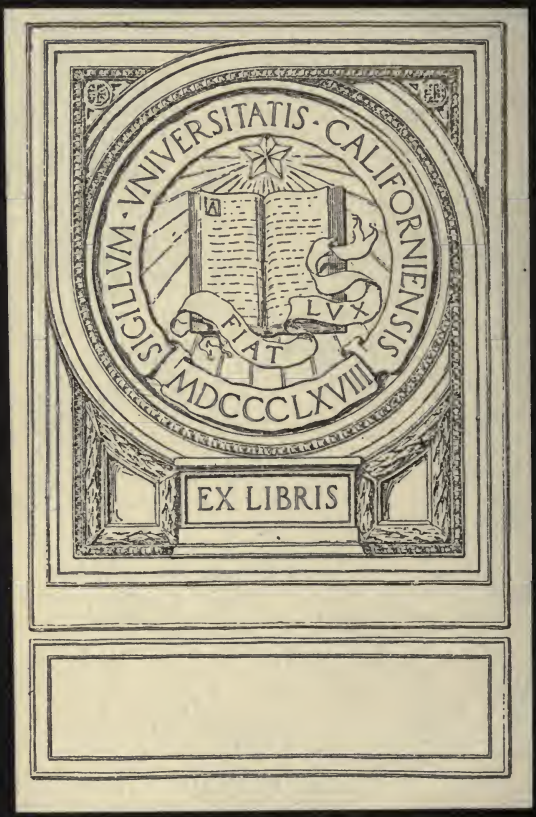
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PIOUS PHRASES IN POLITICS

An Examination of some Popular Catchwords, their Misuse and Meaning

BY

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Owing to the rationing of paper and many existing difficulties in connection with book production, this volume, although written in July, 1918, has not been published until now.

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Pious Phrases in Politics

INTRODUCTION

THERE is a passage in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* very often quoted and very forcible, which followed a suggestion by Boswell that he might become a Member of Parliament. He was doubtful of himself. "Perhaps, Sir," he said, "I should be the less happy for being in Parliament. . . . I would never sell my vote and I should be vexed if things went wrong." "That's cant, Sir," said Johnson; "it would not vex you more in the House than in the Gallery. Public affairs vex no man." He was speaking of things that he knew, for he had spent time in the gallery as a reporter taking pains that the Whig dogs did not get the best of it.

Then the Doctor took up his parable and brought his powerful common sense to bear upon the subject generally. "My dear Sir, clear your *mind* of cant. You may *talk* as other people do; you may say to a man, Sir, I am your most humble servant. You are *not* his humble servant. You may say, These are bad times; it is a melancholy thing to be reserved to such times. You don't mind the times. You may tell a man, I am sorry you had such bad weather the last day of your journey and were so wet. You don't care sixpence whether he is wet or dry. You may *talk* in this manner; it is a mode of talking in society. But don't *think* foolishly."

Yes, Doctor, you may say such things; but if the saying affects to be political or historical or moral truth, and teh saying of some public person widely scattered is untrue, it will go far to create dangers in time of stress. It is necessary from time to time to examine the pious phrases

used in politics, coins in use on which the image and superscription has from the lapse of time become defaced.

As in these days of universal instruction there will be many who will not have heard of Dr. Johnson, it may be advisable to support his dictum with a recent pronouncement of our great master of oratory, Mr. Lloyd George.

At a recent speech in Edinburgh, delivered on May 24 last, "Formulas," he said, "are very useful but very dangerous. That is one of the lessons of the war, trust not overmuch in formulas. I could give you several political and military formulas discredited by abuse and which have cost the nation dearly."

Examples of Confused Thinking

I have before me some interesting examples of confused thinking induced by such formulas, and I want to clear my mind of cant, political cant, historical cant. So I set down, subject to the criticism of those who really know, what appear to me, as an ignorant person, to be the basic principles on which societies suffer the necessary evil of government. I propose to introduce what I have to say on the subject by relating and commenting on these examples of confused formula thought.

In the speech referred to at Edinburgh, "I am put here," said the Premier, "by THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE of the country." "They have called me to this colossal task." "No mere intrigue or cabal would place at the head, in the chief direction, and maintain in the chief direction . . . of the greatest Empire in the world," etc., etc.

Turn your memories back for a moment. When Mr. Lloyd George joined Mr. Asquith's Ministry in 1905–6 the party to which he belonged was not in a majority. They were composed of different sections with conflicting programmes and a common hatred of each other. They had no mandate from the country for any part of their policy, and no part could have been put into effect by the party supporting it alone. But they turned the Unionists out of office and obtained a majority for their measures by what is called "log-rolling." Sections irrevocably opposed gave each other mutual support for mutual policies of destruction on mutual promise of repayment.

There is no need to dwell on the results of this past

further than may be necessary to illustrate Mr. Lloyd George's statement that he became Premier by the will of the people. He or any substitute for him, any depth beneath the lowest deep who may follow him, is nothing else than the King's Minister liable to be dismissed by the King if they disagree as to policy and only able to maintain his position against the King's will if he have the overwhelming force of public opinion behind him. Both the political parties concerned have long since been dead, though quite a number of their members do not know it and will not find it out even from a general election which just now is little else than a mandate from a very weary people to finish the war. Meanwhile about eighteen months ago, by a parliamentary shift of parties, without any appeal to the people whatsoever, Mr. Lloyd George ousted Mr. Asquith, and allying himself with his former enemies was appointed by the King to be Prime Minister, kissing hands no doubt but not the hands of the people on his appointment. Since his first appearance he has never appealed to the people for any endorsement of his views until December, 1918.

Dr. Johnson, I think, would truly say, "My dear Sir, clear your *mind* of cant; you may say that you are in office, called to this colossal task and so on by the will of the people; you have never attempted to ascertain the will of the people. You may speak of yourself as in the chief direction of this mighty Empire and so forth; you have very little to do with the chief direction; you could not conscript a single soldier in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa or India, nor even in Ireland; you may *say* all these things because they are the compliments which a party meeting expects as tribute to its vanity, expressions accepted in the sincerity with which they are put forth; but don't *think* foolishly."

I take as other illustrations of confused thinking the Fourth of July speeches on both sides of the Atlantic.

Mr. Wilson at Washington's tomb sets forth historical assertions which will not bear examination. "Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede," he says, "spoke and acted not for a class but for a people. . . . They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free," etc., etc. Nothing could be further from the truth. The barons at Runnymede spoke for their

class only, so far as they were not log-rolling with the Church and the London Aldermen against the King. They excluded from the benefit of their claims the majority of men, white men of their own race and religion, the villeins and the serfs. Washington and his associates were and remained slave owners. But the President's speech, like all such speeches, is only a mode of talking in society, a tribute to the vanity of the vulgar crowd.

Crossing to this side, Mr. Churchill expresses confused thought and false formulas still more directly. "The Declaration of Independence," he says, "is not only an American document. It follows on Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, and is the third of the great title deeds on which the liberties of the English-speaking races are founded." He confuses three separate distinct matters; the declaration of ancient customs regulating feudal service and the claim of the barons to be exempted from trial in the King's Courts, the substance of Magna Charta; the protest against illegal arrest and trial four centuries later in the Petition of Right; and the declaration of the inherent rights of man, suggested by French philosophic theory, alleged as an argument for refusal to pay taxes a century and a half after. These have as much to do with one another as the sinking of the *Audacious* or *Lusitania* had to do with the scandalous disaster of the Dardanelles or the bonus to munition workers. Thank God, the liberties of the English-speaking races are not founded on any written documents.

Behind Mr. Churchill comes Lord Bryce. He speaks in the usual cant terms of the "love of FREEDOM and the faith in FREEDOM which, sown long ago in English hearts, came to full flower in the days of Milton and Hampden and established civil and religious liberty on foundations never thereafter to be shaken." By this Lord Bryce means that, in the days of Milton and Hampden, Cromwell holding down the islands by military force, our first experience of the tyrant with the standing army, crushed all liberty and prepared the way for the reaction of license and absence of government which lasted until King George III, who gloried in the name of Briton, again asserted the royal authority.

I beg that these illustrations of my subject may be considered as impersonal. I have no desire to attack, or to

criticize any person. As Mr. Lloyd George at Edinburgh justly said, "There is criticism that is helpful, suggestive criticism, criticism designed to improve"—as I believe my criticism to be—"that we all welcome," and he contrasted it with the criticism used by him to his present allies in former days, criticism which is best expressed by a word from a dead language, ἀποσιώπησις. I use these illustrations because of the great political dangers connected with them if they do not represent truth.

The Danger of Confused Thinking

When the whole world is labouring under physical and mental strain away from moral support, when our best are on the sea or in the field fighting and dying for an ideal, nothing, nothing whatever, could be worse, could more fitly represent the match set by a child to the powder than that confused thought about the origin of political power, about the principle of rule, about the present realities of political existence, and especially about freedom, should be put forward by men in temporary possession of supreme power. If we labour under fictions, let us get rid of them. We are fighting for the freedom of peoples, and we must free ourselves from lying and foolish words. They are elements just now of extreme danger.

A man must be what his language is. If he is a strong man, he will use restraint in words; and if he is a free man ruling over free men, he will emancipate himself from the errors of language which have been handed down to him from former generations and become free; he will use no false cant terms or misleading phrases of the past which have lost their meaning. If not he will think foolishly and may by foolish language create the forces of disaster.

It is the words and *the ideas which lie behind them* which force nations on in an aggressive career of political interference, which drag nations down into the abyss of revolution.

CHAPTER I

Government—The Will of the People

I PROPOSE to consider the effects of some pious phrases and the political ideas suggested by them on the development of government in the British Empire.

What is meant by government? Consider a few of the conceptions which revolve round the term.

It presupposes a condition of inequality, a condition in which the men of the people submit to a superior will; it involves a society, an association of people who have a community of interest, a society which has political power.

Political power can only exist where the individual, who has been guarding his life and possessions from the stronger by the power of his own individual arm, by the cunning of his own separate brain, joins with others for common defence, for a common aim; joins in an alliance of which the first necessity is that each member gives up his own individual freedom of action to the whole body and submits to the condition of inequality which is inherent in all societies or in alliances of unequal societies. The most absolute final condemnation of the conscientious objector is that his action is destructive of the society from which he derives not only his safety but his moral sense.

When once one has got away from this elementary presumption of individual liberty and equality, inconsistent with any political society, the next step is very simple. The individuals, having surrendered their liberty and their equality in whole or in part to the society, a common authority must be set up to regulate their relations with each other, so that life and property may be safeguarded within the society, and its existence protected from assault from without.

For this purpose the community delegates its political power, the power to employ the brute force and to invoke the moral force of all, and to impose sanctions, a power only very slowly admitted through long centuries. The community appoints and submits to a common authority.

Submission of all to the Ruler

One fatal weakness of the international Socialist conception would appear to be that with the best intentions there could under no conceivable conditions be any certainty that any one person, appointed to control international society, could have power either to safeguard life and property or to repel foreign attack, unless, as would almost certainly happen, the associated mass should so relinquish its powers as to place itself under control of an absolute tyrant, who, forgetting the origin of his authority, would claim sovereignty by delegation from the Deity.

To avoid this danger the community, delegating its political power to any one, generally makes conditions which it is hoped will enable it to resume abused authority. The relation which these efforts to control the ruler bears to the actual facts is called constitutional history.

The community, having appointed its ruler, becomes, so far as it does not qualify its trust, the umpire only and registrar of his actions. How far it can qualify depends upon conditions perpetually changing. In these islands those who wish the trust to be generous and care little about its exercise are called Conservatives ; those who give as little as possible, and watch the use closely, Liberals.

Only one can be Ruler

Government then is the delegation by a community of political power to one man. Only one man can govern. To those who are distracted by phrases about democracy and the will of the people and so on, this may seem a strange saying. But the slightest exercise of common sense will demonstrate its truth. The confusion of thought has arisen from want of appreciation of an elementary principle, namely, that all power though delegated remains in the political community to be resumed at will.

If the community has made a bargain with the delegate, it will enforce the bargain (expressed in the first instance

by its threat to disobey), by voting or by disobedience to his orders. If it has made no bargain, nothing remains but force. FORCE IS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

The Various Forms of Government

There are three forms of such delegation only; one, absolute monarchy, where either the community has delegated its authority without reserve or has been robbed of it by the delegate.

Another is the delegation of absolute authority to an individual by election for a short term of years subject to the threat of force for his removal if the delegate is unsatisfactory, or to provision for his helplessness. This form of government is called democratic or republican, being a despotism subject to threat of frequent revolution.

The third form, very safe and efficient, peculiar to the British Empire only and originating in England, is hereditary monarchy accompanied by Parliamentary control; the ruler succeeds by inheritance, appoints his own ministers and dismisses them at will, but subject to the check that the ministers must represent not only the views of the ruler but the considered will of the general community. It is a very perfect form of government, but as delicate in its balance as the works of a watch and as susceptible to dirt and atmosphere.

Equality is Impossible

Only one man can rule. Equality whether of opportunity or of anything else is impossible. No two men are equal. It is among those who aspire to rule that the competition is keenest and the exclusion of the less suitable most speedy and certain.

Many times in the world's history has a society striven to disregard this elementary fact, and tried to vest political power in more than one person, urged by the hope that each would become a check upon the other. You can illustrate it from the history of any people from Rome to Scotland, from Crassus, Pompey and Cæsar to the Norwegian Kings of the twelfth century or the Dutch rulers of the seventeenth. In each instance has necessity or luck, or the catastrophe of vaulting ambition or judicious jerrymandering retired the less suitable and endowed the sanest

or most far-seeing or most politic or most rascally with the delegated powers of the community until some cleverer man or bigger rascal displaces him.

But there are long periods in the history of all nations when government is not exercised by the delegated ruler except during short intervals for some special purpose. For two hundred years since King George I, owing to his ignorance of the English language, ceased to sit at the head of his Cabinet to direct affairs, there has been no person governing the British Empire.

That does not mean that society has dissolved. Far from it. It means that society itself resumes its deputed powers of direction, acting by what is called public opinion, acquiescing in existing conditions, the nominal head appointing such deputies as may for the moment be approved by the community.

This is a temporary condition which is only possible without supreme disaster in times of abnormal peace at home and abroad, when few questions arise which require the action of government and these not urgent. It breaks down at once in any crisis. In every case where imperial questions have arisen requiring such action—in Ireland always, in India and Canada and South Africa frequently, in the course of the long wars with France, on various occasions of wars between foreign countries which affected our Empire—unless the King as ruler acted either personally or through his ministers for the community, disaster and danger have come very near. As witness the loss of the American Colonies, the Crimean war, the mutiny in India, the Boer war, all those external matters which we have " muddled through," matters which need not have happened and could not have happened if the ruler had acted for the whole community instead of allowing affairs to drift in the hands of men representing only a section of the community, and not armed with the authority of the whole.

Party Government

This form of " muddling through " is called party government. Until this want of system in government, reckless waste of the best elements of brain and morals, coupled with perpetual squabble relating to extinct party issues,

is got rid of, and replaced by national government, our position can only be one of waste and danger.

Government, I repeat again, rests on one man personally. As society becomes more complex the delegation of bits of authority by the ruler becomes so various, so extreme, that it appears to the individual, whose vanity is flattered by talk about his share in democracy, the will of the people and popular government, that the authority is scattered, is not vested in one person, and that he ought to have some. But one person and only one person is finally responsible. It is he who suffers if the government is displeasing to the community, who suffers often for permitting the acts of vain or foolish subordinates. It is he who runs the risks attendant on the enforcement of popular will, and the greater risks of weighing the value of a demand which may be or may develop into it.

The wise ruler, or the minister through whom he acts, is chary of employing force himself. If he has the instinct of the true ruler he will show good judgment as to whether a threat of force represents a command from the body of the people, or only an attempt by some noisy minority hunting trouble to test the timidity or the pliability of the ruler or his acting ministers.

It is an inevitable risk attending the possession of power.

CHAPTER II

The Duties of the Ruler

One of the first duties of government is to promote unity of thought and of action among the members of the community. It is not merely the keeping of the peace. For that the ruler is responsible; it is the origin of his power; a large part of his duty; as internal quarrels must cause weakness and possibly lead to civil war. The administration of justice to this effect is a duty largely neglected by party politicians in power who, without the support of the united community and uncertain as to the future, seek the path of least resistance.

But the duty of the ruler does not stop here. He must also encourage unity of national endeavour as a thing in itself desirable.

He must advocate and organize peace between members of the community, protecting the weaker against the stronger. It is his chief duty at home. He must also take necessary measures to protect the community against foreign aggression. He must strive for peace, but he must be fully prepared for war.

These two chief duties presuppose a power in the community to make regulations for its internal peace and for its external safety, to restrict the liberty of the individual in the interest of the society.

Legislation

Let us still further define government by exhaustion. It exists quite apart from legislation *per se*, though you would not think so if you read the constitutional histories. Legislation is, in the first instance, merely the late reduction to writing of those rules of action already in practice

which govern all organized societies which have passed from the primary test of supreme force to the civilized State, to the arbitration of the supreme judge or ruler, expressing the will of the majority.

When such rules of arbitration are written they have the same relation to the former unwritten custom of the society as the propositions of Euclid, learnt by the schoolboy, have to the instinctive prehistoric practice of the hedge carpenter and mason. They are written declarations of the will of the community.

But although no part of the art of government, legislation sooner or later becomes closely connected with its exercise. Every community must subject itself to rules of conduct, which, if they are to live and be of lasting value, will rest either on elementary principles of current morality or on social precautions for safety to be enforced on all the members.

The community will take care, for instance, to make sure that every member shall help to defend it against foreign aggression, even if he should consider that it is more in accord with the Gospel that he should make money at home under protection of the ships and guns of the bleeding free nations than that he should share in their work and perils. They will not, in the first instance, use force to ensure this result, but will make regulations to be observed.

But although the enactment of law is a necessity, the civilization of a nation will be judged by the simplicity and paucity of its laws, as the best machine has few working parts and those easily reached and adjusted. Unfortunately this is rather the exception than the rule.

The tendency with all large, loose masses of humanity, whether Chinese, British or Hindoo, and with most western European communities, is to an ever-increasing flow of petty regulations and provisions, checking and controlling every relation of life, prohibiting mental advance, as the tangled mass of loose barbed wire of the enemy checks the advance of an army. Each such addition to the rules to which a society must submit acts as a new bandage to prevent the growth of national energy, a new handicap to hinder the community in its contest with others more free.

Some few of these rules were necessary for the protection of the community, as when Samuel Plimsoll, in the face of

the fiercest opposition, protected the seamen by forcing a regulation of the load line. A good many are distinctly harmful. The great majority become at once, or in a short time, a dead letter.

With the rarest exceptions each such rule affects only a very small portion of the society; each, when put into force by the arm of the ruler, is often merely for the convenience of a still smaller minority.

But whether good, unnecessary or evil, this outpour of regulation and restriction is not government. It is in fact somewhat of a test of the weakness or absence of government, the multiplication and verbosity of the laws being in inverse ratio to the capacity for rule of the temporary delegate of the ruler.

At the best it is only one means of enforcing the will of the community against those who persistently put their interests before those of the society, a threat that force will be used if need be to compel obedience, a reminder that social life means restriction of liberty.

The Enforcement of Law

While the making of laws by a community may be sometimes in the nature of an act of government, their relation to ruling is this, that the oldest duty of the ruler in history, and one of his chief duties, is that he should provide that the laws, under which the community lives, are fairly and honestly enforced among its members. It would be bordering on exact truth to say that this is the only duty of internal action, which at all times imperative necessity imposes on a ruler so long as social life has any meaning.

It is by far the most difficult honourably to accomplish; it is the easiest both to slur and to criticize in execution. Yet on the action of the ruler in respect of this execution of the laws depends all advance in the moral sense of the community, all safety for life and property, all freedom in word and thought for political action or social act which, unpopular at the time, may lead to advance or expansion. This truth cannot be better put than in the words of Milton's *Areopagitica*: "For this is not the liberty which we can hope that no grievances should ever arise in the commonwealth—that, let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered and speedily

reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men hope for."

There at once arises the question—under what conditions can this utmost bound of civil liberty be obtained? which brings up at once for consideration the variations of forms of government, and the meaning of words. We must define freedom or liberty.

What is Freedom or Liberty?

The confusion of thought shown by British politicians and Fourth of July orators is, I believe, largely due to a false use of the word liberty, and to a belief that liberty is closely connected with Republican institutions, and is more likely to be obtained in large measure in a Republic or as we say a Democracy. This is the natural result of a misunderstanding as to the nature of government and the nature of liberty.

Let us carefully consider the meaning of the word liberty by the light of a few illustrations from British and American history bearing on this point.

There is no word in the English language which has so little or so much meaning, which can be distorted into so many good and evil forms, no word which can so quickly fire the generous impulses or evil passions of men, which possesses such pathos, bitter irony, inflammatory calls for warfare and bloodshed, or earnest appeals to costly resolves, no word capable of so much influence for good or so much vile misuse as the word "Liberty." Every one who objects to the form of government under which he happens to be, who calls monarchy tyranny, or aristocracy oligarchy, or democracy anarchy, fights against it under this sacred name. Liberty of the person, liberty of religion, liberty to refuse to pay taxes, liberty to print and oftentimes to libel, liberty to protest and urge reform, it has been used for them all. Atrocious and obscene libels and wholesale murders have been justified in its name.

The commonest misuse of the word is confusion with political power, with political liberty, the right to vote, to decide on the form of government, to help to nominate those who have office, and to urge and insist on the changes to be made in the laws and the administration. This is

commonly spoken of as if it were the only liberty worth having, worth all the blood which has been shed over it. The paper constitutions, which have misled European and South American peoples into the belief that they were making great advances in freedom, are due to this fallacy. The voting powers given to the negro in the United States were due to it.

Yet this political liberty or political right is of no value except as a means to gain individual liberty, or as it lends power to the few to make gain of politics out of the many.

The South African war is an interesting example. Whatever may have been the merits, the Boers were fighting for the latter use of this kind of liberty, the power to make gain out of politics. They fought to perpetuate their own political power, to prevent others from having any share in the management of affairs, and to preserve a political system which guaranteed to a small part of the population, who paid little towards the expenses of the community, the power to regulate in their own interests political and social affairs, to the disadvantage of those who paid the greater part of the expenses.

What is liberty? The most generally accepted definition of a free people is that of Algernon Sydney, a people who are governed only by the laws which themselves have made.

The definition is, I think, imperfect. It is no doubt an urgent necessity that a watch should be kept by the community on the laws passed, whether new departure or change of old custom, by the persons entrusted with that duty. But so long as there is any social responsibility laws can do little harm if a watch be kept over their execution. A free people always in effect make their own laws. For if the majority of a community disapproves of a law, the difficulty of enforcing it will be so great that it will fall harmless.

Liberty is more than the power to make your own laws. It is the guarantee to the individual from the society that property and person shall be safe from seizure on behalf of the community except after open and fair trial of the alleged cause of offence.

Tyranny is the enactment of unjust and immoral laws, but it is more. It is the illegal and arbitrary working in the courts of laws which may in themselves be harmless.

The Influence of the United States on the Conception of Freedom

British conceptions of the meaning of the words I have been considering have been very much influenced by the short history of the United States. This has been written from this side by Whigs who were proud of their work of destruction and revolution, and anxious politically to impress its beneficial lessons on the British Empire. They have exaggerated all those points which told for their party advantage, and they have written flattery of the North-East corner of the States, settled by the Congregational Republicans of the seventeenth century, who were politically near to them. The histories written in America have also been written from this North-East corner for Great Britain, and written from the same standpoint.

Hence it is that the British know less about the United States and understand it less than any other country with which they have social and commercial intercourse. Other countries can be considered from the historical standpoint of their own development; but the British have been led by Whig and Yankee writers to look upon the development of the United States as the natural complement of their own growth, to consider in fact the Declaration of Independence as the full fruition of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights; they are inclined to view American institutions and American ideals as an advance upon their own world-famous guarantees for freedom and good government, and as such to be copied and admired.

This false view has been so bandied backwards and forwards by writers on both sides that it is now accepted almost without investigation. It has given rise to misconceptions so fundamental, that there is no hope of either country understanding the other until both reconsider their preconceived ideas from the foundation. Every year they go further from a common basis of knowledge, nearer to dangerous false analogies, which will some day furnish food for quarrel, as at present they give rise to fulsome hypocritical flattery.

The two peoples are different organizations, diverging on different lines; they dwell apart like two particular stars. Their ideals, their conceptions of government, of

society, of progress, the goals towards which they press, are absolutely opposed. They are at present conflicting, very much, I think, to the injury of the British conceptions of society.

A Conflict of Ideals

The British Ideal, DUTY, rests on the acknowledgment of natural inequality, and aims at enforcing the obligations due from ordered classes of society by reference to a common law based on equal justice to all. It thus lays restraints on individual greed, and encourages the rich and powerful to respect the liberties of their weaker neighbours.

This is a realizable Ideal, and one which to a large extent has been realized. The gist of it, equal justice to all, is happily expressed in Milton's Declaration in the *Areopagitica.*

All the great Charters of English liberty, as they supplement the guarantees for freedom handed down to us by our ancestors, have reference to this respect for a common law. The Petition of Right ties itself to the past by construing the provisions of Magna Charta to intend fair and public trial by due course of law. "We have good laws," says Sir John Eliot in discussing it, "we want not good laws." The Habeas Corpus Act looks to guarantees for the speedy and open trial; the Bill of Rights, after reciting the assumption by James of the power of dispensing with laws and his "committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring in the said assumed power," goes on to declare that the pretended power of "suspending of laws" or "dispensing with laws or the execution thereof" was illegal.

The execution of the laws of the country, not the individual rights of the subject, is the Englishman's conception of liberty, and resistance to law, whether by king or subject, is the greatest offence against that conception.

Sir Henry Maine, one of the most profound thinkers of the last century, insists upon the danger which follows from apathy on this point: "If any government should be tempted to neglect, even for a moment, its function of compelling obedience to law; if a Democracy, for example, were to allow a portion of the multitude of which it exists, to set some law at defiance which it happens to dislike, it

would be guilty of a crime which hardly any other virtue would redeem, and which century upon century might fail to repair," a saying which I recommend to those responsible for the appointment of Messrs Carson and Smith in succession to the office of Attorney-General after their importation of German arms and ammunition in the *Fanny* in 1914, accompanied by inflammatory speeches.

The British Ideal then is based on moral obligation. Resting on human inequality, it recognizes no *rights* in the individual, apart from the society, through which the inequalities of life may be mitigated and redressed by just laws. It is an ideal of *duty*. England expects every man to do his duty. And to a great extent it has been realized.

The American Ideal, as it permeates all American life, public and private, was laid down in a sentence of the Declaration of Independence, which claims that "since all men are born equal," they are entitled as individuals to certain RIGHTS of life, liberty and the "pursuit of happiness," even if injurious to the society."

This Ideal is not realizable, and is founded on a mischievous fiction. It has had most disastrous effects in American history, and promises equal misfortune to the British if they allow themselves to be seduced by their Yankee friends into following it.

The chief effect of this American theory of government, a strange one to the British, who, with the exception of Ireland, have hitherto carried with them their sense of moral obligation for the weak all over the world, has been to substitute a concentrated selfishness as the spring of human action for the Christian virtues of self-sacrifice and benevolence. The rule of the strongest is the inevitable result of the adoption of this fiction of human equality.

The theory, the foundation of Rousseau's theories, embodied in his *Contrat Social*, of man in a state of nature was obviously untrue; nowhere more untrue than in the American Republic, of which a great writer says, "There has hardly ever before been a community in which the weak have been pushed so pitilessly to the wall, in which those who succeeded have so uniformly been the strong, and in which in so short a time there has arisen so great an inequality of private fortune and domestic luxury."

Leaving untouched the moral duties, which, owed by

the society to the individual, may hinder him in his race for the pursuit of happiness ; putting to one side the Christian duty to his neighbour, less able physically, mentally, or financially, than himself ; the doctrine impresses on the individual, as the end of life, that he let nothing stand between him and the pursuit of " happiness." It has had a most evil effect on the moral side of American life ; it is in collision with all that large teaching of self-sacrifice demanded by Christianity. I have not infrequently, for instance, heard it given as a good reason for divorce on trivial grounds that marriage should not stand in the way of the man's or woman's pursuit of happiness. It is an immense tribute to American manhood that the United States is outgrowing it.

So long as the United States was ruled from the South, that is to say, up to the time of the Civil War, the abstract doctrine did no harm but rather good, offset as it was by the state of southern society, resting on slavery, which did not admit of any equality in man, but which from that very condition brought about a certain equality of white men in the presence of the negro.

But when the Civil War raised up the question of the status of the negro, this doctrine was unfortunately brought into politics as a war-cry under most unfavourable circumstances to endue it with good effect.

CHAPTER III

Illustrations of the Effect of Pious Phrases in the United States

The debates in Congress in 1866, when the South which Mr. Wilson now represents lay under the heel of the Yankee, when the white gentlemen of the South were disenfranchised and for years put into subjection to the negro led by northern carpet-baggers, are most interesting reading. It is instructive to see how, with the Declaration of Independence to guide them, the politicians who shaped affairs were influenced; how they *confused political and individual* liberty, and rested on the doctrine of assumed equality an undeniable right to the franchise in all humanity.

After a reference by the Speaker to the Declaration of Independence, and the protection to all men in their inalienable rights, Mr. Stevens very early lays down the principle that "equal rights to all the privileges of government is innate in every immortal being, no matter what the shape or colour of the tabernacle which it inhabits." Mr. Trumball of Illinois, in introducing the amendment making the negro a citizen and giving him the franchise, says, perhaps very truly: "There is very little importance in the general declaration of abstract truths and principles unless they can be carried into effect," and he then instances the "immortal declaration that all men are created equal." Mr. Howard of Maine asks that, as the slave has become by emancipation a free man, "in all common sense is he not entitled to those rights which we conceded to a man who is free?" Mr. Thayer of Pennsylvania speaks of the franchise as "those rights which constitute the essence of freedom," and so on; the argument resting on the premiss that, since all men were created free and equal, they had

as a fundamental right the right and duty of the franchise. Political rights, the right of voting on the enactment of new laws, and the appointment of legislators, are confused with and made equivalent to the individual liberty, the right to see the laws properly executed.

Supposing that instead of the brains of the legislators having been filled with this fiery fiction of human equality (beneficial in some respects as it is), the dominant party in Congress had been guided by common sense and experience, is it conceivable that they would have given to the newly enfranchised slave as a man the franchise without any proper qualification? They had the example before them of emancipation in the West Indies, where, besides an apprenticeship before freedom, the negro received any political rights in reward for the energy which had acquired him property, on the English principle that those who supply the means of government shall vote the disposal of the means supplied.

The Venezuelan Imbroglio

As another example of the false use of the word liberty connected with an equally confused idea of the meaning and value of a Republic, the dispute between the United States and Great Britain over Venezuela, which very nearly involved us in war with "the Great Republic of the West," is a very interesting episode, especially to a person who, like the writer, was then living as an unnaturalized alien in the United States.

It is ancient history perhaps. But history of great value, if you put Mr. Olney's dispatch to Mr. Bayard by the side of the Fourth of July speeches of this year and the speeches of English politicians.

Every one knows what sort of a "Republic" Venezuela is. It is one of those "despotisms tempered by revolution" of which South America furnishes so many instances, a "Republic" ruled by a military dictator, often a mulatto, and an army.

Yet Mr. Olney, in his dispatch to Mr. Bayard, speaking of the "moral interests involved," thus instructs Lord Salisbury, the representative of the freest people on earth: "Europe, as a whole, is monarchical, and with the single

important exception of the Republic of France is committed to the monarchical principle. America, on the other hand, is devoted to the exactly opposite principle—to the idea that every people has an inalienable right of self-government. . . . The States of America, south as well as north, by geographical proximity, by natural sympathy (whatever that may mean), by *similarity of governmental institutions*, are friends and allies, commercially and politically of the United States. . . . The people of the United States have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government. . . . They believe it to be for the healing of all the nations, and that civilization must either advance or retrograde accordingly as its supremacy is extended or curtailed. Imbued with these sentiments, the people of the United States might not impossibly be wrought up to an active propaganda in favour of a cause so highly valued both for themselves and for mankind."

Cannot one imagine the British Minister, like Mr. Burchell, saying "Fudge" at intervals, during the reading of this document? Yet, "imbued with these sentiments," the people of the United States were so "wrought up" "for the healing of all the nations" as to risk a gigantic war with Great Britain on behalf of the Venezuelan "Republic." And it was the statesmanship, the self-control of Lord Salisbury, not their own tact, which saved them.

The South African War

Test the words again by the attitude of the American politician on our South African war with Kruger and his German friends.

Senator Hale said, speaking in Congress on a resolution reproving the attitude of the U.S.A. Government in the Transvaal affair, that the war England was levying was "the most fell blow at human liberty that has been struck in the last century. I deny," he said, "that the American people are in sympathy with the administration of Great Britain in this war to stamp out liberty. I deny that the section of the English-speaking race that lives on this continent is to be dragged at the chariot wheels of war against the republics of South Africa."

Mr. Sulzer, on the same subject, says, "In a fight between liberty and monarchy I want to see liberty win. . . . A

republic that will secretly connive and aid a monarchy to destroy a sister republic and blot out its free institutions. . . . The defeat of the Boers will be the severest blow to republican institutions that has been struck in a century."

"We see in South Africa," says Mr. Bryan, "a monarchy fighting a republic. Because of its unpatriotic policy, the republican party does not say a word for the Boers in their fight for liberty."

Again Mr. Sulzer in Congress speaks of the Transvaal and Orange Free State as "two brave little Republics, sisters of our own, and as free and independent. A republic that refuses sympathy to a sister republic struggling to maintain its independence against monarchical aggression . . . a republic that will secretly aid a monarchy to destroy a republic and blot out its free institutions," and so on and so on *ad nauseam*.

CHAPTER IV

The Word "Republic"

Let us for a moment consider the word "Republic." There is nothing in a "Republic" *per se* which implies liberty or free institutions. The word was originally used for any form of government without a king. There is nothing in itself meritorious in such a government. Up to the end of the eighteenth century all such governments, from the Roman aristocracy onwards, were oligarchies; not necessarily free governments, not by any means governments proceeding from the people, but governments by an exclusive senate, by the doge, or tyrant and council, such as the governments of Venice and Genoa and other Italian Republics, by municipal corporations such as the Dutch Republic, by military force like Cromwell's Commonwealth.

These forms of government were not popular in any sense of the word, and had fallen into very evil odour when the American Revolution gave a new form to the world—a new form, because, although republican in form, the American Constitution was, as may be seen by the Federalist, especially No. 62, as close an imitation of the then existing monarchical Constitution of Great Britain as could be made without calling the ruler by the name of king. It was, in fact, an adaptation of the only free government which has naturally grown and thriven under monarchy, to the republican form which in the circumstances was thought necessary. For that reason apparently it has remained so far the only stable form of republican government, under which there is any individual freedom.

It grew. The American Constitution was the fruit of sound national education, the effect of a healthy graft

from a healthy tree, the operation done by skilful hands and at an opportune time.

After the American Revolution in the eighteenth century, another republic came from the French Revolution. And since the beginning of the nineteenth century half Europe, all South America, and parts of other continents, have adopted the republican form based on the franchise of the entire people, or constitutional forms of government which rest upon a widely extended franchise. But what a difference in results! Perpetual upheavals and military *coups d'état*; half the time spent under despotism and half under corrupt official rule, which is little better than despotism; the liberty of the person regulated by the will of the army or the money of the politician. Sir Henry Maine estimates that in Spain alone, between the adoption of the Constitution of 1812 and the accession of Alfonso XII, there had been forty military risings, aided by the mob, nine of which were successful revolutions. In the same span, France has lived one-half of her time under despotic military rule.

It became common cant to attribute this want of success to a decadence in the national character, to speak of Spain and France as "dying" nations. Yet there is no reason to connect any decay with the want of success of this form; for with these nations it is nothing but a form. It would be a much more simple explanation to attribute it to the madness of adopting, or of forcing on others, political forms which are not of natural growth. No one of these Constitutions was evolved from within the countries which adopted them.

From the date of the English Revolution of 1688, the philosophers of Western Europe, especially in France, took the British Constitution as their envy and their model, and with very good reason. A republic is much more liable to revolution, and as we know by the short history of the American Republic to assassination, than a monarchical form of government. It is a negation of society, and so of any form of socialism, good or evil, as the temporary ruler must of necessity be the nominee of a party in the State, and not of the whole people.

It is a far easier matter to reconcile the powers and privileges of an hereditary monarch, whose personality

in case of a difference with the will of the people, is invested with all the prestige of past glories, of victories and acquisitions of territory for the whole nation won under his forefathers, than is the case in a country governed by a temporary president. His whole power in the absence of moral force rests on his own personal qualities and on the brute force behind him, force which he will be much more inclined to use against the force or personal qualities of an opponent representing the party opposed to him than will an hereditary king who represents the entire nation and not a party. In consequence a republic has a perpetual tendency either to promote a military tyranny or to create an anarchy under a feeble President.

That the present autocracy in the United States has not developed into government by the army is due to its descent from and imitation of our excellent constitution, a king with powers of administration, and a free parliament.

Paper Constitutions from Without

When France destroyed the monarchy, the practical parts of her many political failures in republican constitutions were modelled on the British Constitution and on that of the United States. The numerous paper constitutions which have graced or disgraced Europe and South America are more or less close imitations of these admirable forms. *They all in practice have a tendency to revert to the form of government which existed before they were introduced, to the native form which has been of natural slow growth of many years or ages.* The form imposed from without becomes a mere shell, and the practice adapts itself to the wants and the desires which, if a natural growth had been permitted, would have been gradually drawn out from within. The President of the South American Republic becomes a precarious dictator, and the President of the French Republic exists with the consent, or by the will, of the army. If we allow ourselves now to be persuaded into insisting on Germany assuming democratic government, it can result in nothing but a despotism tempered by revolution, though it may render her more efficiently organized for war.

Where a natural and constant growth has been allowed, the form of the new government, as in the Transvaal

Republic, adapts itself as closely as possible to that of the country from which it takes its birth. The close oligarchy of the Transvaal was only the "chain of corporations" of the United Netherlands transferred to South Africa, and accentuated by the militarism which is the natural result of practice of close oligarchical methods under popular forms. President Kruger, as far as one can see, had all the powers of an absolute monarch; he dictated to his exclusive legislature, he removed judges at his will, he controlled legislature, executive and judiciary without reserve. And he accumulated an enormous store of military material, and under the forms of freedom stimulated in his "Republic" a most martial spirit. So far as the Constitution gave popular government, so far was he drawn to offset the loss of political power by increased military force.

Ireland as an Illustration

To give one more illustration of the meaning of these words, Ireland has been steadily driven by the Anglo-Scottish politicians under Carsonism into association with American ideas of government and of political philosophy. When the extremist Sinn Feiner calls for a Republic under which he will have political liberty, as his ideal of a free government, he is asking for something as far removed as possible from the rule under which he suffers. He has been educated for many generations by the British politicians to look with contempt upon the laws and their administration. Personal liberty has been constantly denied him, and as a result his only idea of liberty is political liberty.

The Two Opposed Ideals

Just at present the Americans and the British are whooping over the Fourth of July and the "will of the people." Does it mean any closer approach between the two ideals? Not in the very least.

The two communities are races diverging, with a language gradually diverging, possessed of different ideals, basing all legislation, all treatment of social problems, upon the opposite poles of duty to the society and right of the indi-

vidual, of unity of moral aims and the dissidence of dissent.

One or the other of the two opposed principles of life have to give way. It will not be the American. There is great and growing danger that the British politician, ignorant of history, and without any moral leading, should be led to desert the British goal for that of the American, to attempt to mould our national life on the false assumption that the American development is a growth of our own historical advance. Whereas, on the contrary, it is the logical result of the adoption, as a political creed, of maxims of sophistical philosophy which from time to time have been used by orators as pegs on which to hang revolutionary clothing.

Such a course would mean the reversal of all our history and the destruction of our true liberties. For through all the mists of phraseology private liberty, as expressed in the due and impartial enforcement of law, and not political liberty based on a fiction of equality, is the only liberty worth having.

Unfree Peoples

When a people are not free, either subject to a military despot or owned by another community, laws for their use are made and administered by and in the interest of the alien ruler, who always tries to persuade the world, and often succeeds in persuading himself, that his rule is very beneficial and his legislation good.

Whether such rule is good, bearable or bad is matter of indifference. The people upon whom it is forced will never agree that it can be good, and it is extremely unlikely that in any respect the rule will be in the interest of the subject people. Such a condition is opposed to the elementary principle of freedom, of that disposal by a people of themselves of their own free will which we call democracy, and which we in Britain claim to represent.

With peoples who are not free I do not intend to deal in these pages. There is nothing to be said about such societies, whether in these islands or elsewhere, except that first and last they rest solely on the brute force of the ruler ; they dissolve like warm snow, as in Russia to-day, when the brute force is insufficient, or when the moral

sense or the political theories of the community nullifies its action. All that can be said of such peoples is summed up in the words of Burke, speaking on Conciliation with the revolted colonies in 1775: "Force may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and *a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.*"

Free peoples and peoples desirous of putting their freedom to good use will make their own laws, and will make as few as possible. They will know that each fresh law or regulation is a lessening of the freedom of all, an unnecessary restriction on social energy, a certain opportunity for internal conflict, a new impediment in the way of equal rights, a serious hindrance to competition with other peoples.

But good or bad as the laws may be, the community will take the utmost care that they shall be justly and impartially administered.

CHAPTER V

The Duties of the Ruler—Internal Order—The Enforcement of Law

It is worth while to consider carefully the essentials in a free society of this first and principal element of government, for several good reasons—the action of the ruler here affects much more closely, more frequently, the free action of members of the society, than other uses of his power; the members have, or if they choose it can have, better knowledge of this action than of other, and better control. The continued abuse of power in this respect only will dissolve the society and destroy the possibility of liberty for all, and the effects of such abuse cannot be foreseen and will not be confined to any one locality or class of persons in the future, but will extend itself to a variety of matters not originally contemplated.

For example, as Sir Mark Sykes pointed out in the House of Commons on June 25 last, "Sinn Fein is a potential nucleus of a Bolshevist movement *in the United Kingdom* in case of great moment of stress." It is not likely to stay on one side of the Irish Channel. Does any one suppose that conviction of persons charged with an attempt to poison Mr. Lloyd George on evidence offered of a man who could not be produced, will, under D.O.R.A., stop there? Has the hunger strike, to which the Suffragists were driven by the cruelty and duplicity of the Asquith Ministry, ceased on the discontinuance of their agitation?

There is nothing which brings a society nearer to revolution than the tampering with the workings in the Courts of Law of the guarantee for individual liberty.

Let us enumerate the essentials for freedom.

The judge in every case must be just and impartial, as

free from the influence of the power which appointed him to act as he should be from bias towards either party to the trial.

Such a condition of independent equilibrium can only be preserved by incessant watchfulness on the part of the community.

Another important guarantee is that the charge of offence against society shall be speedily heard *in public*. There must be no delay in trial, no secrecy, no claim that it is for the public good that the facts should not be known.

When at any time refusal of trial, refusal to produce evidence, refusal to prove the charge brought, has occurred in political matters, it has always been cloaked by the same foolish excuse that to do justice, to respect liberty, to carry out the elementary principles of real democracy, was contrary to the public advantage.

The men who used the prisons of the Star Chamber for their political opponents, the men who issued *lettres de cachet* for the Bastille, the judges of the Vehmgericht, the Inquisition of the Venetian oligarchs, the Ministers of Bomba of Naples, the Inquisitors of Spain and Rome and Flanders, all so excused their abuse of power, their detention of men in prison without trial, on the grounds of public advantage. We have the evidence, they all say, plenty of evidence, but no power will force us to produce it. It would be contrary to the public advantage. Meanwhile let them lie in prison.

This has been time out of mind one of the chief means for the breaking of freedom.

Many dread the forgetfulness of prison who would not fear to face death. Men and women in prison are out of mind; their fate deters some who might otherwise support and suffer for free institutions.

The effect of the evil is still more far-reaching. It not only injures the individual, it endangers the safety of society, for the causes for which the untried prisoners suffer pass into more desperate hands.

There is still further effect. In every one of the instances I have given from the past this misuse of power has been the prelude heralding speedily the revolution from which we hope to be preserved.

We pass to another guarantee for fair trial. The witness

who speaks to any facts must be produced to testify openly, so that the jury may form an opinion as to his credit, that his statements may be sifted by cross-examination. Where this guarantee of freedom is not present there is no fair trial.

These two guarantees are included in the principle on which our system rests that the burden of proof is upon the prosecutor, and that the person is entitled to be treated as innocent and to enjoy his freedom until clear proof has been given of his guilt.

I assert without hesitation that any provisions of the Defence of the Realm Acts or any like interference with free institutions which may be adjudged necessary for the conduct of the war are, so far as they contravene these principles of a free people, not only an evil in themselves as an abrogation of British liberty, not only wholly unnecessary, not affecting in the very least the issues of the war, but very really harmful both to ourselves as affecting our national spirit, encouraging distrust of our rulers, giving an advantage to adverse comment which cannot be answered, and detrimental to our reputation with the other peoples of the world.

The guilt or innocence of the persons accused is beside the question; it is far better for the strengthening of the moral powers of the nation that they should remain unpunished if guilty than that they should be convicted in defiance of the guarantees for individual liberty.

The Character of English Legal Procedure

Moreover we in these islands are in a unique position with regard to those means by which our liberties are retained. As a commercial people we have developed from early times (it is not necessary here to inquire how or why) a form of criminal procedure unlike that of other European peoples, who have taken their forms from Rome. The adoption of this system from us by the United States forms one of the few close links between their people and ourselves.

In other countries the procedure is an inquisition; an inquiry by the ruler on the part of the community into all the circumstances attending the offence.

The whole object of the inquiry by the community being

to elicit the facts in its interest, the procedure is conducted in its interest without regard to that of the accused. He may be kept in confinement, closely and repeatedly questioned, spied upon, subjected to all treatment short of actual torture[1] which may lead to any discovery, treatment which assumes that as a suspected person he is in all probability guilty, and as such should be induced to confess and to implicate others. The State decides what witnesses shall be called, and the mode of examination.

Our Police Court procedure, being without appeal, tends to a similar procedure and requires to be carefully watched. But apart from this the ruler in these islands no longer "maketh inquisition for blood." The criminal trial on which a man's liberties depend is a public inquiry, but it is a public inquiry in the interests of the community in the form of a litigation between two private parties, like the hearings at the Iceland Things in the Sagas. The Crown assists the prosecutor to put forward his case, but it is so far from acting as inquisitor that the prosecuting counsel is bound to put forward in his statement not only the facts against the accused but any which he knows to be in his favour.

As a consequence all those guarantees of freedom that I have enumerated, which are lacking in other countries where the inquisitorial process has remained and developed, have grown up round English criminal procedure.

The demagogue tries to persuade the people that their freedom is menaced by militarism, by men learning to bear arms in defence of their country. Clear your minds of cant. Militarism plays little part in the loss of liberty; it only fills the vacant space when liberty is lost.

The constitutional historian would have you believe that the talking and voting of money in the House of Commons is the cause of your liberties. Clear your minds of cant. The powers of talking and voting are not the cause but the result of the freedom gained by our criminal procedure which guarantees a fair trial. The usage of the

[1] The third degree as used by the police in the United States would seem to go beyond this and be actual torture. The particulars above are stated for the most part with a view to French criminal procedure.

House of Commons copies the proceedings in a court of English law. The party system has grown from the same model.

Whatever happens we must see to it that no ruler or temporary delegate of a ruler shall deprive us of this. If we lose this, if, from panic or for political profit, or from desire of some temporary revenge, or from a hope of advance by imitation of some other political form, we give up these guarantees of liberty we lose all. And we shall find no place of repentance, though we seek it with tears.

It has been a long struggle through the centuries to obtain it, but the impartial character of the British administration of justice is now acknowledged universally, though many do not realize how easily it may be lost, or by what efforts the foundations were laid.

The whole judicial system of the United States has been borrowed from Great Britain. The laws are the same laws, the courts are of the same character. Yet there is perhaps not any stronger contrast between the two peoples than the administration of these same laws, or a study which would more thoroughly repay a capable politician than that of how our liberties were gained. He should study not the passion-heated atmosphere of political debate, but the true patriotism of judges like Gascoigne, Coke or Holt, who risked life, property and reputation to preserve the integrity of the laws. You may have a House of Commons always full of earnest, vehement defenders of popular rights, but they will be of no avail, unless the judges, even to the meanest, are so removed from temptation of reward, so free from political influence, that they can be depended upon to administer impartial justice in the Courts.

It is this condition which has hitherto obtained in the Courts of the British Empire. There is probably in no modern history a sight to which mankind can point with greater pride, as showing the height to which a disinterested sense of honour can mount, than the unpaid magistracy of England, men of wealth, men of worth and leisure, giving time and pains, in the face of vulgar obloquy and foolish criticism, to the administration of the small and inglorious matters of local law.

I will conclude this matter, already too long, by giving

a short illustration which may show how easily these liberties may be lost.

English Magistrates Courts : an Illustration

In the far away prehistoric days before the war, Parliament in 1906 passed the " Justices of the Peace Act," rendering a property qualification unnecessary for a County Justice.

This bill, passed to offset the number of men of property on the Bench who were Conservatives, by creating magistrates with no property qualification who were Liberals, is the most dangerous, the most insane, the most destructive Act, which even Parliament, in its worst moments, has passed in a century, and that to any one who has followed Parliamentary happenings is saying a very great deal.

There had not been, so far as I know, the slightest suggestion made that the unpaid Justices had abused their office, that they had declaimed politics from the Bench, or had allowed politics to influence their decisions, or that they had in any way discriminated against political opponents. If there had been any such case to quote, it would have been carried through the country at the election like a carted bawd, with the cheap loaf and the Chinaman in chains.

Now the first qualification for an upright magistrate is that he shall be either, by the independence of his wealth out of the reach of bribery, and by the certainty of his tenure out of reach of fear of revenge from political enemies, or that he shall be made so by the qualifications of his office.

That he shall be out of reach of bribery means that his office shall not be the reward of party politics.

It is a high tribute to the honour with which the magistrates had performed their judicial duties that they had deceived Parliament into believing that their imperfect natures, apart from the quickset of condition by which it has been fenced, were sufficient guarantee for the present satisfactory state of justice.

This Justices Act at one blow destroyed all that guarantee of independence of the Bench, which, for the last hundred years at least, has rendered possible the granting of large local powers, alleviating legislation for the poor, and has

enabled this country to dispense with much military force.

The Justice of no property, the small tradesman or working man, would be open to many acts of coercive bribery from men of means or from associations of force and wealth. He has every inducement to favour wealth and power, where they conflict with poverty and weakness, the trades union, for instance, as against the non-union worker; and beyond that he is open to that subtle bribery which has taken the place in political battles of beer and money.

The Act, as it stands, in words, is no more harmful than the allegation of equality in the Declaration of Independence. The Lord Lieutenant still appoints, and so long as the Lord Lieutenant is not dragged into politics on account of his powers of appointment, he may be trusted to appoint proper persons. But, as Mr. Turnbull says, "There is very little importance in the declaration of abstract principles, unless they can be carried into effect."

On January 3, 1907, a Mr. Barnard, M.P. for Kidderminster, wrote to *The Times*, p. 5, column 3, expressing a desire that the appointment of Justices should be placed on a non-political basis, *at some future time*, when the Justices had become Liberal. He points out the very large majority of Conservative magistrates, and says, "Could anything be more unfair to a great political party? Justice cries aloud for a prompt restitution to these men of their too long withheld *political rights*. . . . *It* (the appointment of magistrates) *is simply and solely the political right of the dominant party in the State.*"

This principle, announced in 1907, that appointments to the magisterial Bench are simply and solely the political right of the dominant party in the State, is the very bedrock foundation stone of all American judicial appointments, and the first cause of the unquestioned want of justice in their Courts. It is the result of a misuse of the word "liberty."

In America the way of expressing Mr. Barnard's principle is "the spoils to the victor," whether the appointment is a Federal Postmaster or a State Judge, all such offices being political appointments; it is an understood thing that the capacity of the man is nothing, his party affiliation everything. No doubt there are many honest men on the Bench in the United States now, as there were in England

in the days of Scroggs and Jeffreys, when Mr. Barnard's principle was acted on, and when the judicial murders of the Popish plot and the Bloody Assize disgraced the English Bench ; but the principle of preferment for political services fights against single-mindedness and honesty of opinion.

The process of evolution of the political magistrate from the present County Bench may be a long one. But, long or short, the eventual end must be the appointment as a reward for political services of men fit only by such services, who, having no qualification of wealth to support them, will naturally come to look upon office as a means of acquiring wealth. Then whether he makes use of his office for gain by taking bribes, or by jobbery, or for revenge upon his political opponent, the end is the same. The respectable man goes off the Bench and gives place to the " ward heeler."

Very soon the office ceases to be an unpaid one. Does any one suppose that the troublesome, inglorious duties of a country Justice will be undertaken by the small trader or working man for honour only, and that he will leave his daily bread to spend time upon the Bench without some monetary gain ?

The British are no more honest and certainly no more clever by nature than the Americans. But they are hedged in by morality preached to them for many centuries, and by honesty on the Bench gained by a succession of struggles by upright judges against power in high places. When they are induced to give away the blessings won for them in the past, in exchange for the fiction of equality which advantages the political nonconformist, they will revert to the parody of justice in use in the smaller courts of the United States. If the principle of the spoils to the victors is once admitted as to our judiciary, there will very soon be no appointment, however small, which will not be made the reward of party support in politics.

CHAPTER VI

The Duties of the Ruler Abroad—Colonies and Possessions

When the principles of judicial procedure have once been adopted they may be expected to continue a fairly even course. They become fixed, subject to such unvarying rules that it is fairly safe to leave them in the hands of the judges appointed from the great trade unions trained for legal affairs. It is only when politics interfere, when the party politician wishes to injure some opponent, that there is need for the ruler to take pains to obtain justice for the accused, a fair trial.

But when we turn to external affairs, the relations of the ruler in his dealings with foreign nations, or his powers over and his duties to distant communities allied by blood, descent or emigration, or dependent by conquest or absorption, we come upon conditions requiring very different treatment. The conditions vary from day to day, calling for ripe judgment, quick decision and complete freedom of action. In such dealing no one generation can lay down a rule for the next to follow with safety or certainty, and the questions should be referred to some expert who has made careful study of world conditions. Here we come upon a new duty of government, and a new aspect of equality.

The Colonies

There are people who show no reluctance to receive dividends from the labour of other countries, worked under conditions into which they do not inquire, who object to the unemployed men of the nation going forth to till the earth elsewhere if by that means they displace other men who are tilling it ever so feebly.

It is waste of time to try to convince these people for many reasons; they are generally sincere, unmoved by gain, and so open to no charge of self-interest; they very seldom make any effort to put themselves in the place of the colonizing party; they take no trouble to become acquainted with facts; and they are generally totally incapable of learning the lessons of history.

That their ignorance is not entirely their own fault will appear from the following taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 8, 1918:—

"*No Imperial History Books.* Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, explained to a deputation that one of the difficulties in the way of teaching Imperial history in the schools was the complete absence of text books dealing with the subject."

The only progress which the world makes either in morals, intellect or physical power is by the rough and ready method of the conquest of the weaker by the stronger, the replacing of poor methods by better, the supremacy of those systems of morals, those forms of government, those views of politics and literature which tell for social advance over those of lesser efficiency, in short by a process which admits inequality.

It is a persistent, an ever-present war between the socially strong and the socially weak, in which the weak are exterminated or live in a position of subordination, and a like war between the stronger races, in which the fittest survive. In spite of all the nonsense talked about a war to end war, a league of nations to enforce peace and so forth, the necessary fire of war in which the fitness of nations competing for existence is tried, must continue to be a factor of life. No league of nations would be of value without a league of churches.

No greater misfortune could befall the world than that any one State, Germany or other, could attain such a world dominance as to do away with the need for further struggle, a pax Germanica or a pax Brittanica or a pax Americana, in which advance by competition would cease, a trades union which could fix the price for progress or the rate of wages for adventure and risk.

The world can only advance in this fashion. Every agreement for arbitration, by which a race socially stronger

abandons territory to the possession of a weaker, is a step backwards in the world's progress. When this war is over, if we believe in ourselves and our ideals and are faithful to our trust for humanity, we shall disregard the fury of the Free Trade Pacifist Press and fight the German and the Turk all over the world. We shall hold his colonies for our trade and for our ideals of social life and for our freedom. No religion is of any value that is not militant for its ideals. He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.

The races which colonize must be vigorous races, proud of themselves and believing in their superiority over the other races of the world. They will never colonize a new country without coming into contact with other races less virile than they are, or less advanced in material means of power, or without conflict with other races of their own character. Thus there will arise at once a condition of inequality which has to be met in the main by the rough and ready methods of shoving and pushing which is part of the recognized lot of the colonist. Manhood there comes to the front.

To give him any right to colonize at all, the colonist must be of a superior race, and must insist on his superiority.

A Republic and Colonies

Under these conditions it is plainly impossible for a republic, which rests on a fictitious equality of rights, to have any such colonies, or to incorporate in its republican bounds any races of a lower standard than its own except as equals. All men within the republic must have equal rights, especially the right to the franchise. The republic must live and die on its own level without any advance and any development.

The rulers of the American Republic have from time to time acknowledged and acted on this fact, though not always. They have acted on it sufficiently to inflict in the case of the negro great injury to the republic, and to show in the case of Cuba originally great self-restraint. How far temptation in this case will outlast a principle which rests on the fiction of equality will be seen.

The British Colonies

The greatness of the self-governing colonies of Great Britain, and their success in their dealings with the problems of race which distress them, are obscured to the British by the incessant adulation given to the United States.

They have had very much the same problems to face, European immigration, the position of native races, Indians or Maoris, Chinese, the Negro, and the British subject from Hindustan; they have faced them, and go far to solve them, without having to resort to any great extent to chicanery and fraud, and without setting out any false principles of political life.

I believe that great part of the success of Great Britain in her colonizing work is due to the elasticity resulting from the admission of political inequality, subject only to the acknowledgment of a common head and a just and common law.

No connection between the mother country and a colony could exist without friction, especially when the child gets too big for the stick. But in spite of difficulty and discontent, the causes of trouble over the relations between races have for the most part been peacefully surmounted, except where, as in South Africa, the colonists have been subjected to fits of vicious interference from these islands for a century, and to attempts by politicians at home to create cleavage between the races by taking sides against their own people without any knowledge of the problems which lie before them for solution.

Successful French colonization ended with their pronouncement of a doctrine of equality of man. The German, on the other hand, fails because the ruling race is not itself free. The rule is by brute force only, with the result that the equality of all under the law to which a free-ruling race advance is discouraged. Having no liberty themselves, the ruling race assert their superiority by degrading the inferior.

To appreciate the splendid success of British colonization one must turn away from the continents peacefully acquired, such as Australia and New Zealand, and look to the lands absorbed as a result of conquest already inhabited by strong

and progressive races. Fusion, so far as it is necessary or advisable, has followed in such colonies under British rule where the line of development has been left to the men concerned.

The most striking example of all, to be considered later, where fusion is either not possible or followed by ill effects, is India. It has no parallel in any records of the world.

The British colonies, the homes of sea-faring men, united by wide stretches of sea, have been able to watch all sorts of experiments, in religious development of every description, in the adaptation of trade requirements, and in race treatments from the Dyaks of Borneo and the Maoris of New Zealand to the Transvaal Boer and the French Canadian. When let alone they have solved their problems satisfactorily.

It would appear as if the period of stretching colonization over vast areas was past for European powers, and that the time for consolidation of such acquisitions, in order to hold them against inferior races, and to stock them with European blood, has now come. A warning voice should be raised against encouraging any colony to fill up its territory with population, regardless of their value as men. Such a course is destructive of freedom.

The time will come, not so very far off, when the European races will have to stand shoulder to shoulder against the other races in their colonies to preserve their existence as *ruling* races.

The struggle only now beginning is not between European nations for the possession of territory, but between the European and the Chinaman, the European and the Negro, the Turk, the Mohammedan Arab, possibly the Indian of Hindustan. Success can only come to the European nations sinking their differences and welcoming each other's colonists as a bulwark against the black and yellow invasion. The nation which attracts the best and most white immigrants will succeed.

I would say, though I can well believe that such a saying will be unpopular and would be misconstrued, that a German in a *British* colony subject to British influence is an asset superior to several Japanese or Chinese. Great Britain is in a far better position than other races to-day to compete for the best colonists. Her laws are better

executed, and her government, except in Ireland, is more just.

But above all no race can be successful eventually in colonizing that regards standing on two legs as a qualification for voting. It leads to the admission in the future of the lower races to a political equality, and the door once opened remains open.

The young colony is a thin sprinkling of the superior race over a large area of land; it will need the assistance of the old country against the attacks of neighbours who are supported from their European connection, as we had to support our South African colonies by the Boer war, not only against the Boers but against the German power who assisted them, ready to jump into our position if we had been defeated as the Japanese would jump into our position in India to-day if we left it.

This brings us back to the political relations of the colony to the European country from which it sprang.

The Contrast of the British Colonies and American States

It is natural, as I have noted the different specimens of British and American oratory and contrasted the principles upon which the two countries proceed, to go on to contrast the relations of the States of the American Union to the Federal authority with those of the British colonies to the government of the islands. It is a very instructive contrast.

The States of the American Union correspond very partially to the British colony. But there is a likeness and a contrast.

The steady tendency of the British offshoot from the islands is to become an independent community, united only for purposes of mutual safety to the British islands; it appears to tend to a Federation somewhat like that of the United States but increasingly jealous of Federal authority exercised from these islands; the States of the United States, which were formerly, until the attempt of the southern States to enforce their right to secede led to its extinction, sovereign States, who had voluntarily entered into a compact for union on equal terms. They are, since the Civil War decided against secession, no longer

independent sovereign States, the Federal authority inclines constantly to grow stronger at the expense of the State; but there may be a long history yet to come.

Let us look at the conditions which differentiate the two combinations.

In the American Union, the several States, corresponding, let us say, to New South Wales, Ireland, Cape Colony, and Nova Scotia, have each its own legislature and executive to attend to local questions, and that not devised for it by the older State, but modelled by itself. Over all is the Federal Legislature (*in which each State is represented*, in the Upper House equally regardless of strength, and in the Lower House according to population), controlling the army and navy, post office, customs and foreign relations.

Each State contributes to the upkeep of the Federal Government and to the support of forces for national defence, and each State has in return a voice in the management of Federal matters.

As all the States are in a ring fence on one continent, there can be little disagreement in case of an attack upon any one of them by a powerful neighbour, so that one great cause of friction between Britain and her colonies, which led to the American Revolution, is absent.

The sense of security from attacks without has led to jealousy of the interference of the Federal power in composing difficulties within. It is not so long ago that an offer made by the President of the United States to send Federal troops to assist the State authority of a North-Western State to put down serious disturbance which threatened to develop into civil war was answered by the Governor in language of which the actual words, if I remember rightly, were "Mind your own business."

The anomalous position of the British colonies is in strong contrast to that of the States of the United States. It brings into full relief the absurd falsity of the conceptions of government by the will of the people which fill the speeches of the British politicians. Their only connection with the islands apart from sentiment is the tie of allegiance to the King. He is their ruler and their only ruler, save as the community appoints its own local delegate to manage affairs. Subject to his control of some of their relations with foreign nations, they are absolutely self-

governing; they claim complete independence of the British Parliament; they tax themselves; they decide for themselves whether or not their sons shall fight and die for the Empire.

Australia, like Ireland, has definitely refused conscription. In Canada the civil authorities propose to leave its enforcement to the military. General Botha has told us plainly that no Imperial Parliament could ever decide such a question for South Africa. In no one of these countries can any British Prime Minister, however supported in these islands, obtain a man by compulsion. Colonies have always refused to be ordered by the Parliaments of the country of origin. It was the attempt of the British Parliament to tax the American colonies which brought about that Declaration of Independence. In these matters history has a way of repeating itself.

The anomalous position of the British colonies extends much further. They have no representation in the British Parliament, so that in matters of Federal import, of which the King leaves the execution to his Ministers, they are at the mercy of the decisions caused by party politics in England or by academic theories of men who have no knowledge of their local conditions, while the British islands pay the whole cost of the defence of the colonies of the Empire.

CHAPTER VII

The Duties of the Ruler Abroad—Freedom of Trade—Federation

The chief anomaly of the position is that all the oversea possessions have in commercial matters a destructive independence which tends to force them apart from the mother country, enabling them to put up tariffs to exclude British goods from their territories. We come to another aspect of the word freedom, Freedom of Trade.

It is manifestly impossible for any statesman to lay down an absolute rule which for all time can guide a people in their commercial dealings either with their own brethren or with strangers.

The seasons on which the supply of food depends vary; in one year there is plenty, in another dearth; in one country a good, in another a scanty harvest; the new discovered capacity of some country to produce some much wanted product, gold in the Transvaal or Klondyke, rubber in Para, tea in Ceylon, oil in Pennsylvania or Baku, aniline dyes, potash, the thousand and one things which from time to time revolutionize some branch of trade, cause disturbance of the course of trade, the decay of some places and the increase of others.

Trade routes change for political reasons, as when the captures of Constantinople by the unspeakable Turk forced Europeans to find another road to the East.

The trade routes may change by the discovery of new lands, as when the merchants of Europe were startled from their accustomed markets by the change of trade and the competition resulting from the discovery of the new worlds of America, of Java and Sumatra and of Australasia, or they may be disturbed and entirely rearranged by war.

It would be strange indeed if after this war the great road of Alexander the Great from Susa to Sardes should not become more prominent as a causeway of trade.

Under such ever-changing conditions a sensible ruler will use discretion and common sense to meet changes; he will try to foresee them; while he recognizes the principles which underlie all commerce, all foreign relations, he will be unlikely to lay down a hard and fast rule which will admit of no alteration.

The State should try to be Self-supporting

One of the first principles which underlies the art of government connecting industry at home with commerce and colonization abroad is that the community must, as far as may be, support itself, so as to be independent of the want which may follow the changes and chances of external trade. As complete independence can only come by the universal convenience for exchanging products, freedom of commerce from vexatious restrictions and tolls is a first necessity.

An Illustration of Freedom of Trade

The dealings of the party politicians with tariffs and foreign commerce during the last eighty years furnish us with a good illustration of the false use of the word "free" in regard to this subject.

In the forties of the last century there was good reason for adopting a policy of commercial exchange which would give great facility for the import of grain and other food from foreign countries. The British Islands, with a great surplus of manufactured goods, for the disposal of which she was searching the world's markets, did not produce in the islands sufficient food for her population. As long as her prosperity lasts she can never do so.

Though the production of grain was at that time far in advance of the production much later, when the academic political theorists had forced the land user back to the conditions of the seventeenth century without the timber, the islands were largely dependent on foreign food. This came for the most part from European countries; the Western States of the United States had not then been opened up and the slowness of transit reduced the value

of imports from the new world. The balance of trade was very largely in favour of the islands. Everything pointed to the encouragement of a free importation of corn.

Then conditions wholly changed. Other nations took advantage of the open market offered; they not only invaded the islands, but, accepting the principle of the open market where it coincided with their own interests, they attacked and took possession of markets formerly in the possession of the islanders in their colonies and in foreign countries all the world over.

But while accepting the British invitation to use these islands as a free dumping ground for their own surplus goods, the leading industrial nations put heavy protective tariffs on British goods exported to their own markets. They killed the principle of Freedom of Trade, *mutual* exchange. That it should be mutual is of the essence of all kinds of freedom.

Another factor arising at the same time was the changed condition of the wheat production of the world. The Western States of the United States and Canada were opened up for the production of immense crops of grain at cheap cost by new machinery. India, the Argentine Republic, even Australia and New Zealand poured their surplus food into the islands.

Very speedy transport of all this food, whether grain or cattle or fruits, rendered any fear of want or famine a very distant possibility. There was no longer the urgent necessity for the islands to make the highest bid for the surplus food of Europe in conditions under which a scanty harvest might mean famine.

Another factor of importance was the increasing ratio of prominence in trade by the nations who had grown in competition with the British in their own markets while withholding reciprocity of freedom.

It was clearly to the advantage of the islands to import their food from their own kinsfolk in the colonies or from other nations, who would in return give them an open market for their manufactured goods.

To any man of ordinary common sense who had "vision," there had arisen a splendid opening for bargaining which might serve to great advantage a double purpose, the welfare of the trade of the Empire and the extension of

the principle, a fundamental principle of civilized trade relations, mutual freedom of trade from tolls and restrictions. Of course it is essential that the freedom should be mutual.

The British "Free Trade" Policy

Unfortunately the sovereign had ceased to take part in government; there was no ruler of the islands who could consider the very difficult questions arising out of trade relations with foreign countries from the standpoint of the welfare of the whole community. There were only two political parties, who in his absence treated the whole question as the pivot of advantage to their faction.

Party government has the effect of replacing considerations of principle by advantage for party tactics. The academic politician who might have considered principle was so eaten up by his conceit that he failed to realize that, because Great Britain had laid down a well acknowledged principle, it need not happen that all the other nations of the world would follow her example where it operated to their own detriment.

As a result there has arisen the pitiful position that the nation which originated the crusade for Freedom of Trade covers, after sixty years of effort, the smallest area of free trade among the great nations, that she is debarred from the markets of her own colonial possessions and is buffeted on every side by protective tariffs.

Yet there were two great examples before her if her politicians had only had the gift of imagination to enable them to learn the lesson, the United States and Germany, States that were fast eating up her external trade because they had themselves effected the first step towards free trade, complete freedom in a certain defined area within their own borders.

It must be very galling to the apostles of Cobdenism to see a country saddled with the very highest protective tariff not only enjoying prosperity and a superabundance of wealth, but rapidly overtaking the nation of "free imports" in every branch of commerce and manufacture. Yet, if they could but see it, the lesson is not the good effect of protection, but the advantages of Freedom of Trade properly applied in practice, instead of being kept to the

closet of the Cobdenite philosopher. For the United States is the greatest Free Trade country in the world. Over a tract of land larger than Europe some three thousand by two thousand miles there is absolute and unqualified Free Trade. The lumberman of Minnesota or Michigan can exchange his products of the freezing north for the sugar and rice of Louisiana and Mississippi without any customs or duties ; the wine and fruits of California can cross the continent in free exchange for the turpentine and cotton of the Carolinas. A country with so vast a free exchange can afford to put up its bars against the outside world even if it does not do so with discretion.

A Suggestion for Freedom of Trade

What is to prevent Great Britain from forming with her Colonies and Dependencies a Free Trade area of the same character, only on a more solid foundation and of far vaster size ? Nothing, if she can once get over the fallacy of cheapness with which the demagogue deceives an ignorant working class.

Englishmen forget only too often the nature of their Colonies and Dependencies.

When the eastern seaboard of America became crowded, the emigrant crossed the Alleghanies and the Ohio into worlds unknown, and formed new States for the Union. And when these worlds were in their turn filled up, he crossed the Rockies to the Pacific Coast and overflowed into Texas and California. He carried his Free Trade with him. And now he is crowding into Western Canada, ready, when the moment comes, to seize that magnificent land for his free commerce.

The overflow of the British islands crosses no mountains ; it crosses the sea, the same sea which laps the shores of the islands and the shores of the new land, and forms the boundary line of the new States. Joined by the highway of the sea, the great States of the Canadian, Australian and African Commonwealths and New Zealand bear to Great Britain the same relation geographically as the States of the Middle and Far West bear to the Carolinas, Virginia and Massachusetts. The same may be said of India. And there might be Free Trade over all this United Empire.

The States of the United States are bound together by

bands far less strong than those which should unite Great Britain and her sovereign States beyond the seas; there is no long history of the great deeds of a homogeneous people to unite Louisiana and Maine; and the imaginary lines which form the borders of the several United States are no such close bond of union as the sea which unites Great Britain's States to her. Let Britons once grasp the fact that the sea in every instance (except the Transvaal and the Orange Free State) forms the border lines of their States, and they might realize a dream of Free Trade far beyond Cobden's wildest anticipations, and form an empire of peace and liberty, which should exist for all time.

But to achieve this they must be willing to give up something and to pay something; there is no something for nothing in this world. It is a matter for bargaining.

Before any such mutual relation could be brought about between the Mother Country and the Colonial States as would open up a vast area of Free Trade, whatever schemes of "Imperial Preference" may be started at Westminster, a vital change would have to come about in the administration of the Empire. The British Parliament must finally give up all control over Imperial questions to an Imperial authority.

There are several powerful arguments against any change of fiscal system, whether from Free Imports and heavily taxed Exports to mutual Free Trade or Protection, or from one tariff to another. Of these arguments probably the strongest is the uncertainty created—that, however well it may work eventually, the installation of the change is always accompanied for a time by depressing disturbance of trade. For example, in the United States in the year preceding and following the election of a new President, trade delays while the buyer is waiting to see results.

It would be absurd to expect that the great Colonial States should upset their entire fiscal system, disturb and to a certainty lose some foreign markets, and risk great cost and loss, only to find six years later that the British elector, not moved by Imperial interests but influenced by a general check in trade the world over, frightened by dearer goods, or misled by purely local issues, had declared for a reversal of the policy, to find themselves in fact at the mercy of sectarian hatred or party animosity.

A Scheme of Federation

If the British desire that these four huge continents (peopled by men equally alive to their commercial needs and far more self-reliant than the British electorate which decides their destiny) should join them in Free Trade, they must lay the foundations of empire in a National Council of two Chambers, apart from the British Parliament, a Council which would, in the first place, give the Colonies a full voice in the management of all Imperial concerns.

The first essential of such a Council is that its head should be one who represents the whole Empire, not only the islands and not at all a faction in the islands. That the possible views, not ascertained, of the people of Criccieth or Fife represent the Empire is a most whole-hearted and most dangerous fiction. All empires sooner or later die, unless the community which rules is fully and clearly represented in government, both by its delegated head and in the group of advisers who must assist him. Empire assumes a ruling race.

As a head there is for us only one such person—the Sovereign, the ruler alike of the people of these islands, of the great self-governing Colonies and of the various dominions such as India.

A king is the only personality in the Empire who can be sufficiently free from bias to undertake such an office. For no other man is such freedom possible, however pure in mind and single-hearted he may be. So completely is the party system ingrained in our politics that it will be at least two generations before the young people can disprove the gibe of Gilbert's *Bab Ballads* that every little boy or girl is born a little Liberal or else a little Conservative. Even at this present the Coalition which is supposed to represent national unity is detaching the independent thinkers by the attempt to remove from Parliament former members however able who will not positively subscribe to their very extensive and futurist programme.

His Majesty has many personal qualifications for such a position. He is, what few of his Ministers can be, a travelled man. He has visited foreign lands and has from a standpoint which is denied to the man of the people a knowledge of other peoples and manners and languages,

a knowledge of which his Ministers are often sadly deficient. His Majesty's silence, which could often have been so easily broken to his apparent advantage during this war, is by no means a sign of weakness. One of the difficulties of the position of a constitutional sovereign is that apart from gossip the people have no means of becoming acquainted with the real character of their ruler or of measuring the man responsible for all administration with his temporary and garrulous Ministers.

But the King's fitness as President of such a Council does not rest on any personal characteristics. He is the only person who can possibly represent the entire Empire away from faction and from the reach of influence and bribery; he represents all classes; he has no interest in favour of any; he is able from his position to deal with all freely; he stands for the protection of unpopular minorities; he stands for the national religion, for the country's view of the moral sense as embodied in the national Church; and he represents in his person as an inheritance the tradition of the growth of the whole British people in a long, various and inconstant history.

Whether his Majesty would make a better or a worse President of such a Council than Queen Anne, the last sovereign who presided over her Cabinet, or any other kings or queens before her, is immaterial. Men as they show themselves are judged by their acts and not by their volume of talk. Any disadvantages are offset by the unity attained, the full representation of the community, the Empire. Contrast his Majesty's position with the President of a Republic, first and last a man of party, who works for his party in the State and exacts to the last the spoils for the victors.

In the course of centuries of history the powers of the king as head of the great Council of the Empire have been so closely marked out as to remove any fear for the freedom of the people or the non-enforcement of their will, so long as the Council is free.

In such a Council the King would have what none of his Ministers ever can have under present conditions, the expert advice and knowledge of the ablest men of all parties in the entire Empire, and he will have what now he has not got, a free Parliament of all his people.

Those who approve of the destruction of the powers of the House of Lords, because it has occasionally resisted that phase of transitory passion euphemistically known as the will of the people, might study with advantage the elected American Senate, especially as the Senate is, as often as not, in conflict either with the House of Representatives or with the President, and does not generally give way.

The Contrast of the United States

The Senate has the advantage of the House of Lords in its numbers, two Senators for each State, irrespective of size and population. But in its composition the Senate differs entirely from the Lords. Except so far as any Senator may express local issues the Senate consists only of paid politicians, men who are delegates of the great manufacturing and mining corporations, lawyers feed by the trusts and the railroads, agents of municipal corporations, guarding against blackmail. Any form of religious belief or morals, the arts and sciences, the learned professions, the army and navy, agriculture, philanthropy, or the interests of the workers in any shape, are entirely unrepresented. Money only, and only money in the hands of aggregates of men, is represented in the American Senate. Any man who wishes to make himself heard and assert his legal rights must belong to a corporate body of money-getters.

The House of Lords, in spite of its weak points which call for internal reform, is so truly representative in the widest sense that it would be comparatively easy to form from it an Upper Chamber of the Empire which should represent that Empire in its entirety. The Colonial Proconsul, the Indian Viceroy, the Liberal philanthropist, the scholar, the manufacturer, the soldier, the churchman, here meet on ground where, freed from the necessity of flattering the vote of the moment, they can consider the interests of the whole people as a society. They are at present equally free from the subservience to monarchy which endangered British freedom in the past, and from the need of conciliating the interests of powerful combinations of capital or labour which promises to be the danger of government in the future.

The Problem of Finance

Any popular Chamber, whether local or Imperial, must deal as a first duty with that most difficult of all questions of government, the provision of the means of carrying it on. Finance is one of the chief difficulties of the art of Government.

Whoever aspires to rule need never expect anything but blame for his management of the regulation of expenditure. It is a matter of such great difficulty that if badly managed it may easily lead to revolt. "Great is bankruptcy," says Thomas Carlyle; "no falsehood, did it rise heaven high and cover the earth, but bankruptcy would one day sweep it down and make us free of it." It is the prelude of revolution.

Men object very much to pay for government, and however honest and capable it may be they always imagine that their money is being wasted and stolen. They are often willing that others shall have the responsibility of this heavy burden of governing, so long as they are not called on to contribute either blood or money. They generally expect to become richer under a strong government, and they often do so. But they never wish to pay for their increase of riches. The ruler, in the collection of the means of government, will follow the path of least resistance.

The Colonial View of Federation

Participation in Federal control means that the States represented would tax themselves for Imperial expenses and Imperial defence. Would the British Colonies do so?

I believe that they would. Only those who have spent many years away from the Mother Country can appreciate the strength of the sentiment of pride in its history and achievements, the only tie which binds the scattered States together. The new lands are proud of the past building of the Empire, proud too that they have helped to build, and proud and willing to undertake the responsibilities of its future destinies from which the timid British elector would shrink. I believe that this sentiment would be sufficient if there were nothing else; but there would be other causes at work.

Under the present system the colonist, whether the oldest colony of Newfoundland or the latest one of South Africa (liable at any moment to have his whole commercial and foreign relations sacrificed to the conditions of political parties in Great Britain), would give much to put an end to Downing Street control of his affairs. To him, to whom money is a great power, it is worth a deal of money to be the master of his own destinies. And he would, I believe, be willing to pay on this score.

Besides this a colonist learns to look ahead in development. In new lands things change more quickly and he sees sudden and far-reaching changes in his conditions. And he suffers besides from insufficient markets. He would be keen to realize that such a tightening of the bonds would mean not far off an immense increase of trade between the States of the Empire. And he would probably see, what the British apparently cannot see, that such real Free Trade would very soon indeed lead to a fall of the tariffs of the nations outside who would want to come in to the largest and most lucrative market in the world.

Federation

But the first step is Federation.

Consider the results which such Federation would have on the political balance of Europe, and on the congested powers of the British Parliament.

The formation of the Imperial Parliament could not fail to lead to the reform in the representation of the House of Lords, the only reproach to an otherwise exceptionally powerful Chamber. And on the House of Commons the effect would be stupendous. Probably a great cause of the contempt which is undoubtedly felt for the House of Commons is the weariness of the electorate with the impotence of an assembly which deals effectively with no legislation, either Imperial or local, nor exercises any control over expenditure.

Great issues, colonial and foreign, now liable to be thrown into the melting pot of party tactics would have a chance of being heard and determined on their merits in a Federal Parliament. The overburdened British ratepayer in the British Parliament would have a chance of making his voice heard on local affairs.

The effect would be specially effective in the naval and military estimates of the Empire. Under the present system these are matters of infinitesimal concern by the side of the purely local issues on which the existence of a majority depends. Surely Ireland would cease to be the victim of English party politics. Home Rule would become an Imperial issue.

If the United States has succeeded so greatly in her Federation, why should not Great Britain, so much more favoured, succeed ?

And last and greatest of all advantages, it would be next to impossible to strangle parliamentary freedom as used in such an assembly. We should have a free Council of the Empire presided over by the King.

CHAPTER VIII

India

The Problems Facing Colonial Rule

If the Colonies were themselves all that the British ruler had to consider of the possession beyond the seas, the task of organizing the Empire would not be a matter of supreme difficulty. The ruling race in our self-governing Colonies, a European race, is present in large numbers ; it is permanently resident ; it is admittedly always vastly superior in inherited intelligence and in moral training to the aboriginal races, and the ruling race themselves recognize the gulf which separates them from the inferior and the necessity of just dealing, of keeping faith, and of firm government. They can learn from the people of the United States both from their mistakes in the past, and from contact with them in the present, the absurdity of the fiction of equality embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and they can avoid it so far as they are not interfered with by pressure from the home politician.

The Negro

In the West Indies and in South Africa they have the insoluble problem of the immense negro population, of the race, if it be human, which from its very earliest appearance on Egyptian or Babylonian monuments has been the slave of every people in turn, the curse of every race with which it comes in contact, never advancing, but keeping step in all ages behind its masters like King Wenceslaus' page. The negro alone has learnt nothing, has invented nothing. He has no religion of his own, no polity of his own.

The immense black population of the West Indies lies like a black cloud over the country, prohibiting any genuine

prosperity, while the whole troubles of the British in South Africa originated a hundred years ago not in any divergence of race between themselves and the Boers, but in conflict over the status and treatment of the negro. For the moment other questions raised by him there have overshadowed his apparent importance; but at any moment the zeal of some irresponsible negro lover in Parliament may bring about an acute crisis, in which the negro and the franchise will appeal to sentiment in England as against the white blood.

For wherever the negro is in numbers, there he is for all time the dominant issue. The men who light-heartedly imported negro slaves into the West Indies and the American plantations, and the men who invited the free Kaffir to emigrate into Natal have left to the men who came after them a riddle which no one since the world began has been able to solve.

A constant menace to the civilization of the white race, his contact with it has been disastrous to its advance and to its purity in both hemispheres; he is now exercising a deadly pressure both on the United States and on Great Britain in Imperial and local politics. I would merely remark that in Natal alone there are 97,000 white men to 900,000 blacks, and that when trouble arose not so long ago when the colony was fighting for existence against the blacks and their Zulu allies, the leading Labour Socialists in the British Parliament expressed their sympathy with the negroes as against their white brethren.

In the United States there would appear to be no solution to the problem of race hatred daily growing more intense, brought about by the reckless gift of the franchise to the negro by the victorious party after the Civil War. Segregation in a separate State, deportation to Africa, and that last refuge of the hopeless, free intermarriage, have all been suggested as remedies.

The Yellow Races

Then there is the ever-present question for all our Colonies of the exclusion of the yellow races of Asia from the labour market and from commerce. It is a very simple problem. So long as we are strong enough physically we shall keep them out, as in the past they kept us out of Asia, but only so long. There is only one remedy, to make our organiza-

tion more efficient, our education more a reality, and to surpass them in the competition so that it will cease to be worth while for them to invade our labour market.

The solution of these problems is the same for the white man all over the world, increased pace in competition, brute force and diplomacy.

Equality in India

But we have a problem to solve in Asia which admits of no such easy solution, but on which this same fiction is liable to exercise a very evil influence indeed, a problem unlike in magnitude any that the world has ever seen.

It is the government in India including Burmah and Ceylon, by a very small floating minority of Europeans resident on account of climatic conditions for a short part of each personal life, of an immense variety of Asiatic races, confusedly mixed as the result of events extending over the history of the world in a huge continent. India is a name only. The only thing that keeps it a unit is the government by the British Raj.

One can hardly express the situation better than by stating that India has an area of over 1,800,000 miles, a population of over 315 million and some 220 languages besides the literary Hindustanee and Sanscrit and English.

Some of the Difficulties of Government

The races have no likelihood of amalgamation; they vary through stratas of men of the very highest mental acquirements, subject to a most highly elaborated system of most ancient law, and through men of military origin also of a high type who are directly opposed to them racially and otherwise to races very little above the negro in type.

To go further, the tiny minority of Europeans profess for the most part a form of Christianity which does not extend as a national religion beyond the limits of the Empire. Even within those limits its influence is checked by variations of political religion, of which some are allied to this fictitious doctrine of equality. This minority of Europeans obtain political rule over the vast mass of Asiatics who profess a very great variety of religious beliefs, away from the influence of Christianity as an organized form.

A very large majority, some seventy per cent. the Hindus,

hold to a most ancient form of religion, so highly organized as to enter into and regulate all the relations of social life; a minority, small by comparison, some twenty-one per cent., are Mohammedans. But as if to show the magnitude of the problem this minority of Mohammedans makes the British Raj the greatest Mohammedan power in the world. There are other living religions numbered in millions exercising immense pressure on social and political life, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Buddhists, and over ten million so-called Animists who practise magic and worship nature.

It is not only the antiquity and elaboration of the Hindu faith which form the difficulty for the European. The philosophic basis for the beliefs is so far in conformity with human instincts, as might be expected from its high antiquity, as to render it very difficult indeed and very unlikely, apart from the force of example of a virtuous life, for the Hindu to become a convert to Christianity. It has even attractions for the Christian. The doctrine of reincarnation, with all its physical terrors, affords a theory of future existence which might stand comparison with the material conceptions of Christian saints and poets, and self-sacrifice for others the kernel of the Christian faith is not absent from the religion of Vishnu.

Can any one imagine a field in which the doctrine of political equality could be put to more disastrous use?

Still further the East is not exempt from the angel who just now troubles all the waters of dogmatic religion. The Eastern has grown impatient of the restraints of his elaborate forms as compared with Christian observances. He is reconsidering his system by the light thrown on it by the West. But the process of sifting the gold from the dross strengthens his animosity to other faiths, and inclines him to regard less kindly political interference which may check and confuse his development from within.

Caste in India

Still more the social relations of the East, resting, as ours do not, on religious observances, are regulated by caste, by a division into minute classes absolutely opposed to any fiction of equality, a condition in which there is no room for a "man of the people" at all. Each man has his own place in society. The West may not wish it, may not

approve of it, certainly will not attempt to understand it, but cannot change it.

The Influence of Negro Equality from the United States

Evil as the effect of the negro has been upon our South African and West Indian possessions, his influence in the light of the fiction of equality is worse as it affects the European superiority in the East. On the one hand, the untravelled islander is led to despise the very highest class Indian, often his intellectual equal and not far from his equal in the moral sense, and to confuse him with the negro on account of his dark colour; on the other hand, he is encouraged by his fiction of equality to introduce what he calls constitutional government into the East under the impression that all dark men are homogeneous and that the half-educated agitators who preach discontent will become contented if, in the place of the institutions which have grown with them from the far ages, some ready-made schemes of government are put upon them in the name of freedom. One is reminded of a former ruler of Serbia who is said to have given a constitution to his subjects to allay discontent when they wanted pasturage for their pigs.

There is no hope of union or of mixing either between the European and the Indian or with slight exceptions between the races and the religions themselves.

The Government of one Community by Another

Let us consider again the word Government in relation to Empire, that is to the rule by one community of other communities with whom it will not or cannot amalgamate.

The ruler (it is the baffling hopelessness of the republican conception) must represent a race or a community which depends for its successful rule upon the admittance of political superiority over the other races. Such political superiority, if it is to be permanent, can only rest on liberty and equality, not in the Franco-American but in the British sense, the equality of all white, brown, yellow and black under just administration of the law which preserves individual liberty to all.

There are a few Indians who have travelled and have a half knowledge of Europe read largely by the instruction

of Japan. They are ripe for any mischief. But except for these, the great body of Indians, who recognize only the King as Emperor, who have no knowledge of and no use for the British parliamentary minister or member, who have no wish for a vote and no belief in the counting of noses, submit to our government because it recognizes such equality. Once asked to take charge of the political field as the white man's political equal, there is no limit to the inequality in the Law Courts and to the oppression of the weaker by parliamentary means.

It would be to hand over the cultivator, who *is* India, to the handful of lawyers and half-educated students of European methods, who *are called* India.

When that step is taken there will be no further place for us in the country at all. We can step out, and Japan will step in as a naval power in our place to control the long coast line.

To the Indian it is death equally with ourselves. Multiplication of departments, of officials, of bodies of delegates for discussion or action, does not mean liberty in any small country. Still less on a vast continent inhabited by peoples having nothing whatever in common but the climate such surrender, at the bidding of the English and the Indian baboo, of the power to enforce equal justice over the whole country according to local custom would be an unparalleled calamity to the whole world.

Here Federation with our Colonies may help us, and if quickly consummated may possibly save us.

CHAPTER IX

The Moral Sense—A Free Church

There remains one more aspect in which to consider the use of the words liberty and equality and the will of the people with regard to a community, the most important of all, their relation to the moral sense.

It is usual to jeer against the Church, to make light of any observances of social religion, to assume that success in national and political life is assured apart from morals in both ruler and ruled. But any one who seriously contemplates the foundation of society on a firm basis will recognize that it must rest, if it is to be a *free* society to bring *freedom* of any description to its members, on something other than brute force. Otherwise under whatever form it may appear, whether as a naked tyranny, or as a rule by the will of the people of a man of the people, it is nothing else but despotism cloaked by pious phrases, supported only by force, and effectual so long only as force can support it.

All rulers, hereditary, elective or usurpers, whether king or demagogue, recognize the fact and make appeal to the Deity as evidence that their power to control society rests not only on the physical strength to enforce their will, but on the moral force to which all humanity must bow.

The ruler from all time claims to be as the delegate of the Deity of a caste apart and superior to those whom he governs, and, judging from past history, it is necessary for the permanent stability of government that this claim should be acquiesced in. History does not tell us what became of the children of King Cophetua and the beggar maid. Formerly he asserted a direct descent or direct

delegation from the Deity, rule by Divine Right. He was not only Cæsar but Pontifex Maximus. Even before this claim becomes discredited by investigation he had joined to it the claim of election by the people, but it is never absent, for it represents an elementary instinct of man. In all those cases which in the circle of time recur, where there is no direct ruler of the community, or where the man acting for it temporarily is one of themselves, the same theory of Divine Right asserts itself. It is claimed that the voice of the people is the voice of God, and that this hoarse oracle chooses by a voice equal to the call of a Divine Right the man chosen for the time to direct the affairs of the nation.

In the case of the Christian sovereign, whose position rests on inheritance, the king appeals to the moral sense of the community by admitting the intervention of the Church at his coronation. Mere election is not a permanent title to rule. When the ruler feels that his crooked actions will not bear inquiry, he covers it over by putting the blame for his lying on God; where, as an usurper such as Napoleon, there could be no claim to the throne either by virtue of Divine Right or by election, he strengthens his position by a convention with those charged with the interpretation of the moral sense of the nation, a concordat as it is called.

The Moral Sense in Great Britain and the United States

I venture once more to draw a parallel between the United States and the British Empire, in respect of this matter of the moral sense on which the whole destiny of our people depends.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the men who originally settled the American Colonies, whether they were the Churchmen of Virginia or the "dissidence of dissent" of New England, were in the main men who sincerely expected and approved of some State form of religion. The Virginia Churchmen introduced their parish system throughout the Southern States, the New Englander enforced his theocracy on social life and on State organization, and the Huguenots from France brought their ministers with them and set up their churches in the new desert. There would seem, judg-

ing from the past, to have been no reason why each State should not have held to its State form of religion after the Revolution.

But the time when the American Colonies broke off from Great Britain was not favourable to any connection of Church and State or to the adoption by the State of any definite religious creed. Philosophic doubt was in the air, then as now. The spirit of resistance to political authority encouraged men in refusing recognition to any claim to control the individual will; the Church of England was suffering from the neglect and refusal of the authorities in England to send out bishops and clergy to serve the scattered settlements in America, a neglect which led directly to the Methodist schism, by forcing Wesley to ordain helpers in America; New England had rebelled against the Congregational theocracy, and was already becoming Unitarian and Agnostic; and the Papacy was at a low ebb, a foreign exotic, as it always must be with an Italian Pope, a form of authority contrary to every principle on which the new Republic was founded, and without the material of immigration from Europe on which to work. But besides this the basis on which the Federal Government was established after the Declaration of Independence was such that adherence to any one form of State belief was impossible without wrecking the whole.

Founded by Christian men the country could not and cannot be left wholly without religious faith. But religious belief was in no sense connected with the State, in no sense encouraged or assisted; the men who formed their social fabric on the oddments of French philosophy, and taught "equality" of "rights," failed to see that a system of public morality was necessary for a free people. They did not recognize that the State which divorces itself from association with any system of moral government abdicates not only the right to teach morals, but the right to enforce them, except by brute strength. The rulers may be professing Christians, but their beliefs become individual beliefs only, and have an evil influence unless their actions are in accord. Where the State has no definite religion, the Ten Commandments have no force except through the Federal bayonets.

It is of interest to note how and how far at the time

of the American revolution, the vacuum caused by this attitude of the State was naturally filled.

The constructive forces, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, were, as they must always be in the first instance in revolutions, aristocrats, men of property and education, men who had something to lose and were willing to risk losing it. No one will follow in far-reaching change the man who has nothing, or who, asking sacrifice from others, holds on to his salary. So far as they had in those days any religion at all these men were affiliated to the Church of England. They had no connection with the dissidence of dissent. But the educated man is always the first when the religious bodies are slack in their evangelical work silently to drop his religious forms and convictions.

At the revolution the Church of England, which represented the displaced Government, was practically for the time being swept out of existence. In the north the great majority of Churchmen were forced by the furious persecution to emigrate to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or the West Indies; in the south the Church as an organization was practically prohibited.

The history of the Church in Virginia is instructive to any one capable of learning a lesson from history, as showing what the politician who uses freedom of conscience for his horse block can do when he gets into the saddle. As one of their own supporters then said, the Dissenters were actuated by two strong principles, "love of freedom" and "hatred of the Church Establishment," and love of freedom meant then what it meant in the seventeenth century, what it always means to men of any extreme who mix up God with politics, the power to subordinate the social fabric to their own opinions.

The Methodists in the United States

In this sacrifice of all spiritual agencies on the altar of political and philosophic ideas, it was due to the Methodists, then in their spiritual stage, that Christian doctrine and morals were preserved in the country. Methodism was the natural religion of the revolted provinces. Romanism leant towards Socialism, subordinating the individual to priestly control; the Church of England, holding the mean between two extremes, represented the hated British Govern-

ment, and savoured of aristocracy ; the Baptists and Independents, though aggressive and powerful, were too purely political to satisfy any spiritual instincts.

Methodism exactly suited the spirit of the revolution. It rested as extremely on the individual as Romanism rested on the authority of the society ; the open-air preaching, the dispensing with any formal prayer or ritual, the elimination of any medium between the lonely pioneer and his God, appealed to the conditions of the struggle in which he was engaged, and supplied a spiritual background to his earthly warfare. And Methodism was more than merely in accord with the conditions of the revolution. It was itself the spiritual revolution which preceded the political revolution of which it was the counterpart, the claim for freedom of conscience which preceded the claim for freedom of action, just as the Congregational fanatic of the Protectorate was the product of the real Puritan of the Tudor times, and as the " passive resister " of to-day is the knotty growth of the resisting Ritualist of the seventies.

The Church of England

While the United States, nursed in the cradle of French atheistic philosophy, was early carried by Jefferson's Bill for religious freedom outside of any system of public morals, the political institutions of Great Britain have grown up from the beginning under the shelter of a system of public morality. The liberties of the people had been formulated and won by Churchmen before the question of their infraction came to be debated in any House of Commons.

Throughout English history, with few exceptions, long before Archbishop Langton led the battle for Magna Charta, and long after the Declaration of Rights had been obtained as the result of the self-sacrifice of the Seven Bishops in face of the opposition of Roman Catholics and Dissenters, the Church has been the moulding hand of British liberty. The liberties of England are embedded in religious strata.

On the other side, the history of America, begun in revolt against authority lay and spiritual, has ended in complete separation of the State from any system of morals, so that, apart from voluntary moral agencies, and the tremendous reflection of morals from Great Britain and from Rome, no

power in aid of morality is brought to bear on any issue, political or social, in the United States.

Nor is this difference only felt in Great Britain. A man has merely to cross the border from Maine to New Brunswick to feel this difference, the difference of a tradition of Christianity, and a tradition of its absence.

In the British Colony, even with the theological extremists, owing to this difference, love of freedom does not of necessity correlate hatred of the establishment.

The Established Church

I have referred so far to history because the conditions which existed then have produced and are being reproduced in the conditions of to-day. Whilst religion in England has been through the Church,—and when the Church lagged in its duty through the Methodists, the only body having a religious origin which has separated from it—a vivifying spiritual influence in political and social life, responsible for the altruism, the sense of responsibility, of *noblesse oblige* in the well-born and wealthy, which has saved Great Britain again and again from revolution; in the United States the religious bodies, disowned by the State, have failed to touch any part of public life, politics, the administration of justice, or the ethics of society; they have struck no blow in defence of purity of law or of commercial honesty; they have passed by on the other side the bleeding bodies of free institutions won for the race by the religious men of these islands; they have been obliged to content themselves with encouraging vicarious almsgiving, and accumulation of Church property.

No empire can continue for long to exist without having unity of religious belief in the ruling class. Dissent such as that in Ireland or Wales which rests upon political difference and class hatred is fatal to the influence of the moral sense on which and not on machine-guns success in rule depends. The overpowering strength of the Church of England is shown by its continuing to exist and to exercise widespread influence as an aristocratic body in a democratic age, an example of men preaching religious freedom apart from political equality.

Why should not the Protestant bodies of the English-speaking race become the Catholic, the Universal Church

of the English-speaking world, and through that eventually of the Christian world ? Have we faith in our own destiny ?

In the eyes of her critics the defect of the Church of England, the true free Church, is her tolerance ; she gives shelter to parties so contrary that each cannot understand why the other is allowed to exist ; she is strong in all the British Colonies, and her counterpart in the United States, the Protestant Episcopal Church, though small, is a much respected body, daily gaining solid ground.

The Methodists have become a numerous, powerful and far too wealthy body in all the English-speaking world, wanting only an evangelical call to make their ministrations effective. Why should not these two unite their forces for the world's good ? They are the complements of each other ; they would beneficially react on each other, and the wall between them is low and thin.

The Methodists could learn from the ritualistic High Churchman, from whom their founder sprang, the lesson of disregard of the world's wealth, and devotion to the poor, to which their body owes its origin ; the English ritualists might be induced to pay less regard to those mediæval ordinances, in spite of which their evangelical work is done.

If the parochial system of England, with its learned and hard-working elergy all over the world, could be joined to a revived Methodist evangelical body in the United States and in the British Empire, there would be formed a body of Christian faith uniting the voice of authority and freedom of thought that might verily convert the world.

The force of such an alliance is not to be judged merely by the numbers or the intellectual power of the members; the solvent power of conciliation on other religious bodies must be taken into account. At a time when the statement of many religious beliefs is being recast, it could not fail that the other Protestant bodies, if not the Roman Catholics, would consider with themselves whether there was really sufficient ground for separation from the Universal Church. It is always the effect of schism to exaggerate causes of dissension ; weakening the strength of both parties by the hatred aroused. But if such a junction between these two great bodies could be effected, many differences between other religious bodies would look small indeed. Conciliation minimizes difficulty.

Beside this the perfection of the Union would be that it joins the two poles of religious thought and action, the direct responsibility of man to his Maker, and the direct responsibility of man to the society; it would do more to join the British Empire and the United States in a real bond of union than all the fine speeches made by well-meaning men on both sides of the Atlantic. The League of Churches, the softening down of religious differences might bring about the peace between all civilized peoples, which no League of Nations however loudly advertised by the politician can ever effect.

It should also have a very marked influence on our political life. The King, and the King almost alone in politics, represents in any form the moral sense of the nation. It is he only who sets any example to his people of self-restraint either in action or in language—for example, at a time of national danger, when the bar-room of the House of Commons was running full time, the King set the example of temperance to the nation.

He represents also freedom of religious belief. His ministers who represent the Parliaments in the various parts of his Dominions hold various forms of belief, pagan, Mohammedan, Christian, Roman Catholic and Protestant. He might have such a minister even in Ireland if that political band of separatists which has been described by Sir Henry Maine as the "running sore," and by Edmund Burke as the "spear point embedded in the flesh," the Ulster Sinn Fein headed by Sir Edward Carson, could be eliminated from that unhappy country. But whatever his limitations, while the politicians are occupied in destroying the ancient Churches in the name of religious freedom the King as the political head of those Churches remains as the real exponent of the national and imperial unity under which only religious freedom can exist.

Any movement towards unity of Churches which intends freedom would assuredly react in the direction of strengthening national and imperial unity throughout the Empire.

It is moral sense which the King represents and not political liberty which is needed to avoid disaster in the future, and a free national Church representing the moral sense of the ruling race is a prime necessity.

CHAPTER X

A Conclusion

I have made use in these pages of the statement of equality of rights in the Declaration of Independence as a dangerous fiction which may have a most disastrous effect on the future of British conceptions of government both in respect of internal and of foreign affairs. The enthusiasm over the Fourth of July in England comes from the misunderstanding by the English people of the history both of the United States and of the British Empire (as apart from England).

The misunderstanding is an unmitigated evil to both countries, and the danger to our own social ideals is very close indeed. "Heterogeneous as is the population of the United States to-day," say the comments in that most able and popular paper, the *Bystander*, July 10, 1918, "it is our proud belief that the handful of Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock three centuries ago served as the little leaven that has leavened the whole Transatlantic race. The enunciation of American Independence was merely the re-establishment of a cardinal principle of Anglo-Saxonism that we had lost awhile, etc., etc." It is a small matter, perhaps, that the "handful of pilgrims," like Raleigh's colony in North Carolina, were all wiped out leaving no descendants; and that the *Mayflower* ended her days as a slave ship carrying negroes to Virginia in face of impassioned protests from the Southerner, while subsequent "handfuls of pilgrims" were illustrating their belief in the "cardinal principle of Anglo-Saxonism" by whipping Quakers or burning witches, as they later on tarred and feathered the American loyalists and still later put the white aristocrats of the South under the heel of the negro.

But I wish most strongly to impress on readers that strictures on this unfortunate document are not intended to imply any disrespect for the United States itself, or any want of appreciation of the great people of the continent. I have too many good friends in that country to say a disparaging word of them. They lead the world in so many things, such as national self-respect; they have shown courage in dealing with the many dangerous problems, and they have a most wonderful power of assimilation of races. The two peoples could teach each other much; the British the moral strength of the society, and the American the self-respect of the individual.

It is quite a mistake for a Britisher to suppose, as he often does, that as an individual he is physically or mentally superior to the American. It is by no means the case. It is his conditions which are superior, his historical institutions won for him long ago by his forefathers. He is protected from the evil impulses of his individual nature by the good influence of a consummately illogical political system; he is taught the moral duties of a citizen early in his youth by the Church as supported by State authority; and from babyhood he learns obedience to authority, and to the laws of the State. He is fortunate above all other peoples in the world in having his laws administered apart from politics, and therefore justly; he lives in an atmosphere of trust and morality, of true liberty and equality.

This very excellence of his social system leaves him without the initiative which is so strongly impressed on the American by the weakness of his social institutions. But even if carried to such an extreme as to have this ill effect, the British social system has made the people the greatest colonizing race on earth, the distributors over the whole world of the blessings of morals and true freedom, resulting from ordered obedience to law. The American is prevented by this foolish fiction over which we are hurrahing from using forms of administration which permit of colonies.

The British, if once they get rid of the idea that the American institutions are a superior development of their own growth, if once they can understand that it is to their own Colonies, and not to the United States, that they must look for development, may learn many things of that country.

At present while in their struggle with their surroundings, the best Americans are crying, like the man in the iron cage, " I cannot get out," the British author, and ambassador, and tourist and journalist are lost in admiration of the beauty of the cage.

The British may learn to put a just value on their own institutions and traditions. The moral of such cases as the Thaw trial was not the breakdown of the American Courts of Justice, the pliability of the jurors, or the sensuous nastiness of the press. The true moral was that the Yankee American ideals of New England, with their doctrine of equality, have so moulded American public life as to give no showing to men of the Thaw class, however able. They leave no occupation, no aspiration, for the rich man, except commerce, or commercial gambling, or the public prostitution of his means and energies to the pursuit of vice and idleness.

He is prohibited from seeking to do his duty in the administration of the laws as a magistrate. That is " the political right of the dominant party in the State," and as such has inevitably fallen into the hands of the poor political camp follower, who needs it as a means of support. For the same reason he cannot hope to compete in politics with the delegates who are paid for their services as professional politicians. There is no encouragement to philanthropic effort, where selfishness is the standard of national morality ; no opening for literary excellence, where all scholarship is knocked to the dead level of State uniform instruction ; no inducement to a country life subject to plundering raids by armies of tramps, while deprived of all the duties, responsibilities and pleasures which give it attraction for men of leisure.

The saddest of the memories of the Britisher who has lived in the United States is the foolish flattery, to which the American makes no response, consistently poured by the English journals and politicians always on the wrong spot, on American people and American institutions. The American only respects those people who respect themselves. He has no respect for people who exact no respect for their own flag. He is not likely to reply to the plastered flattery on the Fourth by transferring his Thanksgiving turkey to Guy Fawkes day.

The effect of our Colonial is twofold. Naturally looking to the Mother Country for the lead, he is perforce driven to admire and to imitate many very questionable features of the United States held up to him by her for admiration.

Thus Lincoln, the poor boy, and equality of rights, is much more likely to become the ideal of the Colonial, than Lee, the stainless knight, and duty to the State.

But all the same the Colonial thinks for himself.

The Colonies have repaid the slights and contempt of Great Britain with true affection and generosity in her hour of need. But they are not misled by the knowledge that their people are few in number as compared with the United States; they know that the future is with them; they know their real place in the Empire.

If the British wish to draw closer for their own benefit the ties of relationship between the Colonies and the Mother Country, they must realize in time that their real greatness lies, not in the United States which severed from them, but in the lands which remain loyal to them.

In these islands and in their self-governing Colonies this fiction has had and is having very evil effects. In India and in those parts of our dominions which have a like government, it has not merely an evil effect. It spells absolute ruin, and that very quickly indeed unless its falsity is brought home to the common sense of the British people and by them to their Ministers. That is my excuse for making use of it as an illustration.

Let us look at our past history and sum up present conditions of government, and clear our minds of political cant.

We have achieved the true liberty, equal justice in the Courts, for ourselves and by our example and influence very largely for the world at large, owing to the form of our government as a growth of the ages. By this all responsibility for administration is vested by the community in the ruler (whether you call him King or President or Emperor does not matter) as a first necessity of communal life.

Our ruler under our Constitution, if carried into effect, is checked and controlled in the use of his power by the public opinion of the whole community as expressed in the

action of the assembly in the two Houses of Parliament. This government by a ruler and a general assembly has occasionally been disturbed and come to a disastrous end for the want of a just balance between the ruler's authority and the control over it by the community. When so disturbed tyranny from the one side or the other has certainly followed. Those who imagine that a King or an Emperor will incline to tyranny, and that a President or an irresponsible Prime Minister will encourage freedom are as mistaken as the invalid who refused the medicine offered to him as a radical cure but accepted it when told that it was a sovereign remedy. Clear your minds of cant. A King by name is no more tyrannous than a President, a Bishop no more than a Moderator. The difference in either case lies only in the control reserved by the community.

The perfection of our government has consisted in the perfect balance of control between the King and the community.

It is not possible that the King should personally attend to all arts of government. But he should be able to call upon the fittest men of all classes to become his Ministers for the work, which he cannot do under the party system, and it is necessary that he should preside over their councils and be cognizant of all the acts done in his name, consulting, especially in Imperial matters, all who can give him expert advice, and acting on the final opinion of the majority.

This essential of government disappeared and the balance of our Constitution was so far destroyed when King George I ceased to preside over the deliberations of his Cabinet. Yet our King, in spite of the most extensive delegation of his authority, remains in effect the ruler of the Empire. All matters of any importance are transacted in his name, though the matter may not be a personal act. As an instance I see to-day, July 30, 1918, a notice posted up in front of Buckingham Palace. It runs :—

BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION.

Withdrawing certain certificates of exemption from military service. Whereas (quoting the Act of Parliament passed by the King and the two Houses) it is provided that His Majesty may by Proclamation, etc. etc. (Then follows a long Proclamation

with two schedules.) Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace this 4th day of June, 1918, etc. etc.

Once more the King represents no party but the entire people; he is the only tie between us and the Colonies, the only expression of our rule in India, the only protector of the rights of minorities anywhere, the only emblem of our moral sense in politics.

As His Majesty has not abdicated but has merely allowed his present interference in politics to fall into abeyance, it would be a very simple matter that he should resume active participation in the acts which are done with the consent of the community in his name. It would be immensely for the benefit of the Empire that he should do so.

Our Constitution of King, Lords and Commons is at present wholly in abeyance.

The Kingship has succumbed to the Whig doctrine that it is "unconstitutional" for the King, who is part of the Constitution, to perform his duties except as the conduit pipe of his Ministers, who must be in one of the Houses of Parliament.

The Ministers of either party professedly holding office on the sole ground that by log-rolling or otherwise they can command a temporary majority in the House of Commons have ceased to consult Parliament and by means of the closure and other procedure prevent any expression of opinion of the members. A free Parliament, free from closure and ministerial authority, and a free Parliament free from the intolerable burden of party cries and party treasons in which all members are not only national but imperial, is an essential if we are to preserve the freedom for which we have been fighting and suffering. At present as the Ministers concentrate all authority for the moment in their own hands, they can make far-reaching changes in our Constitution and can substitute even in India for British ideals of liberty and equality the eighteenth-century fiction from which the United States of America has suffered so much. It is a fiction which the sensible American, though his politicians pay homage to it on the Fourth of July, has swept out of his practical life.

The present conditions of the Empire offer no opportu-

nity for trying new experiments in government. A general election, in which all the party intrigues, the caucus managers, the conscientious objectors and pacifists and cranks of all sorts could play their tricks in the absence of the fighting men, tells us nothing of the temper of the people, or of their support of any one party, whether coalition or other. It is no expression of confidence in the present Ministry, but the assertion of a still sane people that in this time of great uncertainty until peace has been signed a change from our present Ministry would very likely be a change for the worse.

But that is no reason why the Constitution should not be restored to its former state, the nation with a full voice in Parliament united under the leadership of the King, as it never can be under any Minister of a party.

At least let us clear our minds of cant, and see words and phrases in their true meaning.

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