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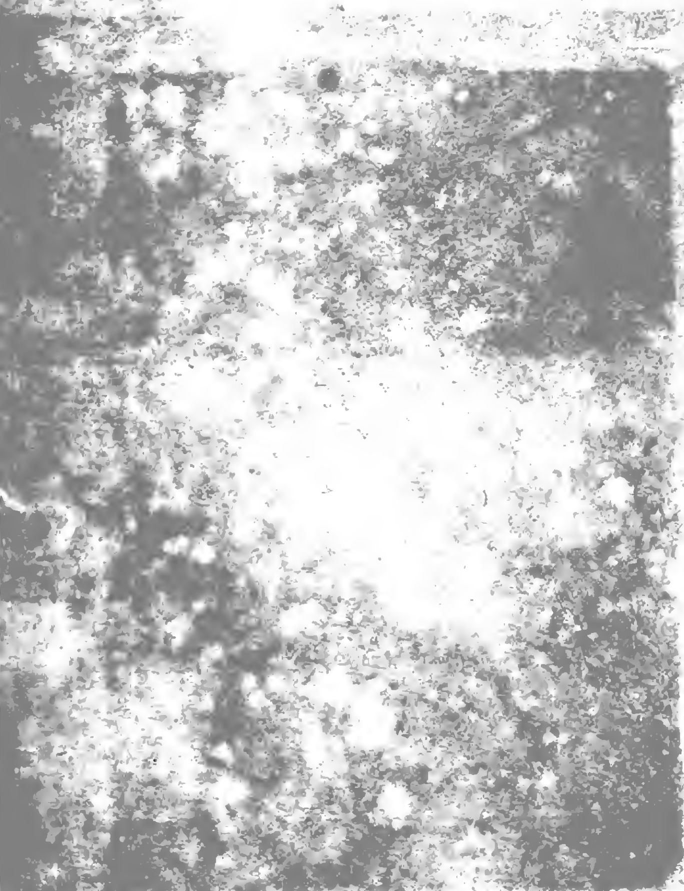

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TORY DEMOCRACY

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TORY DEMOCRACY

BY

Cavendish

HENRY BENTINCK

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POLITICAL history is not sufficiently known now, but when I started in life, it is no exaggeration to say, that the mind of the country, even in the Houses of Parliament, was a blank upon it. The Tory Party had lost all their traditions, and this led to their fall. I have for forty years been labouring to replace the Tory Party in their natural and historical position in this country. I am in the sunset of life, but I do not despair of seeing my purpose effected.

Letter from DISRAELI to Rev. A. BEAVER
19 January 1874

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TORY DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

" What we want, sir, is not to fashion new dukes and furbish up old baronies, but to establish great principles which may maintain the realm and secure the happiness of the people."—*Coningsby*, by DISRAELI

HE who would successfully see into the future of our political parties must be unusually gifted with the spirit of divination. In peace time, the welfare of his party is a matter of intense importance to every intelligent citizen. In war time, however, when the nation is battling for its existence against a common enemy, party differences and controversies seem of small importance. But the organization of party remains an essential element in any system of representative government. In due course of time we shall undoubtedly re-form our ranks and unfurl our banners. Meanwhile, these are times of special danger to all our political parties. A force has arisen which is indifferent to them all, except as instruments for its own purpose—a

force which has used the war and the passions aroused by it to fortify its position, and now scoffs at all our idealisms. What is the permanent peace of the world to Plutocracy, or Plutocracy to the permanent peace of the world? Its only thought is to turn the British Empire into a bagman's Paradise, and to make the world safe for itself.

While everything generous, self-sacrificing and noble is shedding its blood on the fields of France and Flanders, Plutocracy is on the war-path at home. Its batteries are unmasked and the attack opened. Plugson of Undershot, having conquered shells and cellulose, will capture our political life. A Ministry of Information, strengthened and enlarged by Imperial financiers and lumber-men, will provide the right brand of synthetic truth or manufactured falsehood. The "pious Editor" will spread whatever trash will keep the people in blindness. The Labour Party will be split and divided by subtle machinations. The Golden Calf will be set up; those who worship will be rewarded with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, while those who refuse will be denounced as Pacifists and Bolsheviks. The Tory Party will be thoroughly commercialized and vulgarized, and a liberal distribution of office and honours will promote contentment in its ranks.

Such is the grand design, the plan of campaign. The longer the War lasts, the stricter will be the monopoly and the larger the spoils, the more will Plutocracy be ennobled, decorated, knighted and enriched. That way lies disruption and damnation. Disruption for the nation; our wonderful war-time unity will dissolve itself into a confused welter of warring factions. Damnation for the Tory Party; for it will inevitably lose its national character and sink into a tariff-mongering faction.

Under the leadership of Disraeli, the influence of Randolph Churchill, and the guidance of Salisbury, the Tory Party realized its true destiny; it rose above the mere interests of a class, and became a great national party; standing for great principles, it identified itself with the welfare and happiness of the people. It was in consequence trusted by the people. Let it beware lest it fall once more to the level of a faction, the subservient tool of a greedy class, suspected and despised by the great Democracy of to-morrow.

There is a turn in the tide of every party, and never in its history has the Tory Party had a better opportunity. Nobody knows, not even its Leaders, what the Liberal Party stands for to-day. The Labour Leaders fear their fate too much. Let the Tory Party set up its standard and summon to its ranks all

that is noble, patriotic, unselfish and ideal. Let it be true to its traditions. Let it eject from its temple the money-changers who exploit it. Let it foster and encourage the growing sense of community in the nation, and let the 'common-weal' be the master light of all its seeing.

We can then march forward with confidence. All our difficulties will be solved in the spirit of mutual helpfulness and goodwill; our industry will be regarded as a form of national service; the right of labour to the happiness and dignity of life will be recognized; finally, the sense of our common humanity, which has waited so long to assert its mastery over the spiritual life of the nation, will establish in our land a truly Christian commonwealth.

"There are," wrote Disraeli, "still great truths if we could only work them out; that Government, for instance, should be loved and not hated, and that Religion should be a faith and not a form." [1]

[1] *Coningsby.*

CHAPTER II

"There is a whisper rising in the country that Popular Liberty is something more diffuse and substantial than the exercise of the sacred rights of sovereignty by political classes."—*Sybil*, by DISRAELI

THE conception of the Commonwealth has been the inspiration of all our social and political institutions since the dawn of English history, and is still the goal of a democratic age.

The Government that we need is a Government which shall give expression to an idea, the Christian idea, that Society is a community, not a mere aggregation of individuals, not an arena where classes and interests struggle for domination, but an organism within which each man can play his part, and be enabled to render service to his fellows, and in return receive service from them.

What we want, in short, is to re-establish what we once possessed, that is, the idea of the 'Commonwealth.'

Our modern progress is in reality nothing but a process of recapture by the people of what was once their own.

"Many men," wrote Disraeli, "who think they are inventors are only reproducing ancient wisdom."

Before the frigid theories of the individualist age pressed all the grace and savour out of the life of the people, the supreme interest of a common weal governed all their social and political thought. Human beings in the eyes of our mediæval ancestors were of more importance than wealth. Every man had a right to a livelihood, and every article a just price—a price based on its cost of production, not on the necessity or plenty of the times. The pursuit of wealth as an end in itself was condemned, and avarice, *i.e.* an eagerness for gain beyond what was necessary to maintain a man in his rank of life, was held to be one of the seven deadly sins.

As St. Thomas Aquinas wrote:

"Trade is rendered lawful when the merchant seeks a moderate gain for the maintenance of his household, or for the relief of the indigent, and also when the trade is carried on for the public good, in order that the country may be furnished with the necessaries of life, and the gain is looked upon, not as the object, but as the wages of his labour."

Modern research has disposed of the idea that the Middle Ages were times of oppres-

sion; on the contrary, as Disraeli wrote in *Sybil*:

"There is more serfdom in England now than in any time since the Conquest. The people were better clothed, better lodged, and better fed just before the Wars of the Roses than they are at this moment. We know how an English peasant lived in those times: he ate flesh every day, he never drank water, was well housed, and clothed in stout woollens."[1] As late as the reign of Henry VIII it was proudly asked, "What common folk in all the world may compare with the Commons of England in riches, freedom, liberty, welfare, and in all prosperity? What common folk is so mighty, so strong in the field, as the Commons of England?"[2]

But at the end of the Middle Ages this human and Christian conception of Society gradually broke down before the rising power of the commercial classes. Henceforward the political history of England is a struggle between different classes for power and wealth; the interests of the 'common-weal' gives place to the struggle for existence. It became more profitable to keep sheep than to plough the land. A rapacious aristocracy, to make way for sheep, drove the people off the land. Now for the first time we hear of the unem-

[1] *Sybil.* [2] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*

ployed. In vain did Latimer thunder against them, complaining that there never were so many gentlemen and so little gentleness. In vain did More denounce the *nouveaux riches*, who, "nothing profiting," as he says, "but much noying the weal publique, leave no ground for tillage . . . they throw down houses, they pluck down Towns, and leave nothing standing but only the Church to be made a sheep-house." So long as the monarchy sustained its power some check was kept on the greed of the new commercial nobility, and the conception of the commonwealth on the whole was preserved.

The Tudor sovereigns were no philanthropists, but Henry VIII viewed with alarm the depopulation of the countryside; he wanted for his shire levies not "houseless men," but "men bred in some free and plentiful manner"—such men as in the days of his ancestors "had made all France afraid." Elizabeth, too, perceived that if the stability of society were to be maintained, it devolved upon her to preserve a just balance between the interests of the classes. Henry ordered the depopulators to rebuild the farms and replough the pastures; and to the Elizabethan statesmen we owe that admirable industrial code which gave the poor the right to State relief, ensured them a living wage, and provided employment in times

of depression and some amount of technical training for their children.

In Charles I's reign the energy of the State became still more active and assumed a still more philanthropic form. If Charles was a poor constitutionalist, he was a good social reformer. Charles was as one born out of due time. He should have been a member of a Labour Government. One might almost say that he lost his head for daring to anticipate modern finance and attempt differential taxation of the rich. However that may be, he was a zealous protector of the poor and helpless against the oppression of the propertied classes.

In February 1631 the weavers of Sudbury complained; a petition to the Council was presented on behalf of Sylvia Harbert saying the "poore spinsters, weavers and combers of wooll" were "much abridged of their former and usuall wages" by the clothiers, "who are now growne rich by the labours of the said poor people."[1] The matter was referred to a committee with instructions to cause "orderly payment" to be made of the "due and accustomed wages."

A jealous watch was kept on the depopulator and encloser of commons; employers of labour were forbidden to reduce wages and forced to

[1] Quoted from *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, by R. H. Tawney.

find employment for their workmen ; the aged poor, in contrast to the harsh system of later days, were maintained in almshouses, out relief was liberally granted, and in some districts the poor were billeted on the rich. It was recognized as a national concern that all children should be taught and trained to a trade ; and in times of depression, corn was sold at reduced rates. If the right to work was not specifically recognized, stocks, *i.e.* sums of money, were raised and materials purchased, and the unemployed set to work not necessarily in any public building, or at unremunerative work, but on husbandry and in spinning and making of cloth. Neither was the housing of the people neglected ; new houses had to be of a certain size and height, and if in the country, land had to be attached to them.

Dr. Gardiner thinks that the object of Charles' generous policy was to secure the help of the people in his struggle against the aristocracy. However that may be, his policy appears to have been successful ; it is related that idle vagabonds disappeared, felonies decreased, wages improved, unemployment diminished, and the poor, who in former times were not seldom turbulent, became a peaceable and orderly community.

But when Charles fell, the safeguards against

the oppression of the poor were swept away. The principles of liberty became identified with the unrestricted right of the dominant class to make money as fast as possible. A vigorous and independent class, having won civil and religious freedom, claimed also similar liberty in the economic sphere. The Puritan became the parent of the individualist creed. In his eyes it was more important to be a saint than a citizen; unfortunately in saving his soul he forgot the corporate welfare. Here we may see the beginning of the divergence between Liberalism and Toryism.

In these times, too, crept in a harsh attitude towards the poor. Poverty is a fall from a state of grace, the result of improvidence and sloth; if it is ungodly to be poor it is godly to be rich. "Labour to be rich," said Baxter. "If God shew you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way, if you refuse this and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the aids of your calling and you refuse to be God's steward."

The Revolution of 1688 transferred political power from the hands of the sovereign to that of the Whig aristocracy. Then followed a time "when the world was not only made for a few but a very few. One could almost tell on one's fingers the happy families who

could do anything and might have everything" ; when, as Disraeli wrote, "by virtue of a plausible phrase, power had been transferred from the Crown to a Parliament the members of which were appointed by a limited and exclusive class, who debated and voted in secret, and who were regularly paid by the small knot of great families that by this machinery had secured the permanent possession of the King's treasury; during which time a people without power or education had been induced to believe themselves the freest and most enlightened people in the world."

The Reform Act of 1832 transferred power from the aristocracy to the middle classes, and plunged the poor into the depths of poverty and degradation. If the rule of the aristocracy broke up the old village economy, reduced the status of the labourer to that of a serf, and drove him from the land, the middle classes caught him up in their 'dark satanic mills' and exploited him to the full. "The men of labour spend their strength in daily struggling for bread to maintain the vital strength they labour with; so living," as Defoe had prophetically said years before, "in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to eat and eating but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome

life only the occasion for daily bread." What made their lot harder to bear was the assurance of the current philosophy of the time, that their poverty was inevitable and incurable.

Malthus warned them that any improvement in their condition would speedily be neutralized by the inevitable increase in population; Ricardo laid it down that the laws of supply and demand settled everything, and that the share of labour gravitated to a minimum of subsistence; and Adam Smith held that all interference with liberty did more harm than good.

Not only did the economic thought of the time condemn the people to hopeless poverty, but their spiritual pastors and masters failed them most grievously. Prelates and divines assured them that their degraded conditions of life were not the handiwork of man, but in accordance with God's Providence. Patience and submission therefore was their obvious duty.

Wilberforce, in his *Practical View of the System of Christianity*, wrote that their more lowly path has been allotted to them by the hand of God; that it is their part faithfully to discharge its duties, and contentedly to bear its inconveniences; that the present state of things is very short; that the objects about which worldly men conflict so eagerly

are not worth the contest; that the peace of mind, which Religion offers indiscriminately to all ranks, affords more true satisfaction than all the expensive pleasures which are beyond the poor man's reach; that in this view the poor have the advantage—if their superiors enjoy more abundant comforts, they are also exposed to many temptations from which the inferior classes are happily exempted; that, "having food and raiment they should be therewith content," since their situation in life, with all its evils, is better than they have deserved at the hand of God; and, finally, that all human distinctions will soon be done away, and the true followers of Christ will all, as children of the same Father, be alike admitted to the possession of the same heavenly inheritance. "Such are the blessed effects of Christianity on the temporal well-being of political communities." [1]

The Landowner and the Manufacturer frequently fought each other in furtherance of their respective interests, the former desiring high prices, the latter cheap food and raw material; but both made common cause to keep the workman in subjection. A dominant class not only monopolized the instruments of wealth, but controlled the economic and religious thought as completely as any censor

[1] Hammond's *Town Labourer.*

in war time, and with complete self-complacency established the doctrine that the ownership of land or factories was in itself an act of philanthropy.

Thus had the monarchy of the middle classes blotted out the commonwealth, and the Commons of England, as Cobbett complained, became the labouring poor.

CHAPTER III

"In an age of political materialism, of confused purposes, and perplexed intelligence, that aspires to wealth because it has faith in no other accomplishment, Toryism will yet rise from its tomb, over which Bolingbroke shed his last tear, to bring back liberty to the subject, and to announce that power has only one duty: to secure the happiness of the people."—*Coningsby*

THE nation owes a deep debt of gratitude to Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris for awakening its conscience to the selfish folly of its political philosophy. Our social and political ideas are largely coloured by their writings. Yet it would be unfair to Disraeli not to include him among the pioneers of the human philosophy of the present day. Few writers have shown a deeper insight into the underlying causes of the miseries of the time than Disraeli. The Tory Party particularly should ever be grateful for his writings. It has not been given to many party leaders to bequeath to their followers a complete political philosophy in a couple of novels. *Coningsby* and *Sybil* are not only an inimitable exposure of the pompous hypocrisy of a heartless and mercenary age,

and a sincere plea for a Christian conception of the claims of humanity. They are more than that; they prove that the commonweal can never be maintained by the unrestricted rule of a political class. Much of Disraeli's early Toryism cannot appeal to us now. His plea for aristocratic rule savours nowadays of flunkeyism, and it is difficult to share his admiration of Bolingbroke. A patriot king is an utter anachronism, and George III's attempt to play the part lost us America and nearly brought the British Empire to ruin.

The reader may ask, what then was the Disraelian political philosophy? It can be summed up in three sentences. The object of all government should be to promote the happiness of the people. Class ascendancy renders this impossible. Restore the commonwealth and you restore the happiness of the people. The nation is unhappy, said Disraeli, because there is no longer any community of feeling. Both upper class and middle class are leagued against the people. As he wrote in *Sybil*: "As for community, there is no community in England; there is aggregation, but aggregation under circumstances which make it rather a disintegrating than a uniting principle. It is a community of purpose that constitutes society. Without that men may be drawn into contiguity, but

they still continue virtually isolated. In great cities men are brought together by the desire of gain. They are not in a state of co-operation, but of isolation, as to the making of fortunes; but for the rest they are careless of neighbours. Christianity teaches us to love our neighbours as ourself; modern Society acknowledges no neighbour." The monarchy of the middle class had replaced that of the kings, to the infinite damage of the poor. The absolute rule of the monarchs was softened by a sense of what was owing to the welfare and happiness of the people, whereas the ferocious dominance of a class is hardened by the desire for gain. "If a spirit of rapacious covetousness," wrote Disraeli, "desecrating all the humanities of life, has been the besetting sin of England for the last century and a half, since the passing of the Reform Act the Altar of Mammon has blazed with a triple worship. To acquire, to accumulate, and to plunder each other by virtue of philosophic phrases, to propose a Utopia to consist only of wealth and toil, this has been the breathless business of Enfranchised England until we are startled from our voracious strife by the wail of intolerable serfage."[1] Perhaps the most eloquent presentment of his views is contained in the following passage from *Sybil*, in which he

[1] *Sybil.*

expresses opinions which are sufficiently modern even for these democratic days, and are surprisingly enlightened for times when the current philosophy recked little of the human element and bound mankind in chains of necessity.

"Yet there was one voice that had sounded in that proud Parliament, that, free from the slang of faction, had dared to express immortal truths; the voice of a noble who, without being a demagogue, had upheld the popular cause, had pronounced his conviction that the rights of labour were as sacred as the rights of property; that if a difference were to be established, the interests of living wealth ought to be preferred; who had declared that the social happiness of millions should be the first object of a statesman, and that if this were not achieved, thrones and dominions, the pomp and power of courts and empires, were alike worthless."[1] But was Disraeli sincere? His enemies called him a charlatan and a *poseur*. Age and the cares of office toned down the generous enthusiasms of his youth. Yet in fairness also it should be remembered that it was not till 1874 that he had a party majority behind him, and that, as Mr. Buckle has pointed out, "for 20 years out of the 25 between 1849 and 1874, he sat facing the box, on the Speaker's left hand,

[1] *Sybil.*

during long tenures of office by Russell, Palmerston and Gladstone. His genius, abundant as it was on the critical side, was at least as much creative as critical; yet when it was at its height, its creative side was starved and the critical side abnormally developed. The marvel is that when he came by his own, sufficient original faculty should have persisted to enable him to leave an imperishable mark on the history of England and the World." [1]

In all fairness, too, allowance should be made for the material with which he had to work. He had to educate his party—an uphill task for any party leader!

Bernal Osborne said that the Reform Act of '67 was a one-man show. Disraeli had lugged uphill an omnibus full of stupid, heavy, country gentlemen, and turned them out changed into Radical Reformers. "As the *Times* reminded the Tory Party in 1860," he wrote, "the Tory Party, when Mr. Disraeli first took the lead of them, were in a position of the most marked and violent hostility to the material interests of the whole country, and embarked on a career which seemed to tend to something little short of political annihilation. With untiring patience Mr. Disraeli set himself to bring order out of this chaos.

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv.

He has taught them to profess, at any rate, and probably to feel, a sympathy for the great body of his countrymen. When he found the Tory Party they were armed with impenetrable prejudice; under him they have become no longer an impediment, but competitors with the Liberals in the career of progress."[1]

Whatever his critics may say in his disparagement, he gave the workman what he regards to-day as two of his most precious possessions: the right to vote and the right to combine.

The Combination Act of 1875 put the Trade Unionists in a privileged position; it gave them the right to combine, to back their demands by striking, and to compel their employer to give a rise in wages. It gave them the right to picket, and protection with regard to their funds. By passing the Reform Act of 1867 Disraeli opened the door to Democracy. By granting household suffrage to the artizans of the towns he applied the remedy which, as a young man, he perceived was the only one to cure the unhappiness of the times. He broke the monopoly of the middle classes and called in a new electorate to redress the balance of the old. As he wrote to his friend Lord Beauchamp, he realized the dream of his life.

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, vol. iv.

The enfranchisement of the industrial workers was no 'shooting of Niagara' or 'leap in the dark,' as Carlyle vainly imagined; it was the first step towards the establishment of the Commonwealth, of which he always dreamed.

CHAPTER IV

"To sum up my feelings in a sentence, I consider this Act (The New Poor Law) has disgraced the country more than any upon record. Both a moral crime and a political blunder, it announced to the world that in England poverty is a crime."—DISRAELI's speech at Maidstone, 1837

IN the days before the War, whoever ventured to show sympathy with the aims of Labour was regarded by the Carlton Club and the Whips' room as a dangerous 'Socialist.' Nowadays it is the term 'Bolshevik' that is applied by those who themselves aspire to become 'Tchinovniks.'

It is not often that we find individual members of the Tory Party leading a popular agitation, but in the great war of liberation which the working classes waged against economic and political oppression, they found not only sympathy but leadership in men like Fielden, Oastler, Stephens, Sadler and Shaftesbury—men to whom they gave the utmost loyalty and devotion.

The Reformed Parliament, which had abolished slavery with a great flourish of

trumpets, was as yet indifferent to the slavery at its doors.

"In every manufacturing town there were thousands," wrote Walpole, "whose lot was in some respects more intolerable than that of the slaves. Recent economic developments had robbed the agricultural labourer and the artizan of every vestige of liberty; the Enclosure Acts had deprived the one of the privilege of keeping a cow or even a goose, while competition and the power-loom had robbed the other, whose cottage had hitherto been his factory, of even the means of the barest subsistence." [1]

Mr. Hovell, a young historian whose early death in action in France was a loss to scholarship, has given a graphic account of the sufferings of the people in his book *The Chartist Movement.*

"The handloom industry was rapidly becoming obsolete; those who could not find employment in factories found their handlooms, which had afforded them a comfortable subsistence, utterly unable to compete with the power-loom; wages fell to a starvation level. The cotton weavers of Manchester in 1838 made a return of 856 families of 4563 individuals whose average earnings amounted to 2 shillings and 1d. a head *per week.* A

[1] *History of England*, vol. iii.

much smaller average was reported from Ashton-under-Lyne. Wages of 1d. an hour for a seventy-hour week were frequent, and even general. A Parliamentary enquiry showed that in the villages round Coventry the silk weavers' wages were incredibly low, and that there was a total absence of any civilizing medium; the people pursued an animal existence. There were perhaps 20,000 individuals in the town of Nuneaton and its neighbourhood who lived in a state of extreme destitution, filth and degradation.

"In the hosiery trade of Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, the 'stockinger' was at the mercy of the 'bagman or middleman,' who received the yarn from the wholesale dealer and distributed it to the knitters. These rapacious people, not content with deducting 30 or 40 per cent for their labour, resorted to all kinds of underhand tricks."

The misery in the industrial districts was intense. "To these miserable men," writes Mr. Hovell, "who had for years besought Parliament to remedy their ills, the new Poor Law Amendment Act came as a piece of cruel and calculating tyranny."

It was no doubt necessary to remove the gross abuses of the old Poor Law system, but to thousands of unfortunate people, driven to destitution by no fault of their own, too old

to find alternative employment, it appeared an intolerable act of tyranny that they should be given no option, after a life of strenuous toil, but to enter the detested workhouses, where they were separated from wife and children with little prospect of ever getting out again.

"The Act of 1834 was the first piece of genuine Radical legislation; it was the first fruits of Benthamism. For the first time a legislative problem was thoroughly and scientifically tackled. It bore on its surface all the marks of genuine Radicalism, a desire for centralized efficiency and a total disregard for conservative and vested interests."[1] A furious agitation broke out. Cobbett supplied the arguments. Poor relief, said he, is merely the converted rights of the poor in the money given by the charitable to the Church, of which it was robbed by the landowners at the Reformation. But the real leaders of the movement were two Tories, Richard Oastler and J. R. Stephens. Oastler was steward of the absentee family of Thornhill, at Fixby near Huddersfield, and had already become famous for his campaign on behalf of the factory children. J. R. Stephens was a Wesleyan minister "who imagined himself at war with Satan, whose reality and vitality, already an established

[1] *The Chartist Movement.*

dogma of the Wesleyan community, was vouched for by the existence of such persons as Malthus and the Poor Law Commissioners. These he compared to Pharaoh, who ordered the massacre of the innocents; but unfavourably, as Pharaoh was frank about the matter, whilst the Commissioners were hypocritical."

Both to Oastler and to Stephens it was lawful to resist such a law; and under their guidance the movement, like every uprising of the people, assumed the aspect of a religious revival.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire the agitation spread like wildfire through the industrial districts of the North; huge mass meetings were held, and in every town on both sides of the Pennine border committees sprang into existence to carry on the work. Moreover, the agitation was successful. "Wherever the opposition was strong," says Hovell, "as at Todmorden, it was found impossible to elect the guardians to carry out the law." The anti-Poor Law agitation must have caused much pain to the economic high brows of those days. There was much that was irrational in the agitation, but there was much that was natural. The old system was indefensible, but that fact did not warrant the introduction of a new one equally indefensible. The furious agitation which sprang up was a

Conservative opposition to a Radical measure, a popular outburst against what was conceived as an act of oppression, an uprising of all the misery in the land against the doctrinaire harshness of philosophic Benthamism. That agitation took place over eighty years ago. The Poor Law still survives, but its days are numbered and there are none to do it reverence. The blind instinct of the people condemned the merely deterrent spirit of the Law, the cruelty of the mixed workhouse and the breaking up of their miserable homes—and who to-day will dare to say that their instinct was not a true one ?

CHAPTER V

> "Down the river there plied
> With wind and tide
> A pig with vast celerity,
> And the Devil looked wise as he saw how the while
> It cut its own throat. There! quoth he with a smile,
> Goes England's Commercial prosperity."
>
> COLERIDGE

IN the last chapter we saw the Tory Democrats leading a popular agitation against an unpopular law; there now remains to be sketched the part they played in humanizing life in factories and mines.

The conditions under which the people, particularly women and children, worked in the beginning of the nineteenth century, were inhuman to the last degree. Pauper children were sent in waggon-loads from the workhouses of London to work for fourteen hours a day in what were in those days 'hells of human misery,' the Lancashire cotton mills. The labour of the free or non-pauper children was equally arduous; children of seven or eight worked for thirteen hours a day in the dusty, fetid atmosphere of the mills, with only half

an hour for meals, in which they were expected to clean the machinery.

"In the mining industry the conditions were even worse," writes Mr. Hovell. "The revelations made in 1842 by Government inquiries show that the industry was being carried on everywhere with as complete a disregard for humanity and decency as could be found in a society of human savages. Children were being employed at an incredibly early age. Five, six and seven was a frequent age for commencing work in the mines; exceptional cases of four and even of three years were found. Monotonous beyond measure was the labour of these mites, who sat in the dark for a dozen hours a day to open and shut doors. A boy of seven smoked his pipe to keep him awake. The children employed were of both sexes, and girls of tender age were condemned to labour like beasts of burden, harnessed to trucks of coal. Pauper apprentices were practically sold into slavery, and treated occasionally with the utmost ferocity. The employment of adolescent girls and young women was not unknown. In fact, the reports reveal a state of filth, barbarism and demoralization which both beggars description and defies belief." [1]

Robert Owen was the first to discover the

[1] *The Chartist Movement*, p. 24.

wasteful folly of this inhumanity. He found by actual practice that it was as cheap to manufacture yarn by working 10½ hours a day as it was by working 11¾ hours a day. "A larger quantity," he said, "will be produced by greater attention of the hands while the machinery is at work, in preventing breakage and by not losing any time in commencing in the morning, or after meals."

Having gained this experience he endeavoured to persuade his brother employers—but all to no purpose. "They were scarcely conscious of the extent of the mischief," said Dr. Thackrah Turner. "We underrate evils to which we are accustomed. The diminution of the intervals of work has been a gradual encroachment. Formerly an hour was allowed for dinner; but one great manufacturer, pressed by his engagements, wished his work-people to return five minutes earlier. This abridgment was promptly adopted at other mills. Five minutes led to ten. It was found also that breakfast and drinking (afternoon meal) might be taken while the people were at work; time was thus saved; more work was done; and the manufactured article could be offered at a less price. If one house offered it at a lower rate, all other houses, to compete in the market, were obliged to use similar means. Thus what was at first partial

and temporary has become general and permanent. And the unfortunate artizans, working before in excess, have now to carry labour to a still greater and more destructive extent."[1]

The Economists also opposed regulation, on the ground that it was unwise to interfere with the freedom of labour, forgetful of the fact that the children were not free.

The Acts of 1802 and 1819 had somewhat improved matters; and an outbreak of putrid fever caused an Act making it compulsory to whitewash the factories. But when Oastler and Sadler, the Tory M.P. for Aldborough, took the matter up, woollen mills were entirely unregulated by law, and it was the usual custom to work children for 13 hours in woollen mills and 12½ in worsted mills, exclusive of meal times.

In 1831, Sadler introduced a Bill to reduce the labour of children from 13 to 10 hours a day. This Bill was referred to a Committee by the Government. Sadler meanwhile was defeated by Macaulay at Leeds in the General Election of 1831, and his work was taken up by Lord Ashley. Althorp on behalf of the Government carried in 1833 an Act to limit

[1] Dr. Thackrah Turner's evidence in *Effect of Trades on Health*, 1831, quoted in Hutchins and Harrison's *History of Factory Legislation*.

the hours of children under 13 to eight hours a day, and of young persons between 13 and 18 to twelve a day, or 69 a week. In 1847 the 10-hour day was won. To Shaftesbury and Fielden belongs the honour of having won the latter; but much of the spade-work was done by Oastler.[1] It was his boundless energy and somewhat reckless oratory that stimulated the agitation which forced the Government into action. The Short Time Committees, which he established all over the North, were described as a strange mixture of Chartists, Radicals and High Tories.

"Let your Committees," he urged, "call on every Christian. . . . Call public meetings and plead the cause of the poor infant sufferers, and expose the horrors of the factory system. Let your politics be Ten Hours a day and a Time Book. Don't be deceived—you will hear cries of No Slavery, Reform, Liberal principles, but let your cries be, 'No Yorkshire slavery.'"

Throughout Yorkshire he was worshipped as a king. In fact he was known as King Richard, and thousands of operatives would gather at his word when "the resistless 'King Richard' Oastler had issued his manifesto requiring his subjects to attend." He was

[1] See *Richard Oastler, The Factory King*, by Arthur Greenwood.

certainly not afraid of using strong language:

"I never see one of these pious, canting, murdering, liberal, respectable saints riding in his carriage, but I remember that the vehicle is built of infants' lives; that it is lined with their skins; that the tassels are made of their hair, the traces and harness of their sinews; and that the very oil, with which the wheels are greased, is made of Infants' Blood."

At a meeting at which many unsympathetic millowners were present, he said:

"Now if the law of the land, intended to protect the lives of the factory children, is to be disregarded—and there is no power to enforce it—it becomes my duty as the guardian of the factory children to enquire whether, in the eyes of the law of England, their lives or your spindles are most entitled to the law's protection. If the King has not the power to enforce the law, I must and I will strive to force even you to enforce that law." He excused his strong language on the ground that he felt deeply. "Those who blame me for having been violent in this cause, should consider the deep, the solemn, the overwhelming conviction, on my mind, of its vast importance."

The activities of these Tory free lances have been dwelt on at some length because

their doings may be a useful incentive to young members of the Tory Party of to-day. Peace hath her victories no less renowned than War Much has been done to improve the factory system; much, however, remains to be achieved. The strain of factory life has greatly increased of late years; industrial processes have been speeded up, the effort required intensified; yet the normal working day has been only slightly reduced since the Act of 1847.

The improvement of our factory life is a fruitful and beneficent field in which to labour—a field, moreover, in which the party has earned the right to labour. Though the age of miracles is past, we may yet live to see a Tory Party, by reason of its sincerity and sympathy, as thoroughly trusted by the working population of the country as were Ashley, and Sadler, and Oastler in the past.

CHAPTER VI

"I have always considered the Tory Party was the national Party of England. It is not formed of a combination of oligarchs and philosophers who practise on the sectarian prejudices of the people. It is formed of all classes from the highest to the most homely, and it upholds a series of institutions which are an embodiment of the national requirements and the security of the national rights. Whenever the Tory Party degenerates into an oligarchy it becomes unpopular; whenever the national institutions do not fulfil their original intention the Tory Party becomes odious."—DISRAELI, Speech at Edinburgh, 1867.

POLITICAL parties, like every human institution, have their periods of activity and of repose, of exaltation and discouragement.

The year 1880 found the Tory Party, having suffered a heavy defeat, depressed and dispirited, and indeed showing every sign of senile decay.

At the beginning of the century it was said that the Tory Party was in the hands of old battered cronies of office, muttering reaction in mystic whispers; and the end of the

century, according to Lord Randolph, found the party under the control of Bourgeois Placemen, honourable Tapers, hungry Tadpoles, Irish Lawyers.

The leadership of a political party in the House is generally a delicate, and in periods of defeat a particularly difficult and thankless task.

Disraeli, writing from a long experience, has given a graphic description of its trials, so true that it is worth quoting in full:

"There are few positions less inspiriting than that of a leader of a discomfited party. The labours and anxieties of a minister, or of his rival on the contested threshold of office, may be alleviated by the exercise or sustained by the anticipation of power; both are surrounded by eager, anxious, excited, perhaps enthusiastic adherents. There is sympathy, appreciation, prompt counsel, profuse assistance; but he who in the parliamentary field watches over the fortunes of routed troops must be prepared to sit often alone. . . .

"Adversity is necessarily not a sanguine season, and in this respect a political party is no exception to all other human combinations. Indoors and out of doors a disheartened Opposition will be querulous and captious. A discouraged multitude, with no future, too depressed to indulge in a large and more

hopeful horizon, they bury themselves in peevish details, and by a natural train of sentiment associate their own conviction of ill-luck, incapacity, and failure with the most responsible member of their confederation."

In Sir Stafford Northcote the Tory Party had no leader to put heart into a 'discouraged multitude.' Possessed of every amiable quality, he was nearer akin to Collins' conception of Evening than to a party leader.

> "So long regardful of my quiet rule
> Shall Fancy, Friendship, Science, rose-lipped Health
> Thy Gentlest influence own
> And hymn my favourite name."

There is, alas! no affinity between either Fancy, Friendship or rose-lipped Health and the Tory Party in defeat; and the gentle sway of Sir Stafford Northcote was more mocked at than appreciated by Lord Randoph and the Fourth party.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in his admirable Life of Lord Randolph, surely the most interesting and spirited of all political biographies, asks, "Who would have foreseen that these dejected Conservatives in scarcely five years, with the growing ascent of an immense electorate, would advance to the enjoyment of twenty years of power?" With filial piety he claims that it was Lord Randolph

who performed the miracle. Few will be found to deny him the credit. Lord Randolph possessed exactly those qualities—courage, decision, quickness—which, either on a battle-field or on the political arena, rally and inspirit a disheartened body of men. He pulled his party and himself together, and attacked the Liberal phalanx with the same ruthless inevitableness with which a 'Tank' ploughs its way through the German defences.

Even the most stalwart and loyal Liberal must allow that Mr. Gladstone's administration invited attack. Himself more fitted to unfold schemes of financial and political reform, dear to the heart of middle-class liberalism, he failed miserably in those problems which required courage and quickness of decision; and the vacillation of his Government led it into courses utterly subversive of the most cherished principles of his party. "Conscience was free. Trade was free. But hunger and squalor and cold were also free; and the people demanded something more than liberty. The old watchwords still rang true; but they were not enough. And how to fill the void was the riddle that split the Liberal Party. It happened, moreover, that at this very time, already so critical, a Liberal Government had been forced to deal with all kinds of affairs, for the efficient conduct of

which their formulas furnished no clue. They were compelled to intervene by force of arms in Egypt, to repress popular movements, to banish popular leaders, to hang revolutionaries, to devise ingenious instruments of coercion, to mutilate parliamentary procedure, and to curtail the freedom of debate. And thus, while half the Cabinet were ransacking the past for weapons of executive authority, others were groping dimly towards a vague Utopia. Seldom has a Government so laid itself open to attack. Lord Randolph's quick, tactical eye saw the chance that a progressive party floundering in reaction offered to democratic criticism, and he flung himself into the breach."

Mr. Winston Churchill relates how Lord Randolph, with inexhaustible activity, returned again and again to the attack, deserted and even tripped up by men who should have sustained him, and gained month after month substantial and undoubted success. "In times when good Conservatives despaired of the fortunes of their party under a democratic franchise, and even, making a virtue of necessity, regarded it as almost immoral to court a working-class vote, and when the chiefs of Toryism looked upon the resisting powers of small shop- and lodging-housekeepers, of suburban villadom, and of the genia

and seductive publican, as almost the only remaining bulwarks of the Constitution, Lord Randolph Churchill boldly enlisted the British nation in defence of Church and State."

Unquestionably the renaissance of the Tory Party dates from this period, and Lord Randolph was its only begetter. The Tory working-man, hitherto a rare specimen, became numerous enough to detach Liberal strongholds from their ancient allegiance. But it would be an error to suppose that this was the result of his brilliant and incisive rhetoric alone.

The fortunes of the Tory Party revived because he had the courage to emancipate himself from the conventional timidities of a clique which offered no redress for the present and made no preparation for the future. The working-men became Conservative because they felt that Lord Randolph meant business, and that in future the Tory Party would not be the party of the landlord, the brewer, and the man who imbibes his politics from the *Morning Post* in the morning and the *Globe* in the evening, but was intended to promote the general good of the community. Lord Randolph's social ideals can best be explained by himself.

"The Tories, who are of the people, know that the institutions of this kingdom . . . are the tried guarantees of individual liberty,

popular government, and Christian morality . . . that the harmonious fusion of classes and interests which they represent corresponds with and satisfies the highest aspirations either of peoples or of men. Such is the Tory Party, and such are its principles, by which it can give to England the government she requires —democratic, aristocratic, parliamentary, monarchical, uniting in an indissoluble embrace religious liberty and social order. And this party—this Tory Party of to-day, exists by the favour of no caucus, nor for the selfish interests of any class. Its motto is, 'Of the people, for the people, by the people'; unity and freedom are the beacons which shed their light around its future path, and amid all political conflict this shall be its only aim—to increase and secure within imperishable walls the historic happiness of English homes."

But was he sincere? Was he merely what Tennyson calls a practised Hustings Liar? Lord Hartington taunted him with going about the country with a policy of grand pretensions, but with absolutely no plan of legislation at all. The taunt was, as it turned out, a most unfair one. The Ministry of Caretakers lasted only a few months, but time was found for useful measures which Mr. Gladstone was unable to fit into his legislative programme. The 'age of consent' was raised;

and a most necessary measure was carried, giving the Local Government Board power to pull down houses, and making landlords who let insanitary houses liable to damages.

After the election of 1886, with a majority behind him, and with all the authority of a Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House, he addressed an enormous gathering of 20,000 at Dartford, and made the announcement of a Tory Democratic platform. The Government's legislative programme included an Allotment and Small Holdings Bill, a measure to shift the incidence of tithe to the landowner, a Railway Rates Bill to equalize the competition between the home producer and the foreigner, a Bill to extend Local Government, and, finally, a reduction of public expenditure.

His real ambition, however, lay in the realm of finance—to husband our resources and give our financial system a truly democratic colour. No detail was too small for his zeal and honesty. The payment of a sum of £10,000 a year, appropriated by preceding Liberal Governments for party purposes, was swept away, along with a tax on coal which fell on the poor of London. It is not possible here to go into details of his ill-fated budget. It suffices to give one final extract from Mr. Churchill's book:

"The first object of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to effect a large and substantial reduction in taxation. He desired especially to diminish those taxes which fell upon the lower middle class. He laboured to transfer the burdens, so far as possible, from comforts to luxuries, and from necessaries to pleasures. He applied, much more closely than his predecessors, that fundamental principle of democratic finance—the adjusting of taxation to the citizen's ability to pay. His second object was to provide a much larger sum of money for the needs of local bodies, so that the impending measure of local government might be wide and real in its character. His third object was to effect certain definite economies in the annual expenditure."

It is an interesting speculation what influence he might have exerted on his party, supposing he had never made the false move of wishing to reduce the strength of the Army and the Navy. Would he have broken it up, or led it to higher flights of democratic Toryism?

Though he fell to rise no more, his influence persisted; the bias he had given to the social legislation of his party kept, on the whole, a steady momentum.

There was a steady stream of useful social

measures. Local Government was extended in Great Britain, and later in Ireland; a comprehensive measure of justice to injured workmen was passed; and an Act to improve and consolidate the Housing Acts, and many other social measures of minor importance, were carried. The people gave its confidence (with a three years' break) from 1886 to 1900 with a remarkable constancy to the Tory Party, because the party gave sufficient evidence of its honesty in the cause of the commonweal.

It was not till the death of Lord Salisbury that its popularity began to wane. Under his successor its policy suffered a change. It gradually lost its national character, and fell under the influence of sectional interests. The confidence of the working-men was alienated and turned into suspicion, first of the influence of the Church in education, then of the South African and afterwards of the British capitalist. The Tory Party lost the confidence of the people on the day when it laid itself open to the suspicion that it was engaged in a capitalist conspiracy, and it will not regain it until it clears itself of that suspicion. And that is the beginning and end of the matter.

It would be kinder, perhaps, to draw a veil over the party's career from 1906 to the out-

break of the War, but this much must be said, that it alternated from stupidity to factiousness, and from factiousness to stupidity. Whether Mr. Lloyd George's budget was rejected from pure panic, or in the interests of Tariff Reform, is now of no importance, and whether it was wise to hand the Party over bound hand and foot to the goodwill and pleasure of Sir Edward Carson, need not now be argued; but this much is clear, that there was nothing either Tory or Democratic in a policy which for party purposes strained the Constitution, and for the sake of a faction disputed the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, and threatened the very existence of Democracy itself.

There seem to be occasions in the history of the Conservative Party when, as Disraeli remarked, its leaders preserve the institutions of the country as they do their pheasants, merely in order to destroy them.

CHAPTER VII

"It is not our business to collect trophies, but to bring back the world to peaceful habits."—CASTLEREAGH

"THERE is no such thing as a traditional foreign policy," says Lord Rosebery. "The instinct of self-preservation guides the European Powers with the same certainty as weather moves sheep on a hill." [1]

Looking back through the history of British foreign policy, there is not much to choose between the parties. The responsibility for wars is nearly equally divided between Liberals and Tories. Peace Governments against their will, as Disraeli said of the Crimea, drift into War; and War Governments, equally against their will, drift into Peace. Nevertheless an obsession, which has given the Liberal Party much comfort for a very long time, is that the Tories are a set of hopeless jingoes. It is true that a Tory mob, in the excitement of the Russo-Turkish War, once broke Mr. Gladstone's windows — an unpardonable offence. But

[1] *Life of Pitt*, by Lord Rosebery.

looking back over the long course of history, we shall find that Tory statesmen have more than once felt it their duty to mitigate the martial ardour of their Whig opponents. Let us begin at the beginning—in the days of Queen Anne, with the war of the Spanish Succession.

The Whigs, knowing that Marlborough's popularity was a great asset in their favour, twice refused, once in 1706 and again in 1709, offers from Louis XIV which would have abundantly fulfilled every legitimate aim of the war.

As Lecky wrote: "Had peace been made in 1706 instead of 1713, more than 30 millions of English money and innumerable English lives would have been saved, and there can be little doubt that the Party interest of the Whig ministers was the main cause of the failure of the negotiations."

To cut a long story short, the country, weary of a war deliberately and uselessly prolonged, deposed the Whigs at the election of 1710, and enabled the Tories to conclude the Peace of Utrecht.

The Disraelian conception of what constituted the Tory policy in its pristine purity was the policy of William Pitt before the French War swept him into reactionary courses. Pitt was *par excellence* the Peace Minister.

As Lord Rosebery has pointed out, the task he had set himself was to raise the nation from the exhaustion of the American War; to repair her finances; to strengthen by reform the foundations of her Constitution, and by a liberal Irish policy the bonds of Empire. At this very moment he was meditating, we are told, the broadest application of Free Trade principles, the throwing open of our ports and the raising of our revenue entirely by internal taxation. His enthusiasm was all for peace, retrenchment and reform. When driven to fight he fought with a will, but he staved off the fatal hour as long as he could. Unlike Burke, he kept his head, and behaved with the greatest toleration and patience towards the French. He even gave his blessing to the cause of liberty in France, and expressed the hope that when the situation of France should become restored she would prove freedom rightly understood, and would enjoy just that kind of liberty which he venerated, and which he wished to see other States possess.

The insensate threat of intervention by the King of Prussia drove the French Revolution into more violent courses, roused the martial ardour of the people, fomented their revolutionary zeal, and turned their love of liberty into an aggressive principle.

The Austrian Netherlands were invaded

and annexed, and the neutrality of Holland threatened. Still Pitt preserved the peace. It was not till France broke a treaty, which she had herself ratified no less than five times by declaring the free navigation of the Scheldt 'a law of nature,' that Pitt began to move. As Great Britain had guaranteed the navigation of that river to the Dutch, this made war inevitable. Thus did Great Britain, as in 1914, commit herself to a long and terrible war for no selfish ends, but to uphold the public law of Europe and the liberties of the world. She stood as a "bulwark of the cause of men," "saving herself by her exertions and Europe by her example."

If at the commencement of the long struggle against French militarism Pitt strove earnestly for peace, the attitude of the Tory Ministry was no less statesmanlike at its close. "It doth not a little relish of paradox," wrote a seventeenth-century writer, "that wherever I come Machiavel is verbally cursed and damned, and yet practically embraced and asserted . . . and, in all the strugglings and disputes that have of late years befallen, I found the pretence fine and spiritual, yet the ultimate end and true scope was gold, and greatness, and secular glory."[1] No such reproach can

[1] "Modern Politics taken from Machiavel," W. Blois. Quoted in *The Confederation of Europe*, Alison Phillips.

be levelled against Castlereagh. At the Congress of Vienna his only preoccupation was to secure the abolition of the Slave Trade and the permanent peace of the world ; and it was thanks to his influence that Talleyrand, as representing the French nation, was admitted as an equal. Nor was the attitude of Castlereagh and Wellington after Waterloo any less enlightened. The chief difficulty lay in checking the barbarous outrages committed by the Germans on the defenceless French people, and in mitigating their lust for vengeance. Nothing would content the Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, and particularly the Prussians, but the dismemberment of France and the consequent enlargement of their own territories. Both Castlereagh and Wellington saw the folly of forcing France to make sacrifices which would eventually have made another war inevitable. "It is not," wrote Castlereagh, "our business to collect trophies, but to bring back the world to peaceful habits." "It is curious to observe," wrote Castlereagh to Clancarty, "the insatiable desire of getting something without a thought of how it is to be preserved. There is not a Power, however feeble, that borders France from the Channel to the Mediterranean, that is not pushing some acquisition under the plea of security and rectification of frontier. They seem to

have no dread of a kick from the lion when his toils are removed, and are foolish enough to suppose that the Great Powers of Europe are to be in readiness to protect them in the enjoyment of these petty spoils. In truth, their whole conception is so unstatesmanlike that they look not beyond their sop."

After Waterloo the dominating sentiment among the Allies naturally enough was fear and suspicion of a recurrence of the spirit of revolutionary militarism in the French nation; the danger lay in temptation to adopt a policy of repression. Happily, thanks to Wellington and Castlereagh, wise counsels prevailed, and the Allies came to the sensible conclusion that the best method of guaranteeing the world against another volcanic outburst was to welcome France to their counsels and to encourage her to set up a constitutional form of government, lest isolated she should form the rallying-point for hostile combinations.

The memory of the Holy Alliance has become so hateful that it has involved the idea of the concert of Europe in undeserved unpopularity. The Grand Alliance formed at Chaumont in 1813 was chiefly the work of Castlereagh, and should carefully be distinguished from the Holy Alliance. The former was designed to effect a perfectly legitimate

object, namely, to guarantee the world against a possible disturbance of the peace by France; the latter developed into an agreement to put down revolutionary movements wherever they might appear. The former derived its significance from the fact that for the first time the European Powers, as Mr. Alison Phillips has pointed out,[1] consecrated the principle of international law, and committed themselves to the policy of acting in concert for the maintenance of the sanctity of treaties. The Holy Alliance, on the other hand, is significant from the fact that it became the engine for active interference with the internal affairs of other nations. The Holy Alliance had its birth in the Imperial prayer-meetings at Madame de Krudener's hôtel in Paris. Whether Alexander was a thorough hypocrite, and whether the Holy Alliance was not from the first a loud-sounding nothing, intended to mask dynastic designs under an evangelical cloak, is a matter still under debate. It started, at any rate, with high pretensions; the agreeing Monarchs declared that they intended to govern henceforth in accordance with the principles of the Gospel of Christ, and to regard each other as brothers and their subjects as children. The Gospel of Christ was soon forgotten; and the love of their

[1] *Confederation of Europe*, by Alison Phillips.

children became a peculiarly heavy-handed form of paternalism.

In 1820, Alexander confessed to Metternich over a cup of tea that he had made a mistake. "To-day," said the repentant autocrat, "I deplore all that I said and did between the years 1815 and 1818. I regret the lost time; we must study to retrieve it. Tell me what you want me to do, and I will do it."[1] At Troppau the Powers agreed that any change in the internal constitution of a State was dangerous to other States. Meanwhile the attitude of the British representative was disapproving, but somewhat ineffective. Finally, at the Congress of Verona in 1822, Great Britain began to withdraw, and after the French invasion of Spain, Canning, assuming the rôle of champion of the weaker nations, broke up the alliance, and in retaliation called in the new world to redress the balance of the old.

The situation at the close of the Crimean War, and Disraeli's attitude towards peace, are also not without their interest and significance to-day. After the fall of Sebastopol, the question arose whether the war should not be carried into the heart of Russia. Russia, if weakened, was by no means humiliated. A peace concluded at this juncture would (it

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x, p. 28.

was argued) have signified an inconclusive campaign.

Palmerston was still full of fight, and public opinion on the whole, and the Press too, were desirous of redeeming the muddle and mismanagement by some striking success. The martial ardour of the nation was thoroughly aroused. Disraeli, on the other hand, in the *Press*, a journal which he controlled, counselled peace. Russia was willing to concede all the points asked for, except that she refused to limit her naval strength in the Black Sea. To make European peace and war depend on whether Russia should maintain a few ships more or less in the Black Sea, was in his eyes a conception more worthy of the Statesmen of Laputa than of practical England. He dreaded a campaign into the heart of Russia, and foresaw that unless peace were speedily concluded, the war might drag on for years.

The War Party used the familiar arguments. No treaty could be concluded with an unhumiliated Russia. "On the contrary," he wrote, "we believe a solid and satisfactory peace may now be effected by treaty with Russia. . . . Reason as we may, the difference returns to this. They have no faith in those principles of policy and those mutual guarantees and engagements upon which the division of European power and the integrity of the

boundary lines of States depend. A treaty is with them but a bit of paper, a seal but a morsel of wax. We believe, on the contrary, that it is those principles and guarantees which preserve the peace of the world; that without them there would be perpetual war; that the progress of civilization is towards a more solemn recognition and sacred maintenance of treaties."

Further discussion was abruptly cut short, and the matter practically decided for us, by the fact that Russia and France agreed upon terms. Palmerston and the War Party remained restive, but the action of Napoleon left him no choice. Disraeli took a strong line at the opening of Parliament, and his speech is not without significance to-day. "He welcomed," writes Mr. Buckle,[1] "the prospect, which the Queen's Speech held out, of 'a safe and honourable peace.' He deprecated the continuance of the war for the sake of adding lustre to our arms. The abstract principle that we should continue a war, after attaining its objects, to gratify the vanity or support the reputation of a community was exceedingly questionable. But in any case it did not apply, as the lustre of our arms had not been dimmed. It was monstrous to say that nations should never engage in

[1] *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, vol. iv.

war unless they were certain to achieve great victories that would figure among the decisive battles of the world. That would degrade us from being the vindicators of public law into the gladiators of history."

CHAPTER VIII

" For we and the overwhelming majority in this Parish and Nation and the adjoining Parishes and Nations are profoundly conscious to ourselves of being by nature peaceable persons ; following our necessary industries ; without wish, interest or faintest intention to cut the skin of any mortal, to break feloniously into his industrial premises, or to do any injustice to him at all. So that it cannot but appear to us that peace under dexterous management might be much more easily kept."—CARLYLE

IN the preceding chapter we have seen the Tories in the early eighteenth century opposing a war prolonged beyond the dictates of necessity and honour. We have seen William Pitt ingerminating peace till the very last moment, and Wellington and Castlereagh laying the foundations of a lasting peace by their magnanimous treatment of a fallen enemy. Finally, we have seen Disraeli courageously advocating peace when the continuance of the war was not required by the dictates of honour or interest.

So far as there is a tradition in foreign affairs, the Tory Tradition, far from being bellicose, combines a resolute determination

to uphold the honour of Great Britain with a no less resolute will to avoid needless bloodshed and the sowing of seeds of future wars.

These events have surely been given for our learning. There is no difference between the spirit of 1793 and the spirit of 1914. In 1793 we took up arms for no selfish purpose, but to give security to the world from military aggression. In 1914 we drew the sword for a purpose no less noble. There never was in the history of any nation a more glorious spirit than that which animated the British people in 1914, a spirit that sent thousands and thousands of our best to fight for a spiritual ideal. The writer remembers reading at the beginning of the war, in a weeky paper, a just appreciation of the issue:

"Within the very bosom of civilization there has arisen a spirit which is inimical to its peace and at issue with its finest conceptions. The times are humane, and this spirit is perversely inhuman. The world has just grasped the issue of a fuller and richer life for all; the nation whose special boast was in this form of culture has dashed it to the ground. It had begun to build up a code for the prevention of war; but Germany tramples upon it. To re-establish this wreck, thousands of young lives have been laid upon the altar. Those who have gone have still a spiritual

part in the cause for which they died. What if the war bears nothing but evil in its train? Let us then lay the spirit which provoked it. War is not an end in itself, peace is the end. If the wrong kind of peace is negotiated, the war will not be truly finished but an infection of war set up. An ordinary peace will leave Germany shorn and mulcted. We shall then return to the principle of the Balance of Power. What we want is a peace that will guarantee the peace of the world."

The task of humanity is to exorcise the spirit that is at enmity with its peace.

The German mind, like the mind of every bully, understands force, and force alone. It is upon military pressure that we must chiefly rely. Do not let us make any mistake about that. But do not let us make an equally great mistake in thinking that German militarism can be permanently crushed by the spirit of militarism.

In this War, military, economic and political considerations are inextricably combined. The German mind, not German territory, is the true objective, and on the day that the German people abandon the rule of force and relinquish all that force has acquired, on that day the war is won. The thought that has been present to the minds of all of us through these gloomy and dark days has been, " How

can we repay the glorious sacrifices that the youth and manhood of the nation have made?" How secure that not a drop of British blood has been shed in vain? How erect a fitting temple to their memory? There can be only one answer. We must keep our intentions pure and clean and our cause unspotted from selfish motives. President Wilson has said: "The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favour, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear height of His justice and mercy." Those words are profoundly true. We can only rise to the clear height of His justice and mercy by keeping resolutely before our eyes one consideration, and one consideration alone, the permanent peace of the world, the establishment of a new world order, the substitution of co-operation for competition, the commonwealth of nations and the welfare of humanity for the interests of a ruling sect. A League of Nations embodies all the hopes of humanity, and is the centre around which all our ideals revolve.

There is, unfortunately, a section in our midst which—like Gallio—cares for none of these things, but is seeking to exploit all the heroism and self-sacrifice of the nation for its own ends, to substitute the worship of Mammon for the worship of Moloch and to

make the world safe for Plutocracy and not for the people.

The economic boycott, the threat of war after the war, is not only prolonging the war, encouraging the enemy to resist, and bolstering up the German Autocracy; more than that, it is to a League of Nations as killing as 'canker to the rose.' There can be no peace in the world till there is in Germany a change of spirit and a new heart. That is true; but how can there be a new spirit among the Germans when there is no prospect held out to them except to be treated as runagates who must continue in scarceness? How can there be a change of heart when the body is to be starved and the whole economic life of the nation threatened with ruin? The new spirit that will bring a peace that endures is a spirit that allows to every nation under the sun, whether large or small, a free right to live and work and have its being.

The mere arrival of Democracy will not secure peace. A democracy which can be gulled by designing Press Lords, and is too lethargic to control its foreign policy, is no guarantee of peace. Democracy must be master in its own house, and must control what is the real disturbing factor in international affairs—the warlike tendencies of industrialism. Who can doubt that a real

disturbing factor in international politics has been the pressure put by groups of financiers and investors upon their national diplomacy?

To exorcise the spirit that is troubling the world we must exorcise the spirit of militant industrialism, or industrial militarism, call it which you will. Hitherto finance has been in the saddle and ruled mankind. Henceforward mankind must rule finance and direct its activities away from the promotion of conflict to harmonious co-operation in the production of wealth. If the world could be assured that no portion of the undeveloped regions of the globe, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, would be treated as a close preserve by whichever Power is in control of it, the deep underlying causes of the prolongation of the War would be removed and the permanent peace of the world become a possibility. In other words, the settlement must secure that there shall be no close preserves, either in Russia or Turkey or Mesopotamia or Syria or tropical Africa, and that all nations shall have the right to invest and trade in all these regions under international arrangement and guarantees.

Surely it should not be beyond the wit of a League of Nations to secure this amount of co-operation.

Success is vitally necessary if a lasting peace

is to be secured. The life of a League of Nations will not be worth a year's purchase if this spirit of commercial aggression is not laid, if the nations do not in future feel a sense of equality for economic expansion and a sense of security from economic militarism. In short, the general commonwealth must be the object of our ideals. It is the ideal for which thousands and thousands of our best have entered the Valley of the Shadow of Death. If we are to have a sense of community, not only with the living but our glorious dead, we can content ourselves with nothing less noble, less human, less spiritual. It is, moreover, the great event to which an awakened humanity will press irresistibly forward. No party, no section of society, will be able to stand aloof. We have seen that the one great object of the Tory Party is to promote the commonweal of Britain. Surely it need have no hesitation in striving for the commonweal of the world?

As Wordsworth wrote:

> "Blest, above measure blest,
> If on Thy love our land her hopes shall rest,
> And all the nations labour to fulfil
> Thy law, and live henceforth in peace and pure goodwill."

CHAPTER IX

" It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, with pomp of water unwithstood,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever."

WORDSWORTH

DULL must he be of soul who does not thrill with emotion at the generous services rendered to the cause of World Liberty by the citizens of the British Empire. Tennyson wrote at the death of the Duke of Wellington:

" We have a voice with which to pay the debt
Of boundless love and reverence and regret
To those great men who fought and kept it ours."

We in the mother country have only one thought, and that is to pay the debt of boundless love to those great sons of a Great Empire who have stood so nobly at our side. What better way can we find of paying the debt than the way of a full and free political com-

radeship? Closer consultation and closer co-operation in the great affair of world government and in all things affecting the governance of the Empire are the inevitable result of the War.

In order to arrive at this result that able and sincere group of men who are identified with the *Round Table* have elaborated a well-intentioned but complicated system of Parliaments. Their labour has been in vain, for the scheme, depending as it does on the creation of a super-Parliament, has not met with approval either in Great Britain or in the Dominions. A mechanical Empire, achieving its object by compulsion, is rightly distrusted by the unerring political instinct of the British people. To put faith in machinery is thoroughly to misunderstand both the character and purpose of the British Empire. The great and original contribution which we have made to the world is to show how community of aims and ideas, achieving its end and purpose by voluntary co-operation, can weld a loosely knitted association into a perfect whole.

There need be no fear for the British Empire so long as the spirit of liberty is at the helm.

In Burke's immortal words:

"As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as a sanctuary of liberty, a sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever

the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces toward you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia, But, until you have become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world." [1]

The guarantee of the solidarity of the British Empire is that every constituent part should have the form of government that suits it best. This applies as forcibly to the Crown Colonies and the Dependencies as to the self-governing Dominions.

Government for the benefit of the governed is the golden rule for India, West Africa, East Africa, as well as for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

To the modern mercantilist, however, this is no golden rule, but an outworn dogma of

[1] Speech on Conciliation with America.

out-of-date Free Traders. Unable to exploit the Dominions or the Indian Empire, they cast their greedy eye on those portions which they imagine to be weak and inarticulate. The tropical Colonies, say these Empire-breakers, are merely estates of the Crown, and the native must work not for the benefit of his own native land, but for the enrichment of the soap-boiler in Britain.

Occasionally high flights of imagination on their part throw a dazzling picture before the eyes of the overtaxed Briton, of his War debt lightened by the exploitation of his weaker brothers. It was always understood that the mercantilist doctrine, with its exploitation of the Colonies, went the way of the Slave Trade and other abominations at the beginning of the century.

Arthur Young wrote over a hundred years ago: "Nothing could be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administration, or that great minister, occasioned the American War. It was not the Stamp Act, nor the repeal of the Stamp Act, it was neither Lord Rockingham nor Lord North, but it was the baleful monopolizing spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter." [1]

But those who believe that a great Empire

[1] Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland.*

can be governed on the principles of the counter are all-powerful to-day in the Government, and this exploitation of the weaker portions of the Empire is once more the policy of the mother country. An export tax on palm kernels is now imposed in Nigeria, and a rebate will be given, when normal times return, on those sent to the United Kingdom. The effect of this will obviously be to limit the market and reduce the price for the native producer—thus the home importer will benefit at the expense of the West African. Where are the sound principles of Imperial Statesmanship—where indeed ?

A more glaring example of exploitation is the policy adopted by the Ministry of Munitions and sanctioned by the Colonial Office in dealing with the price fixed for the palm kernels. While we charge 300 per cent above pre-war prices for all the articles sold by us to the West African, we have fixed the price to be paid for what they send us at 25 per cent below pre-war prices ! As Jeffereys said of Wordsworth's poetry, " This will not do ! "

On the whole the administration of our tropical Colonies is admirable. A wise, statesmanlike policy secures to the natives their tribal rights in the land, and a system of agricultural instruction educates them in the ways of improving its fertility.

The production of cocoa palm kernels, etc., has in consequence phenomenally increased. Unfortunately, owing to superior business methods and lighter dock dues and lower shipping freights, a very large proportion of the raw materials of industry went to Germany. Nothing is more legitimate than to recapture this trade, but it is unfortunate to the last degree that the obvious methods of doing so after the War were rejected, and that a short-cut was adopted which will inevitably undermine the native's trust in the justice of our rule and throw the country into a turmoil of unrest.

Our plain motto in regard to the backward races of the Empire should surely be :

> " Rather with God-like art, Promethean, school
> Each laggard race by discipline humane,
> And lead them gently on to all things good."

Ireland is still the skeleton in our cupboard and a blot on the escutcheon of the Empire. The Irish Question has been allowed to drift until opinion in Ireland is hopelessly alienated and in Great Britain bitterly exacerbated. It is as if some malign and devilish influence were at work to fix a deep and impassable gulf between the two nations.

The Tory Party has done its best to remedy the material wrongs of Ireland ; few more beneficent measures have been placed on the

Statute Book than the Wyndham Land Purchase Act, yet we have not succeeded in touching the heart of the Irish mystery, and because we have failed we are tempted to commit the injustice of writing down the Irish as a perverse and disloyal people.

"We govern people," Lord Shelburne said, "we do not know them, we do not even endeavour to know them." Has not the time arrived to try to understand? Can we any longer persist in the attitude of petulant disapproval and unimaginative indifference that we have hitherto adopted to Irish ideas and aspirations? It is deplorable that Ireland has not stood by our side in our struggle for world freedom. But do not let us be unjust. The fault lies at the door of the malignant stupidity of our methods and the cowardice and indifference of our Governments. "Ireland," declares General Smuts, "is no longer a political problem, it is a pathological problem; Ireland is a sick soul." If that is so, how unjust to apply the strait-jacket! Surely what Ireland needs is sympathetic diagnosis and the application of the same magical remedy which keeps the rest of the Empire in health.

Surely we cannot be happy as to our attitude towards Mr. Redmond and his followers. They have stood loyally by us throughout

the War, yet we have no reward to offer them but to throw them mockingly to the wolves. Is it too late to appeal for a better understanding and a kindlier sympathy towards the Irish people? What is there in the traditions of our party that prevents it?

That is a question that seventy-five years ago Disraeli asked of his party. In 1843, when opposing one of the ever-recurring Coercion Bills, he said he could find no grounds in history for the common assumption that hostility to the Irish people was a characteristic of the Tory policy. At a time like the present, when those who had been their leaders no longer led, and they found themselves sinking into a faction without principles, it was their duty to recur to the traditions of the party; and he thought that there was nothing more strange than that the Gentlemen of England who were the descendants of the Cavaliers should be advocates of governing Ireland on the principles of the Roundheads. He went on to say, "Believing that Ireland is governed in a manner which conduces only to the injury of both countries; believing that the old principles of the party with which I am connected are quite competent, if pursued, to relieve us from the difficult situation in which we are placed; I hope the time will come when a party framed on true principles will do jus-

tice to Ireland by really penetrating into the mystery of this great misgovernment, so as to bring about a state of society which shall be advantageous to both England and Ireland, and which will put an end to a state of things that is the bane of England and the opprobrium of Europe." [1]

Ireland is still the bane of England and the opprobrium of Europe, and will remain so, so long as we refuse to understand. 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.' The more the world problems change the more do Ireland's remain the same. "I have never conceived," wrote Burke in his old age, "or can conceive, that the connection is strengthened by making the major part of the inhabitants of your country believe that their ease and their satisfaction and their equalization with the rest of their fellow-subjects in Ireland are things adverse to the principles of that connection, or that their subjection to a small monopolizing Junto is the very condition upon which the harmony of the two kingdoms essentially depends."

Burke was alluding to the state of Ireland in 1797, but his words are as true to-day as when they were written. A small monopolizing Junto is thwarting Ireland's national aspirations, and is preventing a reconciliation

[1] *Life of Disraeli*, vol. ii.

between the two countries. That Junto has deprived us of the co-operation of the finest fighting nation in the world, has locked up in Ireland 80,000 of our own troops who should be fighting the Germans, and has, moreover, reduced to utter flabbiness the Radical principles of the Prime Minister and his Chief Secretary.

"The first study of a statesman," said Burke, "should be the temper of the people, otherwise the Government becomes a mere scuffle between the magistrate and the multitude, in which sometimes one, sometimes the other is uppermost; in which they alternately yield and prevail in a series of contemptible victories and scandalous submissions." Could there be a better description of the Government's policy? Mr. Shortt is not ruling—he is engaged in an undignified scuffle with the Irish people; he scores off them one day and they off him the next, in a series of contemptible victories and scandalous submissions. This sort of thing cannot go on much longer; the Government cannot continue for ever to apply a 'quick alternation of kicks and kindness.' The Prime Minister cannot for ever alternately bully and cajole, nor will the army of 80,000 succeed in stamping out Lord French's 'poisonous insects.'

Ireland is still the bane of England and the

opprobrium of Europe, and will remain so until the Government acquires enough courage and sincerity to effect a settlement. To say that Ireland must herself set her house in order is a cowardly evasion; the first duty of the Imperial Government is to govern and bring peace and contentment to the Empire.

It would be presumption to suggest a remedy, but if an individual may do so there are few more qualified, more sincere, more fair-minded than the poet and prophet Mr. George Russell. "Ireland's demand for control of her economic future," he writes, "must be faced; as the object of British consent to Irish self-government is to dispose of Irish antagonism, nothing is to be gained by passing measures which will not dispose of it."

"If Ulster has its fears of Irish self-government in the sphere of economics, I ask what reason is there to suppose," writes Mr. Russell, "that taxation in a self-governing Ireland would be greater than in Great Britain after the War? Or in what ways Ulster industries will be singled out, or for what evil purpose, by an Irish Parliament? It would be only too anxious rather to develop in the future the one great industrial centre in Ireland. But, if Ulster still cherishes its fears and is still alarmed by the prospect of oppressive administration, the report of the Irish Con-

vention has shown that Nationalist Ireland is willing to concede abundant guarantees."

No party would willingly coerce the Ulster minority, but when the War is over we shall recall with amazement the fact that at a time when the whole Empire was battling for its life, at a time when all sections of society in Great Britain forswore their differences and put away their prejudices and partial affections, the Ulster minority refused to abate one jot of their unconquerable hate.

We do not expect Ulster to surrender, but we do expect it to show a spirit of compromise. It is said that the Unionist Party is defunct. "Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi!" There is need to-day for a greater Unionism, a larger Unity, which shall embrace the whole of this great Empire in one bond of liberty and law, of free institutions expressing the will of a free, loyal and contented people.

CHAPTER X

" With each new accession of the Party, welcome though it be, some inevitable deflection of policy is made, and some new demand, some ancient and discordant prejudice, some price of a bargain is superadded ; till the Toryism of to-day is far indeed from its first principles, which lie hidden beneath a mosaic of contradictory policies and secular discrepancies, and it will need a master workman to find the pit from which they were dug."—*Toryism*, by KEITH FEILING

THE atmosphere of Parliament before the War was not very congenial to social reform. On the Government benches sat a well-disciplined body of standard Liberals, comfortable men, mostly large employers of labour, quite content to engage in the dull mechanical exercise of grinding out their party programme. Frequent promises were made of legislation on Education, Housing, Agricultural Reform, but " all promise is poor dilatory man "—nothing matured, and little refreshing fruit was ever gathered.

The Tory Party, on the other hand, was largely composed of men who had made a study of the new gospel to the neglect of the old, and whose faith in the ability of Tariff Reform to produce a Utopia was so robust

that they felt there was little need to trouble about other matters.

Mr. Feiling says that spade-work is not the strong point in the Tory Party. That may be so. Nevertheless in the four years preceding the War, useful excavation work was performed by individual members, whereby the policy of the party was cleared of accretions which since the death of Lord Salisbury had gradually gathered and obscured the homely beauty of the good old cause. This group of members, conscious that the strength of their party had always depended upon its power to prove its sincerity towards the cause of social progress, were determined, without the slightest feeling of disloyalty to their leaders, to prove that in their opinion the Tory Party is destined for higher things than to be the dumping ground for disgruntled Liberals, or a mere appendage to the Tariff Reform League, with its purely commercial and material ideals. The young Tories, as they were nicknamed by the Press, made up their minds to devote themselves to the investigation and study of social questions. With the help of experts and of their able and enthusiastic secretary, Mr. Maurice Woods, they drew up a series of admirable reports on the Housing, Education, Public Health, and Labour problems. The War has scattered this group to the four winds of

heaven. Military service still claims a large number. The Government has engulfed a few. There remain enough to keep alight the Disraelian tradition. Owing to the distractions of the War their reports have not received that amount of public recognition that they would otherwise have gained They have, nevertheless, laboured better than they expected at the time. Their leaven has leavened a very large lump. Their reports on Agriculture and Education have been followed to the letter by the Government's legislation, and later investigations and experience have proved the soundness of their views on such questions as Housing and Poor Law Reform.

Agriculture

It is no exaggeration to say that the foundations of the Government's agricultural policy were laid one Sunday in July 1913 at Stoke Rochford, Mr. Christopher Turnor's residence, when a few members of the young Tory Party, among whom were Sir Charles Bathurst, Mr. Leslie Scott and Mr. Turnor, formulated an agricultural policy and set it forth in pamphlet form. The following is a brief summary:

Agricultural Reform must begin with the labourer; he is the root of the problem; give him a living wage, a good cottage, allotments handy, the chance of acquiring a small holding,

an improved elementary and secondary education for his children and adult education for himself. Let your efforts, in short, be concentrated on the removal of the inhuman conditions to which the lives of the rural workers have been subjected. But your policy must be a complete policy. To secure the living wage for the labour, the farmer must be secured a fair return for his capital. Give that security, and you will be able to employ 50,000 more men on the land, and increase production of home-grown food by £80,000,000 per annum. Time has amply justified this report. The farmer has been given reasonable security, and the labourer has the living wage. Four years ago, who would have imagined that the Norfolk labourer, for instance, who not long ago worked for 13s., would be getting his 35s. a week, and that the soil of Great Britain would almost supply the nation's needs?

Education

Let us turn to Education. A committee under the chairmanship of Sir Samuel Hoare published in January 1914 a report drawn up by its chairman. It is an extremely able summary of the defects of the existing system, and a remarkably intelligent forecast of what a good Education Bill should be. The gist of the report was as follows:

Our educational system is grossly unfair to the rising generation, inasmuch as for the majority it provides no further education after the age of thirteen. It is wasteful, inasmuch as the children are underfed and overtired; their health is neglected and inadequate physical recreation is provided. Clearly it is our duty, therefore, to provide continued education, an adequate system of medical inspection and treatment, a strict limitation of the hours worked out of school, physical training and the establishment of Juvenile Advisory Committees to guide the young.

Mr. Fisher's speeches on Education have brought these facts home to the public, and his Act has embodied all the recommendations of the Committee. But credit should be given to these private members for a useful bit of pioneer work. Amid the chorus of congratulation to Mr. Fisher, it is only fair to remember that twice during the present Parliament has a group of private members of both parties attempted to remedy the injustices of our present system; notably a Bill introduced by Mr. Denman sought to regulate street trading, abolish the half-time system and enable the Local Authorities to diminish exploitation of child labour.

Unfortunately the forces that succeeded in maiming the Fisher Bill killed Mr. Denman's.

An unholy alliance of doctrinaire Radicals, plutocratic Liberal newspaper proprietors, and reactionary Labour men from Lancashire, snowed it under with amendments, thus putting back the clock of social progress for a few years. A curious phenomenon of our Educational Debates is to find representatives of Lancashire labour making use of arguments hitherto employed by the reactionary employer only, which a century of industrial legislation has proved to be utterly fallacious. It is interesting to find how anti-social a socialist can on occasions prove to be. But at any rate the iniquitous half-time system will soon be a thing of the past.

Housing

Next comes the question of Housing. Housing reform, as everybody knows, is a matter in which the Tory Party has an honourable record.

The Torrens Act, under Mr. Disraeli's Ministry of 1866–1868, was the first step taken to deal with the insanitary house. The Artisans' Dwellings Act of 1875 gave power to clear slum areas.

The Act of 1879 reduced the cost of compensation, and the great Act of 1890 improved and consolidated all the existing legislation. The young Tories in 1912 had therefore titles

manifold to urge this question on a preoccupied and indifferent Government. The urgency of the problem was manifest; owing to various causes the business of house building had been checked; in fact, it was estimated that there was a shortage of from fifty to a hundred thousand cottages.

The welfare of the nation demanded vigorous action. A group of Tory members, among whom were Sir A. Boscawen, Col. Kyffin Taylor, Mr. Montague Barlow, Mr. Charles Bathurst, Mr. Walter Guinness, Mr. Astor, and Mr. Hills, prepared a Bill on bold and progressive lines.

Briefly the provisions of the Bill were as follows: To improve the Administrative efficiency of the Local Government Board, Housing Commissioners were to be appointed; an Imperial grant (in 1910, £500,000, and in 1911 and 1912, £1,000,000) was to be given as an inducement to Local Authorities; the cost of housing schemes was to be borne jointly by the Exchequer and the Local Authority, and the Local Government Board was to undertake the work of housing in the event of a Local Authority proving recalcitrant.

The Bill was introduced one Friday afternoon and aroused the extravagant wrath of Mr. John Burns, who, "in a fine frenzy rolling," denounced the backers of the Bill as a set of "economic fledglings, who thought

that the last word on Housing had been uttered when they had delivered a speech after they had motored through a London slum in a taxi-cab." Thanks to the help of a small number of sincere housing reformers from the Liberal and Labour benches, the Bill received a second reading and was sent to a Grand Committee. But all in vain. Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave the Bill the 'knock-out blow' by refusing the Treasury Grant, and a party majority completed its demise by rejecting the clause setting up Housing Commissioners.

A somewhat similar Bill, introduced a year later by Sir Randolph Baker, met with a similar fate, though Mr. Burns moderated somewhat the extravagance of his denunciation. Mr. Lloyd George again refused the Treasury Grant.

"We must educate our Masters," said Mr. Lowe. Mr. Burns perhaps is still unconvinced, but we have at all events educated our Prime Minister. The provision of a Treasury Grant, no longer a shocking example of Tory levity, the plaything of economic fledglings, is adopted as the main feature of the Government's housing policy.

Poor Law

In 1911 a Committee got to work on the Poor Law under the chairmanship of Mr.

Hills. The Committee consisted among others of Mr. Astor, Sir Charles Bathurst, Mr. G. Lloyd, Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, Sir Mark Sykes, and Lord Alexander Thynne.

The Committee came to the conclusion that, admirable and conscientious as had been the work of the Guardians, such is the prejudice in the minds of the people against the Poor Law, that the continued existence of the Guardians is not only a cause of duplication and overlapping, but a barrier to a more effective and economic arrangement for the future. New health powers are constantly being conferred, but it is impossible to give them to the Guardians. New authorities therefore are created, overlapping is increased, the Guardians are left in a back-water themselves and are also a hindrance to the establishment of a better system. The small size of many Poor Law Unions prevents them from dealing effectively with, for instance, the able-bodied pauper. How can the tramp ward reform the tramp?

The proposals of Mr. Hills' Committee may be briefly summarized. The problem of the able-bodied unemployed is a national problem and should therefore be nationally administered. Uniformity and specialization of treatment should be secured by handing over the control of all institutions, hospitals

and Poor Law schools to the County Council. On the other hand, all home visiting and relief should be left in the hands of the District Councils—henceforward to be known, so far as relief is concerned, as the Public Assistance Committee. Thus reform with the minimum of change is secured. Supervision and control over such activities should be exercised by the County Councils by means of the grant-in-aid. The same ground has since been covered by an expert Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Donald Maclean.

The reports of the two Committees agree in the main, but Sir Donald's would deal more drastically with the Rural and Urban District Councils—neither institutional nor domiciliary relief being left in their hands. It points out with great force that of late years there have been created the following additional classes of persons receiving assistance out of the rates and taxes :

I. Old-Age Pensioners.
II. Children provided with meals under the Administrative Provisions Act.
III. Persons in distress due to the War.
IV. Soldiers' dependants in receipt of supplementary allowances.
V. Discharged soldiers and their dependants receiving allowances or special grants or pensions.

"All these cases entail some sort of investigation. The public authorities concerned all draw their funds from the rates and taxes, but each frequently acts without knowledge of what the others are doing, whilst each makes its own inquiries and comes to its own decision as to the position, needs and claims of the same families."

Sir Donald Maclean's Committee therefore recommends that the County or County Borough Councils should form a new Committee, to be styled the Home Assistance Committee, constituted on the lines of the Education Committee, to take over all the work of Home Assistance—*i.e.* grants of money and in kind received in the home.

Another point of difference is that whereas Mr. Hills' Committee would make the care of the able-bodied person receiving relief a national responsibility, Sir Donald's would give it to the County and Town Councils.

There is a slight difference in the recommendations of the two Committees, but both emphasize the need of a reform which is due to the awakened conscience of the nation as to the injustice and futility of the present Poor Law system.

CHAPTER XI

"To the common consciousness of Greece the State was not an organization but an organism, no alien force imposing itself upon the citizen but a living whole, which took up into itself all individual wills; not impeding spontaneous energies or crushing individual growth, but enriching and completing the individualities which it embraced. It was the individual on his ideal side, his true and spiritual self, the glorified expression and embodiment of his noblest aims and faculties, the higher unity in which he merged his separate and selfish self."—S. H. Butcher

In *The Town Labourer* there occurs the following passage:

"When the French Revolution broke out, the working classes as a body in the North and the Midlands were profoundly indifferent to ideas or causes. So long as they could drink, watch a cock fight, bull baiting, or horse race, and earn a reasonable living, they were as contented as the squires whose tastes, if rather more expensive, were in kind not dissimilar. No vision exalted or disturbed their soul." [1]

There are those who hold that when the

[1] *The Town Labourer*, by Mr. and Mrs. Hammond.

present War broke out, the mind of the working classes was equally indifferent to ideas—that, given good wages, plenty of football, racing news and a glass of beer, they were, on the whole, content. The workman is a sportsman (small blame to him; it would be a poor world without a bit of sport), and that he has a genius for play, who can doubt who has served with him in this War? The football has accompanied the British Army to every campaign, though it is doubtful whether it effected a landing either on Lancashire Beach or at Suvla Bay. But there can be no greater libel than to say that his mind is purely material and devoid of ideas. The writer was present lately at a discussion on Rural Regeneration, when a speaker girded at the working-classes for caring for nothing but an increase in their material comfort. The reply came from a Norfolk labourer and was crushing and complete: "You have, till quite lately, considered that a wage of 13s. a week, and a house little better than a pigsty, was adequate for a labourer. Give us the rights of citizenship—the elements of a full and reasonable life, opportunities for service, leisure for study—and we will render you service as ideal and disinterested as ever was given by the leisured class."

Whoever thinks that the aims of Labour

are purely material, must be blind to the significance of the social history of his country. What is the meaning of the long struggle which has gone on since 1800, but a revolt against a scheme of life designed for them by their superiors—a scheme of life which tied them to the machine, treated them as a commodity, and denied them any sphere for the shaping spirit of their imagination or the exercise of hope and joy? As far back as 1837 we find Doherty, the first great Labour leader, writing in the *Voice of the People*: "If society is to have tolerable conditions of life, machinery must be brought under the direction of the working-classes themselves. The aim and goal of human effort is not wealth but freedom." Again we find Lovett the Chartist, in a plea for the education of the masses, asking: "Is it consistent with justice that the knowledge requisite to make a man acquainted with his rights and duties should be purposely withheld from him, and then that he should be upbraided and deprived of his rights on the plea of ignorance?"

To its contemporaries the Chartist movement was a pathetic failure. The dumb, inarticulate misery of the people knocked in vain at the door of a smug and complacent middle-class legislature. The significance, nevertheless, of the movement was immense. It was the first

great democratic movement in Europe of modern times, and behind the limited demand for the franchise there lay the vision of a social regeneration which alone could remedy the terrible evils against which Chartism had revolted.

The same struggle continues to-day, though the battle is advanced a stage.

Dr. Philip Kay wrote of the cotton operatives in 1832: "Whilst the engine runs the people must work. Men, women and children are yoked together with iron and steam; the human machine, subject to a thousand sources of suffering, is chained fast to the iron machine which knows no suffering and no weariness."

The great mass of the people—men, women and children—are as much yoked to the machine in 1918 as in 1832. We live by industry; the die is cast; we cannot put back the hands of the clock. But the problem is still identical. The issue is still the same. The problem we have to solve is how to make our industrial life tolerable to a free and enlightened people—how to make our society a 'commonwealth'—not an "alien force impeding spontaneous energies, crushing individual growths, but the expression and embodiment of man's noblest aims and faculties."

It may help us to solve this problem to

remember that, as 'Jason' writes, "the workman wants more than good wages and steady employment, he wants a place in the sun: such conditions as will enable him to make the most of his life, a new feeling of responsibility for the enterprise to which he gives his energy, and the sense, in fine, of true and active citizenship alike in industry and politics."[1] The War has immensely improved the status of the working-classes. As 'Jason' points out, "It is impossible now to regard the employer as the sole representative of industry. The Government have found out that they could not carry on the War and refuse the Trade Unions the right to participate in the decisions and policy for which the Government and an industry are jointly responsible. Where the Government has failed, failure has been due to reluctance to act on this principle. Where it has been applied, success has been astonishing."

The industrial unrest in May 1917 is a good illustration of this truth. Early in 1915 joint committees of employers and trade unionists were set up in the chief engineering centres, and a good deal of power was given to them in the organization of output. The Armaments Committee on the Tyne was exceptionally successful. The wise policy

[1] *Past and Future*, by 'Jason.'

would have been to have extended these committees to every munition area, to have put complete confidence in them, and to have handed over to them control of the organization of labour.

Unfortunately that was not the policy adopted; the choice lay between a Democratic system and a Bureaucratic. The Ministry of Munitions chose the latter; they scrapped the joint committees and enveloped the workers in a complete network of minute and irritating restrictions and inhibitions devised for their control and discipline. Unrest was the inevitable result. Dr. Addison scolded and the newspapers stormed. Every effort was made to give a wrong impression of the action of the men. Finally, wiser counsels prevailed. Travelling Commissions were appointed; and these upheld the workers' point of view. Dr. Addison was translated elsewhere and Mr. Churchill reigned in his stead.

Notwithstanding this experience it was disappointing to find that in this year the bureaucratic atmosphere of the Ministry proved too much for Mr. Churchill. The demands of the Army made it necessary to ration the supply of skilled labour. The workers themselves were agreed on that point, but instead of entrusting this difficult task to representatives of the industries concerned, who had the re-

quisite knowledge to handle the problem, the Ministry drew up a cast-iron scheme of their own, went through a pretence of consulting the Trade Unions, and launched it in such a clumsy manner that it aroused the suspicions of the workmen. The natural result followed. Great unrest broke out in several centres. Mr. Churchill issued theatrical and minatory manifestoes, the men were threatened, after the Prussian manner, with military service, the Prime Minister's Press accused them of disloyalty and pro-Germanism—and the public jumped to the conclusion that the men were in the wrong. The whole proceeding was grossly unjust. However, the Government in the end gave way, an inquiry was promised, and the storm passed off.

The point to remember is that, both in 1917 and 1918, if the workmen had been treated as human beings, if they had been trusted with responsibility, these unfortunate events would never have happened. The errors of the first two years should afford a useful lesson to the powers that be. Let us hope that they will apply more understanding and tact to the problems of the future. The urgent problem of the future is the need of maximum production of wealth. That must be apparent to all, yet this obvious need can be easily prejudiced and made an object of suspicion. There is little

profit in lecturing and lecturing the workman; what is vital is to create the conditions necessary to increased production.

What are the reasons for his imperfect sympathy with a large output and improvements in technical processes?

Experience has shown him that:

(1) Over-production has often caused unemployment.
(2) A large output has frequently led to the cutting of his piece rate.
(3) Improvements in machinery have lost him his job.

These are the obstacles to high production, and until they are removed no exhortations and no scoldings will avail. If these problems are to be solved, it will not be by some *Deus ex machina* in a Government office, but by the collaboration and co-operation of such a Joint Council as the Pottery Trade has been the first to form.

Unquestionably there is much explosive material about, and strikes spring up as the sparks fly upward; on the other hand, there is happily much good feeling, reasonableness and willingness to co-operate on the part both of employers and employed, and there is much reason to hope that the British genius for compromise will cause liberty to broaden

down in stage upon stage of mutual conciliation and common development.

"There is no trade," says the Board of Trade Journal of the middle of this year, "that is not discussing, if only in a preliminary or unofficial way, its relation to the Whitley Report, and hardly any trade that has not accepted the underlying principles of this Report. . . . Trade Associations are experiencing a great accession of membership, and workers are flocking into their Trade Unions. This strengthening of associations and unions is almost entirely due to the belief that joint bodies will be formed."

Even if goodwill did not exist, the evolution of our industrial organizations would necessitate the improved status of workers. The need for organization is the great lesson of the War. Whether we like it or not, the old individualist separatist regime is dead, and is bound to give way to combinations and federations. When American and German trade associations spend thousands to our hundreds in scientific research, in promotion of technical improvements and in pushing the export of their goods, how can we deny a similar right to our industrialists? We declare that it is the duty of the State to foster and encourage our trade. But effective help necessitates an organization with which the State can deal.

But the employing class must not for a moment imagine that, 'like Alexander, they will reign, and reign alone, conscious of no other sway.'

If the State places them in a privileged position, the workers and the taxpayers will naturally demand protection from exploitation. The experience of the War has proved three things—that it is possible to ration raw material, find out the cost of manufacture, and govern a whole industry by joint committees of employers and employed; and the experience of the Cotton Trade has proved that it is possible for an industry to make itself responsible for its reserves of labour.

State aid has probably come to stay. It is difficult to see how industry can resume its normal course without direction and assistance from the State. This may have its disadvantages, but it will certainly have its advantages. The partnership of the State will cause industry to be regarded as a form of National Service,—a service in which every individual will be expected to play his part for the sake of the community. The new spirit has been well expressed by a great captain of industry, Mr. W. L. Hichens, the chairman of Messrs. Cammell Laird, who says: "No man can serve two masters; he cannot serve himself and the community,

for then the kingdom would be divided against itself; he can only serve himself by serving the community, and this is surely the only foundation upon which industry can rest. It we are ever to solve the great industrial problem, it can only be by recognizing that industry is primarily a National Service, and that the object of those engaged in it is first and foremost the good of the community engaged in it. . . . If each man thinks of making his pile by all the means that economic individualism allows, if class bands itself against class, trade unions against employers' federations, firm against firm, to secure the greatest share of the world's goods in unrestricted competition, social life must inevitably break down and anarchy reign supreme."

Is this ideal possible, or too hopelessly Utopian, too high an aspiration for mortal men engaged in getting their living?

> "Each age is a dream that is dying,
> Or one that is coming to birth."

The industrial revolution and its subordination of the individual to the mechanical pursuit of wealth is a horrible nightmare. In the new age that is coming to birth, who will dare to set a bound to the aspirations of humanity?

CHAPTER XII

"At last
She rose upon a wind of Prophecy
Dilating on the future; 'everywhere
Two heads in Council, two beside the hearth,
Two in the tangled business of the world,
Two in the liberal offices of life,
Two plummets dropt for one to sound the abyss
Of Science, and the secrets of the mind.'"

The Princess

THE ambitions of the organized workers for a fuller life are happily now generally recognized; what is more, they will probably be realized. They have great allies, and all parties are eager to court their favour.

There was, however, before the War a vast number of our industrial population, women, girls and boys, still struggling in a vicious circle of low wages and bad organization, whose helplessness appealed to a much too limited number of the House of Commons and the electorate. With the grant of female suffrage a new and happier era is dawning for these, and already the House has decided to confer on the Labour Minister wide powers

of extending the Trades Boards Act to any industry in which there is danger that the wages offered will fall below the subsistence level after the War.

It is not enough to ordain good wages; care must be taken that they are paid. A new Truck Act is badly needed; all fines and deductions must be abolished. The present law is utterly ineffective to protect the worker from the most unjust exactions, as the following examples taken from the Factory Inspectors' Reports will show. One employer inflicted a fine of 1s. on a girl of fifteen for laughing twice in one week. In another case a fine was inflicted for sneezing. In a third case a fine of £1, 0s. 6d., amounting to the whole of her earnings, was imposed upon a collar-stitcher for stitching the collars a little nearer to the edge than in the sample.

But of far greater importance is the protection of the worker from excessive hours of labour.

The Health of Munition Workers Committee, in their final Report, state that "apart from exceptional occupations, which are in themselves injurious, the principal of the undesirable conditions, the most radical and persistent, the commonest, is that of long hours. It is a significant fact," the Report continues, "that all through the history of the industrial

system of this country, the dominant evil is not accidents, or poisoning, or specific disease, but the stress and fatigue due to long and unsuitable hours of labour, entailing inadequate opportunities for rest, recreation and nourishment. In a word, it is not the work, but the continuity of the work, which kills."

For the sake of women workers' health a shorter working day is a vital necessity.

The legal working day is practically the same as it was seventy years ago, notwithstanding the fact that the speed of the machine, the consequent strain, the wear and tear of the worker, have been doubled; notwithstanding the fact also that experience has proved that the legal day is wasteful of wealth and destructive to health. Who can defend as either economic or humane the practice of working girls at high-speed machinery without the break of a single minute for four and a half or five hours on end? Experience has proved its futility, and the Legislature should secure its immediate abolition.

There has been a great advance in what is called welfare work; but there is still great need for securing the minimum decencies of factory life, such as the provision of seats in workrooms, the supply of drinking water, sanitary accommodation and facilities for washing. There is still a tendency to regard

these as necessary only in special circumstances, and the Home Office, which is now armed with ample powers under the Police, Factories, etc., Act of 1916, should ensure that these most vital necessaries to the health and convenience of the worker are universally provided.

Another question which we should ask ourselves is this—Do we sufficiently safeguard the health of the adolescent worker? Take, for instance, a typical girl in a workshop or mill. At the age of fourteen she leaves the six hours of school and plunges straight into the ten or ten and a half hours of the factory. In the cotton trade, as Miss Collier points out, she is on her feet all day with scarcely a chance for resting, with rarely a seat provided, even if the opportunity of sitting down occurs; and by the end of the day she has walked many miles. She may lift or carry heavy weights, in the absence of mechanical contrivances; or she may work at great speed in the mule rooms in the spinning branch of the cotton industry in a temperature often exceeding 90° F. Or if she is a weaver, she may have her four looms at the age of fifteen, and be expected to produce the average output per week and encouraged to strain her energies in competing with boys, men and women. In most of the cotton towns, particularly in N.E. Lancashire, where the circumstances

admit of comparisons between the girls attending the secondary schools and those who work in the mills, both groups coming from the same class and the same type of home, it has been observed that the former are tall, well-built, and rosy-cheeked, while the latter are often short, always thin, and generally pale and anæmic.[1]

The hours and conditions of the adolescent girl worker should be studied and regulated as a separate problem apart from that of the adult or even the boy. One thing is quite clear; the merely perfunctory medical examination now provided is entirely inadequate. The sphere of the certifying surgeon is altogether too narrow; his decision as to fitness is generally based on one brief examination, and no reference is made to the records in the hands of the school medical authorities. Further, no subsequent examination is made nor any care taken of the health of the young worker after the age of sixteen. What is needed is an efficient industrial medical service, by which young workers in every form of industrial employment are kept under observation and periodically re-examined.

There is another iniquity for which the Home Office should do penance in a white sheet, and that is the night employment of

[1] D. T. Collier, *The Girl in Industry*.

boys and girls. During the War, women and even girls have been employed at night, to the immense detriment of their physique and general welfare. Latterly the Home Office has discovered the error of its ways, and is taking steps to minimize this evil. But there will remain after the War the legal permission to employ boys in certain processes in night work for spells of thirteen hours. This must inevitably stunt both their physical and mental development. The night work of women in industry has been abolished by international agreement; and surely a strenuous effort should be made to remove from industry such a relic of ancient serfdom.

There is no greater fallacy than to suppose that the majority of boys enter a regular industry. The Census of Occupations showed that, before the War, only one boy in every three of all ages under eighteen was engaged in a factory or workshop or the building trade. The remainder drifted into a variety of employments; they became van-boys, messenger-boys, errand-boys of all kinds. The War has temporarily altered this, but when peace comes the old conditions will return. The law does not protect the boy engaged in casual employment of the kind above mentioned. He may work in normal times from seventy to ninety hours a week; he may be employed till

twelve or one o'clock at night. His work is often physically exhausting, and at the same time entirely uneducative. The new Education Act will effect some improvement in the prospects of both boys and girls, but there is a danger that we should think we have performed the whole duty of man to the youth of the nation.

Spencer Walpole, in reviewing the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, remarks that socially and industrially they form a gloomy period, in which it took twenty-five years of legislation to restrict a child of nine to a sixty-nine hours' week, and that only in cotton mills. How long will it take us, in the twentieth century, with a hundred years' experience of factory legislation behind us, to prevent a girl of fourteen from being worked sixty hours a week in a factory, or seventy-four hours in a shop ; or a boy of fourteen from working for thirteen hours in a single turn on a night shift, or from being employed at all hours of the day or night as a van-boy, possibly for ninety hours a week ?

Penal Reform

There is much cause for doubting whether our penal system is as enlightened as we imagine it to be. On the contrary, there is grave reason to fear that we may be

ourselves adding to the manufacture of criminals.

Let us commence with the Juvenile. He is tried in a Juvenile Court; he may not be sent to the police cells or to prison on remand. All this, of course, is all to the good; but are we sure that we take sufficient trouble to find out what is the most suitable way of reforming the young delinquent? Delinquency is often caused by some physical defect. This is recognized in America; not so in this country. What we require in the treatment of child offenders is some machinery which would make a far more thorough and radical inquiry into the causes—physical, mental and social—of the young delinquent's wrong-doing at the very outset of his appearance before a Court, and provision for the treatment of his defects. This would to a large extent prevent our prisons from being filled by physically and mentally defective recidivists. Such a reform would necessitate the establishment of places of detention of a far more home-like nature, and with altogether better equipment, where the children could be kept under observation; and of Juvenile Clinics, with medical and psychological experts in attendance, in connexion with the Juvenile Courts.

The question also arises whether the Industrial and Reformatory Schools should not be taken

over entirely by the State and placed under the Board of Education, or at any rate subjected to a very much greater degree of control than they now submit to. The great majority of the schools are private institutions. They are subject to inspection, and the certificate which secures them a Government grant may be refused, and ultimately they may be closed. But as there are too few schools, this is a course which is not likely to be adopted. Although the State and the local authorities contribute the entire necessary cost for the maintenance of each individual inmate, they have no direct control over the expenditure. The State cannot determine the class of girl or boy who is admitted, or the nature of the instruction which should be given. Nor can it insist that an inmate should be transferred to another school, or let out on licence, if the school managers decide otherwise. Mr. Clarke Hall, the magistrate at Old Street Police Court, expresses the opinion in his recent book, *The State and the Child*, that many children, especially the best and most promising ones, are undoubtedly kept too long at these schools. The private individuals, societies and religious bodies, who in the past established their schools and now own and manage them, have certainly a claim to consideration. But does the system of private ownership

work out to the best interest of the children, nearly 6000 annually, who are sent to the schools? It seems to prevent proper classification, both as to discipline and as to training. Each school provides a variety of kinds of training, with the result that the standard is apt to be low, and the children receive a poor equipment for their life in the world. The training for the Navy is said to be excellent; but there are too few national schools for the number of boys who wish to go to sea. As regards the training for industrial life, the results are very discouraging. It seems that in 1911, of 9000 boys discharged from certified schools who were at work, only 151 were employed as shoemakers, 161 as tailors, 134 as carpenters, 67 as bakers and 36 as blacksmiths; yet these are the trades in which they had been receiving training for two, three and four years in the schools. It is to be feared that the work done had more regard to the immedate needs of the school than to the training of the inmates for a career in the industrial world.

Greater Government control should make possible far better classification and a consequently higher standard of training. It should also secure the better placing of the schools—not as now in the centre of towns, but in the country. It seems also something

of a waste that the training of children, even if the school is situated in the country, should be largely of an industrial nature, as is now the case.

For the boys and girls over sixteen there is practically no special provision ; when arrested, they are put into the police 'lock-up.' After being charged before the Court, if remanded, they are remanded to prison. Finally, when they again appear, the sentence, if the offence is a light one, will probably be a short term of imprisonment—a week, a fortnight, or a month, with or without the option of a fine. The 'option of a fine,' which, since the passing of the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914, has helped many an adult to escape these short terms of imprisonment, is largely an illusion in the case of young persons under twenty-one. Under this Act the Court must allow an offender not less than seven clear days in which to pay any fine imposed, unless (*inter alia*) he has no fixed abode known to the Court. Now these young offenders are, to a far greater extent than the adults, homeless. They are drifting about, probably in lodging-houses,. and are lost or abscond. The 1914 Act, however, makes it possible for the Court to place an offender between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one under 'supervision,' until the fine imposed

is paid. It also provides for subsidies to societies formed for the purpose of 'supervising' these young persons, or for their care while they are on probation. It is unfortunate that no subsidy has as yet been forthcoming, this section of the Act being in abeyance during the War.

The result is seen in the returns regarding the imprisonment of persons under twenty-one for periods of a month or less. The Court either does not give the option of a fine, or where the option is given, allows no time for payment. The effect of this double process is seen in the fact that of the 1149 lads, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who in the year ending March 1917 were sent to prison on these short sentences, the majority went direct to prison, some of them paying their fines after they had been in prison for some days. Of the girls sentenced, over 92 per cent were sent to prison without being given an opportunity to pay a fine. But, in spite of the high sounding names attached, it is clear that most of the offences would have been perfectly adequately punished by the infliction of a fine; and for the others, the short term of imprisonment is no cure. Eighty per cent of the boys mentioned above were first offenders. But undoubtedly many will return, or how comes it that, in ordinary times,

62 per cent of the occupants of our prisons are recidivists?

The reforms which are urgently needed are, in the first place, the provision of suitable places of detention and remand homes altogether apart from prisons. No person should be put in prison before sentence. In particular, it is a vicious system which allows young people, even before conviction, to be familiarized with the atmosphere of a prison on remand, or even to remain there for over four months (as happened recently in the case of a boy of sixteen), between the sitting of the Summary Court and his appearance at Assizes.

An immediate reform should be the extension of the provision of the Children Act, providing for suitable places of detention, to persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Further, there should be an end to these senseless short terms of imprisonment, condemned by prison chaplains and wardens, and by the Prison Commissioners themselves, in their latest report, as useless from a reformative point of view, and most harmful and blighting to the character of a young person. The section of the Criminal Justice Administration Act which would provide a proper financial basis for a system of probation, and also for the supervision of young persons who are fined, should be put into

operation as soon as possible. Far more use should be made of Probation—as yet only in its infancy in this country—as an alternative to imprisonment, for offenders of all ages, but more especially in the case of the young, who are so extraordinarily susceptible to personal influence. This, however, cannot be done without the appointment of far more Probation officers; so that one officer may not, as now, be responsible for the care of over 300 probationers of all ages. Again, there is the question of the atmosphere of our institutions—whether they be certified schools or prisons. Their aim should be to educate, build up character, not to punish and repress. Mr. C. E. B. Russell, the late Chief Inspector of Industrial Schools and Reformatories, suggested for the guidance of the schools that the development of initiative and a sense of responsibility among the children, by allowing them to discipline themselves to a large extent, to run club-rooms, to indulge a variety of useful and pleasant hobbies, is far more likely to lead to success than a policy of locked doors, constant supervision, and a routine of 'soulless drudgery.'

An attempt at self-government among adult prisoners has been made in America, by Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne, at Auburn Prison in New York, and great success is claimed for

it. We have everything to learn in this direction; and progress seems undoubtedly to be along these lines. Enough has been said on the treatment of the juvenile worker, and also the adolescent delinquent, to make the male elector feel an uneasy sensation that his efforts have not shown that enlightened self-interest that we should expect from the male sex. He has, in short, tolerated a system, not only not humane, but extravagantly wasteful both of health and character. Let us hope that the insight, imagination and sympathy of the female elector will help us to devise a system which will not allow the 'shades of the prison house' to close around young lives so early and so easily as they do at present.

CHAPTER XIII

"Any general character from the best to the worst may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of the proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the control of those who have the influence in the affairs of men."—*A New View of Society*, by ROBERT OWEN

PUBLIC HEALTH

DISRAELI, speaking in 1872, said that "A great soldier and a great wit, three hundred years ago, said that there was a great mistake in the Vulgate, and that instead of saying *Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas*, the wise and witty king should have said *Sanitas omnia sanitas*. It is impossible to overrate the importance of the subject. After all, the first consideration of a minister should be the health of the people." Though it must be confessed that the present chaotic condition of our Public Health Administration is not a very striking testimony to the practical interest that our ministers have taken in the problem, the Tory Party is still fully alive to its traditional policy, and no two persons have

done more to arouse public opinion to the need of a Ministry of Health than Mr. Astor and Mr. J. Hills. The legislation dealing with the health of the people is an enormous tangled jungle in which the Tory Party may very fruitfully labour, and to 'disinherit the chaos that reigns' in our public health administration 'in double night of darkness' should be the chief reconstructive work of whatever Government exists after the next election.

There is no difficulty in making out a case for a Health Minister—the difficulty lies in seeing how he can achieve one quarter of what he will be expected to do. What is needed may be roughly classified under three heads:

(1) To evolve some order out of the chaos of public departments and the army of inspectorates;
(2) to create a central investigating authority to look into all conditions militating against health, and advise upon all proposals intended to cure and prevent disease;
(3) to organize some unity in the local administration and give it a thoroughly preventive character.

The need for co-ordination could not be more clearly and succinctly put than by Dr.

Brend, whose admirable book on *Health and the State* should be read by everybody interested in the subject.

"The lack of co-ordination among Government departments is almost incredible to those who have not had actual experience of their internal working. There are instances of one department laboriously setting to work to collect information on a subject, full details of which are in possession of another department, and have perhaps actually been published; of two departments independently making precisely the same investigation; of one department not knowing what another department has done or is doing; and of one department not being able to take an obviously desirable step, because it would infringe the prerogative of another. These matters do not usually become public; but we have a striking instance of the want of co-ordination in the annual returns and statistics published by the different offices." He continues: "It is of some interest to compile a list of inspectors and officials from whom a working-class mother with a family of children may now receive visits. The list includes the medical officer of health, the sanitary inspector, the housing inspector, the health visitor, the school attendance officer, the school nurse, the district nurse, the member of a school care committee,

the sick visitor or agent of the approved society, the insurance inspector, and in cases of poverty the relieving officer and perhaps a representative from the Charity Organization Society."

Enough has been said to prove that the present system is chaotic. The chief cause of failure has been that we have not had enough knowledge and have not rightly applied that which we possess.

The chief duty of a Minister of Public Health will be to find out what is the right thing to do and then persuade us that we must do it. There has been a great gulf fixed between science and practice. The consequence has been that we have preferred palliatives to remedies. Let us take, for instance, the question of infantile mortality.

Science teaches us that the great cause of infantile mortality is not, as is often imagined, maternal ignorance, the industrial employment of women, the lack of skilled attendance or adverse pre-natal conditions, but over-urbanization, the fact that a large proportion of our population are obliged by poverty to live where their dwellings are crowded together and the air is infected with soot and poisonous dust. Science teaches us that until we have purified the air of our large cities we can never hope greatly to reduce the unnecessary slaughter

of infants. Yet, because it is easier and more comfortable to follow the lines of least resistance we are spending thousands yearly on what are merely palliatives.

Again, Science teaches us that if the medical care of the children of the nation is neglected we cannot expect a healthy and vigorous population. We know that in the county boroughs of the North, of every 10,000 children born, 2113 die chiefly of respiratory diseases and diarrhœa, whereas in the county boroughs of the South only 870 die. We know that Sir W. Osler estimates that from 50 to 80 per cent of all the children treated at the hospital clinics in London exhibit signs of rickets, with the result that when the children come under the school medical officer they are already badly nourished, stunted in growth, and suffering from various defects; yet we imagine that by merely examining children of school age once in two, possibly three, years we are fulfilling our duty towards them.

Science teaches us, too, that a system which contents itself with administering drugs by doctors who have 2000 or 3000 patients on their list, which neglects to provide adequate specialized treatment in hospitals and institutions, which imagines that tuberculosis can be cured by a few weeks' residence in a sanatorium, is found to be ineffective.

We know that our hospital accommodation is grossly inadequate; we know that a large proportion of those received into sanatoria break down afterwards owing to adverse environment; we know that a large proportion of those who throng doctors' surgeries are not suffering from any definable disease, but are in a state of chronic ill-health, the result of a life of toil in insanitary surroundings; yet, knowing these things, we deliberately pour our money out like water on what are mere palliatives.

There can be no great improvement in the health of people until we have improved the housing of the people. Bad health arises not so much owing to defectiveness of the individual house as from overcrowding both of occupants per room and of houses per acre. We are paying for our complete absence of imagination, sympathy and foresight, because our object has been to screw the uttermost farthing of rent out of every available inch of ground, and because our only idea of town planning has been to secure that there shall be a public-house at the majority of street corners.

Unless the term Reconstruction is a dishonest and meaningless phrase, we are committed to a great act of reparation for our past misdeeds. We cannot be satisfied with

dumping down a few extra houses in odd corners, or on clearings in slumdom. What we need is a bold, comprehensive plan to bring the people out into the air and sunshine, where the children need no longer play in the gutter, and their parents can get the grime and the smoke out of their lungs. To breathe pure air is a privilege which both the upper and middle classes have won for themselves, and it is no longer in accordance with our ideas of justice that the working-classes in manufacturing towns should be 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within a ring fence and condemned to breathe foul air.

Henry VIII wished to see England well peopled. Why should it not be our ideal also? Readers of Mr. Rowntree's excellent book on *Life and Labour in Belgium* will remember that in that country the barrier between town and country has been broken down, and, owing to a very cheap and well-organized system of transport, a large proportion of the working men who work in the towns are enabled to live in the country. Quite apart from the advantages to health, this system has mitigated distress during periods of unemployment, because the town worker, living in the country, can grow food not only sufficient for his family, but for marketing purposes as well.

It is clear, therefore, that if our town-planning is to meet the needs of the nation, it must embrace the provision of arterial roads and transport facilities. It must even go farther; there must be a co-ordination of our small Municipal Authorities. Municipal activities have outgrown their boundaries. There are certain services which they can adequately perform, but there are others which are beyond them. Obviously it is impossible for a multiplicity of small authorities to deal with such large questions as planning of roads and new industrial areas, the provision of electricity and water, and the improvement of means of conveyance. Surely such services should be in the hands of authorities with a wider outlook and wider powers. This does not involve the supersession or abolition of the existing authorities; it would mean that Provincial Councils, composed of members of the councils of the various constituent authorities, should take over the administration of those services which need a wide outlook and wide powers. It has been said that there exists in England a Provincial Genius as well as a National Genius; that Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands, for instance, have each an individual genius peculiar to each and differing from the others. Such an arrangement as has been suggested

would give each province scope to expand in harmony with what may be called the spirit of the locality.

It remains to discuss the future organization of our health services, remembering always that the chief object of our policy must be to make our activity preventive, and not as hitherto, merely palliative. Dr. Brend does not consider that it is either possible or desirable to unite the Administrative Departments. For instance, it is impossible to separate the medical and the administrative work of the Home Office and Board of Education. What these bodies need, says he, is not so much uniting as co-ordinating. For this reason, therefore, the Ministry of Health, in his opinion, should be an investigating and scientific and statistical body, which would, by the light of the information gained, effect the necessary co-ordination.

This is a difficult matter for a layman. But when we come to the active, executive, functioning bodies, *i.e.* the Local Authorities, the case appears overwhelming for amalgamation.

Our future health service will in all probability be organized on a geographical basis. " We have seen that in central administration of public health it is desirable to keep certain departments separate, since their medical

duties are so closely related to their general spheres of activity; but in local administration the reasons for division of authority no longer hold good. A local authority is concerned with a definite geographical unit, and a community of persons all subject more or less to the same conditions; and it is wasteful and inefficient to have a number of uncoordinated bodies, local sanitary authorities, insurance committees, boards of guardians and education authorities, each concerned with a special section of the community, as though it were in a water-tight compartment. These should be replaced by a single body or Local Health Council, as it might be termed . . . concerned with the health of all persons within its district, empowered to investigate all the causes responsible for preventable disease within its jurisdiction, providing the medical attendance, hospitals and other institutions which the particular conditions within its area necessitate." Dr. Brend proceeds to show how, on such a plan, the insurance committees would disappear, the Board of Guardians would resign their medical duties to the Local Health Council, the Council would administer school medical service as part of a plan of providing for all children, and various officers (sanitary inspectors, health visitors, registrars of births and deaths,

coroners) would be controlled by or report to the Council.

It is somewhat superfluous to discuss this question further, seeing that the Government, with all the authority of the expert advisers at its disposal, is shortly to introduce a Bill, but there seems little doubt that their proposals cannot vary very much from those of the authority whose words have just been quoted.

CHAPTER XIV

"He represented to the Duke that the order of the peasantry was as ancient, legal, and recognized an order as the order of the nobility; that it had distinct rights and privileges, though for centuries they had been invaded and violated and permitted to fall into desuetude."
—*Coningsby*

THE remarkable similarity of the expedients adopted by our present rulers in order to promote the welfare of the commonwealth to those in use in the Middle Ages and the Tudor times has already been alluded to. In no sphere of our social life is this similarity so remarkable as in agriculture. Having for several generations regarded the land merely as the means of providing the individual with either riches, social position or sport, and having proved that policy a failure, we have returned to the ancient conception of our land as a nursery for strong, straight-backed Englishmen, and as the provider of wealth, not only for the individual, but also for the community. When Mr. Prothero urges, in the national interest, the policy of the plough, he is merely following the example of Henry

VIII and of Elizabeth. "Whoever," wrote Mr. Secretary Cecil, "neglects the plough destroys the kingdom"; and when the President of the Local Government Board formulates a Rural Housing policy, he is acting in the spirit of the Tudor monarchs, though somewhat more tenderly and persuasively.

It is not necessary to discuss here whether we shall plough or whether we shall erect cottages; the nation is thoroughly persuaded of the necessity of both, and however much the Manchester School may murmur, we shall never again neglect the potential wealth that has so long lain hid in British acres. Much sin has been imputed by town-bred orators to the landowner and the farmer; and it must be confessed that in the past the wages paid to the labourer have been scandalously low. But it should be remembered that the dominant fact about agriculture has been that for many years a living could only be wrung from the land with the greatest skill and ingenuity.

When the Athenians demanded tribute from the inhabitants of the bare and rocky island of Andros, the Andrians replied "that the Athenians were prosperous and favoured with propitious gods; since, however, the Andrians had reached the lowest depths of penury, and two unprofitable goddesses,

Poverty and Impossibility, never forsook the island, they would therefore give them nothing." Well might of late years the agriculturists have made the same excuse to the prosperous townsmen who upbraided them.

British agriculture touched bottom because British political philosophy held that it was to the public advantage that it should do so. We have now arrived at a time when the welfare of the people, and not the dismal science of an individualist age, governs all our social thinking; we have on that account decided that it is for the national advantage that the farmer should have security for his capital and the labourer a living wage. It is something to have travelled thus far, but it is not the whole journey. We have a further act of restitution to make to the peasant of what our false economic theory has abstracted, and that is first a measure of independence, and secondly a restoration of that sense of community which a feeling of hope and independence will foster.

The agricultural system before the industrial revolution had its drawbacks, but it gave a measure of independence. As Mr. and Mrs. Hammond [1] point out: "In an unenclosed village the normal labourer did not depend on his wages alone. His livelihood was made

[1] *The Village Labourer.*

up from various sources. His firing he took from the waste, he had a cow or a pig wandering in the common pasture, perhaps he raised a little crop on a strip in the common fields. He was not merely a wage-earner, receiving so much money a week or a day for his labour, and buying all the necessaries of life in a shop ; he received wages as a labourer, but in part he maintained himself as a producer. Further, the actual money revenue of the family was not limited to the labourer's earnings ; for the domestic industries that flourished in the village gave employment to his wife and children." Thus the labourer was not the depressed and isolated unit that he became later ; having the privileges of a member of society he behaved as a member of society and displayed a keen communal sense.

As Professor Ramsay Muir, in his work on *National Self-Government,* writes: "The English people had from the earliest days acquired the right of managing their affairs in common. Craftsmen combined to regulate their trades in common, and the villagers combined to manage the co-operative agriculture of the village community, and to elect their reeves, hay wards, moss-reeves, chimney - peepers, and so forth. In every Parish the Community were wont to meet to deal with a variety of common business, such as Church matters and

parish charities." In some districts a common mill ground the corn, and the flour was baked in a common oven; a common smith worked at a common forge, and common shepherds and herdsmen watched the sheep and cattle which were pastured in the fields, that were common to the whole village community.

The Enclosure Acts destroyed this communal life, pulled up the unfortunate peasant by the roots, and turned him into a hopeless drudge.

Mr. Prothero, in his *English Farming: Past and Present*, says: "From 1760 onwards, over the whole of society swept the great industrial expansion. Domestic handicraftsmen, and small farmers alike, were overwhelmed. Industry, both manufacturing and agricultural, was reorganized on the mere commercial lines which seemed best adapted for the greatest possible production at the least possible cost. The completion of the work of enclosures destroyed the inherited traditions of the peasantry, their ideals, their customs, their habits, and their solution of the problems of life—all, in fact, that made up the native home-bred civilization of rural England. With the disappearance of the primitive framework of village life vanished, for a time at any rate, many of the virtues of the class—their independence, pride, frugality, self-control. It is not surprising that for half a

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century they should have remained stupefied by the shock, gradually realizing the full meaning of the change, and then either stolidly acquiescing in their new existence, or impatient to escape on the first opportunity, without a return to an extinct social and industrial system. The old conditions cannot be entirely rebuilt for them, any more than they can for other classes. The most that can be done is to revive as far as possible the best features of a form of life which has passed away, and cannot be completely restored." The duty which we have to fulfil is to restore to the labourer what he once possessed. In other words, our policy should be to treat him as a human being. Do not let us deceive ourselves. Corn Production Acts and large scale farming will not solve the problem. The returned soldier will fly off to lands where life is free, independent and hopeful, unless we humanize our agricultural policy and give him something to live and labour for, something to look forward to, something better than the objectless existence which for the last hundred years has been the lot of the labourer.

Easy access to the land, when all is said and done, is the keystone of agricultural reconstruction. Miss Maud Davies published in 1906 the result of a most interesting investi-

gation into the life of the village of Corsby in Wiltshire.[1] She states that although the labourers in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire had always been regarded as the worst paid and most poverty-stricken in England, it was no small surprise to her to find that a great many of the inhabitants were in quite affluent circumstances. This was due to the abundance of allotment gardens, the number of small holdings, and the ease with which land could be obtained from the principal landowner. Thus the labourers had a by-industry and were not dependent entirely on a weekly wage.

It used to be said that the sympathies of the Tory Party were limited to the town dweller; but that, if it ever was, is certainly no longer true. Lord Milner, for instance, sees plainly that a thorough reconstruction of village economy is necessary. His method is drastic and vigorous. Giving evidence before the Agricultural Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee, he proposed that where either the Parish Council or a certain proportion of the inhabitants made a requisition, the Board of Agriculture should send a valuer down to report how the village might be improved in respect of gardens, allotments, small holdings, cow commons, horse commons,

[1] *Life in an English Village.*

recreation grounds, etc. The Board of Agriculture after holding a local inquiry should then be responsible for carrying out the scheme, and the Parish Council for its subsequent administration, subject to the supervision of the Board.

Lord Milner's plan has the air of novelty, but readers of Mr. Tawney's book[1] will remember that John Hales, the 'Commonwealth' man, acting as Commissioner for the Protector Somerset, by parcelling out the land so that every cottager had an acre, was a vigorous forerunner of the modern rural reconstructor.

Though Lord Milner throws out the idea merely as a basis of discussion, there will be little disposition to quarrel with his plea for reconstruction. There is unquestionably urgency in this matter, if our debt to the returned soldier is to be paid; the Board of Agriculture should therefore take the lead and force the pace.

There is some difficulty in deciding which is the best authority to administer the scheme. The labourer has little faith in the Parish Councils; the War Agricultural Committees will have enough to do to maintain the standard of cultivation; why should not the County Councils, refreshed and democratized by the new electorate, be the authority to

[1] *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.*

administer? Probably the most effective method of reconstructing rural life would be to democratize the County Councils, thus breaking down the monopoly of the farmers. This is a comparatively easy matter, and could be effected if Parliament decreed that there should be a general election for Local Authorities immediately after the conclusion of the War, and that payment should be legalized for travelling expenses and for time lost by the members, thus enabling working men and women to sit on the Councils.

As at present constituted there is little initiative and much timidity in village life. Once the labourer is in a position of independence, things will probably be different, and there is no reason why we should not look forward to a time when, as in the Middle Ages, village life will assume a distinctly communal character. Already rural life is showing signs of life; societies are springing up like magic—associations for the purchase and sale of provender and produce, pig clubs, garden holders' associations, poultry societies, women's institutes, labourers' unions. Probably the time is not far distant when these societies will be welded together into one Communal Society or free association of workers and producers promoting the business interests of the village, fostering its local life, and perhaps

managing its common property. In the Middle Ages the majority of parishes possessed a Gild or Parish Hall, round which all the communal life centred, in which not only all the parish business was transacted, but all the feastings, junketings and Church Ales were held. The new village must possess something similar, a place which the villagers can regard as their own, in which the communal life of the place can be built up from the bottom, not imposed from the top. Before the Reformation there was much joyousness in country life pageants, 'mystery' plays, dramatic representations; let us see if the peasant cannot regain all that he has lost.

Yet another act of restoration is due. The industrial revolution has so completely robbed the country worker of the power of artistic expression, that even the tombstones in the churchyard are shoddy and hideous. Yet nothing is more certain than that the English were formerly an artistic people. "What," asked William Morris, "are the wonderful things we treasure and admire in the South Kensington Museum, but the common household goods made by common people?" "And who," he asked, "made the little grey church that still makes the commonplace English landscape beautiful — who was it who designed and ornamented them? The

great architect? By no means; sometimes perhaps it was the monk, the ploughman's brother; oftenest his other brother, the village carpenter, smith, mason, what not, 'a common fellow.'" When we think of what the country folk were capable in the past, do not let us despair of restoring to the people a gift which they once possessed.

Assuredly there is a fruitful field in which to labour, for workers' educational associations, for any association or individual who will help the villager to the ideal of a full and reasonable life, the creation and enjoyment of what is noble and beautiful.

And what of the landowner meanwhile? What future has he in the new rural life? Talleyrand said that he who did not live before 1789 did not know the sweetness of life. In all probability the year 1914 has ushered in a new era, and those who live after the War will not know the easy-going extravagance, the fox-hunting, the huge slaughter of pheasants, the 60-horse-power motors, the incessant golf of pre-War days. Yet there will be ample compensations; there will be great opportunities for leadership for those who fit themselves for leadership, who open their minds to new ideas and their hearts to fresh sympathies, and who show by their sincerity that they are worthy of the confidence of the people.

Those who ' from idle toil and toilsome ease haply take their flight ' will find an ever-renewed pleasure and inspiration in the service of their neighbours. Nobly have they served the nation in the War; but there are yet noble actions before them, if their aspirations are as the poet's:

> "May my life
> Express the image of a better time,
> More wise desires and simpler manners nurse
> My heart in genuine freedom."

CONCLUSION

THIS realm of England is an Empire, said one of Henry VIII's Parliaments. It is more ; it is a Commonwealth, a Commonwealth that embraces all—all classes, all sections, all interests—in a common life. The glory of our national history is a glory shed by the light of the vision of the Commonwealth. It is true that the light has often been dimmed. It was dimmed when a landed class, in the course of the sixteenth century, pursued low aims of private gain. It was dimmed again when a capitalistic class, during and after the industrial revolution, followed a policy of individual enrichment, and when the working class in a just resentment began to adopt a policy of retaliation and class warfare. But the vision has never faded. It was seen by the great Tudor sovereigns, even if they sometimes strayed from the light ; it was seen by men like John Hales of the Commonwealth Party, and the Protector Somerset, his friend and follower, and the great statesmen of the Elizabethan epoch. It has been seen and it

has been followed by the Tory Party at all times when the Tory Party has been true to itself. The Tory Party has been called in modern times Conservative. It desires, indeed, to stand in the ancient ways. But it is the vision which it has inherited, and not the unconsecrated past, which it desires to preserve for the present and bequeath to the future. It has been called in still more modern times by the name of Unionist. But it is the union of classes and interests in the Commonwealth, and no mere formal union of this and that part which it seeks to defend and extend. It is a party broad-based upon the Nation's will, blending different classes in its composition, and remembering different interests in its programme. It believes in the Crown, because the Crown is the symbol and stay of the unity of the Commonwealth ; it believes in a National Church, because it believes in the consecration of the Commonwealth ; it believes in a national system of economy such, and so suited to the genius of the Commonwealth, that human welfare is the first care and the first charge on the production of wealth, and while, agriculture is not sacrificed to industry, neither is industry sacrificed to agriculture.

The readjustment and reconstruction of the national economy in the true spirit of the Commonwealth is the supreme task of the

future. The Tory Party can only claim the noble responsibility of shouldering that task if it is true to its own best traditions and to the spirit of the Commonwealth. It will not be true to either if it allows itself to be captured by great moneyed interests, which, though they may be sheltered under the name of National Security, are at bottom sectional and even selfish. The State, and the parties within the State, will in the future be more closely connected with national industry than ever before. It is of all things most vital that the connexion should be pure and clean; that neither the State itself nor any of its parties should be yoked to the horses of Crœsus; that wealth should be made to serve the Commonwealth, and industry to produce not wealth for a few, but welfare, abundant welfare, for all.

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