely under the control of the Council." Herein lies the secret of the prosperity of our provincial cities. Why should London wait?

About the Borough Councils.

It may be asked, "How do the newly-formed Borough Councils come into your scheme of unification?" The reply is that there is no need to limit the sphere or usefulness of these bodies except where their authority retards the proper discharge of central duties or the "common good." "London, one and indivisible," should be every loyal citizen's motto. The indivisibility of London is written in her physical history and on every chapter of the last fifteen years of her municipal life. We are clamouring for municipal tramways; we cannot split up the intersecting lines that run like nerve filaments through our streets any more than we can parcel out our main sewers or divide the Thames into compartments. We cannot allow the West End to build round itself a wall, and to say to the needy East or South, "We know you not." We will not see these districts weltering alone in hopeless poverty, or consent to separate the City of Pleasure from the City of Work.

Except in one or two conspicuous instances, it cannot be said that the new Borough Councils have justified their existence. Notwithstanding their new titles and the bait of robes and chains, they have not attracted a class of men superior to those who served London under the old Vestry system. Indeed, in the poorer districts, the paucity of good men gives just cause for alarm. The Act stupidly limited the selection of aldermen and councillors to the area of the borough concerned. This limitation has prevented many good and leisured citizens from serving, as I believe they would gladly do, parts of London where educated administrators, with no axe to grind, are sorely needed. Dozens of capable men in Mayfair would gladly give a day or so a week in serving Poplar or Mile End, but they are prevented by this inane residential provision in the London Government Act. One cannot help thinking in this regard of the views and aims of Arnold Toynbee. The great danger of the democratic upheaval of the time appeared to him to be the estrangement of the men of thought from the active leaders of the people. This resident qualification seriously limits the growth of that newborn interest of the educated in social questions, which is one of the most hopeful signs of our times. But to return to my point. The local management question should be settled on the lines of Sir William Harcourt's Bill of 1884. Large district councils working closely in touch with the central body—instead of being constantly trying to thwart it—would give excellent results for the whole of London, and tend to economy, efficiency, and purity in our administration. I add "purity" because recent cases—notably that of Holborn—show that the present system offers a premium to that class of Tammany from which our municipal life in this country has hitherto been remarkably free. And so to commence the good work of the future we want a municipal machine working from a common centre instead of the curious contrivance by which one little section may destroy the work and ignore the wishes of the great majority. But even this centrally-directed engine for good is not enough for our purpose.

London's Boundary must be Amended.

At present 900 square miles and the 15 miles radius from Charing Cross do not by any means embrace all her children on the doorstep. Agricultural counties like Essex find themselves faced with municipal problems from overflowing London, which they do not understand and with which they cannot cope.

It has long been evident that these huge districts formed on the immediate borders of the county, such as East Ham and Ealing, Walthamstow and Wimbledon, happily called the "dormitories of London," must sooner or later be included in the Metropolitan Area. Already we have had to enlarge our borders for police, water, and other purposes, and it would solve many difficulties if these new districts were now taken under the wing of the City to which they really exist to minister.

This remodelling of the boundary would solve many troublesome problems, notably the vexed question of jurisdiction with regard to the Home Counties. Take a case in point. Because the electric lighting area for bulk supply extends beyond the present county line, fixed but a few years ago on the limited view of the possibilities of the future, therefore—argue the promoters of the great "Administrative Scheme"—this duty cannot be undertaken by the present county authority. And so with regard to water and tramways. The Royal Commission on London's traffic have in my judgment fallen into this same error. A special "Transit Board" must, they say, be created to cover the real tramway area of London. How much simpler to extend the boundary line in order to take in, at any rate, the bulk of these suburban growths. There is no magic or finality about the present geography. Slices were taken from various Home Counties to make up the present Greater London, and it is clear by this time that they were not large enough. Unless this amendment is made, and soon, London will be afflicted with such a curse of various "Boards" as will once again make confusion worse confounded, and greatly add to the expense of civic management. Misgoverned as it has been by 500 and odd local authorities, Councils, Boards, Commissioners, or parish beadies, it welcomed the desire shown by the London Government Act—otherwise sadly inadequate—to reduce the number of its rulers. Like the lion in the net, this environment rendered London powerless, and it was not until the mouse of Spring Gardens widened the meshes that the noble beast could help itself. And now we are threatened with more "authorities!"

London's Water, Port, Lighting, Tramways, and goodness knows what else, are to have separate Boards because the present map shows that certain places are not strictly in London. The whole thing is the sorry story of the old City over again. Oppressed with the solemnity and antiquity of their historic square mile, the City Fathers lost their opportunity to fulfil their destiny. London wall has long since crumbled, but the fragments which remain are still sufficient to shut off from service "in the City" some of London's most notable sons.

What we want, and at once, is a Boundary Commission to amend the county boundary, and the present time, when there is a talk of re-distributing for electoral reasons, is extremely favourable for the purpose. Thus amended, we shall get complete schemes for the great public services which the Metropolis need, and those services can be controlled, if not rendered, by a representative and directly elected body eminently fitted to survey and provide for the whole of the proper area and the vast population.

The Growth of Slum Suburbs.

It is indeed time that we made an end of the piecemeal chandler's-shop treatment of a great problem. For instance, how essential it is that there should be a prompt and scientific planning of these huge suburbs which are closing in, hugger-mugger fashion, around London. They are dumped down anyhow, and many of them, being built with but small regard to proper provision for light and air, are already becoming pestilential slums, and presently "the

rights of property" will render their removal difficult. It cost the L.C.C. more per head of the population to remove the festering district at the back of Shoreditch Church than it did to erect the present working-class dwellings on the Boundary Street area. Landlords who should have been punished for thus living on the rents of such a social dust heap were, under our present beneficent laws, handsomely compensated for keeping up the death rate. And in a few years' time the same thing will occur over and over again unless this larger view of London for which I am pleading is taken. We have much to learn from Germany in this respect. There, under recent legislation, each town is supposed to carry through a far-seeing "Land and Transport policy," adapted not only to present, but to future needs. A few years ago the Prussian Government issued directions to the Governors of the 12 Provinces into which the kingdom is divided that they should use all their influence to induce every Prussian town to buy as much land as it could obtain, and to retain possession of all it then held and should afterwards acquire.

In Germany it is recognised by careful thinkers on the subject that it is necessary that at all times there shall exist very carefully thought-out plans, prepared by the Town Council, for opening out for building as much of the land surrounding a town as will probably be needed to supply sites for houses and all the other institutions and places required by the community for a period of twenty, thirty, or, at least, ten years, and due provision is made for the necessary open spaces to keep these areas healthy. In our suburbs the whole scheme is framed on a pot-luck principle, and some of the recent "growths" round London make one shudder. They already require the knife of the municipal surgeon. And the expense and agony of it all! But apart from German models, I think I have made out a case for a grip by a wise central hand of London's environment. Given an authority with sufficient powers and control over a properly devised area, we have now to consider

The Proper Work of a Unified Authority.

What should it do? It should ensure that all the persons who are allowed to live within its jurisdiction shall exist under conditions which are as favourable as possible to the maintenance of physical, mental, and moral health and strength. It should minister to the body, mind, prosperity, safety, amusement, protection, and corpse of every man, woman, and child. It should ensure that more persons than can well live in health in the town as a whole, or in any one part of it, shall not be allowed to live there. It should, as I have indicated, do as efficiently and economically as possible all such work as can only, or can best, be done by a public body for the maintenance or enhancement of the health and wealth of the community. It should see that an adequate supply of new wholesome houses is among the most important of all the public works which have to be attended to. It should set up a fair Labour policy based on Trade Union rates of wages, not only for its own employees, but also for those employed by its contractors, and should rigorously suppress sweating. It should encourage the direct employment by the Council, so far as practicable, of its own workers; and, as means of assisting the unemployed, arrange and press forward its great works and undertakings at times when the general labour market is slack. Remembering John Bright's famous dictum that "A nation lives in its cottages," it should ever bear in mind that a city lives in its slums. If the slums are slummy, then the city is decadent. You may talk and "think imperially," but you will not raise imperial stock on municipal dunghills. This is, perhaps, a large programme, and I cannot promise to deal with it adequately in the pages allotted to me by my inexorable editor.

Perhaps it will be best to button-hole my imaginary citizen, who I venture to hope is by this time sufficiently interested to follow me to the end of these pages, and tell him what in my judgment he should demand of his administrators and legislators, for himself, his wife and children, *i.e.*, if he is disposed to get the best that is possible out of *his* London. It will be a pleasanter process than that of throwing statistics or drafts of Parliamentary Bills at his defenceless head. Presuming that we have set up, on the lines already indicated, a body strong, big, and wise enough to deal with not only London as it is, but London as it will be a generation hence, I shall, in fancy, follow my indulgent citizen from the cradle to the grave, or, to put it more pleasantly, from the milk in the morning until midnight, and so prod him as to his rights and privileges that he may perhaps be seized and possessed of that spirit which made his predecessors, the Londoners of old, so effectually plead for and defend their liberties that no monarch, priest, or parliament could say them "nay."

In what order shall we place the items of the demand note? It has been urged of late that cheap food and commodities are of little avail unless there is good trade and work for the unemployed. "We must live somehow" is the plea of the workmen, and some of the needy and ignorant are captured by the specious argument, "A cheap loaf is of little use if you have not the money to buy it." It is no part of my present duty to plunge into the fiscal controversy but I shall claim the support alike of Tariff Reformers and Free Traders when I say that proper facilities for trade are among the first conditions of a town's prosperity. The citizen, solicitous as a worker for constant employment, or as a capitalist for a proper chance for the use of his brains and money, should promptly enquire as to whether his London has the needful appliances to retain and extend its industries. Enquiry will soon reveal the fact that our City depends largely, if not chiefly, upon its shipping trade, and that one of the first things to be done is to

Reform the Port of London.

It must be remembered that 50 per cent. of our trade enters the docks. In 1899 the value of goods imported into the port of London was £164,000,000; into the rest of the United Kingdom, £320,000,000, London's proportion thus being 33 per cent. The total exports from the port of London amounted to £88,000,000 or £89,000,000; from the rest of the United Kingdom £211,000,000, London's share being 26 per cent.

The man who wonders why trade is growing abroad should learn off the story of our great port, and he will find sufficient employment for his reforming energies between now and the time when our fiscaliters have found out a better way. Here again we discover the usual London jumble—fifty different authorities having jurisdiction. They consist of thirteen Government Departments, several dock companies, the Watermen's and Lightermen's Company, the London County Council, the City Corporation, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, four local bodies, four other municipal bodies the Wharfingers, several railway companies, the Lea Conservancy, and last, but not least, the Thames Conservancy.

How have they done their work? The best answer is obtained from the Report of the Royal Commission recently presented to Parliament. Dealing with the body mainly responsible for the conduct of our river, the Thames Conservancy, the Commissioners say:—

"The Thames Conservancy has done little or nothing to satisfy the requirements of the port."

"The most important function entrusted to the Thames Conservancy has not been attended to."

"The constitution of the Thames Conservancy is not such that we can advise that it should have power to raise revenue or exercise the responsibility of executing the works which we have felt it our duty to recommend."

Here we see the blighting effect of a public body which is not directly representative. I will not discuss the status or doings of the forty-nine other authorities having a finger in this pie. Such a muddle would not be possible in any place but dismembered London. It is enough that these bodies have failed, as such a conglomeration of authorities must do, in properly dredging our river and making our port attractive and replete with modern appliances. It is true that of recent years figures have shown some slight improvement in London's shipping, but the advance has been but little compared with the progress of rival ports, both home and continental, on which huge sums have been lavished by the State or municipal authorities. Until recent years the trade of the port of London increased; from 1859 to 1879 as much as 40 per cent., but between 1890 and 1899 the increase fell to only 17 per cent. Meanwhile the trade of other ports in this kingdom and on the Continent has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. From 1890 to 1899 the trade of Rotterdam increased 116 per cent.; Southampton, 77; Antwerp, 51; Hamburg, 49; Genoa, 34; Glasgow, 23; Hull, 23. As to the efforts made to produce these results. In 1888 £6,000,000 was spent upon the port of Hamburg by the State of Hamburg and the Imperial Government. The ports of Rotterdam and Antwerp have been improved by the municipality which controls them, with assistance from the Government, and quite recently another subsidy of some millions has been granted. In France the Government has done much for the ports. In Glasgow and Liverpool great things have been accomplished by public management.

But we Londoners have been blundering on, and gradually falling behind when compared with other shipping centres, in our proper share of wharf and dock business. "Why not put the matter right at once? Surely no political interests are involved," is the natural enquiry of the plain man. I cannot here describe in detail the efforts of the London County Council to deal with this matter. Some interested persons did not like their proposals. The L.C.C. then promptly stood aside to allow the Government to deal with the matter. A Royal Commission was appointed, and a Government Bill brought in, largely based on its report, but frightened by the opposition of the old city, the Thames Conservancy, and some trade interests which were affected, the Board of Trade sacrificed all the time, labour, and money spent on this proposed reform, and fell back on masterly inactivity. Let my citizen friend who desires to save his job or extend the trading opportunities of London make his demand short and insistent. There must be an organised control of the whole business, in the shape of a single authority—upon which private interest may well be represented—with full powers over the whole port, and there should be transferred to that authority all the powers of the numerous bodies which now exercise jurisdiction. This policy would of course involve the purchase of the docks, and the dredging, deepening, and general improvement of the lower part of the river. This done, and we should appreciably minimise, if not abolish, that riverside distress which forms so large a part of our unemployed problem in London, and another result would be the cheapening and extension of our food supply.

It is perfectly clear that a unified Port of London Authority is urgently needed to do the best possible for what is and should be the greatest port in the

world. The matter is more than ever one of life and death to our citizens, for constant employment can only be secured through a prosperous staple industry, such as shipping is to London. It is important next to consider how the people fare with regard to

An Unfettered Supply of Cheap Food.

If there is one thing more than another essential to the life of a great city, it is plenty of food at first hand and first cost. So apathetic and ill-informed is the average Londoner as to his affairs that he never enquires how he is fed or how much is made out of his food before it reaches him. Not one in a hundred know that the city, plus a duke and a millionaire, levy a gross annual revenue of a quarter of a million sterling on London's provender. Five millions of people patiently rely on the inadequate market provision which is owned by this benevolent triumvirate, and hitherto all efforts have failed to place these markets in the hands of a central authority able and willing to look at the service from the point of view of London as a whole, and to relieve the food of the poor from an iniquitous toll.

Charles II. had a wonderful way of conferring market rights on favoured courtiers. He gave the Fourth Earl of Bedford permission to set up a market in the old garden of the Convent of Westminster, and it is still with us. "Mud-Salad Market" has for long been a theme of Mr. Punch. The Duke, having secured a considerable revenue from his narrow square market, gracefully leaves other people to pay for the paving, scavenging, and lighting of the streets, which are daily crowded with the vehicles keeping this market going. A similar story attaches to Spitalfields Market which is so essential to the sustenance of the great eastern districts. The City is, of course, the great market authority, and is supposed to supply the necessary accommodation for the vending of cattle, meat, poultry, and fish for a population of five millions.

It is a well-known fact that but for subsidies from market revenues the Old City could not keep up its hospitalities. The City purse has of late years been liberally replenished from these sources, and this drain all adds, of course, to the price of the people's food. It seems a little incongruous that the estimable Common Councillors should not infrequently be feasting royalty—and themselves—at the Mansion House and Guildhall, and that the poor of London, through their food, should have to pay the piper. This is one of the "liberties" to which the present City Fathers stick most tenaciously. Some years ago the L.C.C. endeavoured to get Parliament to allow it to enquire into all the mysteries of our market accommodation but the House of Lords, the firm friend of the Old City, struck the clause out of the Bill. It was understood that apprehensions with regard to Billingsgate occasioned this protest against "a clean breast." It is curious that the efforts of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts to bless Bethnal Green with a market, and those of Mr. Plimsoll to bring fish to South London, all failed. There are stories of "fish rings" and other dark and devious ways of keeping the present market monopolies intact. We certainly shall never get at the truth, or a remedy of the present muddle, until Parliament gives our Central authority full powers to enquire into and undertake, at cost only, the food supply of London. I cannot leave the question of food without referring to water. It is said of the righteous that "his bread shall be given, and his water shall be sure." I shall not rest upon the latter part of that promise so far as London is concerned until I see a new supply from Wales. I do not desire to disparage the labours of the new Water Board, though it is a creature of Parliament designed largely to flout the asperation of the L.C.C. It must be

remembered that but for reactionary opposition the Council would have purchased the water undertakings seven years ago, and the price would have been much lower, because two quinquennial valuations have taken place, each of which has enabled the companies to increase their income by taking advantage of the higher valuations. Then the money could have been raised at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It will cost the Water Board about a third more. This double loss to the rate-payers is directly due to the obstinate opposition of an impossible Government, and London will now pay dearly for their obstructive policy.

And so our citizen must hammer away on this question of food and water until he gets the justice which his provincial cousin has for long enjoyed. His "job" safe and his food cheap, the question of

Adequate Housing for the Workers

may be placed next. "What a question to deal with in a paragraph." One may say of London, of the building of houses there is no end. Within the time of some of us London's population was under two millions. Kensington was still in grass and market gardens, Islington was a rural retreat, Lambeth marshes were unbuilt upon, Woolwich was a day's journey away, Ludgate Hill was the centre for fashionable shopping. The City shopkeeper used to live over his shop, the brewer next door to his brewery; now only some of the workers are still to be found in overcrowded courts near the factory. Then, look at "Locomotion," so intimately associated with "Housing." At the beginning of Victoria's reign buses had only just been introduced, and the old mail and stage coaches were the chief means of travel. We have covered those districts with houses, and we have motor-buses and tramways galore, and yet there is a housing problem. Let me say at once that in my judgment it is idle to suppose that any central authority can undertake to house a tithe of the industrial population of London. It can only "come to the rescue," specially in cases and districts where unscrupulous persons are taking advantage of any local or general house famine. Further, to build and run municipal dwellings on a finance which involves a charge upon the rates must end in failure and disappointment. "Charity rents" mean a subsidy to wages, and the working of the old Poor Law teaches us what that means. But very much may be done to lead the way in the housing question. Some of the provincial cities, notably Liverpool and Glasgow, have set up most valuable object lessons in this direction. The L.C.C., though hampered in all sorts of ways, has cleared 30 acres of disease-spreading slums, thus disturbing some 14,000 persons; but it has already provided for 23,000, and is building for 75,000 more. Well-planned suburbs at Tooting, Norbury, and Tottenham, covering some 300 acres, all show that at Spring Gardens an extended view is taken of this great question. It cannot be claimed that the L.C.C. has been uniformly successful in its housing schemes. Alas! it is not infallible. Mr. Chamberlain, one of our greatest municipal experts, said of it: "The L.C.C. has made a great number of mistakes; it has aped the manners and the powers of the Greater Parliament; it has been a little like the frog in the fable that thought itself an ox." It will, I think, be agreed that upon the inflatory habits of the frog, if not the manners of the ape, Mr. Chamberlain can speak with unrivalled authority.

Indeed, upon housing the working classes he is entitled to be heard. He fathered a scheme to enable the ambitious artisan, with the assistance of the municipality, to acquire houses, but for some reason or other not a score of our workers in the County of London have availed themselves of Mr. Chamberlain's method. With all respect to this eminent critic of the Council, the housing question must be faced from another point of view. The last census showed beyond

dispute that three-fourths of a million of our population were living under conditions officially declared to be "overcrowded," and while that blot remains London government cannot be regarded as satisfactory. In connection with this useful work the citizen should insist upon vigorous enforcement of the clauses in the Housing of the Working Classes Act and Public Health Act against owners of slum property, and also as regards the Factory and Workshops and the Nuisances Removal Acts. In planning for proper dwellings, where required, for the working classes buildings on the barrack system should, as far as possible, be eschewed, and ample light and air secured in all cases. An extension of the cottage dwellings now being erected by the Council is, where practicable, most desirable, and further self-supporting model lodging houses of the type in Shelton Street, Drury Lane, or Carrington House, Deptford, cannot fail to be of service.

Hurry Up with the People's Motor Car.

Next to an ample supply of good houses at reasonable rents there ranks the question of adequate means of locomotion and proper management of our traffic. An important Royal Commission has just declared itself on this great subject, and I cannot do better than recommend my citizen friend to back up the demand of the Commission for new streets, a complete and largely extended system of trams, a co-ordination of tube railways and workmen's trams, and the whole of London's locomotion devised and controlled by one instead of many hands. It is an admirable report, an arsenal of facts for future use, but it lacks in two important points. It does not say who is to pay, and it avoids the responsibility of suggesting that the L.C.C., or such a new central authority as I have suggested, should be constituted the supreme Traffic Commission for London. It falls back on the feeble suggestion of "another Board" to be constituted, because the duties suggested extend beyond the present county boundary. To say the least, this is a poor recognition of what the L.C.C. has already accomplished.

I well remember the state of things when, fourteen years ago, I first moved on the Council, under Mr. Shaw Lefevre's beneficent Act of 1870, for "tramway purchase." Then, thirteen tramway companies did as they pleased, rather than as the people pleased, with the streets of London. There was no connection, co-ordination, or, indeed, common gauge with their services, and out of this disjointed and unsatisfactory system they were reaping a profit of a quarter of a million annually.

Would it be believed that ten years ago, in framing a leasing scheme for the tramways north of the Thames, our cockney anti-municipalisers made no provision for the prompt substitution of electric for horse traction, and that the scheme had to be sent back so that proper electric traction clauses might be inserted. These blind leaders of the blind did not see why the patient workers of London should not continue to consume their annual quota of that desiccated manure which is incidental to a horse-traction system.

At last the citizens have got the tramways in their own hands. Even the futility of leasing instead of municipally working the Northern system is at last apparent, and so the fatuous lease is to be bought back. As for the South, the electric tramways of the Council have brought new life and prosperity to the whole of the district, so much so that neighbourhoods which a few years ago were allieted with the notion that "tramways meant deterioration of residential property" are all asking for electric trams at the earliest possible date. And now the Royal Commission comes along backing up the Council's demand, and indicating routes involving a prompt addition of at least 100 miles

to London's tramways, or including "fringes" some 200 or 300 miles. Apart from this much-needed extension, an immediate linking up of our tramways, north and south, is insisted upon; and why not? As I have already indicated, the carriage of the Lord High Obstructionist stops the way. "He keeps the bridge," as "Mr. Policeman Punch" so inimitably puts it. The injustice of this obstruction is the better realised when it is remembered that the ratepayers who are unanimously asking for this user of their thoroughfares paid no less than a million and a-half for the construction of the Victoria Embankment and Westminster Bridge, and find £14,000 a year for their upkeep. Yet my lords say "No" when the real proprietors of this property put in a respectful request, backed, be it remembered, by the old City, for a circular tram service from the present Westminster Terminus across the bridge, along the Embankment, and back by Blackfriars Bridge to the terminus at Blackfriars. This business-like scheme would mean for the public an end of the present distressing crushing and crowding at the existing tram termini, involving danger to life and limb of thousands of tram passengers, many of whom are young girls, and abolition of the weary tramp of the workers on wet mornings and evenings across the bridges, and of the delay caused by the reversing of cars at bridges now involved. It would mean a tram service continuous and much quicker than at present, taking the workers nearer to their employment, and providing a delivery but a few seconds' distance from Charing Cross, and also within touch of the City; and, further, one that would bring the public direct to the finest thoroughfare in Europe—the Victoria Embankment, a boon alike convenient to the worker and the pleasure seeker. By using our own bridges and embankment the earnings of our own tramways will increase by thousands of pounds. Strange, indeed, that in this 20th century there should be a body strong enough to resist this request of the London ratepayer to utilise his own bridges and embankment for the convenience of himself and his employees, and incidentally for the relief of his unduly inflated rates. The injustice smacks of feudal times—the castle on the hill and the serfs in the valley below. Here is a reason, if I advance no other, for my citizen friend to buckle on his civic sword and fight like 'prentice of London for the restoration of his "liberties." I cannot do more than hint at the possibilities of this great locomotion question. Mr. Charles Booth touches the spot of London's overcrowding difficulties when he insists upon increased means of communication as a first means of salvation.

In addition to a liberal scheme of surface tramways, certainly, for the most part, on the conduit system, shallow tramways, like to the one just completing under the new street, are much wanted for our crowded thoroughfares. The simple device, so well carried out in Boston, U.S.A., and other cities, consists of gutting the crowded streets some 12 or 15 feet down, and while perfectly restoring the old street surface (indeed, not disturbing it during construction), securing beneath a well lighted and easily accessible tram way track, with plenty of space on either side for the placing and getting at of all the water, gas, electric, pneumatic, and other mains which at present crowd and destroy the soil beneath the surface of our streets. If this perfectly practicable plan were general, half our pedestrians would be removed from the street surface, and there would be no more breaking up of the streets at the whim of a private company. One can hardly realise the Londoner coming into his own in such a remarkable manner. At present a gassy foreman plants his tripod, lantern, and scaffold poles in the midst of the Strand, builds his hut in the centre of his fortifications, and successfully defies London. The shopkeeper whose trade is destroyed pleads in vain. The newspapers publish the usual curses, but to no purpose. It is King Monopoly, who, having found London on the way to Jericho, is now exercising his predatory rights and

enjoying the spoils. And until London possesses the unity and strong central hand of other cities this majesty of muddle will continue to rule.

The development of London's new steamboat enterprise is, of course, intimately associated with the tramways and the whole question of communication. The remarkable popularity of these boats shows that the Thames possesses resources both for business and pleasure which have not yet been fully utilised.

London for many years past has had a service of steamboats of which nearly all the boats were very old. They were respectable only on account of their antiquity, their average age being 23 years.

In 1901 the L.C.C. introduced into Parliament a Bill to provide a proper service, and though bitterly opposed by the private interests concerned, it passed "second reading," but was rejected by the Select Committee.

It was stated in the House of Commons that private enterprise could supply all the service needed. The result was that London in 1902 and 1903 had no passenger steamboat service whatever. Now, an excellent L.C.C. line of steamers is running, and as to its final success there can be no more doubt than there is of that of the tramways.

The effective control of the traffic, both on streets and river, means eventually giving the control of the London police to the Central Body. Why it should not be so I cannot understand.

All other great towns have had the complete control of their own police since the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835. In introducing that measure Lord John Russell said that in establishing municipal government it seemed to him "absolutely necessary" that they should have the control of their own police. Surely London has the same right and the same need for the control of its own police as any other great town.

The London police are the dearest police in England; they cost a ninepenny rate. They are managed by the Home Office, which is not responsible to the ratepayers. There has never been any complaint of the control granted to our great provincial towns. Order is as well kept, property is amply protected and the utmost cordiality and good feeling prevail in these places between the people and the police.

Lighting and Power for London.

This question has of late been forced to the front by the Parliamentary incident to which I have referred. No department of London government shows to greater disadvantage than that associated with the supply of electric light and power. Here, again, the question has been settled by the local instead of the central eye. Some of the new boroughs, properly anxious to show their importance and business ability, plunged into electric lighting and, collaterally, the supply of power. They were compelled, of course, to confine their operations to their own areas. Other boroughs let in the companies, many of whose powers overlapped. So London became divided for electric lighting purposes, not with regard to efficiency of production or distribution, but by some old ecclesiastical boundaries which centuries ago marked off parsonic preserves. Thus, a piecemeal system of lighting and energising London obtained. The central body, the L.C.C., seeing the confusion and, more important still, the fact that electricity to be produced at a low cost must be produced in bulk in large generating stations where coal could be landed direct from the sea, raised a warning voice, and, further, asked Parliament to endow it with powers to come to the rescue of the Borough Councils.

But the jealousy of the Borough Councils, and the opposition of the companies who had already farmed out parts of London, gave the Bill no chance in an

unsympathetic Parliament. Then the Government promised to take the matter up; but they did nothing.

In the midst of this confusion it was but natural that the private speculator should come along and make an attempt to monopolise this great business. With arguments in favour of wholesale production that were unanswerable, and a wonderful power of appeasing opposition, this universal provider of electrical power for London almost got his way, and certainly should do so unless London itself at once takes the matter into its own hands.

There is only one way out of the dilemma, and that is the installation of the L.C.C. as the bulk authority for electric light and power purposes. The latter object will become the more important, and it is idle to suppose that power can be divorced from lighting. With the Central Body as the wholesale producer, and the Borough Councils mainly as distributors, a scheme could be devised which would greatly reduce the price of both light and energy, and save London from a monopoly which might become very troublesome. Power could certainly be supplied both to big and little industries at prices which would compare favourably with any company quotations. Moreover, with the London County Council as authority for the supply of electricity, there could be a sensible and economical combination for the supply of electric power for tramway and other purposes with that for supplying light.

It is not generally recognised that the L.C.C. is already carrying out this identical enterprise on a gigantic scale for its tramways, but is barred by its Act from supplying lighting or power. The setting up of the L.C.C. as Bulk Supply Authority would merely mean the extension of a business which is already being conducted with success.

If all the areas to be supplied could not be brought within the new county boundary, there is nothing to prevent the central body purveying—as is done in provincial cases—lighting and power to areas on the border of its territory.

No need hammers more strenuously at the door of London as it might be than this demand for light, "more light," and power, supplied at first cost on commercial principles.

Teaching the Young Idea.

The division of municipal life just discussed naturally suggests "light and leading," and the citizen, having secured his "job," house, tram, steamboat, electric light and power, may well give an eye to the future of the children.

It goes without saying that London should be the finest rearing ground the world over for the young idea.

The home of our scholars, poets, and philosophers cannot afford either for practical or historical reasons to rank second as a mental and technical nursery. Its streets are filled with names recalling some of London's noblest sons. Chaucer, Shakespear and his confrères, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, Lamb, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, all lived in and loved their London. It is true that the immortal bard was kept out of the old City as a rogue and vagabond, and had to build his theatres in what is now the L.C.C. area; but, like that much criticised body, he eventually lived down his critics and got into society. In a city with such memories as London we must try and offer, so far as is possible, an equal opportunity for all her sons.

The recent Education Act is said to make the realisation of this dream possible. I shall not discuss its blemishes, but simply state what has been and can be done under its auspices. Some good people, smarting under no fanciful or imaginary grievance, blamed the L.C.C. for putting the Act into operation. The men who took that action were not unmindful of the grievances of the

Nonconformist conscience. The popular leader of the Progressives, Mr. McKinnon Wood, thus put the case:—

“We cannot regard the recent Education Acts as a final settlement of a great national question. We object to religious tests for teachers in any public schools, and we desire that the expenditure of public money shall be controlled by elected representatives of the people; we look to Parliament for a speedy amendment of the Education Acts, which have offended the consciences of law-abiding citizens. Meanwhile, desiring that the law shall be administered with impartial regard to educational efficiency, we approve the appointment by the Council of an Education Committee from its own members, with the addition of women, who are still excluded from the Council.” (Cheers).

That Education Committee under the able chairmanship of Sir William Collins, assisted by a devoted and distinguished band of experts, has already made a great advance on the road towards a co-ordinated system for London.

I may remind my readers that the idea that the education of a city should be vested in and form part of the work of its Council did not originate with the present Government.

Matthew Arnold, in 1868, wrote: “The real preliminary to an effective system of popular education is, in fact, to provide the country with an effective municipal organisation.” And, again: “Public education must rest upon the municipal organisation of the country.”

John Stuart Mill, himself a pioneer in London reform and an ardent advocate for unification of its local government, in 1861 insisted on the “important principle that in each local circumscription there should be but one elective body for *all* local business, not different bodies for different parts of it.”

Given a remedy of the injustices of which the progressive leader complains, I think the future of education lies with the great central body in whatever form that may eventuate. I need not here tell the story of the building up of that system of elementary education for London by its School Board, a work which will always be remembered with gratitude and admiration. It is sufficient to say that the Council has taken over that vast work, with but little amendment, and has been grappling with the harder task of levelling up the Voluntary Schools to the standard of the Board Schools. What I want my citizen friend to understand and encourage is the building upon this foundation of a means—some call it a ladder—by which his clever boy or girl may attain to the greatest educational or scientific altitude, and so equip himself or herself, if the necessary brains and energy are forthcoming, for the most exalted position in the State.

As the Education Rate will be much talked of, I may dwell for a moment on how it is spent.

The County Council maintains by its grants over 3,000 separate evening classes in science, art, modern languages, trade instruction, domestic economy, and almost every conceivable subject, open at merely nominal fees to young men and young women alike, and organised in fifty different institutions scattered all over London.

It aids and inspects more than forty efficient Secondary Schools under public management, where a sound education of modern type is provided for both sexes, above the level of the Elementary Schools, at low fees, with free places and scholarships.

Every year the Council awards more than 1,500 scholarships to enable children and young persons to obtain an extended education. These scholarships are granted to those who show exceptional ability, and whose parents'

means are insufficient to allow them to continue their education if unaided by the Council.

To meet one of the greatest needs of the day the Council is greatly increasing and improving the teaching of foreign languages, both in schools and evening classes. Instruction in commercial subjects is now given in evening classes at thirty different centres. And, in order that Londoners may be better fitted to compete with their foreign rivals in trade, the Council has got established one high grade school specially designed for the best possible training of lads who intend to enter upon commercial life.

The Hammer and Hand Department.

There has been a feeling abroad among the ratepayers, specially the handicraftsmen, that there was rather too much of the schoolmaster and too little of the technical instructor in the curriculum of our London education. It is fair to the Council to say that much has been, and is being, done to remedy this complaint. It is a well-known fact that London employers do not take apprentices as they once did, and thus the Cockney boy is unfairly handicapped in competition with the country boy. The Council has established an experimental school for lads between fourteen and sixteen who are intending to enter upon an industrial career, with the object of giving them instruction which will enable them to compete on more equal terms with the country lad who has the advantage of an apprenticeship. If this school succeeds, many others will be opened. One for girls is now being got ready.

Again, the Council either maintains, or aids in maintaining, practical workshop classes in more than a hundred separate trades, at twenty different centres, where young mechanics can get instruction of a character likely to be of service to them in their trades. In order to make this instruction really practical, and to keep out the mere amateur, no one is allowed to attend a trade class unless he or she is actually working in that trade.

Further, it is the aim of the Council to place within easy reach of the home of every Londoner a polytechnic or a technical institute of which there are already more than thirty doing excellent work. These institutions are not only educationally useful, but are among the best means of promoting temperance, thrift, and general good conduct in the rising generation.

And in the midst of all this the girls are not forgotten.

The Council maintains fourteen special schools of domestic economy, where 800 girls of fourteen or fifteen receive six months' or a year's free training in cookery, dressmaking, laundry-work, housekeeping, and the laws of health.

This is but a rough sketch of the efforts made to teach the young idea how to shoot. Such work costs money, and the question is, "Will the London ratepayer stand the bill?" Sir Oliver Lodge put the case for higher education in words which may be commended to any grumbler. He says:—

"Our national economy in higher education is having disastrous results; it is a real danger to the nation. While other nations are investing millions of public money on higher education and research, we prefer to keep the money in our pockets in order to spend it privately; and the result is that while the State is poor, the individual is rich. Individuals are over-rich in this country; money breeds money on our present system with very little work, and it is apt to roll itself up into portentous and top-heavy fortunes. The result is, I fear, a state of things that some people say is becoming a scandal. I do not know. But however that may be, I should like to see this wealth owned by communities; I should like to see it in corporate hands and expended for the general good."

If in that spirit we build up the men and women of the Empire City, we need not fear the decadence through foreign competition, of which one hears so much. In this connection I must mention the new scheme which was placed before the Council a few months ago, through Lord Rosebery, for the creation of a great technological college. The Council, recognising the value of such an institution, and the necessity, in the interest of London, and, indeed, of the nation, of providing "facilities for research in the application of science to industry, and in those branches of pure science which are likely to lead to industrial developments," has agreed to give substantial assistance to this scheme.

In view of this illustrious example of private generosity, it seems a growing shame that the City Guilds and Companies do not realise their duty towards the needs of London in this important matter. Twenty years ago a Royal Commission of great weight and free from political bias held that those bodies possessed, outside trust funds and obligations, a revenue of half a million sterling per annum, "the inheritance of the London poor," which they declared to be applicable to "the improvement of workmen's dwellings, public baths, parks, and open spaces, etc.," and primarily to technical education.

A Municipal Policeman still Wanted.

We have not yet arrived at the glorious and blessed time when the municipality can allow the man "on the make" to do as he pleases in London. And so my citizen friend must still retain his detective in plain clothes; it may be to stop jerry building and the creation of slums; to secure public safety in theatres, music halls, and all public places; to protect poor people from short weight and bad quality in their purchases of coal; to labour at securing better quality in the gas supply of London; to greatly improve the sanitary administration all over the Metropolis, and insist on the vigorous suppression of nuisances and adequate control over noxious trades; to put a stop to floodings in many districts, from which the houses of the poor greatly suffer, and to vigorously enforce the Weights and Measures Act. Coals, bread, and all sorts of things come under this police work, and the value of it is best known to those on the verge of starvation. Take bread; the Council found that many shops in the poorer districts were "sweating the loaf," that is, selling two-pound loaves that fell considerably short of two pounds. Twelve thousand inspections of bread are now made every year, with the result that the shrinking of the quartern and half-quartern loaves has been stopped. It is something to help a poor wife, struggling to keep a decent home on a pound a week, to secure an extra ounce or two every day in her scanty bread supply.

But let it not be supposed that I claim originality on the part of the L.C.C. for this beneficent work. It is merely copied from the old City. The aldermen were originally a military body, and used to inspect weights, and held "assizes" on bread and ale to test quality.

The baker was pilloried in those days for selling putrid bread, and the taverner was condemned to swallow his own undrinkable wine, and to have the remainder poured on his head.

Perhaps in one or two respects our L.C.C. "goes one better" than the worthy aldermen. It inspects all "baby farms," keeping two qualified ladies to go round to see that the unfortunate infants in these places are not starved or ill-treated. Largely through its instrumentality seats have been provided in 13,000 shops for girls employed therein, greatly to the advantage of their health and physique. It tries to guard the poor against the frightfully dangerous

mineral oils and faulty lamps that cause so many accidents ; but cannot yet get from Parliament the power to prohibit such dangers to the public.

My advice to the citizen is that his policeman may still be wanted in our London of the future.

Lungs and Leisure.

The parks and open spaces have been well called "the lungs of London." In them the citizen is more and more spending his leisure. All honour to the men whose foresight and money secured to London the many open spots which contribute more perhaps than anything to keep down its death rate. Let their example move us to snatch at every open space which can be secured at a reasonable price. The L.C.C. has done something in this direction. It has increased the number of London's parks and open spaces from 40 to 102, and their area from 2,656 to 4,879 acres ; and, as to leisure, it has provided music in all the parks ; greatly increased the facilities for games ; provided bathing facilities for women as well as men ; vastly improved the supply of refreshments ; and in a thousand other ways ministered to popular enjoyment.

There is a little matter to which I attach great importance, and I desire, in the interest of our young people, to enlist the hearty sympathy of my brother citizen in its favour. Provision is made annually for the maintenance of grounds for cricket, football, lawn tennis, bowls, quoits, and other games. For some of these games a change of clothing is necessary, and in the past the only accommodation procurable was at the public-house. Being persuaded that it would be greatly to the advantage of the players to remedy this unsatisfactory arrangement, the Council determined to provide the requisite accommodation. So dressing rooms and shelters have been provided, and the young people are enabled to enjoy their play without being compelled to seek the conveniences offered by the publican.

How greatly municipal music adds to the pleasure of the leisure of the citizen is attested by the thousands whose savage breasts are soothed by its influence. The Council has liberally carried on the provision of music for London. Last year it provided more than fifteen hundred band performances, and its policy has been to provide more and better performances each succeeding year. This is a policy which requires backing up and extending. Our model London must be musical.

A Clean and Sober London.

In the 14th century every man had to keep clean the front of his own tenement. In the spirit of that ancient example let us make a determined attack on dirt, whether coming as soot from the chimney or such as is incidental to the public vehicle which is horse-drawn rather than electrical.

If I said "Down with the dirt and the drink," some might, to my regret, take my last phrase literally, but I do earnestly desire to see less temptation to drink. The L.C.C. has abolished 118 licenses, and has always had careful regard to the existing supply of public-house accommodation in the district after the demolition of those acquired for the improvement. The practice of the Council is to obtain a report as to the number of licensed houses within an area of 300 yards of the licence under consideration, and in every case the number of licensed houses has been found to be excessive. Therefore the Council has from time to time resolved to abandon the whole of the 118 licences in strict obedience to the spirit of the law, which directs that where a public-house is not wanted it should not be.

It has pursued this Temperance policy without wavering, and despite very strong criticism, for fifteen years, and has received the solid and continued support of all who care for Temperance reform.

Safety to Life and Limb.

The splitting up of London has, fortunately, not been able to destroy the efficiency of the central hand in this regard. To destroy or amend death traps is most beneficent work. Nearly half-a-million of persons nightly frequent places of amusement in London. To get them home safely to bed is no light or unnecessary task. This supervision of the theatres and music halls has often been criticised on the ground of strictness, but the memorable calamity at Chicago showed the necessity of absolute independence and unceasing care on the part of the public authority.

More important still is the work of the Council's Fire Brigade. It has enormously increased our protection against fire, and diminished the number of serious conflagrations by continuously extending and improving its stations and appliances. Since 1888 the machinery and men for this service have nearly doubled. All the old fire stations have been either re-built, like Redcross Street, City, and Euston; or enlarged and brought up to date, as Clerkenwell and Whitechapel; or new stations added, as Whitefriars and Kingsland. The main engine for life saving in London is now the horsed escape, which is sent out first on every fire call. It can travel a mile in five minutes, and arrives at any fire with four fresh firemen, ready to save life, while the old system was the heavy and cumbersome hand escape, in charge of one or two firemen, who arrived far too exhausted to be of much use in a burning house where lives were to be saved.

London's fire brigade has a heroes' list which will compare favourably with that of many a crack regiment. To grope through blinding smoke and stifling heat in the midst of falling timbers and melting lead in order to save life requires more than ordinary and in some cases more than military courage.

The citizen will always give a foremost place to London's great life brigade.

The Poor, and Them that have no Helper.

On the eve of a great inquiry which is to examine and report upon the working of the Poor Law it may be presumptuous to offer any opinion. The proper treatment of the unemployed cannot be dealt with in a paragraph. Of two things, however, I am persuaded. First, that it will be a pernicious thing if the unemployed are led to expect that the State must provide work for them if they cannot find it elsewhere; and second, that a prompt differentiation must be made between the loafer and the worthy worker, who is, perhaps for a few weeks only, "down on his luck." That the latter should go through the same mill as the former only tends to the manufacture of vagrants. Given a list of the genuinely employable as against the worthless and hopeless, and I am sure that more sensible means can be devised for their relief than those which at present obtain. With regard to the Poor Law as now administered, I have already pointed out the inequality of the rates in various districts. That the ratepayers of Poplar should pay a rate twice that of the City or St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is manifestly unjust. Nothing short of a common rate for London will meet the difficulty.

Not only in rates but in treatment the methods of dealing with the poor in London vary greatly, and require co-ordination. A new body, possibly a branch of, or working hand in hand with the central body, should be formed to absorb the present poor law authorities. No one can regard all the present

guardians as either having sufficient public backing behind them, or as the best persons for this delicate work. One and the same body should administer the Metropolitan Asylums Board and the Common Poor Fund. Such a united authority might devise some kind of municipal old-age pension; the elimination of our sick poor and infirm from the Poor Law system; and treatment more akin to home life for the fifty thousand children who are minus responsible parents. Such a body might be keen to remove the pauper taint on both adult and child. In our London there should be an end of overlapping and frequently injurious private charity. As part of this scheme it would, I think, be far better that the hospitals should be under public management, and in saying this I do not undervalue all that has been done by private beneficence and a noble profession for institutions which have been and are the brightest spots in suffering London.

Where's the Money to come from?

It may be that I have carried my citizen with me thus far in this propaganda for the building of a better London. He has joined the Metropolitan Society of Optimists, but alas! is suddenly pulled up by the rate paper. Like many others who are too busy to enquire into the facts, he jumps to the conclusion that, as it is, too much is being spent on these "socialistic fads" by the L.C.C. and other bodies, and that to extend these "experiments" means ruin to, among others, "the struggling shopkeeper." As to the charge of extravagance, I cannot do better than give the words of Lord Welby, a distinguished servant of the State:—

"The Council, when it came into existence, fifteen years ago, inherited a heavy arrear of necessary work. During the intervening period it increased its net debt—that is, the debt incurred for its own purposes—by £12,568,000. The larger part of this increase in the debt (£8,413,000) has been incurred for main drainage, asylums, the fire brigade, parks, street improvements, etc. The public, far from objecting to this expenditure, are disposed to criticise the Council for not having spent more on these great branches of ordinary administration, which are wholly unconnected with what has been called municipal trading.

"The remainder of this debt has been incurred for remunerative services, viz., the housing of the working classes and tramways. The Council had, up to March 31st, 1903, housed 19,628 persons, and was in process of housing 78,480 more. It has done this great work without imposing any burthen on the ratepayers up to the date of the last completed account. The revenue from the tramways, after providing interest and sinking fund on borrowed money, has, up to March 31st, 1903, contributed £293,000 in relief of rates.

"It must be borne in mind, moreover, that during this period of fifteen years London has been increasing, that large areas of new buildings have come into rating, and that juster valuation has been in progress. The produce of the rates has increased proportionately, and hence, large as have been the additions to the Council's debt, the charge of interest and sinking funds on the individual ratepayer have increased but slightly. That charge amounted in 1890 to 7½d. in the £. It rose in 1903 to 8½d.—an increase of one penny in the £—a small burthen compared with the beneficial work which it represents. Lastly, let me point out that the debt of the Metropolis as a whole (that is to say, the debt of all the Metropolitan Authorities taken together) is lower in proportion to its rateable value than that of any other city or great town in England and Wales, Liverpool only excepted."

These facts show, I submit, that the London County Council has not been an extravagant or wasteful steward of the revenues entrusted to it, and they justify me in contending that the financial position of the Council is sound, and its credit such as befits the first municipality in the kingdom. So much for the existing state of things.

But More Money is Wanted,

and the ratepayer naturally contemplates with alarm an increase to a burden which to many is already overwhelming. The solution lies in my citizen friend insisting that those who get most out of London shall pay most. Not a few people are in London only for the purpose of what they can get out of it. There are undesirable aliens of various kinds, and among those who should be made to pay, if they stay, is our old friend the ground landlord. The case against him cannot be stated too frequently.

The growth of our modern civilisation renders an early readjustment of the incidence of taxation an absolute necessity. The main reason for it is found in the phenomenal increase of the local rates during this half-century. The increase of culture has made the people spend money on sewers, street improvements, parks and open spaces, public buildings, and education. Fifty years ago the total sum levied by rates in England and Wales was about $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Now it is nearly four times that, an increase which is, of course, most marked in our towns. In London since 1874 the rates have risen 70 per cent. These rates are raised on property consisting of two factors—buildings and land.

The first represents no more or less than the builders' charge for the bricks and mortar. It is a fixed sum, which as time goes on depreciates rather than increases.

The second represents a value which is solely due to energy of the occupiers who go to make up the town. But for the presence of the toiler the land would revert to agricultural value.

Now, what has the good-natured fool of an occupier done and is still doing for the land-owner?

First. He congregates on the land and gives it a village value.

Second. He proceeds to make streets, sewers, build public offices, etc., and gives it a town value.

Third. He adds parks, open spaces, schools, and makes it so attractive that he invests it with a fabulous city value. Some parts of the City of London are said to be now worth £100,000 an acre.

Thus the occupier positively pays *twice over* for his whistle. First he pays for the improvements which make the land desirable and valuable.

Then the landlord steps in and makes him pay the increased value in rent. Could anything be more manifestly unfair?

London is full of illustrations of the iniquitous result of this system. The Thames Embankment is but one of many cases—the ground landlords enriched and the wealth producers impoverished.

It may be said that the occupier derives a benefit from these new streets, and sewers, and other town attractions. But how short that benefit is in the case of leasehold property. The landlord eventually turns out the man whose toil and money have made the City and asks a rack rent of a new-comer.

These are a few of the reasons why we want at least three financial reforms to assist in properly financing our City. First, the taxation of land values; second, a further equalisation of rates, or, better still, complete unification; third, a readjustment of the nation's account with London, so that the doles which it receives—as Exchequer contribution grants—may be based on its contribution

to the national coffer; in short, a readjustment of the unfair settlement of 1888.

As so I might continue for many pages more in describing things to be done and wrongs to be righted before London is what it should be, but I must conclude.

London Made.

There are some towns in which the citizens point to a statue or effigy—Birmingham crosses my vision for the moment—and say “That man made this town.” I started with a promise to try and show what we might make of Our London. To again quote Lord Rosebery, “If her sons and daughters are only true to themselves,” the day will come when London may realise some of that fulness of existence which in disjointed fashion I have endeavoured to picture. Happy the children who can then say “My parents and grandparents had a notable hand in bringing about this glorious time of ‘each for all.’” This work of making London yields a blessed dividend of present satisfaction and future promise. Able men, from dukes to labour leaders, have wisely and willingly given a hand to it during these fifteen years, and they all declare that it is work well worth the doing. Among them, years ago, was a talented young poet, Fred Henderson, and to bring my talk to a fitting end I shall borrow some beautiful and little-known lines which, inspired by the L.C.C. Progressive Victory of March 5th, 1892, he gave to London:—

Here then you have your answer, you that thought
 To find our London unawakened still,
 A sleeping plunder for you, thought to fill
 The gorge of private greed and count for naught
 The common good. Time unto her has brought
 Her glorious hour, her strength of public will
 Grown conscious, and a civic soul to thrill
 The once dull man that for your spoil you sought.
 Lo, when the alert majestic city stands,
 Dreaming her dream of golden days to be,
 With shaded eyes beneath her arching hands
 Scanning the forward pathway, like a seer
 To whom the riven future has made clear
 The marvel of some mighty destiny.

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JOHN MORLEY TO YOUNG LIBERALS.

COMING MEN ON COMING QUESTIONS would hardly have been complete without some words of "light and leading" from John Morley; his public utterances are few and far between, and his address to young Liberals in the spring of this year is practically his most recent contribution to the questions of the hour.

Whenever the Liberals return to office Mr. Morley is certain not merely to be in the Cabinet, but to be one of the inner Cabinet, which is the real Government of the Empire. He is still young, as statesmen go, and more than any man after Gladstone he is the last representative of that passion for righteousness which from the time of the Puritans has been the saving strength of the Liberal creed.

Mr. Morley's address was delivered under the auspices of the League of Young Liberals. The formation of this society is one of the encouraging signs of Liberalism to-day, for with the passing of the old stalwarts there has undoubtedly been a slackening of the moral fibre which marked the strenuous politician of the forties and sixties and even eighties. In the high circles of official Liberalism there is an overwhelming conviction that the Liberal party is so absolutely sure of a majority at the next election as to render the framing of a definite programme superfluous, but in the constituencies there is a growing feeling of enquiry as to the details of a policy which is to undo the long years of Tory misrule and some indications of the advance towards the amelioration of social conditions; this in brief is the aim the League of Young Liberals has set before itself.

The League, of which Mr. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., is president, has at least one advantage, which, in the opinion of an eminent leader of the older Liberals, is a desirable one—it starts with a clean slate. It needs no new or unauthorised programme; and though in the making of programmes there is no end, no one will assert that the agencies for the cultivation and spread of Liberal opinion are either so numerous or so effective as to render its formation superfluous.

There is ample scope for this League, and its endeavours to enlist the young men and the young women of our country in the promotion of Liberal opinions. Our political and commercial systems are still imperfect, and "progress halts on palsied feet."

The condition of the people cannot be a matter of indifference to young men (and young women) who think aught of the fame of Britain. It is the young man who has not taken any part in politics, no less than he who is ready to do some "spade work," that this League aims at enlisting.

The first duty is to search for the truth—the whole truth—as to the condition of our country and the needs of the people. Do they suffer? Are they happy? To find out the truth about these things we must study the history of our country and the industrial and social condition of our people.

Considering the callousness of modern politics, the rapacity of modern commerce, it is a matter of surprise that the spirit of the race survives. Whatever kinship may mean, it certainly does not mean the toleration of a system which has bound many thousands of our countrymen in the fetters

of destitution and ignorance. The poor uncultured Englishman is poor and uncultured because his fellow-countrymen have failed in their duty to him, and, poor and uncultured though he be, he is still an Englishman, and has a claim upon the wealth of the nation and the wisdom of the race. Every one of us should feel that so long as there is a workless, homeless, friendless man, woman, or child wandering neglected and abandoned in this the land of their birth, there is a stain upon the honour of England.

The real Liberal does feel that an injury to a fellow-countryman is an injury to England and to the race of Britons. Liberalism cannot thrive on class distinctions. Men of Liberal views cannot approve of social conditions which produce a large mass of physical and mental degenerates, deprived of everything but the power to perpetuate their species.

Upon the young men of the present will devolve the maintenance and development of the Empire in the future. Conscious of the vast inheritance and responsibilities of its Members, this League of Young Liberals resists the insolent and domineering Jingoism as unmanly and unworthy of a nation of free and justice-loving men. It also repudiates that "Little Englandism" which would have England other than as a noble part of a great commonwealth of nations speaking the English tongue. The real Liberal loves his country, and rightly influenced, the young men will subordinate all things to make their country the happiest land under the sun, and strive to secure for their race a physical and mental beauty beyond anything hitherto reached by mankind.

At the present time many things are being reconstructed; many things await, and are ripe for reconstruction. The proposed alteration in our Fiscal

System; Education; Temperance Reform; Manhood Suffrage; Taxation of Land Values; Larger Powers for Local Authorities; The Problems of the Poor; Redistribution; Economy and Efficiency in the Army and Navy; Foreign and Colonial Policy; Indian and Irish Affairs; the Mending of the House of Lords—in whatever direction a young man may look he is confronted by some one of these questions. These are urgent questions, and their adjustment deserves the enthusiasm and needs the vigilance and energy of youth.

The young men of England should not acquiesce in an attempt to tax the food of the people, nor remain indifferent to the fact that one of the greatest principles that have contributed to England's prosperity—the principle of Free Trade—is being attacked. The spirit of Gladstone, of John Bright, of Cobden, may, again, let us hope, lead the young men of this country on these great moral and human issues.

The young men of England should not be indifferent to the Education Question, which is vital to the position of our nation in the world. The present Education Act is wrong in principle, unjust in practice, and opposed to the views of a large portion of the electorate. To tolerate its continuance on the Statute Book in its present form is to perpetuate a national injustice. The present Government have settled this question wrongly, and a question wrongly settled is never settled at all.

It is obvious that the party that has attended to the political business of the country for the past ten years does not now excite much enthusiasm or respect even among its nominal supporters. No party can continue great that subordinates principles to prejudices, and a party that attempts to cover its misgovernment by mis-

government; that has gerrymandered Land, Licensing and Educational Laws in the interests of its friends.

This League aims to impress upon the young men and young women of England that it is far more important to save a nation than to save a party, and that the duty of a Government is to protect the people from the evils of monopolies and class privileges.

The present condition of our country: the fabulous wealth on the one hand and the abject poverty on the other; the insatiable thirst for gold among all classes; the general indifference to all but selfish interests; the rapidity with which the poorer and weaker drift down to destitution and despair; the political disabilities under which thousands of people suffer, and the tendency to lower the tone of public life are phases of modern civilisation which should impel young men to unite in the service of humanity.

This League proposes to arouse the young men of this country from their apathy and inspire them to regard themselves as the "Trustees of posterity" on whom will rest the evils of bad government; to deepen convictions, and to provide the means whereby those convictions may be utilised for the good of the community. Apathy and ignorance are the parents of Reactionary Governments, and the aims of Reactionary Governments have ever been ignoble.

"Let us resist," said Mr. J. Aubrey Rees in his address at the inaugural meeting of the League, "those who are indifferent to the degradation of our race; let us assist in the spread of liberty and justice, and become co-workers in building and maintaining an Empire that shall be renowned not merely for its territorial vastness, but

rather for its moral achievements, its intellectual attainments, and its solicitude for the social well-being of its people."

"This is a field of activity into which young Liberals may be proud to enter, and eventually become worthy citizens of a great race and a great country."

Since the League removed its headquarters into the more congenial atmosphere of the New Reform Club, at 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C., it has made considerable progress, as evidenced by the formation of a large number of prosperous branches which have been formed in various towns.

Its officers are all young men and keen politicians. In Mr. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., it possesses an excellent president, whilst Mr. F. C. Masterman, who fought in the Liberal interest at Dulwich last year, and who is now contesting North-West Ham, fills the position of chairman of the Executive Committee. The other officers include Mr. C. W. B. Prescott, vice-chairman, who is Parliamentary Candidate for the St. Augustine's Division of Kent; Mr. W. B. Forster Bovill, who acts as hon. treasurer; Mr. H. Francis Hyndman, who is on the Council, and Mr. J. Aubrey Rees, the hon. secretary.

Amongst other Liberal politicians identified with the work of the League may be mentioned Mr. D. Lloyd-George, M.P., Mr. Oswald Partington, M.P., the Master of Elibank (the Hon. O. Murray, M.P.), and Mr. C. W. Tomkinson (Liberal candidate for the Hornsey Division).

Branches of the League should be formed in every constituency throughout the United Kingdom. - Any young Liberal, on application to the General Secretary, may obtain a plentiful supply of the literature of the League for distribution in his district.

AN ADDRESS TO YOUNG LIBERALS.

By JOHN MORLEY.

“An Honoured Name.”

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE, Ladies and Gentlemen, I find myself here with a very great and dignified pleasure. One drawback, there is no doubt, I feel in the absence of the President of your League, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, who is a man who bears an honoured name. And one of a man whom we all miss in these days when finance on the one hand and the integrity of Parliament and the House of Commons on the other hand are at stake. He is now on the threshold of what we all hope will be a powerful and useful career. He has gone through a great deal of, what I must confess to be, the drudgery of politics, and we all hope that he will now, when he has thrown off this illness, take the place which he is well entitled to take in the councils of the House of Commons, and of his party.

Comrades—Old and New.

I am glad to see myself surrounded by these Parliamentary and other comrades of mine, with whom I have stood on platforms, I think in the case of your chairman, for fifteen long years past. I see several Parliamentary friends around me, with whom I have never had, I do not believe, in all the great controversies that have arisen in those fifteen or twenty years, a hair's breadth of difference. And I see the younger men, like Mr. Winstone Churchill, with whom I don't expect to stand upon platforms for fifteen years to come, but I am perfectly sure that so long as there are platforms that hold him and me, we shall not very much differ.

A Welcome to the League of Young Liberals.

Gentlemen, I am very much attracted by the style and title of your League. To be a Liberal is a fine thing. If there is one thing still finer it is to be young. To be young; to have youth is ardour—is hope—is sincerity—is the time of

seed-growing. Therefore, youth is power. What your name will be in ten or fifteen years from now I don't know; whether you will still be young Liberals, or whether you will have grown up, we cannot tell. I will tell you this, you cannot do better, you young Liberals, than walk in the footsteps of these who are now called old Liberals.

Politics a Public Duty.

In the French Government, between 1830 and 1848, the Prefects in the Provinces and Departments were most satisfied when they could report of a man who was enquired about, that he was a good father, that he was a good husband, that he paid his rates and taxes, and that he did not meddle with politics. I think you will all know that the Government, of which that was the ideal, came to a most disastrous and rapid smash. And you young Liberals, I hope you don't think, I am sure you don't think, it is any mistake to meddle with politics. If any of your friends and neighbours, and I am sure there are such, say to you: "Oh! we ought not to meddle with politics," say "Well, what about sugar?" Have not tea and income tax got something to do with politics? Gentlemen, politics, let me tell you—and I have friends as old in political life as I am—let me tell you that politics are not a poem, a drama, or a novel, or a philosophy. They are a battle. They are a great field of public duty. And I am perfectly sure that this is a field of public duty in which, whatever a man's private tastes and predilections may be, he will find his most exalting influence.

The Greatest Interests.

Those of us whose interest is in the great themes of Churches and Chapels will remember what a great man said: "It is part of a man's religion that his country should be well governed." Well, then, those of you who, like myself, find your pleasure in books, you go to the Free Libraries and think you can dispense with politics! Gentlemen, books, unless they are the inspirers and the guides of action, are only a very superfine form of self-indulgence—a kind of narcotic. Well, then, there is a third great interest. I am never quite sure whether we would not call it the greatest. It is called philanthropy. I have never been quite sure whether, if I had to choose among all the great men of a generation, it is not the philanthropist whom I would not have most chosen to have belonged to. Too often they must feel that philanthropy is vain, so long as the Government of a country, so long as a House of Commons, is not what it ought to be. Even they must feel that politics are at the bottom, as I will show you by and by, of all those great schemes, and, I grant, small schemes, for the bettering of the condition of the poor and wretched, and for the bettering even of the condition of dumb animals politics have something to do.

The Two Party Schemes Indispensable.

Some of you may say—because I heard it said—“Well, but we may take an interest in politics and yet not throw ourselves into parties.” I don’t believe that. I must, and always have been, a strenuous upholder of the two party schemes, and I have not only been an upholder of them, but I have been a member of one party. The same party from the beginning until to-day, and I have never found any difficulty in reconciling rational co-operation with rational independence. I have never found any difficulty. Lord John Russell said that party no doubt is attended by evils of its own, those evils which we are all well acquainted with. But those evils are but dust in the balance when you compare them, when you weigh them, with the evils that are from standing aloof from any party communication ; it is a very good thing to be obliged to associate with others whose opinions you share. It is a wholesome thing. It tends to the lessening of egotism, though I never would say that egotism is quite extinguished ; but it tends to the lessening of it, in its application of being bound to act and to associate with men in whose opinions in regard to great public subjects you sympathise. Well, Mazzini, who was the greatest moral genius of our age, said, “Next to the capacity of rightly leading, the greatest test consists in knowing when and how to follow.” I have never found that, myself, an insuperable difficulty.

Young Liberals and Loyalty to Party.

Well, now, you will agree with me that we ought to take an interest in politics. You agree with me that a man ought to belong to a party. Now, which party ought he to belong to ? I don’t forget that I am talking to young Liberals who have kept their way in the political war to mark it for themselves. Now, I am not going to give you, or to attempt, any history of Liberalism in this country. Still less will I attempt to remind you of, and recall to you how, all over Europe, since the battle of Waterloo, ninety years ago, the great achievements in the way of political emancipation—moral emancipation—social emancipation—that have been won by armies fighting under the banner of Liberalism, with the ensign, the symbols, and the watchwords of Liberalism leading them on to those victories which have made the world and mankind so much better. Well, therefore, I will not pretend to tell you the story. But you Liberals, young or old, are the heirs of a splendid tradition, of great and triumphant principles, faithful principles, and of leaders (in your own country especially) whom it is an honour to be allowed to follow.

The Crisis.

Well, now, we will leave Europe, and we come to our own small affairs. Not small affairs. We are now in a crisis. It is tremendously difficult to judge the magnitude and dimensions of the events of your own time. There are many historical cases where men completely mistook the size of operations that were going on under their own eyes. I believe that we are now, in this country, and that for the last five or ten years we have been, entering upon a crisis, and that we are now in the culminating point of a crisis; and it is a crisis of which I would say this, that the man, whether he calls himself a Liberal, or a Unionist, or a Fiscal Reformer, whatever he is, the man who in this crisis says he is a neutral, and moves the "previous question," that man may flatter himself he is a neutral, but he is a deserter. And you are now confronted by a Government with wings on the right and wings on the left, who are deserters of their own principles.

Unionist Shattered Unity.

Everyone of you, I am sure, will say to me, what every man says to me in the street, or in the club, or elsewhere: "When is the election going to be?" I don't know. Because I don't know how deep a draught of humiliation men are capable of swallowing. It is hardly more than a year ago since the Prime Minister in his own constituency said, "I am greatly preoccupied and deeply anxious that when the historian of this critical year" (that was 1904), "when the history comes to be written, the historian shall not say to me that any rash and inconsiderate action of ours has shattered unity and temporarily wrecked the fortune of the great organism committed to our charge." I fear that is exactly what the historian will say. I will say that these gentlemen have shattered the unity, and more than temporarily wrecked the great organism. Why, their unity is shattered to a thousand small pieces. "Temporarily wrecked?" I don't know, though! We were wrecked twenty years ago. Perhaps the "temporary" will mean twenty years.

Wreckage of Tory Organism.

The other day, on a matter which I will come to by and by, talking about a certain Irish Under-Secretary, they said they had borrowed him for a time. I should have thought they had better have borrowed him for eternity. But this is not a case—the present Parliamentary conflicts which you all read about is not a case—of the ordinary conflict between Opposition and a Government. When I say you read about it, when I talk about being interested in politics, I don't mean that you are to limit your interest to scare headlines in the public prints or to dramatic accounts of scenes in the House of Commons. I mean a

good deal more than that. I don't call that interest in politics. But you feel these things. It is not a contest between Opposition and a Government. It is an internecine conflict before us in the House. We know it is in the Cabinet ; we know it is in the Constituencies ; we know it is in the By-elections ; we know it by their Press. The whole of the political waters is strewn with the wreckage of this party, which he hopes the historian of the future will never charge him with wrecking, and on every side you see distraction, dissension, confusion, even in a sphere where, hitherto, this party confusion is not usually extended—I mean in the public offices.

An Incidental Illustration.

There is a certain public office called the Board of Trade—a most important office : most important because that is the department concerned with the conditions of the great issue, which you are, by and by, going to tackle and give your verdict upon. Well, what happened two or three days ago ? The President of the Board of Trade was appointed in the person of the Marquess of Salisbury, the son of an illustrious father. We, in the House of Commons, protested against that, on the ground that if there is a single Department which the House of Commons ought to have under its own view it is that of the Board of Trade. The Head of the Department, Lord Salisbury, is a Free Trader ; he is a man of great ability. But what happens ? The other day, on Friday, I think, the Parliamentary Secretary, a man of great ability and an admirable speaker, went and made a speech somewhere, and I rather think he moved or seconded a Protectionist resolution. Now, do you realise what a distraction of a Department is implied by such an arrangement as that ? Two Ministers occupying rooms in the same Department, having the same functions under their supervision ; one of them is a Protectionist, and the other is a Free Trader ; and the subordinate member is at perfect liberty to go on the platform and to deliver himself of a thing which must be gall and wormwood to his own official superior ! All I know is this, that if, when I had the honour to be Chief Secretary for Ireland—on Home Rule principles—such a state of things had existed, I should have written to Mr. Gladstone and said that either I or my colleague must go. That is my opinion of Government. Of self-government. Very well, then, that is only an incidental illustration. If it stood by itself it would shock us all very much ; but it does not stand by itself. It is all of a piece with the distraction which reigns under the “ previous question.”

What is the “ Previous Question ? ”

One of my honourable friends here, the other night, made a speech. But what is the “ previous question ? ” He made a motion bringing the Free Trade issue straight before the House. Can you conceive, gentlemen, in any time of

our political and Parliamentary history when we had an issue of that kind being raised, and the Government of the day, including, mind you, the left wing, the Birmingham wing, with the centre, and saying, "No! You must not ask us whether we are for it or against it!" There has never been, in my opinion, such humiliation. When I listen to the Prime Minister going through with his, what I call, admirable efforts of dialectics, while he is lowering the character of the House of Commons all the time, I think of what Cromwell said. Well, Oliver, gentlemen, did not behave very well to the House of Commons, but he said on a famous occasion, "Oh, Sir Harry Vane, thou with thy subtle casuistries and abstruse hairsplittings, thou art other than a good one I think. The Lord deliver me from thee, Sir Harry Vane."

Well, I think the country is as sick, as nauseated, and, I think, as angry and as resentful of all these subtle casuistries and abstruse hairsplittings as Oliver was.

Unprecedented Political Humiliation.

Well, this is a nation of plain men. I only find one consolation in it. It is a consolation that Sydney Smith found in what was called the vigour and tenacity of a Ministry before our age. He said, "Well, yes, that is a Government which has got tenacity and vigour, but it is the vigour of the grave-digger." The tomb will be ready and the wider the more efforts they make. So it will. But, then, I am told it is his tactics. When I think of the Prime Minister, of his own high character and bearing up to this time; when I think of the office which is more important and imposing than the character of any individual occupant of it; when I think of that, I don't call it tactics. I call it political humiliation. I call it immoral humiliation, and I say, subject to correction by anybody who knows more history than I do, it is a case of political humiliation, political and immoral, which you cannot beat in all our political history. And what is it for? Is it for a great cause? It is not. It is for the sake of party. I am all for the saving of party—if you can do it. But it cannot be done. Here is the Prime Minister with no sails and bare poles scudding along. Has he got any cargo on board, that it is for the benefit of the commonwealth that he should bring to port? Not a bit. There is no cargo. He does not know what he wants. I say in the words of Shakespeare, which you all well know—

" Shall we sell
The mighty space of our large honours
For so much trash as can be graspèd thus?
I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon
Than such a Roman."

And, after all, the Prime Minister had only got to look across the table of the House of Commons to see an example he ought to have followed. What

would he have seen? He would have seen the leader of the Opposition. They say, thank goodness, that he is not so nimble at dialectics as the Prime Minister. But I will tell you what he has done. He has done two things which the Prime Minister has egregiously failed to do. He has stuck to his principle. And he has saved his party. He has steered his way through obloquy and abuse, and I think he will see his way through all sorts of unauthorised programmes.

First Rule of Wisdom for Young Liberals.

Whenever the election comes, and a new chapter—I consider myself talking to young Liberals—a new chapter will open, and a new leaf will be turned over. The present, no doubt, abounds in difficulties. There are difficulties of finance, difficulties about education. The mischief of legislation, the case of South Africa and the Army. But then these are not party difficulties, gentlemen, and this I beg you seriously to think of. These are not party difficulties. They are National difficulties, and I hope that if we are all party men we are all National men. And these are National difficulties. They will not be solved unless serious men on both sides take their share and recognise those difficulties. All I say is this, while the hypothesis is young, though many of you appear to me to have attained years of discretion, there is no man in this island more averse than I am to wild-cat policy. There is one other thing that I am equally averse to, and that is, the policy of the jumping-cat. Of the two—I hope I shall never be obliged to choose, but, of the two—I think I would rather take my chance with the wild-cat. But, gentlemen, it is not wise to use a theatrical phrase as I understand it, it is no use to make up yourselves as Unionists. There will be no good in that. Don't be afraid. Gentlemen, don't let us be afraid of our own shadows. That is the first rule of wisdom that I give to you young Liberals.

All Liberals Agreed on Education.

I said a word a minute or two ago about Education. I have been hammering at Education for more years than I like to confess. The country has not come round to my views, which, by the way, I hold in common with men much more expert than I, and perhaps prejudiced. You have to be prejudiced. The Education League had a very important President. We were in favour of secular, compulsory, and free education. I am not going to say what might be an ideal solution of this great difficulty; but I do say this, that the Head of the Government should tackle this delicate and dangerous question. It is not only delicate and dangerous here, but delicate and dangerous in some of our Colonies, and in several forms in countries on the Continent of Europe, and it is folly for a man to undertake such a step without any consultation with the members of

the Free Churches—those men who represent a splendid tradition of conquest for civil and religious liberty all through the ages. When the Liberal Party is in power it does not lose sight of the prejudices and the opinions of the Church of England. Then why, on the other hand, do these precious statesmen ignore the opinions and prejudices and so forth of the Free Churches? I am not going into details on this question, but of course we are all agreed upon two things, that where popular public money goes, there goes public control. Second, we are all agreed that if there is going to be a great fund of public money given to public instruction there shall not be any exclusive denominational tests.

The Government's Evil Doings.

Now, I am almost embarrassed with the number of topics which I would like to touch upon. I am embarrassed to decide what, in my judgment, is the most evil. I am not sure I don't agree that their greatest mistake is their dealing with the Licensing Question. Although we shall see. Then is it not almost a criminal thing to open upon the country a tremendous, vital, fundamental question like Free Trade and Protection—to have the reckless audacity to launch out upon the question without having the courage to attempt to settle that question?

The "Magnificent" Result of War.

I pass on to what is very near to my heart in all these things. I don't know if you realise that during the last nine or ten years this country has been continually at war. It is not all the fault of the Government, and I am not making a great party attack. But let us see; there have been no less than eleven times that they have drawn the sword, and generally against very poor people. There were two wars in Ashanti in '95 and '96 and 1900; three native wars against the Matabele and the Mashonas by the Chartered Company; the Soudan War of 1898 and '99; a war on the frontier of India that lasted eight months in '97 and '98; the South African War; a China Expedition in 1900, and the ludicrous Somali War. Well, now, what is to be said of all this? Much the most important is, of course, the South African War. But I see in the paper on Friday this solution anyhow—it cost us two hundred and fifty millions, and so forth, but there are 34,000 Chinese now employed. There is a magnificent result of a war that was undertaken because the ideals of civilisation before the war were so low that we really could not endure it in our vicinity. What has become of the best of British settlers? I don't want to rake up things that perhaps may not be forgotten, and that cannot be forgotten, but unless I wholly misread public opinion in this country even now, I am perfectly certain that the further we get from the furnace of passion of that great

controversy, the more clearly do we recognise that those were right who said at the beginning that patience would have prevented it. A little patience—instead of which we had petulance and want of foresight.

Sham Home Rule for the Boers.

I don't want to say more upon that, except this, that I believe, I am convinced, that as time goes on it will be more and more felt that those difficulties which some of us clearly saw and more vividly brought into view, that that was about as great a mistake as anyone on both sides knows since the Crimean War. When a great wave floats past you, you are now on the crest of the wave, now in the trough of the sea, and you cannot recall it. And all you can do, or the shipmaster can do, is to prepare for the next wave and to adjust his barque to it with all the strength and skill he can command. That is our case now. You cannot recall the war. You cannot revoke its effect. What has been done has been done. It will be wrong for anybody speaking with any sense of responsibility to say that this can be undone. It cannot be undone. But you can take good care that you do not make it worse. And what I am afraid of is—and it is a very difficult question—that the Government, if their policy in South Africa is what it appears to be, are going to make one more mistake. They are going to proffer a “moderate” or “transitory form of self-government.” In my opinion—I am subject to correction—that would be an error. I think those are right in saying—in South Africa, not here—“You had better carry on as you are with your Crown Colony Government and don't interpose an intermediate system, which is neither one thing nor the other, and which the best men, either Boers or British, won't agree to work, and which will cause an amount of chafing and irritation—which will be used, fatally used, as an argument against a fresh further extension of a full scheme of self-government.” I leave that to your consideration.

Ireland must be Studied.

Now I come to Ireland, a topic that I have during the last, during a great many, years very often approached. I am afraid you young Liberals will have to get up the Irish question. It is not my fault. There it is. Years ago I sat in the House of Commons when they rejected, as I thought ill-advisedly, and still think so, the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The Irish Sphinx will come up once more. She is pacified, but there she is to-day. I read speeches about Ireland with great composure and serenity. The question remains. Twenty years ago—forgive me for carrying you so far back—but twenty years ago, after weathering storms and convulsions in Ireland, England, and in Westminster, an heroic man conceived and tried a great policy. It was beset, of course, as it will be, with tremendous difficulties. The question will always be beset with difficulties. I don't believe there is a more thorny question in

Austria or Hungary, or Norway and Sweden, than the Irish question. The heroic effort failed, as you all know; but not till after a most undaunted struggle. There was no faint-heartedness in those days.

The Party of Plausible Principles.

Some of those who took a foremost part in that undaunted struggle now seem to be rather withdrawing. Well, the end of it was that the Liberal Party was shattered and broken to pieces twenty years ago. A new party came into existence—the Unionist Party—full of powerful men with very plausible principles, and they have governed the country, practically, ever since, with a short interval of three years, during which we were in office. No doubt they are more violently broken at the end of their twenty years than we were twenty years ago. Having beaten Home Rule by a declaration, amongst other things, that the Irish were rogues and rebels, their great measure has been to lend to these gentlemen, first one-hundred-and-twelve millions of money, or credit. We wanted to do something less than that. We were denounced. However, they have done it, and a most serious and important step it is.

Dublin Castle Government Doomed.

Now as to the old song that the Irish question is asleep. On the contrary, it has been smouldering all the time, but it has not lost its fire. You have now got it, and I beg your attention to this point. You have six gentlemen who have held the office of Lord-Lieutenant, and you have got living nine gentlemen who held the office of Chief Secretary, including two who have held it twice, and you have got four Under-Secretaries, and I will undertake to say that there are not two, I am not sure I should say there is one, because I am not certain there are two of those Lord-Lieutenants, Chief Secretaries, or Under-Secretaries, who will not admit that the present system of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle, and so forth, is extravagant, costly, bad, demoralising, out of touch and contact with the people of Ireland, and would not admit that it ought to be amended.

A Significant Experiment and its Sequel.

Now, listen to what happened. In September, 1902, the Head of the Unionist Government, in active and explicit concurrence with his Chief Secretary, appointed in the Dublin Castle, most sensibly and wisely, a very eminent man, who told them beforehand that he was an Irishman; that he was a Roman Catholic; that he was in full sympathy with his countrymen, and that if he were invited to take office—he was a Liberal in politics, by the way—his policy was such a policy of organisation of work, of administrative agencies, as would reconcile the people of Ireland with the Government of Ireland. Surely a very

laudable object with the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary at that date—a fortnight ago—that we all agree. Now, do you realise what the significance of that is? How could they have entered into a project of this kind unless they had felt that the system of governing Ireland was all the evils that I have said, and that it was time for an effort to be made to amend that system? I am not going to tell you over again all the rest of the story, but the case for the reform of Irish Government is that drastic reformation is needed, and say what you like, important men may say what they like, the old question of the reform of Irish Government, however you choose to attempt to settle it—I have an idea how you will have to settle it, but, however you may choose to settle—it is idle, in the face of such a fact, idle to pretend that that is not one of the problems which, in its own turn and order, the British Government, Liberal or Tory, especially Liberal, is bound to undertake. You say “Well, we give them our sympathy.” Sympathy is not a policy. Sympathy is not business. Sympathy does not solve the practical difficulty, but I perceive from your temper, gentlemen, that I need not belabour this matter.

A Friendly Warning.

We are warned by a friend of ours that duality of Government is a great curse, as in the case of Norway and Sweden. There will be no duality of Government if I can help it, and I don't know that there has been duality of Government, but granting it would be a great curse, is unity of Government a great blessing? I don't think it is, and I am amazed when I think of men who, whatever formula they may adopt about independence and the Irish vote, and so forth, would, rather than try to come to terms with the Irish, condemn this country to be handed over once more to a Government who are pledged to a Protectionist policy which will ruin the trade of the country, and make a great breach in the ramparts of the Empire. If we have done wrong to Irishmen in the past, as assuredly we have done, they would be avenged if that is to be the decision—if these men are to have another innings, more Education Acts, more Licensing Acts, more broken promises, rather than you will try sensibly by looking at the Irish question straight, with a clear and steady gaze, and try to bring it to a satisfactory end. I have had a great deal of experience in that, and I should not despair of it. Be sure of this, that when we talk of the Irish question, it is not an Irish question merely, it is also an English question.

The New Cabinet must contain Labour.

And now I have only a word or two more to say about the new Parliament. Nobody doubts that a most important addition in the new Parliament will be an increase in the number of direct representatives of labour, and I am going to be guilty now of a tremendous indiscretion, which is not my general weakness.

I shall have very moderate confidence in a new Cabinet if it does not also contain a direct representative of labour. Now about our labour friends. I am perfectly sure that whether they like to be called Liberals or not—I may say I am very sorry if they do not, it is a grand name—but whether they like it or not, ninety-nine times out of a hundred they will go into the Lobby with all of us. Or, if you like, we will go into the Lobby with them. I do not say they will make the lives of the new Ministers easier. I do not say that; but they will bring, no doubt they will bring, difficulties of their own; but they will also bring a freshness, a vigour, a sincerity into the House of Commons of which it stands greatly in need. I believe I am right in uttering that there was not a single Labour Member in the House of Commons who was not what I call right on the war.

The Unemployed.

Now on the unemployed. That is not a question, and never can be, I think, of party politics. It goes a great deal deeper than party politics. We know, all of us, in our social surroundings, how the case stands. Sympathy is not wanting, feeling is not wanting, in the House of Commons or anywhere else. I don't believe there has ever been an age in the history of this country when there was a warmer sympathy on the part of those who are better off with those who are worse off. We have gone back in some things. We have not gone back only; we have gone forward. There is a warmer feeling now than there ever was. It is only those who are directly brought into contact with the misery and vicissitudes of the ordinary life of toil who really know, and we, with all our feelings and sympathies, do not know what we can do. We don't know what the State can do, and it is worth silver and gold—more than silver and gold—that we should have in the House of Commons men who can tell us at first hand how the case stands.

The Toilers' Life a Terrible Battle.

I remember once talking to—I must call him plainly—John Burns. I said to him, "How does a man do when, with wife and children, owing to some change in the money market or elsewhere, the concern stops and he is thrown out of employment and does not know which way to turn? What does he do?" Perhaps he has got a little in a Benefit Society. Perhaps he has got some friends; and the kindness of the poor to the poor is one of the most glorious things. He said, "I will tell you what it is. An ordinary English toiler goes into his life like a man goes into battle. He does not know but that to-morrow he may get a bullet into his heart. The soldier does not know in battle; the workman does not know whether to-morrow he may be cast into a ditch." Well, that is a terrible state of affairs. Politics will not extricate our people from

that scrape, or rather I should say tragedy, but I will point out this, that all those wars of these Imperialistic adventurers is a wasting of the capital of the country. It is a wasting of those funds from which labour is ultimately fed. There are many who are unemployed—it is no use denying that—but it is waste of National resources in these Imperial adventures that has caused half this mischief.

Try Courage and be not Afraid.

I have detained you an inordinate time. There was once a discussion between Mr. Pitt and some of his friends as to what were the qualities most needed in politics. Was it knowledge? Was it patience? Was it courage? Was it eloquence? What was it? Mr. Pitt said, "I think patience." Now, we Liberals, we have tried patience for twenty years. I vote that we now try courage. I say don't let us be afraid of our own shadows. We have got principles that we believe in. We have got a field of great tradition and great causes behind us and before us. Let us not lose courage and straightforwardness, and I hope that you who are young will go on, and when the fight comes, I hope that you and all of us when the fight comes, and you near the twilight of your little day, you will be able to say in undying words that though errors have been many; false steps to the right or left may have been many; still, when all is said, you have "fought the fight, you have finished the course, you have kept the faith."

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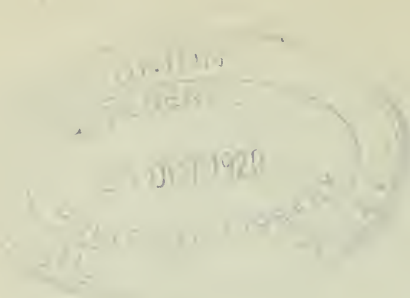
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Write—THE PUBLISHER, 3, WHITEFRIARS STREET, E.C.

MR. W. J. DAVIS,

General Secretary, National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers.

COMING MEN ON COMING QUESTIONS has already included (No. 17) an important contribution on "The Insurance of the Working Classes in Germany," and in this number will be found a striking testimony to the thoroughness of our German cousins in all matters which concern the vital interest of the worker.

The investigations were undertaken by three representative men, viz. :—

MR. R. H. BEST, Chairman of Best & Lloyd, Ltd., Cambray Works. Hands-worth; Chairman of the Gas and Electric Light Fittings Masters' Association, and Conciliation Board; President of the Nelson Street Adult Early Morning School.

MR. W. J. DAVIS, Secretary of the National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics.

MR. C. PERKS, Canvasser and Representative of the Birmingham Hospital Saturday Fund, and Member of the Committee of the General Dispensary, Birmingham.

As their report was made jointly, the third person has been retained, in quoting from the official report published at one shilling by Messrs. P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster. The Report runs to some eighty pages, and should be read by everyone in the kingdom.

Mr. W. J. Davis is so closely associated with the trades union and labour movement that his evidence should carry conviction to all those who fondly imagine that as a nation we have reached the top rung of progress. While the investigation primarily concerned the workers of one industry, the facts elicited can be taken as an accurate gauge as to the condition of the German worker in general.

Mr. Davis has done one thing. He has set the people of this country "thinking Imperially."

Throughout the length and breadth of the land the result of the enquiries into the conditions of the brassworkers of Berlin, as contained in his report, has been discussed from platforms, thrashed out in the correspondence columns of newspapers and magazines. Editors have vied with each other in bringing before the notice of the public the important points so ably driven home, and the observations so keenly and accurately portrayed by him of German life. The following particulars of Mr. Davis' career will show how admirably equipped he is by experience and sympathy to conduct such an inquiry.

Mr. Davis, although born in humble circumstances, and compelled whilst still a boy to earn his livelihood by the labour of his hands, has by sheer force of character and ability not only gained the esteem and respect of all who have personally come in contact with him, but the admiration of

thousands to whom he is only known by repute.

Born at Birmingham in 1848, his sole education was two and a-half years in a dame school, and one year in a night school. At 16 years of age he joined George Dawson's Sunday School, where reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught.

At 11 years of age he commenced as a printer's boy; afterwards he began as a brassworker at Timothy Smith & Sons, and saw the transference of that business to Richard and Arthur Chamberlain, the brothers of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.

In 1871 the workmen in the Brass Trade commenced an agitation for an advance in wages, and Mr. Davis was selected to represent the workpeople as their delegate.

The demand of the workmen was for an increase of 15 per cent. on day work and piece prices—a rather large order considering the men were unorganised. An appeal to the employers, although containing a promise not to form a Trade Union should their demands be favourably considered, was without avail, and met with practically no result.

A great meeting was held in the Birmingham Town Hall, and from this meeting sprung the National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers.

A General Secretary was required, and the choice fell upon Mr. Davis. No sooner had he undertaken this office when he set about in real earnest to demonstrate to the men that their only hope for an increase in their wages was by organisation.

This was soon complete, and the agitation for a bonus of 15 per cent. was once more commenced, and in less than five months the employers were compelled to concede to the demands of the men. His sphere of influence soon after this extended to centres outside Birmingham, for he quickly organised the brassworkers at Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Bradford, Manchester, London, etc.

As in most cases of leaders of men,

Mr. Davis was not long permitted to be content with his position as Trade Unionist official. The working men of Birmingham had long been waiting for a leader.

Someone was wanted who could be trusted to defend their rights and uphold their privileges.

In 1875 he stood as a candidate for the School Board, but owing to the opposition of the Liberal Association, which declined to admit the principles of class legislation, he was defeated, though he polled some ten thousand votes. But, true to the tradition that Englishmen never know when they are beaten, he pursued his purpose, and in 1876 he was allowed to take a seat unopposed.

In 1879 Mr. Davis conducted one of the greatest trade arbitrations which had ever taken place, winning the highest praise from all concerned.

From a member of the School Board we find him in 1880 successfully contesting Nechell's Ward for the Town Council. No sooner had he occupied his seat in the Town Council when we find him championing the cause of the weak against the strong; substantial reductions had taken place in the wages of the Corporation scavengers, and by his effort not only were the men's wages raised to the old level, but the money lost by reductions was paid to the men in full. He next turned his attention to the stone breakers, securing better wages and improved conditions.

This successful action came as a revelation to the workers, and in many towns there was inaugurated an independent Labour Association, which led to the formation of the Labour Electoral Association established at the Hull Trade Union Congress, 1886. This association was not considered sufficiently advanced by some active spirits, and in a few years it had to give way to the Independent Labour Party, and out of this movement and the Trade Union Congress sprang the present Labour Representation Committee.

The second conference of this Society was held in Birmingham under Mr. Davis's presidency in 1902. In his presidential address he traced the history of Labour representation, and it is still quoted as the standard authority as to the history of the movement to that date.

In 1880 Mr. Davis was elected on the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee, and in 1883, as Vice-President, received an address congratulating him on being the second workmen's Inspector of Factories appointed. On leaving the town of Birmingham the inhabitants presented him at the Town Hall with an address and a well-filled purse, and the mayor invited him to a banquet at the Council House.

What was Sheffield's gain was Birmingham's loss. The Brassworkers' Society was declining. The membership in six years had dwindled from 5,000 to 1,500; the existence of the society was indeed threatened with extinction; the cry of the brassworkers was for the return of their old champion.

Mr. Davis threw up his inspectorship and returned to his old work—his old love—in August, 1889. Great results followed. In a few months the full bonus of 15 per cent. was restored, and the society sprang into new life.

Other trades followed the example of the brassworkers, and were successful in gaining advances.

In 1896 a new movement for a further advance was made to increase brassworkers' wages, and by negotiation Mr. Davis secured a rise of 5 per cent., which the employers contracted to pay only to members of the union. This stroke of policy was the means of bringing all brassworkers into the society, and it was not until Sir David Dale, in 1900, decided otherwise, in a Board of Trade arbitration, that this condition, alike beneficial to employers and workmen, was discontinued.

It was during Mr. Davis's chairmanship of the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee that the General Trades

Federation was established at a special conference at Manchester in 1899.

The federation then formed now represents half a million workers, and has £125,000 as a reserve.

In 1891, Mr. T. Burt, M.P., chairman of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Trades Union Congress, was compelled to compete with the chorus of obstruction by the use of the big bell. This bell became an institution in congress, as it so completely silenced all attempts to defy the chairman's authority. Mr. Davis was the first chairman of a congress, since its introduction, to dispense with its use.

In January last Mr. Davis attended the L.R.C. Conference at Liverpool, having been appointed by the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee as its fraternal delegate. He threw his heart and soul into bringing about the concordat agreed to at the Caxton Hall, London, on the 16th of February, and which, up to the present, has been the means of allaying many sectional jealousies, and which nearly all admit to be the wisest thing the Labour Party has done in modern times, as it will go to the Poll at the General Election with one voice, and the clear policy of increasing its numerical strength in the House of Commons.

Mr. Davis is a thorough-going Radical of the old school, believing in practical attempts at legislation. He stood as a Labour candidate for Parliament for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham against Mr. Jesse Collings in 1892, and shared the fate of the other candidates opposing Birmingham's great man.

Last year, in consequence of Mr. Chamberlain's attack on the leaders of Labour and his proposed food tax, Mr. Davis intimated he would, with the approval of his Society and the Labour Party, become a candidate for the West Division. The Labour Party in the city were united, and so were the branches of the brassworkers in twenty towns of England, but in Birmingham, where unity was mostly needed, there

was but a small majority when the question was considered from a Society point of view. Mr. Davis, sooner than have any division in his own ranks, reluctantly decided to withdraw his candidature.

Mr. Davis has written the History of the Brass Trades, a treatise on New Political Economy, on Mr. Chamberlain's Old Age Pension Scheme, and lectured on Modern Appliances at the Birmingham Municipal Technical School, at the Ruskin College on the value of the Trade Union effort to the State, and many other industrial subjects.

Mr. Davis is not on the Commission of the Peace, as most Labour leaders. His attack on the Government for what he described as "sweating under the Royal Standard," for which he was threatened in the House of Commons with the issue of a writ for malicious slander by the late Mr. Stanhope, War Secretary, and the agitation he conducted on behalf of an innocent man sent to prison called forth a pamphlet, "A Wrong, a Scandal, and a Crime," for which the local stipendiary threatened to issue a similar writ. These alleged offences were reported to the Lord Chancellor (who

had agreed to the appointment) by the political lawyers, and the objection was sustained.

Mr. Davis has given evidence on Royal Commissions and departmental enquiries, and was the Labour representative on the Government enquiry into the unhealthy state of brass-casting. In a variety of ways, which space will not permit to chronicle, his services to the cause of labour in general, and to the City of Birmingham in particular, are fully recognised by those who know him, whether they support his action or differ with his principles.

In private life Mr. Davis has his hobby, and is now the recognised authority on Tradesmen's Tokens. In 1895 he published the *Token Coinage of Warwickshire*, and in 1896 lectured at the Birmingham and Midland Institute on Coins, Tokens, and Medals.

His monumental work was, however, published last year on *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage*, which is now the standard work on the subject. It only remains to add that no one man except Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has occupied more space in the Birmingham newspapers than the subject of this sketch.

LESSONS FROM GERMANY.

Introduction.

THIS report records the observations and conclusions arrived at during a visit to Berlin which was instituted for the purpose of enquiring whether the Brassworkers in that city have succeeded in attaining a more desirable physical and industrial life than that led by the Brassworkers of Birmingham; and if such be the case, as has been asserted, to endeavour to get below the surface, and to enquire into their ideals and the method of working their institutions, and to obtain information as to the main lines of policy which differ from our own.

The report concerns Berlin in particular, and compares not Berlin as a capital with Birmingham as a provincial city, but the condition of the Brassworker in one city with that of the same worker in another city—the dominant idea being that what can be done in Berlin ought to be done in Birmingham if it is better, irrespective of the size and position of the two cities.

Home and Childhood.

We were greatly impressed with the cleanliness and tidiness of the children playing about in the streets, courts, and squares. Of all **the thousands of children we saw, there was not one who was not clean, neat, and tidy.** All the girls had their hair neatly tied up and wore clean pinafores. The children romped and played about in true English fashion, and where practicable the town authorities place large heaps of sand for the youngsters to play on; and to see fifty to sixty children enjoying themselves on one of these sand heaps showed they appreciated the consideration of the town authorities.

The question whether the family of the Berlin Brassworker is united, whether it forms "the unit" of the nation, or whether the family is broken up at the commencement into "segregated groups, knowing little of each other and caring less," is unmistakably answered, for one sees that the family does keep together and does not break up into separate interests so early in life as in Birmingham. **Working men with their families take** their coffee, their beer, and **their walks together** to a much greater extent than they do in Birmingham.

The evidence of this at the close of a Bank Holiday was very marked. The children were more **under** the eye and **the control of their parents** and taught to treat their elders with outward forms of deference. It was a very significant and pretty sight to see a three-year-old boy in the house of a workman spontaneously stand up and give us the official military salute. On all hands we received from children more outward deference than is usual here. The child is more accustomed to training and control from the commencement. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" is a working maxim which the Berliners still consider to hold good. They are not less kind to their children, but they hold that **the foundation of a child's welfare rests on his willingness to obey**. The simplest and usual form of punishment is by means of the cane on the hand, and this is used as a means of government to a greater extent than in Birmingham.

In the Municipal Parish School, equivalent to our Board or Council School, at the end of March, 1904, there were educated free 218,798 children, this exclusive of the higher schools.

The cost per child per year was in 1898, 61s. 8d.; in 1901, 68s. 6d.; and in 1903, 72s. 2d.

The cost of the Bathing (shower baths) in 1903 was £1,700.

The cost of Teachers is 120s. to 220s. monthly, according to length of service, plus an addition for living quarters. The advancement of the teachers commences after three years' service. The teachers are in due course pensioned by the State with £30 per annum—otherwise all expenses are borne by the town.

The population of Birmingham in 1901 was 522,204, as compared with Berlin in 1903, 1,955,910.

The average cost per child per annum in Council Schools in Birmingham for the year ending November, 1904, was £3 4s. 7d., plus 16s. 3d. interest, etc. The average number attending these Council Schools was 65,379. In addition to which, 29,539 attended voluntary schools, in respect of which the figure of cost per head is not available.

We visited a Parish School in the Rigaer Strasse—a quarter inhabited by the poorer classes. We saw **no case of underfed, poorly clad, or untidy children, either in the streets or in the school**. The children of needy parents receive shoes and clothes from the Municipal Poor Guardians and Societies. **They must come clean and well dressed**. There are thirty-six official school doctors in Berlin, each having a group of about seven schools to attend to. Every new scholar is examined by them, and doubtful children are thoroughly examined in the presence of their parents. If needful they are kept under medical supervision, and special seats are provided where defective vision or hearing render it advisable. Spectacles or instruments are provided. The school we inspected was one of the most recently built schools, and had the latest improvements, with accommodation for 1,000 boys and 1,000 girls (2,000 children). The Director has funds supplied with which to help **needy children with food**; but the sum required was practically **nothing**, for it only amounted to £2 per annum among the 2,000. In the basement were extensive bathing accommodation, principally warm shower baths. **Each of the 2,000 children received a shower bath weekly**. Soap was provided, but they

brought their own towels. The class-rooms were large, about 28 ft. by 17 ft. by 15 ft. high, for classes of forty to fifty scholars. The floors were of wood and were swept every day, and oiled four times per year.

The desk with seat is hinged to the floor, so that it lifts up for cleaning purposes, but it cannot be displaced. **The desks are washed every day with water.** The w.c.'s were indoors, and all were perfectly clean and sweet.

The attendant looks through a glazed porthole into the class rooms from the passages, so that he can see a good large thermometer inside, and regulate the temperature. On the top floor is a large gymnasium about eighty feet by forty feet, and fifteen feet high, and there is a hall for festivities about forty feet by twenty feet; also two conference rooms are provided for the teachers. We saw a class at work drawing flowers and plants from nature; another class was drawing the same objects from memory, and doing excellent work. **On our entering all the scholars rose from their seats and remained standing until told to sit down.**

There are three intervals for rest during the five hours devoted to work. The first interval consists of five minutes rest in the class room; the second of ten minutes in the fresh air, and the third, also in the fresh air, of fifteen minutes. During the latter lunch is taken, viz., at 10 a.m. in winter, and 9 a.m. in summer. Generally the lunch is a sandwich and milk; the caretaker sells milk of approved quality. If children desire to work at any employment in the afternoons they must get permission from the police. In this school from fifteen to twenty boys are so occupied, mostly on errands; and from ten to fifteen girls as little minders of children. **No child vendors of newspapers** are seen in the streets. No young girls are permitted by the authorities to stand in the gutters selling flowers. Schoolboy smoking is not allowed. The boy would have his cigarette knocked out of his mouth if seen by a workman in the street, and the workman **would be thanked by the parents** for so doing.

We visited a Birmingham Board School in a workman's neighbourhood, inhabited by the poorer classes. This School had been built over thirty years. The children were mostly dirty and tattered; a large number wore very bad boots, not cleaned; and some with soles so dilapidated that the toes showed through. The physique of the children was puny.

The morning was warm, and although the windows were wide open, the smell was oppressive and unclean.

The classes consisted of from thirty-five to forty and up to seventy scholars. The class-rooms and desks were washed seven times a year and swept daily. Outside the School there were evidences that the children of the neighbourhood were undisciplined and out of control. In comparison with the Berlin School, everything was very dirty and untidy. There was one thermometer in the large class-room and none in the three smaller class-rooms. The hours of attendance were from 9 a.m. to 12, and from 2 to 4.30 p.m., with an interval of fifteen minutes at 10.30 and ten minutes at 3.20. No home lessons were given.

A great number were employed as *Daily Mail* boys, in barbers' shops, on errands, or in small businesses.

There were many underfed children. The ages were from eight to fourteen, but many leave at thirteen if the standard has been passed. A stroke on the hand is the form of punishment. The gymnastic appliances were meagre.

There is one official medical officer in Birmingham and one assistant lady medical officer. He visits this School once a year, and the parents of the children who are unfit are advised to get them attended to.

Apprenticeship.

On leaving school, the son of a brassworker is usually apprenticed to a firm to learn his trade properly. He commences with about 3s. wages and ends with 10s. At eighteen years, or when his apprenticeship is terminated, he is expected to be well grounded in his trade, and in the first year after the completion of their apprenticeship he receives very nearly the minimum wage of 6d. per hour, viz., 45 pfg. ($5\frac{2}{5}$ d.).

This is different from Birmingham, where so many boys are **not** apprenticed to learn a trade, but are put to learn a "process" or section of the trade. By "process" we mean working continuously at one operation, such as edging or filing the fraze from the castings. The disadvantage to a boy in being kept to such work is that he only learns to do a boy's work, and does not learn a man's occupation or trade. He is valuable to a pieceworker, and receives good money to start with because he is doing the work the head man would hardly do more quickly; but after a few years he is scarcely of more value than at first; he has not been working at a skilled trade, and often as a man he joins the ranks of the "unskilled labourers."

There is no desire on the part of the Trade Society in Berlin to limit the number of apprentices. "If the boys do not go to our trade, they either go to another or remain unskilled, and so damage the workman," said the men's secretary. But the Trade Society, by means of information which they possess, will assist the boy to an apprenticeship in a works where the boy can really learn his trade, and where no attempt will be made to use him as a "process" worker. The hours of work are from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. for six days. Youths from fourteen to sixteen years old work forty-eight hours per week, and have at least two hours per day for meals taken at three times, and the meals must be taken outside the works, viz., breakfast, dinner, and coffee. After sixteen years of age the Factory Act does not compel these meals, nor need they be taken outside the factory. The working time is then nine hours per day, or fifty-four hours per week; overtime is not allowed as a regular thing, but is paid for at 25 per cent. extra.

Secondary Schools.

Young persons leave school at fourteen years of age; and since April 1st, 1905, when the law came into effect, **they have now to attend a secondary school until they are seventeen years of age.**

It must not be supposed that voluntary secondary education on a large scale has not been popular, and that compulsory legislation has been necessary because young persons were averse to attending the classes; on the contrary, it may be stated that compulsory attendance has become possible in consequence of the willingness to learn. It is a development for which the voluntary system prepared the way, as can be seen from the statistics of attendances previous to the compulsory law. These young persons must attend for a minimum average of four hours weekly, and a maximum average of six hours weekly during the year. Certain classes of children are, however, exempted, such as girls who are employed in business, apprentices and assistants in apothecaries' shops, young people engaged in lawyers' offices, and employés in railway and insurance undertakings, as well as employés in the State service. Exemption from attending the compulsory school can also be obtained by young men who can show that they have already obtained the general education which it is the object of the school to impart; and by young people of both sexes who suffer from mental or physical weakness. Complete or partial exemption is also offered to scholars who are in regular attendance at technical and guild schools.

This new law has caused thirty thousand additional students between the ages of fourteen and seventeen to attend secondary schools in Berlin. The hours of attendance are generally from six to seven p.m. Young people usually leave work at five o'clock, and employers are required to dismiss them punctually so that they may have ample time to prepare for school. Instruction is free, but employers are responsible for the provision of material. If a scholar stays away only one hour employers receive from the school an inquiry as to the reason.

The two schools called the "Handwerker Schule zu Berlin," or the "Artisans' School of Berlin," are specially fitted to give instruction and training in the industrial arts. We visited the one at Andreas Strasse. This school cost £38,100 to build, and the land £22,500 (without teaching apparatus), while £7,500 per annum is spent in teaching and upkeep, exclusive of depreciation. Each evening scholar costs 65s. per annum, or 90s. if the sinking fund is reckoned. Most of the teachers are handicraftsmen who teach in the school as a side occupation, and receive for the two hours evening instruction from 3s. to 6s. per evening. In their business occupations they would receive from 2s. to 5s. per hour.

The average attendance in 1904 was eight and a-half hours per week per scholar during the summer term; 1,819 scholars attended the summer term, and 2,928 attended the winter term (with a slightly higher average of hours per week).

The hours of attendance are as follows:—

Day ...	...	...	...	...	...	8 to 12, morning; 3 to 7, afternoon.
Evening ...	...	...	...	...	...	7 to 9, including Saturday.
Sunday ...	...	...	...	...	...	8.30 to 12.30, morning.

A church adjoining the school is open for a short service every Sunday

morning from 8 to 8.30, and in connection with the service a singing class is held at the school twice a week, from 9.15 to 10.15 p.m.

The evening and Sunday classes are attended by the largest numbers.

The Summer Term commences April 6th, and finishes 30th September	178 days.
The Holidays are: April 20th to 26th; June 10th to 14th; July 8th	
to August 12th; also June 1st and September 2nd	... .. 50 ,,
	<hr/>
Total working days in Summer Term ...	128 ,,
	<hr/>

The scholars are of all ages from fourteen to sixty-three; about as many adults attend as youths.

The classes at the Birmingham Technical School are almost entirely confined to the winter months, and in summer **are only open twenty-nine days**, in comparison with **one hundred and twenty-eight days in Berlin**. It is noteworthy that the students in Berlin did not seem to be overworked, or unwilling workers so far as we could judge from their personal appearance. All were well-dressed, wore clean collars, and had well-blacked boots.

The charge per scholar is 6s. per half year for an attendance of eight hours weekly, and if the scholar attends more hours he pays a slightly higher fee. There are eighty-three teachers, or an average of about twenty-two scholars to each teacher. The **cost** of this **school** is borne **entirely by the town**. The only contribution by the State is the sum of £1,000 to the No. 1 Handwerker Schule.

Some of the shops resembled large workshops, where the men were hard at work at their anvils, and the noise was deafening.

The director informed us that he found the drawing instruction which pupils acquired before coming to this school usually required developing and frequently altering (often at much loss of time) before it was really serviceable, and that a proper preparation in drawing in his special branch of trade under its special teachers was indispensable before proceeding to the higher branches of his trade. The director, Mr. H. Tradt, had been for twenty-five years managing director of the firm of Elster & Co., one of the foremost and largest firms in Berlin, in the manufacture of large gas chandeliers.

Each student is instructed personally and not wholly classwise. Much attention is given to calculating, so that when commencing on his own account, or as foreman, he may understand the calculating of prime costs.

It must be remembered that the metric system of weights and measures and the decimal system of reckoning give the Berlin youth a wide-reaching advantage over the Birmingham youth, or even the Birmingham manufacturer, who is retarded and hindered in his business by our complex system of reckoning, and by our weights and measures.

With the advanced pupils, short periods—usually of five weeks—are set aside for the study of costing. The teacher sketches an article on the black-board—say a chandelier—gives the quantities and the style of ornament, the cost of materials, wages and general standing charges, rent, lighting, wear

and tear of machinery, etc. The scholar has then to calculate the price at which he thinks he could sell the article.

At this competition the teacher explains how different the general and special dead charges are in small works with hand power or small motors from those in works of large power and appliances. In the "day classes" for makers up and "artistic iron smithing" a prize is given under the following conditions. At eight a.m. the teacher announces that a chandelier has been ordered, and gives the style of architecture, dimensions and price. At the close of the instruction (*i.e.*, within six hours) the students not only will have designed and neatly drawn the chandelier on white or tinted paper in colours, but will **give the price of material and workmanship and working charges**. Students overstepping the cost are disqualified. The result of this training of skilled workmen is that the brassworkers have moved up from the bottom all along the line; the congested surplus of unemployed non-skilled labour has disappeared, and at the top a well-employed and numerous set of skilled workmen are busy at work to a much more general extent than is the case in Birmingham.

In endeavouring to point out some practical comparisons it may be accepted that the finish of the work of Birmingham manufacturers, particularly their polished brass work, is most excellent. It is probably impossible to beat it, and the price is right. The designs and models also are excellent, so long as they are confined to the reproduction of such plain articles as characterise our national schools, the "Queen Anne" and the "Guild of Handicraft" styles in particular. In these styles, which are of a plain character, models may be produced without plastic treatment and without aid from the trained artist in wax and plaster; and as long as the Birmingham manufacturer keeps to such styles and maintains his excellence of finish with low price he finds a market for the same, limited to the admirers of those styles. **But it is when he desires to get away from the English styles, to compete in such styles as the German, French, or Italian renaissance, that he finds himself in difficulties.** In such styles the educated artist and modeller is the life of the work.

The manufacturer's difficulty is first to get the designs and the models. To make them is not difficult.

The Berlin training schools have produced these artists, and also a class of artisans with artistic talent; they find ready employment and are of great assistance to the employers. In the "making up" or "fitting," when the pattern is of intricate construction, it is not necessary to give the workman so much constructional detail in the drawing he has to work to. A proper apprenticeship to his trade has fitted him and placed him in a position to supply the internal construction of intricate work without every minute detail being put down for him on paper. In the bronzing and treatment of the finish a greater freedom is apparent, and a greater variety and novelty; in fact, they lead the way and we follow.

The finish may not be so substantial and durable as the Birmingham well-tried methods, but that is probably merely a matter of commercial expediency.

It is on the intellectual side that Birmingham requires to adapt itself to changed conditions—not to cheapening its wares, but to getting

more conception into them. As one of the largest buyers in London says: "The Birmingham things are now too cheap. We want to have the £3 articles improved to sell for £5, and extra beauty and originality put in them with which to tempt the public and to increase the returns."

It is for the want of opportunities to cultivate the artistic side of their trade that Birmingham employers and employés necessarily devote so much attention to the cheapening of manufactures—opportunities which, as we have already described, are enjoyed and taken advantage of in Berlin.

This is not the fault of the employer nor the employé, but is no doubt accounted for by our having adopted an entirely different system of instruction from that in vogue at the Berlin Technical Schools.

Given the same conditions of training, the Birmingham workman would without doubt turn out equally artistic work. The work done at the Technical School for the brass trade is of too elementary a character, the bronzing and colouring department being the only class in which the artistic side is touched, though this class is very efficiently worked.

Military Service.

On attaining eighteen years, and having finished his apprenticeship, the youth must serve two years in military service, not necessarily at once—it may be postponed. The age to serve is some time between eighteen and twenty-three years of age. It is compulsory on all who are medically fit for service with few exceptions; as for example, the only son of a widow is exempt. The term of service may, however, be reduced from two years to one year by passing a fairly severe intellectual examination. This is now frequently passed by the sons of the working classes, and it is their ambition to do so. This examination also frees the "one-year soldier" from barrack life. He has the privilege of living at home or in lodgings if stationed away; in fact, it confers a higher social status. But in the regiment the "one-year" and "two-year" men serve side by side, and generally the proportion is one "one-year" man to sixteen "two-year" men.

The necessity for the better-to-do classes to pass this examination is probably the key to the intellectual growth and training of the German nation, as it is looked upon as a stigma for life to have failed and to have been compelled to serve two years in barracks instead of one year in lodgings.

So far as our knowledge goes, the Germans look back on their term of service with pleasure, but do not look forward to it. Whether one-year or two-year men, they emerge from it with a stamp upon them which lasts for life.

They have to get up early and be out on the exercising grounds between five and six in the morning. The brain is rested, but the physical side of the man is now developed; good food, plenty of exercise, fresh air, baths and cleanliness, neatness and orderliness, are his daily associates. He learns to hold himself uprightly, to march forward, and to keep his hands out of his pockets; and if a

young man has not already learned deportment and obedience he does so during his military service.

It is a question for consideration whether such a man has progressed or gone back in character.

We put the following question to Mr. Beisswenger, a manufacturer, and to Mr. Cohen, the secretary of the workmen :

“ Does a term of two years’ military service have a good or a bad effect on an apprentice when he resumes his work ? ”

Mr. Cohen did not approve of the military service. It is contrary to the socialist tenets of the trade unionist.

Mr. Beisswenger did. He considered the service made the man “ less soft,” more “ reliable,” “ better ordered,” and a better man to have in employment ; and of the two men—the apprentice without the military training and the apprentice with the military training—he would decidedly engage the latter as the better man for employment.

One cannot help being struck with the superior physique and bearing, whether of the soldier in uniform or out of uniform, in observing the populace of Berlin.

The effect of the training is seen in the people as distinctly as the effect of the cleaning and washing is noticeable in the streets.

There is not the physically deteriorated, untrained, unmended look about the people. The Berlin young fellow has from infancy been under better care and training at home, at school, at the works, and in the army ; consequently as a man he is now fit to be entrusted with the liberty which the Birmingham youth has perhaps from childhood only abused.

“ Liberty is fatal or life-giving, according to the use made of it. Is it liberty still when it is the prerogative of criminals or heedless blunderers ? Liberty is an atmosphere of a higher life, and it is only by a slow and patient inward transformation that one becomes capable of breathing it ” (“ The Simple Life,” Wagner).

Is liberty to be granted to the young hooligan who neither fears God nor man ? Would not proper training at school, in apprenticeship, and in the “ Service ” be the making of him, and help the community, his family, and himself most of all ?

Character, Religion, etc., Amusements.

The Berlin people attend church less than in this country, but religious festivals, such as Good Friday, are more reverently observed. The Roman Catholics are the most devout and regular in church attendance.

Sunday schools for religious instruction are practically non-existent, religious dogmatic instruction being imparted in the day school. In the year 1903, 108,078 boys received religious instruction in the municipal elementary schools.

The Berlin brassworker generally is a “ Socialist ” in politics, and a “ freethinker ” in religious belief. At school he is taught dogmatic theology.

He is duly confirmed, but afterwards rarely goes to church, except in connection with births, deaths, and marriages. He is in opposition to conservatism and clericalism; these have in the past opposed social democracy, and he regards them now as against progress, and combats them on the political platform. We have in him a remarkable phenomenon; for, in spite of his religious education at school and of his confirmation, he is usually a freethinker. Moreover, as a child and as a youth, he has been accustomed (in the company of his parents) to attend the public house, and yet, to quote the words of Mr. Cohen, "he is a good fellow." **"We are proud of them."** "I could trust them with all my property if they had not a farthing" (speaking of two workmen we had just visited). "We do not hold with a man going to a public house and drinking on Sundays, but in reading good things, getting broad in thought, learning what is going on, discussing and thrashing out social problems; he should get out in country and be with his family. **Our fellows are looking ahead and thinking of the future.**"

"In case of a man giving way to drink and neglecting his wife, we send for him and tell him he is not behaving as becomes a member, and caution him to alter before he loses his situation" (Cohen). Such are the utterances and opinions of their trade secretary.

During our visit we came to the conclusion that the above fairly represents the mental attitude of the Berlin brassworker, and that he is in reality "a good fellow."

They are fond of good reading, and in their homes they usually possess a small library of good literature, and at their trade union is a library containing chiefly serious books and works on trade union subjects from all countries. The serious books are mostly read. **In their amusements the intellectual side finds favour,** and they are fond of singing societies.

The working men of Berlin have formed a society, which is called "People's Free Theatres" (freie Volksbühne). It numbers 14,000 subscribers, and is growing vastly; the subscription is 80 pfg. (9d.) monthly. The society hires each Sunday afternoon one of the largest theatres, and engages a staff of actors at a cost of £40 to £50 for the performance. Serious plays are generally given; most of Shakespeare's have been performed, and Schiller's and Goethe's.

The workmen's beer-house or cafe is liberally provided with newspapers. One, in which there are eighty newspapers, charges 1d. per cup of coffee. Chess and cards are favourite games; in the latter recreation very small stakes are played for, less for the money than for the entertainment. Betting on sports, horse racing, etc., is not indulged in, but shares in lotteries are often bought. In these lotteries the chances are about 7 to 6 against the tickets; for instance, we noticed that the ninth lottery on behalf of the spire of Ulm Cathedral for £17,500 gives back £15,000 in prizes, retaining the balance, £2,500, the prizes ranging from two of £250 each down to 6,000 at 10s. each. In this way the cathedral of Ulm gets the workman's money instead of the bookmaker, but in a less degree, for they indulge their gambling propensities where the chances are more in their favour.

Outdoor recreations consist of rowing, gymnastics, skittles, swimming, football (a little), skating, country outings, and railway excursions.

In disposition the workman is social and fond of company. **He takes his wife out with him to the beer-house as an unwritten law.** He would be regarded as unusual if he did not do so. Remarks would be made if he left her at home. Total abstainers rarely exist, but the men are temperate in the midst of opportunity. They refrain because it unfits them for work. They do not assume virtue with regard to temperance, but regard temperance or moderation as the best from a general point of view. We met several gentlemen who abstain in private and take alcohol only in company as a pleasant social obligation. At their trade union building there is an assembly hall to seat 1,200 persons at small tables. At these meetings speeches are made, there is smoking and drinking, but "**No one forgets himself**" (Cohen). They have at these meetings their Parliamentary leaders and representatives; altogether eighty-one members, including Bebel, Bernstein, Körsten, and Ligien, are in Parliament.

As Social Democrats, one of their principal objects is to alter the existing law, which confers on a landowner more voting power than a workman possesses. The workman has already an equal vote for members to the Reichstag, but not in the Landtag. He desires an equal vote on all questions, and regards our English system as the one to copy.

As trade unionists, their main aims are concisely expressed as "shorter hours and more wages" (Cohen). This latter reply was given in answer to our remark "What do they want? They seem to have everything already, and we don't see what they are agitating for."

A Workman's Home Visited.

The first home we visited was that of Mr. A., of——. This man's earnings were from 35s. to 38s. per week. The rent of the home was 7s. per week, and it was situated on the fourth floor (counting the ground floor as the first floor), fronting the street. The street itself was so wide and the buildings so substantial and well built that we hardly believed ourselves to be in a working man's quarters, but in reality nearly every house in the street, on the upper stories, was so occupied. The houses are on the flat system. The staircase from the street, scrupulously clean and neatly matted, served for two families on each floor. A well-ordered w.c., absolutely clean and situated on the staircase landing, was shared by the two families. On ringing the landing door bell, we were kindly received by Mrs. A., who did not know of our intended visit, and shown into the bedroom sitting-room. This was a large room with two large double-glazed windows, each window with double sashes opening vertically and looking on the street. It was well and substantially furnished, two single beds, about 6 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. wide, lying along one side of the room, with a child's bed filling up the space between. Babies are not allowed by law to share the bed with the mother. They must have a cradle to sleep in, and so no cases of "overlying" are reported. Double beds are unknown in Germany, every person sleeping separately in a single bed. We were astonished at the well-to-do look of the house and furniture, and could hardly believe it was a

working man's house. They had been married for some years and had two children, but such care had been taken of the furniture that it appeared to be new.

The heating stove was a beautiful structure about 8 ft. high by 3 ft. wide by 2 ft. deep, built of glazed white tiles. There is scarcely any heat wasted in these stoves, and one cannot see the fire as in an English fire-grate, as it is all closed up with double doors. There is no dust or smoke of any kind from this class of stove. It is not easy to convey to anyone who has not seen one of them the exact idea of what they are like, but that they serve the purpose of heating the room in a most uniform and economic manner is at once apparent. The stoves can best be described as large radiators, and give out the heat to great advantage. The fuel used is not ordinary coal, but a patent fuel, which is in oblong blocks of about the size of half a brick, and costs about 1s. per week, and may have something to do with the comparative absence of smoke in Berlin.

The kitchen was scrupulously clean, and in perfect order; nearly all the cooking utensils were of crock. In the kitchen there was a large gas cooking stove which was inlaid with beautiful white tiles; not a speck of grease or dirt could be found anywhere. The gas costs 1s. per week for cooking and lighting purposes.

Coffee is the general beverage rather than tea. It is brewed stronger and fresher than here, *i.e.*, sooner after the roasting of the berries.

The meals are usually at the following hours, and comprise a selection from the various viands, etc. :—

Coffee ...	...	...	6 to 6.30.	Cup of coffee and roll.
Breakfast ...	...	...	8.30 to 9.	Bread, bacon, cheese, sausage, meat, beer.
Dinner ...	...	...	{ 12 to 1.	Soup, meat, vegetables, beer.
			{ 12 to 1.30.	
Tea ...	...	...	4 0	Bread, coffee.
Supper ...	...	...	7 0	Sausage, cheese, fish, bacon, ham, tea, coffee, white beer (an extremely weak beer).

Tobacco and cigars are cheap. Cigars at one halfpenny are pleasant smoking, and rather above the price usually paid by a workman.

We considered **some articles of food decidedly dearer** than in England, but that for some reason the working people **were unmistakably better nourished**. They appear to enjoy their work more, and to be able to work more easily, and with more satisfaction, and also to have a better time than our brassworkers in Birmingham. **Nothing is wasted**. Everything is utilised and made the most of—nourishing broths from scraps of meat, bones, etc.—soups being a daily fare. **Cooking is not taught** in the Board Schools, but **by the mother**. The system of **payment is always cash**, all clothing, boots, and food stuffs are paid for by cash—**no credit**. The wife goes round and buys in provisions herself. The system of co-operative stores for working people is making headway in Berlin; in Leipsic there are from 15,000 to 20,000 workmen members.

Savings Banks Statistics show that in the Berlin Municipal Savings Banks there stood to the credit of the depositors

1880	1890.	1900—1901.	1903—1904.
£1½ millions.	£6¼ millions.	£12½ millions	£14¾ millions.

while the same Statistics show that the pawn-shops are doing a decreasing trade. The pawn-shops are in the hands of the Government—there were 210,986 transactions in the year 1871, and only 160,280 in 1903-4—but while the average value of a pledge was 16s. 9d. in 1871, it had increased to 28s. in 1903-4.

It is usual for working men to have an allotment garden in which a certain amount of vegetables are grown. From what we could gather, meat, butter, ham, and bacon were dearer than in England, bread a little dearer, and eggs and milk cheaper. Clothing costs about the same, but more economy is practised and more care is taken of the garments. The clothes worn are substantial, quiet in colour, scrupulously tidy, and well cared for. When at work men wear long stout holland overalls with sleeves and fastened with a spring clasp over the shoulder; the coats are hung up in the “garderobe,” as specified by the Factory Act. **No men, women, or children are to be seen in the streets or in the works in an untrimmed condition.**

There are anomalies here which we do not attempt to account for—but, in the face of the people being undoubtedly better nourished than in England and enjoying a higher social life, it would appear that cheap food is not the only important consideration in a nation's welfare, but that the intelligence and self-restraint with which it is used may be of even greater importance.

Holiday Making.

Starting from Berlin on Easter Monday at about 3 o'clock, we were conveyed to some of the Beer Gardens at Treptow. *En route* we were surprised at the abundance of allotment gardens rented by the working men of Berlin. On every allotment was an exceedingly neat and well-constructed summer-house, nicely arranged with doors and windows; the latter often prettily curtained. On enquiry we found that the owners of these frequently had their friends and families for a whole day, making the place “a home from home.”

It must be remembered that the cost of travelling is very little; one can travel twelve miles by electric tram for 10 pf., or about 1½d. English money, so that the expense of taking a family into the country is very small. All these allotments were beautifully kept, and the owners appeared to vie with each other in keeping the summer-houses and gardens in good order. The numerous flags on the summer-houses looked gay and festive. After passing these we came to the working-man's beer gardens and halls, the most important of which are run by brewers' companies. Some of these gardens are capable of seating five thousand persons. Here on a holiday Monday we were privileged to see the Berlin working man taking his enjoyment. For the first part of our visit, viz., about 4 o'clock till 6 or 6.30, hardly a glass of beer could be seen, and one

could be excused for believing that one was at a huge tea party. There was ample accommodation at small tea tables, each seating four, six or perhaps eight persons, nicely covered with clean tablecloths, and the only drinks that could be seen (with a few exceptions) were coffee or milk. In most cases the people took their own food, and their ground coffee and sugar; the management provided crocks, hot water, and hot milk at a small cost. **Here we saw whole families, husband, wife, and children, enjoying each other's company and having a good meal in the open air.** The question of the unity of the family in Berlin is solved by a glance at these places. The unit is undoubtedly the family proper. **It was rare to see a married man unless he was accompanied by his wife and children at this or other beer gardens.**

In a large square in the grounds, railed off and covered with about three inches of soft sand, was a playground for the children; a giant stride, climbing ropes, horizontal bars, and other gymnastic appliances were provided for their amusement. A fine military band was playing good music, and was much appreciated by the people. As the evening wore on, the coffee cups and milk glasses disappeared, and in the space of about an hour the coffee and milk were quite the exception. **The beer glasses now made their appearance.** One would naturally think with the changed conditions the temper and behaviour of the people would undergo a corresponding change; but nothing of the kind. They were in the same happy condition, girls with their sweethearts drinking their glasses of beer just the same as the men; **all were very orderly** and decorous, and **not an uncouth shout or loud-mouthed expression** could be heard anywhere—all were chatting and laughing. What struck us as much as anything was the parental control over the children; not a scolding word could be heard; if father or mother gave a word of command, it was instantly obeyed with a smiling cheerfulness which was a pleasure to behold. Among all these thousands of people **not one could be seen other than neatly and properly dressed**; every garment was whole and neat and quiet in colour, neither could a flashy nor a ragged and untidy person be seen anywhere. We were looking for faults, but found none.

After spending an hour or two in the gardens we next visited the large dancing hall in connected with the place. On a raised platform, which was beautifully decorated with palms and flowers, etc., at the farthest end of the hall was a good orchestral band, consisting of four violins, piano, and several other instruments. Here everything was orderly and splendidly managed. The cost of taking part in the whole of the dances for the evening was one shilling per couple. If, however, a man and a girl could not make it convenient to stay the whole evening dancing, or would prefer to spend part of the evening in some other way, the couple could take part in any single dance at a nominal cost of 10 pfg., or 1½d., English money. The M.C. was here, there, and everywhere, conducting and controlling the large crowd in a masterly manner. The people seem to do as they are asked naturally, and without a grumble, each one trying to give pleasure to his friend and neighbour. **The men are particularly kind and thoughtful to their women folk, showing them little attentions, and generally making things as happy as they possibly can.**

After this we inspected the bowling or skittles alley. This was in a large

place with every facility for playing bowls under the best conditions. Here again the wives were present while the men were enjoying their game of bowls; they were chatting and enjoying themselves to their hearts' content. There appears to be no restrictions, and so far as we could see, they take no advantage of the license which is given them. The soldiers are well represented, as is to be expected in a country where nearly every able bodied man receives a military training, and fine specimens of manhood they are; their smart uniforms lend a charm to the place. They appear to be well trained in manners as well as military discipline, and the training which they receive serves them well in after life. The last place we visited was a large hall. We were served with a glass of lager beer, which was deliciously cool and refreshing; it was about ten minutes to eleven when we went in, and although folks can stay later if they choose, there appears to be an unwritten law that eleven o'clock is late enough for a working man and his wife and family to be away from home, and so, as with a general consent, the people put on their coats and wraps to go to their respective homes. It may be interesting to note that at these places for working people very good accommodation is provided for coats, cloaks, hats, etc. An attendant is there for this purpose, who very courteously assists the people on with their clothes, etc.

We left this place at 11.15, when of all the eight hundred people who were there less than an hour before not more than thirty or forty remained. From this time till 12.30 we spent in looking round the streets, and, although we looked for **drunkenness and rowdyism, we found absolutely none.** We saw one drunken "gentleman" being supported by two male companions, and a little before we saw a man who was very shaky. With these exceptions we saw nothing which could in any way shock the susceptibilities of the most exacting persons.

During the whole of this Easter Monday we saw no untidy man, woman, or child, everyone was well clad and scrupulously clean, and **the general physique and deportment of the people was distinctly a grade higher than one sees at home.** Apart from the thousands who were conveyed to these places by train, it was most interesting to notice the crowds of families who walked there, the roads presenting a most animated appearance, most of the parents carrying little parcels of food to be consumed with their coffee and beer. There was a distinct characteristic in these crowds which is absent in an English beer-house company of people, which we ascribe first to **the light wholesome beer,** secondly to **the presence of wives and families,** and thirdly to the **training and discipline to which every German child and youth is subjected.**

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

The Berlin community **does not permit foreign ingredients in the beer.** We were strongly of the opinion that if the Birmingham brassworkers had the opportunity of getting the same beer as the Berliners they would prefer it, and that it would greatly assist the cause of temperance. The cost is usually $1\frac{1}{5}$ d. per $\frac{3}{4}$ pint (a trifle less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per $\frac{3}{4}$ pint).

Our first drink of beer in Berlin was not at a bar such as one would see at home, but in an "automatic" shop, a veritable penny-in-the-slot and a beautifully appointed place, where one could have a good glass of beer for 10 pfg., or $1\frac{1}{5}$ d. English money. You put a glass under a tap and drop your coin into the slot, and in return receive a delicious glass of light beer, bright and clear as crystal, about fifty degrees Fahrenheit, cool and refreshing. Some eight or ten different varieties of beer, wines, spirits, and liqueurs may be tapped in the same way and for the same price. The white beer, which is usually taken with an addition of fruit syrup to flavour it, is scarcely stronger than some temperance drinks, but **all beers are pure, light, and properly served; iced** if necessary, and forced up by means of a cylinder of compressed carbonic gas when a counter tap is used.

At the same place you can have a variety of tasty little sandwiches (consisting of half a dinner roll) served in the same way and at the same price, and plates of food up to 6d. for a lobster salad. All the sandwiches are in full view under glass cases, so that you can choose from eight to ten different kinds. Among the sandwiches were to be found sardines, Swedish sandwiches, Russian sardines, smoked ham, cooked ham, pickled cucumber, meat, anchovies, smoked salmon, egg, and cheese. In this way one can get a refreshing drink and snack for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. In the same place you can get a cup of beef tea or coffee or cocoa served with separate jug of milk and sugar. We were particularly struck with the number of girls and women, who apparently after leaving business availed themselves of such a useful place.

We spent about twenty minutes in here, and there was not one of the persons remaining there when we came out who was there when we went in, proving that the place served a useful purpose, but did not encourage drinking to excess. The place was scrupulously clean, an attendant being there constantly keeping the place in order. Not a scrap of paper or litter of any kind could be found.

In many factories it is customary for a brewer to supply the works with bottled beer. He charges 8s. per hundred bottles, each containing rather less than three-quarters of a pint. The workman is charged at the rate of 10s. per hundred bottles (*i.e.*, at the rate of $1\frac{1}{5}$ d. per bottle). In this way a profit of 25 per cent. on cost is made and saved, until it amounts up to a sufficient sum, and is generally spent in a summer outing together.

In summer **the brewer delivers ice free**, and this is put in the storage case and keeps the beer cool and refreshing, thereby assisting temperance.

The beer is taken charge of by a youth, who has a list of the workmen supplied, settlement being made at the week's end.

In some factories there is worked by the men a co-operative canteen, where beer, sandwiches, coffee, etc., can be obtained.

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN BERLIN.

	1899.	1900.	1901.	19 2.	1 03.	Per 1,000 head.
Arrests	6494	6068	6025	6043	6200	3 per 1,000.
Released when sober	5354	5018	4879	4796	4983	—
Delivered to Police and tried	543	552	650	689	765	0.4 per 1,000.
Punished	597	497	495	558	393	0.2 per 1,000.

The number of persons convicted of drunkenness in Birmingham, 1904, was **3,478**, being above thirty times greater than Berlin in proportion to the respective numbers of its inhabitants.

These statistics are what we should expect to find after our observations in the beer halls and the streets on Bank Holiday, and point to the conclusion that a greater number of licences with a fewer number of total abstainers does not tend to drunkenness.

The Berlin workpeople have more freedom with regard to drink regulations, as they may drink all Sunday or all night if they like to do so. The purity and the quality of the beer, along with the encouragement of its temperate use, is the principal "drink question" in Berlin. They are more trusted to manage their own affairs in some directions, while in others their liberty is curtailed. For instance, among the limitations, no one may loaf, beg, sponge, or insult the authorities, but would be stopped at once if found offending, while in England much greater liberty is allowed in this direction.

We wish to call attention to this different adjustment of the liberty in the two countries, as this is an important question. We should be very sorry to treat with disrespect the many agencies for the promotion of temperance, and the great numbers of high-minded workers in the cause. We share with the most ardent abstainers a desire to help to remedy the appalling evils arising from intemperance, but when we recognise the better results Berlin has arrived at—without total abstinence—it is time to consider whether our national attitude of offering the pledge as the only cure for drunkenness is not wrong as a working principle. It is good in some cases as a detail, but doomed to failure as a national remedy for this gigantic evil of intemperance. We have to consider that eight people out of nine (above 15 years of age) are non abstainers.

In Berlin this section of the community is provided for—in Birmingham it is not. There a man is trusted to stand up against excess; here he is not. We say temptation ought to be removed, and try to prop him up. We say "drunkenness is the cause of ignorance." In Berlin they reverse it, and say "ignorance or want of proper training in youth is the cause of drunkenness."

Here we allow our young people to grow up untrained and unskilled, and offer them the pledge later on when they are down in the gutter. There compulsory training helps to keep them out of the gutter, and the pledge is not relied on. As an illustration of our national specific we quote a speaker at the Conference of the "National Unitarian Temperance Association" in a paper read by him on "The Importance of the Pledge."

"Temperance organisations throughout the land should unite and make one solid attack on the drink traffic, which constituted the chief difficulty that the schoolmaster, the clergyman, the statesman, and the philanthropist had to fear and to face. In fighting the drink evil they were fighting ignorance, brutality, impurity, and greed, and were helping to make it possible that England might still hold her own amongst the educated and truly civilised nations of the world."

We would point out that the weakness of this is that by means of the pledge we are only **indirectly** fighting ignorance, brutality, impurity, and greed. In Berlin these are fought **directly** and with the very best appliances. Much time is *not* spent in reclaiming drunkards nor in advocating total abstinence (although these are seen to as details), **but the greatest energy on all hands is devoted to the training of infants, children, and young persons** and, until their military service is complete, care and training (almost regardless of cost) is the atmosphere the young people live in. The aim is to fit them for their position as men among men. It is not to fit them for specially prepared surroundings removed from temptation, but to give them the very best training, so that when surrounded by temptations they may act as men. The better result is evident on all hands.

Slums such as ours do not exist, and we have no doubt that the temperance question is being solved more satisfactorily there than in Birmingham. During the ten days of our visit (Easter holidays included) we saw only three drunken persons in the streets, and we visited likely places, and were on the look-out all the Easter Monday from noon to midnight, whereas on Whit Monday in Birmingham, in a train ride of only forty minutes, in broad daylight (viz., from Handsworth to West Bromwich and back), we counted six reelingly drunken persons—five men and one woman. **The unemployed question is being solved by an uplifting of the unskilled labour market through fitting it for better and more skilled employment.**

The skilled labour at the top has gone still higher to make room for that at the bottom, and in its ranks are to be found a class of men with an artistic branch of industry in their hands of more value to them than that which exists here. The pledge has not done this, but sheer application and hard work under the best conditions which the community could devise. With our system the damage is done during the youth's early years, and afterwards to offer the pledge as the remedy is like offering a tract to feed a hungry man. Take the case of a lad in an ordinary workmen's district; he has had no home training, he sees dirt and untidiness in the streets and in his home, while at school ragged clothes are the rule and not the exception. He leaves school and gets a job; his master usually discharges him for incompetency; then four out of ten lads don't try to get another place—they loaf about the streets, a terror to the neighbourhood, a nuisance to the police, and when old enough perhaps

join the militia and go up for training one month in the year (six weeks the first year). They return from camp with new boots, shirt, stockings, and money, part of which is spent in excess on their first night's return after training, and part goes to purchase a pair of "peaky blinder" trousers. Then the lads hang about the streets until the next year's training month arrives.

Is it reasonable to imagine that such a young life can be put straight by offering the pledge? It is too late; the tree will grow as the twig is bent. We have already trained the loafer and drunkard, then we compass sea and land to reclaim him. The remedy is better understood in Berlin by men who have a clear vision and a capacity for thoroughness and hard work, the result of their own and their fathers' training in generations gone by.

The licensed premises are not limited in any way in size, and are usually much larger than our English beer houses. Smoking, dancing, music, and cards are allowed in them in Berlin, and the only thing which is insisted upon is that the holder of the license must have a good character. This is a stringent rule.

New licenses are easy to obtain at a nominal sum, if for service by male waiters and to close at eleven o'clock p.m. For female attendance it is difficult if not impossible to get licenses for later hours than eleven o'clock p.m. There are many existing beer houses and public houses which remain open all night, particularly in the centre of the town away from workmen's districts, but these are "vested interests" from former times, and the tendency now is towards early closing hours and male service.

There are two different classes of public houses for working people. One is called the "distillation." It resembles a small shop or small public house and it is more like a drinking bar; beer and all kinds of spirits are sold, but not much food. Spirits are very cheap. The cost of "schnaps" (the spirit usually sold) is three farthings for a small wine glassful. It resembles "Hollands gin." The beer house, beer garden, and beer hall cater in a more varied style, providing coffee, food, and "attractions" such as papers, music, billiards, dancing, merry-go-rounds, playgrounds for children, skittles, cards, dice and dominoes (gambling not permitted).

These are places where women and children are as much in evidence as men. The gardens are open in summer and closed in winter. In winter large warm rooms and halls are used instead of the gardens, and the beer is equally popular winter and summer.

This is mentioned because one often hears the remark "the climate is so different that we cannot have the like in England."

Music halls and theatres are largely replaced by the beer gardens and the beer halls; instrumental bands are very general in consequence of the military system, each regiment having its own band.

Morality.

It would hardly be fitting to close the enquiry without some allusion to the question of morality. It is said that Berlin is one of the most immoral capital towns in Europe. We are not in a position to discuss the relative

immorality, but it may be of service to know certain conditions which we ascertained.

The State recognises that every child has a father who must contribute towards its support. Soldiers are exempted from contributing during their two years' service, but at the expiration they are liable for the keep of children born during the term. **The lowest woman can claim help from the poor law guardians to assist her to enforce this law and to help her to look after the child, to see that it grows up well nourished, clean, and trained from the very start.** Any man among a number is liable to be called upon to contribute, if the mother can prove he was the possible father. Loose women are under weekly medical and police control: any woman without other employment who accosts in a public place comes under this supervision, but a loose woman who can prove she is earning wages at other employments, say serving in a bar or shop, is exempt from the control. She then ranks and is treated as a **worker**, although her moral character is well known. There are in Berlin many hundreds of small beer houses served by two or three waitresses who are of this class, but the authorities compel the use of a red "danger" lantern outside in the street in order to protect a stranger unwittingly entering.

In the centre of the town are large cafés, the meeting places of loose women, unmistakable on entering at the door. At other public places, beer houses, cafés, restaurants, and in the streets, everything is orderly as far as appears on the surface. Except to those who know and seek them, the other places may be said not to exist. The general underlying principle appears to be the same here as in the licensing question, greater liberty to the individual, with more safeguards against his unwittingly being injured.

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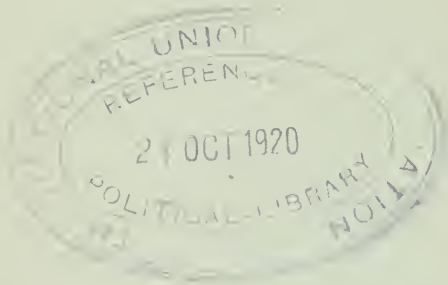
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VISCOUNT ESHER.

LORD ESHER is a peer who, so far as I know, has never made a speech in the House of Lords. He has never been caricatured in a popular newspaper, and although he has been a conspicuous figure at the two greatest pageants of our time, would probably not be recognised on any platform in the three kingdoms. His father, Baliol Brett, the famous Master of the Rolls, has been dead for five years. It is twenty years since his eldest son Reginald, now Lord Esher, sat as a Liberal member for Falmouth in the great Gladstone Parliament of 1880. He has only written two little books, *Footprints of Statesmen* and *The Yoke of Empire*, which have found readers few, but fit. At present no one exactly knows to which political party he belongs. He has no political aspirations. Yet, as one who made his acquaintance but recently remarked with an air of genuine astonishment, "What I cannot understand is why that man has never been Prime Minister!" He is the great dark horse of English public life.

To me Lord Esher stands out chiefly conspicuous because he was the friend of General Gordon. No two more dissimilar men ever existed. Lord Esher is *par excellence* the finished man of

the world; General Gordon was two-thirds mystic and the other third adventurer. Yet the two men loved each other as brothers, and served each other as comrades leal and true in life as in death. General Gordon had nursed Lord Esher's brother on his deathbed, and the close tie thus formed strengthened with the following years. One of the most cherished reliquaries at Orchardlea contains the few precious keepsakes, memorials of that great devotion which united Lord Esher to the hero of Khartoum. To have greatly loved and to have nobly served the hero of our time is in itself distinction.

When I first had the privilege of making his acquaintance, Lord Esher (then the Hon. Reginald Brett) was the private secretary of the Duke of Devonshire, then better known as the Marquis of Hartington, Secretary of War. In that capacity Lord Esher had the advantage of serving in the most intimate relations with the great Whig chief, and of becoming personally familiar with all the ins and outs of the War Office. He was there during the whole series of Egyptian campaigns, which culminated in the scuttle from the Soudan when the menacing spectre of the Russian Colossus fell athwart

the frontier of Afghanistan. Few of the generals and high-placed functionaries of Pall Mall twenty years ago dreamed that the pleasant-spoken private secretary of the War Secretary would in 1904 be selected, from all other men, for the supreme responsibility of re-modelling the War Office. In those days "Reggie Brett" was regarded as being a *petit maître*, a *dilettante* in politics, slightly epicurean in his tastes. He kept a racing stud, moved in the best society, and was accused by his enemies of not being proof against the temptation of indulging in political intrigue.

When his father accepted a peerage, the certainty of ultimate exile to the House of Lords combined with the adoption of Home Rule by Mr. Gladstone to wean Mr. Brett from all taste for a political career. For some years he lived in comparative retirement in his charming house in Windsor Forest, surrounded by his books, his flowers, and his family, breeding a few race-horses and entertaining his friends. He seemed dead to political ambition. His friends, and they alone, knew how ardent a patriotic fire glowed behind the bars of his privacy, and they lamented the obstinacy with which he turned a deaf ear to all their representations. It was not till 1895, to the great surprise and delight of those who had grudged to Orchardlea the monopoly of talents which were meant for mankind, that he emerged from his retreat and became Secretary to H.M.'s Office of Works under Mr. Akers Douglas, then First Commissioner, now Home Secretary. The Office of Works had a great deal to do at that time. More public buildings were being put up than for fifty years before, and the prospect of work on a grand scale tempted the recluse

of Windsor Forest to return to the familiar arena of public work. As Secretary Lord Esher achieved an almost phenomenal success. He reformed the Office of Works to the complete satisfaction of his chief and of the public, and despatched the business of the Office with such ease and expedition that the unprecedented pressure of work was never felt. Such work as his is known only to the few. But by those few it was so well known and so much appreciated that he was urgently pressed to accept the post of Permanent Under-Secretary in two of the most important departments of the administration of the Empire. He refused them both. For Lord Esher is a man at whose door Ministers, and sometimes even Sovereigns, sue in vain.

As Secretary to the Board of Works Lord Esher was brought into close and frequent contact with the late Queen. His marriage with Miss Van de Weyer, daughter of the Belgian Minister at the Court of St. James's, had long before brought him into personal touch with the English Court. The Queen would often call at Orchardlea when driving through the Forest, but it was not until his appointment to the Board of Works that the Sovereign had the opportunity of appreciating the capacity, the loyalty, and the charm of Lord Esher. During the last years of her life no one was more of a *persona grata* at Windsor than Lord Esher, and with no one was business more pleasantly and promptly transacted. Queen Victoria was a shrewd judge of men, and her judgment in this case was sound. On his part, Lord Esher conceived for his aged Sovereign somewhat of the same romantic devotion and personal affection with which the knights of the Elizabethan age regarded their Faerie

Queene. Few of all the courtly circle felt their Queen's death more than the official upon whom almost immediately devolved the chief responsibility of providing at once the sad solemnities of her burial and the instant proclamation of her successor.

The functions of the funeral of the Queen and of the proclamation of the King were shared by the Hereditary Earl Marshal, but the Duke of Norfolk would be the first to admit that Lord Esher had to bear the chief burden of a responsibility all the more onerous because hardly any survivor could be found who assisted at the accession of the Queen. Everything had to be improvised, and that everything went without a hitch was no small tribute to the tact, the address, the promptitude, and the nonchalant adroitness of the Secretary to the Board of Works.

The Coronation was a not less severe task, testing to the uttermost not merely the organising capacity, but the historic sense and artistic taste of Lord Esher. How triumphantly he passed through that second ordeal need not be dwelt upon. It is still fresh in the memories of all. Never was a coronation so difficult to handle. All the preparations had to be done over again, owing to the King's unfortunate illness. But everything went well, and when the Coronation was at last happily complete no one deserved better the congratulations of the King and of the Empire than the quiet, unobtrusive, almost unknown man who had watched over everything, foreseen everything, and provided in advance for all the incalculable possibilities of mischance.

"A mere master of ceremonies," some acrimonious cynic may sneer, forgetting that the business of Govern-

ment is chiefly the art of the management of men, and that never are men assembled together under more arduous conditions than when all nations send their highest representatives to do homage to a monarch on his crowning day. The sterling qualities of head and heart which such an occasion brought to light were warmly appreciated by the King. No man is less of a courtier than Lord Esher. He was attached to the Queen by a spirit of romantic loyalty and personal devotion. But the King inspired no such sentiment. From the first, Lord Esher displayed an independence of character and a certain indifference to the gewgaws of Court, which appear to have rather attracted than repelled the favour of the King.

In 1902 Lord Esher resigned the Secretaryship of the Board of Works, but as he had been appointed Deputy-Governor of Windsor Castle, and was entrusted with the task of arranging all the papers of the late Queen, his connection with the Court continued unbroken. But it was not until the end of 1902 that he was afforded an opportunity of proving before the world that he possessed capacities the existence of which had long been known to those with whom he had worked in the service of the State. The hideous fiasco of the South African War lay like a nightmare upon the public mind. The Ministers primarily responsible for a concatenation of disasters almost unparalleled in our history were bent upon hushing it up. Lord Salisbury saw no reason for an inquiry into the preparations for the war. Ministers had, however, evaded parliamentary debate by promising inquiry, much as Dick Swiveller settled his debts by accepting a bill. But bills become due, and Ministers

reluctantly were compelled to grant an inquiry which they would gladly have shirked. When the Royal Commission was constituted few who ran over the list of the names of its members realised how searching would be its investigation, how unsparing would be its examination, how ruthless its exposure of the utter breakdown of the War Office. Even those who ventured to hope that the Commission would do its best did not realise that in Lord Elgin, Lord Esher, and Sir Taubman Goldie the Empire had fortunately secured the services of three men who were of all others the best qualified for probing the matter to the lowest depth. They were, indeed, ruthless, relentless, and remorseless.

When the inquiry began, and they refused to admit reporters, a wail of discontent arose from men who ought to have known better. For it was evident that if the truth had to be brought out, the witnesses would speak much more freely behind closed doors than if every word they said were to be reported next day in all the newspapers. Undeterred by the clamour of the Press—which oddly enough took little pains after the Report appeared to summarise the evidence taken by the Commission—the Commissioners prosecuted their enquiry with weariless pertinacity. They had all the culprits before them, with two great exceptions—and they spared none of them. Why Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were not placed in the witness-box has never yet been explained. With these exceptions anyone else who was incriminated was subjected to drastic cross-examination. The bowdlerised evidence published with the Report is sufficient testimony to the severity of the ordeal through which the generals and the officials were passed.

At last, when the evidence was complete, the Commissioners drew up one of the most drastic reports ever presented to Parliament. The studied moderation of its terms only brought into clearer relief the scathing severity of its conclusions. But after having set forth the facts in plain and full light of day, the Commissioners stopped. It was left to Lord Esher and Sir George Taubman Goldie to make the only recommendation for a reconstruction of our military system which fell from any of the Commissioners.

Lord Esher, in a note appended to the Report, set forth in clear, succinct language his reasons for proposing to remodel the administration of the Army upon the model of the administration which has succeeded so well in the Navy. With this note Sir George Taubman Goldie concurred. For some time after the publication of the Report, with its accompanying notes, it seemed as if nothing would be done. Possibly nothing might have been done if it had not been for two factors. The first and the most important was the decision of the King; the second, which was only coincident and convenient, was the reconstruction of the Cabinet, necessitated by the departure of Mr. Chamberlain to stump the country in the cause of Protection. These two elements in the situation combined to give Mr. Balfour a chance, of which he was not slow to avail himself. The hopeless and impracticable Mr. Brodrick was shelved by transfer to the India Office. Mr. Arnold-Forster was made Secretary of State for War after the post had been urgently pressed—and pressed in vain—upon Lord Esher; and Lord Esher, Sir George Clarke, and Admiral Fisher were appointed as a kind of omnipotent triumvirate to advise as to the creation

of a Board for the administrative business of the War Office, and as to the consequential changes thereby involved.

It is curious how history repeats itself. In 1884 the nation was almost in despair about the condition of the Navy. In that year Mr. Arnold-Forster, not as now a Secretary of State, but only a private person, not even a private member of Parliament, induced me to undertake the inquiry into the deficiency of our Navy which led to the publication of "The Truth about the Navy" and its coaling stations in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The reconstruction of the British Navy dates from that year. But it was only recently made known that the two men who of all others were most helpful in the compilation of that memorable exposition of our naval deficiencies were both members of the Commission for the reform of the War Office. Without the assistance of Captain Fisher, of the *Excellent*, and of the Hon. Reginald Brett, the private secretary of the Secretary of State for War, "The Truth about the Navy" could never have been written. But so well was the secret of the collaboration preserved that it was not until the other day that Admiral Fisher discovered, quite accidentally, that in the great struggle of 1884 he had as his most efficient ally in the War Office the chief of the Commission, charged with the root-and-branch reform of the administration of the Army.

After the blundering ineptitude of over-voluble politicians, the prompt energy and resolute efficiency of the Triumvirate who were called in to prescribe for the perilous state of the national defences was indeed a relief. In less than five weeks from their first meeting they had prepared the

first part of their scheme, which was promptly accepted by the Government and presented to the public. Compared with this rate of progress the dilatory, dawdling movement of Parliament is like a donkey-cart beside a motor-car. The scheme was so drastic as to make the nation fairly gasp, but with a gasp of almost unanimous joy. Its main outlines are as follows:—

THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE: with the Prime Minister as president: and with a permanent nucleus consisting of

A permanent secretary appointed for five years, and under him

Two naval officers chosen by the Admiralty, two military officers chosen by the War Office, two Indian officers chosen by the Viceroy, one or more Colonial representatives: all appointed for two years, and none of high rank.

Its duties are to consider, ascertain, advise, record as may be necessary from the point of view of the Navy, the military forces, India and the Colonies, *i.e.*, from the standpoint of the Empire as a whole.

An ARMY COUNCIL (like the Navy Board): consisting of Seven:—

The Secretary of State for War (as solely responsible as the First Navy Lord).

Chief of Staff (military policy in all its branches).

Adjutant-General (recruiting, pay, discipline, etc.).

Quartermaster - General (supply, clothing, remounts, transport).

Master-General of Ordnance (armaments and fortifications).

Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (civil business other than finance).

Financial Secretary (finance, audit, accounting, estimates).

The abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief, the executive command being decentralised.

The appointment of an Inspector-General, with an inspector under him for each of the five arms.

The old gang at the War Office were promptly and somewhat curtly cleared out, and Lord Roberts retired with the warm thanks of the King and Army. The Gordian knot which baffled generations of reformers had at last been cut, thanks to the determined action of three trusted and competent men who stood outside of the Parliamentary chaos.

Another part of this radical scheme of reform dealt with decentralisation, Army finance, and the training of the General Staff. It proposed the establishment of five commands in the United Kingdom, each under a General Commanding-in-Chief—one, the Army Corps, ready for expeditionary purposes, at Salisbury and Aldershot; the remaining four territorial commands, Northern, Eastern, Western, and Ireland. Special stress was laid on the need of a complete change of *personnel* in order to ensure the necessary change of system.

LORD ESHER ON THE ARMY.

IF there is one man in the British Empire more qualified than any other to speak with authority on the condition of the British Army it is Lord Esher. Unhampered by military traditions and unfettered by an official position, he looks at the whole question from the standpoint of the statesman who can give full weight to factors which a man of less breadth of view would ignore or fail to recognise. A week or two after Lord Roberts and Mr. Arnold-Forster startled the country by declaring that notwithstanding all the labour and expenditure that has been lavished on the reform of the Army it was still unprepared and unfitted for war, I took the opportunity of ascertaining Lord Esher's views as to the real condition of the Army to-day.

More Efficient To-day than ever Before.

"Are we then to despair of any real reform of the Army?" I asked him.

"Certainly not. Whatever the alarmists may say, the Army is more efficient to-day than it has ever been before. Mr. Brodrick, whatever mistakes he may have committed, at any rate gave us one good army corps at Aldershot trained and equipped for war. That is something we have never had before. It is true we were promised six army corps, but one is better than none. And this one is really efficient, the officers in charge are those who would actually command at the outbreak of war, and in a very few months, when the new guns are supplied, the army corps will be fully equipped to take the field under the most modern conditions. Mr. Brodrick did more than this, for he originated the idea of organising and equipping large units ready for war, which is being followed up by organising complete divisions in Ireland and elsewhere. There still remains a great deal to be done, of course, in making the regular forces efficient, but the right lines have been laid down and a great deal of admirable work has been accomplished. The Army Council is re-arming the artillery, its cavalry scheme is a good one, and such reforms as it has already effected have produced general satisfaction among the officers."

A State of Deadlock.

“That is cheering news. But what about the auxiliary forces? Has any progress been made towards placing them on an efficient footing?”

“No; as regards the auxiliary force matters are at a complete deadlock. Mr. Arnold-Forster has a great Army Scheme of his own. But he has been unable to get either the Army Council or his colleagues to adopt it even in a modified form. The result is that everything is at a standstill. No definite lines of reorganisation on a large scale can be laid down so long as the present situation continues, and no progress will be made. The Royal Commission on the Militia strongly recommended the reorganisation of that body. At present the Militia is only looked upon as a recruiting ground for the regular Army in time of war. It is badly officered, badly instructed, and badly equipped. The Volunteers, instead of being carefully fostered, are anxious and worried. The principle of a great volunteer army should be encouraged and maintained. At the same time, we should know how many of the Volunteers would be willing to serve abroad in case of need. There is the same unsatisfactory condition of things in regard to the Yeomanry. Then there are the Colonies, who sent large contingents to South Africa. Some understanding ought to be arrived at with them in order to know what forces would be available should the necessity arise, and under what limitations they could be depended upon for assistance. It is true that the Colonies look askance at the War Office. But that is no reason why an arrangement should not be entered into by which they would at least know at the outbreak of war with whom they ought to communicate as to the sending of troops, etc. That should not be left to be improvised at the last moment. While as regards the regular forces much solid work has been accomplished, nothing can be done to make the auxiliary forces efficient, because Mr. Arnold-Forster’s scheme, which he cannot get adopted, blocks the way.”

The British Public must make up its Mind.

“But what about Lord Roberts’ declarations that the Army is quite unprepared for war?”

“You must remember everything depends upon the point of view, and from Lord Roberts’ standpoint he is quite right. He looks at the Army, and sees that if we have to wage a great war on the Indian frontier it is quite inadequate for the purpose. But the greatest need in all questions of Army reform is that the British public should make up its mind what it wants. When it has done so it must not expect the impossible. If you wish for an army which in efficiency and cheapness can be compared to that of Germany you can only get it in one way. You will have to adopt conscription. In a conscript army you can treat the men and officers as you please, you can make them do things without paying them in a way that is utterly impossible in a volunteer army.”

The Limitations of a Volunteer Army.

“On whatever other questions the British public may be in doubt, it has very clear and decided views about conscription.”

“Quite so, and rightly. On moral, politic, and every other ground the British public would be very unwise to approve of conscription. For it would be no solution at all of the problems which confront an Empire like ours. You cannot defend the Indian frontiers or our dominions over seas by a conscript army. But, granted that conscription is definitely ruled out, what follows? You must be content with a volunteer army, and recognise its limitations. You must not compare it with a Continental conscript army, nor can you reasonably expect it to be as numerous nor as cheap. You must make up your mind to have a second-class regular army. You cannot maintain a volunteer army cheaply. Although you may consider the cost of the British Army enormous, since we are paying thirty millions a year for it, you must remember that if you paid the British soldier anything like the wages he would obtain in the open market the Army instead of costing you thirty millions would cost sixty. There is also another aspect of the question. If you were to pay the British officer and private the full value of their services you could then make demands upon them which at present are out of the question. As long as the Army, in addition to being a volunteer army, is also maintained on half-pay, you must treat both officer and man with great consideration. You cannot bully them. You must use tact. Take the case of the officers, for example. You give a boy a commission and pay him £80 or £90 a year. But you expect him to provide his own uniforms, in some cases his board, and generally to live at a minimum scale of £200 a year. You cannot be surprised that when you make demands such as these that many officers are not so efficient as some civilian and military critics desire.”

Ships and Men.

“But cannot you bring the Army up to the same level of efficiency as is found in the Navy?”

“It is useless comparing the Army with the Navy, just as it is useless to compare a volunteer army with a conscript army. In the Navy the ship is the unit. In the Army it is the man. Then there are comparatively few men in the Navy and relatively they are better paid. But, while it is impossible to expect more than a moderately efficient army, judged by a Continental standard, there are degrees in second best. Much has already been done and much can still be done to make it more efficient and capable of performing its duties. But it is an impracticable proposal to suggest that all officers who do not come up to a certain standard should be swept out of the Army. You cannot do it because it would be impossible to fill their places. You must work slowly and you must use tact. But if the limitations of a volunteer army are clearly recognised, there is no reason to despair of Army reform.”

Wasted Money : How to Economise.

“But surely a great deal of the money spent on the Army has been wasted?”

“Certainly it has. Money is wasted in the Army, in many cases work is done twice over, nor is it always done in the best or most economical way. I do not say that large savings might not be made. In the Navy Sir John Fisher has saved three millions by getting rid of old and useless ships, and will probably save other millions by running his department on sound business lines. In the same way there is no doubt that economies could be effected in the Army without in any way impairing its value. But you must remember one thing. It is a great deal easier to get rid of useless ships than to dispense with the services of useless men. Vested interests, too, are much stronger in the Army than in the Navy, and the process of cutting down useless expenditure must be a slow one. In the Army they have not yet thought of effecting economies on Sir John Fisher’s lines, but there are many directions in which money might be saved.”

The Recruiting Difficulty.

“For example?”

“Take, for instance, the question of recruiting. The War Office has never recognised the root difficulty of that problem. The supply of recruits is influenced chiefly by economic and other causes over which the War Office has no sort of control. Experiment after experiment has been tried. Much money has been wasted in slightly raising the rate of pay and in offering special inducements. But this is only tinkering at the problem. When you are paying a man at half rates, you will not make the Army much more attractive by raising the scale a fraction. Whatever you do in that direction, you cannot hope to bridge the gulf. But while you get no more recruits you are spending several hundred thousand pounds of money to no purpose!”

A Consistent Policy Absolutely Necessary.

“That is to say, if the Army were run on business principles it would be both more efficient and less expensive?”

“Yes, but if any permanent improvement is to be effected, it is absolutely essential that a consistent policy should be laid down and followed. The great trouble has been that there has been no continuity in the administration of the Army. The policy pursued has varied with the differing ideas of the civil heads of the department. For instance, until recently there has been no authority that could lay down the governing condition and say how large an army we required for the defence of the Empire, and what was expected of it. There has been no method in Army organisation or administration, or attempt to separate these two important functions. In this direction, however, very substantial progress has now been made. The constitution of the Defence-

“Committee provides us with an authority which can look at the question of the defence of the Empire from the broadest point of view. It is the most startling constitutional development of the last half century.”

The Defence Committee.

“How so?”

“The Defence Committee is still in its infancy; but its records are already immensely valuable, probably the most interesting collection of documents that we have. It has provided the Prime Minister with a bureau, and though at present it practically consists of the Prime Minister alone, with Lord Roberts as a permanent extraordinary member, it contains the elements of a body which may yet federate the Empire. Power gradually passed from the House of Commons to the Cabinet, and now the centralisation of authority in the Cabinet has increased until we have the whole of the power practically vested in the Prime Minister. Cabinet Ministers are buried in details, and they have not the leisure nor the opportunity of looking at the needs of the Empire as a whole. Hence the great value of the Defence Committee, presided over by the Prime Minister of the day, which has at its disposal the information of all branches of the Government, and yet is sufficiently unfettered that it can organise the defence of the Empire on broad lines. It should be the province of the Defence Committee to say how large an army or navy we need at any given moment. For our requirements vary from time to time. For instance, at the present moment, in view of the Japanese alliance it is obvious that we shall not require as numerous an army for the next ten years as we should have done had not that alliance been concluded. We have, therefore, ten years in which to reorganise the army.”

Some Controlling Power Imperative.

“You would leave the administration of the Army to the Army Council, I presume?”

“Certainly; that is a matter which is their peculiar concern. It is the duty of that Council to see that the Army is as efficient as it is possible to make it, but it oversteps its sphere when it attempts to decide what the organisation of the forces of the Empire shall be. The need of the Defence Committee is apparent on every hand. Take the case of India, for instance. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief may be fully conversant with the state of affairs in India. But they are quite ignorant of the state of Europe at any given moment, and that is a factor which must be taken into consideration in the laying down of any line of policy which might lead to a war with a great Power on the Indian frontier. India, after all, is only a portion of the Empire, but a false step in India may vitally affect the fortunes of the whole Empire. Hence the absolute necessity of a central deliberative and controlling authority, of which it is essential that the Prime Minister should be the head. To suppose that Parliament can do this is antediluvian.”

Towards Federating the Empire.

“Do you expect any further development in the composition of the Defence Committee?”

“Yes ; I think the permanent Imperial element in it should be strengthened, otherwise, although written records are kept, there is a danger that with the change of Governments continuity of policy would be lost. Our countrymen should realise that the Committee contains the germ of a real Imperial Council. It should some day number amongst its representatives members of the great colonies. They can hardly be expected to acquiesce in defence and other schemes in which they have no voice, and their acquiescence is nevertheless a condition and a necessity of Empire. It is impossible to give them representation in the Cabinet, but they might very well have their representatives on the Defence Committee. Then, too, it is eminently a field for retired pro-Consuls like Lord Curzon and Lord Milner, whose experience and capacity may otherwise be lost to the nation. At present their services are, in reality, lost to the Empire on their return home, and it is a grave reflection on the business capacity of the English people that this should be so. It is for these reasons, and under these conditions, that I firmly believe a day will come when the Defence Committee, if developed along these lines, will federate the Empire.”

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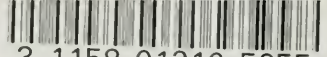
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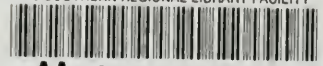
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