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CELEBRATED AND HISTORICAL SPEECHES

CELEBRATED AND HISTORICAL SPEECHES

An Anthology of Ancient and Modern Oratory

Compiled and Edited
by
WILLIAM HENRY BEABLE

Author of "Epitaphs, Graveyard Humour and Eulogy", "Romance of Great Businesses", "On the Square", "Stories for Speeches", etc.

With a Foreword by
THE RT. HON. LORD CAMROSE

ILLUSTRATED

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FOREWORD

By THE RT. HON. LORD CAMROSE

Of all those facile generalisations to which our age seems particularly prone, the most common, as it is the most shallow, is that which maintains that the art of oratory is dead. With glib assurance we are told that for the sublime Stentor of old we have substituted the ridiculous microphone; we have lost our voice, the clarion call has become a matter-of-fact monotone, we have beaten the flashing sword of rhetoric into a rusty, wheezy ploughshare

This calumny is exposed in the admirable and timely collection of consummate examples of the rhetoricians' art which Mr. Beable has now made. He reproduces many comparatively recent speeches which, for nobility of expression and persuasive eloquence, are comparable to the best of those of times past Of the power of the spoken word to sway the world surely there can be no question; that it is a power which even nowadays is being exerted effectively is clearly proved by recent events in Italy, Germany, and America. Impassioned speeches are being made by men now living, whether Prince or demagogue, preacher or dictator, which will go on echoing down the corridors of time

Obviously it would be a work of supererogation for one whose life has been spent in newspapers to decry the power of the written word, or even to belittle the "science of persuasion" as practised by the leading exponents of the art to-day—the advertisement copy-writers But the appeal of the spoken word is self-evident, to take but two instances, in the appeal of broadcasting and the established superiority of the talking over the silent film. Any misgivings as to the substance or manner of the delivery do not affect the argument.

These new scientific developments may have affected and changed the *technique* of oratory; they may have made it less intensive and more extensive. Where an orator once spoke to hundreds, he now can speak to hundreds of thousands. On the other hand, speech-making is becoming less intense than it was, yet it is more intimate. The orator has had to discard the actor's mask and buskin, and has come to rely more upon inflexion of voice in his efforts to beguile his audience.

Modern tendencies such as these only make oratory a more difficult art, not a less vital or popular one. Great speeches have always stood, as Mr Beable's collection shows, a more acid test than the microphone. They have stood the test of time, and of cold print. Words such as these, for instance, delivered by Abram Lincoln on the battlefield of Gettysburg:

> "It is for us, the living, to be dedicated to the unfinished work which they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is for us to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain."

Such a passage as this will live as long as speech itself; it evokes the same spirit in man to-day as it did among his audience face to face.

History, they say, is the best cure for pessimism. Speeches are better than historians' history, for they are contemporaneous and hold up an undistorted mirror to the past. This book, therefore, should provide the best remedy for pessimism, and at the same time be an inspiration for the future

Mr. Beable has done an excellent service in bringing these speeches together.

CONTENTS

PAGE

HIS MAJESTY, KING GEORGE
ECONOMIC CONFERENCE BROADCAST - 1

CANTERBURY, Rt. Hon. and Most Rev the Arch-Bishop of
"LEST WE FORGET" - - - 5

YORK, Rt. Hon. and Most Rev. the Archbishop of
ARMISTICE SERMON - - - 9

BALDWIN, Rt Hon. STANLEY, P C., M.P.
THE KELLOGG PACT - - - 17

BEACONSFIELD, Rt Hon. The Earl of, K G.
"PEACE WITH HONOUR" - - 25

BEECHER, HENRY WARD
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM - - - 31

BIRKENHEAD, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, G C S.I
WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT - - 35

BIRRELL, Rt Hon. AUGUSTINE
EDMUND BURKE - - - 43

BRIGHT, Rt. Hon. JOHN
THE ANGEL OF DEATH - - 59

BURKE, EDMUND
CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA - - 65

BURNHAM, Rt. Hon. Viscount, G C M G.
JOURNALISM - - - - 77

CANNING, Rt. Hon GEORGE
RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS - - - 81

CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon. Sir AUSTEN, P C , M.P.
ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP 87

PAGE

CHAMBERLAIN, Rt. Hon JOSEPH
HOME RULE FOR IRELAND - - 91

CHATHAM, Rt. Hon. the Earl of
REPLY TO WALPOLE - - - 109

CHURCHILL, Rt. Hon. WINSTON, M.P.
FISCAL RETALIATION - - - 117

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS
GREAT ORATORS AND THEIR TRAINING 125

COBDEN, RICHARD
FREE TRADE - - - - 129

COOLIDGE, CALVIN, President U S A.
ARMISTICE DAY SPEECH - - - 145

COWEN, JOSEPH
THE BRITISH EMPIRE - - - 153

CURZON OF KEDLESTON, Lord
WOMAN'S WORK - - - - 161

DEMOSTHENES
THIRD PHILIPPIC - - - - 165

DE VALERA, EAMONN, President Irish Free State
LEAGUE OF NATIONS - - - 173

DISRAELI, BENJAMIN. See BEACONSFIELD

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO
THE MEMORY OF BURNS - - 179

EMMETT, ROBERT
PROTEST AGAINST SENTENCE - - 181

FISHER, Rt Hon. H. A. L.
OUR ENGLISH HERITAGE - - 187

FOX, Rt Hon. CHARLES JAMES
RELIEF OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS 191

GEORGE, Rt. Hon. DAVID LLOYD, M.P
THE VISION OF THE PEOPLE - - 203

GLADSTONE, Rt. Hon. W. E.
THE EASTERN QUESTION - - 205

GRATTAN, HENRY
CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION - - 225

PAGE

GREY, Sir EDWARD
INDUSTRY - - - - - 243

GREY OF FALLODEN, Rt. Hon. Viscount, K.G.
See GREY, SIR EDWARD

HAILSHAM, Rt. Hon. Viscount
OTTAWA CONFERENCE - - - 251

HEWART, Rt. Hon. Lord
MODERN ORATORY - - - - 265

HITLER, Herr
GERMANY'S AIM 271

HOUGHTON, ALANSON BIGELOW, U.S.A. Ambassador to London
OPEN DIPLOMACY 277

INGE, The Very Rev. W R, D.D, K.C.V.O., Dean of of St Paul's
CAUSES OF WAR - - - - 281

INGERSOLL, ROBERT G
FUNERAL ORATION - - - 285

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, President U S A -
FIRST INAUGURAL SPEECH; GETTYSBURG ORATION - - - 287

MACDONALD, Rt Hon RAMSAY, M.P., P.C.
EMPIRE DAY - - - - 295

"IAN MACLAREN", pen-name of JOHN WATSON
SCOTTISH TRAITS - - - - 299

MANNING, Cardinal HENRY EDWARD, Archbishop of Westminster
PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS - - 309

MORLEY, Rt. Hon. Lord
JOHN BRIGHT - - - - 315

MUSSOLINI, Signor
THE FOUR POWER PACT - - - 323

O'CONNELL, DANIEL
CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION - - 327

OXFORD and ASQUITH, Rt. Hon. the Earl, K.G. -
CULTURE - - - - - 331

PAGE

PANKHURST, CHRISTABEL
WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE - - - 337

PITT, Rt. Hon WILLIAM
ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION - 345

POINCARE, Mons.
MARSHAL FOCH - - - - 353

REDMOND, JOHN
IRISH FREEDOM - - - - 359

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D, President U.S.A.
INAUGURAL SPEECH - - - 365

ROSEBERY, Rt Hon the Earl of, K.G., K.T.
HISTORICAL RETROSPECT - - 369

SIMON, Rt. Hon Sir JOHN, G C S.I., K C.V.O.
THE GENERAL STRIKE - - - 381

SMITH, Rt Hon F. E. See BIRKENHEAD

SNOWDEN OF ICKORNSHAW, Rt Hon. the Viscount, P.C.
ATTACK ON THE GOVERNMENT - 387

SPURGEON, Rev. CHARLES HADDON
THE BIBLE - - - - - 391

TALMAGE, THOMAS DE WITT, D D.
BIG BLUNDERS - - - - 397

THOMAS, Rt Hon. J. H, M P
THE IRISH QUESTION - - - 411

WALPOLE, Sir ROBERT
THE PEERAGE BILL - - - 421

WASHINGTON, GEORGE, President of U S A.
INAUGURAL ADDRESS - - - 427

WATSON, JOHN. See "IAN MACLAREN"

WILHELM, Ex-German Emperor
THE MAILED FIST - - - 431

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HIS MAJESTY THE KING

His Majesty KING GEORGE V

INAUGURATION OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Broadcast Speech from London, June 12, 1933

GENTLEMEN,

"At this time of widespread economic distress, it is with a feeling of deep responsibility that I welcome you to this country.

I believe this to be the first time in history that any Sovereign has presided at the opening of a Conference of all the nations of the world. I wish to express my satisfaction that such a gathering has been possible and my confidence that this common endeavour will lead to beneficial results.

I welcome the representatives of the States members of the League of Nations. I have always followed the work of the League with the keenest appreciation and interest. The League has convened this Conference and has prepared the way for it through the valuable services of the Expert Committee.

Without the League, and without the ideals of the League, I doubt whether this great meeting could ever have taken place.

I welcome no less cordially the representatives of those States who are not members of the League, I recognize the spirit of helpful co-operation which has brought them to join in these discussions.

I further wish to add a special welcome to the representatives of my Dominions and of my Indian Empire."

At this point the King addressed the delegates in French. He said:

"Messieurs les délégués, c'est avec une très profonde emotion que je vois autour de moi cette auguste assemblée, qui paraît si vaste mais qui

représente une conception infiniment plus vaste, l'espoir et les vœux du monde entier.

Le monde se trouve dans un état inquiétant, et pour vous, messieurs, qui commençez dès aujourd'hui l'œuvre de restauration, la tâche est lourde. Elle ne sera achevée qu'à force de bonne volonté et de co-opération sincère.

Messieurs les délégués, je vous tend la main, et de tout mon cœur j'espère que vos efforts aboutiront à un heureux résultat, qu'attendent avec impatience les peuples du monde."

TRANSLATION

"Messieurs les délégués It is with very profound emotion that I see around me this august assembly which seems so vast, but which represents an infinitely vaster conception—the hope and wishes of the entire world.

The world is in an unquiet state, and for you, gentlemen, who from to-day begin the work of restoration, the task is heavy It will not be achieved except through goodwill and sincere co-operation.

Messieurs les délegués, I extend my hand to you, and with all my heart I hope that your efforts will be brought to a happy result which the peoples of the world await with impatience."

Speaking again in English, the King said

"I fully recognize the magnitude of the task of this Conference, but there is evidence of a real desire to reach agreement which gives me hope.

All nations are suffering from a common ill. This is shown only too clearly by the rise in the figures of unemployment. The meaning of these figures in terms of human suffering has been my constant concern in recent years, as it has been the concern of every one of you here to-day upon whom the responsibility of government has rested.

In the face of a crisis which all realize and acknowledge, I appeal to you all to co-operate for the sake of the ultimate good of the whole world.

It cannot be beyond the power of man so to use the vast resources of the world as to ensure the material progress of civilization. No diminution in those resources has taken place.

On the contrary, discovery, invention and organization have multiplied their possibilities to such an extent that abundance of production has itself created new problems.

And together with this amazing material progress there has come a new recognition of the interdependence of nations and of the value of collaboration between them. Now is the opportunity to harness this new consciousness of common interests to the service of mankind

In the firm belief that mutual consultation is the first step towards right action I inaugurate this Conference I shall follow your deliberations with the closest interest and attention, and I pray that the results of your labours will set the world once more on the path of prosperity and ordered progress."

Phot *Sport & General*

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
(DR LANG)

THE RT. HON. AND MOST REV. THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

"LEST YOU FORGET"

Sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, Armistice Day, 1929

The Archbishop preached from the text in Deuteronomy iv. 9: "Take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen" He said

To-day the whole nation has said "We remember." In these moments of tense silence it has made a united and silent act of remembrance It has 'taken heed to itself,' tried to "keep its soul," lest it should forget the most momentous, the most awful experience in its history. What are the memories which have just now arisen and, too swift for words, passed across the nation's mind? In some there must have been memories, aroused only to be buried again, of a horrid nightmare of desolation and death Truly they have need to forget the things which their eyes have seen In all of us, except the very youngest, there were memories of four years of ceaseless strain, of the daily tidings that hundreds or thousands of the youngest and bravest of the country's manhood had been maimed or killed, of the sway of passions whereof our conscience is now ashamed, of a cloud huge and hideous which, in spite of the gleam of heroism breaking against it, darkened the heavens and the earth. Surely from behind such memories as these comes the resolve "Never again, so help us, God."

But the memory which arose most clear and strong was the memory of the men who died that their country might live, of that great fellowship of sacrifice which has passed into the world unseen. In that memory pride and pain will be for ever blended. Is the pain to be embittered by the thought that the suffering and sacrifice were wholly in vain, that these lives were merely thrown away? Last August, as I stood and spoke at the Menin Gate, whence thousands of them had gone forth never to return, the question thrust itself upon me, and upon the great multitude of their former comrades "Was all this noble sacrifice worth while?" If the question had been . "Is war itself worth while? Can it ever be worth while in pursuit of policy to throw aside our faith in reason and justice, and to appeal to violence; to let loose a tide of havoc and horror such as broke out fourteen years ago?"—if this had been the question, one answer only could have been possible—an emphatic "No." But the bravery and self-sacrifice which met the onslaught of war, which against the onslaught kept the honour of the nation's pledged word, and defended and preserved its freedom—were they worth while? Surely the answer must be, must ever be, a strong and thankful "Yes."

To answer otherwise would be to wrong not only the memory of the dead, but the heart of the living. Let me use the words, simple and sincere, of an honoured public man, himself member of a league to abolish war: "To think otherwise would be enough to drive me out of my mind. It would mean that my fine son was thrown away."

On this Day of Remembrance, now and in future years, two duties are laid upon us. We must be loyal to each. One memory is to record afresh our increasing thankfulness for what these men have nobly wrought. The second duty is to dedicate ourselves afresh to the task of vindicating their sacrifice and completing their work, and this cannot be done until war, and the fear of war, have vanished from the earth.

Yes, thankfulness Let no sense of manifold disappointment when we look at Europe as it is to-day, no sense of shame when we recollect the chances lost ten years ago, blind our eyes to what has already been achieved. The League of Nations stands. It has survived the sneers of cynicism, and the even more dangerous homage of lip-service. In spite of difficulties and failures, it has gained strength. It has in repeated instances *actually done* what it was *designed to do* It has become the stable centre and guardian of treaties of peace It is establishing a habit of international conference, even slowly creating an international mind. It is gradually preparing a Court of international conscience where no nation can refuse to plead, whose judgments no nation can afford without peril to ignore

And now a further advance has been made The League provided an elaborate machinery against the outbreak of war. On August 27th the Great Powers of Europe and the United States of America bound themselves by treaty to renounce war itself as an instrument of policy. I doubt whether people have yet grasped the full meaning of this pact It is, in itself, a landmark in human history, and it means that at last the use of force, as a means of settling differences or advancing policy, is to be renounced among nations in the world as it has already been renounced by individuals or classes within every civilized community Some force, indeed, must be ready behind law, both among nations and within the State, until human nature and society have reached perfection. But there is a fundamental difference between the use of force for purposes of police—to restrain violence, and to secure the rule of law—and the use of force as an instrument of national policy. It is the latter use which has begotten the worst wars in history and the fear which haunts nations and piles up armaments for its relief. And it is this use which the Great Powers of Europe and the United States of America have now solemnly renounced. You will note that the declaration is not merely what is now called a gesture—it is not merely the acceptance of a great ideal, though even that would be worth having. It is embodied in a treaty, to which the signatory nations have pledged their honour. Is it too much to say that the League of Nations and this treaty together have given a security for stable peace such as hitherto the world has never known? Truly for all this we have reason to be thankful.

Yet is all this enough? Nay, it is only a beginning; and if it were treated as an end even the beginning would be lost. Listen to these

words of warning: "If you think that you are going to beat the things which culminate in hatred and in war without a spiritual fight, you are foredoomed to failure. To make a vow with your lips is not enough. To sign a covenant with your pen is not enough. You can only save yourselves and the world by a constant daily fighting against the old impulses—the tiger instincts which are still there and are ready to be summoned from their hidden lair in a moment." These are the words not of a preacher, but of the Prime Minister of the country. They are true. War cannot be overcome until the spirit that occasions war is overcome

For it is in this inner region of the spirit of each man and woman that the seeds are sown and germinate which at the last bear the bitter fruit of war. "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" asks St. James. "Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" It is not in resolutions and societies and treaties that war is first to be abolished, but in the hidden man of the heart. It is he who must seek peace and ensue it—in his daily attitude towards his neighbour, in his daily thoughts, still more his daily talk, about his fellowmen of other nations, in his restraint of prejudices about them, in his refusal to think the worst, and his readiness to think the best, of them And, just because the ultimate conquest of war depends upon the conquest of the spirit, there must be some motive, some power, strong enough, constant enough, to penetrate and possess this inner region. Where is such a motive, such a power, to be found?

It is idle to trust that democracy will of itself make the world safe. History rebukes the delusion. If passion is kindled, crowds only extend the range and fierceness of the fire. And are there not some who, in the very name of the people, not only defend but proclaim the use of violence as an instrument of policy? It is idle to think that the instincts of self-preservation and the memory of the horrors of war will suffice, for memories are short and passion sweeps self-interest before it. Can we even trust to the restraint of treaty obligations? Fourteen years ago we learned how ambition and fear will break them. Truly, here we cannot forget the things which our eyes have seen.

No. for a spiritual contest only a spiritual force can avail There must be a faith, a loyalty, strong enough to grasp and hold a man's whole self, his instincts as well as his mind and conscience. Such a faith, such a loyalty, the Gospel—the good news—of Christ can inspire. It proclaims that there is a Divine Will and Purpose behind this seeming confusion of human history, that it is only by correspondence with this Will and Purpose that nations and men can fulfil their lives It proclaims that this Will is a Father to whom all men and classes and nations, of whatever race or colour, are alike children, that His Purpose is to bring them into the fellowship of one family, and that faith in the Divine Fatherhood is the only lasting bond of human brotherhood. It believes that there is a Kingdom of God, a rule of spiritual energies, which, if it be accepted within the soul, can move outward, transforming in an ever widening range the activities of human society. It offers loyalty to Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Kingdom, as a personal inspiration, which in the midst of delays and disappointments and failures will keep the

spirit high and sure and steadfast. To use the language of the day, it is not enough to repress the primitive instincts which impel to war. They must be sublimated—lifted to a higher level, directed to a nobler end. Here, in loyalty to the Kingdom of God, is at once a constraining motive to the pursuit of peace and the "moral substitute for war"—for the gallantry and devotion whereby even war can be ennobled.

How great, then, is the responsibility which lies upon the Church of Christ, which exists to be the witness and instrument of that Kingdom in the world! Here is a cause in which all who profess and call themselves Christians can, and surely must, think and pray and work together. It is for them to create a spiritual force impelling, encouraging, sustaining statesmen in their difficult and anxious efforts to widen and strengthen the foundations of peace. Would that we who are members of the Church of England were more visibly active in this cause! It is not our way to pass resolutions and make demonstrations. It is perhaps fitting that a national Church should reflect the national temperament, which likes to keep ideals in close touch with concrete realities. And enthusiasm is all the better for the discipline of a steadying hand, if only the hand impels as well as steadies. But without active and unswerving enthusiasm in the cause of peace no Church can keep the honour of its soul. To the Church, therefore as to the nation, the message of this Day of Remembrance is spoken: "Take heed thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget"

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THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
(DR TEMPLE)

THE RT. HON. AND MOST REV. THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

MEMBERS ONE OF ANOTHER

Ephesians iv. 25

Sermon preached on occasion of Disarmament Conference at Geneva, January 31, 1932

Moral progress has largely consisted in the expansion of the area within which obligation and loyalty are recognized to exist. At first there is loyalty only to the clan, and obligation is scarcely recognized in relation to members of other clans. The ancient Romans have only one word for "stranger" and for "enemy." Gradually the area widened and the nation became the object of loyalty. The Stoics developed the idea of a *jus gentium* which had no limits, and the Gospel bade men to love their neighbours as themselves, interpreting the word "neighbour" to mean any one with whom they had anything to do, even though he were the member of a despised and hated nation

In individual dealings we now recognize the universality of moral obligation. We owe a duty to any human being that we may meet—at least the negative duty of refraining from cheating, robbing or killing him But we are still only beginning to work out the ethics of group relationships, including the principles that should govern the relations of nations to one another. It is for the accomplishment of another stage in this department of moral progress that we hope through the meeting of the Conference on Disarmament.

We must remember that the progress of mankind is to be measured by endeavours as well as by achievements; and it is a real token of progress that the nations of the world should be in our time making a more sustained effort than ever before to ensure the peace of the world. Lest we complain of the slow pace of our advance, or lose heart because the enterprise is attended with hazards and perils so great, let us take courage from the recollection that we are treading a new road—not "where saints have trod before," but one which they hoped yet had no opportunity to tread.

There have, indeed, been many previous adumbrations of what is now a substantial reality. But the formation of the League of Nations and establishment of its permanent and constantly active organizations marks an altogether new phase in the history of civilization. That is why the difficulties are so great; that is why men of little vision, who have therefore to live by precedent, constantly anticipate failure; but also, that is why any real and fundamental failure would be so vastly more grave than any previous failure to maintain peace. Previous

failure pointed chiefly to the need for international organization; failure now would throw discredit on such organization.

Our task to-day, and our contribution as Christian citizens in our several countries, is to consider what principles of our religion are illustrated by, or applicable to, the experiences of our generation, and what they require in the process of their application. About one of these there can be little doubt. By every occurrence of our time God is calling us to appreciate how all-pervasive is the principle that "we are members one of another" It has always been true in some degree of man's spiritual life, though the permeation of influence was once a slower and feebler process than it is to-day. But that application of modern science to methods of transport and communication, which has created the distinctive conditions of modern life, has welded all mankind into a single fellowship with one weal and one woe so that if one member suffer all must suffer with it, or if one be honoured all rejoice with it

In such a situation war is an absurdity as well as a crime. The establishment of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or the signature of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, ought not to be regarded as tentative adventures in the satisfaction of idealistic aspirations, but rather as a belated adjustment of the world's political machinery to the realities of the political situation But political machinery more often represents the sentimental prejudice than the rational reflection of the peoples, and there is need for the vision of an ideal as well as for sober argument in the dissipation of such prejudice It is here that the distinctive contribution of Christians may be made. For it is an essential part of the very notion of the Christian Church that it should be a universal fellowship, uniting in the mutual love, which flows from their common love for one Master, all races and nations and classes of men. When war breaks out, the Christian must always regard it as a breach in the family of God; when it breaks out between professedly Christian nations, he must regard it as an apostasy When no court of appeal existed, a situation might arise in which it was a nation's bounden duty to take up arms. But even then, the existence of such a situation was evidence of the prevalence of sin somewhere or other, and the Christian should have felt bound to search his own conscience that he might repent of his share in that sin Not least of the spiritual evils of war is its tendency to set the citizens of all the belligerent nations pharisaically exclaiming "We are righteous, but our enemies are wicked." The sincerity of such protestations only makes them worse, for it shows how deeply the poison has penetrated.

It was a sign of progress that when war broke out in 1914 the Christian conscience in many countries was so uneasy. An Early Father of the Church could claim as one of the boons which the world would win by accepting Christianity, that Christian nations would never engage in war against each other. Sadly soon that hope was abandoned. Nations professedly Christian accepted war as a recognized method of dealing with subjects of dispute between them, and in their prayers were often more eager to ask for victory than for reconciliation. Eminent Christian divines, even in the latter part of the nineteenth century, were content to describe war as the "*litigation of nations*"—a litigation in which

each party was at once prosecutor and defendant, and each aspired to be both jury, judge and executioner!

Already in 1914 we had escaped from that. There was a widespread realization that the outbreak of the war—whatever might then and there be the duty of any particular nation—was nothing less, when regarded from the standpoint of Christendom, than treason to the Kingdom of God. The failure was not chiefly in the nations or their governments; it was in the Church as a whole, which had so signally failed to create and foster a proper understanding of the unity in Jesus Christ of all His disciples. I am one of those who believed, and still believe, that in 1914 it was my country's duty to take up arms; but I was then convinced, and am now still more convinced, that it is a yet more urgent duty to prevent the recurrence of a situation in which such a course could be obligatory or even permissible.

This is partly to be accomplished by the establishment of institutions to administer the law of nations and to promote their co-operation in the common interest. The duty of an individual towards another who assaults him or his family is quite different in a barbarous region where there are no law-courts and no police, from the duty of the citizen in a civilized community towards a criminal fellow-citizen.

The establishment of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice has altered the duty of nations, and a course of action which twenty years ago would have been right would now be definitely wrong. It is part of the Church's function, as an agent in the moral education of mankind, to insist upon this truth until it is accepted for the truism that it is. But institutions by themselves are powerless, they can only bring to actual effect what those who use them sufficiently desire That is what gives to the Disarmament Conference its unique significance The control of armaments, except so far as Treaties have set specific limitations to them, is not definitely provided for by the Covenant of the League of Nations as such, yet it is universally recognized to be essential to the purpose which the League exists to serve It must be freely undertaken by the nations in mutual agreement, its success will therefore give evidence of vitality in the roots of that tree of peace which we trust is growing till all peoples of the world shall find their shelter under its branches, its failure would be evidence that that tree is sickly and possibly even moribund.

Armaments are the chief expression of the life of nations as conducted in mutual suspicion and antagonism. Not as partners in the common enterprise of civilization have nations built up these dread instruments of destruction, but as rivals eager to snatch advantage from one another or fearful of suffering such treatment. They are the expression of national sovereignty conceived as absolute and exclusive, expressing itself in the unlimited competition of one nation's will with another's. But that is a false conception of the sovereignty of a civilized state. For the essence of the civilized state is to be the fountain and sustainer of Law; it is endowed with force in order to uphold Law, and to secure that force is used always and only in conformity with Law. Therefore, when the state in independence of Law pursues its ends by force, it is false to its own nature; when it binds itself, as in the Pact

of Paris, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and to seek the settlement of all disputes by pacific means, it is fulfilling its own nature.

If States are loyal to that ideal, there is no place for competitive armaments; and if they persist in this form of competition, that ideal is denied. Just because armaments have represented in the past that conception of national sovereignty which is politically pernicious, and to the Christian an abomination, the opportunity now given us to pass from competition in this sphere to co-operation, is the acid test of our sincerity in the homage that we pay to peace. For if we now assert in practice the principle that the armaments of the nations are to be controlled by international agreement, then indeed we are passing from the stage of development at which nations regard each other primarily as potential enemies to the stage where they regard each other primarily as partners in the common enterprise of civilization

That is the aspect of the question which the Christian minister must stress. It is true that there is upon the nations who drew up the Treaty of Versailles a solemn obligation, for in requiring the disarmament of Germany they said this: "The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for her to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war and which it would be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote." Those nations are thus obliged by honour to proceed along this path, and it would moreover be unreasonable to demand of the nation in whose case the "first step" was taken by compulsion, that it should wait indefinitely for the voluntary taking of the second step by those nations who "required" the first.

But these considerations are not those which are foremost to the Christian conscience. They arise out of the circumstances of the moment. Behind them and beneath them is the question of permanent principle Does it correspond with the Christian hope for the world, and with the manifestation of Christ's Spirit in the world, that nations should regard each other as possible enemies and develop against each other the instruments of death? To that question all Christendom should answer as with a voice of thunder—No. It is the battle of principle that must first be fought. We hope that this Conference may lead to great steps forward in Disarmament by mutual agreement. But at this stage the mutual agreement is even more important than the extent of the Disarmament. If the principle is asserted, its application can be extended And the principle is itself so revolutionary that to establish it must be in itself regarded as a great achievement. That the nations should agree to allow their means of injuring each other to be subject to mutual agreement is the first stage in the abolition of all armaments except for international police work. Let us concentrate our prayers upon the establishment of the great principle itself.

And let no one suppose that in being ready thus to advance by stages we are false to the teaching of our Master. He prefaced His new Law

of Love with the declaration that it was not the destruction but the completion of the Law of Justice. That which is natural comes before that which is spiritual, and natural impulses not yet spiritualized must not be violently forced.

It is not enough for Christians to announce ideals. We have also to consider the dominant facts and influences in the world where the ideals must be actualized, and seek to handle them aright. This will carry us outside the province of the Conference on Disarmament, but is strictly germane to its purpose The Christian Church as such can give no direction about details of national armament; it can give much concerning the relevant principles of international conduct. The dominant fact in the world to-day is Fear. The position is, indeed, paradoxical. No nation has aggressive designs upon another; and all know this quite well; yet all are in varying degrees afraid. Such fear is unwholesome; but it cannot be cured any more than a distemper of the body, by the mere description of it as a disease Fear must be banished by the guarantee of security, and it is reasonable to suppose that such mutual guarantee, in whatever form is found in fact to be effective, must accompany any serious agreement to reduce the armaments which fear produces for its own appeasement. Christianity unites with practical wisdom in the insistence that this must especially be borne in mind by nations which are, or believe themselves to be, comparatively secure already Those who possess security must see that others obtain it.

The security thus guaranteed must be primarily security for rights defined in Treaties And if the Christian conscience calls for revision of existing Treaties, it must first of all demand that no Treaty shall be revised except by the authority recognized in international Law as competent to revise it. When once agreement has been made, it must be regarded as binding unless it be altered under the same sanctions that have established and maintained it. We cannot make progress in the establishment of the Reign of Law among nations by the adoption of non-legal methods at the outset. The Christian conscience, in its zeal for a true community of nations, must first of all give its support to that principle of Law which alone makes community possible. When that is secure it will go on to urge that community cannot rest on legal rights alone. For those rights belong to the stage where the subjects of the various rights have to one another the relationship only of claim and counter-claim, that is the relationship of legal or distributive Justice; and while it must be respected and safeguarded, it is less than the relationship of fellowship or Love, to which Christ calls the various groups of men no less than individual souls.

It must be expected that as we enter on that closer and more intimate relationship, some revision of existing treaties will be called for. It is at the least unlikely that arrangements made when the tension and the turmoil of the war were fresh should all be found in experience so perfect as to require no readjustment. But it does not seem to be in general the function of the Christian minister to indicate the clauses of existing treaties which, in his judgment, call for such revision; that is a matter dependent on detailed knowledge, and the Gospel gives no special guidance. But one clause there is in the existing treaties which offends in

principle the Christian conscience and for the deletion of which by proper authority the voice of Christendom must be raised. This is the clause which affixes to one group of belligerents in the great war the whole moral guilt for its occurrence. Whatever justification that clause may have had when it was drafted depended upon the exclusive concentration of attention on a very short period before the outbreak of the war. But History cannot be thus divided into chapters of which each is regarded as independent of its predecessors That the war broke out precisely when and as it did was due to causes operative in the immediately preceding period What share of blame is carried by individual actors in that tense scene of history's drama it is scarcely profitable to inquire; they stand, as we all stand, before God's judgment-seat. But their action was not the whole ground of this great calamity. What made it disastrous was the whole complex situation, to create which all had contributed. No one can read the diplomatic history of Europe from the Congress of Vienna onwards and say that for the peril of war in which Europe was standing in 1914 his own nation had no responsibility. We see in that history how the bare possibility of war poisons the wells of truth, and we remember that St. Paul laid down the principle, "We are members one of another" as a cogent argument for putting away lying and speaking the truth one to another. No one can read that history with the Christian ideal of the community of nations before his mind and not confess that here or there his own country contributed to the frustration of that hope We have to ask not only who dropped the match, but who had strewed the ground with gunpowder. And even in 1815 History had not made a fresh start. The roots of the great disaster strike deeper into the past than that It was the sin of us all that brought forth in those fearful years its flower and its fruit

To say this is not to condemn those who inserted this clause in the Treaty. In 1919 it may well have been impossible to take this longer view, but it is vitally important that we should take it now. For that clause of the Treaty, inserted by the victors and accepted under protest by the vanquished, is so to speak a crystallization of the spirit of claim and counter-claim from which we must escape. It is a denial, not an assertion, of our fellowship in the common enterprise of peace. Nor is there hope that we shall discharge our various shares in the abolition of war if any of us stands self-righteously apart The longer view of history will unite us in a common penitence which is itself a bond of fellowship, and a ground of hope "God hath shut up all unto disobedience that He might have mercy upon all." In the name of Christian penitence, and in the name of Christian fellowship, let us cease to judge each other, and erasing the record of such judgment from the documents that govern our relationships one with another, let us stand side by side imploring the divine forgiveness for our share in the spirit of war, be it great or small. If the spirit that guides us is to be the spirit of the Gospel, the war-guilt clause must go—struck out by those who framed it.

Penitence and fellowship—those are our guiding principles. Penitence—because without it moral progress is always impossible; to repent is to forsake what has been customary for something better, so that penitence is not so much the ground of progress as its inward and

spiritual essence; and fellowship—because all our welfare in the days to come depends on our recognition in practice of the truth "We are members one of another."

Yet we cannot repent from fear alone; and we cannot attain the unselfishness of fellowship only because our selfish interest demands it. We must lift up our eyes from the task before us and fix them on the King of Love, as He claims the nations for His own, as He submits Himself to torture at men's hands for very love of them, as He tests our loyalty with the words, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye love one another" From Him we shall draw the passion of love and the courage to take risks for love's sake. For He is the Head of the Body, and only in Him do we become effectually what in truth we are by nature—members one of another. We kneel once more before the Cross, then rise to march together, an Army drawn from all nations but obedient to one Captain, as we set forth on the new Crusade—the crusade of love and joy and peace.

likewise involving the postponement of reparations even to the ex-Allies. Quite recently the League has intervened to solve the financial problems of Bulgaria due to the influx of refugees after the War, and we may claim with all fairness that our country has taken a leading part in this great work.

Although those financial problems are settled, there still remain various problems affecting their political relations with their neighbours which require solution. It is not my purpose to deal with those to-night, and I will confine myself to saying that the policy of His Majesty's Government is to render such assistance as may be possible in order to establish those political relations on a normal footing and to help and complete the great post-War task of eliminating mutual rivalries and suspicion. I should like to pay a tribute to the three statesmen who are directing the foreign policy of these countries, and pay a tribute to the moderation and courage which they have shown in directing the foreign policy of their countries, surrounded as they are with difficulty. We sympathize with the efforts made by Bulgaria to restore stability to her institutions. Austria and Hungary are peoples for whom Englishmen have had a liking, and both of them have had to pay heavy penalties and face grave obstacles in creating what really amounts to new states out of the wreckage of the old Monarchy. They are succeeding, but their struggle has been hard. We are proud of the share we have had through the League in furthering these efforts. In that spirit we shall continue our work.

I wish to turn from the practical achievements of the League, achievements of which no man could have dreamed ten years ago, to make some observations which have been in my mind In this audience I suppose are gathered together as representative a body of Englishmen and Englishwomen as is to be found in this country, who are pursuing ideals of peace with heart and soul and who would consider themselves typical of our people. I want you to throw back your minds thirteen years, and be honest with yourselves, as I am trying to be. Do you remember the shock that ran through England when the news first came that the Germans employed poison gas? Can you remember how long it was before we were on our knees praying for a west wind to drive our gas over the German lines? Do you remember what our feelings were when the first open town was bombed, and how many of us were longing for the day when the big bombers would get over Berlin? I remind you of that because nothing could show more clearly the fatal and catastrophic fall the characters of the best suffer under the influence of war It shows us there is something very near the surface against which we have to be on guard. It shows us that our descent is not only from the ape; it is from the tiger.

It is true that mankind, in the infinite process of the ages, has learned that, unless the tiger be eliminated in family relations, no family relations are possible, and for long it has not been customary for family quarrels to culminate in murder. It is to be apprehended that, if the state is to survive, the tiger must be eliminated. The ape in us has been fought largely through history with spiritual powers. The tiger has not. That is a difference worth remembering. The tiger instincts which are still there, as we all showed thirteen years ago, are ready to be summoned from

of the League in handling the question of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor! They helped to float the loan that made the financial part of that most difficult work comparatively easy. The International Economic Conference and the Economic Committee have been doing good work, as have the organization for communications and transit and the health organizations, which latter, I hope and believe, have made the spread of epidemics far more difficult.

Some of the most valuable work has been connected with the graver social problems. Had it not been for the League, The Hague Opium Convention of 1912 might easily have remained a dead letter. The Convention of 1925 would never have been concluded. At the initiative of the British Government, the International Slavery Convention was signed at Geneva two years ago and has now secured general acceptance. Conventions for the suppression of obscene publications and the abolition of the traffic in women and children have been concluded under the auspices of the League. That work is not done yet. A special body of experts have carried out a thorough investigation of that bestial trade, and they have made recommendations with a view to securing its complete and swift eradication. I have hopes of the child welfare work of the League. I do not like the title, yet I am sure the intentions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation are beyond all praise.

This is a great record, and I am proud of the part that my country, under successive Governments, has played in effecting it. We are not a vindictive or rancorous people by nature. I doubt if any people have subdued the war spirit more than we have While we have maintained, and indeed improved, our close and long continued relations with France, we have re-established completely friendly relations with the most powerful of our former enemies, and we can justly claim that we have played some small part in the better relations which now exist between France and Germany.

I must contradict the idea that has gained currency in some quarters, but for which there is no shadow of foundation, that we have to some extent abandoned our position of impartiality and conciliation which we assumed at the time of the Locarno Pact.

That is not so. We have made no new engagements; there is no change in the orientation of our policy. Our interests and our inclinations alike prompt us to preserve and even strengthen the cordiality of our relations with Germany as well as with France. With Italy we have been on the most friendly terms for generations, and nothing has occurred, or will occur, to interrupt that friendship.

May I illustrate what I may almost call the political sporting instincts of our people? I point to the case of Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary, because here is involved a solid material performance and contribution on the part of the League of Nations. Austria, after three years of hopeless entanglements from which she was unable to extricate herself, was drifting into bankruptcy and chaos. The ex-Allied Governments forgoing for a term of years their claims for reparations, the League was able to re-establish Austria and her finances on such a sound basis that her currency has been one of the most stable in Europe; this was followed two years later by a similar financial reconstruction of Hungary,

their hidden lair in a moment, and there are not two bodies of persons more potent to summon these ancient impulses than the politicians and the Press.

So it is that the gravest responsibility to-day which rests on any individual or any class for the future of this world rests upon the politicians and on the Press. Let them try from to-night to realize their responsibilities, and remember that it is your duty to try and make them realize them. The fact is that we have paid much too little attention in the past to these tigrine impulses that lie along the age, impulses deep down in human nature. If you think you are going to beat the things that culminate in hatred and in war without a spiritual fight, you are foredoomed to failure. To make a vow with your lips is not enough. To sign a covenant with your pen is not enough. It savours of crying "Lord, Lord." Such of you who are listening to me who, as myself, were baptized, made a vow of a peculiarly solemn nature through your proxies, and you renewed it, if you were ever confirmed, to renounce "the world, the flesh, and the devil" I wonder how many of us have done it? I know myself I have not I have tried often. I fall down again and again, and I know that, if this vow of renunciation is to be kept, it means a daily struggle until you fall into the grave. It is exactly the same in these old tiger instincts of human nature. You can only save yourself and the world by a constant daily fighting against these old impulses, and in time you will win You may feel that I ought to bid you go and wash in the rivers of Syria, whereas I am merely directing you to the Jordan.

But if you want to do something perfectly simple and easy that would really help, let me submit that from to-night onwards no member of the League of Nations Union shall add one drop to the fœtid stream of insinuation and suspicion and the attribution of low motives to statesmen of your own country or other countries who are engaged on pacificatory work in this world. In my view the statesman who makes an observation doubting the good faith of, or makes insinuations against the *bona fides* of, a foreign country for the sake of obtaining a cheer, the newspaper which puts in such paragraphs to make news—they are both of them doing the devil's work—and making it infinitely harder. Suspicion very quickly becomes hate, and hate very quickly becomes war.

You in this League are missionaries, or you ought to be, and as missionaries you should conduct yourselves. I dislike intensely the word propaganda. It has had a bad connotation since the War. Be careful with your propaganda. Unless propaganda comes from a pure heart and a single mind it is a boomerang. A friend of mine was staying with me last week-end. She went recently to see a propaganda film—a War film which was being shown to instil into those who saw it a hatred of war and a desire for peace. Immediately behind her were sitting a young married couple, too young to have taken any active part in the War. Before the show was half over she heard the woman say to her husband: "My dear, this shows us we have got to bring up our children to hate the Germans." I mention that as a warning, and you may draw the lesson.

You may think that I have spoken much more during the time I have been in office about peace at home than peace abroad. That is true, but I have done it largely because I believe that unless a country is at peace with itself the weight of that country's voice and influence is diminished in the councils of the world, and I think so much of the spirit and of the voice of our great country that I want it to be heard, recognized, and acknowledged. No country that is not at peace in itself can work effectively for peace outside its borders.

I regret profoundly the temporary failure to come to agreement with America on naval matters. The only negotiations that I have taken part in with America were the negotiations concerning the Debt five and a half years ago. During the whole of those negotiations, on a somewhat difficult subject, nothing could have exceeded the frankness displayed on both sides. There was no suspicion of any kind in the minds of the Americans with whom I negotiated, and a settlement was reached which has been regarded, and rightly so, as a perfectly fair and honourable settlement to both sides. I say that because I must add, to my profound regret, that such speeches as I have been able to read from America and such articles in their publications lead me to believe that on most subjects, far different from my experience, there is a deep suspicion where this country is concerned and where the actions of this country are concerned.

There is no echo in this country of that. Our policy in naval building is, and has been for the last few years, to go slow. We have no intention of building in competition with the United States of America. We came to that decision, and we built slowly long before we were asked to sign the Kellogg Pact, but I would like to express the pleasure which I feel that that Pact has been signed at this time We have deliberately turned our backs on war as an instrument that has been used from the beginning of time. We are grateful to Mr Kellogg for bringing that treaty with him to Europe It gives us all what in our private spiritual life we should be so grateful for—the opportunity of a fresh start.

We have most solemnly given this undertaking in each other's presence. The conception is so vast that I doubt if people yet have realized the full import of it It means nothing less than this. that every man and woman in every civilized country of the world must work without ceasing to bring the common conscience of mankind up to the level demanded by the obligations of that treaty. War is the oldest industry in the world. It has been fought for plunder, power, religion, honour—and for peace

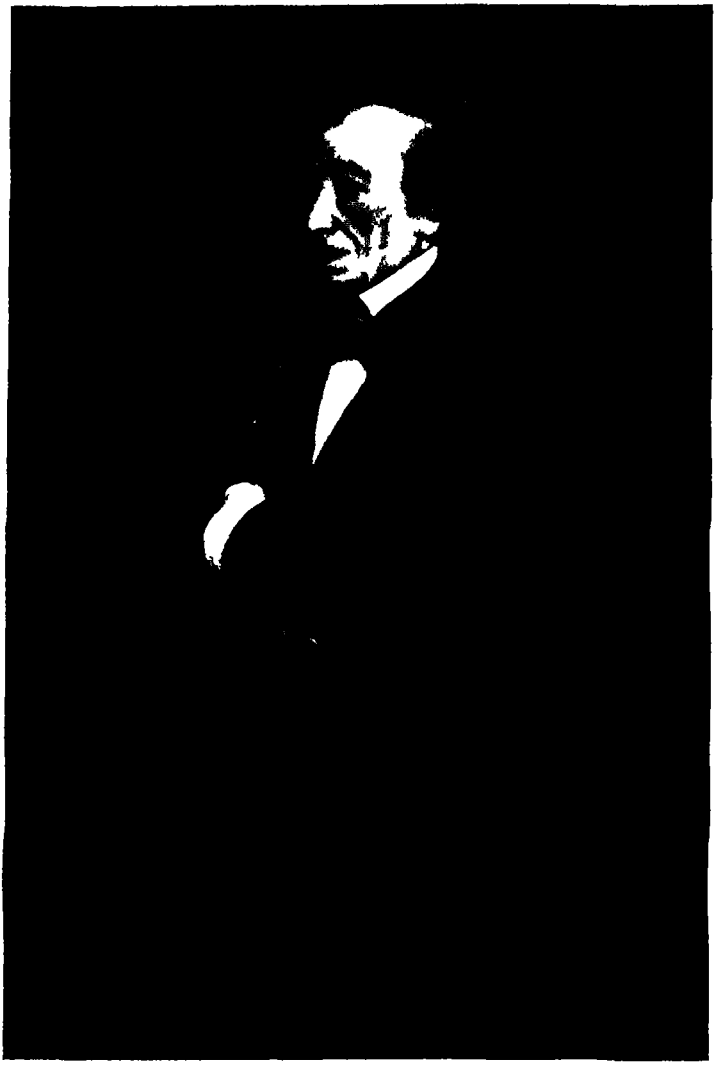
This last War, in which practically the whole civilized world took part, was of so awful a nature that there is no statesman to-day, no thoughtful citizen, who does not know that another war would not only further weaken civilization, it would destroy it. Very naturally, at the conclusion of the War there was a desire and a longing for peace, and perpetual peace, and among none was that desire stronger than among our own people and our workpeople. But desire, though it is a good thing, is not everything. You want the will to peace and to permanent peace; not only the machinery, but the heart and mind and soul. It is to further that desire, to will it, that the League of Nations was established, that the Locarno Treaties were signed, and that the

Kellogg Pact was signed. One more word on what that Pact means. It means that we are trying to regulate and govern primeval instincts which are older than the nations who are trying themselves to govern them; it means that we are trying to change the whole current of political history; it means that we are trying to find some moral equivalent to war.

It is a hard road and a steep path, but that is all the more reason why we should brace our will and gird our loins for the task before us. We must neglect nothing which will make us more fit for this ascent; the controlling of our passions and, what is perhaps more difficult, the curbing of our own tongues. But we are making headway. Peace depends on the common conscience of mankind. I was interested to see that Dr. Benesh in a book has put more bluntly than I have some of the difficulties before us But he confesses himself to be an optimist. So am I. Absolutism in monarchies is dead and absolutism in States is going. The moral boundaries of countries no longer march necessarily with their political and physical boundaries. They overflow, and all forms of international co-operation are springing up to-day in the most unexpected places The great peace treaties which have been signed in the last ten years are not treaties for the aggrandizement of the British Empire. They are instruments to be used by the community of civilized nations, for the furtherance of world peace. I welcome public vigilance to watch our words and actions. It is for you to supply that vigilance, but it is for you to see that that vigilance is enlightened and educated.

FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Nations must be all-embracing. It must be no preserve of what are vulgarly called pacifists on the one hand or equally vulgarly called "jingoes" on the other. No man is too good a patriot to be a member of the League of Nations Union, but the moment you lose sight of your high ideals and allow the use of your propaganda in such a way that it may be interpreted as political propaganda—the people are very jealous—it will be far harder for you to bring about that which your souls so much desire The League of Nations has a great future before it. It has to fight scepticism. Scepticism in its place, for the examination of questions, is a very good thing. But when you have a task before you such as we have, we want more than scepticism; we want faith. Faith alone can remove mountains. Faith alone can see the goal that lies before it, and in faith alone can we carry on the drudgery of the day-to day work amidst the din and dust and turmoil of this world's affairs; and buoyed up alone by faith, we hope that in time we or those who come after us will one day plant our feet firmly in the everlasting paths of peace.



LORD BEACONSFIELD
(BENJAMIN DISRALLI)

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD (BENJAMIN DISRAELI), K.G.

"PEACE WITH HONOUR"

Speech given at a banquet to the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis of Salisbury in London, July 27, 1878

MY LORD DUKE AND GENTLEMEN:

I am sure you will acquit me of affectation if I say it is not without emotion that I have received this expression of your goodwill and sympathy. When I look around this chamber I see the faces of some who entered public life with myself, as my noble friend the noble Duke has reminded me, more than forty years ago; I see more whose entrance into public life I witnessed when I had myself gained some experience of it; and lastly I see those who have only recently entered upon public life, and whom it has been my duty and my delight to encourage and counsel when they entered that public career so characteristic of this country, and which is one of the main securities of our liberty and welfare.

My lords and gentlemen, our chairman has referred to my career, like that of all public men in this country, as one of change and vicissitude, but I have been sustained, even in the darkest hours of our party, by the conviction that I possessed your confidence. I will say your indulgent confidence; for in the long course of my public life that I may have committed many mistakes is too obvious a truth to touch upon; but that you have been indulgent there is no doubt, for I can, I hope I may say, proudly remember that it has been my lot to lead in either House of Parliament this great party for a longer period that has ever fallen to the lot of any public man in the history of this country. That I have owed this result to your generous indulgence more than to any personal qualities of my own no man is more sensible than myself; but it is a fact that I may recur to with some degree of proud satisfaction.

Our noble chairman has referred to the particular occasion which has made me your guest to-day. I attended that high assembly which has recently dispersed, with much reluctance. I yielded to the earnest solicitations of my noble friend near me (the Marquis of Salisbury), my colleague in that great enterprise. He thought that my presence might be of use to him in the vast difficulties he had to encounter; but I must say now, as I shall ever say, that to his lot fell the labouring oar in that great work, and that you are, I will not say equally, but more indebted to him than to myself for the satisfactory result which you kindly recognize.

I share the conviction of our noble chairman that it is one which has been received with satisfaction by the country, but I am perfectly aware

that that satisfaction is not complete or unanimous, because I know well that before eight-and-forty hours have passed the marshalled hosts of opposition will be prepared to challenge what has been done, and to question the policy we hope we have established.

My lords and gentlemen, as I can no longer raise my voice in that House of Parliament where this contest is to take place, as I sit now in a House where our opponents never unsheathe their swords, a House where, although the two chief plenipotentiaries of the Queen sit, they are met only by innuendo and by question, I hope you will permit me, though with extreme brevity, to touch on one or two of the points which in a few hours may much engage the interest and attention of Parliament

My lords and gentlemen, it is difficult to describe the exact meaning of the charge which is brought against the plenipotentiaries of the Queen, as it will be introduced to the House of Commons on Monday. Drawn as it is, it appears at first sight to be only a series of congratulatory regrets. But, my lords and gentlemen, if you penetrate the meaning of this movement, it would appear that there are two points in which it is hoped that a successful attack may be made upon Her Majesty's Government, and on those two points, and those alone, I hope with becoming brevity, at this moment, perhaps, you will allow me to make one or two remarks

It is charged against Her Majesty's Government that they have partially deceived and deserted Greece. Now, my lords and gentlemen, this is a subject which is, I think, capable of simpler treatment than hitherto it has encountered in public discussion. We have given at all times, in public and in private, to the Government of Greece and to all who might influence its decisions, but one advice—that on no account should they be induced to interfere in those coming disturbances which two years ago threatened Europe, and which concluded in a devastating war. And we gave that advice on these grounds, which appear to me incontestable If, as Greece supposed, and as we thought erroneously supposed, the partition of the Ottoman Empire was at hand, Greece, morally, geographically, ethnographically, was sure of receiving a considerable allotment of that partition when it took place.

It would be impossible to make a re-settlement of the East of Europe without largely satisfying the claims of Greece; and great as those claims might be, if that was the case, it was surely unwise in Greece to waste its treasure and its blood If, on the other hand, as Her Majesty's Government believed, the end of this struggle would not be a partition of the Ottoman Empire, but that the wisdom and experience of all the powers and governments would come to the conclusion that the existence and strengthening of the Ottoman Government was necessary to the peace of Europe, and without it long and sanguinary and intermittent struggles must inevitably take place, it was equally clear to us that, when the settlement occurred, all those rebellious tributary principalities that have lavished their best blood and embarrassed their finances for generations would necessarily be but scurvily treated, and that Greece, even under this alternative, would find that she was wise in following the advice of England and not mixing in so fatal a fray.

Well, my lords and gentlemen, has not the event proved the justice and accuracy of that view? At this moment, though Greece has not interfered, fortunately for herself, though she has not lavished the blood of her citizens and wasted her treasure, under the Treaty of Berlin she has the opportunity of obtaining a greater increase of territory than will be attained by any of the rebellious principalities that have lavished their blood and wasted their resources in this fierce contest.

I should like to see that view answered by those who accuse us of misleading Greece. We gave to her the best advice; fortunately for Greece she followed it, and I will hope that, following it with discretion and moderation, she will not lose the opportunity we have secured for her in the advantages she may yet reap

I would make one more remark on this subject, which will soon occupy the attention of many who are here present. It has been said we have misled and deserted Greece, because we were the power which took steps that Greece should be heard before the Congress.

Why did we do that? Because we had ever expressed our opinion that in the elevation of the Greek race—not merely the subjects of the King of Greece—one of the best chances of the improvement of society under the Ottoman rule would be found, and that it was expedient that the rights of the Greek race should be advocated by that portion of it which enjoyed an independent political existence; and all this time, too, let it be recollected that my noble friend was unceasing in his efforts to obtain such a settlement of the claims, or rather, I should say, the desires, of Greece with the Porte, as would conduce greatly to the advantage of that kingdom.

And not without success The proposition of Lord Salisbury for the rectification of the frontiers of Greece really includes all that moderate and sensible men could desire; and that was the plan that ultimately was adopted by the Congress, and which Greece might avail herself if there be prudence and moderation in her councils. Let me however one remark which, indeed, is one that applies to other most important portions of this great question—it refers to the personal character of the Sultan. From the first, the Sultan of Turkey has expressed his desire. to deal with Greece in a spirit of friendliness and confidence. He has been perfectly aware that in the union of the Turkish and Greek races the only balance could be obtained and secured against the Pan-Slavic monopoly which was fast invading the whole of his dominions. Therefore, there was every disposition on his part to meet the proposals of the English Government with favour, and he met them with favour. Remember the position of that Prince. It is almost unprecedented. No prince, probably, that ever lived has gone through such a series of catastrophes. One of his predecessors commits suicide; his immediate predecessor is subject to a visitation more awful even than suicide. The moment he ascends the throne his Ministers are assassinated. A conspiracy breaks out in his own palace, and then he learns that his kingdom is invaded, his armies, however valiant, are defeated, and that the enemy is at his gates; yet, with all these trials, and during all this period, he has never swerved in the expression and I believe the feeling of a desire to deal with Greece in a spirit of friendship.

Well, what has happened? What was the last expression of friendship on his part? He is apparently a man whose every impulse is good: however great the difficulties he has to encounter, however evil the influences that may sometimes control him, his impulses are good; and where impulses are good, there is always hope. He is not a tyrant—he is not a dissolute—he is not a bigot or corrupt. What was his last decision?

When my noble friend, not encouraged, I must say, by Greece, but still continuing his efforts, endeavoured to bring to some practical result this question of the frontiers, the Sultan said that what he was prepared to do he wished should be looked on as an act of grace on his part, and of his sense of the friendliness of Greece in not attacking him during his troubles; but as the Congress was now to meet, he should like to hear the result of the wisdom of the Congress on the subject. The Congress has now spoken, and though it declared that it did not feel justified in compelling the Sultan to adopt steps it might think advantageous even for his own interests, the Congress expressed an opinion which, I doubt not, the Sultan is prepared to consider in the spirit of conciliation he has so often displayed And this is the moment when a party, for factious purposes, and a party unhappily not limited to England, is egging on Greece to violent courses!

I may, perhaps, have touched at too much length on this topic, but the attacks made on Her Majesty's Government are nothing compared with the public mischief that may occur if misconception exists on this point There is one other point on which I would make a remark, and that is with regard to the Convention of Constantinople of the fourth of June

When I study the catalogue of congratulatory regrets with attention, this appears to be the ground on which a great assault is to be made on [illegible] Government. It is said that we have increased, and dangerously increased, our responsibilities as a nation by that Convention In the Congress, I deny that we have increased our responsibilities by that convention. I maintain that by that Convention we have lessened our responsibilities. Suppose, now, for example, the settlement of Europe had not included the Convention of Constantinople and the occupation of the Isle of Cyprus, suppose it had been limited to the mere Treaty of Berlin, what occurred? In the latter all probable circumstances, might then have occurred, Bulgarian resources of Russia fifteen, it might be in twenty years, the power and having revived, some quarrel would have again arisen, Russia would have been otherwise, and in all probability the armies of and Asia, and enveloping ruling the Ottoman dominions both in Europe its all-powerful position enclosing the city of Constantinople and

Now, what would be the probable conduct, under these circumstances, of the Government of this country, whoever the Ministers might be, whatever party might be in power? I fear there might be hesitation for a time—a want of decision—a want of firmness; but no one doubts that ultimately England would have said: "This will never do; we must prevent the conquest of Asia Minor, we must interfere in this matter and arrest the course of Russia." No one, I am sure, in this

country who impartially considers the question can for a moment doubt what, under any circumstances, would have been the course of this country.

Well, then, that being the case, I say it is extremely important that this country should take a step beforehand which should indicate what the policy of England would be; that you should not have your Ministers meeting in a Council Chamber, hesitating and doubting, and considering contingencies, and then acting at last, but acting perhaps too late. I say, therefore, that the responsibilities of this country have not been increased; the responsibilities already existed, though I, for one, would never shrink from increasing the responsibilities of this country, if they are responsibilities which ought to be undertaken. The responsibilities of this country are practically diminished by the course we have taken

My lords and gentlemen, one of the results of my attending the Congress of Berlin has been to prove what I always suspected to be the absolute fact, that neither the Crimean War, nor this horrible devastating war which has just terminated, would have taken place if England had spoken with the necessary firmness.

Russia has complaints to make against this country that neither in the case of the Crimean war nor on this occasion—and I do not shrink from my share of the responsibility in this matter—was the voice of England so clear and decided as to exercise a due share in the guidance of European opinion

Suppose, gentlemen, that my noble friend and I had come back with the Treaty of Berlin, and had not taken the step which is to be questioned within the next eight-and-forty hours, could we, with any self-respect, have met our countrymen when they asked: What securities have you made for the peace of Europe? How far have you diminished the chance of perpetually recurring war on this question of the East by the Treaty of Berlin? Why, they could say all we have gained by the Treaty of Berlin is probably the peace of a few years, and at the end of that time the same phenomenon will arise and the Ministers of England must patch up the affair as well as they could.

That was not the idea of public duty entertained by my friend and myself We thought the time had come when we ought to take steps which would produce some order out of the anarchy and chaos that had so long prevailed. We asked ourselves · Was it absolutely a necessity that the fairest provinces of the world should be the most devastated and most ill-used, and for this reason, that there is no security for life or property so long as that country is in perpetual fear of invasion and aggression?

It was under these circumstances that we recommended the course we have taken; and I believe that the consequences of that policy will tend to, and even secure peace and order in a portion of the globe which hitherto has seldom been blessed by these celestial visitants.

I hold that we have laid the foundation of a state of affairs which may open a new continent to the civilization of Europe, and that the welfare of the world and the wealth of the world may be increased by availing ourselves of that tranquillity and order which the more intimate connection of England with that country will now produce.

But I am sorry to say that though we taxed our brains and our thought to establish a policy which might be beneficial to the country we have not satisfied those who are our critics.

I was astonished to learn that the Convention of the fourth of June has been described as "an insane Convention." It is a strong epithet. I do not myself pretend to be as competent a judge of sanity as my right hon. opponent (Gladstone). I will not say to the right hon. gentleman, naviget Anticryam, but I would put this issue to an English jury. Which do you believe the most likely to enter into an insane Convention—a body of English gentlemen honoured by the favour of their Sovereign and the confidence of their fellow-subjects, managing your affairs for five years, I hope with prudence, and not altogether without success; or a sophisticated rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself?

My lords and gentlemen, I leave the decision upon that Convention to the Parliament and people of England I believe that in that policy are deeply laid the seeds of future welfare, not merely to England, but to Europe and Asia; and confident that the policy we have recommended is one that will be supported by the country. I and those that act with me can endure these attacks

My lords and gentlemen, let me thank you once more for the manner in which you have welcomed me to-day. These are the rewards of public life that never pall—the sympathy of those who have known you long, who have worked with you long, who have the same opinions upon the policy that should be pursued in this great and ancient Empire. These are the sentiments which no language can sufficiently appreciate—which are a consolation under all circumstances and the highest reward that a public man can attain. The generous feeling that has prompted you to welcome my colleague and myself on our return to England will inspire and strengthen our efforts to serve our country, and it is not merely that in this welcome you encourage those who are doing their best for what they conceive to be the public interest, but to tell to Europe also that England is a grateful country and knows how to appreciate the efforts of those of her public servants who are resolved to maintain to their utmost the Empire of Great Britain

HENRY WARD BEECHER

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Speech of Henry Ward Beecher at the sixty-eighth anniversary banquet of the New England Society in the City of New York, December 22. 1873

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

I have attended many New England dinners, I have eaten very few. I think I have never attended one in which there has been such good speaking as to-night, and so much of it; and as I bear in memory a sentence from the Book with which I am supposed to be familiar, that "a full soul loatheth a feast," I do not propose to stuff you at this late period with a long speech, for I have been myself a sufferer under like circumstances. It does seem a pity, and would to you if you had ever been speech-makers, to cut out an elaborate speech with weeks of toil in order that it may be extemporized admirably, and then to find yourself drifted so late into the evening that everybody is tired of speeches. What must a man under such circumstances do? As he abhors novelty, he cannot make a new one, and he goes on to make his old speech, and it falls stillborn upon the ears of the listeners. I do not propose, therefore, to give you the benefit of all that eloquence that I have stored up for you to-night I merely say that if you had only heard the speech that I was going to deliver, you would pity me for the speech that I am now delivering. One of the most precious elements of religious liberty is the right of a sensible man not to speak, or even to make a poor speech.

To go back to the New England days and to our fathers who have been—well, I have no doubt of the communion of the saints, and, therefore, I have no doubt that the blessed spirits that have got rid of this world pay good attention in the other land to what is going on here, and are interested in all the compliments they receive; and though I suppose heaven to be a very busy place, and the Pilgrim Fathers to be exceedingly busy all the year round, yet, on the twenty-second of December, earthly reckoning, they must have the hardest day of the whole period which we call year. I can imagine them going around with fragments of these speeches on their heads as extemporized crowns; and far be it from me who, I believe, have some ancestors there—I hope it is there—far be it from me to impose any additional burden of sympathy upon them. The old New England divines were good fellows in their day, jovial men—not on public occasions—men given to the cup and to the pipe in due measure, and to good stories as well as to good conduct, but always with discretion—always at home after the door

was shut, because the example to the flock must be reverend—the flock must be led by sobriety; but really, as I recollect the days in my father's parlour, when I used to be sent for the tobacco and for the rum, when the ministers came around, in old Connecticut, before the temperance days, when the parlour was blue with smoke and uproarious with laughter, I am sure that I have never been in any assembly anywhere, where there was so much good-fellowship, nor anywhere else—except here—where I thought there was so much wit as there used to be in old New England; and much of that which has been witty to-night I attribute to the proximity of the generals, statesmen, and lawyers to the clergy.

In regard to the subject-matter of the toast which I was to speak to, I wish to say this: that those who have oppressed men by religion have only done by that instrument what everybody else has been trying to do by every other instrument. Everybody that has any gumption is a pope, or would be glad to be That spirit of self, with a consciousness of power, with an intense sense of right and of truth, and a disposition to project it upon others, is of necessity a domineering spirit, and it is that that attempts to make men bend to your sense of what is true and what is right. I do not, therefore, wonder that there is a spirit of despotism. I do not wonder at it any more than I wonder that mankind love to govern and to be governed, for there are two sides. It is not the fault of the dry pole that is put into the ground that the morning-glory twines round about it, and won't stand up itself. I would like to be a dry stick myself, and have a convolvulus twining around me with its ineffable beauty. It is not the fault of the minister that the true and comely and excellent ones lean on him and insist upon being led by him, and thought for by him. It is not strange that clergymen think they hear angel voices, even among their own parishioners, under such circumstances. If you take a man out from the common people and tell him he is something wonderful, tell him that he is a man of—his mother? no, but a man of God, and therefore so far different from his neighbours, that he stands in the electric chain, and gets his inspiration fresh from the apostolic age, as then it was had fresh from heaven; that he is, by reason of having this extra dose of good sense and infallibility, something more than other men—only tell him so long enough, put your hand on his head so as to rub it into him, make him feel it in his heart, bring round about it his conscience and you have made a despot.

It may be a despot that turns the ecclesiastical machinery of the Church, so that everybody has to keep step to the music exactly. It is not his fault, his parishioners make him do it. He may turn that despotism into dogma, it is not his fault. He himself became first the subject, and then the master, and then the despot. If there were not men who wanted to be governed, there would not be so many men who wanted to govern them; and if men in the Church, administering the Church as an institution, administering its ordinances or its doctrines, are imperious, if they are arrogant, you make them so. They did not set out to be so. It is inherent in the fundamental falsity of this idea, that any body of men on earth are commissioned to govern any other body of men by reason, or by their conscience, on the supposition that

they are nearer to God than others. It is not the New Testament idea, which says: "Ye are all brethren." There is democracy for you! Brotherhood never harmed anybody, because brotherhood proceeds ever with justice for its instrument, in the spirit of benevolence and love, and works by sympathy, works by the heart more than by the head. Now, the moment that any man stand among his fellowmen and says: "I own God, and I own all God's decrees, and I am empowered to enforce them upon you, and I bring down all that is terrible in the world to lay it upon the imagination and upon the fear and upon the conscience and upon the conduct and the life of men"—the moment that any man has taken possession of that vast and populous invisible realm, that very moment, of necessity, he becomes an enemy to liberty, a leader toward captivity, and men are bound by him to be servants.

So, then, if men are oppressed by the Church, it is only because, through weakness, they invited it; it is because, through indifference, they permitted it Who are the makers of ecclesiastical despots? Weak men. Power is not easily oppressed! It is weakness that is oppressed. Strong, robust, round, and all-sided men are not often oppressed as citizens; they always escape. It is the poor, the ignorant, those that do not know how to defend themselves, that in civil things or in intellectual realms are oppressed, and in moral realms as well, and the remedy for ecclesiastical oppression is, make the common people stronger and wiser. Give them intelligence, and make them understand that indifference to religion is invitation to despotism; that those men who have faith in God and have faith that God is Father, believe also in manhood and men Give to men earnestness, consciousness of their own affairs, self-respect and knowledge, and then insist upon it that they shall use them; give to men this spirit, and there shall be found no priest and no bishop that shall govern them except as the air governs the flowers, except as the sun governs the seasons, for the sun wears no sceptre, but with sweet kisses covers the ground with fragrance and with beauty One soul has a right to govern another if it loves it; but by authority and machinery and systematic creeds or dogma, no man has a right to govern another, nor can he, if those other men are not weak, effeminate, indifferent, infidel.

So, then, our New England fathers, although failing here and there in some points in the administration of religious liberty, were pre-eminent for the time in which they lived, and, at the bottom, they were really the workmen that brought in the doctrine of religious freedom, because they undertook to make intelligent men, they educated men, they tried to make them larger, to make them more knowledgeable, to make them able to stand on their own feet without being held up by priests or by any other preacher, and so working to make larger manhood and larger liberty in manhood they tended to set men free from spiritual just as much as from civil domination. I regard all men who are working toward the enlargement of their fellowmen as being truly guides toward emancipation from spiritual despotism. He that is gone, Agassiz, was also a priest of God—not in the church which men's hands have built, but in that great circle which Divine Providence marks out, where men find out the footsteps and the handiwork of God, and take that which

they find to make men larger and richer and truer and better. He, too, is a priest of God; and that glorious company of men who are saying to the rock and to the sky and to the realms of nature: "What secret hath God told you? Tell it to us," they too are making men free, and are emancipating the human mind. And every artist who works upon his canvas or upon the stone, or rears up stately fabrics, expressing something nobler to men, giving some form to their ideals and aspirations—every such man also is working for the largeness and so for the liberty of men. And every mother who sits by the cradle, singing to her babe the song which the angels sing all the way up to the very throne, she too is God's priestess, and is working for the largeness of men, and so for their liberty. Whoever teaches men to be truthful, to be virtuous, to be enterprising; in short, whoever teaches Manhood, emancipates men; for liberty means not licence, but such largeness and balance of manhood that men go right, not because they are told to, but because they love that which is right.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE LATE LORD BIRKENHEAD
(F E SMITH)

LORD BIRKENHEAD (Mr. F. E. SMITH)

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

Speech in the House of Commons, April 21, 1909

The time at our disposal for this discussion is short, some of us think unduly short, and I propose to follow the admirable example of the Prime Minister and bring my observations within sufficiently reasonable compass to enable other members to take part in the debate afterwards. In order to do that it is not necessary to attempt a general examination of the proposals which the right hon gentleman has foreshadowed, but confine myself to a few points which particularly struck my attention in the point of view which the right hon gentleman presented. First of all I regret very much what I cannot but think was wholly the inadequate treatment that he gave to the complaint that the Bill had been introduced without waiting for the Report of the Commission. I feel myself, some special grievance about that, because a month or six weeks ago I put down a question to the Prime Minister as to whether the Report of the Commission would be in the hands of the members before the Bill were introduced The answer was perfectly explicit, and was given by the Home Secretary on behalf of the Prime Minister, that the Report was expected very shortly, and would be available before the Bill was discussed A moment's reflection must show that the Government is face to face with a very difficult dilemma. Either the consumption of valuable time, including the time of the Solicitor-General, and the expenditure of money has been necessary or unnecessary If it was unnecessary, many persons have been encouraged to spend time over a futile purpose If it was necessary in order to guide the Government to a decision and to assist the House usefully to criticize that decision when arrived at, it ought to have been in the hands of the members when the Bill was introduced. Could there be a more unsatisfactory performance than that the Prime Minister should quote one set of figures, which are no doubt given him in perfect good faith, but which may or may not be reliable, and that my hon friend here should quote other figures inconsistent with them, and we are unable to point to any authority which will be recognized by all sections of the House, and say these are the real figures established after we have spent more than two years in having these very facts determined by an impartial tribunal. Nothing could be more futile than to make the answer that one can read in the newspapers from day to day the proceedings of such a Committee. That observation can be met by the simple criticism "If it is well founded, why have a Report at all?" All that has appeared in the daily press is that a certain witness made a certain statement, and you would not have the only real advantage of appointing the Com-

mission, which is to know what view the men whose characters and attainments justified their appointment have formed, after observing the demeanour of the witnesses as to the value of what they have established in their evidence.

Many reasons make it desirable that the Commission should have reported before the House proceeded with the discussion. Selecting from the speech of the right hon. gentleman that one of his arguments which seemed to be the strongest—that again was a point on which the Report would have assisted us—that part of his speech which seemed to me to produce the greatest impression was that in which he dealt with the alleged zeal and enthusiasm and unanimity of the Welsh members in favour of disestablishment. As far as I gathered his view, it was that they were to-day possessed, as they had been for many years, of a unanimous and unquenchable determination that Wales shall enjoy the blessings of Welsh disestablishment at the earliest possible date. I am so fortunate as to have been able to test the accuracy of that claim in the light of an authority which the House will readily recognize. The hon. member for Denbigh Boroughs was lately interviewed by, I think, the *South Wales Gazette* on this very point, and he made a reply to the reporter which throws no small light upon the somewhat extravagant claim which I think he has put forward This is what he said about the enthusiasm and unanimity of his compatriots. The reporter asked him:

"Are you confident that the Welsh party will do their duty?"

"Spontaneously, no. But when the Welsh constituencies in the course of the next few weeks have been quickened into an acute appreciation of the real position, then I believe every Welsh member will be glad to fall into line and do his duty"

"But why do you not think they will do their duty?"

"That is rather a delicate question, but I should be lacking in moral courage if I did not frankly face it in a moment of supreme crisis in our national history Undoubtedly, the Disestablishment Bill is going to cause considerable inconvenience, if not serious difficulty, at certain stages to the Liberal Government Now, look at the members of the Welsh Party .Apart from the Labour Members, most of them have been the recipients of the spoils of victory. Political gifts inevitably produce political nepotism, which under normal conditions may be innocent and venial, but which are serious in a great crisis"

He proceeded to point out that the only chance of his colleagues doing their duty in this House and pressing forward the claims of this Bill, on behalf of which, according to the Prime Minister, they are consumed with so holy a zeal, and inducing them really to press it forward, is that their constituencies will compel them seriously to take notice of the urgency of the crisis. Then he proceeded to discuss with a good deal of knowledge the positions of the actual members of the Government who represent Welsh constituencies The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Solicitor-General —and he referred to them as

"ambassadors sent by Wales into the secret councils of the Empire." There they remain as ambassadors to serve the Welsh nation. It is for the remainder of the party at this moment to strengthen their hands.

They will be face to face with a good deal of indifference and lukewarmness on the part of their Ministerial colleagues."

I do not know whether that is the Prime Minister or not.

"If you palter with this question, you run the risk of Wales ceasing in her entirety to be a reliable support to the Liberal Party."

We are indeed face to face with grave considerations, but there is one other argument certainly well worth the attention of the House, and that is, when he pointed out an arrangement of a somewhat singular character which apparently the Welsh party have made with the Irish Party—an arrangement the character of which, I think, will be appreciated by the House as a whole·

"I purposely omitted Ireland for a special reason. A few months ago Mr. John Redmond came to speak at Wrexham, and in response to some criticisms which I passed upon the attitude of the Irish Party on education and in reference to future support of Home Rule by Welsh Nonconformists, he gave us a public pledge that the Irish Party should march shoulder to shoulder with the Welsh party on behalf of disestablishment and disendowment."

The hon gentleman observes with simplicity and enthusiasm that that is true. I was quoting it as being true, and was courteously accepting it as being true But what kind of argument does that give you on principle why the House as a whole is to support Welsh Disestablishment? Because the Welsh party have made a bargain with the Irish party, which does not even depend on the abstract merits of Home Rule or Welsh Disestablishment—because they have made an arrangement for mutual log-rolling, therefore the House is to pass Welsh Disestablishment I make no comment upon the result of that bargain, except to say that although I understand hon. gentlemen opposite below the gangway are prepared to carry out their part of the bargain so far as Home Rule is concerned, I condole with them on the extraordinary failure of their colleagues below the gangway on this side, as far as this Debate is concerned, to give them their countenance, which was their part of the bargain.

I could not help observing that there was a general tendency in the House to think it was not really necessary to treat this Bill seriously, and I do not ever remember hearing the right hon. gentleman, who is a master of lucid exposition, introduce a first-class measure with more luke-warmness and lack of enthusiasm The explanation which has been given of that is that it is notorious that this Bill is not intended to pass through all its stages in the House of Commons or to be sent to the House of Lords. I must warn my hon. friends that any sanguine anticipation which they might base upon that expectation really rests upon an unsound foundation. In May, 1907, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was consulted by a correspondent in Wales, who was very indignant indeed at the continuous postponement of Welsh Disestablishment, as to what the intentions of the Government were, and this is what the right hon. gentleman wrote.

"You ask me whether, if this Parliament runs its normal course, it is the intention of the Government to pass a measure for the dis-

establishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales through all its stages in the House of Commons. To this I can give an unqualified answer in the affirmative. I have just seen the Prime Minister [that is, the late Prime Minister] and he sanctions the above as an accurate interpretation of his views and intentions."

The House is face to face with the fact that this Bill is going through all its stages in the House of Commons I hope the hon. gentleman who cheered that statement will help me to distinguish between that process of ploughing the sands and the precisely similar stage which took place when a Liberal Government had lost the confidence of the country some few years ago in identical circumstances I am not going to discuss the abstract principle of disestablishment at all. I pause for a moment to dissent most warmly from the statement made by the right hon. gentleman that everyone in Ireland is now agreed that the disestablishment of the Irish Church was a great success I was only reading two days ago the criticisms on the result of the disestablishment in Ireland which were made by the Archbishops and the Bishops of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and with one single exception they all unanimously expressed their conviction that the result of disestablishment had been profoundly injurious to the work and to the activity of the Church in Ireland

I will give the House one illustration It is a point which was raised in the observations of my hon friend In the old days before the Church in Ireland was disestablished it was practicable to have one clergyman in every small parish. One result of disestablishment which followed all over Ireland has been necessarily the amalgamation of parishes. The result is that you now have a large number of parishes now amalgamated, and quite inadequately served by a single curate, whereas before the days of disestablishment there was a curate or a clergyman in almost every parish That is a consequence which is quite certain to happen in Wales if you disestablish the Welsh Church. I would ask the plain question, whether it is not endowment by universal consent which interests the people of Wales? If this Bill were put forward as one for disestablishment without disendowment you would not have one really strenuous supporter on these Benches You would not have the support of hon members from Wales if it was divorced from the disendowment question. I do not wish to use any provocative language, and I put it moderately when I say that the hon gentleman is quite correct in stating that a considerable majority at present in Wales support disestablishment The explanation of that is to be found in the constant and consistent appeal which has been made by hon. gentlemen below the gangway to the lowest motives of cupidity in the Welsh people (Cries of No No) That statement is challenged, but I will justify it Not merely have statements been made by responsible persons, who are not members of this House, but arguments of that kind have been addressed to the Welsh people even by members of this House Let me take a speech which was addressed to Welshmen in London by the hon. and learned member for Anglesey. The hon and learned member said:

"This bill will mean bread and butter to the estimated value of £10,000 a year to the people of Anglesey alone."

I do not think that he denies using that expression. I do not speak in this House as a convinced adherent of the Church of England. I speak as one who was brought up a Nonconformist, and I state what strikes me in regard to this proposal to disendow the Church in Wales. I tell the House that I cannot distinguish this from any other act of common peculation so far as the right to take away property is concerned. My hon. friend raised the point in regard to the period within which endowments are to be treated as sacred. Why has that limit been introduced? Is it to secure the Nonconformist churches in the possession of their endowments? The law relating to property will protect the owner to the possession of it if it has been enjoyed for a certain period. In dealing with Nonconformist property long enjoyment is protected by the Bill, but very long enjoyment of property by the Established Church is not to protect its property. The hon. and learned gentleman says that these endowments originally belonged to the Welsh people, and that they ought to be restored A more astonishing misrepresentation than that was never presented to any audience of enthusiastic Welshmen in London. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will condescend to tell us what part of the possessions of the Church the Welsh people once enjoyed The only suggestion that I have ever heard made was that there was such a breach of continuity in the corporate existence of the Church at the time of the Reformation as to make it right to take the property with which the Church was endowed before the Reformation. That is an argument which has been explicitly, and I venture to say with complete historical accuracy, repudiated by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said in 1905

"I am not one of those, who think as used to be currently assumed, that the legislation of Henry VIII transferred the endowments of a national establishment from the Church of Rome to the Church of England. There has been, amid all these changes, a substantial identity and continuity of existence in our national church from earliest history to the present time."

If that is so, we must look elsewhere for the justification for taking away the property which the Church has enjoyed for so many centuries. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at Liverpool, said·

"Does anyone imagine that the Welsh Nonconformist peasantry will go on paying one-tenth part of the produce of their own toil towards maintaining an ecclesiastical institution which they would repudiate?"

Until the present Government came into power it was not usual for Cabinet Ministers to go about the country advocating a tithe war, and the precedent set up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is one which I do not think anyone will approve. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had consulted any lawyer in the Liberal Party he would have found how little foundation there was for this statement. Lord Selborne has pointed out that: "It is quite certain tithes were never the property of or payable to the State." Sir William Harcourt said in the debate in the last Bill:

"It is a fallacy to say that tithe is a tax upon land. Everyone who

purchased land chargeable with tithe paid so much less for it than he would pay for it if it was tithe free."

Let me give one or two instances Bettws, Ivan, Cardiganshire, farmer: Two pounds a month towards maintaining Methodist Chapel; Llanwrda, a farm, pays £5 a year towards Taber Chapel; Miss Griffith, Pencynan Farm, in Cardiganshire, pays £1 every week towards Methodist Chapel Capel y Drindod Are these persons the victims of plunder or not, and if they are not so to-day, when will they become so? I suppose the suggestion will be made that it will be possible, without injury to rights which ought to be protected by the House, to carry out the disendowment of the Church.

They are all modern cases They are to protect Nonconformists' endowments by Act of Parliament on the ground that they have been possessed for twenty-five years. When it is pointed out that the Church tithes have been enjoyed from time immemorial, and that the Nonconformists now enjoy tithes which with time will themselves possess the strict sacredness of the lapse of time, they reply, "these tithes are modern in their character." But I suppose that when they become old they will not be prepared to give them up The case of glebe lands is even stronger. That is the case of property given by persons who were entitled to dispose of their property for sacred purposes, to make it possible for a vicar or rector to attend to his duties and live in a parish What right have you to interfere with them? The only case made is that they have enjoyed them for a long time Can anyone suggest any other ground or principle? Does not everyone in this House know that if hon. gentlemen were strong enough they would do what they wish to do and intend to do—deal not only with the Church in Wales, but also with the Church in England. As Mr. Gladstone pointed out·

"as regards the identity of these churches, the whole system of known law, usage and history has made them completely one I think, therefore, it is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England."

(SIR SAMUEL EVANS What is the date?)

I think it was 1895—it was in the last Debate I have got it from a book on the subject of disestablishment Does the Solicitor-General suggest that Mr Gladstone changed his views that the case of the Church in England and Wales is one, and that you cannot separate one from the other? The policy which is now being commenced is one which I venture to say will have this deplorable result—in an age of growing indifference you are attacking one of the few surviving sources of national idealism in both England and Wales. You are deliberately weakening morality. You are divorcing the State from that constant and high standard which everyone will admit springs from association with a Christian creed, and you are relaxing the standard of public integrity in dealing with sacred endowments A more dangerous precedent than that I could not imagine. As far as we are concerned with the challenge given us in Wales and in England we will accept that challenge. The sooner the line of battle is deployed over the whole line the better pleased we shall be. Hon gentleman have raised an issue in which compromise is quite impossible, and it will be most bitterly contested both here and

in the country by the hon. gentlemen among whom I sit I cannot reply better to the whole case that has been made than in the remarkable language of the great Archbishop Benson. In the year 1891 he went to the Church Congress at Rhyl to encourage the Churchmen in Wales, and he said

"But you who are our eldest selves, the founders of our episcopacy, the primeval British dioceses, I come from the steps of the chair of Augustine, your younger ally, to tell you that by the Benediction of God, we will not quietly see you disinherited."

Photo *Lafayette*

MR AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

Rt. Hon. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

EDMUND BURKE

Delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Society

Mr. John Morley, who amongst other things has written two admirable books about Edmund Burke, is to be found in the Preface to the second of them, apologizing for having introduced into the body of the work extracts from his former volume—conduct which he seeks to justify by quoting from the Greek (always a desirable thing to do when in a difficulty), to prove that, though you may say what you have to say well once, you cannot so say it twice. A difficulty somewhat of the same kind cannot fail to be felt by every one who takes upon himself to write on Burke; for however innocent a man's own past life may be of any public references to the subject, the very many good things other men have said about it must seriously interfere with true liberty of treatment

Hardly any man, and certainly no politician, has been so bepraised as Burke, whose very name, suggesting, as it does, splendour of diction, has tempted those who would praise him to do so in a highly decorated style, and it would have been easy work to have brought together a sufficient number of animated passages from the works of well-known writers all dedicated to the greater glory of Edmund Burke, and then to have tagged on half a dozen specimens of his own resplendent rhetoric, and so to have come to an apparently natural and long-desired conclusion without exciting any more than the usual post-lectorial grumble.

This course, however, not recommending itself, some other method had to be discovered. Happily, it is out of the question within present limits to give any proper summary of Burke's public life. This great man was not, like some modern politicians, a specialist, confining his activities within the prospectus of an association; nor was he, like some others, a thing of shreds and patches, busily employed to-day picking up the facts with which he will overwhelm his opponents on the morrow; but was one ever ready to engage with all comers on all subjects from out of the stores of his accumulated knowledge. Even were we to confine ourselves to those questions only which engaged Burke's most powerful attention, enlisted his most active sympathy, elicited his most bewitching rhetoric, we should still find ourselves called upon to grapple with problems as vast and varied as economic reform, the status of our Colonies, our Empire in India, our relations with Ireland both in respect to her trade and her prevalent religion; and then, blurring the picture, as some may think—certainly rendering it Titanesque and gloomy—we have the spectacle of Burke in his old age, like another Laocoön, writhing and wrestling with the French Revolution; and it

may serve to give us some dim notion of how great a man Burke was, of how affluent a mind, of how potent an imagination, of how resistless an energy, that even when his sole unassisted name is pitted against the outcome of centuries, and we say Burke and the French Revolution, we are not overwhelmed by any sense of obvious absurdity or incongruity.

What I propose to do is merely to consider a little Burke's life prior to his obtaining a seat in Parliament, and then to refer to any circumstances which may help us to account for the fact that this truly extraordinary man, whose intellectual resources beggar the imagination, and who devoted himself to politics with all the forces of his nature, never so much as attained to a seat in the Cabinet—a feat one has known to be accomplished by persons of no proved intellectual agility. Having done this, I shall then, bearing in mind the aphorism of Lord Beaconsfield that it is always better to be impudent than servile, essay an analysis of the essential elements of Burke's character

The first great fact to remember is that the Edmund Burke we are all agreed in regarding as one of the proudest memories of the House of Commons was an Irishman When we are in our next fit of political depression about that island, and are about piously to wish, as the poet Spenser tells us men were wishing even in his time, that it were not adjacent, let us do a little natural stocktaking, and calculate profits as well as losses Burke was not only an Irishman, but a typical one—of the very kind many Englishmen, and even possibly some Scotchmen, make a point of disliking. I do not say he was an aboriginal Irishman, but his ancestors are said to have settled in the county of Galway, under Strongbow, in King Henry II's time, when Ireland was first conquered and our troubles began This, at all events, is a better Irish pedigree than Mr Parnell's

Skipping six centuries, we find Burke's father an attorney in Dublin —which somehow sounds a very Irish thing to be—who in 1725 married a Miss Nagle, and had fifteen children The marriage of Burke's parents was of the kind called mixed—a term which doubtless admits of wide application, but when employed technically signifies that the religious faith of the spouses was different, one, the father, being a Protestant, and the lady an adherent to what used to be pleasantly called the "old religion" The severer spirit now dominating Catholic councils has condemned these marriages, on the score of their bad theology and their lax morality, but the practical politician, who is not usually much of a theologian—though Lord Melbourne and Mr Gladstone are distinguished exceptions—and whose moral conscience is apt to be robust (and here I believe there are no exceptions), cannot but regret that so good an opportunity of lubricating religious differences with the sweet oil of the domestic affections should be lost to us in these days of bitterness and dissension Burke was brought up in the Protestant faith of his father, and was never in any real danger of deviating from it; but I cannot doubt that his regard for his Catholic fellow-subjects, his fierce repudiation of the infamies of the Penal Code—whose horrors he did something to mitigate—his respect for antiquity, and his historic sense, were all quickened by the fact that a tenderly loved and loving mother belonged through life and in death to an ancient and an outraged faith.

The great majority of Burke's brothers and sisters, like those of Laurence Sterne, were "not made to live"; and out of the fifteen but three, besides himself, attained maturity. There were his eldest brother, Garrett, on whose death Edmund succeeded to the patrimonial Irish estate, which he sold; his younger brother, Richard, a highly speculative gentleman, who always lost, and his sister, Juliana, who married a Mr. French, and was, as became her mother's daughter, a rigid Roman Catholic—who, so we read, was accustomed every Christmas Day to invite to the Hall the maimed, the aged and distressed of her vicinity to a plentiful repast, during which she waited upon them as a servant. A sister like this never did any man any serious harm.

Edmund Burke was born in 1729, in Dublin, and was taught his rudiments in the country—first by a Mr O'Halloran, and afterward by a Mr. FitzGerald, village pedagogues both, who at all events succeeded in giving their charge a brogue which death alone could silence Burke passed from their hands to an academy at Ballitore, kept by a Quaker, from whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Dublin He was thus not only Irish born, but Irish bred His intellectual habit of mind exhibited itself early He belonged to the happy family of omnivorous readers, and, in the language of his latest schoolmaster, he went to college with a larger miscellaneous stock of reading than was usual with one of his years, which, being interpreted out of pedagogic into plain English, means that "our good Edmund" was an enormous devourer of poetry and novels, and so he remained to the end of his days. That he always preferred Fielding to Richardson is satisfactory, since it pairs him off nicely with Dr Johnson, whose preference was the other way, and so helps to keep an interesting question wide open His passion for the poetry of Virgil is significant His early devotion to Edward Young, the grandiose author of the *Night Thoughts*, is not to be wondered at; though the inspiration of the youthful Burke, either as poet or critic, may be questioned, when we find him rapturously scribbling in the margin of his copy

> "Jove claimed the verse old Homer sung,
> But God Himself inspired Dr Young" •

But a boy's enthusiasm for a favourite poet is a thing to rejoice over. The years that bring the philosophic mind will not bring—they must find—enthusiasm

In 1750, Burke (being then twenty-one) came for the first time to London, to do what so many of his lively young countrymen are still doing—though they are beginning to make a grievance even of that—eat his dinners at the Middle Temple, and so qualify himself for the Bar. Certainly that student was in luck who found himself in the same mess with Burke, and yet so stupid are men—so prone to rest with their full weight on the immaterial and slide over the essential—that had that good fortune been ours we should probably have been more taken up with Burke's brogue than with his brains. Burke came to London with a cultivated curiosity, and in no spirit of desperate determination to make his fortune. That the study of law interested him cannot be doubted, for everything interested him, particularly the stage.

Like the sensible Irishman he was, he lost his heart to Peg Woffington on the first opportunity. He was fond of roaming about the country, during, it is to be hoped, vacation-time only, and is to be found writing the most cheerful letters to his friends in Ireland (all of whom are persuaded that he is going some day to be somebody, though sorely puzzled to surmise what thing or when, so pleasantly does he take life), from all sorts of out-of-the-way country places, where he lodges with quaint old landladies who wonder maternally why he never gets drunk, and generally mistake him for an author until he pays his bill. When in town he frequented debating societies in Fleet Street and Covent Garden, and made his first speeches; for which purpose he would, unlike some debaters, devote studious hours to getting up the subjects to be discussed. There is good reason to believe that it was in this manner his attention was first directed to India. He was at all times a great talker, and, Dr. Johnson's dictum notwithstanding, a good listener. He was endlessly interested in everything—in the state of the crops, in the last play, in the details of all trades, the rhythm of all poems, the plots of all novels, and indeed in the course of every manufacture. And so for six years he went up and down, to and fro, gathering information, imparting knowledge, and preparing himself, though he knew not for what

The attorney in Dublin grew anxious, and searched for precedents of a son behaving like this, and rising to eminence Had his son got the legal mind?—which, according to a keen observer, chiefly displays itself by illustrating the obvious, explaining the evident, and expatiating on the commonplace. Edmund's powers of illustration, explanation and expatiation could not indeed be questioned, but then the subjects selected for the exhibition of these powers were very far indeed from being obvious, evident, or commonplace, and the attorney's heart grew heavy within him. The paternal displeasure was signified in the usual manner—the supplies were cut off Edmund Burke, however, was no ordinary prodigal, and his reply to his father's expostulations took the unexpected and unprecedented shape of a copy of a second and enlarged edition of his treatise on the *Sublime and Beautiful*, which he had published in 1756, at the price of three shillings Burke's father promptly sent the author a bank-bill for £100—conduct on his part, which, considering he had sent his son to London and maintained him there for six years to study law, was, in my judgment, both sublime and beautiful. In the same year Burke published another pamphlet—a one-and-sixpenny affair—written ironically, in the style of Lord Bolingbroke, and called *A Vindication of Natural Society*, or, *A View of the Miseries and Evils Arising to Mankind from every Species of Civil Society*. Irony is a dangerous weapon for a public man to have ever employed, and in after-life Burke had frequently to explain that he was not serious. On these two pamphlets' airy pinions Burke floated into the harbour of literary fame. No less a man than the great David Hume referred to him, in a letter to the hardly less great Adam Smith, as an Irish gentleman who had written a "very pretty treatise on the Sublime"

After these efforts, Burke, as became an established wit, went to Bath to recruit, and there, fitly enough, fell in love. The lady was Miss Jane Mary Nugent, the daughter of a celebrated Bath physician; and

it is pleasant to be able to say of the marriage that was shortly solemnized between the young couple, that it was a happy one, and then to go on our way, leaving them—where man and wife ought to be left—alone. Oddly enough, Burke's wife was also the offspring of a "mixed marriage"—only in her case it was the father who was the Catholic; consequently both Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Burke were of the same way of thinking, but each had a parent of the other way. Although getting married is no part of the curriculum of a law student, Burke's father seems to have come to the conclusion that after all it was a greater distinction for an attorney in Dublin to have a son living amongst the wits in London, and discoursing familiarly on the *Sublime and Beautiful*, than one prosecuting some poor countryman, with a brogue as rich as his own, for stealing a pair of breeches, for we find him generously allowing the young couple £200 a year, which no doubt went some way toward maintaining them.

Burke, who was now in his twenty-eighth year, seems to have given up all notion of the law. In 1758 he wrote for Dodsley the first volume of the *Annual Register*, a melancholy series which continues to this day. For doing this he got £100. Burke was by this time a well-known figure in London literary society, and was busy making for himself a huge private reputation The Christmas Day of 1758 witnessed a singular scene at the dinner-table of David Garrick Dr Johnson, then in the full vigour of his mind, and with the all-dreaded weapons of his dialectics kept burnished by daily use, was flatly contradicted by a fellow-guest some twenty years his junior, and, what is more, submitted to it without a murmur One of the diners, Arthur Murphy, was so struck by this occurrence, unique in his long experience of the Doctor, that on returning home he recorded the fact in his journal, but ventured no explanation of it It can only be accounted for—so at least I venture to think—by the combined effect of four wholly independent circumstances first, the day was Christmas Day, a day of peace and goodwill, and our beloved Doctor was amongst the sincerest, though most argumentative of Christians, and a great observer of days Second, the house was David Garrick's, and consequently we may be certain that the dinner had been a superlatively good one; and has not Boswell placed on record Johnson's opinion of the man who professed to be indifferent about his dinner? Third, the subject under discussion was India, about which Johnson knew he knew next to nothing And fourth, the offender was Edmund Burke, whom Johnson loved from the first day he set eyes upon him to their last sad parting by the waters of death

In 1761 that shrewd old gossip, Horace Walpole, met Burke for the first time at dinner, and remarks of him in a letter to George Montague: "I dined at Hamilton's yesterday; there were Garrick, and young Mr. Burke, who wrote a book in the style of Lord Bolingbroke, that was much admired. He is a sensible man, but has not worn off his authorism yet, and thinks there is nothing so charming as writers, and to be one He will know better one of these days."

But great as were Burke's literary powers and passionate as was his fondness for letters and for literary society, he never seems to have felt that the main burden of his life lay in that direction. He looked to the

public service, and this though he always believed that the pen of a great writer was a more powerful and glorious weapon than any to be found in the armoury of politics. This faith of his comes out sometimes queerly enough. For example, when Dr. Robertson in 1777 sent Burke his cheerful *History of America* in quarto volumes, Burke, in the most perfect good faith, closes a long letter of thanks thus: "You will smile when I send you a trifling temporary production made for the occasion of the day, and to perish with it, in return for your immortal work."

I have no desire, least of all in Edinburgh, to say anything disrespectful of Principal Robertson; but still, when we remember that the temporary production he got in exchange for his *History of America* was Burke's immortal letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol on the American War, we must, I think, be forced to admit that, as so often happens when a Scotchman and an Irishman do business together, the former got the better of the bargain.

Burke's first public employment was of a humble character, and might well have been passed over in a sentence, had it not terminated in a most delightful quarrel, in which Burke conducted himself like an Irishman of genius. Some time in 1759 he became acquainted with William Gerard Hamilton, commonly called "Single-speech Hamilton," on account of the celebrity he gained from his first speech in Parliament, and the steady way in which his oratorical reputation went on waning ever after. In 1761 this gentleman went over to Ireland as Chief Secretary, and Burke accompanied him as Secretary's secretary, or, in the unlicensed speech of Dublin, as Hamilton's jackal. This arrangement was eminently satisfactory to Hamilton, who found, as generations of men have found after him, Burke's brains very useful, and he determined to borrow them for the period of their joint lives. Animated by this desire, in itself praiseworthy, he busied himself in procuring for Burke a pension of £300 a year on the Irish establishment, and then the simple "Single-speech" thought the transaction closed. He had bought his poor man of genius, and paid for him on the nail with other people's money. Nothing remained but for Burke to draw his pension and devote the rest of his life to maintaining Hamilton's reputation. There is nothing at all unusual in this, and I have no doubt Burke would have stuck to his bargain, had not Hamilton conceived the fatal idea that Burke's brains were exclusively his (Hamilton's). Then the situation became one of risk and apparent danger.

Burke's imagination began playing round the subject: he saw himself a slave, blotted out of existence—mere fuel for Hamilton's flame. In a week he was in a towering passion. Few men can afford to be angry. It is a run upon their intellectual resources they cannot meet. But Burke's treasury could well afford the luxury; and his letters to Hamilton make delightful reading to those who, like myself, dearly love a dispute when conducted according to the rules of the game by men of great intellectual wealth. Hamilton demolished and reduced to stony silence, Burke sat down again and wrote long letters to all his friends, telling them the whole story from beginning to end. I must be allowed a quotation from one of these letters, for this really is not so frivolous a matter as I am afraid I have made it appear—a quotation

of which this much may be said, that nothing more delightfully Burkean is to be found anywhere:

"MY DEAR MASON: I am hardly able to tell you how much satisfaction I had in your letter. Your approbation of my conduct makes me believe much the better of you and myself; and I assure you that that approbation came to me very seasonably. Such proofs of a warm, sincere, and disinterested friendship were not wholly unnecessary to my support at a time when I experienced such bitter effects of the perfidy and ingratitude of much longer and much closer connections. The way in which you take up my affair binds me to you in a manner I cannot express; for to tell you the truth, I never can (knowing as I do the principles upon which I always endeavour to act) submit to any sort of compromise of my character; and I shall never, therefore, look upon those who, after hearing the whole story, do not think me perfectly in the right, and do not consider Hamilton an infamous scoundrel, to be in the smallest degree my friends, or even to be persons for whom I am bound to have the slightest esteem, as fair and just estimators of the characters and conduct of men. Situated as I am, and feeling as I do, I should be just as well pleased that they totally condemned me, as that they should say there were faults on both sides, or that it was a disputable case, as I hear is (I cannot forbear saying) the affected language of some persons . . . You cannot avoid remarking, my dear Mason, and I hope not without some indignation, the unparalleled singularity of my situation. Was ever a man before me expected to enter into formal, direct, and undisguised slavery? Did ever man before him confess an attempt to decoy a man into such an alleged contract, not to say anything of the impudence of regularly pleading it? If such an attempt be wicked and unlawful (and I am sure no one ever doubted it), I have only to confess his charge, and to admit myself his dupe, to make him pass, on his own showing, for the most consummate villain that ever lived. The only difference between us is, not whether he is not a rogue—for he not only admits but pleads the facts that demonstrate him to be so; but only whether I was such a fool as to sell myself absolutely for a consideration which, so far from being adequate, if any such could be adequate, is not even so much as certain. Not to value myself as a gentleman, a free man, a man of education, and one pretending to literature, is there any situation in life so low, or even so criminal, that can subject a man to the possibility of such an engagement? Would you dare attempt to bind your footman to such terms? Will the law suffer a felon sent to the plantations to bind himself for his life, and to renounce all possibility either of elevation or quiet? And am I to defend myself for not doing what no man is suffered to do, and what it would be criminal in any man to submit to? You will excuse me for this heat."

I not only excuse Burke for this heat, but love him for letting me warm my hands at it after a lapse of a hundred and twenty years.

Burke was more fortunate in his second master, for in 1765, being then thirty-six years of age, he became private secretary to the new

Prime Minister, the Marquis of Rockingham; was by the interest of Lord Verney returned to Parliament for Wendover, in Bucks; and on January 27, 1766, his voice was first heard in the House of Commons.

The Rockingham Ministry deserves well of the historian, and on the whole has received its deserts. Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Dowdeswell, and the rest of them, were good men and true, judged by an ordinary standard; and when contrasted with most of their political competitors, they almost approach the ranks of saints and angels. However, after a year and twenty days, his Majesty King George III managed to get rid of them, and to keep them at bay for fifteen years But their first term of office, though short, lasted long enough to establish a friendship of no ordinary powers of endurance between the chief members of the party and the Prime Minister's private secretary, who was at first, so ran the report, supposed to be a wild Irishman, whose real name was O'Bourke, and whose brogue seemed to require the allegation that its owner was a popish emissary It is satisfactory to notice how from the very first Burke's intellectual pre-eminence, character, and aims were clearly admitted and most cheerfully recognized by his political and social superiors, and in the long correspondence in which he engaged with most of them, there is not a trace to be found, on one side or the other, of anything approaching to either patronage or servility Burke advises them, exhorts them, expostulates with them, condemns their aristocratic languor, fans their feeble flames, drafts their motions, dictates their protests, visits their houses, and generally supplies them with facts, figures, poetry and romance To all this they submit with much humility The Duke of Richmond once indeed ventured to hint to Burke, with exceeding delicacy, that he (the Burke) had a small private estate to attend to as well as public affairs, but the validity of the excuse was not admitted The part Burke played for the next fifteen years with relation to the Rockingham party reminds me of the functions I have observed in lazy families by a soberly clad and eminently respectable person who pays them domiciliary visits, and, having admission everywhere, goes about mysteriously from room to room, winding up the clocks This is what Burke did for the Rockingham party—he kept it going

But, fortunately for us, Burke was not content with private adjuration, or even public speech His literary instincts, his dominating desire to persuade everybody that he, Edmund Burke, was absolutely in the right, and every one of his opponents hopelessly wrong, made him turn to the pamphlet as a propaganda, and in his hands

> "The thing became a trumpet, whence he blew
> Soul-animating strains"

So accustomed are we to regard Burke's pamphlets as specimens of our noblest literature, and to see them printed in comfortable volumes, that we are apt to forget that in their origin they were but the children of the pavement, the publications of the hour. If, however, you visit any old public library, and grope about a little, you are likely enough to find a shelf holding some twenty-five or thirty musty, ugly little books, usually lettered "Burke," and on opening any of them you will come across one of Burke's pamphlets as originally issued, bound up with the replies and

counter-pamphlets it occasioned. I have frequently tried, but always in vain, to read these replies, which are pretentious enough—usually the work of deans, members of Parliament, and other dignitaries of the class Carlyle used compendiously to describe as "shovel-hatted" and each of whom was as much entitled to publish pamphlets as Burke himself There are some things it is very easy to do, and to write a pamphlet is one of them; but to write such a pamphlet as future generations will read with delight is perhaps the most difficult feat in literature. Milton Swift, Burke, and Sydney Smith are, I think, our only great pamphleteers.

I have now rather more than kept my word so far as Burke's pre-Parliamentary life is concerned, and will proceed to mention some of the circumstances that may serve to account for the fact that when the Rockingham party came into power for the second time, in 1782, Burke, who was their life and soul, was only rewarded with a minor office. First, then, it must be recorded sorrowfully of Burke that he was always desperately in debt, and in this country no politician under the rank of a baronet can ever safely be in debt. Burke's finances are, and always have been, marvels and mysteries, but one thing must be said of them—that the malignity of his enemies, both Tory enemies and Radical enemies, has never succeeded in formulating any charge of dishonesty against him that has not been at once completely pulverized, and shown on the facts to be impossible Burke's purchase of the estate at Beaconsfield in 1768, only two years after he entered Parliament, consisting as it did of a good house and 1,600 acres of land, has puzzled a great many good men—much more than it ever did Edmund Burke. But how did he get the money? After an Irish fashion—by not getting it at all. Two-thirds of the purchase-money remained on mortgage, and the balance he borrowed; or, as he puts it, "With all I could collect of my own and by the aid of my friends, I have established a root in the country." That is how Burke bought Beaconsfield, where he lived till his end came; whither he always hastened when his sensitive mind was tortured by the thought of how badly men governed the world; where he entertained all sorts and conditions of men—Quakers, Brahmins (for whose ancient rites he provided suitable accommodation in a greenhouse), nobles, and abbés flying from revolutionary France, poets, painters, and peers, no one of whom ever long remained a stranger to his charm

Burke flung himself into farming with all the enthusiasm of his nature. His letters to Arthur Young on the subject of carrots still tremble with emotion

You all know Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*. You remember—it is hard to forget—his speech on Conciliation with America, particularly the magnificent passage beginning. "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and a great empire and little minds go ill together." You have echoed back the words in which, in his letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol on the hateful American War, he protests that it was not instantly he could be brought to rejoice when he heard of the slaughter and captivity of long lists of those whose names had been familiar in his ears from infancy, and you would all join with me in subscribing to a fund which should have for its object the printing and hanging up over every editor's desk in town and country a

subsequent passage from the same letter: "A conscientious man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play without any knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion. The poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man. But I cannot conceive any existence under heaven (which in the depths of its wisdom tolerates all sorts of things) that is more truly odious and disgusting than an impotent, helpless creature, without civil wisdom of military skill, bloated with pride and arrogance, calling for battles which he is not to fight, and contending for a violent dominion which he can never exercise . . . If you and I find our talents not of the great and ruling kind, our conduct at least is conformable to our faculties. No man's life pays the forfeit of our rashness. No desolate widow weeps tears of blood over our ignorance Scrupulous and sober in a well-grounded distrust of ourselves, we would keep in the port of peace and security, and perhaps, in recommending to others something of the same diffidence, we should show ourselves more charitable to their welfare than injurious to their abilities "

You have laughed over Burke's account of how all Lord Talbot's schemes for the reform of the king's household were dashed to pieces, because the turnspit of the king's kitchen was a member of Parliament. You have often pondered over that miraculous passage in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, describing the devastation of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—a passage which Mr John Morley says fills the young orator with the same emotions of enthusiasm, emulation, and despair that (according to the same authority) invariably torment the artist who first gazes on " The Madonna " at Dresden, or the figures of " Night " and " Dawn " at Florence

All these things you know, else are you mighty self-denying of your pleasures But it is just possible you may have forgotten the following extract from one of Burke's farming letters to Arthur Young ·

" One of the grand points in controversy (a controversy indeed chiefly carried on between practice and speculation) is that of deep ploughing In your last volume you seem, on the whole, rather against that practice, and have given several reasons for your judgment which deserve to be very well considered In order to know how we ought to plough, we ought to know what end it is we propose to ourselves in that operation The first and instrumental end is to divide the soil, the last and ultimate end, so far as regards the plants, is to facilitate the pushing of the blade upwards, and the shooting of the roots in all the inferior directions There is further proposed a more ready admission of external influences—the rain, the sun, the air charged with all those heterogeneous contents, some, possibly all, of which are necessary for the nourishment of the plants. By ploughing deep you answer these ends in a greater mass of the soil. This would seem in favour of deep ploughing as nothing else than accomplishing in a more perfect manner, those very ends for which you

are induced to plough at all. But doubts here arise, only to be solved by experiment. First, is it quite certain that it is good for the ear and grain of farinaceous plants that their roots should spread and descend into the ground to the greatest possible distances and depths? Is there not some limit to this? We know that in timber, what makes one part flourish does not equally conduce to the benefit of all; and that which may be beneficial to the wood does not equally contribute to the quantity and goodness of the fruit; and, *vice versa*, that which increases the fruit largely is often far from serviceable to the tree. Secondly, is that looseness to great depths, supposing it is useful to one of the species of plants, equally useful to all? Thirdly, though the external influences—the rain, the sun, the air—act undoubtedly a part, and a large part, in vegetation, does it follow that they are equally salutary in any quantities, at any depths? Or that, though it may be useful to diffuse one of these agents as extensively as may be in the earth, that therefore it will be equally useful to render the earth in the same degree pervious to all? It is a dangerous way of reasoning in physics, as well as morals, to conclude, because a given proportion of anything is advantageous, that the double will be quite as good, or that it will be good at all. Neither in the one nor the other is it always true that two and two make four"

This is magnificent, but it is not farming, and you will easily believe that Burke's attempts to till the soil were more costly than productive. Farming, if it is to pay, is a pursuit of small economies; and Burke was far too Asiatic, tropical and splendid to have anything to do with small economies His expenditure, like his rhetoric, was in the "grand style" He belongs to Charles Lamb's great race, "the men who borrow." But indeed it was not so much that Burke borrowed as that men lent Right-feeling men did not wait to be asked. Dr Brocklesby, that good physician, whose name breathes like a benediction through the pages of the biographies of the best men of his time, who soothed Dr. Johnson's last melancholy hours, and for whose supposed heterodoxy the dying man displayed so tender a solicitude, wrote to Burke, in the strain of a timid suitor proposing for the hand of a proud heiress, to know whether Burke would be so good as to accept £1,000 at once, instead of waiting for the writer's death Burke felt no hesitation in obliging so old a friend. Garrick, who, though fond of money, was as generous-hearted a fellow as ever brought down a house, lent Burke £1,000 Sir Joshua Reynolds, who has been reckoned stingy, by his will left Burke £2,000 and forgave him another £2,000 which he had lent him The Marquis of Rockingham by his will directed all Burke's bonds held by him to be cancelled. They amounted to £30,000. Burke's patrimonial estate was sold by him for £4,000; and I have seen it stated that he had received altogether from family sources as much as £20,000 And yet he was always poor, and was glad at the last to accept pensions from the Crown in order that he might not leave his wife a beggar. This good lady survived her illustrious husband twelve years, and seemed as his widow to have some success in paying his bills, for at her death all remaining demands were found to be discharged. For receiving this pension Burke

was assailed by the Duke of Bedford, a most pleasing act of ducal fatuity, since it enabled the pensioner, not bankrupt of his wit, to write a pamphlet, now of course a cherished classic, and introduce into it a few paragraphs about the House of Russell and the cognate subject of grants from the Crown.

But enough of Burke's debts and difficulties, which I only mention because all through his life they were cast up against him. Had Burke been a moralist of the calibre of Charles James Fox, he might have amassed a fortune large enough to keep up half-a-dozen Beaconsfields, by simply doing what all his predecessors in the office he held, including Fox's own father, the truly infamous first Lord Holland, had done—namely, by retaining for his own use the interest on all balances of the public money from time to time in his hands as Paymaster of the Forces But Burke carried his passion for good government into actual practice, and, cutting down the emoluments of his office to a salary (a high one, no doubt), effected a saving to the country of some £25,000 a year, every farthing of which might have gone without remark into his own pocket.

Burke had no vices, save of style and temper; nor was any of his expenditure a profligate squandering of money. It all went in giving employment or disseminating kindness He sent the painter Barry to study art in Italy. He saved the poet Crabbe from starvation and despair, and thus secured to the country one who owns the unrivalled distinction of having been the favourite poet of the three greatest intellectual factors of the age (scientific men excepted)—Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Cardinal Newman Yet so distorted are men's views that the odious and anti-social excesses of Fox at the gambling-table are visited with a blame usually wreathed in smiles, whilst the financial irregularities of a noble and pure-minded man are thought fit matter for the fiercest censure or the most lordly contempt

Next to Burke's debts, some of his companions and intimates did him harm and injured his consequence His brother Richard, whose brogue we are given to understand was simply appalling, was a good-for-nothing, with a dilapidated reputation. Then there was another Mr. Burke, who was no relation, but none the less was always about, and to whom it was not safe to lend money. Burke's son too, whose death he mourned so pathetically, seems to have been a failure, and is described by a candid friend as a nauseating person To have a decent following is important in politics.

A third reason must be given · Burke's judgment of men and things was often wrong and violent The story of Powell and Bembridge, two knaves in Burke's own office, whose cause he espoused, and whom he insisted on reinstating in the public service after they had been dismissed, and maintaining them there, in spite of all protests, till the one had the grace to cut his throat and the other was sentenced by the Queen's Bench to a term of imprisonment and a heavy fine, is too long to be told, though it makes interesting reading in the twenty-second volume of Howell's *State Trials*, where at the end of the report is to be found the following note "The proceedings against Messrs. Powell and Bembridge occasioned much animated discussion in the House of Commons,

in which Mr. Burke warmly supported the accused. The compassion which on these and all other occasions was manifested by Mr. Burke for the sufferings of those public delinquents, the zeal with which he advocated their cause, and the eagerness with which he endeavoured to extenuate their criminality, have received severe reprehension, and in particular when contrasted with his subsequent conduct in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings."

The real reason for Burke's belief in Bembridge is, I think, to be found in the evidence Burke gave on his behalf at the trial before Lord Mansfield Bembridge had rendered Burke invaluable assistance in carrying out his reforms at the Paymaster's Office, and Burke was constitutionally unable to believe that a rogue could be on his side; but, indeed, Burke was too apt to defend bad causes with a scream of passion, and a politician who screams is never likely to occupy a commanding place in the House of Commons A last reason for Burke's exclusion from high office is to be found in his aversion to any measure of Parliamentary Reform An ardent reformer like the Duke of Richmond—the then Duke of Richmond—who was in favour of annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and payment of members, was not likely to wish to associate himself too closely with a politician who wept with emotion at the bare thought of depriving Old Sarum of parliamentary representation.

These reasons account for Burke's exclusion, and jealous as we naturally and properly are of genius being snubbed by mediocrity, my reading at all events does not justify me in blaming any one but the Fates for the circumstance that Burke was never a Secretary of State. And after all, does it matter much what he was? Burke no doubt occasionally felt his exclusion a little hard; but he is the victor who remains in possession of the field, and Burke is now, for us and for all coming after us in such possession.

It now only remains for me, drawing upon my stock of assurance, to essay the analysis of the essential elements of Burke's mental character, and I therefore at once proceed to say that it was Burke's peculiarity and his glory to apply the imagination of a poet of the first order to the facts and the business of life Arnold says of Sophocles:

"He saw life steadily, and saw it whole"

Substitute for the word "life" the words "organized society," and you get a peep into Burke's mind. There was a catholicity about his gaze He knew how the whole world lived Everything contributed to this his vast desultory reading; his education, neither wholly academical nor entirely professional, his wanderings up and down the country, his vast conversational powers; his enormous correspondence with all sorts of people; his unfailing interest in all pursuits, trades, manufactures—all helped to keep before him, like motes dancing in a sunbeam, the huge organism of modern society, which requires for its existence and for its development the maintenance of credit and of order. Burke's imagination led him to look out over the whole land: the legislator devising new laws, the judge expounding and enforcing old ones, the merchant despatching his goods and extending his credit,

the banker advancing the money of his customers upon the credit of the merchant, the frugal man slowly accumulating the store which is to support him in old age, the ancient institutions of Church and University with their seemly provisions for sound learning and true religion, the parson in his pulpit, the poet pondering his rhymes, the farmer eyeing his crops, the painter covering his canvases, the player educating the feelings—Burke saw all this with the fancy of a poet, and dwelt on it with the eye of a lover.

But love is the parent of fear, and none knew better than Burke how thin is the lava layer between the costly fabric of society and the volcanic heats and destroying flames of anarchy. He trembled for the fair frame of all established things, and to his horror saw men, instead of covering the thin surface with the concrete, digging in it for abstractions, and asking fundamental questions about the origin of society, and why one man should be born rich and another poor Burke was no prating optimist, it was his very knowledge how much could be said against society that quickened his fears for it There is no shallower criticism than that which accuses Burke in his later years of apostasy from so-called Liberal opinions Burke was all his life through a passionate maintainer of the established order of things and a ferocious hater of abstractions and metaphysical politics The same ideas that explode like bombs through his diatribes against the French Revolution are to be found shining with a mild effulgence in the comparative calm of his earlier writings. I have often been struck with a resemblance, which I hope is not wholly fanciful, between the attitude of Burke's mind toward government and that of Cardinal Newman toward religion. Both these great men belong, by virtue of their imaginations, to the poetic order, and they both are to be found dwelling with amazing eloquence, detail, and wealth of illustration on the varied elements of society Both seem as they write to have one hand on the pulse of the world, and to be forever alive to the throb of its action, and Burke, as he regarded humanity swarming like bees into and out of their hives of industry, is ever asking himself How are these men to be saved from anarchy? while Newman puts to himself the question How are these men to be saved from atheism? Both saw the perils of free inquiry divorced from practical affairs

"Civil freedom," says Burke, "is not, as many have endeavoured to persuade you, a thing that lies hid in the depth of abstruse science It is a blessing and a benefit, not an abstract speculation, and all the just reasoning that can be upon it is of so coarse a texture as perfectly to suit the ordinary capacities of those who are to enjoy and of those who are to defend it"

"Tell me," says Cardinal Newman, "to gain notions of a Creator from His works, and if they were to set about it (which nobody does), they would be jaded and wearied by the labyrinth they were tracing; their minds would be gorged and surfeited by the logical operation To most men argument makes the point in hand more doubtful and considerably less impressive After all, man is not a reasoning animal, he is a seeing, feeling, contemplating, acting animal."

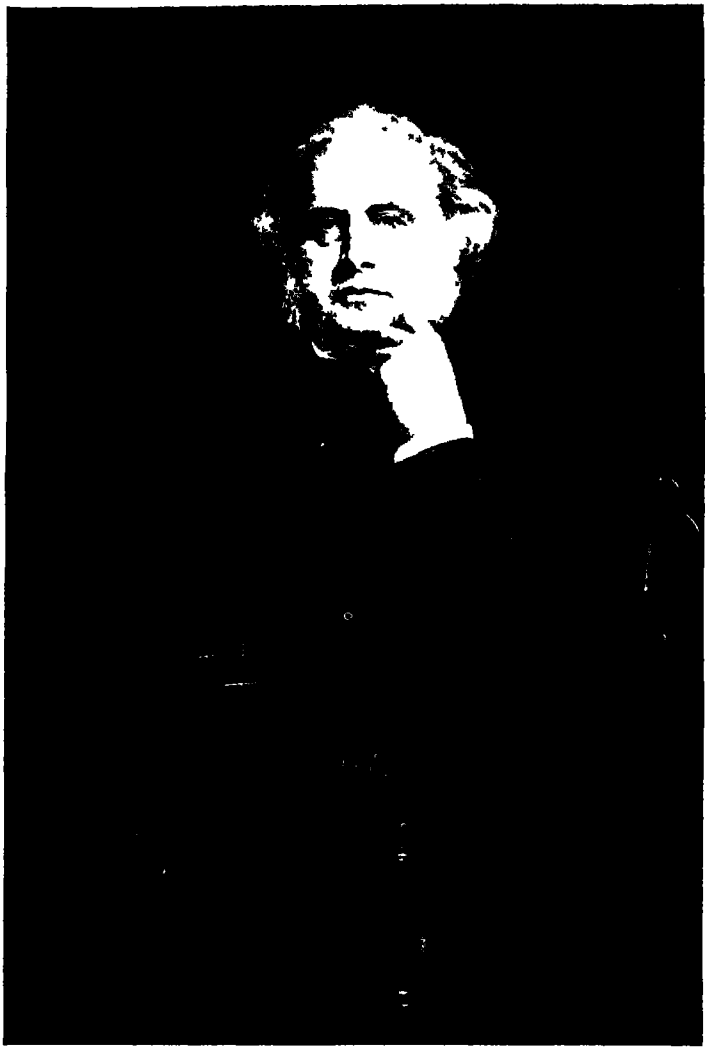
Burke is fond of telling us that he is no lawyer, no antiquarian, but

a plain, practical man; and the Cardinal, in like manner, is ever insisting that he is no theologian—he leaves everything of that sort to the Schools, whatever they may be, and simply deals with religion on its practical side as a benefit to mankind.

If either of these great men has been guilty of intellectual excesses, those of Burke may be attributed to his dread of anarchy, those of Newman to his dread of atheism. Neither of them was prepared to rest content with a scientific frontier, an imaginary line So much did they dread their enemy, so alive were they to the terrible strength of some of his positions, that they could not agree to dispense with the protection afforded by the huge mountains of prejudice and the ancient rivers of custom The sincerity of either man can only be doubted by the bigot and the fool

But Burke, apart from his fears, had a constitutional love for old things, simply because they were old Anything mankind had ever worshipped, or venerated, or obeyed, was dear to him I have already referred to his providing his Brahmins with a greenhouse for the purpose of their rites, which he watched from outside with great interest One cannot fancy Cardinal Newman peeping through a window to see men worshipping false though ancient gods Warren Hasting's high-handed dealings with the temples and time-honoured if scandalous customs of the Hindoos filled Burke with horror So, too, he respected Quakers, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and all those whom he called Constitutional Dissenters He has a fine passage somewhere about Rust, for with all his passion for good government he dearly loved a little rust. In this phase of character he reminds one not a little of another great writer—whose death literature has still reason to deplore—George Eliot, who, in her love for old hedgerows and barns and crumbling, moss-grown walls, was a writer after Burke's own heart, whose novels he would have sat up all night to devour, for did he not deny with warmth Gibbons's statement that he had read all five volumes of *Evelina* in a day? "The thing is impossible," cried Burke; "they took me three days, doing nothing else" Now, *Evelina* is a good novel, but *Silas Marner* is a better

Wordsworth has been called the High Priest of Nature. Burke may be called the High Priest of Order—a lover of settled ways, of justice, peace and security His writings are a storehouse of wisdom, not the cheap shrewdness of the mere man of the world, but the noble, animating wisdom of one who has the poet's heart as well as the statesman's brain Nobody is fit to govern this country who has not drunk deep at the springs of Burke "Have you read your Burke?" is at least as sensible a question to put to a parliamentary candidate as to ask him whether he is a total abstainer or a desperate drunkard. Something there may be about Burke to regret, and more to dispute; but that he loved justice and hated iniquity is certain, as also it is that for the most part he dwelt in the paths of purity, humanity and good sense. May we be found adhering to them!



JOHN BRIGHT
(From the Portrait in the National Portrait Gallery)

JOHN BRIGHT

THE ANGEL OF DEATH

Speech delivered in the House of Commons on February 23, 1855, and which has become historic as the "Angel of Death" Speech

MR. SPEAKER: I am one of those, forming the majority of the House, I suspect, who are disposed to look upon our present position as one of more than ordinary gravity. I am one, also, of those, not probably constituting so great a majority of the House, who regret extremely the circumstances which have obliged the right hon. gentlemen who are now upon this bench to secede from the Government of the noble lord the member for Tiverton.

I do not take upon me for a moment to condemn them; because I think, if there be anything in which a man must judge for himself, it is whether he should take office if it be offered to him, whether he should secede from office, whether he should serve under a particular leader, or engage in the service of the Crown, or retain office in a particular emergency. In such cases I think that the decision must be left to his own conscience and his own judgment; and I should be the last person to condemn any one for the decision to which he might come. I think, however, that the speech of the right hon. gentleman is one which the House cannot have listened to without being convinced that he and his retiring colleagues have been moved to the course which they have taken by a deliberate judgment upon this question, which, whether it be right or wrong, is fully explained, and is honest to the House and to the country.

Now, Sir, I said that I regretted their secession, because I am one of those who do not wish to see the Government of the noble lord the member for Tiverton overthrown. The House knows well, and nobody knows better than the noble lord, that I have never been one of his ardent and enthusiastic supporters. I have often disapproved of his policy both at home and abroad; but I hope that I do not bear to him, as I can honestly say that I do not bear to any man in this House—for from all I have received unnumbered courtesies—any feeling that takes even the tinge of a personal animosity; and even if I did, at a moment so grave as this, no feeling of a personal character whatever should prevent me from doing that which I think now, of all times, we are called upon to do—that which we honestly and conscientiously believe to be for the permanent interests of the country. We are in this position, that for a month past, at least, there has been a chaos in the regions of the Administration. Nothing can be more embarrassing—I had almost said nothing can be more humiliating—than the position

which we offer to the country; and I am afraid that the knowledge of our position is not confined to the limits of these islands

It will be admitted that we want a Government; that if the country is to be saved from the breakers which now surround it, there must be a Government; and it devolves upon the House of Commons to rise to the gravity of the occasion, and to support any man who is conscious of his responsibility, and who is honestly offering and endeavouring to deliver the country from the embarrassment in which we now find it. We are at war, and I shall not say one single sentence with regard to the policy of the war or its origin, and I know not that I shall say a single sentence with regard to the conduct of it; but the fact is that we are at war with the greatest military Power, probably, of the world, and that we are carrying on our operations at a distance of 3,000 miles from home, and in the neighbourhood of the strongest fortifications of that great military Empire.

I will not stop to criticize—though it really invites me—the fact that some who have told us that we were in danger from the aggressions of that Empire, at the same time told us that that Empire was powerless for aggression, and also that it was impregnable to attack By some means, however, the public have been alarmed as if that aggressive power were unbounded, and they have been induced to undertake an expedition, as if the invasion on an impregnable country were a matter of holiday-making rather than of war

But we are now in a peculiar position with regard to that war, for, if I am not mistaken—and I think I gathered as much from the language of the right hon. gentleman—at this very moment terms have been agreed upon—agreed upon by the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, consented to by the noble lord the member for Tiverton when he was in that Cabinet, and ratified and confirmed by him upon the formation of his own Government—and that those terms are now specifically known and understood, and that they have been offered to the Government with which this country is at war, and in conjunction with France and Austria—one, certainly, and the other supposed to be, an ally of this country

Now, those terms consist of four propositions, which I shall neither describe nor discuss, because they are known to the House; but three of them are not matters of dispute, and with regard to the other I think that the noble lord the member for the City of London stated, upon a recent occasion, that it was involved in this proposition—that the preponderant power of Russia in the Black Sea should cease, and that Russia had accepted it with that interpretation Therefore, whatever difference arises is merely as to the mode in which that "preponderant power" shall be understood, or made to cease Now, there are some gentlemen not far from me—there are men who write in the public press—there are thousands of persons in the United Kingdom at this moment—and I learn with astonishment and dismay that there are persons even in that grave assembly which we are not allowed to specify by a name in this House—who have entertained dreams—impracticable theories—expectations of vast European and Asiatic changes, of revived nationalities, and of a new map of Europe, if not of the world,

as a result or an object of this war. And it is from those gentlemen that we hear continually, addressed to the noble lord the member for Tiverton, language which I cannot well understand. They call upon him to act, to carry on the war with vigour, and to prosecute enterprises which neither his Government nor any other Government has ever seriously entertained; but I would appeal to those gentlemen whether it does not become us—regarding the true interests and the true honour of the country—if our Government have offered terms of peace to Russia, not to draw back from those terms, not to cause any unnecessary delay, not to adopt any subterfuge to prevent those terms being accepted, not to attempt shuffles of any kind, not to endeavour to insist upon harder terms, and thus make the approach of peace even still more distant than it is at present?

Whatever may be said about the honour of the country in any other relation involved in this affair, this, at least, I expect every man who hears me to admit—that if terms of peace have been offered they have been offered in good faith, and shall be in honour and good faith adhered to; so that if, unfortunately for Europe and humanity, there should be any failure at Vienna, no man should point to the English Government and to the authorities and rulers of this Christian country, and say that we have prolonged the war and the infinite calamities of which it is the cause.

I have said that I was anxious that the Government of the noble lord should not be overthrown Will the House allow me to say why I am so? The noble lord at the head of the Government has long been a great authority with many persons in this country upon foreign policy. His late colleague, and present envoy to Vienna, has long been a great authority with a large portion of the people of this country upon almost all political questions. With the exception of that unhappy selection of an Ambassador at Constantinople, I hold that there are no men in this country more truly responsible for our present position in this war than the noble lord who now fills the highest office in the State and the noble lord who is now, I trust, rapidly approaching the scene of his labours in Vienna I do not say this now to throw blame upon those noble lords, because their policy, which I hold to be wrong, *they, without doubt, as firmly believe to be right; but I am only stating* facts It has been their policy that they have entered into war for certain objects, and I am sure that neither the noble lord at the head of the Government nor his late colleague the noble lord the member for London, will shrink from the responsibility which attaches to them

Well, Sir, now we have those noble lords in a position which is, in my humble opinion, favourable to the termination of the troubles which exist. I think that the noble lord at the head of the Government himself would have more influence in stilling whatever may exist of clamour in this country than any other member of this House I think, also, that the noble lord the member for London would not have undertaken the mission to Vienna if he had not entertained some strong belief, that by so doing, he might bring the war to an end. Nobody gains reputation by a failure in negotiation, and as the noble lord is well acquainted with the whole question from beginning to end, I entertain a hope—I

will not say a sanguine hope—that the result of that mission to Vienna will be to bring about a peace, to extricate this country from some of those difficulties inseparable from a state of war.

There is one subject upon which I should like to put a question to the noble lord at the head of the Government. I shall not say one word here about the state of the army in the Crimea, or one word about its numbers or its condition. Every member of this House, every inhabitant of this country, has been sufficiently harrowed with details regarding it To my solemn belief, thousands—nay, scores of thousands of persons—have retired to rest night after night, whose slumbers have been disturbed or whose dreams have been based upon the sufferings and agonies of our soldiers in the Crimea I should like to ask the noble lord at the head of the Government—although I am not sure if he will feel that he can or ought to answer the question—whether the noble lord the member for London has power, after discussions have commenced, and as soon as there shall be established good grounds for believing that the negotiations for peace will prove successful, to enter into any armistice? (No, no!)

I know not, Sir, who it is that says "No, no!" but I should like to see any man get up and say that the destruction of 200,000 human lives lost on all sides during the course of this unhappy conflict is not a sufficient sacrifice. You are not pretending to conquer territory—you are not pretending to hold fortified or unfortified towns; you have offered terms of peace which, as I understood them, I do not say are not moderate; and breathes there a man in this House or in this country whose appetite for blood is so insatiable that, even when terms of peace have been offered and accepted, he pines for that assault in which, of Russian, Turk, French and English, as sure as one man dies, 20,000 corpses will strew the streets of Sebastopol? I say I should like to ask the noble lord, and I am sure that he will feel, and that this House will feel, that I am speaking in no unfriendly manner towards the Government of which he is at the head—I should like to know and I venture to hope that it is so, if the noble lord the member for London has power, at the earliest stage of these proceedings at Vienna at which it can properly be done—and I should think that it might properly be done at a very early stage—to adopt a course by which all further waste of human life may be put an end to and further animosity between three great nations be, as far as possible, prevented

I appeal to the noble lord at the head of the Government and to this House; I am not now complaining of the war—I am not now complaining of the terms of peace, nor, indeed, of anything that has been done—but I wish to suggest to this House what, I believe, thousands and tens of thousands of the most educated and of the most Christian portion of the people of this country are feeling upon this subject, although, indeed, in the midst of a certain clamour in the country, they do not give public expression to their feelings. Your country is not in an advantageous state at this moment; from one end of the kingdom to the other there is a general collapse of industry. Those members of this House not intimately acquainted with the trade and commerce of the country do not fully comprehend our position as to the diminution of employment and the lessening of wages. An increase in the

cost of living is finding its way to the homes and hearts of a vast number of the labouring population.

At the same time there is growing up—and, notwithstanding what some hon. members of this House may think of me, no man regrets it more than I do—a bitter and angry feeling against that class which has for a long period conducted the public affairs of this country. I like political changes when such changes are made as the result, not of passion, but of deliberation and reason. Changes so made are safe, but changes made under the influence of violent exaggeration, or of the violent passions of public meetings, are not changes usually approved by this House or advantageous to the country. I cannot but notice, in speaking to gentlemen who sit on either side of this House, or in speaking to any one I meet between this House and any of those localities we frequent when this House is up—I cannot, I say, but notice that an uneasy feeling exists as to the news which may arrive by the very next mail from the East. I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return—many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive

The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the very beating of his wings. There is no one to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the side posts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; but he calls at the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, equally as at the cottage of the humble, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal

I tell the noble lord, that if he be ready honestly and frankly to endeavour, if possible, by the negotiations to be opened at Vienna, to put an end to this war, no word of mine, no vote of mine, will be given to shake his power for one single moment, or to change his position in this House. I am sure the noble lord is not inaccessible to appeals made to him from honest motives and with the deferential feeling that he has been for more than forty years a member of this House. The noble lord, before I was born, sat upon the Treasury bench, and he has devoted his life to the service of his country. He is no longer young, and his life has extended almost to the term allotted to man. I would ask, I would entreat the noble lord to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career—whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—cannot but be a source of gratification. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the laudable object of his ambition—having become the foremost subject of the Crown, the dispenser of, it may be, the destinies of his country, and the presiding genius in her councils—he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition, that he had returned the sword to the scabbard—that at his word torrents of blood had ceased to flow—that he had restored tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war.

"Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres"

Hor 1, Od LV. 13, 14

EDMUND BURKE

CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA

House of Commons, March 22, 1775

MR SPEAKER:

I hope, Sir, that, notwithstanding the austerity of the chair, your good nature will incline you into some degree of indulgence towards human frailty. You will not think it unnatural that those who have an object depending, which strongly engages their hopes and fears, should be somewhat inclined to superstition. As I came into the House full of anxiety about the event of my motion, I found to my infinite surprise that the grand penal bill, by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America, is to be returned to us from the other House I do confess, I could not help looking on this event as a fortunate omen I look upon it as a sort of providential favour, by which we are put once more in possession of our deliberative capacity, upon a business so very questionable in its nature, so very uncertain in its issue By the return of this bill, which seemed to have taken its flight forever, we are, at this very instant, nearly as free to choose a plan for our American Government as we were on the first day of the session. If, Sir, we incline to the side of conciliation, we are not at all embarrassed (unless we please to make ourselves so) by any incongruous mixture of coercion and restraint We are therefore called upon, as it were, by a superior warning voice again to attend to America; to attend to the whole of it together, and to view the subject with an unusual degree of care and calmness

Surely it is an awful subject, or there is none so on this side of the grave. When I first had the honour of a seat in this House, the affairs of that continent pressed themselves upon us as the most important and most delicate object of Parliamentary attention. My little share in this great deliberation oppressed me I found myself a partaker in a very high trust and having no sort of reason to rely on the strength of my natural abilities for the proper execution of that trust, I was obliged to take more than common pains to instruct myself in everything which relates to our colonies. I was not less under the necessity of forming some fixed ideas concerning the general policy of the British Empire. Something of this sort seemed to be indispensable, in order, amid so vast a fluctuation of passions and opinions, to concentrate my thoughts; to ballast my conduct; to preserve me from being blown about by every wind of fashionable doctrine. I really did not think it safe or manly to have fresh principles to seek upon every fresh mail which should arrive from America.

At that period I had the fortune to find myself in perfect concurrence with a large majority in this House. Bowing under that high authority, and penetrated with the sharpness and strength of that early impression, I have continued ever since in my original sentiments without the least deviation Whether this be owing to an obstinate perseverance in error, or to a religious adherence to what appears to me truth and reason, it is in your equity to judge.

Sir, Parliament having an enlarged view of objects, made, during this interval, more frequent changes in their sentiment and their conduct than could be justified in a particular person upon the contracted scale of private information. But though I do not hazard anything approaching to a censure on the motives of former Parliaments to all those alterations, one fact is undoubted—that under them the state of America has been kept in continual agitation Everything administered as remedy to the public complaint if it did not produce, was at least followed by, a heightening of the distemper, until, by a variety of experiments, that important country has been brought into her present situation—a situation which I will not miscall, which I dare not name, which I scarcely know how to comprehend in the terms of any description.

In this posture, Sir, things stood at the beginning of the session. About that time, a worthy member of great Parliamentary experience, who, in the year 1766, filled the chair of the American Committee with much ability, took me aside, and, lamenting the present aspect of our politics, told me things were come to such a pass that our former methods of proceeding in the House would be no longer tolerated That the public tribunal (never too indulgent to a long and unsuccessful opposition) would now scrutinize our conduct with unusual severity. That the very vicissitudes and shiftings of ministerial measures, instead of convicting their authors of inconstancy and want of system, would be taken as an occasion of charging us with a predetermined discontent which nothing could satisfy, while we accused every measure of vigour as cruel, and every proposal of lenity as weak and irresolute The public, he said, would not have patience to see us play the game out with our adversaries, we must produce our hand. It would be expected that those who, for many years, had been active in such affairs should show that they had formed some clear and decided principles of colony government and were capable of drawing out something like a platform of the ground which might be laid for future and permanent tranquillity

I felt the truth of what my honourable friend represented, but I felt my situation, too. His application might have been made with far greater propriety to many other gentlemen No man was, indeed, ever better disposed or worse qualified for such an undertaking than myself. Though I gave so far into his opinion that I immediately threw my thoughts into a sort of Parliamentary form, I was by no means equally ready to produce them. It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind, or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of government, except from a seat of authority Propositions are made, not only ineffectually, but somewhat disreputably, when the minds of men are not properly disposed for their reception; and, for

my part, I am not ambitious of ridicule—not absolutely a candidate for disgrace.

Besides, Sir, to speak the plain truth, I have in general no very exalted opinion of the virtue of paper government, nor of any politics in which the plan is to be wholly separated from the execution. But when I saw that anger and violence prevailed every day more and more, and that things were hastening towards an incurable alienation of our colonies, I confess my caution gave way. I felt this as one of those few moments in which decorum yields to a higher duty. Public calamity is a mighty leveller, and there are occasions when any, even the slightest, chance of doing good, must be laid hold on, even by the most inconsiderable person.

To restore order and repose to an empire so great and distracted as ours, is merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius, and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding Struggling a good while with these thoughts, by degrees I felt myself more firm. I derived, at length, some confidence from what in other circumstances usually produces timidity. I grew less anxious, even from the idea of my own insignificance. For judging of what you are by what you ought to be, I persuaded myself that you would not reject a reasonable proposition because it had nothing but its reason to recommend it. On the other hand, being totally destitute of all shadow of influence, natural or adventitious, I was very sure that if my proposition were futile or dangerous—if it were weakly conceived or improperly timed, there was nothing exterior to it of power to awe, dazzle, or delude you You will see it just as it is, and you will treat it just as it deserves

The PROPOSITION is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations, not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the juridical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government It is simple peace, sought in its natural course, and its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought, in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in mother country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and, far from a scheme of ruling by discord, to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest, which reconciles them to British government.

My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion, and ever will be so as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is (let me say) of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is a healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed on the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendour

of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue ribbon. It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace at every instant to keep the peace among them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other until you knock down the hammer and determine a proportion of payment beyond all the powers of algebra to equalize and settle.

The plan which I shall presume to suggest derives, however, one great advantage from the proposition and registry of that noble lord's project. The idea of conciliation is admissible. First the House, in accepting the resolution moved by the noble lord, has admitted, notwithstanding the menacing front of our address, notwithstanding our heavy bill of pains and penalties, that we do not think ourselves precluded from all ideas of free grace and bounty

The House has gone farther, it has declared conciliation admissible, previous to any submission on the part of America It has even shot a good deal beyond that mark, and has admitted that the complaints of our former mode of exerting the right of taxation were not wholly unfounded That right, thus exerted, is allowed to have had something reprehensible in it, something unwise, or something grievous; since in the midst of our heat and resentment, we, of ourselves, have proposed a capital alteration, and, in order to get rid of what seemed so very exceptionable, have instituted a mode that is altogether new—one that is, indeed, wholly alien from all the ancient methods and forms of Parliament

The principle of this proceeding is large enough for my purpose. The means proposed by the noble lord for carrying his ideas into execution, I think indeed, are very indifferently suited to the end; and this I shall endeavour to show you before I sit down. But for the present, I take my ground on the admitted principle I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and, where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity. But the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear When such a one is disarmed, he is wholly at the mercy of his superior, and he loses forever that time and those chances which, as they happen to all men, are the strength and resources of all inferior power.

The capital leading questions on which you must this day decide are these two. first, whether you ought to concede; and, secondly, what your concession ought to be

On the first of these questions we have gained, as I have just taken the liberty of observing to you, some ground. But I am sensible that a good deal more is still to be done. Indeed, Sir, to enable us to determine both on the one and the other of these great questions with a firm

and precise judgment, I think it may be necessary to consider distinctly the true nature and the peculiar circumstances of the object which we have before us; because, after all our struggle, whether we will or not, we must govern America according to that nature and to those circumstances, and not according to our imaginations; not according to abstract ideas of right; *by no means according to mere general theories* of government, the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling. I shall therefore endeavour, with your leave, to lay before you some of the most material of these circumstances in as full and as clear a manner as I am able to state them.

(1) The first thing that we have to consider with regard to the nature of the object, is the number of people in the Colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on that point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and colour, besides at least five hundred thousand others, who form no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. This, Sir, is, I believe, about the true number. There is no occasion to exaggerate where plain truth is of so much weight and importance. But whether I put the present numbers too high or too low, is a matter of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world, that, state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. While we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. While we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have two millions more to manage Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood, than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations

I put this consideration of the present and the growing numbers in the front of our deliberation, because, Sir, this consideration will make it evident to a blunter discernment than yours, that no partial, narrow, contracted, pinched, occasion system will be at all suitable to such an object. It will show you that it is not to be considered as one of those minima which are out of the eye and consideration of the law; not a paltry excrescence of the State; not a mean dependent, who may be neglected with little damage, and provoked with little danger. It will prove that some degree of care and caution is required in the handling such an object; it will show that you ought not in reason to trifle with so large a mass of the interests and feelings of the human race. You could at no time do so without guilt, and, be assured, you will not be able to do it long with impunity.

(2) But the population of this country, the great and growing population, though a very important consideration, will lose much of its weight if not combined with other circumstances. The commerce of your colonies is out of all proportion beyond the numbers of the people. This ground of their commerce, indeed, has been trod some days ago, and with great ability, by a distinguished person at your bar. This gentleman after thirty-five years—it is so long since he appeared at the same place to plead for the commerce of Great Britain—has come again before you to plead the same cause, without any other effect of time, than that, to the fire of imagination and extent of erudition which even

then marked him as one of the first literary characters of his age, he has added a consummate knowledge in the commercial interest of his country, formed by a long course of enlightened and discriminating experience.

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Mr Speaker, I cannot prevail on myself to hurry over this great consideration. It is good for us to be here. We stand where we have an immense view of what is, and what is past. Clouds, indeed, and darkness rest upon the future. Let us, however, before we descend from this noble eminence, reflect that this growth of our national prosperity has happened within the short period of the life of man. It has happened within sixty-eight years. There are those alive whose memory might touch the two extremities For instance, my Lord Bathurst might remember all the stages of the progress He was in 1704 of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things. He was then old enough "Acta parentum, jam legere, et qua sit poterit cognoscere virtus" Suppose, Sir, that the angel of this auspicious youth, foreseeing the many virtues which made him one of the most amiable, as he is one of the most fortunate, men of his age, had opened to him a vision, that when in the fourth generation, the third prince of the House of Brunswick had sat twelve years on the throne of that nation which by the happy issue of moderate and healing councils was to be made Great Britain, he should see his son Lord Chancellor of England, turn back the current of hereditary dignity to its fountain, and raise him to a higher rank of peerage while he enriched the family with a new one If, amid these bright and happy scenes of domestic honour and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and while he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle rather than a formed body, and should tell him. "Young man, there is America —which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life!" If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate, indeed, if he lived to see nothing to vary the prospect and cloud the setting of his day!

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A farther objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than whole America. I do not choose to consume its strength alone with our own, because in all parts

it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape; but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit, because it is the spirit that has made the country.

Lastly, we have no sort of experience in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so; but we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it, and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

These, Sir, are my reasons for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force, by which many gentlemen, for whose sentiments in other particulars I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated.

But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce—I mean its temper and character. In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature, which marks and distinguishes the whole, and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth, and this from a variety of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominated; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were, from the earliest times, chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient Commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders of the State. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised, the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind

usages to reside in a certain body called the House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove (and they succeeded) that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that, in all monarchies, the people must, in effect, themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life blood, those ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, is fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe or might be endangered in twenty other particulars without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy, indeed, to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they did thus apply those general arguments, and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles

They were further confirmed in these pleasing errors by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular, in all, the popular representative is the most weighty, and this share of the people in their ordinary governments never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

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If all the colonies do not appear at the outcry, what is the condition of those assemblies, who offer, by themselves or their agents, to tax themselves up to your ideas of their proportion? The refractory colonies who refuse all composition will remain taxed only to your old impositions, which, however grievous in principle, or trifling as to production. The obedient colonies in this scheme are heavily taxed; the refractory remain unburdened. What will you do? Will you lay new and heavier taxes by Parliament on the disobedient? Pray consider in what way you can do it. You are perfectly convinced that in the way of taxing you can do nothing but at the ports. Now suppose it is Virginia that refuses to appear at your auction, while Maryland and North Carolina bid handsomely for their ransom, and are taxed to your quota. How will you put these colonies on a par? Will you tax the tobacco of Virginia? If you do, you give its death-wound to your English revenue at home, and to one of the very greatest articles of your own foreign trade. If you tax the import of that rebellious colony, what do you tax but your own manufactures, or the goods of some other obedient and already well-taxed colony? Who has said one word on this labyrinth of detail, which bewilders you more and more as you enter into it? Who has presented, who can present you with a clew to lead you out of it? I think, Sir, it is impossible that you should not recollect that the colony

bounds are so implicated in one another (you know it by your own experiments in the Bill for prohibiting the New England fishery) that you can lay no possible restraints on almost any of them which may not be presently eluded, if you do not confound the innocent with the guilty, and burden those whom upon every principle, you ought to exonerate He must be grossly ignorant of America who thinks that, without falling into this confusion of all rules of equity and policy, you can restrain any single colony, especially Virginia and Maryland, the central and most important of them all

Let it also be considered, that either in the present confusion you settle a permanent contingent which will and must be trifling, and then you have no effectual revenue; or, you change the quota at every exigency, and then on every new repartition you will have a new quarrel.

Reflect, besides, that when you have fixed a quota for every colony, you have not provided for prompt and punctual payment. Suppose one, two, five, ten years' arrears You cannot issue a Treasury Extent against the failing colony. You must make new Boston Port Bills, new restraining laws, new Acts for dragging men to England for trial You must send out new fleets, new armies. All is to begin again. From this day forward the Empire is never to know an hour's tranquillity. An intestine fire will be kept alive in the bowels of the colonies, which one time or another must consume this whole Empire. I allow, indeed, that the Empire of Germany raises her revenue and her troops by quotas and contingents, but the revenue of the Empire, and the army of the Empire, is the worst revenue and the worst army in the world.

Instead of a standing revenue, you will therefore have a perpetual quarrel Indeed, the noble lord who proposed this project of a ransom by auction, seemed himself to be of that opinion. His project was rather designed for breaking the union of the colonies than for establishing a revenue He confessed that he apprehended that his proposal would not be to their taste. I say this scheme of disunion seems to be at the bottom of the project, for I will not suspect that the noble lord meant nothing but merely to delude the nation by an airy phantom which he never intended to realize But, whatever his views may be, as I propose the peace and union of the colonies as the very foundation of my plan, it cannot accord with one whose foundation is perpetual discord.

Compare the two. This I offer to give you is plain and simple. The other, full of perplexed and intricate mazes. This is mild, that, harsh. This is formed by experience effectual for its purposes; the other is a new project. This is universal, the other, calculated for certain colonies only This is immediate in its conciliatory operation; the other, remote, contingent, full of hazard. Mine is what becomes the dignity of a ruling people, gratuitous, unconditional, and not held out as a matter of bargain and sale I have done my duty in proposing it to you. I have indeed tired you by a long discourse; but this is the misfortune of those to whose influence nothing will be conceded, and who must win every inch of their ground by argument. You have heard me with goodness. May you decide with wisdom! For my part, I feel my mind greatly disburdened by what I have done to-day. I have been the less fearful of trying your patience, because on this subject I mean to spare it altogether

in future. I have this comfort, that in every stage of the American affairs, I have steadily opposed the measures that have produced the confusion, and may bring on the destruction of this Empire. I now go so far as to risk a proposal of my own. If I cannot give peace to my country, I give it to my conscience.

But what, says the financier, is peace to us without money? Your plan gives us no revenue. No! But it does—for it secures to the subject the power of REFUSAL—the first of all revenues. Experience is a cheat, and fact a liar, if this power in the subject of proportioning his grant, or of not granting at all, has not been found the richest mine of revenue ever discovered by the skill or by the fortune of man. It does not, indeed, vote you £152,750 11s. 2¾d. nor any other paltry limited sum, but it gives the strong-box itself, the fund, the bank, from whence only revenues can arise among a people sensible of freedom · Posita luditur arca.

Cannot you in England, cannot you at this time of day, cannot you—a House of Commons—trust to the principle which has raised so mighty a revenue, and accumulated a debt of near one hundred and forty millions in this country? Is this principle to be true in England and false everywhere else? Is it not true in Ireland? Has it not hitherto been true in the colonies? Why should you presume, that in any country, a body duly constituted for any functions will neglect to perform its duty, and abdicate its trust? Such a presumption would go against all government in all modes But, in truth, this dread of penury of supply, from a free assembly, has no foundation in nature For first observe, that, besides the desire, which all men have naturally, of supporting the honour of their own government, that sense of dignity, and that security of property, which ever attends freedom, has a tendency to increase the stock of the free community Most may be taken where most is accumulated. And what is the soil or climate where experience has not uniformly proved that the voluntary flow of heaped-up plenty, bursting from the weight of its own rich luxuriance, has ever run with a more copious stream of revenue, than could be squeezed from the dry husks of oppressed indigence, by the straining of all the political machinery in the world

Next, we know that parties must ever exist in a free country. We know, too, that the emulations of such parties, their contradictions, their reciprocal necessities, their hopes, and their fears, must send them all in their turns to him that holds the balance of the State. The parties are the gamesters, but government keeps the table, and is sure to be the winner in the end. When this game is played, I really think it is more to be feared that the people will be exhausted, than that government will not be supplied, whereas, whatever is got by acts of absolute power, ill obeyed, because odious, or by contracts ill kept, because constrained, will be narrow, feeble, uncertain, and precarious.

> "Ease would retract
> Vows made in pain, as violent and void"

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands. I declare against compounding, for a poor limited sum, the immense, ever-growing eternal debt which is due to generous government for protected

freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom or in the way of compulsory compact.

But to clear up my ideas on this subject; a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—no, not a shilling We have experienced that from remote countries: it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? for certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fit for the transmission, is it the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue But with regard to her own internal establishments, she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation, I say in moderation, for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself She ought to be reserved to a war, the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you, and serve you essentially

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British Constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority in this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the 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 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. Deny this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are

what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English Constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine, then, that it is the Land Tax which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the Committee of Supply, which gives you your army? or that it is the Mutiny Bill, which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people, it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material, and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of Empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great Empire and little minds go ill together If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the Church, sursum corda! We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire, and have made the most extensive and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying but by promoting, the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire English privileges have made it all that it is, English privileges alone will make it all it can be

In full confidence of this unalterable truth, I now, quod felix faustumque sit, lay the first stone in the temple of peace; and I move you:

That the Colonies and Plantations of Great Britain and North America, consisting of fourteen separate governments, and containing two millions and upwards of free inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any knights and burgesses, or others, to represent them in the High Court of Parliament.

Photo *Lafayette*

THE LATE LORD BURNHAM

Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT BURNHAM, G.C.M.G

JOURNALISM

Speech at the Authors' Club, February 12, 1912. (When Hon. Harry Lawson)

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. I gather that you look upon me on the whole as a civilizing force, and that you have not thought of coupling me with the crowd of Oxford men who have gone into the gates of Peterborough Court. I confess that it has always been a subject of some pride to me to think that in the end Fleet Street conquered Oxford in the old days, and Matthew Arnold, as my father often told me, was induced to write a series of articles for the *Daily Telegraph*. The honour you have done me is, like some honours in the "honours list," rooted in perplexity. I am not quite clear why you have asked me here. The question might have been addressed to me which was asked by Theodore Hook. "Will you mind telling me, are you anybody in particular?" I do not know that I am anybody in particular At any rate, I do not think I am the particular person to whom the subject for this evening's discussion should have been addressed. At least, the invitation showed that the Club has not lost its sense of Victorian humour. As to the subject-matter of the discussion, every newspaper proprietor, of course, thinks that his own newspaper is the ideal paper. I am not quite certain whether by the title of the subject for discussion was meant newspaper idealism or the ideal newspaper. I did not think that idealism in newspapers could have been intended, because after all a free Press is the megaphone of all the voices of the age, and if there is no idealism in the Press it must be because there is no idealism in the nation. If the great voices are dumb it is not the fault of the Press. They certainly have an opportunity of being heard such as they never had before. In the very nature of things the newspaper must be realistic, so I do not think the first interpretation can be the right one.

What is an ideal Press? I suppose it is one that makes on the whole for enlightenment and righteousness. It is a Press that is on the side of the police and of the angels. Mass is lord, as Meredith said, and mass must be served as it will, no doubt, and the Press tries to serve the mass on the whole with the best and soundest food that it can digest, or at any rate swallow without nausea.

Lord Rosebery, when speaking at a famous Press banquet, said that for a bona-fide Press that gave life and health to journalism we must look to Great Britain. That was a fine, sound, British sentiment, with which you will all concur. But we must not ask too much from the Press. I am quite certain that the ideal newspaper is not a newspaper written by prigs for prigs, still less by pigs for pigs. The newspaper

cannot live in the exhausted chamber of impossible virtues. It can only live and thrive in the full breath of popular favour. The successful newspaper must be full-blooded. All blood has its impurities, but that does not make the blood impure; and I think we can say of the newspaper Press of this country that it is not impure.

Worship of the Press is not a very ancient cult. In the old days there was a real horror of the Press, because it meant publicity. Then there was the artificial horror which came a good deal from what the French termed intellectual snobbism. In the old days people disliked publicity of any kind, and they resented as much the common people being told what went on in the high places of the world as they did previously that the common people should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue. Even Horace Walpole said in 1788. "Reading newspapers is one of the chronic maladies of this age Everybody reads them, many quote them, though everybody knows they are stuffed with lies or blunders. How should it be otherwise? If any extraordinary event happens, who but must learn it before it descends through a coffee-house to the runners of a daily paper? They who are always wanting news are waiting to learn they don't know what. A lower species, indeed is that of the scribes you mention, who every night compose a journal for the satisfaction of such illiterates, and feed them with all the vices and misfortune of every private family."

A new democracy worship at the shrine of the newspaper office, and the newspapers are held responsible for all the fortunes and misfortunes of mankind. They are the demons of the modern world. They were credited with unspeakable vices in the old days, they are asked to display impossible virtues at the present time. The ill-feeling of nations is still saddled on the newspaper Press. The truth is that the Press has thrown upon it responsibilities from which it relieved other estates. So far as my experience goes, the Press often does far more good in softening the asperities of statesmanship than it did harm in emphasizing the acerbities of rival nations Mr. Churchill said that the Press pointed people in so many directions that they did not know which to follow. That was only the other day. Two years ago, when it was a contest between the Press and the platform, he said he would always back the platform if it was honestly worked Since then he has discovered what we all know—that it never was honestly worked. A speech delivered in the House of Commons to ten sleeping politicians has more effect if it is well reported than a speech addressed to 5,000 people on the hills of Wales or the fens of Lincolnshire if it is ill reported or not reported at all.

There is no doubt that the platform in these days borrows all its importance from the reflected glory of the Press. In these circumstances it is natural that those who have something to say should seek the newspaper office—all roads lead to Fleet Street in these days; all the intellectual streams converge in the news flood, newspapers give them the best audience that they can command. There is little written that cannot be best conveyed to the multitude in serial form in the newspapers, and as time goes on people will see that more clearly than ever. Of all forms of publication I think newspaper publication is destined to be

the most fruitful and the most powerful. Although that is the direction the tide has taken it has required a great deal to persuade men of letters and science that their best means of attaching the interest of the great public is in the columns of the newspapers. I recollect a story of my father's, which illustrates the way in which writers were once regarded. Years ago Lord Dunraven went as special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* to St. Petersburg. When he came back he said the Ambassador, on receiving him, had remarked: "Unless I had seen you I would never have believed that the eldest son of a peer would have come here as a correspondent of a penny newspaper." That illustrates the feeling of even the Victorian age towards newspaper enterprise. Lord Morley, whom we have always regarded as the greatest living glory of the profession, said two years ago that the Press was the great centre and foundation of public-hearted duty and moral force, that it was a guide to an intellectual grasp of the facts of the world; that it was in its best form the organ of practical common sense.

That pride in journalism is not unjustified. So also we could echo the remark of another writer, that "every drop of our blood is coloured with the Press Let me make the newspapers, and I care not who makes the religion and the laws" The journalists are not all perfect, we know, but if the Press is not of the finest gold, it is well up to the standard of British responsibility It has the hall-mark of the best opinion of our time, and taken in the lump is as near the ideal as the possibilities of this world allows any human institution to be

THE RT. HON. GEORGE CANNING

ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS

House of Commons, June 15, 1824

Unquestionably, Sir, I am very far from having anything to complain of, either with respect to the tone or topics with which my honourable and learned friend has introduced his speech; and if the observations which I shall feel it my duty to make upon that speech, or the petition on which it is founded, shall bear but a small proportion to his address, I hope he will do me the justice to believe, that it is not in consequence of any offence at what he has said, or any disrespect for his opinions. But my honourable and learned friend must be fully aware that though there are in what he believed might be called the late Spanish colonies great questions involved, anything which may fall from me, on the part of his Majesty's Government, would be likely to produce effects which neither he nor I could wish to witness. I, therefore, must rather restrain every disposition which I feel to follow my honourable and learned friend through the various topics upon which he has touched, and confine myself, as much as possible, to a simple statement of facts, with no other qualification than a full and clear understanding of them.

My honourable and learned friend has gone over the papers, formally laid on the table, and given a just analysis of the course hitherto pursued by his Majesty's Government, with respect to the South American colonies He has justly stated that the first question, in point of order, for that consideration, was the question between the parent State and her colonies; and that the course laid down by Ministers, was one of strict neutrality. In doing this, it was also right to observe, that allowing the colonists to assume an equal belligerent rank with the parent country we did, pro tanto, raise them in the scale of nations.

My honourable and learned friend has justly said, and it was also stated the petitioners, that, in the year 1822, the extent of the commerce then existing between this country and the colonies of Spain, led to another de facto recognition of their separate political existence: we recognized their commercial flag; which was admitted to the same advantages as the flags of independent States in amity with England. He has also most correctly remarked, that the next step was taken before the breaking out of the war between France and Spain; an intimation was at that period given to Spain, privately in the first instance, and afterwards publicly to the whole world, that to the British Government it appeared, that time and events had very substantially decided the question of separation; but that the fact of recognition must be

determined by various circumstances, and, among others, by the internal state of each of the colonies so claiming recognition.

My honourable and learned friend further stated, with the same accuracy, that after the declaration made to Spain—after the publication of that declaration, which left neither to Spain, nor to any other power, cause of complaint—if Great Britain should think fit to act practically upon it, the circumstances of the last year induced this country to suspend even the consideration of that question—to suspend the mission of commercial agents to South America—and to remain inactive and undecided, until the decision of the contest in which France and Spain were engaged

Immediately after the decision of that contest, or rather, I should say, at the moment of its decision, and before any consequences could arise, and any step be taken by France, or by other powers of Europe, a warning was given by this country, in the clearest terms, as to the course she would pursue on any proposal for a joint conference or congress on the affairs of Spanish America My honourable and learned friend has faithfully recalled to the recollection of the House, the particular expressions of that warning

The next stage in the course of these transactions, was the proposal, on the part of Spain, that this country should become a member of such a congress, and join in such a conference. That proposal was followed by our refusal. On the mode in which that proposal was made, first as it related to Spain, and next as it referred to the colonies, the House is already so perfectly advised, that it is not necessary for me to dwell upon it. Since that period (and this forms the last stage of these transactions) a public discussion has taken place in this House The state in which things remained the last time the question was agitated within these walls, was this. It was stated that the King's Government, though reserving to themselves the right of acting as they should think fit, in reference to the interests of Great Britain involved in those colonies, yet thought it not merely politically expedient, but just and generous, to afford Spain the opportunity of precedency, and absolutely to suspend any decision, until they knew in what way she would avail herself of that opportunity.

What I have now to state is, that that condition is at an end, and that, with respect to any further steps to be taken by this country towards the Spanish American colonies, she must act for herself. What has passed upon this point between the two cabinets, it is not necessary for me to particularize; but the result is, that the British Government is left to act upon its own decision, without any further reference to Spain. Such is the result I have to state, and the only communication I have to make to the House ends I trust honourable gentlemen will see, that in stating what is a fact, I avoid, rather than incur, the danger to which I referred, and which might arise from the agitation of this question. I apprehend that I should run the risk of that peril if I were to state any ulterior, conjectural, or even hypothetical case; I shall, therefore, carefully shun it. Here I should conclude what I have to address to the House, were I not glad of the opportunity afforded me by the speech of my honourable and learned friend, and which opportunity

I undoubtedly thanked him for, of putting on its true ground, and in its just light, the expression of "recognition" which has been so much mistaken.

It is perfectly true, as has been mentioned, that the term "recognition" has been much abused; and, unfortunately, that abuse has perhaps been supported by some authority, it has clearly two senses, in which it is to be differently understood. If the colonies say to the mother country: "We assert our independence," and the mother country answers "I admit it," that is recognition in one sense. If the colonies say to another state. "We are independent," and that other state replies· "I allow that you are so," that is recognition in another sense of the term. That other state simply acknowledges the fact, or rather its opinion of the fact; but she confers nothing, unless, under particular circumstances, she may be considered as conferring a favour Therefore, it is one question, whether the recognition of the independence of the colonies shall take place, Spain being a party to such recognition, and another question, whether, Spain withholding what no power on earth can necessarily extort by fire, sword, or conquest, if she maintains silence without a positive refusal, other countries should acknowledge that independence. I am sure that my honourable and learned friend will agree with me in thinking, that his exposition of the different senses of the word "recognition" is the clearest argument in favour of the course we originally took namely, that of wishing that the recognition in the minor sense should carry with it recognition by the mother country in the major sense. The recognition by a neutral power alone cannot, in the very nature of things, carry with it the same degree of authority, as if it were accompanied by the recognition by the mother country also. If, therefore, the Government of Great Britain had looked exclusively to the interests of the colonial states, she would reasonably pursue the course we have in fact taken; it must have been an object of higher importance to those states, that the recognition by Great Britain should be delayed, in the hope of bringing with it a similar concession from Spain, rather than that the recognition by Great Britain should have been so precipitate as to postpone, if not prevent, the recognition by the mother country. Whether all hope is over of any such step, on the part of Spain, is another question. Our obligation, then, as a matter of fact, is at an end—I am enabled to say that positively. The rest is matter of opinion, and must depend upon a balance of probabilities. But, as my honourable and learned friend has said, this simple sense of the term "recognition" has been very much misunderstood, both here and in other places; because though there is nothing more plain and easy than the acknowledging the fact (if fact it be), that such a government is independent, yet I am quite certain he will agree with me, that it may make a difference, if that acknowledgment be asked, which implies an expectation of consequences which do not necessarily belong to it. I am sure he will feel, that great as the boon of recognition, in its simplest sense, might be to any new government, it would be greater if, though given in one sense, it were accepted in another. It might be given as a mere acknowledgment of a fact, and accepted as a sort of treaty of alliance and co-operation.

I am not ignorant of the many commercial interests that call for this proceeding; but, if what is required were granted, some suppose that it would necessarily have the effect of tranquillizing the State, establishing and confirming its independence. The simple recognition by any neutral power, if it were not misunderstood, could have no such effect. I am, therefore, anxious that exaggerated expectations should not be indulged As to what might be the immediate consequences of recognition, my honourable and learned friend has put two cases, the possibility of the existence of one of which I certainly do not feel. He says that South America must either be considered as one great mass, and then the contest in any part bears but a small proportion to the tranquillity of the whole, or that each separate state must be considered by itself, and then only the state in which the contest exists can fairly be excluded from recognition. I have no sort of difficulty in saying, that to take South America as a mass presents a physical impossibility, and my honourable and learned friend does not pretend that there is any government established which had authority over the whole That position will, therefore, certainly be of no assistance to his argument.

The other point of view he has presented deserves more consideration; namely, how far we are to consider each separated state entitled to recognition. Into this part of the argument I do not go at present. this is a horn of his dilemma with which I am not, for various reasons, now prepared to contend I will state only, that though I agree with him, that we have no pretence to be so difficult and scrupulous, as to insist that a new government shall have all the stability of an old one before we acknowledge its independence, yet we must act with some degree of caution before we can give our fiat, even if it be understood to amount to no more than a declaration of opinion We are not bound, indeed, to be so sure of our ground, as to be able to answer for it that *our opinion shall turn out to be true, but we are bound to take care to* have the chances in its favour The principle to guide us is this, that as the whole of our conduct should be essentially neutral, we ought not to acknowledge the separate and independent existence of any government which is so doubtfully established, that the mere effect of that acknowledgment shall be, to mix parties again in internal squabbles, if not in open hostilities My honourable and learned friend is aware that, before we can act, information as to matters of fact is necessary. We have taken the means to obtain that information; but we are not yet in possession of that official intelligence, which will enable us to arrive at a decision. Even with regard to the particular state last alluded to, Columbia, I know what has passed there, only through the same channels of information my honourable and learned friend seems to have consulted—I mean the newspapers. I have seen much that I think must be rather exaggerated, but I have yet no authentic record by which I can correct the public statements.

This is all that I think it consistent with my duty to state to my honourable and learned friend. To every principle laid down in the papers he has read, and on which he has bestowed commendation, the King's Government steadfastly adheres. The progress made since we last had any communication on the subject, is a proof that we have

proceeded in the execution of those principles; and as my honourable and learned friend approves of all that is stated in those documents, he must, I apprehend, approve equally of what subsequently occurred.

The House will judge whether it is expedient, in the present state of affairs necessarily partaking of so much uncertainty, to press the discussion beyond the information I have been able to give; or whether it would not complicate, and perhaps retard, rather than accelerate, the object in view. I have only to add, that the proposal originally made by Spain to this country, to become a party to a congress on the affairs of South America, had been repeated, and again refused by the Government of Great Britain.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE RT HON AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

THE RT. HON. SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Speech at Birmingham Jewellers' and Silversmiths' Association

Sir Austen Chamberlain, who had an enthusiastic reception, returned thanks for the cordiality with which the company had drunk the toast of his Majesty's Ministers, a body of men, he said, to whatever party they might belong, always exposed to something more than their fair share of criticism. It was only on the previous day, or that day, that in the Press he noticed that Sir Herbert Samuel had observed that the present Government was useless, that a Labour Government would be dangerous, and, if he (Sir Austen) correctly understood him, that there were not enough Liberals to form a Government. He hardly liked to mention criticism of that kind in the presence of the Ambassador of another Power, lest he should think that we believed all the evil we spoke of one another. But when he read, as he did, the speeches of their opponents, rather than the defence of the Government's action which was offered by his colleagues and friends, he could not but be grateful to any gentleman who would consent to propose the health of his Majesty's present advisers, and to any company who would receive it in so friendly a way. The present was not the occasion on which he could embark on anything in the nature of a party defence of the present Government. But he would venture to say this, that the Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary, ever since this Government was formed, had devoted themselves steadfastly and patiently to the promotion of peace, both within this country and in our relations with foreign countries He would go further and he would add that they had met in both spheres with a measure of success which was not to be despised If he might go one step further, in that gathering, he would even say that when this Parliament came to its appointed end, they might look back upon history, and with difficulty would they find four years so full and rich in constructive effort as the four years which were now drawing to their close.

As he listened to the president of the Chamber of Commerce there was borne in upon him in full force what an advantage it was not to be a politician—when one had to make a public speech. The American Ambassador indicated that there were certain difficulties for one in his (the Ambassador's) or in his (Sir Austen's) position in making speeches on national and international affairs. He (Sir Austen) wished he were the president of the Chamber of Commerce. He could indicate clearly to any Government what was their duty regardless of the difficulty which they might meet with in executing it, in public opinion. He could deal with all international relations with a freedom, with a certainty

that he would not raise international difficulties, which no Foreign Secretary could venture to emulate.

And yet one did not discharge one's task if one evaded difficulties and he was, greatly daring, going to say a few words upon international relations and particularly on our relations with America. He found it easier to do so because the American Ambassador, while disclaiming any such intention, said something which he (Sir Austen) thought was profoundly true, and indeed to be said at this moment. He said, paradoxical as it would seem, that too much had already been said about the relations of the United States to this country, that they needed no discussion, for, whatever were our momentary difficulties, our relations remained fundamentally unimpaired

It is true, (Sir Austen proceeded), that there has been a great deal of discussion recently in this country—and it is about this country that I am going to speak—of our relations with America. I think the reason is, not that those relations are impaired, they remain, as his Excellency has said, fundamentally unimpaired. The reason is that we are peculiarly sensitive as a people to anything which even seems to derogate from the close and warm friendship which it is the traditional policy of every Government, and the fundamental desire of our people, to maintain with the people and the Government of the United States of America. Accordingly, a passing difference of opinion, a problem which for the moment is unsolved, when it is a difference of opinion or a problem between us and the United States of America, looms far larger in our eyes than the same difference or the same problem if it exists between us and any other country in the world

We are right to be sensitive on the subject of our relations with the United States After all, if an American historian sits down to write of the foundation of what has now become a great nation, he writes British history as well as American history, and if an English historian writes of any period of English history before the latter part of the eighteenth century he is writing American history as well as British history We have a common language—we still have a common language —though I confess that there are American novels for the proper understanding of which I often wish that there was a glossary at the end of the book But we have a common language, as of a great part of our two peoples there is a common ancestry. We have a common literature in the past and a common literature in the present. If we quote, we are as likely to quote an American poet as an English poet. The literary allusions which we make in the English tongue are as well understood on one side of the Atlantic as on the other, and from all these different and confluent circumstances it comes about that in spite of all the other elements which enter into the American nation, in spite of all the differences which those different elements and their different conditions have created, there is a greater measure, so we feel and believe, of common thought, common outlook on events, between Americans and us than between us and any other nation in the world.

It is natural, therefore, as I say, that if we have a difference it looms large in our eyes; that if there is any little difficulty it has an importance to us, and attracts an attention such as similar difficulties

do not attract in our Press, or amongst our citizens, when they occur with any other nation. There are no two nations who always see alike. There are no two nations whose relations are always easy and smooth But there are certain nations—and I would count the United States and ourselves in the first rank—where any observer can have a sure and founded confidence that among peoples whose friendship has been so long and so close, whose common possession is so large and so far-reaching, those differences must, and will be settled in the spirit of friends and with only such difficulty as friends may meet in reconciling a difference of opinion

And if you look at what is really at stake in all the discussion which has been going on lately, there is at bottom but one difference that we have had with the American Government, a difference which resulted in the failure of the Three Power Conference at Geneva, a difference as to how we shall apply the limitation of naval armaments fairly and justly to our different circumstances and different conditions. That is the only question on which we have set ourselves down to agree, sat in conference, and the conference has broken up without agreement But observe, and it is important to observe, that the difference between us even then was not a difference of principle We admitted, freely and willingly admitted, parity between the United States naval forces and our own It is an admission which we have never made to any other nation, which we should have made to no other nation But we admitted it freely and willingly as between ourselves and the United States, and such differences as have occurred have not therefore been differences of principle, but merely differences arising out of the difficulties of applying that principle to the very different circumstances and needs of our two countries

That is the real problem about which so much has been said, and out of which, just because of our sensitiveness to anything which, even for a moment, divides us from our friends across the seas, has grown out of all proportion in public controversy, until there is a certain danger lest by talking about it so much we shall really create a difficulty which does not exist and magnify out of all proportion whatever difficulties do exist Seen in its true proportion as a purely practical problem, how to apply an agreed principle in circumstances which are so different, it is reduced to its proper proportions, and I venture to say that it is inconceivable that with patience and at an opportune moment friends should not be able to resolve the technical difficulties which have hitherto prevented them from reaching an agreement

We have a widely scattered Empire, the communications of which pass across the oceans and the seas. The United States is a compact nation upon a continent, where it runs no danger, separated by ocean from the troubles, the passions, the hatreds, the prejudices of the Old World, self-supporting, self-contained, independent. Between their circumstances and ours there is an immense gulf fixed by history and by geography Their needs are different from ours, our needs are different from theirs. The problem is to find some equation by which we can measure naval strength so that that parity which both nations desire may be reached, and reached at a level which indicates not an increase in the armaments of the world but a reduction.

Do not be discouraged, do not let anyone on either side of the Atlantic be discouraged, if we have not solved the problem at once. Nearly fifty nations represented at Geneva have been trying through a committee to find a common denominator for the limitation of armaments. I doubt whether any two nations see exactly alike on any one of the different arms which are comprised within that phrase "the limitation of armaments." Is it surprising, in these circumstances, that even the United States and ourselves have not at the first effort found a solution of our common problem?

Here in Great Britain we pride ourselves, I think not unjustly, upon our loyalty to friendship. I said in this town not so long ago that this country would not sacrifice an old friend to win a new one. It was a phrase which, taken in connection with another subject I was treating in the same speech, was misunderstood in some quarters, and misunderstood in some quarters in America I repeat it to-night We have no nearer and dearer friendship than our friendship with the United States, and as we seek to be loyal to other friends so we will be loyal to our friendship with those who are nearest to us, most akin to us racially and in their moral outlook on the world of all the nations of the earth.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE RT HON JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

The Rt. Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL

April 9, 1886

Sir, in interposing at this stage of the debate I have to throw myself upon the indulgence of the House. I have risen not so much for the purpose of entering upon any detailed discussion of the magnificent speech which was delivered by my right hon. friend the Prime Minister last night, as to make an explanation to the House of the causes which led to my recent resignation I believe that it is the invariable practice of Ministers retiring from a Cabinet to seek the earliest opportunity of explaining their position to the House; and if in my case this explanation has necessarily been delayed, that is owing to circumstances which the House will thoroughly appreciate I could not, of course, without impropriety—it would have been indecent for me to have done anything to anticipate the explanation of my right hon friend or to force his hand, and, accordingly, it is only now that I have the permission of Her Majesty to state publicly the circumstances and the reasons which have led to the course which I have taken. If, in doing this, I have to digress a little from the strict course of the debate, I hope that the House will be willing to make allowances for the peculiar circumstances in which I stand It is now nearly a month since my right hon. friend the member for the Border Burghs (Mr Trevelyan) and myself tendered our resignations, and it is nearly a fortnight since they were finally accepted. In the interval, and while our mouths were closed, rumour has been busy with our reputations and motives, and rumour has not always been very truthful, and certainly it has not been very friendly I find that some persons, whose frame of mind it is very difficult for me to appreciate, seem to take a pleasure in imputing the basest motives for the public actions of men with whom they happen to differ, and suggest that I only joined the Government with a pre-conceived determination to leave it at the first opportunity. The statement is not only utterly untrue, but it is ridiculous, I will say to the House that no act of my public life has been so painful as the resignation which I recently tendered to my right hon. friend. I am told that by taking that step I have wrecked my political prospects, and destroyed altogether all hope of future usefulness. Well, Sir, that is a prospect which it is possible for me to contemplate with equanimity, but it is more difficult to reconcile myself to a separation from one whom I have followed and honoured for so many years, and to leave the personal friends and political associates with whom, I believe, I have no other cause of difference whatever. I have found it hard to give up an oppor-

tunity which I thought I had in my grasp, to do something to put forward legislation in which I take a great and overwhelming interest. These considerations weighed with me, and I can assure the House that I have found it a more difficult task to leave a Government than to enter one There is only one other remark which I wish to make by way of preface. I admit, Sir, that if any difference of opinion has arisen between myself and my right hon friend, with his unrivalled experience, with his vast knowledge of public affairs, and with his loving and tried devotion to the public service, the natural presumption is that he is right and that I am wrong It is one to which I have yielded my own judgment on many occasions; but in the present instance the issue before us is one of such vital importance, and a mistake, if we make one, is so fatal and so irrevocable that it seems to me to be the duty of every man, however humble, to bring an independent judgment to its consideration; and everything—private feeling, personal friendship, political ambition, and the cherished objects of a public life—all these, must be put aside in view of circumstances which are still higher and more important. Since I have been in public affairs I have called myself, I think not altogether without reason, a Radical But that title has never prevented me from giving great consideration to Imperial interests. I have cared for the honour and the influence and the integrity of the Empire, and it is because I believe these things are now in danger that I have felt myself called upon to make the greatest sacrifice that any public man can be expected to make It will be in the recollection of the House that the late Government were defeated on the 26th January, on a motion which was made by my friend, Mr Jesse Collings, and which raised what has sometimes been called the "unauthorized programme," although I never admitted the justice of that description. But it will be admitted that by that Resolution the House did undoubtedly pledge itself generally to the policy with which I happened to be conspicuously identified during the autumn campaign, and, accordingly, when my right hon friend, on the 30th of January, did me the honour to invite me to become a Member of the Government, I was able to tell him that I would allow no personal considerations whatever to stand in the way of my giving him any support I could possibly bring to him; but I felt it necessary to add that the reports that were current as to his intentions with regard to Ireland made me somewhat doubtful whether I could possibly be of service My right hon. friend was good enough to tell me that he had not up to that day formed any definite plan, that he had only committed himself to inquiry, and that if I joined him I should be perfectly free to judge and to decide upon anything which would be submitted to the Cabinet. My right hon. friend said that he adhered to his previous public utterances, and all he asked his colleagues was to join with him in an inquiry and examination as to how far it was or was not practicable to meet the wishes of the great proportion of the Irish people, as expressed by the return of a large majority of representatives to Parliament, to form something in the nature of a legislative body sitting in Dublin. My right hon. friend added that any possible concession in this direction would be

accompanied by full and ample guarantees for the security and integrity of the Empire, for the protection of minorities of all classes of the community and for the protection of the just interests of the Three Kingdoms. I told my right hon. friend that this was an inquiry of which I approved, and which, indeed, I thought had become indispensable. I told him that I thought the conditions which he had fixed to any possible concession were just, reasonable, and adequate conditions, but I went on to say that I thought it was honest to state that, as far as I was able to make up my mind, or to form any kind of judgment, I did not believe that he would find it possible to conciliate these conditions and limitations with the establishment of a separate and practically independent Parliament in Dublin. My right hon friend did not think that that opinion so expressed by me ought to be a bar to my joining his Government. I asked his leave to put my views in writing, and, if the House will permit me, I will read the letter in which I accepted office. It is as follows.

40, Prince's Gardens, S.W.,
January 30, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE

I have availed myself of the opportunity you have kindly afforded me to consider further your offer of a seat in your Government I recognize the justice of your view that the question of Ireland is paramount to all others, and must first engage your attention. The statement of your intention to examine whether it is practicable to comply with the wishes of the majority of the Irish people, as testified by the return of eighty-five representatives of the Nationalists Party, does not go beyond your previous public declarations, while the conditions which you attach to the possibility of such compliance seem to me adequate, and are also in accordance with your repeated public utterances But I have already thought it due to you to say that, according to my present judgment, it will not be found possible to conciliate those conditions with the establishment of a National Legislative Body sitting in Dublin, and I have explained my own preference for an attempt to come to terms with the Irish members on the basis of a more limited scheme of Local Government, coupled with proposals for a settlement of the land, and, perhaps, also, of the Education Question You have been kind enough, after hearing these opinions, to repeat your request that I should join your Government, and you have explained that, in this case, I shall retain 'unlimited liberty of judgment and rejection' on any scheme that may ultimately be proposed, and that the full consideration of such minor proposals as I have referred to as an alternative to any larger arrangement will not be excluded by you On the other hand, I have no difficulty in assuring you of my readiness to give an unprejudiced examination to any more extensive proposals that may be made, with an anxious desire that the result may be more favourable than I am at present able to anticipate. In the circumstances, and with the most earnest hope that I may be able in any way to assist you in your

difficult work, I beg to accept the offer you have made to submit my name to Her Majesty for a post in the new Government.

I am, my dear Mr. Gladstone,

Yours sincerely,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Well, Sir, I have been blamed, like my right hon. friend the member for the Border Burghs, for joining the Government at all; but I think a moment's reflection will show that any accusation of this kind, at all events, based upon my action would be entirely unreasonable. I have never been opposed to Home Rule, as I have explained, and as I have always understood, the words, and as my right hon. friend the Prime Minister has on many public occasions defined it. The definitions of my right hon friend, those which I have accepted, are these—that he has been willing as I have been willing, to give to Ireland the largest possible extension of local government consistent with the integrity of the Empire and the supremacy of Parliament; and, further, my right hon friend has always declared he would never offer to Ireland anything in the direction of Home Rule which he was not prepared to offer with an equal hand to Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom If, now, Sir, to my deep regret and with the greatest possible reluctance, I have felt compelled to sever myself from the Government of my right hon friend, it is because in my heart and conscience I do not think the scheme which he explained to the House last night does maintain the limitations which he has always declared himself determined to preserve. I confess, if I had refused at this time to join the Government to undertake an inquiry so limited, and under these conditions, then I think there would have been some reason to say that I was animated by a disloyal feeling towards my Leader, or that I was careless of the interests of the Party with which I am connected. Now, sir, I admit that in all probability the misunderstanding was entirely my own fault. I certainly assumed that the inquiry my right hon friend spoke of would be undertaken by him in concert with his colleagues I imagined that it was intended to proceed with the examination step by step in the Cabinet, and that after full consultation we were all to be called upon to endeavour to build up some scheme which would fulfil the intentions of the Prime Minister. But, as I say, I must have misunderstood my right hon. friend in this particular, because it was not until the 13th of March that this matter was mentioned for the first time in the Cabinet. It was then brought forward in connection with the scheme for land purchase which had been circulated to members of the Cabinet the day before. The scheme contained in this paper was certainly to me a very startling proposal, involving the issue of £120,000,000 Consols—

Mr Gladstone I must interrupt my right hon friend. I beg to observe that the permission which I obtained from Her Majesty on his behalf had no relation whatever to any particulars of any scheme with regard to the sale or purchase of land to be submitted to the House of Commons. I did not ask Her Majesty for any permission for anyone to speak upon a subject on which a final decision of the Cabinet had

not been taken, and which had not been publicly explained to Parliament. I may add that any attempt, or any partial attempt, to enter upon any supposed particulars of that scheme would lead to radical misunderstanding.

Mr. Chamberlain: I cannot say, Sir, how much I regret the misunderstanding which has arisen between my right hon. friend and myself. I need not say to the House that if I had had the slightest conception that my right hon. friend had intended to limit in the way he now says, my explanation to the House, either I would have withheld that explanation altogether until a more fitting opportunity, or, at least, I would not, in the slightest degree, have gone from any arrangement that had been come to. I am very sorry that I have not with me my correspondence with my right hon. friend to obtain for me permission from Her Majesty to explain the causes which had led to my resignation. Why, Sir, I did not resign upon the scheme of Home Rule alone. I tendered my resignation after this scheme of land purchase had been produced, and in consequence of the production of that scheme of land purchase. How can I explain the reason of my resignation to the House if my hands are tied behind me? But, Sir, I go further than that. My right hon friend, in reply to my request that I might have permission to explain the cause of my resignation, wrote to me a letter to the effect that he had obtained the permission of Her Majesty that I might state the reasons—I forget the exact words, but I think he will agree that I am giving the sense—which led to my resignation "in connection with the scheme for the Government of Ireland" I thought that that was a doubtful expression. I was afraid that it might mean some kind of limitation. What did I do? I wrote to my right hon. friend to state to him that I proposed to read to the House of Commons a letter I had written after the Cabinet meeting at which the land scheme was discussed, and in which I stated my reasons for objecting to the land scheme, and my right hon. friend gave me his permission, and said. "By all means"

Mr. Gladstone Mr. Speaker, from my right hon friend, I understood that he, having in his hands the note which I had written to him as to the permission which I had obtained from Her Majesty, proposed to read all the letters which he had written in relation to the subject-matter of that note. I replied to my right hon. friend that in my opinion he was perfectly justified in exercising his own discretion upon that subject. That is perfectly true, and I do not think anything beyond that would be found to have been included in the scope of the note from me to which my right hon friend has referred, but which, unfortunately, he has not got with him.

Mr. Chamberlain. Sir, I certainly have not got the correspondence in my possession, but I could not have conceived that this most painful altercation—difference of opinion—could possibly have arisen. I am sorry to differ from my right hon. friend. I think his view is mistaken. What I asked his permission to read—I am sure he will find it in my letter—was my letter of March 15, 1886. His permission to me was to read that letter. I beg to ask my right hon. friend whether he wishes to withdraw that permission now.

Mr. Gladstone. I cannot at this moment recollect what letter it was which my right hon. friend wrote to me on the 15th of March. I have stated, I think, with perfect exactitude the substance of my statement to him.

Mr. Chamberlain · I must say my right hon. friend puts me in a most difficult position. I have to decide at a moment's notice, with the greatest respect for my right hon. friend, what course I shall pursue. I have again to repeat that in the letter which I wrote to my right hon. friend, I gave him the dates of all the letters and documents which I proposed to read. I proposed to read certain letters of his, and I asked whether he had any objection to my reading them. In his reply he said he thought it was unnecessary and undesirable, and he also objected to my reading another document which I had mentioned. I replied to him that I should certainly be guided by his wishes, and I should content myself with reading my own letters, and should not read anything I received from him My right hon. friend says he is not aware of the contents of one of those letters, the most important, the one I described to him in my letters as dated March 15, and as containing my reasons for my resignation He says he is not aware of the contents of that letter I cannot say whether my right hon. friend thinks I am entitled to read it or not. If my right hon. friend cannot give me permission to read that letter I shall not press it.

Mr. Gladstone: I have stated the full extent of the permission received from Her Majesty by me on behalf of my right hon friend. It is not in my power to extend that permission; and I think it would be entirely contrary, alike to principle and to precedent, that explanations should be entered into upon this occasion referring to a measure of very great importance about to be introduced to this House by me, but the introduction of which has not been moved.

Mr. Chamberlain I shall endeavour, sir, to guide myself by the wishes of my right hon friend But the House will see that in the circumstances the explanation which I had proposed to offer them must be altogether lame and incomplete. It is impossible that I should ever at any future time, any more than now, justify myself completely to the country or to the House of Commons. I cannot do so when my right hon. friend introduces his Land Bill, because he will tell you then that it is not competent for me to speak on his Home Rule scheme.

Mr. Gladstone No no.

Mr. Chamberlain Well it does not rest entirely with my right hon. friend, and if he makes no objection the Speaker will call me to order, and it will be impossible for me in discussing the land purchase scheme, except by consent of the House, to deal with the question of Home Rule. I was only anxious to refer to the scheme for land purchase—I was not going elaborately into details, but dealing only with those general principles—so far as was absolutely necessary to show to the House what was the nature of my opposition to the combined scheme of my right hon. friend. I will endeavour to continue what explanation it may still be possible for me to make with regard to that portion of my objection to the policy of my right hon. friend which refers to his proposals for the government of Ireland. I

understood from my right hon. friend on the day of which I am speaking, that he intended to propose to Parliament the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin with very large powers, and he gave some explanation also of the fiscal relations which would exist between this Parliament and the English Parliament. It was after this Cabinet meeting, as I have said—it was held on the 13th—that on the 15th I wrote to my right hon. friend the letter which I had intended to read to the House, and which contained the reasons why I had objected to any considerable employment of English credit for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords, and also why I thought the new authority was one which it would be unwise and inexpedient to trust with the possession of the land so bought, with the collection of the rents, and with the payment to this country of the necessary interest and Sinking Fund. My right hon. friend in reply to that letter, told me, without entering into any argument, that he thought my resignation was premature, and that it would be right that I should, at all events, postpone it until he had been able to complete his scheme for local government in Ireland, and had submitted it to the Cabinet. In accordance with his request, therefore, I postponed my resignation until he should be in a position to make his statement, which was on the 26th of March, the next time the Cabinet met. Well, I gathered at that time that as regards the land proposals they were practically and in principle unaltered. But that is a matter on which I do not wish to insist, as I am unable to tell the House what they were originally. It is not really of the slightest consequence whether they were altered or not, but I was going to say that my right hon. friend stated at this meeting the general heads of the scheme for the government of Ireland which he expounded so eloquently last night. I took four principal objections to this proposal. I objected to it, in the first instance, because it proposed to terminate the representation of the Irish members at Westminster. I objected to that because of the consequences which follow upon it It appeared to me that if the Irish members were to cease to occupy their seats in this House, the Irish Parliament to which they were to be relegated must be, ought to be, and would be, in the future if not in the present, co-ordinate and of co-equal authority. Then I objected, in the second place, to the proposal which at this time my right hon. friend made, to renounce all the exercise of the right of Imperial taxation in Ireland, including, of course, Customs and Excise. I objected, in the third place, to the surrender of the appointment of the judges and of the magistrates. And I objected, in the last place, to the principle under which my right hon. friend proposed to make the new authority supreme in all matters which were not excluded from its competence; whereas I thought the right principle in any such proposal would be to confer upon it authority only in those cases in which the authority was specially and by statute delegated. In these circumstances I again tendered my resignation, and it was accepted the next day. Now the House will see that since I left the Cabinet there has been one very important change in the proposals. The Customs and Excise are now to be collected and levied by an Imperial authority. Well, sir, I ought to be pleased; but I confess I am doubtful. I am very glad, of course,

that the arguments which I used in the Cabinet had much greater force after I left than they had while I remained. At the same time, however, the concession does not appear to me to have gone far enough I connected the collection of Customs and Excise with the continued presence of Irish Members in this House; and under the system proposed by my right hon. friend you have an anomaly which I cannot help thinking the Irish members themselves must feel intolerable and degrading. They are the sole judges in such a matter. I think hon. members are cheering me a little too soon. I believe they are the sole judges as to their own sentiments, and not, of course, of what this Imperial Parliament should do. Well, all I can say is that the new proposal seems to me to be inconsistent with what I understand my right hon. friend laid down as a cardinal principle of our English Constitution—namely, that taxation and representation should go together. Hon. members opposite seem inclined to accept this arrangement; so I judge from their cheers; but all I can say is that the hon member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) has again and again in his public speeches, stated in the most emphatic way that he would not be satisfied with any Parliament which did not leave the Customs and the Excise, and the right, if necessary, to put a protective duty on Irish industries, with the Irish Authorities.

Mr. Parnell: I have said frequently, Sir, that I should claim that right for the Irish people, but the right hon. gentleman, the Prime Minister, has certainly, in his speech yesterday, been enabled to show us that we are getting a very good quid pro quo in exchange for giving up this right of collecting the Customs, in the shape of £1,400,000 a year.

Mr. Chamberlain: Yes, I was coming to that later on, when I have to consider the price which is being paid for the scheme of Home Rule, which is submitted to our consideration I notice in the scheme, as announced to the House last night, several other—I will not call them changes, but developments of the scheme with which I was not previously acquainted. For instance, I find that from the Irish Parliament are to be excluded such matters as copyright, matters connected with the currency, coining, probably the Post Office, and then comes the very large question of trade and navigation Now, I confess I am very anxious to know, and I hope some member of the Government will explain, exactly what is meant by trade and navigation Of course, I assume that the Irish authorities in these circumstances will not be enabled to give a bounty for the encouragement of any local industry. I assume—I do not know whether I am right—that such a question as patents will be altogether excluded from their competence. I assume that such a question as bankruptcy would also be excluded from their competence. These are matters which require explanation, and what I wish to say at this moment is that if all these things are to be taken out of the Irish Parliament and are to be dealt with by the English Parliament, in which the Irish have no representation at all, I cannot help thinking that they would have a very real and considerable grievance. I think the commercial classes of Ireland, for instance, will complain about the question of bankruptcy. At the present time Ireland and Scotland both have

separate Bankruptcy Laws from the Bankruptcy Laws of England. How on earth will the Irish be satisfied to have their commercial law, which is to suit their particular idiosyncrasies and requirements, dictated to them at Westminster, when they have not one single representative to express their view in the House of Commons?

Sir William Harcourt: It will not include bankruptcy.

Mr. Chamberlain: Then I do not know what you mean by trade. I hope I am not going beyond the limitation which has been imposed on me when I say briefly my objection is not to one portion of the scheme, but to the scheme as a whole. I object to either part of the scheme. I object—I will not say to the proposal of my right hon friend, because I do not know what it is—I shall not know until he has explained it in the final form which it has received—but I know this—that whatever it is I shall object if it lays—I must say that the zeal of hon. members opposite overleaps itself. I am not hostile to the scheme of land purchase. What I was going to say when I was interrupted was that I should object to any scheme which laid on the British taxpayer a tremendous liability, and what I thought to be an excessive risk. Above all, I should object to any scheme that was intended only as a bribe to Irish landlords to induce them to modify their hostility to a scheme of Home Rule, and which did not give evidence of an essential and considerable advantage for Irish tenants, who are a class, the poorer tenants especially, deserving of sympathy and assistance. Then I objected to the new authority proposed to be erected, because it was certain to become practically independent. The scheme was one for separation and not for Home Rule. I objected to the two together, because they seemed to me to combine the maximum of risk and the minimum of advantage, and the utmost possible sacrifice for an object which I did not believe it to be worth our while to strive to attain—I do not wish to be misunderstood—the object, of course, being the creation of a separate statutory Parliament in Dublin. I wanted to have said something more about the land, but I pass over that. Only I will say this—a perfectly general remark also, and applying almost to any scheme of land purchase as an inseparable adjunct to a scheme which, in my opinion, practically will place Ireland in the position of Canada. Now, I want to test that illustration of Canada Canada is loyal and friendly to this country. Ireland, I am sorry to say, at the present time, is not loyal, and cannot be called friendly. But if Canada came to this House, and asked for any large use of British credit in order to buy Canadian land, or to carry out public works in Canada, why, it would be scouted from one end of the Kingdom to the other. Well, then, how can it possibly be right for us to give to Ireland what we refuse to Canada, when the sole result of the scheme, after all, is that we are going to try to put Ireland in the position in which Canada has been for many years? I said I should object to any scheme that involves the British taxpayer in excessive risks. Why is the risk of any scheme excessive? I have been myself an advocate of large schemes in England and Scotland, intended, by the use of public money to turn a small tenant into the proprietor of the land that he tilled. I have not been unwilling to take the risk in such a case. But what I object to is to take a risk for what

I believe in a short time will be a foreign country. For an integral part of the United Kingdom I am prepared to take a risk; I am not prepared to take a risk in order to promote what is, in my judgment, a thinly veiled scheme of separation. The fact is, that the key to the whole situation is the proposal to exclude Irish members from this House. I do not wonder that that is a proposal which has many attractions both for Liberal and Conservative members. The hon. member for Cork has often shown that he can be in this House a most agreeable colleague, but I am sure he will not think me offensive if I say that he and his friends have also shown that they can be very disagreeable at times He, in one of his speeches, threatened that if his demands were not complied with he would make all legislation impossible.

Mr. Parnell I never threatened anything of the kind

Mr. Chamberlain I am most glad to accept the denial of the hon. member; but I can show him the paper in which the words appeared. No doubt, the report is inaccurate.

Mr. Parnell Perhaps the right hon gentleman will read the passage

Mr. Chamberlain: I have not got it with me, but I will send to the hon member, if he likes, the passage, the date, and the place where the speech is alleged to have been made. But I do not want to press it, and I readily accept his statement that he never said so. However, whether he said it or not, there are many people who think he would have the power to do something of that kind, and that fact weighs very much with England and Scotch members in the desire that they, at all events, should be left alone to carry on England and Scotch business without Irish assistance. I sympathize with that feeling, but I want to point out to the House that you must take the consequence of that It is quite unreasonable to turn out the Irish members from this House and leave them entirely unrepresented in reference to matters in which Irish interests are largely concerned and which are dealt with by the Imperial Parliament. Just consider it Already, under the scheme of the Prime Minister, the Customs and the Excise are to be taken from their control; all the prerogatives of the Crown are to be removed from their competence to deal with, as are also the Army and the Navy, and Foreign and Colonial policy Are the Irish members of opinion that the Irish people would be permanently content to be shut out from all part in the Imperial policy of this country? I was going to quote the hon. member for Cork again, but also from memory. He will tell me if I am wrong. I think that in one of his speeches he said something to the effect that he would never be satisfied until Ireland took her full place among the nations of the world That is, I think, a patriotic aspiration; but I would point out that it never can be realized under the scheme of my right hon. friend. How can Ireland take her place among the nations of the world when her mouth is closed on every international question? Ireland is to have no part in the arrangement of commercial treaties, by which her interests may be seriously effected. She will have no part whatever in deciding the policy under which war may break out, in which her sentiment may be strongly engaged on one side or the other, or which may put in serious

peril her own coast and her own people. She is to have no part in the control of the Army and Navy of this country. That is extraordinary, because the annals of our Army show that there have been no more illustrious members of that Army than Irishmen; and Irishmen, under this scheme, are to be content to be sent to battle and to death for matters which Irish representatives are to have no voice in discussing and determining. I say that Ireland, under these circumstances, is asked to occupy a position of degradation; and I venture to predict that, whatever hon. members may now do in order to maintain this instalment of their demands, their own countrymen will never rest satisfied with such an inadequate concession. Again, Ireland is to pay a fixed contribution to the Army and Navy, in which she is to have no part; but that contribution is not to be increased if England gets into difficulty or into war. It may be that in the most terrible crisis of the fate of the Empire Ireland is expected to be indifferent and unaffected, contributing not one single penny in order to secure the safety of the State or the Realm of which she is supposed to form a part. Where, in all this, is the integrity of the Empire? There is another point which I had almost omitted, but which, I think, will be interesting to hon. members opposite My right hon. friend raised a smile when he imagined himself in the position of an Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer proposing an Irish budget, and certainly I think that my right hon. friend would never have a more difficult task to perform than if he had to propose and recommend the first Budget presented to their new Irish Parliament I do not wonder that the hon. member for Cork complained, from his point of view, of this part of the scheme. I do not wonder that he asks the Prime Minister to be more liberal to him, and tells him that unless he is more liberal the cheerful acceptance of his scheme, which he has asked for, and made a condition in putting it forward, will be denied to him. I say he has good reason to be alarmed. But before I consider the position of the Irish taxpayer I wish to consider for a moment the position of the English taxpayer. In this scheme we shall have given independence We shall continue to burden our own taxpayer with a large contribution in aid of the Irish Government. In the first place, the contribution which Ireland now makes towards the Imperial Expenditure is to be reduced from one in twelve and a half to one in fifteen. I think that my right hon. friend has changed the estimate since I was in the Cabinet. No doubt he had good reasons for it. But I want to point out that, in any case, the result of this reduction is that the difference must be made up by imposing increased taxation on the British taxpayer. Then you have to face this—that if Ireland's contribution is reduced from one in twelve and a half to one in fifteen, whatever balance is required must come out of additional taxation. But that is not all. We are to continue, as I understand, to pay a contribution of £500,000 a year for the Irish Constabulary. The hon. member for Cork says that that is not enough, and that it ought to be much more. Then, if I followed my right hon. friend correctly, we are also indirectly, in connection with the Customs and Excise, to pay to Ireland that nice little sum of £1,400,000 which has reconciled the honourable member for Cork to the exclusion of the

Customs and Excise from the work of the Irish Parliament. But will this privilege of buying Customs and Excise in Ireland reconcile the English taxpayer to finding this further sum of £1,400,000? We have also to find £500,000 for the Irish Constabulary, and that makes a charge altogether of £1,900,000 a year, which, capitalized, amounts to £62,700,000 and this is a sum which we are asked to offer to Ireland together with this scheme of local government. But some will also object to this proposal on behalf of the Irish taxpayer, because it is the peculiarity of this scheme that it will be bad for both parties. In the first place, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to tell his constituents and the Irish House of Commons that he had to appropriate £3,250,000 annually to the fixed quota of Ireland towards the payment of a debt, an obligation in regard to which Ireland has never recognized, and for the Army and Navy, in the control of which Ireland will have no part. He will have to make this statement year by year, and sooner or later, I think, his constituents will lead him a very evil life. But that is not all. It is said that the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer will, according to the scheme of my right hon. friend, have an annual surplus of £400,000; but I would like to point out on what very slight foundations it rests. I believe the Civil charges of Ireland at present amount to £4,730,000 Deducting from that the Constabulary and Police contributions of £1,000,000 and £500,000 respectively, leaves the Civil charge £3,200,000. But my right hon. friend, in his imaginary Budget, estimated the Civil charges at £2,510,000.

(Colonel Nolan was understood to say that the cost of collection of revenue was included.)

Mr. Chamberlain: Oh! the cost of collection was added separately, then I understand it. I think my right hon. friend spoke about the importance of establishing economy in Irish expenditure, and I thought he had estimated the economy of a considerable sum. Then the observation I was going to make upon that point will not apply; and therefore, so far as the expenditure goes, as set forth in the Budget which my right hon. friend laid before us last night, there is nothing to object to. But as regards the revenue, the hon. member for Cork has already pointed out that £6,000,000 out of the £8,000,000 depend on the Excise and Customs, and that a very large part of the £6,000,000 is raised from duty on spirits and tobacco. If, therefore, there be any reduction in the consumption, either in England or Ireland, of spirits, it will be followed at once by a large reduction in the receipts of the Irish Exchequer. But that is not all. I am told—I do not know whether hon. members opposite will agree to it—that to some extent the trade of Ireland in spirits and porter is threatened by competition from Scotland and elsewhere. Well, of course, if anything occurred to lessen the production of spirits in Ireland and to increase the production in England or Scotland, the loss would fall entirely upon the Irish Exchequer. Under these circumstances, what would the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer have to do? He would have to do one of two things—either to levy further taxation or to repudiate the obligations imposed by this Magna Charta of Ireland. Well, Sir, I thought

the statement of the hon. member for Cork on this subject was rather ominous. He did not express, by any means, hearty approval of this part of the scheme. He did not give it a cheerful acceptance. If, then, we do not consent to make this further contribution and to lay a further obligation upon the British taxpayer, the scheme will be accepted grudgingly; and you may be sure that before two or three years have passed away there will be an attempt to get it revised or altered; and if that attempt is persistent, we know what persistency does in a matter of this kind. Now we are told by the advocates of this proposal that we can enforce the bargain, the statutory provisions, by force. I think there may be difficulties in the employment of force. At any rate, it is a contingency which we do not like to have to contemplate when we are making what we are told the Government hope will be a final settlement. I confess, Sir, that for my part, rather than face any agitation which I foresee would be the certain result of a proposal of this kind in the form presented to us, rather than face the irritation between the two countries, the panics which from time to time would prevail, and which would inevitably have the tendency enormously to increase our Army and Navy establishments—rather than face the distraction of all domestic legislation, which will be consequent upon a foreign policy, complicated as it will be by the existence of Ireland in its new and quasi-independent situation—I would vote for separation pure and simple. I would wipe off the obligations which exist between England and Ireland as a bad debt; I would prefer that Ireland should go free altogether from any claim on the part of this country, provided also that we might be free from the enormous responsibility which I believe a sham Union would certainly entail. I think the scheme will come to that in the end, and I would rather face it at once. Before I sit down I should like to try to answer the question which was put by the Prime Minister, and put very forcibly · "What alternative have you got?" I believe this question to be so vital and critical that I think men are bound, however little authority they may have in such a matter, still to do their best to promote a solution of it. Every man is bound to bring his separate contribution. Although I may say to the Prime Minister, using his own language, that it is not for anyone who is not a responsible Minister to prepare or to propose a plan which only a responsible Government has the information or the authority properly to prepare, yet I will not take refuge behind that precedent. I might say that it certainly would be a most strange doctrine that one should be forbidden to refuse a prescription that one thinks to be dangerous because one has not in his pocket a patent remedy which one believes to be a perfect cure. I should think that it would be still stranger that the physician should be called upon to commit suicide if he could not provide an absolute remedy for the disease of his patient. My right hon. friend appears to be under the impression that the only remedy which the opponents of this scheme would propose is that of coercion carried out in a manner and to an extent never hitherto contemplated. Well, at all events, that is not my alternative. I do not believe it is the only alternative. But before I come to that I think it is only fair that I should ask the advocates of this scheme: "How do you propose to carry out this scheme without

coercion, and how, if it be adopted, do you propose to maintain its *provisions without force?*" *Sir, it is the difficulty, one of the great* difficulties of this problem, that Ireland is not a homogeneous community —that it consists of two nations—that it is a nation which comprises two races and two religions. At least hon members will not deny that. And whatever the Roman Catholics of Ireland may think of this matter, it is certain that the Protestants will believe, rightly or wrongly, that it is injurious to them, and that they will resist it. I am not pledging my opinion to the statements that have been made that they will resist by force. I know nothing about that But I say that their opposition is to be reckoned with and counted upon, and that it ought not to be ignored by this House. *I* have not a word to say against the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, but I certainly might say a good deal in favour of the Protestant population. In Ulster they are prosperous and industrious and enterprising, and in Belfast they have rivalled the peaceful activity of Glasgow, of Manchester, and of Birmingham. Throughout the Southern Provinces you find the Protestants scattered here and there in isolated groups and little congregations, and wherever they exist they are the nucleus of industry and enterprise, and the rallying point and centre for all the loyal population. If you are going to carry this scheme in the face of the opposition of one-fifth of the population of Ireland—I believe the proportion is even greater; and if, unhappily, they should feel their interests so much compromised that they resist your decision, how are you to enforce it? Are you going to apply coercion to the loyal and law-abiding population while you taunt us, with a desire and intention, which do not in fact exist, to apply it to those who have not always been loyal or law-abiding? I go further, and I ask how are you going to enforce the provisions of your statutory Parliament, with the conditions and the limitations you have imposed? It is perfectly certain that they will be objected to and be the *subject of agitation. You will have Resolutions of this Irish* Parliament protesting against them, and in some times of difficulty and danger you may have these Resolutions supported by threats. What are you going to do? You must admit that force is at the bottom of your proposition, and when you come to the foundation there is still coercion, unless, indeed, you mean to tell us you will surrender everything rather than use force, in which case why not surrender everything at once? The peculiarity of your coercion is that you postpone it until it may be difficult, or even impossible, of application. I will, however, give a more practical answer to the question of the Prime Minister than any tu quoque, however effective it might be. I do not believe that coercion is the only or the necessary alternative. I say that after the facts which were stated by the Leaders of the late Government, and which were repeated and confirmed last night by the Prime Minister as to the present state of affairs in Ireland, there is, at all events, no case for coercion at present. The number of outrages is comparatively small; there is no great social disorder; there is a certain amount of intimidation, no doubt; but there is no case for coercion. The influence of the hon. member for Cork, of his friends, and of the National League, has been sufficient to prevent people from doing anything in

the nature of extended outrage. I believe that [illegible] influence, which has been so effective, will be continued; but I do not rely on that alone. What is the cause that makes a recrudescence of crime possible in Ireland? It is connected with the agrarian situation. There lies the danger. If any discontent should be felt in consequence of a refusal to grant the demands of the Irish people, that discontent may take the form of refusal to pay rent, and then if rent were sought to be recovered by the ordinary legal processes, outrage, violence, and crime would undoubtedly follow. But if we could put this cause out of the way, is there any reason to anticipate that there would be any such crime as would justify or necessitate any resort to repressive measures? My first answer to the Prime Minister, then, is this I would put this cause out of the way for a time; I would try to continue the truce—it might almost be called the truce of God—happily existent in Ireland now, I would bring in a Bill to stay all evictions for a period of six months, leaving any arrears to be settled in connection with the final settlement, and as this would be done in the interests of the United Kingdom, I would throw upon the Government of the United Kingdom the duty of lending to those landlords who might have any need of it such a proportion of their rents as would save them from necessity and privation. I would take from the landlords for a great Imperial purpose their present legal right of process for the recovery of rents, which might possibly amount to £4,000,000 sterling, and I would advance, if necessary, on the security of the land, a specified proportion of those rents until the whole matter should have been settled I would do that without hesitation, as the risk of such a transaction would be infinitesimal as compared with the risks of which we shall hear something later on. I would hope by these means, by putting a stop to the procedure which has been a prime cause of crime and outrage in Ireland—I would hope that we should get a further interval of six months, which could be used for finding a settlement of this question. I admit that it cannot remain altogether unsettled. I would carry on the inquiry which has been begun by the Prime Minister and the Government, but I would no longer have it carried on by a single individual, however colossal his intelligence may be. I would not have it carried on by a single party, however important, however influential it may be in this House—I would strive to carry it on with the assent and co-operation of all parties in the House. I would have it carried on by a Committee or Commission which would represent all sections of this House—both parties of Englishmen and Scotchmen, and both parties of Irishmen also. But upon what lines would I seek such a settlement? I hope the House does not think that I am presuming. I feel there is some presumption in offering an opinion; but I do it only in answer to the demands—the request—which was made by the Prime Minister. In what direction, then, do I think the solution is to be found? It has been assumed in some quarters that I am pedantically devoted to some plan of National Councils, of which a good deal was heard some six months ago. That is an entire mistake. My right hon. friend will bear me out when I say that I did not think it worth while, in the face of the much greater, much more complete, much more important proposal which he made even to offer one word in favour

of National Councils. The notion of National Councils was started to meet a different state of things and a different problem. It was started in connection with a scheme for a thorough Municipal Government in Ireland, and in connection with that I think it was a very good notion. But it has, at the present moment, one fatal defect—if hon. members opposite were at any time disposed to give it their consideration they are no longer willing to do so; they reject it; and, under these circumstances, Heaven forfend that any English party or statesman should attempt to impose that benefit upon them. The question now is different. At the time when I myself thought there was something in the idea of a Municipal Council as affording a vent to a great deal of political activity in Ireland, my proposals were considered too extreme by some of my colleagues who have now been successful in making them too moderate. Those National Councils I, for one, am not likely to put forward again. I no longer regard that scheme as a solution; and I confess—if I may venture with great respect to say so—that I think, after the speech of my right hon. friend, after the fact that a most important proportion of one of the great parties in the State has been willing, at all events, to entertain the proposal of the right hon. gentleman, it is only a very large proposal which can at any future time be accepted as a solution of this vast question. I should look for the solution in the direction of the principle of federation. My right hon. friend has rather looked for his model to the relations between this country and her self-governing and practically independent colonies. I think that that is of doubtful expediency. The present connection between our colonies and ourselves is no doubt very strong, owing to the affection which exists between members of the same nation. But it is a sentimental tie, and a sentimental tie only. It is rather curious that my right hon. friend should have looked in this direction just at the moment when between the colonies and this country there is a general desire to draw tighter the bonds which unite us and to bring the whole Empire into one federation. I can hardly bring myself to believe that the hon. member for Cork looks with entire satisfaction upon a proposal which will substitute such a connection as that which exists between Canada and this country—a connection, remember, which might be broken to-morrow if there were the slightest desire on the part of Canada to terminate it, because no one would think of employing force in order to tie any reluctant self-governing colony in continued bonds to this country—I think the hon. member for Cork would hardly like to see a tie of that kind substituted for that which at present exists. At all events, if he would, he would differ from many distinguished Irishmen who have preceded him. I will not quote some of the great orators of a past generation; but I will quote Mr. Butt, who, speaking ten years ago in this House, said.

> He, for one, was not willing to give up his share in the power and government of that Empire, and really since the Union he did not see how it was possible to give it up. Since the Union the wars which had brought Possession to England had been carried on by the spending of Irish treasure and the shedding of Irish blood. India had been

won by the British Empire in the same way, and Ireland had acquired with England partnership rights which it would be impossible to distribute, and of which Ireland could only have her share by continuing to be represented in that House.

It may be that Mr. Butt's views are rather antiquated at this time; but I would refer to an opinion of a distinguished member of the party opposite—I mean the hon. member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)—who, speaking at Dublin the other say, said:

> If we do not retain a voice in Imperial affairs, and keep part and parcel of the Imperial Parliament, the country will be degraded to the position of a province.

Well, that is what Irish members are asked to agree to under the scheme of my right hon. friend. It appears to me that the advantage of a system of federation is that Ireland might under it really remain an integral portion of the Empire. The action of such a scheme is centripetal and not centrifugal, and it is in the direction of federation that Democratic movement has made most advances in the present century My right hon. friend has referred to foreign precedents, but surely they are all against him. He did not refer to United Italy. In Italy, different nations, different states, which have had independent existences for centuries, have been welded together. Even where federation has been adopted it has always been in the case of federating states which were previously separate. It has been intended to bring nations together, to lessen the causes of difference, and to unite them more closely in a common union Take the case of Germany, for instance. Germany has been united upon a system of federation which has brought together nations long separated. Take the great case—the greatest case of all —of the United States of America. Ah, Sir, there you have the greatest Democracy the world has ever seen, and a Democracy which has known how to fight in order to maintain its union It has fought for, and triumphantly maintained, the Imperial Union of the United States; but it has known, also, how to respect all local difference. Yes, Sir, I cannot but remember that in the time of its greatest crisis, when it was in the most terrible moment of its fate, my right hon friend counselled the disintegration of the United States.

Mr. Gladstone · I did not counsel it.

Mr. Chamberlain: My right hon. friend says he did not counsel it; but he gave the weight of his great name to the statement that the Northern and Southern States had become separate nations. Well, Sir, no one doubted at that time the sincerity of my right hon. friend, or the purity of his motives. Nobody doubts them now; but everybody will admit—I dare say my right hon. friend himself would admit —that in that view of the situation in the United States he made a mistake.

Are you certain he is not making a mistake again? Well, Sir, I say that in my view the solution of this question should be sought in some form of federation, which would really maintain the Imperial unity, and which would, at the same time, conciliate the desire

for a national local government which is felt so strongly by the constituents of hon. members opposite. I do not say that we should imitate the great models to which I have referred. Our Constitution and the circumstances of the case are different. I say that I believe that it is on this line, and not on the line of our relations with our self-governing colonies, that it is possible to seek for and find a solution of the difficulty. I have now only to thank the House for the indulgence which it has given to me. I regret that my explanation has been necessarily to some extent incomplete. I have, however, said sufficient to put the House in possession of the main reasons why I have ceased to be a minister of the Crown. Sir, there are some persons, servile partisans, who disgrace public life, who say that I have been guilty of treachery because I have resigned an office which I could no longer hold with honour. What would these men have been entitled to say of me if, holding the opinions that I do, which I expressed before joining the Government, and which I have expressed to-day, I had remained on that bench pretending to serve my country with a lie upon my lips? I do not assume—Heaven knows I do not pretend—to dogmatize on a question of this kind. I do not say that I am right in the conclusion at which I have arrived; I do not presume to condemn those who honestly differ from me; but of one thing I am certain—that I should have been guilty of an incredible shame and baseness if I had clung to place and office in support of a policy which in my heart I believe to be injurious to the best interests of Ireland and of Great Britain.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

REPLY TO HORACE WALPOLE

House of Commons, 1740

The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the hon. gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.

Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not assume the province of determining; but surely age may become just contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should preserve him from insults.

Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country

But youth is not my only crime! I have been accused of acting a theatrical part. A theatrical part may either imply some peculiarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my real sentiments, and the adoption of the opinions and language of another man

In the first sense, the charge is too trifling to be confuted, and deserves only to be mentioned, that it may be despised; I am at liberty, like every other man, to use my own language and though I may, perhaps, have some ambition, yet, to please this gentleman, I shall not lay myself under any restraint, nor very solicitously copy his diction, or his mien, however matured by age, or modelled by experience. If any man shall, by charging me with theatrical behaviour, imply that I utter any sentiments but my own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and a villain; nor shall any protection shelter him from the treatment which he deserves. I shall on such an occasion, without scruple, trample upon all those forms with which wealth and dignity entrench themselves, nor shall anything but age restrain my resentment; age, which always brings one privilege, that of being insolent and supercilious without punishment.

But with regard to those whom I have offended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted a borrowed part, I should have avoided their censure; the heat that offended them is the ardour of conviction and the zeal

for the service of my country, which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty is invaded, nor look in silence upon public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and drag the thief to justice, whoever may protect them in their villainy, and whoever may partake of their plunder, their posterity will for ever continue in office. Sir, this doctrine has been so often contradicted by experience, that I am surprised to hear it advanced by gentlemen now. This very session has afforded us a convincing proof that very little foundation exists for asserting that a parliamentary inquiry must necessarily reveal the secrets of the Government. Surely, in a war with Spain which must necessarily be carried on principally by sea, if the Government have secrets, the Lords of the Admiralty must be entrusted with the most important of them. Yet, Sir, in this very session we have without any secret committees made inquiry into the conduct of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. We have not only inquired into their conduct, but we have censured it in such manner as to put an end to the trust which was before reposed in them Has that inquiry discovered any of the secrets of our Government? On the contrary, the committee found there was no occasion to probe into such secrets. They found cause enough for censure without it, and none of the commissioners pretended to justify their conduct by the assertion that papers contained secrets which ought not to be disclosed.

This, Sir, is so recent, so strong a proof that there is no necessary connection between a parliamentary inquiry and a discovery of secrets which it behoves the nation to conceal, that I trust gentlemen will no longer insist upon this danger as an argument against the inquiry. Sir, the First Commissioner of the Treasury has nothing to do with the application of secret service money. He is only to take care that it be regularly issued from his office and that no more be issued than the conjuncture of affairs appears to demand. As to the particular application, it properly belongs to the Secretary of State, or to such other persons as His Majesty employs, so that we cannot suppose the proposed inquiry will discover any secrets relative to the application of that money unless the noble lord has acted as Secretary of State, as well as First Commissioner of the Treasury, or unless a great part of the money drawn out for secret service has been delivered to himself or persons employed by him, and applied towards getting a corrupt influence in Parliament or at elections. Of both these practices he is most grievously suspected, and both are secrets which it very much behoves him to conceal. But, Sir, it equally behoves the nation to discover them. His country and he are, in his cause, equally, though oppositely, concerned; for the safety or ruin of one or the other depends upon the fate of the question, and the violent opposition, which this question has experienced, adds great strength to the suspicion.

I admit, Sir, that the noble lord, whose conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and consequently he must have had a share at least in advising all the measures which have been pursued both abroad and at home. But I cannot from this admit, that an inquiry into his conduct must necessarily

occasion a discovery of any secrets of vital importance to the nation, because we are not to inquire into the measures themselves.

But, Sir, suspicions have gone abroad relative to his conduct as a Privy Councillor which, if true, are of the utmost consequence to be inquired into. It has been strongly asserted that he was not only Privy Councillor, but that he usurped the whole and sole director of his Majesty's Privy Council. It has been asserted that he gave the Spanish Court the first hint of the unjust claim they afterwards advanced against our South Sea Company, which was one chief cause of the war between the two nations. And it has been asserted, that this very minister had advised the French in what manner to proceed in order to bring our Court into their measures; particularly that he advised them as to the numerous army they have this last summer sent into Westphalia. What truth there is in these assertions I pretend not to decide. The facts are of such a nature, and they must have been perpetrated with so much caution and secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to light even by a parliamentary inquiry; but the very suspicion is ground enough for establishing such inquiry, and for carrying it on with the utmost strictness and vigour.

Whatever my opinion of past measures may be, I shall never be so vain, or bigoted to that opinion, as to determine, without any inquiry, against the majority of my countrymen. If I found the public measures generally condemned, let my private opinions of them be ever so favourable, I should be for inquiry in order to convince the people of their error, or at least to furnish myself with the most authentic arguments in favour of the opinion I had embraced. The desire of bringing others into the same sentiments with ourselves is so natural, that I shall always suspect the candour of those who in politics and religion are opposed to free inquiry. Besides, Sir, when the complaints of the people are general against an administration, or against any particular minister, an inquiry is a duty which we owe both to our Sovereign and the people. We meet here to communicate to our Sovereign the sentiments of his people. We meet here to redress the grievances of the people By performing our duty in both respects, we shall always be enabled to establish the throne of our Sovereign in the hearts of his people, and to hinder the people from being led into insurrection and rebellion by misrepresentations or false surmises. When the people complain they must either be right or in error. If they be right, we are in duty bound to inquire into the conduct of the ministers, and to punish those who appear to have been most guilty. If they be in error, we ought still to inquire into the conduct of our ministers in order to convince the people that they have been misled. We ought not, therefore, in any question relating to inquiry, to be governed by our own sentiments We must be governed by the sentiments of our constituents, if we are resolved to perform our duty both as true representatives of the people or as faithful subjects of our King.

I perfectly agree with the hon. gentleman that if we are convinced that the public measures are wrong, or that if we suspect them to be so, we ought to make inquiry, although there is not much complaint among the people; but I wholly differ from him in thinking that, not-

withstanding the administration and the minister are the subjects of complaint among the people, we ought not to make inquiry into his conduct unless we are ourselves convinced that his measures have been wrong. Sir, we can no more determine this question without inquiry than a judge without a trial can declare any man innocent of a crime laid to his charge. Common fame is a sufficient ground for an inquisition at common law, and for the same reason, the general voice of the people of England ought always to be regarded as a sufficient ground for a parliamentary inquiry.

But, say, gentlemen, of what is this minister accused? What crime is laid to his charge? For, unless some misfortune is said to have happened, or some crime to have been committed, no inquiry ought to be set on foot. Sir, the ill-posture of our affairs both abroad and at home; the melancholy situation we are in, the distresses to which we are now reduced, are sufficient causes for an inquiry even supposing the minister accused of no particular crime or misconduct The nation lies bleeding, perhaps expiring The balance of power has been fatally disturbed. Shall we acknowledge this to be the case, and shall we not inquire whether it has happened by mischance, or by the misconduct, perhaps by the malice prepense, of the minister? Before the Treaty of Utrecht it was the general opinion that in a few years of peace we should be able to pay off most of our debts. We have now been very nearly thirty years in profound peace, at least we have never been engaged in any war but what we unnecessarily brought upon ourselves, and yet our debts are almost as great as they were when the Treaty was concluded Is not this a misfortune, and shall not we make inquiry into its cause?

I am surprised to hear it said that no inquiry ought to be set on foot, unless it is known that some public crime has been committed. Sir, the suspicion that a crime has been committed has always been deemed a sufficient reason for instituting an inquiry. And is there not now a suspicion that the public money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections? Is it not become a common expression. "The flood gates of the Treasury are opened against a general election"? I desire no more than that every gentleman who is conscious that such practices have been resorted to, either for or against him, should give his vote in favour of the motion. Will any gentleman say that this is no crime when every private corruption has such high penalties, inflicted by express statute against it? Sir, a minister who commits this crime —who thus abuses the public money, adds breach of trust to the crime of corruption; and as the crime, when committed by him is of much more dangerous consequence than when committed by a private man, it becomes more properly the object of a parliamentary inquiry, and merits the severest punishment. The hon. gentleman may with much more reason tell us that Porteous was never murdered by the mob at Edinburgh, because, notwithstanding the high reward as well as pardon proffered, his murderers were never discovered, than tell us that we cannot suppose our minister, either personally or by others, has ever corrupted an election, because no information has been brought against him; Sir, nothing but a pardon, upon the conviction of the offender, has ever yet been offered in this case: and how could any

informer expect a pardon, and much less a reward, when he knew that the very man against whom he was to inform, had not only the distribution of all public rewards, but the packing of a jury or parliament against him? Whilst such a minister preserves the favour of the Crown, and thereby the exercise of its power, this information can never be expected.

This shows, Sir, the impotence of the act, mentioned by the hon. gentleman, respecting that sort of corruption which is called bribery. With regard to the other sort of corruption, which consists in giving or taking away those posts, pensions, or preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary will of the Crown, the act is still more inefficient. Although it would be considered most indecent in a minister to tell any man that he gave or withheld a post, pension, or preferment, on account of his voting for or against any ministerial measure in Parliament, or any ministerial candidate at an election, yet, if he makes it his constant rule never to give a post, pension, or preferment, but to those who vote for his measures and his candidates, if he makes a few examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same effect as when he openly declares it Will any gentleman say that this has not been the practice of the minister? Has he not declared, in the face of this House, that he will continue the practice? And will not this have the same effect as if he went separately to every particular man, and told him in express terms: "Sir, if you vote for such a measure or such a candidate you shall have the first preferment in the gift of the Crown: if you vote otherwise, you must not expect to keep what you have?" Gentlemen may deny that the sun shines at noon-day; but if they have eyes, and do not wilfully shut them, or turn their backs, no man will believe them to be ingenuous in what they say. I think, therefore, that the hon. gentleman was in the right who endeavoured to justify the practice. It was more candid than to deny it—but as his arguments have already been fully answered, I shall not farther discuss them.

Gentlemen exclaim: "What! will you take from the Crown the power of preferring or cashiering the officers of the army?" No, Sir, this is neither the design nor will it be the effect, of our agreeing to the motion. The King at present possesses the absolute power to prefer or cashier the officers of our army It is a prerogative which he may employ for the benefit or safety of the public, but like other prerogatives, it may be abused, and when it is so abused, the minister is responsible to Parliament When an officer is preferred or cashiered for voting in favour of, or against any Court measure, or candidate, it is an abuse of this prerogative, for which the minister is answerable. We may judge from circumstances or outward appearances—from these we may condemn, and I hope we have still a power to punish a minister who dares to advise the King to prefer or cashier from such motives! Sir, whether this prerogative ought to remain as it is, without any limitation, is a question foreign to this debate, but I must observe that the argument employed for it might, with equal justice, be employed for giving our King an absolute power over every man's property—because a large property will always give the possessor a command over the great body of men, whom he may arm and discipline if he pleases. I know of no

law to restrain him. I hope none will ever exist—I wish our gentlemen of estates would make more use of this power than they do, because it would tend to keep our domestic as well as our foreign enemies in awe. For my part I think a gentleman who has earned his commission by his services (in his military capacity, I mean) or bought it with his money, has as much a property in it as any man has in his estate, and ought to have it well secured by the laws of his country. Whilst it remains at the absolute will of the Crown, he must, unless he has some other estate to depend on, be a slave to the minister; and if the officers of our army long continue in that state of slavery in which they are at present, I am afraid it will make slaves of us all.

The only method to prevent this fatal consequence, as the law now stands, is to make the best and most constant use of the power we possess as members of this House, to prevent any minister from daring to advise the King to make a bad use of his prerogative, as there is such a strong suspicion that this minister has done so, we ought certainly to inquire into it, "not only for the sake of punishing him, if guilty, but as a terror to all future ministers."

This, Sir, may therefore be justly reckoned among the many other sufficient causes for the inquiry proposed The suspicion that the civil list is greatly in debt is another, for if it is, it must either have been misapplied or profusely thrown away, which abuse it is both our duty to prevent and to punish. It is inconsistent with the honour of this nation that the King should stand indebted to his servants or tradesmen, who may be ruined by delay of payment. The Parliament has provided sufficiently to prevent this dishonour from being brought upon the nation, and, if the provision we have made should be lavished or misapplied, we must supply the deficiency; we ought to do it whether the King makes any application for that purpose or not; and the reason is plain, because we ought first to inquire into the management of that revenue, and punish those who have occasioned the deficiency. They will certainly choose to leave the creditors of the Crown and the honour of the nation in a state of suffering rather than advise the King to make an application which may bring censure upon their conduct, and condign punishment upon themselves Besides this, Sir, another and a stronger reason exists for promoting an inquiry. There is a strong suspicion that the public money has been applied towards corrupting voters at elections, and members when elected; and if the civil list be in debt, it affords reason to presume that some part of this revenue has, under the pretence of secret-service money, been applied to this infamous purpose.

I shall conclude, Sir, by making a few remarks upon the last argument used against the proposed inquiry. It has been said that the minister delivered in his accounts annually; that these accounts have been usually passed and approved by Parliament; and that therefore it would be unjust to call him now to a general account, because the vouchers may be lost, or many expensive transactions have escaped his memory. It is true, Sir, estimates and accounts have been annually delivered in. The forms of proceeding made that necessary, but were any of these estimates and accounts properly inquired into? Were not all questions of that description rejected by the minister's friends in

Parliament? Have not Parliament always taken them upon trust, and passed them without examination? Can such a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be deemed a reason for not calling him to a new and general account? If the steward to an infant's estate should annually, for twenty years together, deliver in his accounts to the guardians and the guardians through negligence or for a share of the plunder, should annually pass his accounts without examination, or at least without objection; would that be a reason for saying that it would be unjust to the infant, when he came of age, to call his steward to account? Especially if that steward had built and furnished sumptuous palaces, living during the whole time at a much greater expense than his visible income warranted and yet amassing great riches? The public, Sir, is always in a state of infancy; therefore no prescription can be pleaded against it—not even a general release, if there is the least cause for supposing that it was surreptitiously obtained. Public vouchers ought always to remain on record; nor ought any public expense to be incurred without a voucher. Therefore the case of the public is still stronger than that of an infant. Thus, Sir, the hon. gentleman who made use of this objection must see how little it avails in the case before us; and therefore I trust we shall have his concurrence in the question.

THE RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

"FISCAL RETALIATION"

Speech in House of Commons, March 30, 1909

We always welcome on this side of the House the opportunity which our friends opposite afford us from time to time of having an evening's discussion upon various aspects of the fiscal question. Personally, I always enjoy very much listening to their development of a fiscal debate. I rejoice in the opportunity of watching the psychological workings of the Protectionist mind. It is a very interesting and instructive study, and nothing strikes me more strongly in that examination than the inexhaustible faculty of honourable gentlemen opposite of haranguing, nourishing, and cherishing delusions of all kinds upon the subject to which they have pinned their faith There are three delusions which have occupied the speeches to which we have listened this evening, which were presented in a very short and plain form in the speeches of the Mover and the Seconder, and which we have listened to in the rather more cultured version given in the speech of the hon. member who has just sat down. There is no divergence between the opinions of ministers upon the subject of retaliation, none whatever; none exists, none is apparent. There is no difference between what I have said in this House and outside in the last few weeks and what I have always said in discussing this question of retaliation No departure has been made from the canons of fiscal orthodoxy, and the hon. member for Preston, than whom there is no greater authority on orthodoxy in Free Trade and all other matters, in his admirable speech was able to quote all the greatest authorities, from Adam Smith, Huskisson, Sir Robert Peel, and Cobden, in support of the propositions which he and I have ventured to advance.

There is no new announcement or no new declaration of policy on the part of the Government, or on the part of members of the Free Trade and Liberal Party, and no one knows it better than the hon. gentleman himself opposite, for he has thoroughly studied this question, and he is acquainted with all its points and all its turns. No new view has been propounded, and so far as I am concerned I beg respectfully to say I have no withdrawal to make and no modification of any kind to offer of the observations I have made. I own that hon. gentlemen opposite have great faith in the cause they put forward. It is only fair to those who press and advance their views to recognize their sincerity and their conviction, but I do not think that a cause which requires to be advanced by consciously false arguments, by garbled extracts from past speeches, and by tricked statistics, is a cause which can be said to repose

on any very steady or assured foundation of truth Now what is the position on which we stand on this question?

We are all agreed on this side of the House, and on this bench, that a system and policy of retaliation as propounded by the party opposite would involve us in mischievous and wasteful tariff wars, would almost certainly lead to the imposition of a general tariff, would probably be quite ineffective in practice, and we have done extremely well in the past without recourse to such methods. We are all agreed in that. Let me say, at the same time, we have always said that we have never lost our freedom to retaliate if a case were made out, that such cases might conceivably occur, and that we have no intention at any time, least of all at the present time, of limiting, by any declaration of our own, the perfect and unfettered discretion of the House of Commons to judge all such cases on their merits, and to deal with new circumstances when, and as those circumstances arise. No, Sir, there is no new departure, there is nothing new in what I have said There are not two members of the Government who more authoritatively and completely might express and declare its policy than the Prime Minister and the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Prime Minister distinctly said, on March 28, 1905

> "No one alleges, or has ever alleged, that there may not be under peculiar circumstances, which has never yet been described, a conceivable instance in which, possibly by the deliberate action of the Legislature, some form of retaliation may not be imposed."

That was in 1905 My right hon. friend, the Foreign Secretary, as long ago as May 6, 1901, before the fiscal controversy was born, or thought of by any responsible politician in the country, said in the course of a debate.

> "I am prepared to stand firm and to fight import duties so long as we have the most-favoured-nation clause, but if it comes to this, that any foreign country deliberately imposes a differential duty on British goods, that is to say gives British goods deliberately worse terms in its markets than other competitors, then I think we shall have set no limit to our indignation."

The right hon. gentleman went on to say, in June, 1903:

> "I could imagine a case in which some country might be subjected to such hostile treatment that it would be impossible to sit still under it, but before we resorted to commercial retaliation I should want to have five things clearly proved: that there was a case of hostile discrimination; that all the recourses of ordinary diplomatic negotiations have been exhausted; that commercial reprisals would not hurt us more than they would hurt the other country; that they were likely to prove effective; and that there was no better method of bringing pressure to bear to attain our ends. Show me such an exceptional case, prove that every one of these five points hold good, and we will consider the case on its merits."

Those, I venture to say, are almost the exact words which I used in the debate on the Address, and which four years ago, when I prosecuted my candidature before the General Election, I unfolded to those whose votes I received. I have ventured to trespass upon the House in regard to this small point of my personal orthodoxy, which is after all of no great consequence. I only wish I had always been as consistent in everything else as I have been in this. I want the House to see that all this trumped argument about a new departure, and the great concession on the part of the Government to the revelation which hon. gentlemen have been proclaiming, is a wholly misleading and unfounded argument which rests upon no other authority than their earnest desire to strengthen their case by fabricating situations which do not exist, and by misunderstanding and misrepresenting the opinions of their political opponents. Now, let me take an instance which, I think, illustrates the position which we adopt on this intricate point in the great discussion between Free Trade and Protection. I will take an instance which will appeal to hon members opposite. In trade disputes we are *all conciliators. Everybody is in favour of arbitration and conciliation* and methods of settling trade disputes without recourse to lock-outs or strikes. What would be thought of a firm who said: "Our policy is a policy of lock-outs?" What would be thought of a trade union who said: "Our policy is a policy of strikes"? All the most responsible leaders of trade unionism endeavour to discourage, by every means in their power, recourse to these injurious and violent methods Yet, with all the inconvenience, friction, and loss which strikes cause, not only to those against whom that weapon is used, but also to those who use that weapon, I venture to think that no sensible workman, no responsible trade union leader, would for a moment allow himself or those for whom he is responsible to be cut off from the right or power to strike if the occasion arose No one can possibly doubt that the relations of capital and labour proceed on a healthier basis because that power exists and, if need be, can be effectually exerted. I think the workmen in any industry would make the greatest mistake if they repudiated the right to strike, and employers would make a great mistake, if they were to assume that, because their men had never struck, and were opposed to that method of settling disputes and preferred other methods of adjusting industrial fluctuations therefore, they would not strike, no matter how favourable the opportunity, how strong the case, or how clear the provocation. If I were the secretary of a trade union at a time when some rather critical negotiations in trade matters were pending, and I were to go about proclaiming, or allowed others to go about proclaiming, that under no circumstances whatever should we possibly resort to extremes, I should not be doing my duty to those of whose interests I had been placed in charge.

Just in the same way I think foreign nations might easily make a mistake in their commercial relations with Great Britain if they were to think only of securing advantages for themselves, and not to value sufficiently those advantages they already enjoy, and were not to remember because this country had given much, it had for that reason much to take away.

Let me further say on this subject that it is a delusion to suppose, as hon. gentlemen opposite are always supposing, that a policy of retaliation would mean substantial commercial advantages for this country. To go about imagining that there is a sort of rich unconquered field of benefit to be acquired by the use of retaliatory provisions is only another of those inexhaustible delusions with new varieties of which we are always being confronted. The reason is a very simple and easily apprehended one, and one which I think will appeal to the protectionist mind. The object of foreign protection is to protect, and no foreign country will yield up an effective and unrestricted entry into its home markets and into the area of its home trade for any operation which another country, whether Free Trade or protection, may attempt upon its export trade, which, after all, is the only part of its trade open to any such attempt. Therefore it is a delusion to suppose that any serious or substantial advantage will be gained by a policy of retaliation. I say further—and I have been quoted in this respect—that the policy of retaliation, unless rigidly restricted to articles not produced in the retaliating country, would inevitably require a general tariff If, as a matter of regular practice, you are going to adopt a policy of barter by means of Custom duties, you would inevitably be led to the erection of a maximum and minimum tariff For this reason when a tax is put on a trade the disturbance is very often more injurious to the trade than the tax itself. The whole point of retaliatory policy involves frequent alteration in the Customs tariff, and the trades selected as the counters for this negotiation would be exposed to a quadruple uncertainty on every occasion—first, there would be the expectation that they would be the subject of the duty when the threat is made ; secondly, the imposition of the duty when the duty operates , thirdly, if the retaliation is successful, the expectation of the removal of the duty when it is seen that the threat is effective , and fourthly, the disturbance when the duty is finally removed. No industry could stand that. No industry has ever stood that in any country without being protected actually or virtually by a Protectionist tariff strong enough to secure them all they want before they are employed in this purpose of commercial bargaining.

Let the House mark this. It is only on a basis of what does not matter to the industries affected that the bargaining will proceed, and for that very reason this process of bargaining is almost always wholly ineffectual, because it is necessarily confined within limits which do not matter very much. It is necessarily confined within the narrow margin of the minimum protection necessary to secure the home market, and the maximum annoyance after that has been secured which can be inflicted upon the foreign country with whom the negotiations are being conducted. It is unquestionably a fact that if you are unprepared to give away anything that really matters very much to yourself, you will not attain anything that very much matters to other people. And so we have in foreign countries the extraordinary spectacle when protectionist treaties are negotiated of the laborious erection of sham tariffs on each side for the purpose of negotiating sham tariffs, which are put

up only for the purpose of being taken down in the shape of reciproca, sham concessions between two parties; and all the time this countryl not interfering in this business, and not devoting itself to this farcical game, is protected securely by the operation of the most-favoured-nation clause against the advantages of every tariff country without contributing to the cost and vexation of the struggle, and shares in the benefits of every nation without sharing their exertions or running their risks. I know hon. gentlemen opposite have not a high opinion of the most-favoured-nation clause, but there are very few things in this country which they have a high opinion of. Their pessimism knows no limit. Our credit is ruined absolutely, our industries are prostrate, our Navy no more—all passed away—and so the most-favoured-nation clause, the foundation of our commercial policy, comes in for their uncomplimentary and baleful criticism in common with all the institutions on which the strength and force of the British nation depend. The hon. gentleman opposite spoke just now of the effect of the German and Austro-Hungarian tariff negotiations, 1903 to 1906. I have had a calculation made at the Board of Trade, the details of which I shall be very ready to publish to the House in the regular method, on the subject of these treaties We took the old scale of duties before the process of negotiation began and the new scale of duties which existed at the conclusion of it, and compared the duties which existed at the beginning with the duties which existed at the end, and we applied those duties, by a most elaborate calculation most fully worked out, to the imports into Germany and the negotiating countries before and after and into Great Britain respectively. The imports into Germany of the five, six, or seven countries with which they negotiated, showed reductions on 14% of their trade, increases on 32%, and unaltered conditions on 54% Now the same test as applied to this country in the same period will show that with regard to England the reductions were 19%, whereas the increases were only 21%, and unaltered conditions were 60%. That is not a matter of theory, but of ascertained facts We in this country obtained as good, if not better, terms of entry into the great protected markets of the world than by any device the protected countries were able to do.

I take again Austria-Hungary as another centre of the group. In that case the group obtained reductions of 7%, while Great Britain obtained reductions of 23% on the same tariff. The group had increases of 26% and Great Britain also 26%. The group had untouched 67%, and Great Britain 51%. The conclusion is that a clear balance of advantage rests with this country. That can be proved and demonstrated. The advantage rests with this country as compared with countries which go through all the elaborate processes of creating artificial tariffs in favour of mutual concessions.

I said just now that a general tariff was necessary for a policy of retaliation. It is not necessary for an occasional Act. You can retaliate to-morrow—that is, if you prove your case, and think it worth while. Proof, after all, is a formality that you cannot dispense with. When a case exists in which you would not hurt yourself more than other

people there is nothing to prevent any Government—this, or the last or the next—from retaliating if they please and if they choose. Why, Sir, the question whether you should use the Wine Duties for commercial advantages can only be decided on some definite and specific case before the House of Commons. Nothing in the teachings and utterances of the Great Free Traders, nothing in the doctrines of Free Trade, would prevent us from acting if a case were made out, and it would be a very great mistake if people went about endeavouring to deprive this country of any advantage which it might gain from the possession of power which certainly would be considerable in these respects. I hope the House will not accuse me of making verbal distinctions if I were to say that there is a great deal of difference between the policy of retaliation and the occasional act, and for this reason. At present we face only Protectionist tariffs. We do not face retaliatory and combative tariffs. Duties put on against this country are only put on with a view of domestic protection, and not with a view of bargaining at all If this country were to adopt a policy of retaliation, such as proposed by the Leader of the Opposition, you would never have an honest protective tariff, but always one of those hypothetical *tarif de combat* erected against you, and it is the conclusion of all sound experts you would find yourself no further advanced than at the present moment. It is actually true, I venture to submit it, we are to discuss the theories and principles on which the commercial policy of this country is founded, to say that in this matter, as in many other grave matters of commercial policy, this country, pursuing a Free Trade system, is no less free, but actually more free, and not less powerful, but actually more powerful, than foreign countries who have adopted the whole apparatus of the Protectionist character. There is one other aspect which I will venture to call the Freedom of Free Trade, which, on such a debate as this, we ought not to overlook We are often asked what are you to do if a Great German or American Trust corners the British market Again I say if the case were made out clearly for the evil, and for a remedy, no Government in this country would hesitate to propose, and no House of Commons would hesitate to enact, measures necessary to deal with such an attack No such case has ever been made out, no such instance has ever been produced But, if it were done, do not let it be assumed that a Free Trade Government is unable to cope with such a matter. On the contrary, a Protectionist Government, the servile creature of the great financial interests which it brought into being, might indeed be powerless to deal with the operations of this cosmopolitan finance, but a Free Trade Government, which would owe no such allegiance, would in this respect enjoy greater superiority of freedom and power, and would be able to intervene with irresistible force and decisive effect. I am not willing, in any circumstances, to attempt to narrow the broad commercial policy of this country. That policy was not made by pedants or doctrinaires, but by a practical people deeply versed in trade, and by men of business who were also men of affairs—great traders, who were also great thinkers. And that policy inspired throughout by broad-minded, far-seeing enlightened men has secured to us advantage in a practical measure beyond those obtained by any other nation, and

freedom and power more pre-eminent than that secured by any Protectionist nation. For these reasons we should welcome the opportunity the Amendment of my hon. friend affords of making another broad affirmation of one of the major truths upon which the Free Trade policy of this country and of this Government is erected.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

GREAT ORATORS AND THEIR TRAINING

For who can suppose that amid the great multitude of students, the utmost abundance of masters, the most eminent geniuses among men, the infinite variety of causes, the most ample rewards offered to eloquence, there is any other reason to be found for the small number of orators than the incredible magnitude and difficulty of the art? A knowledge of a vast number of things is necessary, without which volubility of words is empty and ridiculous, speech itself is to be formed, not merely by choice, but by careful construction of words, and all the emotions of the mind which nature has given to man, must be intimately known; for all the force and art of speaking must be employed in alloying or exciting the feelings of those who listen. To this must be added a certain portion of grace and wit, learning worthy of a well-bred man, and quickness and brevity in replying as well as attacking, accompanied with a refined decorum and urbanity Besides, the whole of antiquity and a multitude of examples is to be kept in the memory, nor is the knowledge of laws in general, or of the civil law in particular, to be neglected, and why need I add any remarks on delivery itself, which is to be ordered by action of body, by gesture, by look, and by modulation and variation of the voice, the great power of which, alone and in itself, the comparatively trivial art of actors and the stage proves; on which though all bestow their utmost labour to form their look, voice, and gesture, who knows not how few there are, and have ever been, to whom we can attend with patience? What can I say of that repository for all things, the memory, which, unless it be made the keeper of the matter and words that are the fruits of thought and invention, all the talents of the orator, we see, though they be of the highest degree of excellence, will be of no avail? Let us cease then to wonder what is the cause of the scarcity of good speakers, since eloquence results from all those qualifications, in each of which singly it is a great merit to labour successfully; and let us rather exhort our children, and others whose glory and honour is dear to us, to contemplate in their minds the full magnitude of the object, and not to trust that they can reach the height at which they aim by the aid of the precepts, masters, and exercises that they are all now following, but to understand that they must adopt others of a different character.

In my opinion, indeed, no man can be an orator possessed of every praiseworthy accomplishment unless he has attained the knowledge of everything important, and of all liberal arts; for his language must be ornate and copious from knowledge, since unless there be beneath the surface matter understood and felt by the speaker, oratory becomes an empty and almost puerile flow of words.

"I am then of opinion," said Crassus, "that nature and genius in the first place contribute most aid to speaking; and that to those writers on the art to whom Antonius first now alluded, it was not skill and method in speaking, but natural talent that was wanting; for there ought to be certain lively powers in the mind and understanding, which may be acute to invent, fertile to explain and adorn, and strong and retentive to remember, and if any one imagines that these powers may be acquired by art (which is false, for it is very well if they can be animated and excited by art, but they certainly cannot by art be ingrafted or instilled since they are all the gifts of nature), what will he say of those qualities which are certainly born with the man himself —volubility of tongue, tone of voice, strength of lungs, and a peculiar conformation and aspect of the whole countenance and body? I do not say that art cannot improve in these particulars (for I am not ignorant that what is good may be made better by education, and what is not very good may be in some degree polished and amended); but there are some persons so hesitating in their speech, so inharmonious in their tone of voice, or so unwieldly and rude in the air and movements of their bodies, that whatever power they possess either from genius or art, they can never be reckoned in the number of accomplished speakers, while there are others so happily qualified in these respects, so eminently adorned with the gifts of nature, that they seem not to have been born like other men, but moulded by some divinity. It is indeed a great task and enterprise for a person to undertake and profess that while every one else is silent, he alone must be heard on the most important subjects, and in a large assembly of men; for there is scarcely any one present who is not sharper and quicker to discover defects in the speaker than merits; and thus whatever offends the hearer effaces the recollection of what is worthy of praise I do not make these observations for the purpose of altogether deterring young men from the study of oratory, even if they be deficient in some natural endowments. For who does not perceive that to C. Cælius, my contemporary, a new man, the mere mediocrity in speaking which he was enabled to attain was a great honour? Who does not know that Q. Varius, your equal in age, a clumsy uncouth man, has obtained his great popularity by the cultivation of such faculties as he has?

"But as our inquiry regards the complete orator, we must imagine in our discussion an orator from whom every kind of fault is abstracted and who is adorned with every kind of merit For if the multitude of suits, if the variety of causes, if the rabble and barbarism of the forum, afford room for even the most wretched speakers, we must not for that reason take our eyes from the object of our inquiry. In those arts in which it is not indispensable usefulness that is sought, but liberal amusement for the mind, how nicely, how almost fastidiously, do we judge! For there are no suits or controversies which can force men, though they may tolerate indifferent orators in the forum, to endure also bad actors upon the stage. The orator therefore must take the most studious precaution not merely to satisfy those whom he necessarily must satisfy, but to seem worthy of admiration to those who are at liberty to judge disinterestedly. If you would know what I myself think, I will express

to you, my intimate friends, what I have hitherto never mentioned and thought that I never should mention. To me, those who speak best and speak with the utmost ease and grace, appear, if they do not commence their speeches with some timidity, and show some confusion in the exordium, to have almost lost the sense of shame; though it is impossible that such should not be the case; for the better qualified a man is to speak, the more he fears the difficulties of speaking, the uncertain success of a speech, and the expectation of the audience. But he who can produce and deliver nothing worthy of his subject, nothing worthy of the name of an orator, nothing worthy of the attention of his audience, seems to me, though he be ever so confused while he is speaking, to be downright shameless; for we ought to avoid a character for shamelessness, not by testifying shame, but by not doing that which does not become us But the speaker who has no shame (as I see to be the case with many) I regard as deserving not only of rebuke but of personal castigation. Indeed, what I often observe in you I very frequently experience in myself, that I turn pale in the outset of my speech, and feel a tremor through my whole thoughts, as it were, and limbs. When I was a young man, I was on one occasion so timid in commencing an accusation, that I owed to Q. Maximus the greatest of obligations for immediately dismissing the assembly as soon as he saw me absolutely disheartened and incapacitated through fear." Here they all signified assent, looked significantly at one another, and began to talk together; for there was a wonderful modesty in Crassus, which however was not only no disadvantage to his oratory, but even an assistance to it, by giving it the recommendation of probity.

RICHARD COBDEN

FREE TRADE

Speech delivered in the House of Commons, March 13, 1845

MR SPEAKER: I am relieved on this occasion from any necessity to apologize to the other side of the House for this motion having emanated from myself; for I expressed a hope, when I gave notice, that the subject would be taken up by some one of the hon. members opposite. I hope, therefore, that in any reply which may be offered to the observations I am about to submit to the consideration of the House, I shall not hear, as I did in the last year, that this motion comes from a suspicious quarter. I will also add, that I have so arranged its terms as to include in it the objects embraced in both the amendments of which notice has been given (Mr. Woodhouse's and Mr. S. O'Brien's), and therefore I conclude that the hon members who have given those notices will not think it necessary to press them, but rather will concur in this motion. Its object is the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the condition of the agricultural interests, with a view to ascertain how far the law affecting the importation of agricultural produce has affected those interests

Now that there is distress among the farmers I presume cannot be established upon higher authority than that of those who profess to be "the farmers' friends." I learn from those hon. gentlemen who have been paying their respects to the Prime Minister, that the agriculturists are in a state of great embarrassment and distress. I find one gentleman from Norfolk stating that the farmers in Norfolk are paying rents out of capital; while another from Devonshire assured the right hon. Baronet (Sir R Peel) that one half of the smaller farmers in that county are insolvent, that the other half is rapidly hastening to the same condition, and that, unless some remedial measures are adopted by the House, they will be plunged into irretrievable poverty. These accounts from those counties agree with what I hear from other sources, and I will put it to hon. members opposite whether the condition of the farmers in Suffolk, Wiltshire and Hampshire is any better. I will put it to county members whether, looking to the whole of the south of England from the confines of Nottinghamshire to Land's End, the farmers are not in a state of embarrassment—whether, as a rule, that is not their condition. Then, according to every precedent in the House, this is a fit and proper time to bring forward this motion; and I will venture to say that if the Duke of Buckingham had a seat in this House he would do what he as Lord Chandos did—move such a resolution.

The distress of the farmer being admitted, the next question that arises is, what is the cause of this distress? Now, I feel the greater

necessity for a committee of inquiry, because I find a great discrepancy of opinion as to the cause. One right hon. gentleman has said that the distress is local, and moreover, that it does not arise from legislation; while the hon. member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Bankes) declared that it is general, and that it does arise from legislation. I am at a loss, indeed, to understand what this protection to agriculture means, because I find such contradictory accounts given in the House by the promoters of it. For instance, nine months ago the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers) brought forward his motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws; and the right hon. gentleman then at the head of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gladstone) stated in reply to him that the last Corn Law had been most successful in its operation, and he took great credit to the Government for the steadiness of price obtained under it. As these things are so often disputed, it is as well to give the quotation. The right hon. gentleman said:

> "Was there any man who had supported the law in the year 1842, who could honestly say that he had been disappointed in its working? Could any one point out a promise or a prediction hazarded in the course of the protracted debates upon the measure, which promise or prediction had been subsequently falsified?"

Now, let the House recollect that the right hon. gentleman was speaking when wheat was 56s. 8d; but wheat is at present 45s. The right. hon. Baronet at the head of the Government said that his legislation on the subject had nothing to do with wheat being 45s.; but how is the difficulty to be got over, that the head of the Board of Trade, nine months ago, claimed merit to the Government for having kept up wheat to that price? These discrepancies in the Government itself, and between the Government and its supporters, render it more necessary that this "protection" should be inquired into.

I must ask: What does it mean? We have prices now at 45s. I have been speaking within the last week to the highest authority in England—one often quoted in this House—and I learned from him that, with another favourable harvest, it was quite likely that wheat would be at 35s. What does this legislation mean, if we are to have prices fluctuating from 56s. to 35s.? Can this be prevented by legislation? That is the question There is a rank delusion spread abroad among the farmers; and it is the duty of the House to dispel that delusion, and to institute an inquiry into the matter

But there is a difference of opinion on my own side of the House, and some members, representing great and powerful interests, think the farmers are suffering because they have this legislative protection. This difference of opinion makes the subject a fit and proper one for inquiry in a Committee; and I am prepared to bring evidence before it, to show that farmers are labouring under great evils—evils that I can connect with the Corn Laws, though they appear to be altogether differently caused.

The first great evil they labour under is a want of capital. No one can deny it; it is notorious. I do not say it disparagingly of the farmers.

The farmers of this country are just of the same race as the rest of Englishmen, and, if placed in the same situation, would be as successful men of business and traders and manufacturers as their countrymen; but it is notorious, as a rule, that they are deficient in capital. Hon. gentlemen acquainted with farming will probably admit that £10 an acre, on arable land, is a competent capital for carrying on the business of farming successfully; but I have made many inquiries in all parts of the Kingdom, and I give it as my decided conviction, that at the present moment the farmers' capital does not average £5 an acre, taking the whole of England south of the Trent, and including all Wales. Though, of course, there are exceptions in every county—men of large capital—men farming their own land—I am convinced that this is true, as a rule, and I am prepared to back my opinion by witnesses before a Committee. Here, then, is a tract of country comprehending probably 20,000,000 of cultivatable acres, and £100,000,000 more capital is wanted for its cultivation.

What is the meaning of "farming capital"? It means more manuring, more labour, more cattle, larger crops. But let us fancy a country in which there is a deficiency of all those things which ought to be there, and then guess what must be the condition of the labourers wanting employment and food. It may be said that capital would be there if it were a profitable investment. I admit it; and thus the question comes to be How is it, that in a country overflowing with capital—where there is a plethora in every other business—where every other pursuit is abounding with money—when money is going to France for railroads, and to Pennsylvania for bonds—when it is connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by canals, and diving to the bottom of Mexican mines for investment—it yet finds no employment in the most attractive of all spots, the soil of this country itself?

Admitting the evil, with all its train of fearful consequences, what is the cause of it? There can be no doubt whatever—it is admitted by the highest authorities that the cause is this—there is not security for capital on the land Capital shrinks instinctively from insecurity of tenure, and we have not in England that security which will warrant men of capital investing their money in the soil. Is it not a matter worthy of consideration, how far this insecurity of tenure is bound up with the "protection" system of which hon. members opposite are so enamoured? Suppose it could be shown that they are in a vicious circle; that they have made politics of Corn Laws, that they wanted voters, to retain Corn Laws, that they think the Corn Laws a great mine of wealth, and therefore will have dependent tenants, that they may have votes at elections, and so retain these laws. If they will have dependent voters they cannot have men of spirit and of capital. Then their policy reacts upon them; if they have not men of skill and capital, they cannot have protection and employment for the labourer; and then comes round the vicious termination—pauperism, poor-rates, county-rates, and all the evils from which they are asking the Prime Minister to relieve them.

But here I have to quote authorities, and I shall quote some of the highest consideration with the opposite side of the House. I will just state the opinion of the hon. member for Berkshire (Mr. Pusey), de-

livered at the meeting of the Suffolk Agricultural Society. That hon. gentleman said:

"He knew this country well, and he knew there was not a place from Plymouth to Berwick in which the landlords might not make improvements; but when the tenant was short of money, the landlord generally would be short of money, too. But he would tell them how to find friends. There were many districts where there was a great superfluity not only of useless but of mischievous timber; and if they would cut that down which excluded the sun and air, and fed on the soil, and sell it, they would benefit the farmer by cutting it down, and they would benefit the farmer and labourer, too, by laying out the proceeds in underdraining the soil. There was another mode in which they might find money. He knew that on some properties a large sum was spent in the preservation of game. It was not at all unusual for the game to cost £500 or £600 a year; and if this were given up, the money would employ a hundred able-bodied labourers in improving the property. This was another fund for the landlords of England to benefit the labourers and the farmers at the same time"

Again, at the Colchester agricultural meeting:

"Mr. Fisher Hobbes was aware that a spirit of improvement was abroad. Much was said about the tenant-farmers doing more. He agreed they might do more if the soil of the country was capable of greater production; if he said one-fourth more, he should be within compass. But that could not be done by the tenant-farmer alone; they must have confidence, it must be done by leases—by draining—by extending the length of fields—by knocking down hedgerows, and clearing away trees which now shielded the corn."

But there was still higher authority. At the late meeting at Liverpool, Lord Stanley declared

"I say, and as one connected with the land I feel myself bound to say it, that a landlord has no right to expect any great and permanent improvement of his land by the tenant, unless that tenant be secured the repayment of his outlay, not by the personal character or honour of his landlord, but by a security which no casualties can interfere with—the security granted him by the terms of a lease for years."

Not only does the want of security prevent capital from flowing to the soil, but it actually hinders the improvement of the land by those who already occupy it. There are many tenants who could improve their land if they were made secure; they either have capital themselves, or their friends can advance it, but with the want of leases, with the want of security, they are deterred from laying out their money. Everything is kept "from year to year." It is impossible to farm properly

unless money is invested in land for more than a year. A man ought to begin farming with a prospect of waiting eight years before he can see a return for what he must do in the first year or two. Tenants, therefore, are prevented by their landlords from carrying on cultivation properly. They are made servile and dependent, disinclined to improvement, afraid to let the landlord see that they could improve their farms, lest he should pounce on them for an increase of rent. The hon member for Lincolnshire (Mr. Christopher) is offended at these expressions; what said that hon. member on the motion of the hon. member for Manchester (Mr. Gibson) last year on agricultural statistics?

> "It was most desirable for the farmer to know the actual quantity of corn grown in this country, as such knowledge would insure steadiness of prices, which was infinitely more valuable to the agriculturist than fluctuating prices. But to ascertain this there was extreme difficulty They could not leave it to the farmer to make a return of the quantity which he produced, for it was not for his interest to do so. If in any one or two years he produced four quarters per acre on land which had previously grown but three, he might fear lest his landlord would say 'Your land is more productive than I imagined, and I must therefore raise your rent.' The interest of the farmers, therefore, would be to underrate, and to furnish low returns."

Here is a little evidence of the same kind that is to be gathered from the meeting of the South Devon Agricultural Association, where the Rev. C. Johnson said

> "He knew it had been thought that landlords were ready to avail themselves of such associations, on account of the opportunity it afforded them of diving into their tenants' affairs and opening their eyes. An instance of this occurred to him at a recent ploughing match, where he met a respectable agriculturist whom he well knew, and asked him if he was going to it. He said. 'No' 'Why?' Because he did not approve of such things. This 'why' produced another 'why,' and the man gave a reason why· Suppose he sent a plough and man, with two superior horses, the landlord at once would say. 'This man is doing too well on my estate,' and increase the rent."

I will ask the landed gentry of England what state of things is this, that the farmer dares not appear to have a good pair of horses, or to derive four quarters where the land had formerly produced only three. Hon. members cheer, but I ask, is it not so? I must say that the condition of things indicated by those two quotations brings the farmer very near down in point of servility to the ryot of the East. The one takes the utmost care to conceal the amount of his produce, the other suffers the bastinado rather than tell how much corn is grown. The tenant, indeed, is not afraid of the bastinado, but he is kept in fear of a distress for rent.

There is the state of tenant-farming without a lease, and in England a lease is the exception and not the rule. But even sometimes, when

there is a lease or agreement, the case is still worse, for the clauses and covenants are of such an obsolete and preposterous character, that I will defy any man to carry on the business of farming properly under them. I will just read a passage from a Cheshire lease—an actual lease —to show in what sort of way the tenant-farmer is bound down:

> "To pay the landlord £20 for every statute acre of ground, and so in proportion for a less quantity, that shall be converted into tillage, or used contrary to the appointment before made; and £5 for every hundredweight of hay, thrave of straw, load of potatoes, or cartload of manure, that shall be sold or taken from the premises during the term; and £10 for every tree fallen, cut down, destroyed, cropped, lopped or topped, or willingly suffered so to be; and £20 for every servant or other person so hired or admitted as to gain a settlement in the township; and £10 per statute acre and so in proportion for a less quantity of the said land, which the tenant shall lot off or underlet, such sums to be paid on demand after every breach, and in default of payment to be considered as reserved rent, and levied by distress and sale, as rent in arrear may be levied and raised, and to do six days' boon team work whenever called upon, and to keep for the landlord one dog, and one cock or hen; and to make no marlpit without the landlord's consent first obtained in writing, after which the same is to be properly filled in, nor to allow any inmate to remain on the premises after six days' notice; nor to keep nor feed any sheep except such as are used for the consumption of the family."

What is such an instrument as this? I will tell the House what it is It is a trap for unwary men—a barrier against capital and intelligence, and a fetter to any free man No one can farm under such a lease. The hon. member for Shoreham (Sir C. Burrell) cheered, but if hon. members would look into their own leases, though there may not be the "cocks and hens, and dogs," and probably not the "team work," they will find almost as great absurdities. These documents are generally taken from old, dusty, antediluvian remains, that some lawyer's clerk drew from a pigeon-hole, and copied out for every incoming tenant; something that had been in existence perhaps for five hundred years. You give men no credit for being able to discover any improvements; in fact, you tie them down from improving, you go upon the assumption that there will be no improvement and do your best to prevent it. I do not know why we should not have leases of land upon terms similar to those in leases of manufactories and places of business; nor do I think farming can be carried on as it ought to be until then. A man may take a manufactory, and pay £1,000 a year for it. An hon. member near me pays more than £4,000 a year rent for his manufactory and machinery. Does he covenant as to the manner in which that machinery is to be worked, and as to the revolutions of his spindles? No; his landlord lets to him the bricks and mortar and machinery. The machinery was scheduled to him, and, when his lease is over, he must leave the machinery in the same state as when he found it, and be paid for the improvements. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goul-

burn) cheers that. I want to ask his opinion on a similar lease for a farm.

I am rather disposed to think that the Anti-Corn-Law League will very likely form a joint-stock association, having none but Free-traders in that body, to purchase a joint-stock estate, and have a model farm, taking care to have it in one of the rural counties where they all think there is the greatest need of improvement—perhaps Buckinghamshire; and there establish a model farm, and a model homestead; and model cottages (and I will tell the noble lord, the member for Newark (Lord J. Manners), that we shall have model gardens, without any outcry about it); but the great object shall be to have a model lease. We shall have as a farmer a man of intelligence, and a man of capital. I am not so unreasonable as to say that you ought to let your land to a man without capital, and to one who is not intelligent; but select such a man, with intelligence and capital, and you cannot give him too wide a scope. You will find such a man, and let him have a farm, and such a lease as my hon friend took his factory with. He shall do what he likes with the old pasture, if he can make more of it with ploughing it up, he shall do so If he can grow white crops every year, he shall do so. I know persons who are doing that in more places than one in this country If he can make any improvement, he shall make it. We will let him the land with a schedule of the state of tillage on the farm, and will bind him to leave the land as good as he found it. It shall be valued; and if in an inferior state when he leaves it, he shall compensate us for it; if it be in a superior state, he shall be compensated accordingly by the association. You will think this something very difficult, but the association will give him possession of the farm, with everything on the soil, whether wild or tame. We will give him absolute control; there shall be no gamekeeper prowling about, and no sporting over his farm. Where is the difficulty? You may take as stringent means as you please to compel the punctual payment of rent; you may take the right of re-entry if the rent be not paid; but take the payment of rent as the sole test of the well-doing of the tenant, and so long as he pays that uniformly, it is the only test you need have, and if he be an intelligent man and a man of capital, you will have the strongest security that he will not waste your property.

I have sometimes heard hon. gentlemen opposite say: "It is all very well to propose such leases, but we know many farmers who will not take them." An hon. member cheers that. What does that argue? That by a process which the hon. member for Lincolnshire (Sir John Trollope) has described—that degrading process which renders these tenants servile, hopeless, and dejected—they are satisfied to remain as they are, and do not want to be independent. Hear what Professor Low says on this subject:

> "The argument has again and again been used against the extension of leases, that the tenants themselves set no value on them; but to how different a conclusion ought the existence of such a feeling amongst the tenantry of a country to conduct us! The fact itself shows that the absence of leases may render a tenantry ignorant of

> the means of employing their own capital with advantage, indisposed to the exertions which improvements demand, and better contented with an easy rent and dependent condition, than with the prospect of an independence to be earned by increased exertion."

But whilst you have a tenantry in the state described and pictured by the hon. member for Lincolnshire, what must be the state of our population? The labourers can never be prosperous where the tenantry is degraded. You may go through the length and breadth of the land, and you will find that where capital is most abundant, and where there is the most intelligence, there you will find the labouring classes the most happy and comfortable On the other hand, show me an impoverished tenantry, and there I will show you a peasantry in the most hopeless and degraded condition, as in the north of Devonshire, for instance. I have proved that the want of capital is the greatest want among the farmers, and that the want of leases is the cause of want of capital. You may say. "You have not connected this with the Corn Laws and the protective system" I will read to you the opinion of an hon. gentleman who sits on that (the Opposition) side of the House, it is in a published letter. He said

> "The more I see of and practise agriculture, the more firmly am I convinced that the whole unemployed labour of the country could, under a better system of husbandry, be advantageously put into operation, and, moreover, that the Corn Laws have been one of the principal causes of the present system of bad farming and consequent pauperism. Nothing short of their entire removal will ever induce the average farmer to rely upon anything else than the Legislature for the payment of his rent, his belief being that all rent is paid by corn, and nothing else than corn; and that the Legislature can, by enacting Corn Laws, create a price which will make his rent easy. The day of their (the Corn Laws) entire abolition ought to be a day of jubilee and rejoicing to every man interested in land."

I do not stay to collect the causes affecting this matter, and to inquire whether the Corn Law and our protective system have caused the want of leases, or have caused the want of capital. I do not stop to prove this, for this reason · We have adopted a system of legislation by which we propose to make farming prosperous. I have shown you, after thirty years' trial, what is the condition of the farmers and labourers, and you will not deny any of my statements. It is, then, enough for me, after thirty years' trial, to ask you to go into Committee, and to inquire if something better cannot be devised. I am going, independently of protection, and independently of the Corn Law, to contend that a free trade in corn will be more advantageous to the farmers, and with the farmers I include the labourers; and I beg the attention of the hon. member for Gloucestershire (Mr Charteris) and the landowners. I am going to contend that free trade in corn will be more beneficial to these classes than to any other classes. I should have contended so before the tariff, but now I am prepared to do so with ten times more force.

The right. hon. gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) has passed a law to enable fat cattle to be imported, and there have been some foreign fat cattle selling in Smithfield market at £15 or £16 and £1 duty; but he has not taken off the duty on the raw material. He did not do so with regard to manufacturers. Mr. Huskisson had not done so; but, on the contrary, he began by taking off the duty on the raw material, without taking off the duty on foreign manufactures. You (the Ministers) have begun, on this question, at the opposite end. I would admit grain free, which should go to make the fat cattle.

I contend that by this protective system the farmers throughout the country are more injured than any other class of the community. I will begin with clover. The hon member for North Northamptonshire (Mr Stafford O'Brien) put a question to the right hon Baronet the other night, and looked so alarmed whilst doing so that I wondered what was the matter. He asked the right hon. Baronet "if he was going to admit clover-seed free?" That is to be excluded, and for whose benefit? I ask the hon. member or his constituents, are they in the majority of cases sellers of clover-seed? I will undertake to say they are not. How many counties are protected by the sale of clover-seed being secured to them? I will take Scotland, that country imports it from England, it does not grow it. I will undertake to say that not ten counties in the United Kingdom are interested in exporting clover-seed out of their own borders. There is none in Ireland.

Take the case of Egyptian beans. I see the hon. member for Essex (Sir J. Tyrrell) in his seat in that county they can grow beans and wheat and wheat and beans alternately, and send them to Mark Lane; but how is it with the poor lands of Surrey, and with the poor lands of Wiltshire? Take the country through, and how many counties are exporters of beans to market? You are taxing the whole of the farmers who cannot export beans for the benefit of those few counties that can grow them. And mark where you can grow beans. It is where the soils are better, it is not in one case in ten that a farmer can grow more than for his own use, or be able to send any to market, and when that is the case, the farmer can have no interest in keeping up the price to prevent importation.

Take oats. How many farmers have oats on the credit side of their books, as an item to rely on for paying their rent? They grow oats for feeding their horses; but it is an exception where they depend on their crop of oats for the payment of rent. Ireland has just been mulcted by the tax on clover-seed Is it a benefit to the farmers who do not sell oats to place a tax on their import, they having no interest in keeping up the money price of oats?

Take the article, hops. We have a protective duty on hops for the protection of particular districts, as Kent, Suffolk, and Surrey, but they in return have to pay for the protection on other articles which they do not produce.

Take cheese. There is not a farmer but makes his own cheese for the consumption of his servants; but how many send it to market? The counties of Chester, Gloucester, Wilts, and parts of Derbyshire and Leicester manufacture this article for sale. Here are four or five

counties having an interest in protecting cheese. But you must recollect that these counties are heavily taxed in the articles of oats and beans and corn; for these are the districts where they most want artificial food for their cattle.

Take the whole of the hilly districts. I hope the hon. member for Nottinghamshire (Mr. Knight) is present. He lives in Derbyshire, and employs himself in rearing good cattle on the hills; but he is taxed by protection for his oats, or Indian corn, or beans. That hon. member told me the other day that he would like nothing better than to give up the protection on cattle, if he could only go into the market and purchase his thousand quarters of black oats free from protective duty. Take the hilly districts of Wales, or take the Cheviot Hills, or the Grampian Hills; they are not benefited by their protection on those articles; they want provender for their cattle in the cheapest way they can get it The only way in which these parts of the country can improve the breed of their stock, and bring their farms into a decent state of fertility, is to have food cheap

But I will go further, and say that the farmers on the thin soils—I mean the stock farmers in parts of Hertfordshire—farmers of large capital, arable farmers—are deeply interested in having a free importation of food for their cattle, because they have poor land which does not contain or produce the means for its own fertility; and it is only by bringing in artificial food that they can bring their land into a state to grow good crops. I have been favoured with an estimate made by a very experienced and clever farmer in Wiltshire; it is from Mr. Nathaniel Atherton, of Rington I will read this to the House; and I think that the statements of such men—men of intelligence and experience—ought to be attended to. Mr. Nathaniel Atherton, Rington, Wilts, estimates:

> "That upon 400 acres of land he could increase his profits to the amount of £280, paying the same rent as at present, provided there was a free importation of foreign grains of all kinds He would buy 500 quarters of oats at 15s or the same amount in beans or peas, at 14s or 15s a sack, to be fed on the land or in the yard; by which he would grow additional 160 quarters of wheat and 230 quarters of barley, and gain an increased profit of £300 on his sheep and cattle. His plan embraces the employment of an additional capital of £1,000, and he would pay £150 a year more for labour."

I had an opportunity, the other day, of speaking to an intelligent farmer in Hertfordshire—Mr. Lattimore, of Wheathampstead; he stands as high in the Hertfordshire markets as any farmer, as a man of skill, of abundant capital, and of unquestionable intelligence. He told me that he had paid during the last year £230 in enhanced price on the beans and other provender which he had bought for his cattle, in consequence of the restrictions on food of foreign growth, and that this sum amounted to 14s. a quarter on all the wheat which he had sold off his farm. With regard to Mr. Atherton and Mr. Lattimore, they are as decided advocates of free trade in grain as I am.

I have before told hon. gentlemen that I have as wide and extensive

an acquaintance with farmers as any member in this House. In almost every county I can give them the names of first-rate farmers who are as much Free-traders as I am. I told the secretary of the much-dreaded Anti-Corn-Law League to make me out a list of the names of subscribers to the League amongst the farmers. There are upwards of a hundred in England and Scotland, and they comprise the most intelligent men that are to be found in the kingdom. I have been into the Lothians myself—into Haddingtonshire. I went and spent two or three days amongst the farmers there, and I never met with a more intelligent or liberal-minded body of men in the kingdom. They do not want restrictions on corn; they say: "Let us have a free importation of linseed-cake and corn, and we can bear competition with any corn-growers in the world. But to exclude provender for cattle, and to admit fat cattle duty-free, was one of the greatest absurdities in legislation that ever was." We have heard of absurdities in commerce—of sending coffee from Cuba to the Cape of Good Hope, to bring it back to this country under the law; but in ten years' time people will look back with more amazement at our policy—that whilst we are sending ships to Ichaboe for manure, we are excluding oats, and beans, and Indian corn for fattening our cattle, which would give us a thousand times more fertilizing manure than this which we now send for.

On the last occasion on which I spoke on this subject in this House I was answered by the right hon. gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade (Mr Gladstone) and that gentleman talked of the Free-traders throwing poor land out of cultivation, and throwing other land out of tillage into pasture. I hope that the Anti-Corn-Law League will not be reproached again with any such designs My belief is, that the upholders of protection are pursuing the very course to throw land out of cultivation and to make poor land unproductive. Do not let the Free-traders be told again that they desire to draw the labourers from the land that they may reduce the labourers' wages in factories. If you had abundance of capital employed on your farms, and cultivated the soil with the same skill that the manufacturers conduct their business, you would not have population enough to cultivate the land. I had yesterday a letter from Lord Dulcie, and he has given the same opinion, that if the land were properly cultivated there would not be sufficient labourers to till it. And yet, whilst that is the fact, you are chasing your population from village to village and passing a law to compel the support of paupers. You are smuggling the people away and sending them to the antipodes, whereas if your lands were properly cultivated you would be trying to lure them back, as the most valuable part of your possessions It is by this means only that you can avert very serious disasters in the agricultural districts.

On the last occasion of my addressing this House, a great deal was said about disturbing great interests. It was said that this inquiry could not be gone into, because it would disturb a great interest. I have no desire to undervalue the agricultural interest. I have heard it said that the agricultural classes are the greatest consumers of our goods, and that we had better look after our home trade. Now what sort of consumers of manufactures do you think the agricultural labourers

could be with the wages they get? Understand me, I am arguing for a principle which I solemnly believe will raise the wages of the people. I believe there would be no men starving on 7s. a week if there were abundance of capital and skill employed in cultivating the soil. But, I ask, what is this home consumption of manufactures? I have taken some pains to ascertain the amount laid out by agricultural labourers and their families for clothing. It may probably startle hon. members when I tell them that we have exported more goods to Brazil in one year than has been consumed in a year by the agricultural peasantry and their families. You know, by the last census, that there are 960,000 agricultural labourers in England and Wales, and I can undertake to say, from inquiries I have made, that each of these men does not spend 30s. a year in manufactures for his own family, if the article of shoes be excepted. I say that, with the exception only of shoes, the agricultural labourers of England and Wales do not spend £1,500,000 per annum in the purchase of manufactured goods, clothing, and bedding. Then, I would ask, what can they pay, on 8s a week, to the revenue? I am satisfied, and hon members may satisfy themselves, from the statistical returns on the table, that agricultural labourers do not pay per head 15s. a year to the revenue, the whole of their contributions to the revenue do not amount to £700,000 a year, and, I ask, when hon. members opposite have by their present system brought agriculture to its present pass, can they have anything to fear from risking a change, or, at any rate, from risking an inquiry?

On the last occasion that I addressed the House on this subject, I laboured to prove that we have no reason to fear foreign competition if restrictions were removed, and I stated facts to show that. On the present occasion I shall not dwell on that topic, but still, as many people are possessed with the idea that if the ports were opened corn will be had for nothing—and that is one of the favourite fallacies—I may be allowed to offer a few remarks upon the subject. People continue to hold this doctrine, and they argue "Now that prices are low, corn is coming in; but if you had not a duty of 20s. a quarter, is it possible to say what would be the quantity that would come in?" This is said; but I hope it is not dishonestly said, I hope the argument is founded on a confusion between the nominal and the real prices of corn. The price of wheat at Dantzic is now a nominal price In January, 1838, wheat at Dantzic was at a nominal price, there being no one to purchase from England, but in July and August of that year, when a failure of the harvest here was apprehended, the price at Dantzic rose, and by the end of December in the same year the price at Dantzic was double what it had been in January, and wheat there averaged 40s. a quarter for three years—1839, 1840, 1841. Now I mention this for the purpose of asking the attention of hon. members opposite to it, and I entreat them, with this fact before them, not to go down and alarm their tenantry about the danger of foreign competition. They ought to take an opposite course—the course which would enable them to compete with foreigners.

I was about to allude to a case which referred to the hon. member for Shoreham (Sir C. Burrell), who lately let in a new light upon agricultural gentlemen. The country is now told that its salvation is to

arise from the cultivation of flax. This was stated by the Flax Agricultural Improvement Association, Lord Rendlesham President, of which I have in my hand a report, wherein, after stating that, her Majesty's Ministers were holding out no hopes of legislative assistance to the agricultural body, they then called upon the nation to support them, on the ground that they were going to remedy the grievances under which the agricultural interest laboured. I observe that Mr. Warner, the great founder of this Association, was visiting Sussex lately, and at a dinner at which the hon. Baronet (Sir C Burrell) presided, after the usual loyal toasts, "Mr. Warner and the cultivation of flax" was proposed. Now, when the hon Baronet did this, probably he was not aware that he was furnishing the most deadly weapon to the lecturers of the Anti-Corn-Law League The country is told that unless they have a high protective duty the farmers cannot get a remunerative price for the wheat they grow. They have a protective duty of 20s a quarter on wheat, and one quarter of wheat is just worth a hundredweight of flax, yet, although against Polish wheat they have a protection of 20s. the protective duty on a hundredweight of flax is just 1d. Now, I did not hear a murmur when the right hon Baronet proposed to take off that tax of 1d. But we are told that the English agriculturist cannot compete with the foreigner on account of the abundance of labour he has the command of, especially in the case of the serf-labour which is employed somewhere up the Baltic Now, flax comes from up the Baltic, and yet they have no protection upon it. Then it is insisted that we cannot contend against foreign wheat, because it takes so much labour to raise wheat in this country, yet it takes as much labour to raise flax How, then, are we to contend against foreign flax? Nevertheless, the hon. Baronet undertook to restore prosperity to the country by means of his flax, which was in this helpless state for want of protection

The hon Baronet will forgive me—I am sure he will, because he looks as if he will—while I allude again to the subject of leases. The hon. Baronet, on the occasion I have alluded to, complained that it was a great pity the farmers did not grow more flax, but it is curious that I should have since seen it stated in a Brighton paper—the hon. Baronet s county paper—I do not know how truly—that the hon. Baronet's own tenants have leases which forbid them to grow flax. However, it is quite probable the hon Baronet does not know what covenants there are in his leases, but, be that as it may, at any rate it is very common, I know, to insert in leases a prohibition to cultivate flax. This just shows the manner in which the landlords carry on the agriculture of the country. The original notion of the injury done by flax to the land was derived, I believe, from Virgil, who stated something to the effect that flax was very scourging to the land. I have no doubt it was from this source that some learned lawyer has derived the usual covenant on this subject in leases.

I have alluded to the condition of the agricultural labourers at the present time; but I feel bound to say, that whilst the farmers are in a worse position than they have been for the last ten years, I believe the agricultural labourers have passed the winter, though it was a five months, winter, and severe, with less suffering from distress than the previous

winters. I mention this because it is a remarkable proof of the degree in which a low price of food is beneficial to the working classes. I can demonstrate that in the manufacturing districts, whenever food is dear, wages are low; and that whenever food is low, wages rise. That the manufacturers can prove. Then I stated it as my own opinion that the agricultural labourers are in a better state than they were in previous winters. But does not that show that the agricultural labourers, having only just so much wages as will find them in subsistence, derive benefit from the plenty of the first necessaries of life? Their wages do not rise in the same proportion as the price of food rises, but then neither do their wages fall in the same proportion as the price of food falls. Therefore in all cases the agricultural labourers are in a better state when food is low than when it is high.

Now, I am bound to state, that whatever is the condition of the agricultural labourer, I believe the farmer is not responsible for that condition while he is placed as at present. I have heard many exhortations to the farmer that he must employ more labour. I believe the farmer is very unjustly required to do this. The farmer stands between the landlord and the suffering peasantry It is rather hard in the landlord to point the farmer out as the cause of the want of employment for labour—as the man to be marked. Lord Hardwicke has lately made an address to the labourers in Haddenham, in which he said:

> "Conciliate your employers, and, if they do not perform their duty to you and themselves, address yourselves to the landlords; and I assure you that you will find us ready to urge our own tenants to the proper cultivation of their farms, and, consequently, to the just employment of the labourer."

That is the whole question. I think the duty rests with the landlords, and that it is the landlords, and not the employers, who are in fault. The landlords have absolute power in the country. There is no doubt about it—they can legislate for the benefit of the labourers or of themselves, as they please. If the results of their legislation have failed to secure due advantages to the labourer, they have no right to call on the farmers to do their duty, and furnish the labourers with the means of support. I lately saw a labourer's certificate at Stowupland, in Suffolk, placed over the chimneypiece in a labourer's cottage. It was this:

> "West Suffolk Agricultural Association, established 1833, for the advancement of agriculture, and the encouragement of industry and skill and good conduct among labourers and servants in husbandry. President, the Duke of Grafton, Lord-Lieutenant of the county. This is to certify, that a prize of £2 was awarded to William Birch, aged 82, labourer, of the parish of Stowupland, in West Suffolk, September 25, 1840, for having brought up nine children without relief, except when flour was very dear, and for having worked on the same farm twenty-eight years. (Signed) Robert Rushbrooke, Chairman."

After a severe winter, with little employment to be had, I congratulate the country that we have fewer agricultural labourers in the workhouses, and fewer pining in our streets from want, than in former years; but a

bad case at the best is the condition of the agricultural labourer, and you will have to look out before it is too late, how you are to employ him. The last census shows that you cannot employ your own labourers in the agricultural districts. How, then, are you to employ them? You say, there are too many of them. That is an evil that will press on you more and more every year: what, then, are you to do? Are you, gentry of England, to sit with your arms folded, and propose nothing? I am only here to-night because you have proposed nothing. We all know that the allotment system has been taken up; it is a plaything; it is a failure, and it is well for some of you that you have wiser heads to lead you than your own, or you would shortly be in precisely the same situation as they are in Ireland; but with this increase to the difficulty of that situation, that they do contrive to maintain the rights of property there with the aid of the English Exchequer and 20,000 bayonets; but bring your own country into the same condition, and where will be your rents?

What, then, do you propose to do? Nothing this year to benefit the great mass of the agricultural population! You admit the farmer's capital is diminished—that he is in a worse state than he was. How to increase the confidence of capitalists in the farmers' power of retrieving themselves? How this is to be done is the question. I cannot believe you are going to make this a political game. It was well said that the last election was an agricultural election; and there are two hundred members sitting behind the right hon. Baronet; that is the proof of it. Don't quarrel with me because I have imperfectly stated my case; I have done my best, I ask what have you done? I tell you this "protection," as it is called, has been a failure. It failed when wheat was 80s. a quarter, and you know what was the condition of the farmer in 1817 It failed when wheat was 60s and you know what was the condition of the farmer in 1835. And now it has failed again with the last amendments you have made in the law, for you have confessed to what is the condition of the agricultural tenantry. What, then, is the plan you propose? I hope that this question was not made a pretence—a political game—at the last election; that you have not all come up as mere politicians. There are politicians in this House who look with ambition—and probably in their case it is a justifiable ambition—to the high offices of the State; there may be men here who by thirty years' devotion to politics have been pressed into a groove in which it is difficult for them to avoid going forward, and are, maybe, maintaining the same course against their convictions. I make allowance for them; but the great body of you came up not as politicians, but as friends of the agricultural interest; and to you I now say, what are you going to do? You lately heard the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government say, that if he could restore protection it would not benefit the agricultural interest. Is that your belief? or are you acting on your convictions or performing your duty in this House, by following the right hon. Baronet into the lobby when he refuses an inquiry and investigation into the condition of the very men who send you up here? With mere politicians, I have no right to hope to success; but give me a committee, and I will explode the delusion of agricultural protection; I will produce

such a mass of evidence, and call authorities so convincing, that when the blue book shall be sent out, I am convinced that protection will not live two years.

Protection is a very convenient vehicle for politicians; the cry of "protection" won the last election; and politicians looked to secure honours, emoluments, places by it; but you, the gentry of England, are not sent up for such objects. Is then that old tattered and torn flag to be kept up for the politicians, or will you come forward and declare that you are ready to inquire into the state of the agricultural interests? I cannot think that the gentlemen of England can be content to be made mere drum-heads to be sounded by the Prime Minister of England—to be made to emit notes, but to have no articulate sounds of their own. You gentlemen of England, the high aristocracy of England, your forefathers led my forefathers; you may lead us again if you choose; but though—longer than any other aristocracy—you have kept your power, while the battlefield and the hunting-field were the tests of manly vigour, you have not done as the noblesse of France or the hidalgos of Madrid have done; you have been Englishmen, not wanting in courage on any call. But this is a new age; the age of social advancement, not of feudal sports; you belong to a mercantile age; you cannot have the advantage of commercial rents and retain your feudal privileges, too. If you identify yourselves with the spirit of the age, you may yet do well; for I tell you that the people of this country look to their aristocracy with a deep-rooted prejudice—an hereditary prejudice, I may call it—in their favour; but your power was never got, and you will not keep it, by obstructing the spirit of the age in which you live. If you are found obstructing that progressive spirit which is calculated to knit nations more closely together by commercial intercourse; if you give nothing but opposition to schemes which almost give life and breath to inanimate nature, and which it has been decreed shall go on, then you are no longer a national body.

There is a widely-spread suspicion that you have been tampering with the feelings of your tenantry—you may read it in the organ of your party—this is the time to show the people that such a suspicion is groundless. I ask you to go into this Committee—I will give you a majority of county members—you shall have a majority of members of the Central Agricultural Protection Association in the Committee; and on these terms I ask you to inquire into the causes of the distress of our agricultural population I trust that neither of those gentlemen who have given notice of amendments will attempt to interfere with me, for I have embraced the substance of their amendments in my motion. I am ready to give these hon. gentlemen the widest range they please for their inquiries. I only ask that this subject may be fairly investigated. Whether I establish my principle, or you establish yours, good must result from the inquiry; and I do beg and entreat of the hon. independent country gentlemen in this House, that they will not refuse on this occasion to sanction a fair, full, and impartial inquiry.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE LATE PRESIDENT COOLIDGE
(U S A)

U.S. PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE

ARMISTICE DAY

Speech at Washington, November 11, 1928, under the auspices of the American Legion

We meet to give thanks for ten more years of peace. Amid the multitude of bounties which have been bestowed upon us we count that our supreme blessing. In all our domestic and foreign relations our chief concern is that it should be permanent. It is our belief that it is coming to be more and more realized as the natural state of mankind. Yet, while we are placing our faith in more complete understandings, which shall harmonize with the universal conscience, we ought not to forget that all the rights we now possess, the peace we now enjoy, have been procured for us by a long series of sacrifices and of conflicts. We are able to participate in this celebration because our country had the resources, the character, and the spirit to raise, equip, and support, with adequate supplies, an Army and a Navy which, by placing more than 2,000,000 men on the battlefields of Europe, contributed to the making of the Armistice on November 11, 1918.

Our first thought, then, is to acknowledge the obligation which the nation owes to those who served in our forces afloat and ashore which contributed the indispensable factor to the final victory. Although all our people became engaged in this great conflict, some in furnishing money, some in producing food and clothing, some in making munitions, some in administering our Government, the place of honour will always be accorded to the men and the women who wore the uniform of our country—the living and the dead

When the great conflict finally broke upon us, we were unprepared to meet its military responsibilities What Navy we possessed at that time, as is always the case with our Navy, was ready. Admiral Sims at once carried new courage and new energy to the contest on the sea. So complete was the defence of our transports that the loss by enemy attack in sending our land forces to Europe was surprisingly small. As we study the record of our Army in France, we become more and more impressed by three outstanding features. The unity of the American Forces and the integrity of the American Command were always preserved. They were trained with a thoroughness becoming the tradition of McClennan, they were fought with a tenacity and skill worthy of the memory of Grant; and, finally, they were undefeated. For these outstanding accomplishments, which were the chief sources of the glory of our Army, we are indebted to the genius of General Pershing.

It is unnecessary to recount with any detail our experience in the

War. It was a new revelation, not only of the strength, but of the unity of our people. No country ever exhibited a more magnificent spirit or demonstrated a higher degree of patriotic devotion. The great organizing ability of our industrial leaders; the unexpected strength of our financial resources; the dedication of our entire man-power under the universal service law; the farm and the factory; the railroad and the bank; 4,000,000 men under arms and 6,000,000 men in reserve—all became one mighty engine for the prosecution of the War. Altogether it was the greatest power that any nation on earth had ever assembled.

When it was all over, in spite of the great strain, we were the only country that had much reserve power left. Our foodstuffs were necessary to supply urgent needs; our money was required to save from financial disaster. Our resources delivered Europe from starvation and ruin.

In the final treaty of peace, not only was the map of Europe remade, but the enormous colonial possessions of Germany were divided up among certain Allied nations. Such private property of her nationals as they held was applied to the claim for reparations. We neither sought nor took any of the former German possessions We have provided by law for returning the private property of her nationals.

Yet our own outlay had been and was to continue to be a perfectly enormous sum It is sometimes represented that this country made a profit out of the War. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Up to the present time our own net War costs, after allowing for our foreign debt expectations, are about $36,500,000,000 To retire the balance of our public debt will require about $7,000 000,000 in interest. Our Veterans' Bureau and allied expenses are already running at over $500,000,000 a year in meeting the solemn duty to the disabled and dependent. With what has been paid out and what is already apparent, it is probable that our final cost will run well toward $100,000,000,000, or half the entire wealth of the country when we entered the conflict

Viewed from its economic results, war is the most destructive agency that ever afflicts the earth. Yet it is the dead here and abroad who are gone for ever. While our own losses were thus very large, the losses of others required a somewhat greater proportionate outlay, but they are to be reduced by the territorial acquisitions and by reparations. While we shall receive some further credits on the accounts I have stated as our costs, our outlay will be much greater than that of any other country. Whatever may be thought or said of us, we know, and every informed person should know, that we reaped no selfish benefit from the War. No citizen of the United States needs to make any apology to anybody anywhere for not having done our duty in defence of the cause of world liberty

Such benefits as came to our country from our War experience were not represented by material values, but by spiritual values. The whole standard of our existence was raised; the conscience and the faith of the nation were quickened with new life. The people awoke to the drum-beats of a new destiny.

In common with most of the Great Powers, we are paying the cost of that terrible tragedy. On the whole, the War has made possible a

great advance in self-government in Europe; yet in some quarters society was so near disintegration that it submitted to new forms of absolutism to prevent anarchy. The whole essence of war is destruction. It is the negation and the antithesis of human progress. No good thing ever came out of war that could not better have been secured by reason and conscience.

Every dictate of humanity constantly cries aloud that we do not want any more war. We ought to take every precaution and make every honourable sacrifice, however great, to prevent it. Still, the first law of progress requires the world to face facts, and it is equally plain that reason and conscience are as yet by no means supreme in human affairs. The inherited instinct of selfishness is very far from being eliminated; the forces of evil are exceedingly powerful.

The eternal questions before the nations are how to prevent war and how to defend themselves if it comes. There are those who see no answer except military preparation. But this remedy has never proved sufficient. We do not know of any nation which has ever been able to provide arms enough so as always to be at peace. Fifteen years ago the most thoroughly equipped peoples of Europe were Germany and France. We saw what happened. While Rome maintained a general peace for many generations, it was not without a running conflict on the borders which finally engulfed the Empire. But there is a wide distinction between absolute prevention and frequent recurrence, and peace is of little value if it is constantly accompanied by the threatened or the actual violation of national rights.

If the European countries had neglected their defences, it is probable that war would have come much sooner. All human experience seems to demonstrate that a country which makes reasonable preparation for defence is less likely to be subject to a hostile attack and less likely to suffer a violation of its rights which might lead to war. This is the prevailing attitude of the United States and one which I believe should constantly determine its actions To be ready for defence is not to be guilty of aggression. We can have military preparation without assuming a military spirit It is our duty to ourselves and to the cause of civilization, to the preservation of domestic tranquillity, to our orderly and lawful relations with foreign peoples, to maintain an adequate Army and Navy.

We do not need a large land force. The present size of our regular Army is entirely adequate, but it should continue to be supplemented by a National Guard and Reserves, and especially with the equipment and organization in our industries for furnishing supplies. When we turn to the sea the situation is different. We have not only a long coast-line, distant outlying possessions, a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance, and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount, the number of our people and value of our treasure to be protected, but we are also bound by international treaty to defend the Panama Canal Having few fuelling stations, we require ships of large tonnage, and, having scarcely any merchant vessels capable of mounting five- or six-inch guns, it is obvious that, based on positions, we are entitled to a larger number of warships than a nation having these advantages.

Important, however, as we have believed adequate national defence to be for preserving order and peace in the world, we have not considered it to be the only element. We have most urgently, and to some degree successfully, advocated the principle of the limitation of armaments. We think this should apply both to land and to sea forces, but, as the limitation of armies is very largely a European question, we have wished the countries most interested to take the lead in deciding this among themselves. For the purpose of naval limitations we called the Washington Conference, and secured an agreement as to capital ships and aeroplane-carriers, and also as to the maximum unit tonnage and maximum calibre of guns and cruisers. But the number of cruisers, lesser craft, and submarines has no limit

It no doubt has some significance that foreign Governments made agreements limiting that class of combatant vessels in which we were superior, but refused limitation in the class in which they were superior. We made altogether the heaviest sacrifice in scrapping work which was already in existence. That should for ever remain not only a satisfaction to ourselves, but a demonstration to others of our good faith in advocating the principle of limitation At that time we had 23 cruisers and ten more nearly completed. One of these has since been lost and 22 are nearly obsolete. The British have since begun and completed seven, are building eight, and have five more authorized. When their present legislation is carried out they will have 68 cruisers When ours is carried out we shall have 40. It is obvious that eliminating all competition, world standards of defence require us to have more cruisers.

This was the situation when I requested another Conference, which the British and Japanese attended, but to which Italy and France did not come The United States there proposed a limitation of cruiser tonnage of 250,000 to 300,000 tons As near as we could figure out their proposal, the British asked for from 425,000 to 600,000 tons. As it appeared to us that to agree to so large a tonnage constituted not a limitation, but an extension of war fleets, no agreement was made.

Since that time no progress seems to have been made In fact, the movements have been discouraging During last summer France and England made a tentative offer which would limit the kinds of cruisers and submarines adapted to the use of the United States, but left without limit the kind adapted to their use. The United States, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we not done so, the French Army and the British Navy would be so near unlimited that the principle of limitation would be virtually abandoned. The nations have already accomplished much in the way of limitation, and we hope may accomplish more when the Preliminary Conference called by the League of Nations is reconvened.

Meantime the United States and other nations have been successfully engaged in undertaking to establish additional safeguards and securities to the peace of the world by another method. Throughout all history war has been occurring until it has come to be recognized by custom and practice as having a certain legal standing. It has been regarded as the last resort, and has too frequently been the first. When it was proposed that this traditional attitude should be modified between the

United States and France, we replied that it should be modified among all nations. As a result, representatives of fifteen Powers have met in Paris and signed a treaty which condemns recourse to war, renounces it as a national policy, and pledges them not to seek to resolve their differences except by peaceful action.

While this leaves the questions of national defence and limitation of armaments practically where they were as the negative supports of peace, it discards all threat of force and approaches the subject on its positive side. For the first time in the world the leading Powers bind themselves to adjust disputes without recourse to force. While recognizing to the fullest extent the duty of self-defence, and not undertaking, as no human ingenuity could undertake, an absolute guarantee against war, it is the most complete and will be the most effective instrument for peace that was ever devised.

So long as promises can be broken and treaties can be violated we can have no positive assurances, yet every one knows they are additional safeguards We can only say that this is the best that mortal man can do It is beside the mark to argue that we should not put faith in it. The whole scheme of human society, the whole progress of civilization, requires that we should have faith in men and in nations There is no other positive power on which we could rely. All the values that have ever been created, all the progress that has ever been made, declare that our faith is justified.

For the cause of peace the United States is adopting the only practical principles that have ever been proposed, of preparation, limitation, and renunciation. The progress that the world has made in this direction in the last ten years surpasses all the progress ever before made. Recent developments have brought to us not only a new economic, but a new political relationship to the rest of the world. We have been constantly debating what our attitude ought to be towards the European nations. Much of our position is already revealed by the record. It can truthfully be characterized as one of patience, consideration, restraint, and assistance. We have accepted settlement of obligations, not in accordance with what was due, but in accordance with the merciful principle of what our debtors could pay We have given of our counsel when asked, and of our resources for constructive purposes, but we have carefully refrained from all intervention which was unsought or which we believed would be ineffective, and we have not wished to contribute to the support of armaments. Whatever assistance we may have given to finishing the War, we feel free from any responsibility for beginning it. We do not wish to finance preparation for a future war.

We have heard an impressive amount of discussion concerning our duty to Europe. Our own people have supplied considerable quantities of it. Europe itself has expressed very definite ideas on this subject. We do have such duties. We have acknowledged them and tried to meet them. They are not all on one side, however. They are mutual. We have sometimes been reproached for lecturing Europe, but ours are not the only people who sometimes engage in gratuitous criticism and advice. We have also been charged with pursuing a policy of isolation. We are not the only people either who desire to give their attention

to their own affairs. It is quite evident that both of those claims cannot be true. I think no informed person at home or abroad would blame us for not intervening in affairs which are peculiarly the concern of others to adjust, or, when we are asked for help, for stating clearly the terms on which we are willing to respond.

Immediately following the War we went to the rescue of friend and foe alike in Europe on the grounds of humanity. Later our experts joined with their experts in making a temporary adjustment of German reparations and securing the evacuation of the Ruhr. Our people lent $110,000,000 to Germany to put that plan into immediate effect. Since 1924 Germany has paid on reparations about $1,300,000,000, and our people have lent to national, State, and municipal Governments and to corporations in Germany a little over $1,100,000,000. It could not be claimed that this money is the entire source from which reparations have been directly paid, but it must have been a large factor in rendering Germany able to pay. We also lent large sums to the Governments and corporations in other countries, to aid in their financial rehabilitation.

I have several times stated that such ought to be our policy. But there is little reason for sending capital abroad while rates for money in London and Paris are at 4 or 5 per cent. and ours are much higher. England is placing very considerable loans abroad; France has had large credits abroad, some of which have been called home. Both are making very large outlays for military purposes Europe, on the whole, has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it cannot be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis. The needs of our own people require that any further advances by us must have most careful consideration.

For the United States not to wish Europe to prosper would be not only a selfish, but an entirely unenlightened, view. We want the investment of life and money which we have made there to be to their benefit. We should like to have our Government debts all settled, although it is probable that we could better afford to lose them than our debtors could afford not to pay them. Divergent standards of living among nations involve many difficult problems We intend to preserve our high standards of living, and we should like to see all other countries on the same level With a whole-hearted acceptance of Republican institutions, with the opening of opportunity to individual initiative, they are certain to make much progress in that direction.

It is always plain that Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding. We are prone to think they can do as we can do. We are not interested in their age-old animosities; we have not suffered from centuries of violent hostilities. We do not see how difficult it is for them to displace distrust in each other with faith in each other. On the other hand, they appear to think that we are going to do exactly what they would do if they had our chance. If they would give a little more attention to our history, and judge us a little more closely by our own record, and especially find out in what directions we believe our real interests to lie, much which they now appear to find obscure would be quite apparent.

We want peace, not only for the same reason that every other nation

wants it, because we believe it to be right, but because war would interfere with our progress. Our interests all over the earth are such that a conflict anywhere would be enormously to our disadvantage. If we had not been in the world War, in spite of some profit we made in exports, whichever side had won in the end, our losses would have been very great. We are against aggression and imperialism, not only because we believe in local self-government, but because we do not want more territory inhabited by foreign people. Our exclusion of emigration should make that plain. Our outlying possessions, with the exception of the Panama Canal Zone, are not a help to us, but a hindrance. We hold them, not as a profit, but as a duty. We want limitation of armaments for the welfare of humanity. We are not merely seeking our advantage in this, as we do not need it, or attempting to avoid expense, as we can bear it better than anyone else.

If we could secure a more complete reciprocity in goodwill, the final liquidation of the balance of our foreign debts, and such further limitation of armaments as would be commensurate with the treaty renouncing war, our confidence in the effectiveness of any additional efforts on our part to assist in the further progress of Europe would be greatly increased.

As we contemplate the past ten years there is every reason to be encouraged. It has been a period in which human freedom has been greatly extended; in which the right of self-government has come to be more widely recognized. Strong foundations have been laid for the support of these principles We should by no means be discouraged, because practice lags behind principle. We make progress slowly, and over a course which can tolerate no open spaces. It is a long distance from a world that walks by force to a world that walks by faith. The United States has been so placed that it could advance with little interruption along the road of freedom and faith It is befitting that we should pursue our course without exultation, with due humility, and with due gratitude for the important contributions of the more ancient nations which have helped to make possible our present progress and our future hope. The greatest responsibilities that can come to a people in this world have come to us We must not fail to meet them in accordance with the requirements of conscience and righteousness.

JOSEPH COWEN

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Speech delivered at the Mayoral Banquet, in the Assembly Rooms, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, June 26, 1897 (Diamond Jubilee Celebrations). This was the last time Joseph Cowen spoke in public

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN: I have to ask you to drink to the prosperity of the British Empire. There have been empires which have possessed a greater population, but there have been none at once so dissimilar and yet so correlative, so scattered and yet so cohesive. There have been races who have rivalled us in refinement, but none in practical ability. Greece, where the human intellect flowered with exceptional luxuriance, excelled us in the arts of an elegant imagination. But she was more ingenious than profound, more brilliant than solid. Rome was great in war, in government, and in law. She intersected Europe with public works, and her eagled legions extorted universal obedience. But her wealth was the plunder of the world; ours is the product of industry. The city states of ancient, and the free towns of mediæval times, aimed more at commerce than conquest. Wherever a ship could sail or a colony be planted there adventurous citizens penetrated, but they sought trade more than territory. Phœnicia turned all the lines of current traffic towards herself. But she preferred the pleasant abodes of Lebanon and the sunlit quays of Tyre to organizing an empire. Arms had no part in her growth, and war no share in her greatness.

Carthage, which, for a time, counterbalanced Rome, robbed the ocean of half its mysteries, and more than half its terrors, but she did little to melt down racial antipathies Venice, in the zenith of her strength, gathered a halo round her name which the rolling ages cannot dissipate. Holland, by her alliance of commerce and liberty, sailed from obscurity into the world's regard. Spain and Portugal drew untold treasure within their coffers, but its possession did not conduce to national virtue None of these States, with their diverse qualities and defects, had imperial aspirations, except Spain. Most of them were only magnified municipalities. But the volume and value of their trade, although large for the time, was meagre when compared with ours. British wealth is unparalleled in commercial history. Add Carthage to Tyre, or Amsterdam to Venice, and you would not make another London. All things precious and useful, amusing and intoxicating, are sucked into its markets.

But mercantile success, although it implies the possession of self-reliance and self-control, of caution and daring, of discipline and enterprise, if unaccompanied by more elevated impulses, will not sustain a State. Wealth is essential. It must not, however, be wealth simply, but wealth plus patriotism. It is by the mingling of the material with

the ideal, the aspiring with the utilitarian, that the British people have secured their influence and elasticity. These qualities have enabled them to dot the surface of the globe with their possessions, to rule with success old nations of every race and creed, and civilize new lands of every kind and clime

We owe much to our geographical position, which is well placed for both traffic and defence; something to our soil, which is fertile without being feculent, something to our climate, which is bracing and yet not rigorous; something to our minerals and to the dexterous requisitioning of scientific and mechanical discoveries; and much to impregnating our traditional prudence with the spirit of advance, but most to our lineage and training. These have secured us freedom without turbulence, enabled us to escape from revolutionary disorders and reactionary repressions, and prompted us to extend to fresh populations the benefits of ancient order. It was the boast of the Athenians that they sprang from the earth they inhabited, and had never been contaminated by the admixture of ignoble blood. We cannot claim such Attic purity. The British are a composite and roving race. They derive their origin from distinctive nationalities. Movement is one of the factors of their progress, and they cannot be tied down to any territorial allocation. The Teutons, with their muscular activity and strenuous industry, supplied the basis of the national character, and fostered in us habits of local independence and self-government. The Norsemen, who came here as freebooters, and remained as settlers, are the core and sinew of our maritime population and the progenitors of our Blakes and Nelsons. The Celts, with their lively imaginations and their sympathetic natures, have imparted a strain of geniality to our hereditary gravity. This felicitous combination of contrarieties has endowed the British race with that subtle transmitting power which is essential to the grounding of an empire out of competitive elements

It has given us an interpenetrating force of a great range, of many modes, of myriad personalities, which wear well, and fit us alike for law and liberty, trade and empire.

There are paradoxical patriots who tell us that the best way to manage an empire is to start from the principle that we have no interest in keeping it. They contend that modern territorial and military changes have altered our relative attitude to other powers, and modified our ancient status; that there is neither good to be got nor glory to be gained by our busying ourselves about the balance of power, or by taking a supererogatory part in continental disputes. They would have us to cease to be members of the European Areopagus and become as insular in our sympathies as in our situation. Such selfish exclusiveness would be inconsistent with our immemorial polity. Once we stood forth as liberators, and always threw our influence and often our sword, into the scale of people struggling to be free. We encouraged and subsidized neighbouring nations during their periods of despondency and destitution. But we have retired from this gratuitous protectorship, and abandoned the pretension to restrain all the wicked, to defend all the weak, and guide all the foolish Our later function has been educational. By example and advice, we have laboured to multiply the number of constitutionally-

governed countries. Partly owing to our aid, and partly to our progress of political enlightenment, civilized peoples generally have, in ways which best suit themselves, taken their affairs into their own hands. Intervention in the internal concerns of other States being recognized as undesirable, and our mission as parliamentary propagandists being fulfilled, ought we not, it is asked, to rest and be thankful? Coveting no territory, and shrinking from all aggression, can we not enjoy our leisure and let the world drift? We cannot, unless we are prepared to sink into the silence and inertia of a fifty-rate power and die of ennui like the bees in Mandeville's fable. Multiplied experience proves that Mercantile States are unable to compete with great continental communities unless they have a broad territory, a free population, an imperial ideal, and adequate naval and military power. The maintenance of our commerce is involved in the maintenance of our dominion. Political isolation and commercial intercourse are incompatible. National sentiment as well as trade follows the flag. If one goes, both go. Our Empire is not the work of a single conqueror, but is the product of personal, prolonged, and spontaneous effort. We have held it through ages of adverse possession. It has plunged us into many wars, it has often strained our resources, and it requires forecasting and potential statesmanship to guard it against dangers and preserve its integrity. But it is worth the effort. We get ample material return for the service. Official statistics prove this. Figures, however, cannot take in everything. These islands could not sustain so large a population, or find employment for so vast a capital, if they stood alone.

Even if they could it would be craven to abandon the obligations of our position. There is a moral responsibility attaching to such an inheritance, although some of it may have come as the spoil of marauding, or the prize of profligacy. We have it, and must hold it, not for the satisfaction of being formidable, but for the necessity of being free. We can only do this by continuing to display the puissant patriotism that has won it. If a nation admits itself impotent, or announces that under no circumstances will it resist attack or repel insult, it will first be despised, and then trodden on by envious rivals. The spirit of a people cannot languish without dimming the lustre of its genius, and losing the force of its character. We desire peace, but are prepared for any danger which honour and duty compel us to risk Great work requires great effort, and great effort is the essence of life. Milo began his athletic training with carrying a calf just weaned By doing so every day he imperceptibly acquired sufficient strength to carry a full-grown ox. As with a man so with a nation. The greater the tax upon its powers, the more the powers develop and the more easy becomes the pressure. Remove the strain, relax the endeavour, and loss of strength follows the collapse of exertion.

In our colonies we have all the conditions required for strength and greatness, and all the seeds of a gigantic destiny. They supply us with markets for our merchandise, outlets for our surplus population, a healthy incentive for enterprise, and immeasurably over-pay the cost and peril of their defence.

They enjoy all the privileges and are liable to none of the burdens of

British citizenship. We help them liberally, and control them inappreciably—acting towards them like a guardian who bears much, exacts little, and bleeds freely. We respect them as children more than we prize them as customers. They have a confident faith in their own future and a deep affection for the mother country and the institutions that symbolize and strengthen the connection with her. We cannot abandon them with cynical indifference to their security and welfare. If we do we will replace loyal subjects by indignant foes. But the most remarkable monument of the ruling power of the British people is in India. We did not covet its conquest. Part of it fell to our lot; other parts were forced upon us by the irresistible sequence of events. We have there a field of absolute duty and prospective usefulness that will task the grandest energies and satisfy the loftiest ambition. We are lords paramount over a number of mutually hostile races, who, but for us, would be ceaselessly at war. They have always had alien masters, and we are incomparably the best they have ever had They are wayward and bigoted, with inveterate and incurable peculiarities. We have to control without offending them. We have to imbue torpid Orientals with Western energy, and, as the Bishop has just told us, by a judicious mingling of sympathy and firmness, we are doing so. British public spirit is apparent in every improvement and foremost in every enterprise—helping directly in some things, indirectly in others, and creating healthy emulation everywhere

There is no record in history of political supremacy and intellectual pre-eminence being exercised with such ubiquitous beneficence, such administrative adaptability. In the treble capacity of law-givers, teachers, and allies, we are blending inherently different civilizations and promoting the progressive prosperity of both Censorious critics contend that the reflex influence of India upon the Empire is detrimental—that the injuries of the conquered are being avenged by the moral effect they produce upon the conquerors. But our position there is not that of a foreign oppressor. By all the laws of international ethics we have a right to be where we are and to be as we are We are expiating wrongs by benefits We have put order in the place of anarchy, we have given protection by law instead of oppression by the sword, and we have enabled the people to dwell in freedom and safety, where of old each man was beaten down beneath whoever was stronger than himself.

Another school of political advisers exclaim against our converting subordinate races into rivals in trade and equals in power. As we cannot arrest their expansion, and as we are guided in our policy by the statistics of opinion, we must—so it is argued—in order to bring our action into harmony with our professions, concede to impulsive and irrational people what they ask for and not what they need, thus imperilling our own authority and circumscribing European industry There is a substratum of truth in this premonition. Physical qualities count for much, for the welfare of humanity is involved in the production of permanence of the best. And higher races have sometimes been submerged by the greater spawning force of inferiors. But British individuality has heretofore been proof against such deterioration. We assimilate, but are not assimilated; we are easily acclimatized, but difficult to naturalize. We can,

too, differentiate, and do not attempt to wind up all our clocks with a single key, nor set those at the Antipodes by the minute hand of St. Paul's. We have great mobility and retrieving power, and administer with facility the codes and creeds of every fraternity. By the rough training of necessity, and of the rapture of struggle and victory, the national character has been strengthened, and the Empire kept from the fatal declivity down which others have fallen. Will it endure? Ah! there's the rub!

The empires of antiquity, great as were their achievements, and splendid as were their promises, have vanished like passing pageants. The renowned seats of Assyrian and Babylonian magnificence have crumbled away. Thebes, with its towering obelisks, colossal sphinxes, and granite-hewn gods—old Homer's wonders—is a wonder still, but it is a wonder of desolation. The Parthenon, in ruined majesty, still looks down from its monumental hill to the classic harbour where Themistocles' little fleet anchored before it broke the proud power of Persia. But the glory that was Greece, and the grandeur that was Rome, have gone, glimmering through the dream of things that were They are little more now than faded verbal memories. The owl screams at night amid the mouldering columns of the Temple of Minerva—may not, to utilize Shelley's figure, the bittern some day boom amid the swamps that surround the shapeless towers of Westminster Abbey? History seems to postulate such a presentiment Civilization has always oscillated, pendulum-like between progress and retrogression.

Nations, like individuals, have their youth, manhood, maturity, and decline But if we were to dwell too long on our national culmination we might be tempted to fold our arms, and set sail, as Sertorius thought of doing, in quest of the Fortunate Isles where life is nothing more than lotus-eating. As a counterpoise to such enervating forebodings it is consolatory to remember that they have often been needlessly sombre. What Gibbon describes as the happiest days of humanity were days when the wisest of Roman Emperors lamented that faith, reverence, and justice were dead, and that there was nothing left but to wait resignedly for the crash of a dissolving world. During the Augustinian Era of romance and chivalry, England was covered with religious foundations, because their founders believed the country was hurrying to perdition, There have been optimistic periods, when pæans were set to a higher key. When printing had conquered back a lost territory for the mind; when Columbus presented a new world to Christendom; and when French Republicans were issuing cosmopolitan manifestoes and planting trees of liberty, society was exultant and sanguine. But neither the elation nor the despondency was justified by the results. To manfully do the work that lies nearest to us and abide the issue is a better moral training than meditating lugubriously over joys bygone and hopes decayed.

Ancient civilization largely consisted in art, in the frivolous work of polished idleness, and in speculative subtleness. Modern civilization consists in physical conquests. It has enabled man to wield the elements at will, and armed him with the force of all their legions. Machinery has multiplied human power, accelerated motion, and annihilated distance. We are girt round with a zodiac of sciences that have lengthened

life and have lessened pain. Chemistry has descended from its atomic altitudes and affinities, and now dyes, scours, brews, bakes, cooks, compounds drugs, and manufactures manure, with the unassuming reality of nature " Electricity leaves her thunderbolts in the sky, and, like Mercury, when dismissed from Olympus, acts as letter-carrier and message-boy " Magnetism, which was once " believed to be a living principle, quivering in the compass needle," has been divested of its mystery and set to the every-day labour of lighting streets and propelling engines. But stupendous discoveries in the phenomenal universe are valuable chiefly because they lead to moral amendment and mental elevation. Progress implies something more than the ability to make money from these inventions to spend on ourselves. Material prosperity alone does not satisfy the moral, intellectual, and æsthetic needs of our being. Comfort is not, as it has been well said, the summum bonum of men or nations. No people can be highly civilized amongst whom delectation takes the place of duty and vapid amusement of virile activity. Happiness may be our being's end and aim, but we find happiness rather in the struggle than in the enjoyment, rather in pursuing the dangling apple than in grasping it when it turns to dust. Society has higher purposes to serve than merely supplying the day's wants or amusing the day's vacuity. Emerson told his countrymen, when they were boasting of their increase of population, that the true test of civilization was not to be found in the census papers. Nor, it might be added, in Board of Trade returns, or Budget Statements, in the railways made, steamers launched, or markets opened, but in the kind of men it turns out. The Highland laird, in *A Legend of Montrose*, who, on seeing six silver candlesticks in Sir Miles Musgrove's house at Edenhall, swore that he had " mair candlesticks and better candlesticks in his ain hame in the Grampians than were ever lichted in a Cumberland ha'," and backed his oath with a wager, was held to have won the bet when he illuminated his dining-room with blazing torches of bog-pine, held in the hands of stalwart clansmen. " Would you dare to compare to them in value the richest ore that was ever dug out of a mine ? " asked the chieftain triumphantly. He measured his wealth, not by the length of his rent-roll, but by the number of his men The sentiment intended to be expressed by the incident is as old as history. The Greek poet struck the same note when he warned the Mytilenes that it was not in high-raised battlements or laboured mounds, in thick walls, or moated gates, but in high-spirited men that they would find their safety. Bacon re-echoed it when he told his contemporaries that well-stored arsenals and armouries were but sheep in lions' skins unless the disposition of the people who had to use the arms were stout and brave. The refrain of Burns's immortal song, " The man's the gowd for a' that," is a homely version of the same idea. Man was made for healthful effort. Life is a battle and a march, and neither men nor nations can be successful in either if they make too much of physical comfort or doze away their days in lazy luxury. The corruption of prosperity is more to be dreaded than the responsibility of authority There is not, as our gallant friend near me (Colonel Upcher) has said, any evidence of degeneracy in the British race. There is the old courage in war, sinew in labour, and skill in workmanship. There

is the same passion for adventure and love of athletics. There is no decline either in judgment or alertness, in adaptability and constancy. The British Empire is not in solstice. The imperial ideal tempers the original iron of the British character into steel and whets its resistless edge. Its spirit and resources are equal to meeting all inevitable dangers and all honourable obligations.

But it is indispensable that we should recognize the fact that, though mighty, we are not omnipotent. Our coffers are well filled and easily replenished, but our means are not inexhaustible. Modern inventions are open to other nations as unreservedly as to ourselves. They have utilized them, and now tread closely on our heels. But this is not altogether a disadvantage We must fight against material obstacles in order to win the means of exercising mental influence. The ancients believed that it was the interest of the country that its neighbours should be poor and weak. The moderns have discovered that it is for the welfare of a country that its contemporaries should be strong and prosperous. The successful exertion of one stimulates the other, and all share in the common well-being. Our most abiding possession is practical knowledge. It is imperishable Literature may dwindle to a fribble, art may degenerate into a bric-à-brac, but mankind can never forget how to make steam-engines and electric telegraphs, telescopes and compasses, printing presses and firearms While they exist, barbarism from without cannot overwhelm civilized powers But the barbarism from within may lay our splendour low. We need fear neither enemies nor rivals. The apprehension for the future comes from amongst ourselves. The secret of British success has been by combining a comprehensive attention to general interest with a scrupulous care for individual liberty. Without wrench or rupture we have transformed our institutions. Slavery, with its horrors, is at an end. Transportation, with its torments, is abandoned; and impressment, with its harshness, is discarded. We obtain our defensive forces voluntarily, by absorbing the unemployed, and not by draining our industry. Invidious privileges, unmerited disabilities, and mortifying distinctions, political, civil, and ecclesiastical, which appeared necessary only through the mists of error, or which were magnified into importance only through the medium of prejudice, have been swept away. We have striven to inspire the humble with dignity, the despondng with faith, the oppressed with hope, and the British Empire has become a model of popular liberty and personal prosperity as firm as the earth and as wide as the sea.

But, by an unaccountable infatuation, we are reforging the very restraints, the removal of which brought us such social happiness and civic success. National character is the outcome of personal character. The strength of a State can be no more than the sum of the strength of the persons who compose it. But this obvious fact is strangely overlooked. Man, too, it should be remembered, is not clay to be moulded or marble to be cut. He grows under the hand. The outline of to-day becomes the fetter of to-morrow. A statute which this year embodies a fact, next year may prescribe a bondage. Wherever there is life there is movement. As Mr. Spencer has shown, we can no more elude the laws of human development than we can elude the law of gravitation.

Society is a living organism, and if walled in by rigid mechanical apparatus it cannot fail to be dwarfed and impeded in its growth. Yet under some well-meant but purblind perversity we are doing this. We are suppressing emulation, legislating all the initiative out of the people, and enervating them by perpetual State aid. Government is being substituted for the individual, and everything is being reduced to its inception. All we want is to be let alone. Let us have fewer laws and less officialism—but let us strengthen the principle of law and the spirit of justice by education, and aim at making men, not machines. Then all will be well. Then our harassed industrial Titans will recover their pristine vigour and rouse themselves to higher efforts, warmer motion, keener strife. The noble ideal of plain living and high thinking, of adolescent and social energy, has been impaired by the prevailing materialism, while the disposition to throw responsibility upon events, and to drift helplessly from currents of popular caprice, is an ignoble feature of our politics. But there are still lurking in the British people sparks of the patriotic fire which burned in the hearts of the heroes who bled for our freedom and left us their fame. The spirit will mount with the occasion. Its aim is progress and its motive duty.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE LATE LORD CURZON

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

WOMEN'S WORK

Speech delivered October 22, 1910, at the opening of the new buildings at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, by the Chancellor of the University (Lord Curzon)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I believe as Chancellor I do not enjoy the privilege of any official connection with any of the ladies' colleges, but, recognizing that they form a definite and valuable part in the academic and educational system of Oxford, I think, as Chancellor, I am thoroughly entitled not only to feel but to exhibit the warmest possible interest in this institution. The history of this Hall synchronizes with the movement for women's education in Oxford. It was Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville College that started in Oxford in 1879. I remember that very well because I was an undergraduate at the time, and I can recall the somewhat cautious and tepid reception that was given to the ladies when they first appeared in Oxford. Not, of course, from any lack of gallantry on our part, but from extreme reluctance to see our ancient conservatism impinged upon and broken down in the future. In those days, I believe, no single lecture was open to ladies; I doubt whether any examination had been open to them, and they had to start from small beginnings. The strides that you have made in the intervening thirty years have been enormous. Now, every school and every examination is open to you. The University has, by cautious but by definite and increasing steps, extended to you its patronage, and there are few doors that are still banged and barred in your faces.

I believe in a few days' time the latest step of the University is likely to be consummated in the statute that is coming before the University to constitute the Delegacy which is the final proof of the University's desire to extend its sanction and its authority to your organization and your arrangements. I wish a successful passage to that statute. Then it is just possible that at a later date—I cannot say when—proposals may be put forward which, it is conceivable, if they are carried, may crown the ambitions of some, at any rate, among your number. I hope that you will observe that, like Agag, I have been walking very delicately; otherwise I am afraid I may meet with Agag's fate. During those thirty years of which I have been speaking you have had one inestimable advantage in this place, and that is the presence, the presidency, the constant control of a noble female character and powerful female mind. I suppose that Miss Wordsworth has had as much influence on female education as any woman of her time, not merely creating and sustaining

the reputation of this institution, but setting an ideal which has been of advantage to the University as a whole. And now her place is taken by the bearer of another honoured name (Miss H. Jex-Blake), who has started her work under the most favourable auspices, and must feel a great satisfaction that in the first year of her reign there should be opened these beautiful buildings. The result of these thirty years of your work in Oxford has been that neither party has the least cause to repent of the association. I know of no particular in which Oxford has lost, but I know of many directions in which it has gained, by the presence of women, and as for the ladies themselves, they have accepted the discipline, absorbed the inner spirit, and shown, I think, the fullest intention to profit by the educational opportunities of the place. Therefore the union between the two has been blessed, and I hope it is a blessing that may continue.

This women's educational movement in Oxford is only a branch of a much larger movement that has been going on throughout the world during the last fifty years of what is commonly called—I do not myself like the phrase—the emancipation of women. It is undoubtedly the case that the movement has been far more rapid among the different branches of the English-speaking races in this country, in America, and in our colonies, than among the branches of the Latin race. I sometimes wonder what is the cause of that. I think that it is due to four reasons—in the first place, to the traditional and accepted impulse towards freedom of the Anglo-Saxon people, and, secondly, to the peculiar economic conditions of English society, particularly in relation to factory labour, which have enabled women engaged in industrial life in this country to claim and to receive their independence much earlier than in foreign lands. The third reason is that your cause has had the inestimable advantage of being championed in this country by an able succession of writers, both men and women. I suppose that if in any foreign country there had been a galaxy of writers of the intellectual eminence of John Stuart Mill, the Brontes, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Tennyson, George Eliot, George Meredith, all illustrating or expatiating on different branches of the subject, their progress would have been much more rapid than it has been. Finally your cause here has had the advantage of being represented by women of first-rate ability themselves.

What is going to be the future? That is a more complex and difficult question, which I cannot hope to answer. We have in this country a surplus of a million women over men. The figures show, if we take the total female population of the country, that more than 80 per cent. are engaged in earning a livelihood, for the most part in industrial occupations, and of course the number of those who are doing so is steadily increasing from year to year. That means, in the first place, that women are steadily extruding men from the spheres of activity which they have hitherto monopolized or occupied. But that does not end the matter. The chances are that women will presently be extruding each other, and that opens up a serious speculation. The danger is that, if there are too many women clamouring for the large number of posts available to them, a certain number of them will drift into unsuitable employment, or, perhaps—what is worse—will relapse into respectable

but unoccupied indigence. If that is the chance of the future, is it not a fact that it is the duty of every friend and sympathizer with this women's movement, as far as possible, now, while there is still time, to sketch out a plan of action for the future and to select those spheres of occupation and activity which are likely to be suitable to women and in which they will not find themselves in unseemly, unprofitable, or uneconomic competition either with men or with each other? Your latest annual report tells me the sort of occupations that ladies passing from that place turned to when they left the University. I find time after time the words "assistant mistress," "head-mistress," "senior mistress," every variety of mistress apparently, and now and then popped in, as a sort of agreeable contrast, "private secretary." Now I ask you a question in complete ignorance, and, therefore, you must receive it with compassion Are you not just possibly confining yourselves to rather a narrow and stereotyped channel?

It seems to me that there is really an immense field for the activities of educated and cultivated women in this country in the near future in directions which do not at present, at any rate to any considerable extent, appear to have been tapped by them I suggest that they might take up the profession of journalism; or that of librarians or organists; the whole field of literature is open to them; the artistic decoration of houses is another opening, as also is that of the professional designing and laying out of gardens. Beside these there is an enormous opening in the Colonies, as heads of institutions, as managers of households, as secretaries, and so on. Then in India, although it is slowly awakening from the torpor of centuries, there is a movement towards the emancipation of the native women, even inside the walls of the zenana. As these ladies free themselves from the shackles of their old traditions and customs they will want English teachers and English ladies to preside over their households and teach their children I have known several ladies who have rendered most valuable help in that direction, and I commend India to you as worthy of your attention. I feel about Oxford that I should like its sound to go out into all lands and its voice to the uttermost ends of the world, and I do not see why women as well as men should not bear the message I hope the ladies will never forget, while they pursue their vocations, or in their attainment to academic success, in their possible triumph in respect of degrees, in their search for vocations which they are going to fulfil in after life—they will never forget the sublime truth that the highest ideal and conception of womanhood is after all to be found in the home.

DEMOSTHENES

THE THIRD PHILIPPIC

This speech was delivered about three months after the second Philippic when Philip was advancing into Thrace, and threatening both the Chersonese and the Propontine Coast Demosthenes, alarmed by the formidable character of Philip's vast military preparations, felt the necessity of rousing the Athenians to exertion

Many speeches, men of Athens, are made in almost every assembly about the hostilities of Philip, hostilities which ever since the treaty of peace he has been committing as well against you as against the rest of the Greeks; and all, I am sure, are ready to avow, though they forbear to do so, that our counsels and our measures should be directed to his humiliation and chastisement; nevertheless, so low have our affairs been brought by inattention and negligence, I fear it is harsh truth to say, that if all the orators had sought to suggest and you to pass resolutions for the utter ruining of the Commonwealth, we could not, methinks, be worse off than we are A variety of circumstances may have brought us to this state; our affairs have not declined from one or two causes only, but if you rightly examine you will find it chiefly owing to the orators, who study to please you rather than advise for the best Some of whom, Athenians, seeking to maintain the basis of their own power and repute, have no forethought for the future, and therefore think you also ought to have none; others, accusing and calumniating practical statesmen, labour only to make Athens punish Athens, and in such occupation to engage her that Philip may have liberty to say and do what he pleases Politics of this kind are common here, but are the causes of your failures and embarrassment I beg, Athenians, that you will not resent my plain speaking of the truth.

Only consider, you hold liberty of speech in other matters to be the general right of all residents in Athens, insomuch that you allow a measure of it even to foreigners and slaves, and many servants may be seen among you speaking their thoughts more freely than citizens in some other states; and yet you have altogether banished it from your councils. The result has been, that in the Assembly you give yourselves airs and are flattered at hearing nothing but compliments; in your measures and proceedings you are brought to the utmost peril. If such be your disposition now, I must be silent, if you will listen to good advice without flattery, I am ready to speak. For though our affairs are in a deplorable condition, though many sacrifices have been made, still if you will choose to perform your duty it is possible to repair it all A paradox, and yet a truth, I am about to state. That which is the most lamentable in the

past is best for the future. How is this? Because you performed no part of your duty, great or small, and therefore you fared ill; had you done all that became you, and your situation were the same, there would be no hope of amendment. Philip has indeed prevailed over your sloth and negligence, but not over the country; you have not been worsted; you have not even bestirred yourselves

If now one were all agreed that Philip is at war with Athens and infringing the peace, nothing would a speaker need to urge or advise but the safest and easiest way of resisting him But since, at the very time when Philip is capturing cities and retaining divers of our dominions and assailing all people, there are men so unreasonable as to listen to repeated declarations in the Assembly that some of us are kindling war, one must be cautious and set this matter right, for whoever moves or advises a measure of defence is in danger of being accused afterwards as author of the war

I will first then examine and determine this point, whether it be in our power to deliberate on peace or war If the country may be at peace, if it depends on us (to begin with this), I say we ought to maintain peace, and I call upon the affirmant to move a resolution, to take some measure and not to palter with us But if another, having arms in his hand and a large force around him, amuses you with the name of peace while he carries on the operations of war, what is left but to defend yourselves? You may profess to be at peace if you like, as he does; I quarrel not with that But if any man supposes this to be a peace, which will enable Philip to master all else and attack you last, he is a madman, or he talks of a peace observed towards him by you, not towards you by him. Thus it is that Philip purchases by all his expenditure—the privilege of assailing you without being assailed in him

If we really wait until he avows that he is at war with us, we are the simplest of mortals, for he would not declare that, though he marched even against Attica and Piræus; at least if we may judge from his conduct to others For example, to the Olynthians he declared when he was forty furlongs from their city, that there was no alternative, but either they must quit Olynthus or he Macedonia, though before that time, whenever he was accused of such an intent, he took it ill and sent ambassadors to justify himself Again, he marched toward the Phoceans as if they were allies, and there were Phocean envoys who accompanied his march, and many among you contended that his advance would not benefit the Thebans And he came into Thessaly of late as a friend and ally, yet he has taken possession of Pheræ, and lastly he told those wretched people of Oreus that he had sent his soldiers out of goodwill to visit them, as he heard they were in trouble, and dissension, and it was the part of allies and true friends to lend assistance on such occasions.

People who never would have harmed him, though they might have adopted measures of defence, he chose to deceive rather than warn them of his attack; and think ye he would declare war against you before he began it, and that while you are willing to be deceived? Impossible. He would be the silliest of mankind, if whilst you the injured parties make no complaint against him, but are accusing your own countrymen, he should terminate your intestine strife and jealousies, warn you to

turn against him, and remove the pretexts of his hirelings for asserting, to amuse you, that he makes no war upon Athens. O heavens! would any rational being judge by words rather than by actions, who is at peace with him and who at war? Surely none. Well then, tell me now; when he sends mercenaries into Chersonesus, which the King and all the Greeks have acknowledged to be yours, when he avows himself an auxiliary and writes us word so, what are such proceedings? He says he is not at war; I cannot however admit such conduct to be an observance of the peace, far otherwise I say, by his attempt on Megara, by his setting up despotism in Eubœa, by his present advance into Thrace, by his intrigues in Peloponnesus, by the whole course of operations with his army, he has been breaking the peace and making war upon you; unless indeed you will say that those who establish batteries are not at war until they apply them to the walls But that you will not say! for whoever contrives and prepares the means for a conquest is at war with me before he darts or draws the bow. What, if anything should happen, is the risk you run? The alienation of the Hellespont, the subjection of Megara and Eubœa to your enemy, the siding of the Peloponnesians with him Then can I allow that one who sets such an engine at work against Athens is at peace with her? Quite the contrary From the day that he destroyed the Phocians I date his commencement of hostilities. Defend yourselves instantly, and I say you will be wise; delay it, and you may wish in vain to do so hereafter So much do I dissent from your other counsellors, men of Athens, that I deem any discussion about Chersonesus or Byzantium out of place Succour them—I advise that—watch that no harm befalls them, send all necessary supplies to your troops in that quarter, but let your deliberations be for the safety of all Greece, as being in the utmost peril. I must tell you why I am so alarmed at the state of our affairs, that if my reasonings are correct, you may share them, and make some provision at least for yourselves, however disinclined to do so for others, but if in your judgment I talk nonsense and absurdity, you may treat me as crazed, and not listen to me either now or in future

That Philip from a mean and humble origin has grown mighty, that the Greeks are jealous and quarrelling among themselves, that it was far more wonderful for him to rise from that insignificance than it would now be, after so many acquisitions, to conquer what is left, these, and similar matters which I might dwell upon, I pass over But I observe that all people, beginning with you, have conceded to him a right which in former times has been the subject of contest in every Grecian war. And what is this? The right of doing what he pleases, openly fleecing and pillaging the Greeks, one after another, attacking and enslaving their cities You were at the head of the Greeks for seventy-three years, the Lacedæmonians for twenty-nine, and the Thebans had some power in these latter times after the Battle of Leuctra. Yet neither you, my countrymen, nor Thebans, nor Lacedæmonians, were ever licensed by the Greeks to act as you pleased, far otherwise When you, or rather the Athenians of that time, appeared to be dealing harshly with certain people, all the rest, even such as had no complaint against Athens, thought proper to side with the injured parties in a war against her. So, when the

Lacedæmonians became masters and succeeded to your empire, on their attempting to encroach and make oppressive innovations, a general war was declared against them, even by such as had no cause of complaint. But wherefore mention other people? We ourselves and the Lacedæmonians, although at the outset we could not allege any mutual injuries, thought proper to make war for the injustice that we saw done to our neighbours. Yet all the faults committed by the Spartans in those thirty years, and by our ancestors in the seventy, are less, men of Athens, than the wrongs which in thirteen incomplete years that Philip has been uppermost he has inflicted on the Greeks, nay, they are scarcely a fraction of these, as may easily be shown in a few words. Olynthus and Methone and Apollonia, and thirty-two cities on the borders of Thrace, I pass over; all which he has so cruelly destroyed, that a visitor could hardly tell if they were ever inhabited, and of the Phocians, so considerable a people exterminated, I say nothing. But what is the condition of Thessaly? Has he not taken away her constitutions and her cities, and established tetrarchies, to parcel her out, not only by cities, but also by provinces, for subjection. Are not the Eubœan States governed now by despots, and that on an island near to Thebes and Athens? Does he not expressly write in his epistles. "I am at peace with those who are willing to obey me"? Nor does he write so and not act accordingly He is gone to the Hellespont; he marched formerly against Ambracia, Elis, such an important city in Peloponnesus, he possesses, he plotted lately to get Megara: neither Hellenic nor barbaric land contains the man's ambition

And we, the Greek community, seeing and hearing this, instead of sending embassies to one another about it and expressing indignation, are in such a miserable state, so intrenched in our separate towns that to this day we can attempt nothing that interest or necessity requires, we cannot combine, or form any association for succour and alliance, we look unconcerned on the man's growing power, each resolving, methinks, to enjoy the interval that another is destroyed on, not caring or striving for the salvation of Greece, for none can be ignorant that Philip, like some course or attack of fever or other disease, is coming even on those that yet seem very far removed And you must be sensible that whatever wrong the Greeks sustained from Lacedæmonians or from us was at least inflicted by genuine people of Greece, and it might be felt in the same manner as if a lawful son, born to a large fortune, committed some fault or error in the management of it, on that ground one would consider him open to censure and reproach Yet it could not be said that he was an alien, and not heir to the property which he so dealt with. But if a slave or a spurious child wasted and spoiled what he had no interest in—Heavens! how much more heinous and hateful would all have pronounced it! And yet in regard to Philip and his conduct they feel not this, although he is not only no Greek, and no way akin to Greeks, but not even a barbarian of a place honourable to mention; in fact, a vile fellow of Macedon, from which a respectable slave could not be purchased formerly

What is wanting to make his insolence complete? Besides his destruction of Grecian cities, does he not hold the Pythian games, the

common festival of Greece, and if he comes not himself, send his vassals to preside? Is he not master of Thermopylæ and the passes into Greece, and holds he not those places by garrisons and mercenaries? Has he not thrust aside Thessalians, ourselves, Dorians, the whole Amphictyonic body, and got pre-audience of the oracle, to which even the Greeks do not all pretend? Yet the Greeks endure to see all this; methinks they view it as they would a hailstorm, each praying that it may not fall on himself, none trying to prevent it. And not only are the outrages which he does to Greece submitted to, but even the private wrongs of every people; nothing can go beyond this! Still under these indignities we are all slack and disheartened, and look towards our neighbours, distrusting one another instead of the common enemy. And how think ye a man who behaves so insolently to all, how will he act when he gets each separately under his control?

But what has caused the mischief? There must be some cause, some good reason why the Greeks were so eager for liberty then, and now are eager for servitude There was something, men of Athens, something in the hearts of the multitude then which there is not now, which overcame the wealth of Persia and maintained the freedom of Greece, and quailed not under any battle by land or sea; the loss whereof has ruined all, and thrown the affairs of Greece into confusion. What was this? Nothing subtle or clever simply that whoever took money from the aspirants for power or the corrupters of Greece were universally detested, it was dreadful to be convicted of bribery, the severest punishment was inflicted on the guilty, and there was no intercession or pardon. The favourable moments for enterprise which fortune frequently offers to the careless against the vigilant, to them that will do nothing against those that discharge all their duty, could not be bought from orators or generals; no more could mutual concord, nor distrust of tyrants and barbarians, nor anything of the kind But now all such principles have been sold as in open market, and those imported in exchange, by which Greece is ruined and diseased. What are they? Envy when a man gets a bribe, laughter if he confesses it, mercy to the convicted, hatred of those that denounce the crime, all the usual attendances upon corruption. For as to ships and men and revenues and abundance of other materials, all that may be reckoned as constituting national strength—assuredly the Greeks of our day are more fully and perfectly supplied with such advantages than Greeks of the olden time. But they are all rendered useless, unavailable, unprofitable, by the agency of these traffickers.

That such is the present state of things, you must see without requiring my testimony, that it was different in former times, I will demonstrate, not by speaking my own words, but by showing an inscription of your ancestors, which they graved on a brazen column and deposited in the Citadel, not for their own benefit (they were right-minded enough without such records), but for a memorial and example to instruct you how seriously such conduct should be taken up. What says the inscription then? It says. "Let Arthmus, son of Pythonax, the Zelite, be declared an outlaw and an enemy of the Athenian people and their allies, him and his family." Then the cause is written why this

was done: because he brought the Median gold into Peloponnesus—that is the inscription. By the gods! only consider and reflect among yourselves what must have been the spirit, what the dignity of those Athenians who acted so. One Arthmius, a Zelite, subject of the king (for Zelea is in Asia), because in his master's service he brought gold into Peloponnesus—not to Athens—they proclaimed an enemy of the Athenians and their allies, him and his family, and outlawed. That is not by the outlawry commonly spoken of; for what would a Zelite care, to be excluded from Athenian franchises? It means not that; but in the statutes of homicide it is written, in cases where a prosecution for murder is not allowed, but killing is sanctioned, "and let him die an outlaw," says the legislator, by which he means that whoever kills such a person shall be unpolluted. Therefore they considered that the preservation of all Greeks was their own concern (but for such opinion, they would not have cared whether people in Peloponnesus were bought and corrupted), and whomsoever they discovered taking bribes, they chastised and punished so severely as to record their names on brass. The natural result was, that Greece was formidable to the barbarian, not the barbarian to Greece 'Tis not so now! since neither in this nor in other respects are your sentiments the same But what are they? You know yourselves, why am I to upbraid you with everything? The Greeks in general are alike, and no better than you Therefore I say, our present affairs demand earnest attention and wholesome counsel

There is a foolish saying of persons who wish to make us easy, that Philip is not yet as powerful as the Lacedæmonians were formerly, who ruled everywhere by land and sea, and had the king for their ally, and nothing withstood them, yet Athens resisted even that nation, and was not destroyed I myself believe that while everything has received great improvement, and the present bears no resemblance to the past, nothing has been so changed and improved as the practice of war. For anciently, as I am informed, the Lacedæmonians and all Grecian people would, for four or five months during the season only, invade and ravage the land of their enemies with heavy-armed and national troops, and return home again, and their ideas were so old-fashioned, or rather national, that they never purchased an advantage from any, theirs was a legitimate and open warfare But now you doubtless perceive that the majority of disasters have been effected by treason, nothing is done in fair field or combat You hear of Philip marching where he pleases, not because he commands troops of the line, but because he has attached to him a host of skirmishers, cavalry, archers, mercenaries, and the like When with these he falls upon a people in civil dissension, and none (through mistrust) will march out to defend the country, he applies engines and besieges them I need not mention that he makes no difference between winter and summer, that he has no stated season of repose. You, knowing these things, reflecting on them, must not let the war approach your territories, nor get your necks broken, relying on the simplicity of the old war with the Lacedæmonians, but take the longest time beforehand for defensive measures and preparations, see that he stirs not from home, avoid any decisive engagement. For a war, if we choose, men of Athens, to pursue a right course, we have many natural

advantages; such as the position of his kingdom, which we may extensively plunder and ravage, and a thousand more; but for a battle he is better trained than we are.

Nor is it enough to adopt these resolutions and oppose him by warlike measures; you must on calculation and on principle abhor his advocates here, remembering that it is impossible to overcome your enemies abroad until you have chastised those who are his ministers within the city. Which, by Jupiter and all the gods, you cannot and will not do! You have arrived at such a pitch of folly or madness or—I know not what to call it!—I am tempted often to think that some evil genius is driving you to ruin—that for the sake of scandal or envy or jest or any other cause, you command hirelings to speak (some of whom would not deny themselves to be hirelings), and laugh when they abuse people. And this, bad as it is, is not the worst; you have allowed these persons more liberty for their political conduct than your faithful counsellors, and see what evils are caused by listening to such men with indulgence. I will mention facts that you will all remember.

In Olynthus some of the statesmen were in Philip's interest, doing everything for him, some were on the honest side, aiming to preserve their fellow-citizens from slavery. Which party, now, destroyed their country? or which betrayed the cavalry, by whose betrayal Olynthus fell? The creatures of Philip, they that, while the city stood, slandered and calumniated the honest counsellors so effectually that the Olynthian people were induced to banish Apollonides

Nor is it there only, and nowhere else, that such practice has been ruinous

What can be the reason—perhaps you wonder—why the Olynthians were more indulgent to Philip's advocates than to their own? The same which operates with you They who advise for the best cannot always gratify their audience, though they would, for the safety of the State must be attended to, their opponents by the very counsel which is agreeable advance Philip's interest One party required contribution, the other said there was no necessity, one was for war and mistrust, the other for peace, until they were ensnared And so on for everything else (not to dwell on particulars), the one made speeches to please for the moment, and gave no annoyance, the other offered salutary counsel that was offensive. Many rights did the people surrender at last, not from any such motive of indulgence or ignorance, but submitting in the belief that all was lost. Which, by Jupiter and Apollo, I fear will be your case, when on calculation you see that nothing can be done I pray, men of Athens, that it may never come to this Better die a thousand deaths than render homage to Philip, or sacrifice any of your faithful counsellors. A fine recompense have the people of Orpheus got, for trusting themselves to Philip's friends and spurning Euphræus! Finely are the Eretrian commons rewarded, for having driven away your Ambassadors and yielded to Clitharcus! Yes, they are slaves, exposed to the lash and the torture. Finely he spared the Olynthians! It is folly and cowardice to cherish such hopes, and while you take evil counsel and shirk every duty, and even listen to those who plead for your enemies, to think that you inhabit a city of such magnitude that you cannot suffer any serious

misfortune. Yea, and it is disgraceful to exclaim on any occurrence, when it is too late, "Who would have expected it? However—this or that should have been done, the other left undone." Many things could the Olynthians mention now, which if foreseen at the time would have prevented their destruction. Many could the Orites mention, many the Phocians, and each of the ruined states. But what would it avail them? As long as the vessel is safe, whether it be great or small, the manner, the pilot, every man in turn should exert himself, and prevent its being overturned either by accident or design; but when the sea hath rolled over it, their efforts are vain. And we likewise, O Athenians, whilst we are safe, with a magnificent city, plentiful resources, lofty reputation —what must we do? Well then, I will tell you; I will move a resolution, pass it, if you please.

First, let us prepare for our own defence, provide ourselves, I mean, with ships, money and troops—for surely, though all other people consented to be slaves, we at least ought to struggle for freedom. When we have completed our own preparations and made them apparent to the Greeks, then let us invite the rest, and send our Ambassadors everywhere with the intelligence, to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, to the king, I say (for it concerns his interest not to let Philip make universal conquest); that, if you prevail, you may have partners of your dangers and expenses in case of necessity, or at all events that you may delay the operations. For since the war is against an individual, not against the collected power of a state, even this may be useful; as were the embassies last year to Peloponnesus, and the remonstrances with which I and the other envoys went round and arrested Philip's progress, so that he neither attacked Ambracia nor started for Peloponnesus. I say not, however, that you should invite the rest without adopting measures to protect yourselves, it would be folly, while you sacrifice your own interest, to profess a regard for that of strangers, or to alarm others about the future, whilst for the present you are unconcerned, I advise not this, I bid you send supplies to the troops in Chersonesus, and do what else they require, prepare yourselves and make every effort first, then summon, gather, instruct the rest of the Greeks. That is the duty of a state possessing a dignity such as yours. If you imagine that Chalcidians or Megarians will save Greece, while you run away from the contest, you imagine wrong. Well for any of those people if they are safe themselves! This work belongs to you, this privilege your ancestors bequeathed to you, the prize of many perilous exertions. But if every one will sit seeking his pleasure, and studying to be idle himself, never will he find others to do his work, and more than this, I fear we shall be under the necessity of doing all that we like not at one time. Were proxies to be had, our inactivity would have found them long ago; but they are not.

Such are the measures which I advise, which I propose; adopt them, and even yet, I believe, our prosperity may be re-established. If any man has better advice to offer, let him communicate it openly. Whatever you determine, I pray to all the gods for a happy result.

PRESIDENT DE VALERA

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Opening speech of the Thirteenth Session at Geneva, September 26, 1932

THE CHAIRMAN : It is customary for the Acting President of the Assembly to open the Assembly with a review of the work of the League of Nations during the previous year. The report of the Secretary-General, which deals very fully with that work, is before you. I do not propose, therefore, to do more than refer briefly to what appear to me to be the more important matters

The outstanding event of the year has been the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments I do not wish to appear unappreciative of the difficulties with which the problem of disarmament is surrounded It must be recognized that some progress has been made and that proposals have actually been engaging the attention of the Conference which, a year ago, many here would have thought outside the realm of practical politics But I do not think I shall be accused of exaggeration if I say that the measure of progress which has so far been made falls far short of what I am convinced are the desires and expectations of the peoples of the world.

Another event of outstanding importance during the year was the Lausanne Conference. While it is, perhaps, still too soon to assess the final results of that Conference, it will have much to its credit if it paves the way for the definite settlement of the problem of intergovernmental payments The Lausanne Conference was not, itself, a Conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations, but it was inevitable that the Governments represented at Lausanne, the moment they felt themselves free to turn to the consideration of the wider and more fundamental problems affecting the financial and economic conditions of the whole world, should turn to the League for the most efficient and satisfactory machinery for organizing further progress This Assembly already had referred to it by the Council, you will remember, proposals on the same matters which had their origin in a resolution of the International Labour Conference.

The request of the Lausanne Conference serves in a striking manner to confirm the need for immediate international action in the economic and financial fields.

New tasks, therefore, of enormous complexity and difficulty have been accepted by the League, and, with the coming Economic and Financial Conference and the further sessions of the Disarmament Conference, it is already certain that the year which opens before us will prove to be one of the most strenuous and the most important in the whole history of the League.

Reference must, I feel, be made to the conflict in the Far East. When the Special Assembly began to discuss this question, serious fighting involving heavy loss of life was actually in progress in the region of Shanghai That is happily no longer the case But it is none the less true that the larger problems at issue in that conflict remain unsolved. The Commission which was dispatched by the Council to the scene of the conflict on the initiative of Japan has just reported. I am sure I voice the feeling of the whole Assembly when I express the hope that the report of the Commission will be conducive towards a just and final settlement of the dispute, and that the methods and principles of the Covenant will find a justification in their triumph over all the difficulties with which this problem is surrounded

As regards the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, we have all been informed of the representations which the outgoing President of the Council, following the tradition of friendly vigilance which has grown around that office, has made to those two Members of the League, and we all, I am sure, approve of these representations. They were at once a reminder of the binding character of the undertakings not to resort to war assumed by members of the League and an invitation to listen to the counsels of those friendly American Republics which were endeavouring to find an acceptable method of peaceful settlement Each member of the league will hope that these efforts, which are to be continued by the Committee which the Council has decided to appoint, will bring the dispute to an end

I shall not attempt to summarize the work of the League in the second broad division of its task—namely, international co-operation in fields other than that of international peace and security In spite of restrictions in the League budget, this work has continued steadily, and those who read the annual report will be able to assure themselves that the results have not been unsatisfactory

I shall not refer to the several important minority petitions which have been examined, the committees of inquiry which have reported and the ratifications and accessions to League Conventions which have been received during the year You will, however, allow me to mention, as being a little off the beaten track, the decisions which the Council and Financial Committee have taken in regard to requests for advice and assistance from Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and Roumania, the help given by the League to China in her programme of national reconstruction, and the success of two missions of considerable humanitarian importance carried out with the help of the League—the rebuilding of the dykes on the Yang-tse-Kiang, the bursting of which had resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and the pacific re-instatement of the Kroo tribes in Liberia.

I have mentioned incidentally the question of the budgetary restrictions. Affecting, as it does, all the League's activities, it is of very great moment to the Assembly, and would appear to deserve more than a passing reference, but it will be dealt with very fully, I am sure, in the appropriate Committee, and I feel excused from considering it here.

That is the brief survey of the activities of the League during the year which, in accordance with custom, I have, in my capacity as Acting

President of the Assembly, the honour to lay before you. I have said little of the difficulties which had to be overcome before it was found possible to make the progress which I have just reviewed. You will be aware of those difficulties, as you will be aware of the difficulties which prevented any progress at all being made in certain directions. I have no doubt that when the Assembly takes note of all these difficulties it will agree that the Secretary-General's report on the work of the League since the last session of the Assembly represents a record of no mean achievement.

But it would be a great mistake for us to think that the League can live on the commendations, however merited, and expressions of satisfaction which it receives from its friends or from this Assembly. Out beyond the walls of this Assembly, there is the public opinion of the world, and if the League is to prosper, or even survive, it must retain the support and confidence of that public opinion as a whole It is often said that, in a final analysis, the League has no sanctions but the force of world opinion. At the moment, that is profoundly true, and it seems to me, therefore, that, in the best interests of the League, a wider review of its position and work should be undertaken, on occasions like this, not so much in the light of our knowledge of the difficulties which explain its delays and its failures, as in the light of the fears, the criticisms, the prejudices, if you like, of public opinion in our respective countries

It is time for us to ask ourselves what is the attitude of the outsider, the average man and woman, to the League, and to all this activity at Geneva? What impression will the survey which I have just made convey to the minds of our people, say in Ireland, and of your peoples in all your several countries? Friends and enemies of the League alike feel that the testing time has come, and they are watching to see if that test will reveal a weakness presaging ultimate dissolution, or a strength that will be the assurance of a renewal of vigour and growth. The eyes of all peoples are focused on Geneva to-day as perhaps they have never been focused on it before

Let us be frank with ourselves There is on all sides complaint, criticism and suspicion. People are complaining that the League is devoting its activity to matters of secondary or very minor importance, while the vital international problems of the day, problems which touch the very existence of our peoples, are being shelved or postponed or ignored People are saying that the equality of States does not apply here in the things that matter, that the smaller States, whilst being given a voice, have little real influence in the final determination of League action, that they have not that which they were intended, and are entitled, to have under the Covenant.

People are becoming impatient and starting even to inquire whether the apparently meagre, face-saving results of successive League conferences and meetings justify the burden which contributions to the League budget, and the expense of sending delegation after delegation to Geneva, impose upon the already over-burdened national taxpayer. Finally, there is a suspicion abroad that little more than lip-service is paid to the fundamental principles on which the League is founded; there is a suspicion that the action of the League in the economic sphere can be

paralyzed by the pressure of powerful national interests, and that, if the hand that is raised against the Covenant is sufficiently strong, it can smite with impunity . . . I shall not go further, but, let us make no mistake about it, the satisfaction with the position and the work of the League which we may feel in this Assembly is not shared universally by opinion outside. Blue books, as I might call them, and complacent resolutions cannot satisfy the general demand for effective action. We are defendants at the bar of public opinion with a burden of justification upon us which is almost overwhelming.

Do not misunderstand me A great deal of the criticism which I have described is, without a doubt, unjustified. A great deal of it is uninformed A great deal of it is the criticism of the man who, in national as in international affairs, demands immediate solutions for problems of the difficulties of which he knows nothing. A great deal of it is perhaps also not wholly disinterested But if this criticism is unjustified, what have we done to give it a really effective answer? The vast collection of surveys, of reports and conference records accumulated in our archives is not the evidence that will disprove the charges which are brought against the League and that will show conclusively that the suspicions which have grown up in the mind of the ordinary man are without foundation

Ladies and gentlemen, the one effective way of silencing criticisms of the League, of bringing to its support millions who at present stand aside in apathy or look at its activities with undisguised cynicism, is to show unmistakably that the Covenant of the League is a solemn pact, the obligations of which no State, great or small, will find it possible to ignore. The only alternative to competitive armaments is the security for national rights which an uncompromising adherence to the principles of the Covenant will afford The avoidance of wars and of the burden of preparatory armaments is of such concern to humanity that no State should be permitted to jeopardize the common interest by selfish action contrary to the Covenant, and no State is powerful enough to stand for long against the League if the Governments in the League and their peoples are determined that the Covenant shall be upheld.

There is not a doubt that critics of the League will measure the confidence that can be placed in it by the confidence which the more powerful members of the League themselves place in the security the League is capable of affording, and that will of a certainty be judged by the success or failure of the Disarmament Conference Without progressive disarmament, it is almost impossible that the League should survive. The success of the Disarmament Conference is then of prime importance to the League, and I hope that enlightened public opinion in favour of disarmament will make itself increasingly felt in every State.

Of no less but of even greater importance, perhaps, is the Economic Conference.

On every side there is evidence of an impending economic collapse. Twenty-five million unemployed are crying out for the recognition of the right of themselves and their families to work and live; a hundred million people are faced with starvation in the midst of a world of plenty, a world where human energy and scientific and mechanical development have reached a stage of potential production capable of meeting many

times the people's needs. It is our duty here to face this anomalous and desperate situation frankly and honestly, not as the representatives of States or parties or special interests, but as men who realize that the primary duty of statesmen, national and international, is to plan for the well-being and happiness of their fellows—the plain ordinary human beings in every country who feel and think and suffer. There is no doubt that, with a will, a solution for this, a purely human problem, but the fundamental problem of our day, can be found. But it must be a will that will seek effective action no matter what interest is crossed, a will that will probe deeper than an examination of the possibility of re-opening of the old channels of international trade.

This is not the place to examine this problem further, or to attempt even an outline of what the solution should be, but it is my duty to suggest that here, as in other fields, the time has come for action. That the whole basis of production, distribution, finance and credit requires complete overhauling is amply evident from the reports of the various committees which are summarized so admirably in the Secretary-General's report. If we shirk any item in this task, if we fail to make the radical changes obviously necessary, if we fail to organize our economic life deliberately and purposely to provide, as its first object, for the fundamental needs of all our citizens, so that everyone may at least be reasonably housed, clothed and fed, we shall be failing in our duty and failing cruelly and disastrously

For certain items of the task international action is necessary, but the change of purpose—the deliberate shaping of economic activity to an ethical and social end—is work which each can best advance in his own State The conditions change from country to country The problem in the highly industrialized States is very different from that in the States industrially undeveloped

Speaking for my own country, I am confident that if we are left to pursue our policy we shall succeed, not only in securing the proper adjustment of our own social and economic life, but be able in addition to contribute more than our share to human progress throughout the world I want you to believe that we in Ireland desire peace—peace at home and throughout the world In spite of the opinions you may have formed from misleading reports, I want you to know that our history is the history of a people who have consistently sought only to be allowed to lead their own lives in their own way—in peace with their neighbours and with the world

If we are left free, our way will be the way of peace, of thinking in terms not of selfish interest, nor of the acquisition of territory, nor of petty power, but of human beings living as they have a right to live in the best that their own energies and our State can give them, whilst contributing to the world the best that is in us. I feel that other States can face the task in a similar spirit and with equal hope, and, because of that conviction and of the mutual help I know we can all render to each other, I consider it a great privilege for my country to occupy at this time the position of importance it holds on the Council of the League. *Go gcuidigh Dia sinn san ard obair ata romhainn agus nar leigidh Se riamh go dteipeadh orainn.* (May God assist us in the exalted task before us and may He not permit that we should fall)

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

THE MEMORY OF BURNS

Speech delivered at the festival of the Boston Burns Club, at the Parker House, Boston, Mass., January 25, 1859, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Scottish bard

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN

I do not know by what untoward accident it has chanced—and I forbear to inquire—that, in this accomplished circle, it should fall to me, the worst Scotsman of all, to receive your commands, and at the latest hour, too, to respond to the sentiment just offered, and which, indeed, makes the occasion. But I am told there is no appeal, and I must trust to the inspiration of the theme to make a fitness which does not otherwise exist.

Yet, Sir, I heartily feel the singular claims of the occasion. At the first announcement, from I know not whence, that the twenty-fifth of January was the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns, a sudden consent warned the great British race, in all its kingdoms, colonies, and states, all over the world, to keep the festival We are here to hold our parliament with love and poesy, as men were wont to do in the Middle Ages Those famous parliaments might or might not have had more stateliness and better singers than we—though that is yet to be known—but they could not have better reason

I can only explain this singular unanimity in a race which rarely acts together—but rather after their watchword, each for himself—by the fact that Robert Burns, the poet of the middle class, represents in the mind of men to-day that great uprising of the middle class against the armed and privileged minorities—that uprising which worked politically in the American and French Revolutions, and which, not in governments so much as in education and in social order, has changed the face of the world. In order for this destiny, his birth, breeding, and fortune were low. His organic sentiment was absolute independence, and resting, as it should, on a life of labour. No man existed who could look down on him. They that looked into his eyes saw that they might look down the sky as easily. His muse and teaching was common sense, joyful, aggressive, irresistible. Not Latimer, nor Luther, struck more telling blows against false theology than did this brave singer. The "Confession of Augsburg," the "Declaration of Independence," the French "Rights of Man," and the "Marseillaise," are not more weighty documents in the history of freedom than the songs of Burns. His satire has lost none of its edge. His musical arrows yet sing through the air. He is so substantially a reformer, that I find his grand, plain sense in close chain with the greatest masters—Rabelais, Shakespeare in comedy,

Cervantes, Butler, and Burns. If I should add another name, I find it only in a living countryman of Burns. He is an exceptional genius. The people who care nothing for literature and poetry care for Burns. It was indifferent—they thought who saw him—whether he wrote verse or not; he could have done anything else as well.

Yet how true a poet is he! And the poet, too, of poor men, of hodden-gray, and the Guernsey-coat, and the blouse. He has given voice to all the experiences of common life; he has endeared the farmhouse and cottage, patches and poverty, beans and barley; ale, the poor man's wine, hardship, the fear of debt, the dear society of weans and wife, of brothers and sisters, proud of each other, knowing so few, and finding amends for want and obscurity in books and thought What a love of nature! and—shall I say it?—of middle-class nature. Not great, like Goethe, in the stars; or like Byron, on the ocean, or Moore, in the luxurious East but in the homely landscape which the poor see around them—bleak leagues of pasture and stubble, ice, and sleet, and rain, and snow-choked brooks, birds, hares, field-mice, thistles, and heather, which he daily knew How many "Bonny Doons," and "John Anderson my Joes," and "Auld Lang Synes," all around the earth, have his verses been applied to! And his love-songs still woo and melt the youths and maids; and farm-work, the country holiday, the fishing cobble, are still his debtors to-day

And, as he was thus the poet of the poor, anxious, cheerful, working humanity, so had he the language of low life He grew up in a rural district, speaking a patois unintelligible to all but natives, and he has made that Lowland Scotch a Doric dialect of fame. It is the only example in history of a language made classic by the genius of a single man But more than this. He had that secret of genius to draw from the bottom of society the strength of its speech, and astonish the ears of the polite with these artless words, better than art, and filtered of all offence through his beauty It seemed odious to Luther that the devil should have all the best tunes; he would bring them into the churches; and Burns knew how to take from fairs and gypsies, blacksmiths and drovers, the speech of the market and street, and clothe it with melody.

But I am detaining you too long. The memory of Burns—I am afraid heaven and earth have taken too good care of it to leave us anything to say The west winds are murmuring it Open the windows behind you, and hearken for the incoming tide, what the waves say of it. The doves, perching always on the eaves of the Stone Chapel (King's Chapel) opposite, may know something about it Every home in broad Scotland keeps his fame bright. The memory of Burns—every man's, and boy's, and girl's head carries snatches of his songs, and can say them by heart, and, what is strangest of all, never learned them from a book, but from mouth to mouth The wind whispers them, the birds whistle them, the corn, barley, and bulrushes hoarsely rustle them; nay, the music-boxes at Geneva are framed and toothed to play them; the hand-organs of the Savoyards in all cities repeat them, and the chimes of bells ring them in the spires. They are the property and the solace of mankind.

ROBERT EMMETT

PROTEST AGAINST SENTENCE AS A TRAITOR

(Robert Emmett was born in Dublin in 1778 From his boyhood he attracted notice by his oratorical powers, and he was also deeply attached to the Irish revolutionary cause He had grown up in an atmosphere of hatred to England He went abroad and had interviews with French statesmen who were supposed to feel interest in an Irish uprising He returned to Dublin and secretly raised a small force which he armed as well as he could Then he issued proclamations and prepared to seize Dublin Castle He lingered in Ireland, however, to bid farewell to Sarah Curran, to whom he was engaged to be married, and was captured and executed in 1803 The pathetic and eloquent speech that follows was made in Dublin 1803, after his trial)

I am asked what have I to say why sentence of death should not be pronounced on me, according to law I have nothing to say that can alter your predetermination, nor that it will become me to say, with any view to the mitigation of that sentence which you are to pronounce, and I must abide by. But I have that to say which interests me more than life, and which you have laboured to destroy. I have much to say why my reputation should be rescued from the load of false aspersion and calumny which has been cast upon it I do not imagine that, seated where you are, your mind can be so free from prejudice as to receive the least impression from what I am going to utter. I have no hopes that I can anchor my character in the breast of a court constituted and trammelled as this is I only wish—and that is the utmost that I expect—that your lordships may suffer it to float down your memories untainted by the foul breath of prejudice, until it finds some more hospitable harbour to shelter it from the storms by which it is buffeted. Were I only to suffer death, after being adjudged guilty by your tribunal, I should bow in silence, and meet the fate that awaits me without a murmur: but the sentence of the law which delivers my body to the executioner will, through the ministry of the law, labour in its own vindication to consign my character to obloquy; for there must be guilt somewhere; whether in the sentence of the court, or in the catastrophe, time must determine. A man in my situation has not only to encounter the difficulties of fortune, and the force of power over minds which it has corrupted or subjugated, but the difficulties of established prejudice. The man dies, but his memory lives. That mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen, I seize upon this opportunity to vindicate myself from some of the charges alleged against me. When my spirit shall be wafted to a more friendly port—when my shade shall have joined the bands of those martyred heroes who have shed their blood on the scaffold and in the field, in the defence of their country and of virtue, this is my hope; I wish that my memory and my name may animate those who survive me, while

I look down with complacency on the destruction of that perfidious government which upholds its domination by blasphemy of the Most High; which displays its power over man as over the beasts of the forest; which sets man upon his brother, and lifts his hand, in the name of God, against the throat of his fellow who believes or doubts a little more or a little less than the government standard—a government which is steeled to barbarity by the cries of the orphans and the tears of the widows it has made

I appeal to the immaculate God—I swear by the throne of Heaven, before which I must shortly appear—by the blood of the murdered patriots who have gone before me—that my conduct has been, through all this peril, and through all my purposes, governed only by the conviction which I have uttered, and by no other view than that of the emancipation of my country from the super-human oppression under which she has so long and too patiently travailed, and I confidently hope that, wild and chimerical as it may appear, there is still union and strength in Ireland to accomplish this noblest of enterprises Of this I speak with the confidence of intimate knowledge, and with the consolation that appertains to that confidence Think not, my lords, I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie will not hazard his character with posterity by asserting a falsehood on a subject so important to his country, and on an occasion like this Yes, my lords, a man who does not wish to have his epitaph written until his country is liberated will not leave a weapon in the power of envy, or a pretence to impeach the probity which he means to preserve, even in the grave to which tyranny consigns him

Again I say, that what I have spoken was not intended for your lordship, whose situation I commiserate rather than envy—my expressions were for my countrymen If there is a true Irishman present, let my last words cheer him in the hour of his affliction

I have always understood it to be the duty of a judge, when a prisoner has been convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood that judges sometimes think it their duty to hear with patience and to speak with humanity; to exhort the victim of the laws, and to offer, with tender benignity, their opinions of the motives by which he was actuated in the crime of which he was adjudged guilty. That a judge has thought it his duty so to have done, I have no doubt; but where is the boasted freedom of your institutions—where is the vaunted impartiality, clemency, and mildness of your courts of justice, if an unfortunate prisoner, whom your policy, and not justice, is about to deliver in the hands of the executioner, is not suffered to explain his motives sincerely and truly, and to vindicate the principles by which he was actuated? My lords, it may be a part of the system of angry justice to bow a man's mind by humiliation to the purposed ignominy of the scaffold, but worse to me than the purposed shame or the scaffold's terrors would be the shame of such foul and unfounded imputations as have been laid against me in this court. You, my lord, are a judge; I am the supposed culprit. I am a man; you are a man also. By a revolution of power we might change places, though we never could

change characters. If I stand at the bar of this court and dare not vindicate my character, what a farce is your justice! If I stand at this bar and dare not vindicate my character, how dare you calumniate it? Does the sentence of death, which your unhallowed policy inflicts on my body, condemn my tongue to silence and my reputation to reproach? Your executioner may abridge the period of my existence; but while I exist, I shall not forbear to vindicate my character and motives from your aspersions, and, as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will make the last use of that life in doing justice to that reputation which is to live after me, and which is the only legacy I can leave to those I honour and love, and for whom I am proud to perish. As men, my lords, we must appear on the great day at one common tribunal; and it will then remain for the Searcher of All Hearts to show a collective universe who was engaged in the most virtuous actions, or swayed by the purest motive—my country's oppressors, or——

Why did your lordships insult me? Or rather, why insult justice, in demanding of me why sentence of death should not be pronounced against me? I know, my lords, that form prescribes that you should ask the question The form also presents the right of answering This, no doubt, may be dispensed with, and so might the whole ceremony of the trial, since sentence was already pronounced at the Castle before the jury were empanelled. Your lordships are but the priests of the oracle, and I insist on the whole of the forms

I am charged with being an emissary of France. An emissary of France! And for what end? It is alleged that I wish to sell the independence of my country, and for what end? Was this the object of my ambition? And is this the mode by which a tribunal of justice reconciles contradiction? No, I am no emissary, and my ambition was to hold a place among the deliverers of my country, not in power nor in profit, but the glory of the achievement Sell my country's independence to France! And for what? Was it a change of masters? No, but for ambition O my country! was it personal ambition that could influence me? Had it been the soul of my actions, could I not by my education and fortune, by the rank and consideration of my family, have placed myself amongst the proudest of your oppressors? My country was my idol! To it I sacrificed every selfish, every endearing sentiment; and for it I now offer up myself, O God! No, my lords, I acted as an Irishman, determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and the more galling yoke of a domestic faction, which is its joint partner and perpetrator in the patricide, from the ignominy existing with an exterior of splendour and a conscious depravity. It was the wish of my heart to extricate my country from this doubly riveted despotism—I wished to place her independence beyond the reach of any power on earth. I wished to exalt her to that proud station in the world. Connection with France was, indeed, intended, but only as far as mutual interest would sanction or require. Were the French to assume any authority inconsistent with the purest independence, it would be the signal for their destruction. We sought their aid—and we sought it as we had assurance we should obtain it—as auxiliaries in war, and allies in peace. Were the French to come as invaders or enemies,

uninvited by the wishes of the people, I should oppose them to the utmost of my strength. Yes! my countrymen, I should advise you to meet them upon the beach with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other. I would meet them with all the destructive fury of war. I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their boats, before they had contaminated the soil of my country. If they succeeded in landing, and if forced to retire before superior discipline, I would dispute every inch of ground, burn every blade of grass, and the last entrenchment of liberty should be my grave What I could not do myself, if I should fall, I should leave as a last charge to my countrymen to accomplish, because I should feel conscious that life, any more than death, is unprofitable when a foreign nation holds my country in subjection. But it was not as an enemy that the succours of France were to land. I looked, indeed, for the assistance of France, but I wished to prove to France and to the world that Irishmen deserved to be assisted, that they were indignant at slavery, and ready to assert the independence and liberty of their country. I wished to procure for my country the guarantee which Washington procured for America; to procure an aid which, by its example, would be as important as its valour, disciplined, gallant, pregnant with science and experience, that of a people who would perceive the good, and polish the rough points of our character. They would come to us as strangers, and leave us as friends, after sharing in our perils and elevating our destiny These were my objects· not to receive new taskmasters, but to expel old tyrants. It was for these ends I sought aid from France, because France, even as an enemy, could not be more implacable than the enemy already in the bosom of my country.

I have been charged with that importance in the emancipation of my country as to be considered the keystone of the combination of Irishmen, or as your lordship expressed it, "the life and blood of the conspiracy" You do me honour over much, you have given to the subaltern all the credit of a superior There are men engaged in this conspiracy who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord—men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference, and, who would think themselves disgraced by shaking your bloodstained hand

What, my lord, shall you tell me, on the passage to the scaffold which that tyranny (of which you are only the intermediary executioner) has erected for my murder, that I am accountable for all the blood that has been and will be shed in this struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor —shall you tell me this, and must I be so very a slave as not to repel it? I do not fear to approach the Omnipotent Judge to answer for the conduct of my whole life; and am I to be appalled and falsified by a mere remnant of mortality here? By you, too, although, if it were possible to collect all the innocent blood that you have shed in your unhallowed ministry in one great reservoir, your lordship might swim in it.

Let no man dare, when I am dead, to charge me with dishonour; let no man attaint my memory, by believing that I could have engaged in any cause but that of my country's liberty and independence; or that I could have become the pliant minion of power, in the oppression

and misery of my country. The proclamation of the provisional government speaks for our view; no inference can be tortured from it to countenance barbarity or debasement at home, or subjection, humiliation, or treachery from abroad. I would not have submitted to a foreign oppressor for the same reason that I would resist the foreign and domestic oppressor. In the dignity of freedom, I would have fought upon the threshold of my country, and its enemy should enter only by passing over my lifeless corpse. And am I, who lived but for my country, and who have subjected myself to the dangers of the jealous and watchful oppressor, and the bondage of the grave, only to give my countrymen their rights, and my country her independence—am I to be loaded with calumny, and not suffered to resent it? No, God forbid!

If the spirits of the illustrious dead participate in the concerns and cares of those who were dear to them in this transitory life, O, ever dear and venerated shade of my departed father! look down with scrutiny upon the conduct of your suffering son, and see if I have, even for a moment, deviated from those principles of morality and patriotism which it was your care to instil into my youthful mind, and for which I am now about to offer up my life. My lords, you are impatient for the sacrifice The blood which you seek is not congealed by the artificial terrors which surround your victim—it circulates warmly and unruffled through the channels which God created for noble purposes, but which you are now bent to destroy for purposes so grievous that they cry to heaven. Be yet patient! I have but a few more words to say—I am going to my cold and silent grave—my lamp of life is nearly extinguished—my race is run—the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. I have but one request to ask at my departure from this world; it is—the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for, as no man who knows my motives dares now vindicate them, let no prejudice or ignorance asperse them Let them and me rest in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, and my memory in oblivion, until other times and other men can do justice to my character When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written. I have done.

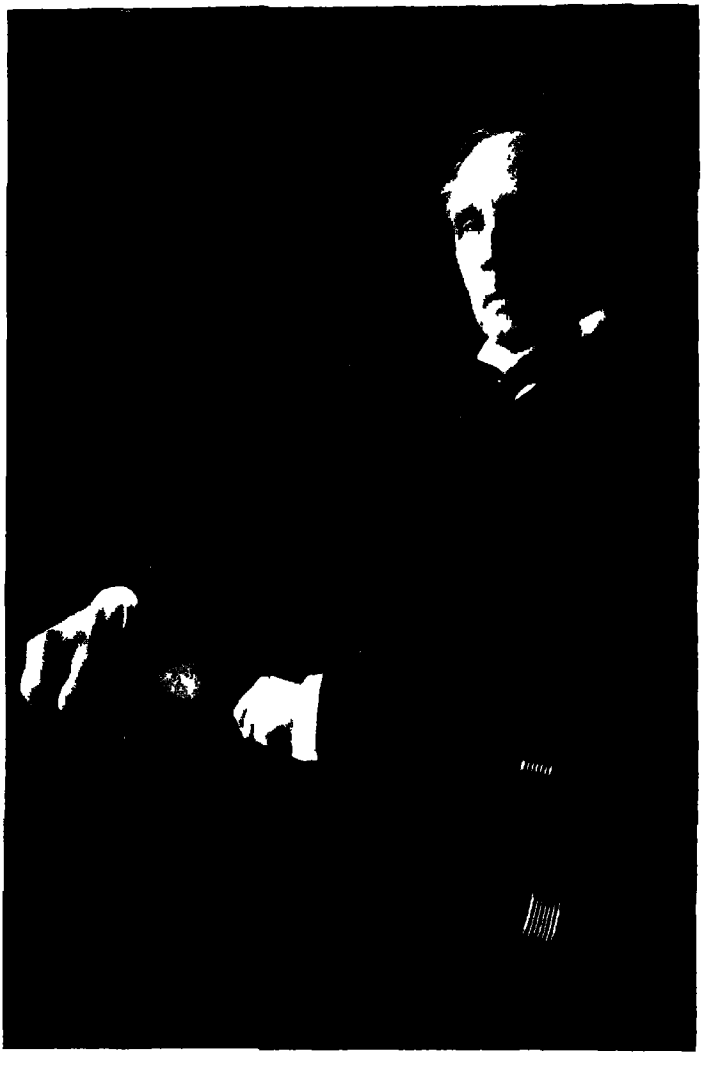

Photo *Lafayette*

RT HON H. A. L. FISHER

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

Inaugural Lecture at City of London Vacation Course in Education

We are accustomed to regard ourselves as one of the fortunate peoples of the world, and I suppose we are It is a good long time since we were invaded and our invasions, though unpleasant at the moment, have done us good

The Romans gave us our roads, the Saxons and Danes the foundation of our racial characteristics, and the Normans and Angevins a great part of the splendid inheritance of Latin civilization. We have also managed to escape violent revolutions, and have experienced no seriously unsuccessful war since we were compelled by force of arms to cede their freedom to the American colonies, and this we now regard to have been a blessing in disguise All this good fortune we are apt to take for granted, and to suppose that because we have been lucky in the past and are not so badly off as some in the present, we shall inevitably continue to prosper in the future. We must remember, however, that we have not always been either in our own estimation or in the estimation of the world, a prosperous or important people

At first sight it seemed curious that a damp little nation in the Northern Sea should have played so great a part in history. But the British climate, though we were accustomed to abuse it, had served the nation very well, and might be regarded as one of the most important factors in its success It was wholesome for plants and animals and men Transplanted Englishmen never did so well as those who remained behind The size of the country, though this might seem paradoxical, had also been an element in its success, for deducting the mountains of Wales and Scotland, it was not so large as to overtax the capacities of a mediæval monarchy, and consequently England enjoyed the blessings of an ordered Government many centuries before they were imparted to France and Germany.

At the same time we have had all the advantages which result from an insular position. Once organized, we have been able to resist invasion. Fishing has educated us in marine habits and has led to discovery, colonization, and naval power But, though we speak of ourselves as insular, we are in the moral sense the least insular people of Europe. We learn languages better than the Latin peoples; our tourists are to be found in every clime and make themselves at home under all stars. Even in the Middle Ages, when the population was under two millions, this island was too small for our forefathers.

The custom of primogeniture which sent younger sons abroad in

search of fortune no doubt helped to keep alive this restless and wandering spirit. We have also helped ourselves with a very liberal hand from the civilization of other countries. Our literature has been a great deal more affected by foreign influences than the literature of France.

"We are accustomed not a little to vaunt ourselves," said the lecturer, "upon the wide acceptance of the common law of England, ruling, as it does, the North American and Australasian Continents. It is certainly a curious fact that this body of native law, the origins of which are to be sought in the dooms of the Anglo-Saxon kings, should have grown into that powerful system which now governs the life of most progressive and vigorous modern societies; and the fact is more remarkable inasmuch as the English common law, unlike the law of Islam, has no religious sanction behind it"

There is nothing for which an Englishman will fight so hard as for his vested interests. "Statesmen do not like," he said, "to get athwart a highly organized body of elementary teachers The Cabinet which attempts to cross swords with the doctors is invariably compelled to acknowledge defeat, but even more powerful than the teachers and the doctors are the lawyers, for they are a quarrelsome and litigious people; we stand upon our rights; we believe in the profession of the law. We count every man's house is his castle, and have many other maxims illustrative of the same proud principle of individual independence

"Foreigners regard us as a nation of portentous hypocrites, and attribute such success as we have obtained in this world to the successful camouflage with which we have managed to conceal our multitudinous perfidies. There are, of course, some horrid people in England—and our history reveals a record which cannot be considered as free from serious blemish. The Rev. Mr Stiggins and Mr. Pecksniff are English types. All that we can plead in extenuation is that we have not the monopoly of hypocrites, and that Molière has written *Tartuffe*."

We prided ourselves on our spirit of liberty which we had inherited from our ancestors Freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of person from arbitrary arrest, freedom of public meeting—these principles had for more than two centuries become so ingrained in the fabric of our national habits that the spectacle of sustained repression in another country filled us with abhorrence and inevitably affected the national attitude towards that Government

Political liberty was probably the most important contribution which Britain had made to the art of government in the Western world. We invented the Parliamentary system and were not a little proud of it. It had certainly been widely copied. A national Parliament was developed in England in the Middle Ages because there was in England then a homogeneous society, fairly prosperous, with no great extremes of poverty and wealth, with no great urban centres, and no marked cleavage between town and country

The lecturer quoted from Professor Laski's study of the personnel of the British Cabinet from 1801 to 1924, and the Professor's observation that the measures of the nineteenth century until 1906, in spite of the broadening of the franchise and the improvements in methods of education, had not in one hundred years seriously affected the hold of

the aristocracy on the pivotal posts of Government. What inference, asked the lecturer, was to be drawn from these facts? It was that the Government of the country, which had for centuries been carried on by well-to-do families, showed within recent years for the first time signs of passing into the control of another social class. The generalization which we have been accustomed to make with regard to Parliamentary Government in this country, as the result of our experience of its working since the Revolution of 1688, might not be equally valid in the new period opening before us. Nevertheless, there had been such a marked improvement in the seriousness with which national affairs are dealt with in the British Parliament, despite all the changes that had come over the country, that it was reasonable to assume that the irruption of new men with new antecedents would produce no violent revolution.

Referring to the Civil Service as "another very important proof of our present Government," Mr Fisher said there was certainly no institution of which we had more reason to be proud, yet unlike Parliament, which was very old and dated back to the thirteenth century, the Civil Service was extremely new We would, he said, hardly exaggerate the importance of this body of skilled, experienced and impartial public servants in the conduct of national affairs The Civil Service was able to keep the keel of national policy steady and to supply to every new batch of ministers the best that it had of counsel and experience

"We are a very political people," said the lecturer "The men who stand fast in the esteem of Englishmen are not great artists or great men of science, or great writers, but political leaders Even a benefactor of the whole human race like Lord Lister occupies a smaller place in the public regard than a capable Prime Minister or a bustling Home Secretary. We are all to some extent interested in public affairs. They are discussed in the schoolroom, at the Universities, in trains and omnibuses, in clubs, wherever men and women congregate. The more ambitious a young Englishman is the more certainly will his thoughts turn towards a Parliamentary career."

The famous words of the Church Catechism inviting us all to do our duty in the state of life to which it had pleased God to call us, represented the two governing factors of the British social ideal, the call of duty and the stress of class. We prided ourselves on our democratic institutions, yet though we had been radical in our politics—in this regard far outstripping the United States—in the matter of social deference we were as conservative as any nation in the world. The rich were rifled by Parliament, but in society treated with infinite consideration "Our social gradations are so numerous and delicate that while most people ape the manners of the class just above them, there are few so poor as to be deprived of the luxury of looking down upon a fellow human being." The respect paid to a peer in his own neighbourhood was in striking contrast to the slender measure of political authority which he was permitted to exercise.

The answer to the question: "What were the true foundations of England?" was, first, a good climate and a central geographical position; secondly, a national character, active rather than contemplative, moderate in its passions, genial, fond of amusement, singularly free from envy

and rancour and the sentiment of revenge; respectful of social differences, adventurous, sensitive to the code of public duty, and with the underlying seriousness without which no great achievement was possible. It was upon the soil of such a character that Parliamentary institutions, the great gift of Britain to the world, had flourished. Our native temperament, as Lord Balfour had pointed out in the introduction which he had written for the new edition of Bagehot's *English Constitution*, corresponds with our constitution.

THE RT. HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX

RELIEF OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS

Speech in Parliament, March 2, 1790

Mr. Fox, agreeably to the notice he had given, rose to make his intended motion for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He requested the Act of the 13th of Charles the Second, for the well-governing and regulating of Corporations, as well as the Act of the 25th of the same reign, for the prevention of danger from Popish Recusants, might be severally read by the clerk He then observed, " that as the question he was about to submit to the consideration of the House that day had excited such great and general expectation, as well in that House as in the country at large, he held it his indispensable duty to state the reasons which induced him, on the present occasion, to move the question, which, in two former sessions, had been brought forward by another hon. gentleman, and had been so ably argued and so amply discussed by the House He was confident the cause of which he stood that day the advocate, had better have remained in the hands to which it had been entrusted on former occasions· he, however, assured the House that he did not obtrude himself upon those most interested in the success of the motion, nor was he under any particular obligations to the parties who considered themselves aggrieved and oppressed by the acts in question, yet, regarding their cause as the cause of liberty and truth, to which he should ever profess the most unalienable attachment, he did not hesitate to stand forward the advocate of civil and religious liberty, even in favour of men who had, on different occasions, acted hostilely towards him. It afforded him, however, a matter of triumph and exultation to observe that, though in former times he had not enjoyed much of the confidence of that description of men who were the object of his motion, yet his vanity was not a little flattered by the good opinion they must now entertain of him, whom they had solicited with such importunity to conduct the management of their cause, notwithstanding their former difference of political opinions

" The present was the period which demanded of public men a free and candid explanation of their political sentiments In considering the case of the Dissenters, the first argument which naturally presented itself was that the spirit of intolerance and persecution which dictated the oppressive acts, the present subject of grievance and complaint. He conceived it utterly impossible to view any species of persecution, whether civil or religious, without horror and detestation; and therefore the proceedings of a neighbouring nation, in regard to that part of their constitution, so far, in his opinion, from being a subject of censure,

merited the esteem and applause of a great people; who were investigating the first principles with a view to secure the rights of men, and were wisely applying them to the abolition of that spirit of persecution and intolerance which had for a long period disgraced their government. Were we to recur to first principles, and observe the progress of the Christian religion in the first stages of its propagation, we should perceive that no vice, evil, or detriment, had ever sprung from toleration. Persecution had always been a fertile source of much evil; perfidy, cruelty, and murder had often been the consequence of intolerant principles. The massacres at Paris, the martyrdoms of Smithfield, and the executions of the Inquisition, were among the many horrid and detestable crimes which had, at different times, originated solely from persecution. To suppose a man wicked or immoral merely on account of any difference of religious opinion, was as false as it was absurd; yet this was the original principle of persecution Morality was thought to be most effectually enforced and propagated by insisting on a general unity of religious sentiments, the dogmas of men in power were to be substituted in the room of every other religious opinion, as it might best answer the ends of policy and ambition. It proceeded entirely on this grand fundamental error, that one man could better judge of the religious opinion of another than the man himself could. Upon this absurd principle, persecution might be consistent; but in this it resembled madness the characteristic of which was acting consistently upon wrong principles. The doctrines of Christianity might have been expected to possess sufficient influence to counteract this great error, but the reverse had proved to be the case Torture and death had been the auxiliaries of persecution, the grand engines used in support of one particular system of religious opinion, to the extermination of every other. Toleration proceeded on the direct contrary principles. Its doctrines, he was sorry to say, even in this enlightened age, were but of a modern date in any part of the world Before the reign of King William it had not a footing in England. The celebrated Act of Toleration of that reign, notwithstanding the boasted liberality of its principle, was narrow, confined, and incomplete Persecution, indeed, originally might be allowed to proceed on this principle of kindness; to promote a unity of religious opinion, and to prevent error in the important matters of Christian belief. But did persecution ever succeed in this humane and truly charitable design? Never. Toleration, on the other hand, was founded on the broad and liberal basis of reason and philosophy. It consisted in a just diffidence of our own particular opinion, and recommended universal charity and forbearance to the world around us. The true friend of toleration ought never to impute evil intentions to another, whose opinions might, in his apprehension, be attended with dangerous consequences. The man professing such opinions might not be aware of any evil attached to his principles; and, therefore, to ascribe to such a person any hostile intention when his opinions only might be liable to exception, was but the height of illiberality and uncharitableness.

"Thus, much obloquy and unfounded calumny had been used to asperse the character of the Roman Catholics, on account of the supposed tendency of their religious tenets to the commission of murder, treason

and every other species of horrid crimes, from a principle of conscience. What was this but a base imputation of evil intentions, from the uncharitable opinions entertained of that profession as a sect? He lamented their errors; rejected their opinions, which appeared dangerous; was ready to confide in their good professions; and was willing to appeal to the experience of this enlightened age, if they had not been accused unjustly and condemned uncharitably. For would any man say, that every duty of morality was not practised in those countries in which the Roman Catholic religion was established and professed? Would it not be an imputation as palpably false as it would be illiberal, for any one to utter such a foul, unmerited, and indiscriminate calumny? But this was always the haughty, arrogant, and illiberal language of persecution, which led men to judge uncharitably, and to act with bitter intolerance: Persecution always said: 'I know the consequences of your opinion better than you know them yourselves' But the language of toleration was always amicable, liberal, and just; it confessed its doubts and acknowledged its ignorance It said 'Though I dislike your opinions, because I think them dangerous, yet since you profess such opinions, I will not believe you can think such dangerous inferences flow from them which strike my attention so forcibly' This was truly a just and legitimate mode of reasoning, always less liable to error, and more adapted to human affairs When we argued a posteriori, judging from the fruit to the tree, from the effect to the cause, we were not so subject to deviate into error and falsehood as when we pursued the contrary method of argument. Yet persecution had always reasoned from cause to effect, from opinion to action which proved generally erroneous; while toleration led invariably to form just conclusions, by judging from actions and not from opinions. Hence every political and religious test was extremely absurd; and the only test, in his opinion, to be adopted ought to be a man's actions

"He had the most perfect conviction that test laws had nothing with civil affairs. A view of civil society throughout the world must convince every reasonable person that speculative opinions in religion had little or no influence upon the moral conduct, without which all religion were in vain. Such was the great absurdity of the present test laws, that a man who favoured arbitrary power in his sentiments—who should consider the abolition of trial by jury as no violation of liberty—nor the invasion of the freedom and law of Parliament any infraction of the constitution —such a man, in defiance of the present test laws, might easily pave his way to the very first situations in the State. There was no political test to bind him, the custom of the country had deservedly exploded such absurd restraints. No alarm was excited by political speculations · the law considered no man's opinions either hostile or injurious to the State until such opinions were reduced into action. Then, and then only, was the law armed with competent authority to punish the offender.

"Should it be argued that certain religious opinions might indirectly affect the constitution of the Established Church were all sects admitted alike to hold civil employments without conforming to the test laws, he should contend that the constitution was equally in danger from civil opinions. Every member of Parliament was required to declare

his dissent to the doctrine of transubstantiation; but was the speculative opinion of any member of House any consideration to his constituents? Did they think it of any consequence whether or not he believed in the real presence? whether he was a Trinitarian, a Unitarian, or an Anabaptist? Certainly not For whatever a man's opinions might be, he would repeat his former affirmation, that no harm could possibly arise from them to the State, unless they should be brought into action; and then they certainly would become objects of punishment. To exclude any description of men, therefore, from a participation of the common rights which their fellow-citizens enjoyed, was highly unjust and oppressive, unless it were contended, that religious opinions ought to be taken as the criterion of political principles But to judge of morals from opinion was always a fallacious mode of reasoning The House, he trusted, would never abandon general and fundamental principles on the ground of partiality They should judge of men not from the imputations of their adversaries, but from their own conduct

"The object of the test laws at first had been to exclude anti-monarchical men from civil offices, but he would ever reprobate such a procedure, it was acting under false pretences, its tendency led to hypocrisy and served as a restraint upon the good and conscientious only Instead of a formal and direct oath of allegiance there was an indirect, political test resorted to, by means of a religious test; although the obligation of all direct political tests had been justly exploded by the practice of the country Why not have proposed a monarchical test at once? It would have answered the end far more effectually than the present test; for the test now given went only to guess at a man's opinion it might admit those whose political sentiments might be inimical to the constitution, while it operated directly against others who were amongst its staunchest friends. Such was the absurdity, injustice, and oppression of the present test laws that he sincerely hoped every friend of toleration, every advocate of Christian charity, would join with him that day in reprobating measures which were the disgrace of a free government.

"He should decline all minute detail of the loyalty and good conduct of the Dissenters from the Revolution to the present period, as he wished all merit and demerit to be put entirely out of the question Supposing, indeed, demerit had existed, it by no means follows that the test laws ought to be continued in force, since they operated to the prejudice of the civil rights of a body of men. A report had been but too successfully propagated, he verily believed, with an intention to separate individuals from the cause they had espoused It was a mean and unfair attempt; it led to the worst species of persecution, and he sincerely hoped no real friend to toleration would ever countenance it. for it went so far as to disapprove of a whole body, on account of the conduct of individuals who formed a part only of that body The opinions of another in matters of religion ought always to be supposed to be founded on good intentions. As unjust would it be to deprive a single individual, whose conduct had always been meritorious, of any of his civil rights, on account of any exceptionable conduct in the general body to which he belonged. All merit or demerit, therefore, in the body of Dissenters was quite out of the question; and the House had only to decide on general principles.

"Indisposed, however, as he was to allow merit or demerit any weight in the discussion of the present question, yet he could not forbear observing, that the conduct of the Dissenters had not only been unexceptionable, but also highly meritorious. They had deserved well of their country. When plots had been concerted, combinations formed, and insurrections raised, against the State; when the whole country was in a state of alarm, distraction, and trouble; when the constitution, both ecclesiastical and civil, was in immediate danger of subversion; when the Monarch trembled for the safety of his throne, crown, and dignity; the Dissenters, instead of being concerned in the dangerous machinations forming against the Government, proved themselves in the hour of peril and emergency the firmest support of the State. During the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, they cheerfully had exposed their persons, lives, and property, in defence of their King and country; and by their noble exertions our enemies were defeated, our constitution preserved, and the Brunswick family continued in possession of the throne. They were then, as they are now, incapacitated from holding commissions, civil or military, in the service of their country. Did they plead their incapacity, and the penalties to which they were subject? No: they freely drew their swords, they nobly transgressed the laws which proscribed them, and successfully fought the battles of our constitution. For this gallant behaviour all the retribution they ever obtained was an *Act of Indemnity—a pardon for doing their duty as good citizens in* rescuing their country in the hour of danger and distress! Such were the absurdities of the laws framed on the monstrous principles of persecution, which extend equally to the commissioned officers of the army and navy of the Established Church of Scotland, who are obliged, under the penalty of fine and deprivation of their civil rights as citizens, as much as the Dissenters, to conform to the test laws. Though the generosity of the British Parliament had been conspicuous in pardoning the Dissenters for their illegal display of bravery and loyalty in the season of emergence and apprehension, yet the officers belonging to the Church of Scotland had not experienced the same indulgence, no Act of Indemnity had been passed in their favour The test laws, indeed, were not put in force against them; yet they were liable to penalties and incapacities, in consequence of their acceptance of their respective civil offices. The House ought to relieve those men, to whom they were so much indebted, from the degrading necessity of receiving pardon for their meritorious services as good subjects and citizens. The Irish had set us a noble example of liberality and generosity, by their vote declaring every man who should prosecute a Dissenter for his services an enemy to his country and a Jacobite.

"By the repeal of the test laws what could there be to dread? Would we fear the Pope or Pretender? Would the apprehension of a civil or foreign war be the necessary consequence? King William, in one of his speeches from the throne, expressed a wish to employ Dissenters of every denomination in the service of their country. Every Prince of the line of Brunswick had cordially concurred in the same generous desire with that monarch. Now was the most proper moment to exercise such liberality as a complete toleration required. The conduct of the Dissenters

had been uniformly peaceable; the State had nothing to apprehend either from their disloyalty or ambition. He wished he could say as much of all other sects. The High Church party, which had happily been dormant for a great number of years, was now reviving; it had not been dead, as he had hoped, but had only for a time, it seems, lain asleep. Their constant cry had ever been 'The Church is in danger!' He was sorry to observe some dignitaries of the Church, men of distinguished talents, whom he held in great respect, join in the absurd alarm, and express their affected and chimerical apprehension of danger upon the present occasion. Were there not many avowed Dissenters both in that and the other House of Parliament? Yet no danger was ever entertained from that circumstance to the constitution. 'But,' say the party, 'if you make a Dissenter an exciseman there will be danger' The High Church party were, in the general, Jacobites—the avowed advocates of the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance This reminded him of what Dean Swift had said, in his usual spirit of sarcasm: 'That though every Whig might not be an infidel, yet he was sure every infidel was a Whig.' So with much more truth it might be said 'Though every High Churchman might not be a Jacobite, yet every Jacobite most certainly was a High Churchman' While this party were hostile to the reigning family, and active in exciting tumults, insurrections, and rebellions, the Dissenters had distinguished themselves as good, peaceable, faithful, and loyal subjects Yet the party were allowed in this enlightened age again to sound their false alarm, to repeat their senseless cry of the Church being in danger!

"The sentiments of Hoadley and of other dignitaries of his time, he had thought sufficient to make the clergy forget their dull and idle cant, by convincing them of the absurdity of all religious tests Danger was apprehended to the Church from the supine indolence of the clergy, and the superior activity and zeal of the Dissenters in the discharge of the duties of their sacred functions. To fetter the Dissenters with penalties and incapacities on account of the remissness of the established clergy, was a measure replete with cruelty, absurdity, and injustice; it went upon the principles of making one man suffer for the neglect of another. He ridiculed every idea of danger to the Church from a repeal of the test laws. The Dissenters were less numerous as a body, and had little or no power when compared with the authority and affluence of the Church. He was sorry to observe bishops, deans, prebends, and other dignitaries of the Church, who were in possession of great landed estates and splendid establishments, so ready to stand forward the avowed advocates of oppression and persecution, under the false pretence of danger. Whence could the danger arise? He defied any one to prove it. At the Union, two churches had been established in different parts of Great Britain. He would ever commend the enlightened policy of that time which allowed both the Kirk in Scotland and the Hierarchy in England to be religious equally true. The Episcopalians in Scotland had an equal right with the members of the Kirk to the acceptance and enjoyment of civil offices. There existed no religious test in Scotland; there was, therefore, no Act of Indemnity necessary to justify the Episcopalians for their patriotic services during the rebellions. From the

conduct of the Kirk, it could not be argued that those whose religious principles were at variance with the creed of the English hierarchy were enemies to toleration.

"The Dissenters were said to be always strenuous advocates for toleration when out of power, but capable of great intolerance when in possession of authority. Was this the fact? Quite otherwise. In America, what was their conduct? They were in full possession of power; but were they at all intolerant? No. So far from it, that universal toleration prevailed throughout every province, without any disadvantages to the government of the States. Notwithstanding the greatest diversity of religious opinions, the most cordial unanimity prevailed in all their civil operations. In Ireland, too, the test had been repealed for years, and the Church had been in no danger, though surrounded by Dissenters in an infinitely greater proportion than in this country. If, therefore, the Church of Ireland, under such disproportion of numbers, had so long existed without danger from the repeal of the test laws; and if the Kirk of Scotland, with little power and influence, had done the same; was it not absurd in the extreme to say that the Established Church of England, with all its power, wealth, and numbers, could not do the same thing without endangering its existence? Such fears, he would repeat, were idle and chimerical, asserted only, in his opinion, for the purposes of oppression

"With regard to the Church itself, he highly approved of its discipline and abstract duties. It had wisely avoided all that was superstitious, and retained what appeared to him to be essential. He therefore admired and revered it, and declared himself firmly attached to it; but of the individuals who composed it he must say of them, as of all other public bodies, that while he highly respected some, there might be others who could have no claim to his regard They, no doubt, were a mixture of good and bad · he must, however, strongly object to the Church whenever it presumed to act as a party, its interference in politics had been always mischievous, and often dangerous to the constitution The Church, as a party, was a formidable body; it had formerly, as now, used the powerful engine of their real or pretended fear, which in the hands of tyrants had ever proved the signal of oppression. The Church had long taken the lead in the cause of Jacobitism, and in the reign of Queen Anne had been active in the instigation of tumults and confusion in support of the doctrines of arbitrary power. He ever should be a decided friend to an established religion, but it should be an establishment founded on the opinions of the majority of the people. The truth of religion was not a subject for the discussion of Parliament; their duty only was to sanction that which was most universally approved, and to allow it the emoluments of the State. A conviction of the reasonableness of such a procedure dictated so much liberality in the religious establishments at the Union, as well as the more recent establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada.

"Innovations were said to be dangerous at all times, but particularly so now by the situation of affairs in France. But the hopes of the Dissenters were not founded upon the most distant reference to the transactions which had taken place in that Kingdom. Their application to the

House on the present subject had been made three years ago, when the most sagacious among them could not form anything like a conjecture of what had since happened in that country. Yet he saw no reason why the example of France ought not to have its influence; the Church there was now suffering for its former intolerance. However he might rejoice in the emancipation of near thirty millions of his fellow-creatures, and in the spirit which gave rise to the Revolution, yet he was free to own there were some acts of the new Government which he could not applaud. The summary and indiscriminate forfeiture of the property of the Church came under this description. But the violence of this proceeding might in some measure be attributed to former ecclesiastical oppressions, and, in particular, to the impolitic revocation of the Edict of Nantes The constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical, previous to this period had remained unmolested and unimpaired, there existed no test—Protestants and Catholics were indiscriminately admitted into civil and military offices but by that rash measure, liberality and toleration were thrown away, the arts and manufactures were driven into other countries, to flourish in a more genial soil and under a milder form of government This should serve as a caution to the Church of England. Persecution might prevail for a time, but it generally terminated in the punishment of its abettors "

He observed, that "the Church had owed its existence to a rational innovation, and the constitution had derived much of its excellence and beauty from the same source, the Reformation had established the one and the Revolution the other The nature of monarchy was such as to require an occasional renovation of the people's rights to prevent encroachments It was the opinion of Mr Hume, to whose talents as a philosopher he paid just deference, that monarchy would soon become absolute if not subject to frequent innovations But what was the innovation which was now so much dreaded? Was it an attack on Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights? No, it was only the simple repeal of an act of Charles the Second, which the Parliament passed out of compliment to the King, in the overflowing effusion of their loyalty, at the conclusion of the civil war The Corporation Act went to exclude Dissenters whose political sentiments were considered as anti-monarchical; and the Test Act was intended to operate against the Roman Catholics. He should ever reprobate such acts as the pillars of the constitution What! was any specific mode of administering the Lord's Supper to be considered as the corner-stone of the constitution? A constitution with such a rotten foundation, was, in his opinion, not worth preserving. The leading feature of true religion he had always understood to be charity. When he viewed the Church, and saw churchmen discovering a spirit directly opposite to the religion they professed, he must consider them as men who were ambitious of a monopoly of power under the mask of an affected apprehension of danger. The Christian religion breathed nothing but charity and forbearance; it was neither taught originally to kings and senators, nor had it any necessary connection with Government. It had existed for centuries without any assistance from the secular arm. Though a learned prelate (Bishop Warburton), had proposed a decent and honourable alliance between the Church and State, yet it was no

an alliance founded on the purity of the Christian doctrines, but merely on promises of mutual support. According to this new-fangled doctrine the Church was not to depend upon its own merits, nor was religion to be established by the truth of its own evidence, but it was to be supported by the assistance of civil authority. Was this the manner in which Christianity was first propagated? In its infancy, when it had to combat the prejudices of mankind, and to make its way through an infinite number of other obstacles, was its progress indebted for any support from the indulgence of the Roman Emperor's senate? For a Christian prelate, then, to appeal from the truth of the Scriptures to the authority of secular power in support of the Christian religion, was an idea he should ever reprobate as contemptible and shameful. Religion, in his opinion, had no reference whatever to the political constitution of a State; from such an alliance it would contaminate and be contaminated; the one would be corrupted and the other enslaved.

"The clergy, he was sorry to observe, had uniformly acted with great artifice and duplicity down from the time of the Reformation, when they made their own chimerical fears, which existed nowhere but in their own heated and disordered imaginations, the ground of unprovoked and unmerited persecution. Report said, but he sincerely hoped without foundation, that a certain prelate of the Church (St. David's) had recently written a circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, requiring them to withhold their votes and interests at the next general election from a particular member of that House, for his having voted for the present motion when under discussion during the last session. If innovation was a subject of so much dread, what innovation could be more alarming to the constitution than this precedent of an English bishop interfering not only in an election for a member of Parliament, in direct violation of the privileges of that House, but also presuming to marshal his ecclesiastical tribe in civil array, and denouncing his anathemas against every one who should be of opinion that the civil power could exist independently of the authority of the Church? Such anti-Christian conduct was ill-calculated to remove the spirit of party and of faction, with which the Dissenters must be actuated under the pressure of grievance, oppression, and persecution. Many of the Dissenters, he was persuaded, were friendly to the Church establishment, but by such intolerance they might be driven to entertain the most inveterate enmity. If their influence and opposition were now dreaded, how much more so ought they to be when roused into resentment, irritated into hatred, and persecuted into hostility! It had often proved a matter of lamentation to High Churchmen, and it had been complained of as a grievance, that Dissenters had on some occasions conformed to the test laws. It was rather a delicate point for any clergyman to scruple complying with an application for the administration of the Sacrament, though in some instances a refusal had been made on the ground of immorality. But he must condemn such a political establishment, which required a man to go to our church, while he belonged to a sect which perhaps held tenets diametrically opposite; it was a direct method to promote vice, immorality, and profaneness. The abuse of so much power, too, in the hands of the clergy, might be attended with infinite mischief. The repeal of the test laws,

it was said, would inevitably prove an infringement of the Union; but this was a palpable and egregious error. So far were the test laws from being among the essential articles of the Union, that when they were formally proposed to become perpetual they were rejected.

"Some stress had been laid on the writings and opinions of certain individuals among the Dissenters who had publicly avowed their opposition to the Church establishment. Dr. Priestley had been particularly pointed out as an objectionable character in this respect. But what danger could possibly arise from the adverse opinions of this truly eminent and learned gentleman to the Hierarchy? Was it any proof of a design to subvert the ecclesiastical constitution? No, any person might disapprove of our civil constitution, might object to the popular part of our Government, might avow his sentiments ever so openly, and yet be not liable to any civil incapacity. A noble duke (Richmond) high in office, had attempted a reform in the constitution of the Legislature, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done the same, but the patriotic exertions of both had failed of success, yet, from their opinions, no danger had been apprehended to the constitution. After such an instance, then, of what little influence opinions have on practice, we might as safely allow Dr. Priestley to be at the head of the Church as the present minister at the head of the Treasure, as the opinions of the one were not more hostile to the Hierarchy than those of the other had been to the present constitution of the Legislature. Another reverend gentleman (Dr. Price), in his sermon on the anniversary of the Revolution, had delivered many noble sentiments worthy an enlightened philosopher who was unconfined by local attachments, and gloried in the freedom of all the human race. Though he approved of his general principles, yet he considered his arguments would have better become his speech than a sermon To make of the pulpit, the altar, or sacramental table, political engines, he must ever condemn, whether in a Dissenter or a Churchman The clergy, in their sermons, ought no more to handle political topics than the House to discuss subjects of morality and religion. Arguing as he had done against the prostitution of the sacramental test, religion and politics ought ever to be kept separate.

"Whatever might be the fate of the present question, of this he was fully confident, that if the test laws were once repealed, the jealousy of the Church would be at an end; if the barrier of partition were removed the very name of Dissenter would be no more. Should the majority of the House, however, determine in favour of the continuance of the test laws, it would only serve to keep alive a spirit of animosity between the parties, it might lead to stronger exertions in defence of civil rights; and other applications to the wisdom and justice of the Legislature must be the necessary consequence. Some distinguished writers upon the subject had asserted that as the test laws had received the sanction of Parliament, it was the duty of the Dissenters quietly and implicitly to submit But was not this doctrine repugnant to the privilege, which was the boast of every British subject, of petitioning the Legislature when oppressed or aggrieved by any law? There was an end to our liberty at once, if we durst neither complain of grievance, nor petition for redress. The Dissenters, he hoped, would strenuously persevere in their

applications, until they found the object of their wishes gratified in a complete toleration. In pleading their cause, he had only supported the principles of general toleration, and the universal rights of mankind.

"In all the great political questions which he had had the honour to introduce for the discussion of Parliament, he had always had the good fortune to agree in opinion with, and to experience the support of, all those friends to whom he was attached from principle. Though he should ever glory in the name of a Whig, as an honourable distinction which characterized the advocates of civil and religious liberty; though it was the pride of his life to act with the cordial approbation of the party to whom he belonged; yet a right hon. friend (Mr. Burke), whose opinions always had the greatest weight with him, did not think as he did on the present question. Much however, as he respected his opinions, and highly as he thought of his understanding, yet in every contest where liberty and the civil rights of men were involved, he should ever enlist under the same standard, however formidable his opponents in the ranks. In the part he had that day taken, the tongue of slander might possibly represent him as another Oliver Cromwell attacking the Church; he had been compared to that usurper on a former occasion as attacking the Crown, even by the very men whose cause he was now pleading. Their cause, however, he had undertaken from a conviction that it was a just cause, and he should be ever ready to become the advocate of those Churchmen, who might now, perhaps, load him with obloquy, whenever he saw them in real danger. He would now cheerfully submit to the disadvantage of momentary unpopularity, confident that the time was not very distant when the world would do ample justice to his motives." He then concluded with moving "That the House will immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider of so much of the acts of the 13th and 25th of Charles the Second as requires persons, before their admission into any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the Crown, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England."

The Rt. Hon. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

THE VISION OF THE PEOPLE

Aberystwyth National Eisteddfod, August 17, 1916

Why should we not sing during the war? Why especially should we not sing at this stage of the war? The blinds of Britain are not down yet, nor are they likely to be The honour of Britain is not dead, her might is not broken, her destiny is not fulfilled, her ideals are not shattered by her enemies She is more than alive, she is more potent, she is greater than she ever was Her dominions are wider, her influence is deeper, her purpose is more exalted than ever Why should her children not sing? I know war means suffering, war means sorrow. Darkness has fallen on many a devoted household, but it has been ordained that the best singer amongst the birds of Britain should give its song in the night, and according to legend that sweet song is one of triumph over pain There are no nightingales this side of the Severn. Providence rarely wasted its gifts We do not need this exquisite songster in Wales; we can provide better There is a bird in our villages that can beat the best of them. He is called Y Cymro He sings in joy, he sings also in sorrow, he sings in prosperity, he sings also in adversity. He sings at play, he sings at work, he sings in the sunshine, he sings in the storm; he sings in the daytime, he sings also in the night, he sings in peace; why should he not sing in war? Hundreds of wars have swept over these hills, but the harp of Wales has never yet been silenced by one of them, and I should be proud if I contributed something to keep it in tune during the war by the holding of this Eisteddfod to-day.

But I have another and even more urgent reason for wishing to keep this Eisteddfod alive during the war When this terrible conflict is over, a wave of materialism will sweep over the land. Nothing will count but machinery and output. I am all for output, and I have done my best to improve machinery and increase output. But that is not all. There is nothing more fatal to a people than that it should narrow its vision to the material needs of the hour National ideals without imagination are but as the thistles of the wilderness, fit neither for food nor fuel. A nation that depends upon them must perish. We shall need at the end of the war better workshops, but we shall also need more than ever every institution that will exalt the vision of the people above and beyond the workshop and the counting house. We shall need every national tradition that will remind them that men cannot live by bread alone.

I make no apology for advocating the holding of the Eisteddfod in the middle of this great conflict, even although it were merely a carnival

of song as it has been stigmatized. The storm is raging as fiercely as ever, but now there is a shimmer of sunshine over the waves, there is a rainbow on the tumult of surging waters. The struggle is more terrible than it has ever been, but the legions of the oppressor are being driven back, and the banner of right is pressing forward. Why should we not sing? It is true there are thousands of gallant men falling in the fight —let us sing of their heroism. There are myriads more standing in the battle lines, facing the foe, and myriads more behind ready to support them when their turn comes. Let us sing of the land that gave birth to so many heroes.

RT HON W E GLADSTONE

The Rt. Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE

THE EASTERN QUESTION

House of Commons, May 7, 1877

I much regret that I should introduce a subject of the greatest importance after discussions which must necessarily have had, I do not say an irritating, but a dissipating effect upon the mind and attention of the House. Before approaching it, I must deal with one or two preliminary matters.

My hon. friend the member for Stafford (Mr Macdonald) has spoken of the character of the manifestations which have recently proceeded from the country. I have watched the proceedings and read the declarations and conclusions arrived at steadily and regularly; until to-day, when the number of meetings has entirely overpowered me, for irrespective of other correspondence the reports of nearly one hundred meetings have reached me since this morning. As a matter of fact, having read all the resolutions passed at the previous meetings, and having even observed that from day to day their tone became warmer and warmer, I am bound to corroborate the statement of my hon. friend the member for Stafford. In a very small number of these popular declarations neutrality was either expressed or implied. But I must add, again speaking simply to a matter of fact, though I put no particular construction on it, the reception of the Resolutions now before the House has been singularly different among the authorities that guide public opinion in the Metropolis and those who address it in the country. Some of the greatest pundits of the Metropolis have been puzzled as to what my Resolutions mean; and I am not sure that there is not a similar doubt and obscurity in the minds of Her Majesty's Government. The people in the country, however, do not appear to have experienced any portion of this difficulty. I am able to say, of all the resolutions at meetings held throughout the country, that in more than nineteen cases out of twenty their general scope has been in correspondence not merely with the first two of my five Resolutions, but with the whole. It is only fair to admit that I received an account of an adverse meeting held in the great town of Bradford, but it was the adverse meeting, not of the town of Bradford, but of the Executive Committee of the Conservative Association. I wish to give it its due publicity in order that such weight as it can fairly claim may be given to it. Now, though many of the declarations of opinion have come from Liberal Associations, yet also a large number have come from towns meetings regularly summoned, and from other public meetings openly convened, largely attended at the very shortest notice, and pervaded by a spirit of enthusiasm equal to that which marked the expression of opinion in September. At one of these towns meetings—

that which was held in Northampton, under the presidency of the Mayor —a gentleman moved a declaration to the effect that it would not be well to interfere with the action of Her Majesty's Government, and not a single person was found to second that motion. There is another town, and that is the town of Christchurch, represented by the hon. gentleman who is not now in his place (Sir H. Drummond Wolff); he has wisely retired for the refreshment so necessary to us all for renewing the zeal and vigour of the inner man. Well, I am glad to think that the hon. gentleman who is about to move the Previous Question if the Notice holds good, is or was entirely one with me on the substance of this matter. I hold in my hand the report in a Conservative journal of the speech made by him at Christchurch in September, in which he declares positively that the Provinces of Turkey must be liberated; and, as the promises of its Government are worthless, there must be other guarantees I am glad to see that in the town he represents a public meeting has been recently convened by the Mayor, and a requisition has been made to the hon. gentlemen requesting him to support the Resolutions, the discussion of which he is about to stifle. The hon. member will tell me if I misrepresent the case.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff: The right hon. gentleman is misrepresenting the case The persons who requested me to support the Resolutions were chiefly persons outside the borough, imported in wagons.

Mr. Gladstone The authentic organ of opinion in a borough is a public meeting convened by the Mayor, and my statement is not weakened by the census the hon. gentleman has somewhat rapidly taken of the persons attending it, in a manner not, I think, the most complimentary to his constituents

I now come, Sir, to the main question. These Resolutions would include, undoubtedly, a vital or material alteration of the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government But my first object, and one of my main objects, is to clear that position of the Government in a most important respect. One of the points which I must endeavour, therefore, to establish is, that that position is at present ambiguous. Am I right in saying that, if this is so, it is desirable that their position should be cleared? I think I can show that I do not overstate the case. I do not propose to move a Vote of Censure on the Government, simply for this reason, that I do not see what public interest would be promoted by my doing it; but I wish to say in the calmest words—yet they cannot be weak words—that I know no chapter in the history of our foreign politics since the peace of Vienna so deplorable as that of the last eighteen months. I speak of that policy generally. Some steps have been taken, especially the mission of Lord Salisbury to Constantinople, which deserved the approval of this House. But that step was immediately met on the part of the promoters of the Autumn movement by their reposing, at least provisionally, their confidence in the Ambassador, and by their abstaining from every step that could weaken his hands. They had to consider this mission in the light of the Guildhall speech. It was difficult to say how far it was modified by that extraordinary speech; but, notwithstanding, confidence in Lord Salisbury's purpose and views was the principle generally adopted, and upon

that mission I have not now one word to say of censure, but only of commendation. But while he was at Constantinople there was also another Representative of England there, whose views upon the most vital questions were in direct opposition to those of Lord Salisbury. This utter difference of opinion, as we now know, was known to the Turkish Government, and it counteracted all along Lord Salisbury's efforts. This, then, is one of the points upon which the position of the Government is ambiguous and requires to be cleared . . .

Then, again, with regard to the withdrawal of Sir Henry Elliot from Constantinople at the close of the Conference The conduct of the Porte had at that time deserved some manifestation of that feeling which it was reasonable for Her Majesty's Government to entertain, and all the other powers had intelligibly shown their displeasure. But so far from displaying such a sentiment, Her Majesty's Government carefully made it known that the departure of Sir Henry Elliot was no sign of displeasure. Why was that done? It brings into question, if not the sincerity of the Government, yet at the very least their firmness and clearness of purpose

Then, again, why was it that Her Majesty's Government, at the time of the Conference, made a communication to the Porte that the views of the Conference would be words, and words alone, and were not to be enforced either by Her Majesty's Government or with its approval? It is a mild description of that proceeding to say that that rendered the policy and the position of Her Majesty's Government an ambiguous policy and position You might as well have dismissed the Conference altogether. You might as well have done that which you seem given to do, and, at the outset of the proceedings of that European Parliament, have moved the "Previous Question." The conference was idle; the Conference became a farce from the moment when Turkey had been informed by England that in no circumstances would she either herself enforce, or recognize the enforcement by others of the decisions at which the Conference might arrive Why, Sir, what was the position of the case? England was then the sole obstacle to a policy that would have given reality to the decisions that Lord Salisbury had laboured so gallantly to promote. But like the power behind the Throne in other days, there was somewhere or other a power behind Lord Salisbury which determined that he should not succeed. And consequently, at a very early date in the proceedings the Porte was informed on this vital matter. Why was the Porte informed of it? Why was the Porte informed of it then? When was Lord Salisbury made aware of it? Did he know it before he left England? (The Chancellor of the Exchequer "Yes.") Ah! he did? He knew that he was to be allowed to use, words and words alone? Did he know it before he accepted the mission? My question now is whether, when Lord Salisbury left England, and not only when he left England, but when he accepted the mission, and allowed himself to be proclaimed Ambassador, he had been made aware by his colleagues that the words which he might use, and the decisions at which the Conference might arrive, were to be recommendations simply, and were in no circumstances to be imposed upon the Porte? To that I have no answer, I must answer it for myself. But, whether Lord Salisbury was

aware of the intention or not, why was that communication made to the Porte before the proceedings of the Conference? Why was that communication made, which drew forth a lively expression of the gratitude of the Grand Vizier and of the Turkish Government, not to the British Government at large, but to Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby? Was the same thing done by other Governments? The Austrian Government, on the contrary, knowing perfectly well with whom they had to deal, had declared that when the decisions of the Conference were arrived at they ought to be imposed upon the Porte by a naval demonstration; and, unless I am much mistaken, it was well known to the Government of Her Majesty that in the opinion of the Government of France the conference was an idle form if the Porte was to be apprised that force was not to be used with respect to the recommendations of Europe. Therefore, we find Her Majesty's Government, by their unhappy act, playing the evil genius of Europe, and at the most critical moment taking the very step that was certain, in the opinion of the best and most experienced judges, to nullify and frustrate utterly the labours they were *ostensibly undertaking* *It is a mild description to say that this rendered* the position of the Government an ambiguous position

I am bound to say I think the mission of Mr. Layard has, in its outward aspect, the same effect. I carefully abstain from pronouncing a final judgment upon it I do not desire to make it a subject of censure. I have known Mr. Layard in two capacities. I have known Mr Layard when I last held office under the Crown I then knew him as the able Representative of this country at Madrid—discharging his duties in a manner that gave to the late ministry the most perfect satisfaction. But I cannot altogether set aside my recollection of Mr Layard in this House, when he was by far the most effective, and by far the furthest-going advocate of the Government of Turkey whom I have ever known to sit on these benches Consequently, as we find in the Blue Book which was presented to us on Saturday, the appointment of Mr Layard was again selected as a special subject of thanks by the Turkish Government, and it was acknowledged in a peculiar and very appropriate phrase to be on the part of the Government of Her Majesty, inasmuch as they knew his friendly sentiments towards Turkey, a "delicate attention." A "delicate attention" to that Government which has made itself responsible in full from first to last for the massacres of Bulgaria, and whose fixed attention it is that on the first similar occasion similar massacres should be again perpetrated "Delicate attentions" to that Government from the Government of Her Majesty are matters which, if not wrong in themselves, at least require some elucidation to show that their position with regard to the crimes of that Government is not an ambiguous position.

Again, Sir, it will be remembered that a despatch was produced to us in the month of May last year, in which it was stated that Her Majesty's Government felt that Turkey was only to depend upon their moral support. Now my second Resolution, which is regarded by the Secretary for War as of so neutral and inoperative a character, carefully states that Turkey has lost all claim to either the material or the moral support of Great Britain. The lines between material and moral support are not

always easily drawn. What kind of support did Her Majesty's Government give to Turkey last year when, having sent a squadron to Besika Bay to protect Christian life, they afterwards converted that squadron into a powerful fleet for some other unacknowledged purpose? What kind of support, I say, was the support then given to Turkey? Her Majesty's Government, as far as my knowledge goes, have never disclaimed this ill-omened phrase "moral support." I do not want to pin them to it—God forbid! I wish with all my soul that they may disclaim it; but I wish also to point out that, as far as I know, it has not yet been disclaimed.

What may not be done under the name of "moral support"? Why, almost as much as may be done under the name of "British interests." We sent that fleet to Besika Bay, or, at least, we made that squadron into a fleet when it was in Besika Bay; and what was the effect of the presence of that fleet? I say, without the least hesitation, it was to overawe the Provinces bordering on the Archipelago and the Kingdom of free Greece, and to prevent any movement which might have been made in sympathy with the Slav Provinces. And therefore, although without lifting up a hand, it was material as well as moral support that was supplied to Turkey under the name of moral support, for it prevented from pouring into the field those who would have added to the force of Turkey's rebellious subjects.

I venture to say there is a greater ambiguity still, and a more prolific source of it, than those to which I have already referred; it is to be found in the conflicting declarations of the members of Her Majesty's Government Having recognized the mission of Lord Salisbury as a kind of point of junction, at which we who had taken part in the popular movement were able to bring ourselves into a sort of union with Her Majesty's Government, I will go back to nothing in the conduct of the Government which preceded that mission, and thereby I shall get rid of a good deal of awkward matter spoken at Aylesbury and elsewhere. I will not draw a comparison between those speeches, and other speeches which gave some public satisfaction, and tended greatly to arrest the movement which was in progress in the country I take only what has happened in England since the dispatch of September 21st to the Conference at Constantinople. I am bound to say I cannot do otherwise than recognize the most distinct retrogression in the policy of Her Majesty's Government since the closing of the Conference. I also find contradictions which I at least am wholly unable to reconcile in the declarations of the Government. I take first one declaration which I think ought to be borne in mind, though I do not dwell upon it, because I do not wish to make it a matter of controversy. There was a declaration by Sir Henry Elliot, that it did not signify, so far as the main question was concerned, what number of Bulgarians were massacred, because the thing essential for us to do was to maintain our vital interest in the Ottoman Empire. Lord Derby very properly rebuked and repudiated that declaration in his despatch of the 21st of September; where, after describing the outrages which had occurred, and the countenance given to them, he said that no interests whatever could possibly justify acquiescence in the continuance of such a system. That was a

sharp antagonism between Minister and Ambassador. But I want to know which of these two conflicting authorities is to come uppermost in the long run. No doubt the authority of Lord Derby is the greater. I am certain that what he wrote, he wrote with sincerity. But if I am to look at the tone and tenor of the declarations of the Government for the last two or three months, I am sorry to say that they seem to me to be relapsing into a position in which the outrages inflicted by the Government of Turkey are to be contemplated as matters of sentimental regret, and for idle and verbal expostulations; but in which action is to be determined by whatever we may choose to think to be British interests. That is to say, that our opinion of what we think best for ourselves is, after all, to be, in substance, our measure of right and wrong all over the world. I want to know whether that contradiction subsists, or whether we still have to learn that there is to be no toleration for iniquity, and that no continuance of material or of moral support is to be given to a Government which is so deeply dyed with the guilt of these outrages

Next I come to a declaration of Lord Carnarvon There is not a single utterance which has proceeded from the mouth of any member of Her Majesty's Government that served the purposes of the Government better at the time than this manly speech of Lord Carnarvon What did he say? I will not quote him at length, but he said:

> "He did not disagree, if he rightly understood it, with the public feeling and opinion, because it had been somewhat loudly expressed, and because here and there might have been some exaggerations. He thought, on the contrary, it was a credit to the country. He rejoiced that there was neither delay nor hesitation in the expression of that feeling, and, so far from weakening the hands of the Government, he believed that, if rightly understood at home and abroad, nothing could more strengthen the hands of his noble friend the Foreign Secretary than the burst of indignation which had just gone through the length and breadth of the land"

That was the declaration of Lord Carnarvon No contradiction to it was given by any member of the Government at the time. But what has been done lately? The noble lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a place which I need not name—his words, wherever they may be spoken, are too important not to excite attention—described the sentiment of the British people, manifested last autumn, as a "got up" sentiment—we know what is contained in these words—and expressed it to be his opinion that the effect of it had been mischievous. He thus spoke in direct contradiction of that declaration of Lord Carnarvon, for which, when I just now read it, I was sorry to observe there was not, from the other side of the House, a solitary cheer. On the first night of the Session, when this retrogression of which I complain had hardly begun to develop itself, my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a declaration on the subject of the Turkish Constitution, which I heard with the greatest pleasure, but for which he was, I think, severely rebuked by some of the organs of the Turkish Government in the London Press. He earned the rebuke by speaking, as he

did speak, the language of good sense about the Turkish Constitution, which he described as a thing in which no sensible man could place the slightest reliance. In doing that he did not go beyond, but remained completely within, the shadow of that most masterly Paper in which Lord Salisbury—as may be seen from the Blue Book—had torn the Turkish Constitution into rags, and held it up to the contempt and derision of mankind. It is indeed a device—first and foremost, to delude Western Europe by a show of freedom, and, secondly, to organize, and thereby strengthen the oppressive force which bears down the subject-races. But is that the tone now? Read the Despatch of Lord Derby to Prince Gortchakoff, which we have received to-day. All is changed. You will find that there Her Majesty's Government says plainly that Turkey should be allowed time to reform herself, and that it is not reasonable to abandon the hope of complete and satisfactory relief to the subjects of the Porte, inasmuch as Turkey has promised that reform. But I will quote one more, as it appears to me, a clear and distinct contradiction. My right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer told us on a former and not very late occasion that it was a very great hardship to Turkey that she should be complained of for not reforming herself when a war cloud was hanging over her He said it was a time when it was almost impossible to apply moral pressure to her, and he went on to explain that, in his view, the presence of a Russian Army on her frontier made her position one of great difficulty by appealing to those principles of honour which are supposed to be so highly refined and polished in the Turkish mind. My right hon. friend distinctly pointed to the Russian armaments as having been an obstacle in the way of the Conference at Constantinople, and as having cut off the hopes of its success, but in saying that he is in direct and diametrical contradiction to Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury had publicly declared, and his words cannot be subjected to question, that the Russian armament on the contrary constituted the hope of the Conference I will not trouble the House with lengthened quotations; but Lord Salisbury in substance said that he knew very well that mere words were useless, nay, worse than useless, because delusive, and that it was to the Russian armaments, and the consequent danger to Turkey, and the Power of pointing out that danger before her eyes, that the Representatives of the other Powers at the Conference attached their whole hope of inducing Turkey to acquiesce in their conclusions. Even with that advantage, acquiesce she would not. Thus, again, we have important members of the Government making statements which entirely contradict one another on vital points of the case. And now, this very day, we have the despatch to Prince Gortchakoff, justly hailed with delight by the so-called friends of Turkey. I am not surprised at it, for there is no mistaking the tone of that despatch. In its tone and its tendency it is redolent all through of moral support, it is charged with moral support, and, unless the Government thinks fit to give us some explanation of it which will relieve our minds, we challenge them in this House to-night to have it declared authoritatively whether Turkey has, or has not, lost all claim to our moral as well as our material support.

The House will well recollect the whole line of argument which was

pursued by the Government both for some time before and during the sittings of the Conference. It had become as clear as possible that Turkey had at all times been a country fertile beyond any other in promises. No man knew that better than the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for the Home Department, when he aptly compared her promises to inconvertible paper, and said we must have sterling metal. Necessary guarantees, something beyond mere promises, adequate securities, consisting in something beyond and above the engagements or ostensible proceedings of the Turkish Government, constituted indeed the pith of the extracts which were read by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the first night of the Session from the Instructions to Lord Salisbury. Well, what has now become of those necessary guarantees? They are all gone to the winds, We are told in the despatch published this morning that we are to found our hopes on the fact that the Porte has promised certain things, and that as it has promised we cannot be sure that it will not perform This is the vital point, it lies at the root of the whole matter We are now told to rely on those promises. But, for my own part, I would repeat what I said on a former occasion, when we were trying remonstrance after remonstrance, and protestation after protestation. Those protestations, and those remonstrances, and those representations which have been lavished in such redundance on the Porte by Her Majesty's Government, are all very well up to a certain point, up to the point at which there remains some semblance of a reasonable hope that they may possibly attain their end. But, it is not so, when we have found by long and wide experience that they produce no substantial result whatever It was not thus always; for in the time of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a man of masterly ability, of iron will and of a character which did not admit of his being trifled with, something was done in a few points by the Porte, and some improvements, on certain points, were effected in the condition of its people But during all these later years, the case has not stood so well With regard to remonstrances made in the time of the late Government, they were not very numerous, for no great crisis occurred in Turkey, and the matters reported were, I believe, comparatively rare. Recently the case has been different. With regard to those remonstrances, which, since the rebellion in her Provinces have become much more numerous, our experience has been so unbroken and unvarying that the man who persists in a system of mere remonstrances and mere expostulations, really seems to convict himself, either of insincerity, which is not for a moment to be imputed here, or of a total incapacity to understand the affairs with which he has had to deal.

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Shall I be told that we have withdrawn from Turkey our moral as well as our material support? This is a point at present very doubtful, which ought to be made clear It is true that we have denounced the perpetrators of these outrages. I say we have denounced the wrong people. These perpetrators were only tools. That they were tools only, is demonstrated by the fact that they remained unpunishable, free, rewarded, decorated. Why is this? Because they acted in obedience

to orders—written orders in some cases—and from the highest authorities. I have spoken of Abdul Kerim; but unless other high personages are very much calumniated they, too, are implicated in the guilt of these proceedings.

Assuredly, no name is more odious than the name of Midhat Pasha to the Christians of Bulgaria. There is in Turkey an admittedly intolerable Government. Has it improved during the last quarter of a century? I am responsible, for one, for having then believed, on the great authority of Lord Palmerston, and on the even higher authority of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe with his large experience of the Porte, that its government might be improved. Some men, with deeper insight than that possessed at the time by any politician, knew that the case was hopeless. A quarter of a century ago, however, we thought that we ought not to despair of the improvement of Turkey, as long as a ray of hope remained. Since then a time surely sufficient for trial has elapsed, during which perfect peace has been secured for Turkey from without, and she has had no evils or mischiefs to deal with, except those provoked and promoted by her own gross and monstrous misgovernment But have things improved in Turkey in that period? I believe that, upon the whole, instead of improving, they have become worse. I do not, of course, question the local improvements, which have been the result of an increase in the number of Consuls and Foreign Agents, because wherever a Consul or a Foreign Agent resides there is usually a little precinct formed, within which comparative security is enjoyed Nor do I doubt that here and there some partial, indecisive measures have been adopted for the purpose of putting into execution a portion of the promises of the Porte But since 1854 there has been in Turkey a great increase in the centralization of the Ottoman system, and in the taxation; and a multiplication of the agents of the Government in the persons of those whom it is a mockery to call police The result has been that there has been an aggravation of Mohammedan as well as Christian grievances, and there is far more discontent among the Mussulman inhabitants of Turkey now, than existed a quarter of a century ago. Mr. Baring, in referring to the Turkish police, states that they are little or no better than organized bands of brigands. But this Force, which is one of the greatest curses of the country, is a Force which does not belong to the older Ottoman system. Again, of late, Turkey has acquired a passion for a National Debt, for large standing armies, for ironclad fleets, and for improved arms; and the result has been that a great increase of revenue was necessary. It has been raised in a disproportionate degree from the Christian Slav Provinces, and it is this endeavour to obtain an enormous revenue which has been one of the greatest curses of the country. The right hon. gentleman cheers that statement. But what remedy is he prepared to propose for this state of things? Why, he is prepared to look on and to expostulate, I say that it is better, it is more honest, not to look on, and to withhold this expostulation, rather than to profess our interest and to pursue a method such as the one now in use And here I may, perhaps, be allowed to offer a suggestion to the right hon. gentleman. Why should he not prepare printed forms of expostulation? There might be blanks for the number of villages burnt, for the number of men killed, and

for the number of women violated; and there ought to be another blank to be filled up as occasion required by the word "expostulate" or "represent" or "regret," or if necessary, "protest." This would save a considerable amount of labour at the Foreign Office, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the sovereign guardian of the public purse, might really, by the simple means that I suggest, effect some reduction in the cost of that establishment. This is a sorry subject on which to jest. But it is the Government who have made a sorry jest of a matter in itself very solemn. It is a sorry jest constantly to reiterate expostulations of this character with the knowledge founded on long experience, that as a general rule they will work without being followed by any result. The Porte, which well understands the force of words, knows that our expostulations begin in words and that they end in words; and it is time that the people of England and the people of Turkish Christian Provinces should begin to understand as much.

It appears to me that if Her Majesty's Government desired really to pursue an effective policy, they should have gone further than I have yet indicated, but they would have done a great deal if they had gone as far as I have hitherto suggested. They would have conveyed an amount of confidence to the minds of the people of this country which they are now very far from feeling.

But, Sir, in my opinion, a just denunciation of outrages which former events had placed within our cognizance and a real, not an equivocal withdrawal of support from Turkey, though they are more than we can yet be sure of having obtained, are very far from filling up the measure of our duties and our honourable obligations. I argue that we ought to use our influence in the great Council of Europe for the effectual deliverance of these Provinces from oppression, but not for their transfer to any foreign dominion Now it is a foreign agency not under our control, to which we have chosen to make over the fulfilment of engagements which are ours I must, therefore, consider our relation to that foreign Power. We need entertain no fear at all that the action of Russia in the present effort will endanger British interests Russia is not mad enough to touch British interests in the execution of the purpose she has in hand. We have, however, given Russia a magnificent opportunity, of which she can avail herself, to plead truly that what she asks is what Europe asks, and the difference between her and other nations is that they are content to put up with, and she is not content to put up with, Turkey's infatuated refusal to give securities for the improvement of her Government. You may say that she is pursuing selfish objects; but, if that be true, that is an additional condemnation of your policy, because if she was untrustworthy, why did you leave her to act alone and unrestrained in accomplishing this work? I had hoped that Her Majesty's Government might even have been disposed to have accompanied me thus far, and that we might all look forward to the establishment in these Provinces of local self-government and local liberty, and so saving them from transfer to any other foreign dominion. In this, as in other hopes, I am baffled; and instead of a wise co-operation in the endeavour to effect a great good, I am called upon to consider the misdeeds of Russia. We are told that Russia has been guilty of the greatest cruelties

in Poland. I hear hon. members opposite cheering that statement; but no cheers came from that quarter of the House when, at the time those cruelties were being committed in Poland, remonstrances against them were moved from this side of the House. I put aside, for the present, cases in which the tongue of calumny had been busy, or cases in which there may be a doubt about the facts. Apart from such cases, there have been at least two occasions on which, in my view, the conduct of that Power cannot be defended. The first occasion was when the Emperor Nicholas took up arms to put down by force Hungarian liberties—the liberties of those Hungarians who, at the time, were very anxious to interest the world in their own affairs, but who do not now appear desirous of extending those liberties to others; a fact which, had we known at the time it was to occur, might have somewhat modified our feelings in their favour. The claims of those Hungarians, however, were at the time just, and we thought that the proceedings of the Emperor of Russia, who lent to Austria the effectual aid of his armies in suppressing them, were unjust and unwarrantable; but I never heard any objection to his conduct proceed from hon. members opposite. Again, as to Poland, I remember that as late as during the second government of Lord Palmerston, a motion was made by Mr. Horseman on the subject of the proceedings of Russia in Poland, but Mr. Horseman was not one of the Party who sit opposite, on the contrary, he was a gentleman who on all questions of foreign policy expressed the strongest Liberal opinions, and the support which his Motion received proceeded almost wholly from this side of the House. One word with regard to the Papers which have just been laid upon the table of the House with reference to the misdeeds of the Russians in Poland. That paper purports to be presented by command of Her Majesty, which means that it has been presented at the instance of Her Majesty's Government (Sir H. Drummond Wolff "By command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of an Address") (Lord John Manners "It was moved for from the opposite side of the House.") I have no doubt it was moved for from the "opposite" side of the House, my hon friends on this side of the House have always been desirous of exhibiting the cruelty in Poland, but the disposition of the Government and their friends to hold up to reprobation the cruelty in Poland appears to me to be of much more recent origin. Now, Sir, for my own part, I rejoice in the fact that the misdeeds of a Government should come to light, come how they may; but I think this mode of proceeding was eminently a shabby mode You produce the misdeeds of other Governments, do you produce your own? Will you lay on the Table a detail of the proceedings by which the Mutiny was suppressed in India? I cannot recollect a more distinctly culpable proceeding on the part of any country, than the slaughter of the Dyaks by Her Majesty's naval forces and by Sir James Brooke. But that evil act was discussed, vindicated, and approved in this House. I will give you another case. There is an official Report of my own in the Colonial Office, rendered in 1858-9, when Lord Carnarvon was Under-Secretary, which sets forth the proceedings of the British Government in Cephalonia, at a time when a predial rising had taken place. It was a serious predial rising, which official panic or the selfish alarms of a class magnified into a

rebellion. As such it was insignificant, almost ludicrous. But martial law was maintained in the island for six weeks. I believe one of our soldiers was wounded. A score of the people were shot, and many scores were flogged, and the punishment of flogging is one viewed by the Greek population, as I have often been assured, with a horror even greater than capital punishment. Will you lay that Report on the Table? What is the meaning of producing charges against other countries when you are not prepared to produce your own? (An hon. member: "The Cephalonian Report, I think, has been laid on the Table.") I think not or I must have known of it And I proceed with my general argument

One of my greatest objects to the policy of Her Majesty's Government has always been since we began to attend to it at the end of last July, that it tends so extravagantly to facilitate the execution of the most selfish aims that Russia could possibly entertain, and to enhance her influence and her power It is a tremendous thing to infuse into the mind of the Christian subjects of the Porte the conviction that they have no other hope, no other ally but Russia It is hardly possible to dispute that that has been the effect of the policy of Her Majesty's Government That the misgovernment of the Slav Provinces should cease is my first and great object, but I confess it would be with qualified satisfaction, although with a real satisfaction, that I should hear of the cessation of that misgovernment, unless I felt that a healthy growth of local liberty would come into the place of the abominations now afflicting these Provinces. I had hoped that something might be obtained from the Government with reference to the first and second—and even perhaps the third—Resolutions, which would have enabled me to avoid trespassing at so much length on the indulgence of the House. With regard, however, to the Fourth Resolution, I was absolutely hopeless I admit that it challenges the course of the Government, and suggests another course. If you wish for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the peace of Europe, for the sake of the obligations this country has incurred, to close the Eastern Question, it cannot be satisfactorily done except by action which shall be both united and real And my complaint against Her Majesty's Government is that whenever they have seemed to concur in promoting united action it has always been done under conditions which have made that united action useless and even visionary. Do not let me conceal my own belief. I have in my fourth Resolution expressed the strong opinion I entertain—namely, that the policy of 1826 and 1827 was a wise and just policy. But that was a policy that had no more the approval of what I may call the West-end of London, than the Christian cause has now. That portion of England does not express the true sentiments of England. Looking over all the great achievements that have made the last half-century illustrious, not one of them would have been effected if the opinions of the West-end of London had prevailed. The Test Act would not have been repealed Parliament would not have been reformed. Slavery would not have been abolished, Municipal Corporations would not have been opened. The Corn Laws would not have been repealed, nor Free Trade established, nor the Tariff reduced to a few lines; nor the Navigation Laws done away; nor the universities opened; nor the Church of Ireland disestablished; nor the

Land Tenures of that country re-enacted. I might extend this long list. I regard it with sorrow and misgiving that the nation has ever been in advance of those who ought to have been its leaders. But the fact being so, I cannot relax my efforts in this cause out of deference to the opinion of what I have called the West-end of London.

But then I am told that there has been, in relation to this question, inaction on the part of Liberal Governments. Now, Sir, this is a subject much too wide to be disposed of by a taunt, or by any incidental remark. It is a question of history, and if a motion were made for a complete inquiry into the conduct of all Governments since the Crimean War with regard to this great question, I, for one, would not object to it. In my opinion, it is totally impossible for any man or for any Government in Western Europe to raise the Turkish Question, simply of his or their own motion. How was it possible for us during the Franco-German struggle, or during the protracted controversy that resulted in the Geneva Arbitration, to raise the Turkish Question? Nay, even if we had been more free, there were no events in Turkey on which we could take our stand There was, so to speak, no point of departure. There was no revolt of which we could examine the cause, there were no massacres of which we could expose the guilt. In 1860 massacres did occur in Syria, which may be partially compared with the massacres in Bulgaria in 1876. A Liberal Government was then in office, and observe the very different course pursued by that Government. Whether we had been wise and right in all things I know not I am by no means prepared to claim for us off-hand a sentence of universal acquittal, but this I know, that at a very early date, in the affair of the Lebanon, Lord Russell wrote a letter in which he positively announced that a British squadron would be sent to the coast of Syria, and that, if necessary, marines would be landed. At the same time France declared her intention of sending troops to Syria We heard nothing then about fears of provoking Turkish valour to desperation by these rather decided methods. On the 28th of July, Lord Russell said that the remaining points, which were of essential importance, appeared to be to obtain the assent of the Porte to the intervention of foreign troops, and the fixing of a time for the intervention of those troops to cease. On that the consent of Turkey was given, and the foreign intervention did take place. And how was the consent of Turkey given? It was given in a Conference by Safvet Pasha, on the 27th of August, and in terms which were very remarkable. You might have had just the same terms now if you had chosen to seek them in the same manner. They are these.

> "It is owing to the counsels of the Representatives of the Powers and the vision held out to us of foreign troops landing on our territories, notwithstanding the refusal which we should have given to the conclusion of the Convention, that we have been reduced to choose the lesser of two evils."

The consent of the Turkish Government was obtained; but it was given in view of this—that they had before them the vision of foreign troops landed in Syria, notwithstanding their refusal, and they were

reduced to the choice of the lesser of two evils. I ask for a comparison between our course throughout in the matter of the Lebanon and the course of the existing Government since the Autumn of 1875. I might refer to other matters; but I will not now pursue the subject.

I will next say a few words only on the nature of our obligations in this particular case. It is much too late, in my opinion, to argue whether we are bound to take up the case of the Christians in Turkey or not. We might have argued that question before the Crimean War. But in the Crimean War we did two things; and I must repeat the challenge I have made to the Government with regard to those two things, for they are of vital importance in this great controversy. The first was that we abolished the power of interference which previously existed, and which was lodged in the hands of Russia. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State for War have told me that they do not admit that such a power of interference existed. I think it is possible that they may have misunderstood my statement, because I am quite certain that if they told that proposition in the terms I have just stated, they are holding it in the face of history and of law as recognized in Europe for a hundred years They may have understood me to say that Russia had, by the Treaty of Kainardji, a Protectorate over the Christians. Now, I admit that she had no Protectorate over the Christians. A Protectorate is a scheme involving direct and positive powers. She had no such powers in regard to the Christians in Turkey generally. What she had was this—a stipulation from the Porte that the Porte should firmly protect the Christian religion and its churches Of that stipulation she had a right to require the fulfilment, as well as of every other stipulation in her Treaties There is not the least doubt that it is a distinct stipulation. To set up the doctrine that this distinct and substantive stipulation is a mere Preamble, that it is absorbed in the latter part of the Article, is really little less than ridiculous. The latter part of the article is separated from the earlier part by the Italian word which can only be translated by "furthermore," or "moreover," or some equivalent. Russia had a covenant with the Porte for the protection of those churches, and she had the same right to require its fulfilment as she had with respect to every other covenant in the Treaty. That, I say, cannot be doubted. Now, let us look at the opinions upon this point. I quoted the other day the opinion of the standard historian of the Turkish Empire —Von Hammer He expressed the general historical judgment of the world on this point. But if you want a legal opinion, I will quote that of Bluntschli, who is, I observe, considered as the highest authority as a jurist at present living on the Continent of Europe He says:

> "In the consciousness of this duty and of this right, Europe has repeatedly intervened in Turkey as well before as after 1856. First of all, Russia made a claim to a sole protection of the Greek Christians, and obtained the establishment of it from Turkey by Treaty in 1772 and 1812."

There is the opinion of Bluntschli. It is not a controversial opinion; he states it as a notorious fact, in a matter which has never been contested. I am responsible for the translation; but the words "obtained

the establishment of it", I believe, fairly represent the words of the original. Since I spoke on the matter, I have referred to the authority of Sir Robert Phillimore, and I find in him what I expected. I have had the honour of his friendship for half a century, and I did not open this question without having consulted him. He has entered into an argument to show that Russia did not possess by the treaty of Kainardji the claim which was made at the time of the Crimean War. In that we are all agreed. But Sir Robert Phillimore has never denied that this stipulation for protection in the Treaty of Kainardji was a binding stipulation; that Russia had a right to require it to be carried into execution, and a right to interfere with Turkey on a breach of it, just as she had in regard to any other part of the Treaty. As far as I know, opinions are not at variance on this point, unless, indeed, it is intended by the present Government to set up in 1877 a construction never heard of for over a hundred years after the Treaty was concluded.

In such a matter, without doubt, we cannot omit to refer to the Blue Books of 1854 I must own that it has not been in my power to read through the whole of those Blue Books—or rather to re-read them, for I was pretty well familiar with them at a former period—and, therefore, it is possible some assertion may be found in some part of them which more or less expresses the opinion that appears now to be maintained by the Government. Yet I think not so, because I have looked over them as well as I could, and because I find what seems to me a most distinct declaration on the part of Lord Clarendon, that some right of that kind on the part of Russia was acknowledged by us. I recollect myself, taking my memory for what it is worth, that this was distinctly our position in the controversy. We held that Russia misconstrued the Treaty, and overstated her right; we never, I believe, denied that she had some right, and accordingly I find, also in Book No. 1, that on May 26th, 1853, Baron Brunnow sends in a Memorandum, in which he speaks of the engagements of the Porte, dating from the Treaty of Kainardji, as granting to the Orthodox Church that freedom of worship, that tranquillity of conscience, and that peaceable possession of rights which Russia could never cease to watch over. In the same book, on the 21st of June, Lord Clarendon says in reply, on the part of the Government, that on the basis of Baron Brunnow's Memorandum, a complete and satisfactory arrangement might have been concluded without compromising the dignity of the Emperor. I think, then, I have made my demonstration complete, and, if so, the case stands thus That there was a Treaty engagement, under which Russia was entitled to require from the Porte a protection of the Christians, and to resent it against the Porte as a national wrong if she did not protect them. That right was entirely destroyed and swept away by the Crimean War, through the expenditure of our blood and treasure, and of the blood and treasure of our Allies; and we could not thus sweep that right away, in my opinion, without becoming responsible for the consequences—without being as solemnly bound as men can be bound in faith and honour to take care that those, for whose protection it was intended should obtain either the same thing or something better in its place. But, besides all I have now said, and even independently of this, as I believe, perfectly irre-

fragable argument, what was the case of the Crimean War on the very face of it as a dry matter of fact? It was this: That Turkey was about to be engaged in a contest of which the probable result was her defeat. I apprehend there was no doubt of that. It was probable that she would be defeated. We intervened to prevent that defeat. We, together with our Allies, gave her a new lease of her existence, we gave her resources; we gave her the strength, of which she has been making such frightful use in Bulgaria. And now is it possible for us, on any principles I care not what, which will bear to be stated in the face of day, so to put out of view the obligations which our honour entails on us as to say. "We wash our hands of this business, and will have nothing to do with it?" Much more, how can we say "We will consent to pay delicate attentions to the Government of Turkey, and to be affording her in a thousand indirect forms moral assistance"—which in many instances is apt to glide into material assistance—"against any nation which may attempt to carry into effect the judgment of united Europe"? I hope I have made pretty clear the state of the case, as it bears upon the third and fourth Resolutions. I have pursued not the best tactics, perhaps—for I am, perhaps, no great tactician—but the best tactics in my power Very simple they have been. They have consisted in attempting to obtain the assertion, by as many as possible, of what was valuable in itself, even although it was not the whole of what seemed to be valuable or even essential On that account I ranged my Resolutions in the order in which they stand, and when I found myself threatened with extinction by the somewhat rude machinery of the Previous Question, so that a free and unfettered discussion, even of the first Resolution, was to be rendered impossible, I came readily to the conclusion that it would not be expedient and becoming of me to ask you, Sir, to go through the idle form of putting each of them in succession from the Chair, with the certainty of obtaining the decision that they should not be put But I am bound to say that to the whole of these Resolutions, I, as an individual, steadfastly adhere I ask no sanction from my noble friend near me (the Marquis of Hartington) for anything except that for which he votes. I think it would be the meanest and paltriest act on my part to endeavour to crib from him some indirect support for which he is not prepared to support overtly. I really know not on what grounds he is not willing to accompany me in the whole of these Resolutions I would thankfully accept his aid, as I would the aid of the Government, for I think the union of the English people in this great matter is an object of the highest importance. There is not one of you opposite who can more deeply deplore than I do the use of the rude irregular methods to which we have been driven in order to exercise an influence upon the foreign policy of the country. I look upon these methods, as at the best, unsatisfactory and imperfect, I look upon them, in every case, except of necessity, as vicious and bad It has been that necessity alone which has driven us to the point at which we stand to-night. For my part, I think no day of peace likely to come from the East, no final or satisfactory settlement, unless it be by the authority of united Europe. I see the hon. and learned gentleman, the Attorney-General, has been complaining of violent language, and of the imputations of motives on my part. He is,

I suppose, on the way to high judicial office, and from one in his position, as compared with other members of this House, I have a right to expect something more than the average share of judicial temper. But what said he to his constituents? I have never imputed motives to the Government. I have never said they were governed by love of power I should have been ashamed of such a statement. I cannot, indeed, account for their conduct, except by the supposition of some singular delusion, or some sinister influence which they do not themselves understand, and are not conscious of, so strange does it appear to me. But never have I imputed to them motives inconsistent with their perfect honour. Yet what says the hon. and learned gentleman? He goes to his constituents, and to them he announces that I have entered into a warfare against the Government, animated by a vindictive malignity founded on my exclusion from office These are the judicial words of the hon. and learned gentleman. I am glad that he has come into his place It gives me the opportunity of expressing a hope that when he resigns that place for one more permanent, more dignified, and more enjoyable, he will proceed in a different spirit to deal with the suitors and even with the culprits, who may be brought before him No, Sir, I impute no motives. If a word I have said seems to convey them, I disclaim it, and in a moment I would wash it away, but I believe no such word has passed my lips. It is a great crisis, Sir, in which we stand Legislative bodies are at all times occupied, more or less, in the making of history, and it is a very grave passage in history which we are now engaged in making Sir, there is before us not one controversy, but two. There is the controversy between Russia and Turkey, there is the controversy between Turkey and her revolted subjects I think the Government and their supporters out-of-doors in the Press are committing a great error in this that it is the first of these two controversies—that between Russia and Turkey which, after all, is only symptomatic—to which they address their minds. In my opinion, the other is the deeper and more important The other is a controversy which can have no issue but one, and I do not hesitate to say that the cause of the revolted subjects of Turkey against their oppressors is as holy a cause as ever animated the breast, or as ever stirred the hand of man Sir, what part are we to play in regard to it? Looking at this latter controversy—the controversy between her and her subjects—the horrible massacres of last year, the proofs which have been afforded that they are only parts and indications of a system, that their recurrence is to be expected, nay, that it is a moral certainty, if they are now allowed to pass with impunity, looking at the total want of result from Lord Derby's efforts, at that mockery which has been cast in our teeth in return for what I quite admit was upon ordinary rules and principles an insulting despatch, can we, Sir, say with regard to this great battle of freedom against oppression which is now going on, which has been renewed from time to time, and for which one-third of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovnia are at this moment not only suffering exile, but, terrible to say, are upon the very verge of absolute starvation; upon which depends the fate of millions of the subject-races that inhabit the Turkish Empire—can we, with all this before us, be content with what I will call a vigorous array of remonstrances?—

well intended, I grant, but without result, as expressing the policy and satisfying the obligations of this great country? Can we, I say, looking upon this battle, lay our hands upon our hearts and, in the face of God and man, say with respect to it: "We have well and sufficiently performed our part"? Sir, there were other days, when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained, or a noble blow struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned—to this favourite, this darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people had built up a noble edifice for themselves and would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the benefit of the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy in regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wiser, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interest, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of those interests in obeying the dictates of honour and of justice. And, Sir, what is to be the end of this? Are we to dress up the fantastic ideas some people entertain about this policy, and that policy in the garb of British interests, and then, with a new, a base idolatry, to fall down and worship them? Or are we to look not at the sentiment, but at the hard facts of the case, which Lord Derby told us fifteen years ago—namely, that it is the populations of those countries that will ultimately possess them—that will ultimately determine their abiding condition? It is to this fact, this law, that we should look There is now before the world a glorious prize. A portion of those as yet unhappy people are still making an effort to retrieve what they have lost so long, but have not ceased to love and to desire I speak of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina Another portion—a band of heroes such as the world has rarely seen—stand on the rocks of Montenegro, and are ready now, as they have ever been during the 400 years of their exile from their fertile plains, to sweep down from their fastnesses and meet the Turks at any odds for the re-establishment of justice and peace in those countries. Another portion still, the 5,000,000 of Bulgarians, cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upwards, even to their Father in heaven, have extended their hands to you; they have sent you their petition, they have prayed for your help and protection They have told you that they do not seek alliance with Russia, or with any foreign Power, but that they seek to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God's earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove, that in the Protocol united Europe was pledged to remove, but to removing which for the present, you seem to have no efficacious means of offering even the smallest practical contribution. But, Sir, the removal of that load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize well worth competing for. It is not too late to try to win it. I believe there are men in the Cabinet who would try to win it, if they were free to act on their own beliefs and aspirations It is not too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize, but be assured whether you mean to claim for yourselves even a single leaf in that immortal chaplet of renown, which will be the reward of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that

cause and your own duty, I believe for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in those Provinces has sounded. So far as human eye can judge it is about to be destroyed. The destruction may not come in the way, or by the means that we should choose; but come this boon from what hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon will gladly be accepted by Christendom and the world.

HENRY GRATTAN

ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

House of Commons, May 13, 1805

The past troubles of Ireland, the rebellion of 1641, and the wars which followed I do not wholly forget, but I only remember them to deprecate the example and renounce the animosity. The penal code which went before, and followed those times, I remember also, but only enough to know that the causes and reasons for that code have totally expired; and as on one side the Protestant should relinquish his animosity on account of the rebellions, so should the Catholics relinquish their animosity on account of the laws. The question is not stated by the member; it is not whether you will keep in a state of disqualification a few Irish Catholics, but whether you will keep in a state of languor and neutrality a fifth of the empire, before you impose such a sentence on yourself you will require better arguments than those which the member has advanced, he has substantially told you that the Irish Catholic Church, which is, in fact, more independent than the Catholic Church here, is the worst in Europe, that the Irish Catholics, our own kindred, are the worst of papists; that the distinction, a distinction made by the law, propounded by ourselves, and essential to the State, between temporal and spiritual power, is a vain discrimination, and that the people of Ireland, to be good Catholics, must be bad subjects and finally, he has emphatically said, "that an Irish Catholic never is, never was, never will be, a faithful subject to a British Protestant King": his words are, "they hate all Protestants and all Englishmen" Thus has he pronounced against his country three curses eternal war with one another, eternal war with England, and eternal peace with France; so strongly does he inculcate this, that if a Catholic printer were, in the time of invasion, to publish his speech, that printer might be indicted for treason, as the publisher of a composition administering to the Catholics a stimulative to rise, and advancing the authority of their religion for rebellion. His speech consists of four parts. First, an invective uttered against the religion of the Catholics; Second, an invective uttered against the present generation, Third, an invective against the past; and the Fourth, an invective against the future; here the limits of creation interposed, and stopped the member. It is to defend those different generations, and their religion, I rise, to rescue the Catholic from his attack, and the Protestant from his defence.

The civil interference of the Pope, his assumed power of deposition, together with the supposed doctrine, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, were the great objects to the claims of the Catholics; to convict

them, the learned doctor has gone forth with a sinister zeal to collect his offensive materials, and behold he returns laden with much disputed comment, much doubtful text, much of executive decrees, and of such things as are become obsolete, because useless, and are little attended to because very dull and very uninteresting, and wherein the learned gentleman may, for that reason, take many little liberties in the way of misquotation, or in the way of suppression; all these, the fruits of his unprofitable industry, he lays before you: very kindly and liberally he does it, but of this huge and tremendous collection, you must reject a principal part, as having nothing to say to the question, namely, all that matter which belongs to the Court of Rome as distinct from the Church; Secondly, of the remnant after that rejection, you must remove everything that belongs to the Church of Rome which is not confined to doctrine regarding faith and morals, exclusive of, and unmixed with, any temporal matter whatever, after this correction, you will have reduced this gentleman of the fifteenth century to two miserable canons, the only rewards of his labour, and result of his toil, both passing centuries before the Reformation, and therefore not bearing on the Protestant or the Reformers, the first is a canon excommunicating persons who do not abide by a profession of faith contained in a preceding canon, which notably concludes with the following observation, that virgins and married women may make themselves agreeable to God; now I cannot think such a canon can excite any grave impression or alarm in this House, passed six hundred years ago, three hundred years before the birth of the Reformation, made by lay princes, as well as ecclesiastics, and never acknowledged or noticed in these islands, even in times of their popery. The other canon, that of Constance, goes to deny the force of a free passport, or safe conduct to heretics, given by temporal princes in bar of the proceedings of the Church Without going farther into that canon, it is sufficient to say that it is positively affirmed by the Catholics, that this does not go farther than to assert the power of the Church to inquire into heresy, notwithstanding any impediments by lay princes, and farther, there is an authority for that interpretation, and in contradiction to the member's interpretation, not only above his authority, but any that it is in his studies to produce · I mean that of Grotius, who mentions that the imputation cast on the Catholics on account of this canon is unfounded Here I stop, and submit, that the member is in the state of a plaintiff, who cannot make out his case, notwithstanding his two canons, that he has failed most egregiously, and has no right to throw the other party on their defence; however, the Catholics have gone as far as relates to him gratuitously into their case, and have not availed themselves of the imbecility of their opponents, and they have been enabled to produce on the subject of the above charges, the opinion of six universities, to whom those charges in the shape of queries, have been submitted Paris, Louvaine, Salamanca, Douay, Valladolid, Alcala. These universities have all answered, and have, in their answers, not only disclaimed the imputed doctrines, but disclaimed them with abhorrence. The Catholics have not stopped here, they have drawn up a declaration of nine articles, renouncing the imputed doctrines, together with other doctrines, or views objected

to by them; they have gone farther, they have desired the Protestants to name their own terms of abjuration; the Protestants have done so, and here is the instrument of their compact—it is an oath framed by a Protestant Parliament, principally manufactured by the hon. member himself, in which the Irish Catholics not only abjure the imputed doctrine, but are sworn to the State, and to the present establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and to the present state of Protestant property; this oath has been universally taken, and by this oath, both parties are concluded, the Catholics from resorting to the abjured doctrines, and the Protestant from resorting to the abjured charge; therefore when the member imputes, as he has done, to the Catholic, the principles hereby abjured, it is not the Catholic who breaks faith with him, but it is he who breaks faith with the Catholic He acts in violation of the instrument he himself formed, and is put down by his own authority; but the Catholics have not only thus obtained a special acquittal from the charges made against them in this debate, they have obtained a general acquittal also

The most powerful of their opponents, the late Earl of Clare, writes as follows: "They who adhere to the Church of Rome are good Catholics, they who adhere to the Court of Rome are traitors", and he quotes Lord Somers as his authority, in which he entirely acquiesces, and acknowledges their innocence in their adherence to the Church of Rome as distinct from the Court, a test, such as I have already mentioned, is formed in Ireland, abjuring the doctrine of the Court of Rome, and reducing their religion to the Church of Rome. This test, together with a number of other articles, is reduced to an oath, and this oath is introduced into an Act of Parliament, and this oath, thus legalized, is taken universally, here again are the opponents to the Catholics, concluded by their own concessions, by tendering an oath to Catholics, they allow an oath to be a test of sincerity, by framing that oath under these circumstances, they make it a test of pure Catholicism; and by their own argument, they pronounce pure Catholicism to be innoxious; but the hon. member has gone a little farther than pronounce the innocence of the Catholics, he has pronounced the mischievous consequences of the laws that proscribe them; he has said, in so many words, that an Irish Catholic never is, and never will be, faithful to a British Protestant King; he does not say every Catholic, for then he would include the English Catholics and those of Canada, nor does he say every Irishman must hate the King, for then he would include every Protestant in Ireland, the cause of the hatred is not then in the religion nor in the soil; it must be then in the laws, in something which the Protestant does not experience in Ireland, nor the Catholics in any country but in Ireland, that is to say, in the penal code; that code then, according to him, has made the Catholics enemies to the King; thus has he acquitted the Catholics and convicted the laws. This is not extraordinary, it is the natural progress of a blind and a great polemic, such characters, they begin with a fatal candour, and then precipitate to a fatal extravagance; and are at once undermined by their candour and exposed by their extravagance; so with the member, he hurries on, he knows not where, utters, he cares not what, equally negligent of the grounds of his asser-

tions and their necessary inferences; thus, when he thinks he is establishing his errors, unconsciously and unintentionally he promulgates truth, or rather, in the very tempest of his speech, Providence seems to govern his lips, so that they shall prove false to his purposes, and be a witness to his refutations; interpret the gentleman literally, what blasphemy has he uttered? He has said, that the Catholic religion, abstracted as it is at present in Ireland from Popery, and reduced as it is to mere Catholicism, is so inconsistent with the duties of morality and allegiance, as to be a very great evil Now, that religion is the Christianity of two-thirds of all Christendom; it follows, then, according to the learned doctor, that the Christian religion is in general a curse, he has added that his own countrymen are not only depraved by religion, but rendered perverse by nativity, that is to say, according to him, blasted by their Creator, and damned by their Redeemer. In order, therefore, to restore the member to the character of a Christian, we must renounce him as an advocate, and acknowledge that he has acquitted the Catholics whom he meant to condemn, and convicted the laws which he meant to defend But though the truth may be eviscerated from the whole of the member's statement, it is not to be discerned in the particular parts, and therefore it is not sufficient to refute his arguments, 'tis necessary to controvert his positions—the Catholics of Ireland, he says, hate the Protestants, hate the English, and hate the King. I must protest against the truth of this position, the laws, violent as they were, mitigated as for the last seventeen years they have been, the people, better than the laws, never could have produced that mischief; against such a position I appeal to the conscious persuasion of every Irishman We will put it to an issue the present chief Governor of Ireland is both an Englishman and the representative of English Government. I will ask the hon gentleman whether the Irish hate him? If I could believe this position, what could I think of the Protestant ascendancy, and what must I think of the British connection and Government, who have been for six hundred years in possession of the country, with no other effect, according to this logic, than to make its inhabitants abhor you and your generation, but this position contains something more than a departure from fact, it says, strike France, strike Spain, the great body of the Irish are with you, it does much more, it attempts to give the Irish a provocation, it teaches you to hate them, and them to think so, and thus falsehood takes its chance of generating into a fatal and treasonable truth. The hon. gentleman, having misrepresented the present generation, mis-states the conduct of their ancestors, and sets forth the past rebellions as proceeding entirely from religion. I will follow him to those rebellions, and show, beyond his power of contradiction, that religion was not, and that proscription was, the leading cause of those rebellions. The rebellion of 1741, or let me be controverted by any historian of authority, did not proceed from religion; it did proceed from the extermination of the inhabitants of eight counties in Ulster, and from the foreign and bigoted education of the Catholic clergy, and not from religion. The rebellion of the Pale, for it was totally distinct in period or cause from the other, did not proceed from religion loss of the graces (they resembled your petition

of right, except that they embraced articles from the security of property), disarmament of the Catholics, expulsion of them in that disarmed state from Dublin, many other causes, order for the execution of certain priests; you will not forget there was an order to banish their priests in James the First's time, and to shut up their chapels in Charles the First's; these were the causes: there was another cause—you were in rebellion, Scotland was in rebellion; there was another cause, the Irish Government was in rebellion; they had taken their part with the Republicans, and wished to draw into treason the Irish freeholders, that, with the forfeiture of another's rebellion, they might supply their own. I go back with concern to these times, I see much blood, no glory; but I have the consolation to find, that the causes were not lodged in the religion or the soil, and that all of them, but the proscriptive cause, have vanished. I follow the member to another rebellion, which should properly be called a civil war, not a rebellion; it proceeded from a combination of causes which exist no longer, and one of those causes was the abdicating King at the head of the Catholics; and another cause was the violent proscription carried on against the Catholics by the opposite and then prevailing party these causes are now no more, or will the member say there is now an abdicating prince, or now a Popish plot, or now a pretender? These are causes most certainly sufficient to alarm you, but very different, and such as can only be combated by a conviction, that as your destinies are now disposed of, it is not the power of the Catholics which can destroy, or the exclusion of the Catholics that can save you. The conclusion I draw from the history above alluded to, is very different from that drawn by the member, and far more healing, conclusion to show the evils arising from foreign connections on one side, and from domestic proscription on the other If all the blood shed on those occasions, if the many fights in the first, and the signal battles in the second period, and the consequences of those battles to the defeated and the triumphant—to the slave that fled, and to the slave that followed—shall teach our country the wisdom of conciliation, I congratulate her on those deluges of blood, if not, I submit, and lament her fate, and deplore her understanding, which would render not only the blessings of Providence, but its visitations fruitless, and transmit what was the curse of our fathers as the inheritance of our children.

The learned gentleman proceeds to mis-state a period of one hundred years; namely, the century that followed the revolutions; and this he makes a period of open or concealed rebellions, the sources of his darkness and misinformation are to be found in history and revelation: of his charges against that period he brings no proof; none of those on the same side with him can bring any· they heard from such a one who heard from such a one. I neither believe them nor such a one, and I desire so many generations may not be convicted on evidence that would not be admitted against the vilest caitiff, and that in opposition to evidence by which that vilest caitiff would be acquitted, in opposition to the authority of four Acts of Parliament; the Act of 1778, which declares their loyalty for a long series of years, that of 1782, that of 1793, and further, against the declared sense of government, who, in the year 1762, proposed to raise four Catholic regiments, because the Catholics

had proved their allegiance against the authority of the then Irish Primate who supported that measure; and in his speech on that subject assigns, as his reason, that after his perusal of Mr. Murray's papers, nothing appeared against the Irish Catholics of any connection whatsoever with the rebellion of that period. The member, he proceeds to the rebellion of 1798, and this he charges to the Catholics, and against his charge I appeal to the report of the committee of the Irish House of Commons in 1797, in which is set forth the rebel muster, containing 99,000 northerns enrolled in rebellion, and all the northern counties organized. at the time in which the committee of the House of Commons states the rebellion of the north, the despatches of government acknowledged the allegiance of the south, to those despatches I appeal, written at the time of Hoche's projected invasion, and applauding the attachment and loyalty of the southern counties, and their exertions to assist the army on its march to Cork, to oppose the landing of the French. If you ask how the rebellion spread and involved the Catholics, I will answer, and tell you, that as long as the proscriptive system continues, there will be in our country a staminal weakness, rendering the distempers to which society is obnoxious, not only dangerous, but deadly, every epidemic disease will bring the chronic distemper into action; it is the grapestone in the hand of death which strikes with the force of a thunderbolt. If you have any apprehension on this account, the error is to be found, in yourselves, in human policy, not in religion; in the fallibility of man, not of God. If you wish to strip rebellion of its hopes, France of her expectations, reform that policy; you will gain a victory over the enemy, when you gain a conquest over yourselves. But I will for a moment accede to the member's statement against facts and history what is his inference? During one hundred years of the proscriptive system, the State has been in imminent danger, therefore, adds he, continue the system, here is the regimen under which you have declined —persevere but the member proceeds to observe, that you cannot hope to reconcile whom you cannot hope to satisfy, and he instances the repeal of the penal code. I deny the instances the repeal in 1778 and 1782 did reconcile and did satisfy, accordingly you will find, that the Irish Catholics in 1779 and 1780, 1781 and 1782, were active and unanimous to repel the invasion threatened at that time, when the French rode in the Channel, and Ireland was left to the care of 6,000 regulars, and, was only defended from invasion by the spirit and loyalty of the Catholics in harmony and in arms with their Protestant brethren. The repeal of a principal part of the penal code in 1793 did not reconcile, and did not satisfy, it was, because the Irish government of that time was an enemy to the repeal and to the Catholics, and prevented the good effects of that measure. That government, in the summer of 1792, had sent instructions (I know the fact to be so) to the grand juries to enter into resolutions against the claims of the Catholics. Their leading minister appeared himself at one of the county meetings, and took a memorable part of hostility and publicity. When the petition of the Catholics was recommended in the King's speech in 1793, the Irish minister answers the King, and with unmeasured severity attacked the petitioners. When the bill, introduced in consequence of his Majesty's recommendation, was in

progress, the same minister, with an unmeasured severity, attacked the bill and repeated his severity against the persons of the Catholics. When the same bill of reconciliation, in consequence of the recommendation and reference of the petition, was in its passage, the Irish government attempted to hang the leading men among the petitioners, and accordingly Mr. Bird and Mr. Hamilton were, by their orders, indicted for a capital offence, I think it was Defenderism; and so little ground was there for the charge, that those men were triumphantly acquitted, and the witnesses of the Crown so flagrantly perjured, that the judge, I have heard, recommended a prosecution These were the causes why the repeal of 1793 did not satisfy; and in addition to these, because the Irish administration took care that the Catholics should receive no benefit therefrom, opposing them with their known partisans and dependants, seldom giving them any office (there are very few instances in which they got any), and manifesting in the government a more active enemy than before the Catholic had experienced in the law. I refer to the speeches delivered and published at the time by the ministers and servants of the Irish government, and persisted in, and delivered since; read them, and there you will see an attack on all the proceedings of the Irish people; from the time of their address for free trade, all their proceedings, such as were glorious, as well as those that were intemperate, without discrimination, moderation, or principle, there you will see the Irish ministry engaged in a wretched squabble with the Catholic committee, and that Catholic committee replying on that ministry, and degrading that ministry more than it had degraded itself, and you will further perceive the members of that ministry urging their charges against the members of that committee, to disqualify other Catholics who were not of the committee, but opposed to it; so that by their measures against the one part of the Catholics, and their invective against the other, they take care to alienate, as far as in them lay, the whole body. The fact is, the project of conciliation in 1793, recommended in the speech from the throne, was defeated by the Irish cabinet, who were at that time on that subject in opposition; and being incensed at the British cabinet, for the countenance afforded to the Catholics, punished the latter, and sowed those seeds which afterwards, in conjunction with other causes, produced the rebellion.

I leave the member, and proceed to discuss the differences now remaining that discriminate his Majesty's subjects of the Protestant and Catholic persuasion Before we consider how far we differ, it is necessary to examine how far we agree; we acknowledge the same God, the same Redeemer, the same consequences of redemption, the same Bible, and the same Testament. Agreeing in this, we cannot as far as respects religion, quarrel about the remainder; because their merits as Christians must, in our opinion, outweight their demerits as Catholics, and reduce our religious distinctions to a difference about the Eucharist, the Mass, and the Virgin Mary; matters which may form a difference of opinion, but not a division of interest. The infidel, under these circumstances, would consider us as the same religionists, just as the French would consider us, and cut us down as the same community. See whether we are not agreed a little farther, and united by statute as well as religion;

the preamble of three Acts declare the Catholics to be loyal subjects; the Act of 1778 declares that they have been so for a series of years; the same Act declares that they should be admitted into the blessings of the constitution, the Act of 1793 goes farther, and admits them into a participation of those blessings; thus is the principle of identification established by the law of the land, and thus are the Catholics, by that law, proclaimed to be innocent, and the calumniators of the Catholics guilty. Let us consider their situation under these laws, professedly and in principle admitted to everything except seats in Parliament, and certain offices of State, they are, in fact, excluded from everything, under the circumstances of paying for everything (the few places they enjoy make no exception), they pay their proportion of money to the Navy, and contribute one-third to its members, and have not a commission; they contribute to the expenses of the Army, and to one-third of its numbers, and have not a commission; and shall I now be asked, how are the Catholics affected by this? or be told that the Catholic body would not be served by the removal of this, how would the Protestant body be affected, if only removed from the State, the Parliament, the Navy, and the Army? In addition to this, I am to add the many minor injuries done to the Catholics in ways that must be felt, and cannot be calculated; the incalculable injury done to the Catholic mind, by precluding it from objects of ambition, and to the Catholic spirit, by exposing it to taunts and insults—you cannot be at a loss for an instance, such as is uttered by the vilest of the Protestants against the first of the Catholics. I am to add the mischief done to the morals of this country, by setting up a false standard of merit, by which men, without religion, morals, or integrity, shall obtain, by an abhorrence of their fellow-subjects, credit and consequence, and acquire an impunity for selling the whole community, because they detest a part of it You see, it is impossible for any one part of the society to afflict the other without paying the penalty, and feeling the consequences of its own bad policy in the reaction of its own bad passions. I am to add that mischief done to the peace of the country among the lower orders, when the spirit of religious discord descends, and the holiday becomes a riot, and the petty magistrate turns chapman and dealer in politics, theologian and robber, makes for himself a situation in the country, by monstrous lies, fabricates false panics of insurrections and invasion, then walks forth the man of blood, his creditors tremble, the French do not, and atrocities, which he dare not commit in his own name, perpetrates for the honour of his King, and in the name of his Maker I have heard of the incivilization of Ireland; too much has been said on that subject I deny the fact a country exporting above five millions, even at your official value, above half a million of corn, three millions of linen, paying nine millions to the State, cannot be barbarous; a nation connected with you for six hundred years (what do you say?) cannot be barbarous. If France should say so, you should contradict her, because it is not on Ireland, but on you the reflection must fall; but if anything, however, delays the perfect and extensive civilization of Ireland, it is principally her religious animosity. Examine all the causes of human misery, the tragic machinery of the globe, and the instruments of civil rage and domestic murder, and you will find no demon

is like it, because it privileges every other vice, and amalgamates with infidelity, as well as with murder; and conscience, which restrains other vices, becomes a prompter here. To restrain this waste, and this conquest, exercised over your understanding, your morals, and your fortune, my hon. friend makes his motion Come, let us hear the objections the Catholics, they say, should not have political power: why, they have it already; they got it when you gave them landed property, and they got it when you gave them the elective franchise. "Be it enacted, that the Catholics shall be capable of holding all offices (civil and military, except") and then the Act excludes a certain numeration.

This is the Act of 1793, and is not this political power allowed by Act of Parliament? So that the objection goes not so much against the petition as against the law, and the law is the answer to it The reasons they give for objecting to the law are, first, that the Catholics do not acknowledge the King to be the head of their Church. To require a person of the Catholic faith to acknowledge a person of another religion, who makes no very encouraging declarations towards them, to be the head of the Catholic Church, is going very far; but to make the withholding such acknowledgment, the test of disaffection, is going much farther; farther than reason, and farther than the law, which does not require such test, but is satisfied with a negative oath, and therefore the Presbyterian who makes no such acknowledgment may sit in Parliament, so that here the objector is answered again by the law, and the reason he gives in opposition to the law shows that the legislature is wiser than the objector. The reason alleged is, that he allows his Majesty to be the head of his Church and has more allegiance, because he acknowledges the King in more capacities, according this to this the Turk has more allegiance than either, for he acknowledges the Grand Seignior in all capacities, and the Englishman has less allegiance than any othe- subject in Europe, because, whereas other European subjects acknowledge their King in a legislative as well as an executive capacity, theEnglish acknowledge their King in the latter capacity only, but such men know not how to estimate allegiance which is not measured by the powers which you give, but by the privileges which you keep thus your allegiance is of an higher order, because it is rendered for the proud circumstances belonging to an Englishman, to the peer who has his rank, the commoner who has his privileges, and the peasant who has his magna charta. The Catholic, too—he has an interest in his allegiance, increase that interest, that is, increase this privilege, you increase the force of his obligation, and with it your own security, but here again the objector interposes, and alleges, that the Catholic does not only not acknowledge the King to be the head of their Church, but acknowledges a foreign power:—Whom? I cannot find him. There was, indeed, a power which you set up in the last war and guarded with your troops, is that the memory at which gentlemen tremble? A sort of president, or chair, in whose name the business of the Catholic Church is conducted, for whom no Catholic would fight, and against whom the Irish Catholic would fight, if he came into their country at the head of an invading army; they have said so. You will recollect how little you yourselves feared that name, when you encompassed and preserved it, at the very time of the Irish

rebellion; and now do gentlemen set it up and bring it back again into the world, as a principle likely to influence the action of the Irish? But then I here received an answer to this, viz., that Bonaparte has gotten possession of the power before his captivity, and therefore he became a captive; he has not found his power in his captivity, or will you say, that he could now disband an Austrian army or an Irish army, or that if he were to issue out his excommunications, your seamen and soldiers would desert. Such the power of the Pope, such your fear of it, and such is the force of their argument. What is the policy of it? Bonaparte has gotten the Pope, give him the Catholics. but here the objector interposes again, and tells us, it is in vain to look for harmony with the Catholics, inasmuch as they deliver us, the Protestants, to damnation · gravely they say this, soberly they say this, in the morning, and according to this you must not only repeal your laws of toleration, but you must disband part of your army and your navy, and disqualify your electors. The Catholic who hears this produces a Protestant creed, which does the same thing, and damns his sect likewise, the Infidel who listens, agrees with both, and triumphs and suggests that it were better not to cast off your people, but to shake off your religion So Volney makes all sects contend, and all conquer, and religion the common victim; the truth is, exclusive salvation was the common phrenzy of all sects, and is the religion of none, and is now not rejected by all, but laughed at, so burning one another as well as damning one another, you can produce instances —they can produce instances it was the habit of the early Christians to anathematize all sects but their own. No religion can stand, if men, without regard to their God, and with regard only to controversy, shall rake out of the rubbish of antiquity the obsolete and quaint follies of the Sectarians, and affront the majesty of the Almighty, with the impudent catalogue of their devices; and it is a strong argument against the proscriptive system, that it helps to continue this shocking contest. theologian against theologian, polemic against polemic, until the two madmen defame their common parent, and expose their common religion. With arguments such as these it is urged that the laws were in error which gave the Catholic political power, and it is further added that he will use that political power to destroy the Church. I do not think they have now said, He will destroy the present state of property; bigotry has retired from that post, and has found out, at last, that the Catholics cannot repeal the Act of Settlement in Ireland, by which the property of the country was ascertained, until they become the Parliament; nor become the Parliament, till they get the landed property of the country; and, that when they get the property, they will not pass an Act to set aside their titles to it. Further, it is now understood that the Protestant title is by time, that there are few old Catholic proprietors, a multitude of new ones; that the Catholic tenantry hold under Protestant titles; and therefore, that there is, in support of the present state of property in Ireland, not only the strength of the Protestant interest, but the physical force of the Catholics, therefore the objectors have judiciously retired from that ground, and now object to Catholic power, as certain to destroy the Protestant Church. How? They must do it by act of legislation, or by act of force; by act of legislation they cannot, and by force they

would not: they would not by act of force, because the measures proposed, which do not go to increase the force, do go decisively to remove the animosity; or will you say, when you give them every temporal motive to allegiance, they will become rebels; that when, indeed, they had rights of religion, rights of property, rights of election, they were loyal; but when you gratified their ambition likewise, then they became disaffected and ready to sacrifice all their temporal rights and political gratifications? In order to do what? To get a larger income for their clergy; that is, that their bishops should drink more claret, and wear finer clothes; and with whose assistance should they do this? With the aid of the French, who starve their clergy, the ordinary principles of action: the human motives that direct other men, according to these reasoners, are not to be found in the Catholic; nature is in him reversed; he is not influenced by the love of family, of property, of privilege, of power, or any human passions, according to his antagonists, no more than his antagonists appear in their logic influenced by human reason, and therefore it is, these reasoners deal most in the prophetic strain—a prophet's fury, and his blindness, much zeal, and no religion. I would ask them, what authority have they for thus introducing the Church as an obstacle to the advantages of the State? Is it political, or is it moral, to deprive the Catholics of the franchises of the constitution, because they contribute to the Church, lest on obtaining those franchises they should pass laws withholding that contribution, as if you had any right to make that supposition, or any right to insist on that perilous monopoly, which should exclude them at once from Church and State, that they might pay for both without compensation? The great preachers of our capital have not said so; Mr. Dunn, that meek spirit of the gospel, he has not said so; Mr. Douglass, in his strain of piety, morals, and eloquence, he has not said so, nor the great luminary himself, he who has wrung from his own breast, as it were, near £60,000, by preaching for public charities, and has stopped the mouth of hunger with its own bread, HE has not said so I ask not what politicians may instil and may whisper, but what have the laborious clergymen preached and practised?

But the Revolution, it seems, is an eternal bar they find the principles of slavery in the Revolution, as they have found those of darkness in the Revolution. If they mean to measure the privileges of the empire by the model existing at the Revolution, they must impose on Ireland eternal proscription; for at that time she was deprived of the rights of trade and constitution, and the Catholics of all rights whatsoever; and they must impose on the empire two opposite principles of action, the free system for England, and the proscriptive principle for the rest; they are then to make Ireland fight for British liberty and Irish exclusion; their argument is therefore not only a wicked wish, but a vain one; nor is this the practice of other countries—those countries do not require the religion of the public officer to be the religion of the State, their practice has been notoriously otherwise: they who said the contrary labour under a glaring error; nor will you be able to encounter France, and the other nations of Europe, if they shall avail themselves of the talents of all their people, and you will oppose them by only a part of yours. It follows, then, whether you look to the principles of liberty of empire, that you

cannot make the proscriptive system of the Revolution the measure of empire; you must then make the principles of the Revolution that measure: what are those principles? Civil and religious liberty · they existed at that time in full force for you; they existed as seminal principles for us, they were extended to the Protestant part of Ireland a century after; they remain now to be extended to the Catholics; then will your Revolution be completed, not overthrown, then will you extend the principles of your empire on those of your constitution, and have secured an uniformity of action, by creating an identity of interest, thus will you have simplified the imperial and constitutional motions to one and the same principle of action, moving you in your home and in your imperial orbit, informing the body of your laws, and vivifying the mass of your empire The petition of the county of Oxford states, the Catholics have ever been enemies to freedom just as the controversialists have said the Catholics must be enemies to the King, yet the Revolution, from whose benefits you are to exclude the Catholics, was founded on a model formed and moulded by Catholics, the declaration of right being almost entirely declaratory of rights and privileges secured by your Catholic ancestors one of your great merits at the Revolution was not to have exceeded that model, but, on the contrary, you restrained popular victory, and restored establishments, and kindled a modest spirit, which has outlasted the French conflagration, a vital heat which then cheered you, which now should cheer the Catholic, and giving light and life to both, I hope will be eternal The great objects, Church, State, and property, I adopt with the controversialist, and beg to rescue them from his wisdom, to give them, for their support, the physical force of the Catholic body, inasmuch as our danger does not arise from the possible abuse of his constitutional power, but from the possible abuse of his physical force to obtain that constitutional power in all this debate, you will observe, we argue as if we had but one enemy, the Catholic, and we forget the French, and here, what I said to the Irish Parliament, on the Catholic question, I will repeat to you I said to them, "The post you take is injudicious—independency of the British Parliament, exclusion of the Irish Catholics, a post to be kept against the power of one country and the freedom of the other"

I now say to you, the post you would take is injudicious, a position that would keep France in check, and Ireland in thraldom, to be held against the power of one country, and the freedom of the other. There are three systems for Ireland, one, such as Primate Boulter has disclosed, a system to set the people at variance, on account of religion, that the government might be strong, and the country weak; a system (such a one as prevailed when I broke her chain) which made the minister too strong for the constitution, and the country too weak for the enemy; a system which one of its advocates had described when he said the Protestants of Ireland were a garrison in an enemy's country; and which another gentleman has described, when he considered Ireland as a caput mortum. this system has failed it ought to have failed; it was a party government, and a party god.

There is another extermination that will not do; the extermination

of three millions of men would be no easy task in execution, no very charitable measure in conception; the justices of 1641 had dreamed of it, Cromwell had attempted, Harrington had talked of it. I hold the extermination of the people, and even of their hierarchy, to be such an experiment as will not be proposed by any gentleman who is perfectly in his senses; extermination then will not do; what is left? The partial adoption of the Catholics has failed; the eradication of the Catholics cannot be attempted; the absolute incorporation remains alone, there is no other; or did you think it necessary to unite with the Irish Parliament, and do you hesitate to identify with the people see whether you can conduct your empire on any other principle; the better to illustrate this, and in order to ascertain the principles of your empire, survey its comprehension, computing your West Indies and your eastern dominions, England has now, with all deference to her moderation, a very great proportion of the globe. On what principle will she govern that portion? On the principles on which Providence governs the remainder when you make your dominions commensurate with a great portion of her works, you should make your laws analogous to her dispensations, and as there is no such thing as an exclusive Providence, so neither, considering the extent of your empire, should there be such a thing as an exclusive empire, but such a one as accommodates to peculiar habits, religious prejudices, prepossessions, etc, etc You do not, in your despatches to your generals, send the Thirty-Nine Articles, you know the bigot and conqueror are incompatible, Louis XIV found it so You know that no nation is long indulged in the exercise of the two qualities, bigotry to proscribe at home, ambition to disturb abroad such was your opinion when you established popery in Canada—I do not speak of Corsica such your opinion when you recruited for the foot in Ireland. It was in the American War this practice began, when you found that the principle of exclusive empire would not answer, and that her test was not who should say her prayers, but who should fight her battles on the same principle, the Irish militia, which must be, in a great proportion, Catholic, stands, and on the same principle the Irish yeomanry, who must be in a far more considerable proportion Catholic, stand, and, on the same principle, you have recruited for the Navy in Ireland, and have committed your sea thunderbolt to Catholic hands Suppose, in Egypt the General had ordered the Catholics to go out of the ranks, or if in one of your sea-fights, the admiral had ordered all the Catholics on shore, what had been the consequence? It is an argument against the proscriptive system, that if adopted practically in navy or army, the navy and army, and empire would evaporate, and shall we now proclaim these men, or hold such language as the member, language, which if he held on the day of battle, he must be shot, language of which, if a Catholic, he must be hanged, such as you despised in the case of Corsica and of Canada, in the choice of your allies, in the recruiting your army and your navy, whenever your convenience, whenever your ambition, whenever your interest required · or let us turn from the magnitude of your empire to the magnitude of its danger, and you will observe, that whereas Europe was heretofore divided in many small nations of various religions, making part of their civil policy, and with alliances,

influenced in some degree, and directed by those religious distinctions, where civil and religious freedom were supposed to be drawn upon one side, and on the other, popery and arbitrary power; so now the globe has been divided anew—England and France. You have taken a first situation among mankind, you are, of course, precluded from a second. Austria may have a second situation, Prussia may have a second, but England seems to have linked her post and being to her glory, and when she ceases to be the first, she is nothing. According to this supposition, and it is a supposition which I do not frame, but find in your country, the day may not be very remote, when you will have to fight for being, and what you value more than being, the ancient renown of your island: you have said it yourselves, and you have added, that Ireland is your vulnerable part why vulnerable? Vulnerable, because you have misgoverned her, it may then happen, that on Irish ground, and by an Irish hand, the destinies of that ancient monarchy, called Britain, may be decided. Accordingly you have voted your army, but you have forgot to vote your people, you must vote their passions likewise. Horrors at the French proceedings will do much, but it is miserable to rely on the crimes of your enemies always, on your own wisdom never, besides, those horrors did not prevent Prussia from leaving your Alliance, nor Austria from making peace, nor the United Irishmen from making war. Loyalty will do much, but you require more—patience under taxes and loans, such as are increased far beyond what we have been accustomed to, from one million and a half to nine millions, nor patience only, but ardour The strong qualities, not such as the scolding dialect of certain gentlemen would excite, a fire, that in the case of an invasion will not sit as a spy on the doubt of the day and calculate, but though the first battle should be unsuccessful, would, with a desperate fidelity, come on and embody with the destinies of England. It is a wretched thing to ask how would they act in such a case. What, after a connection of six hundred years, to thank your admiral for your safety, or the wind, or anything but your wisdom, and therefore the question is not whether the Catholics shall get so many seats, but whether you shall get so many millions, in such a case, you would have all people. What is it that constitutes the strength and health of England, but this sort of vitality, that her privileges, like her money, circulate everywhere, and centre nowhere; this it was which equality would have given, but did not give France, this it was, which the plain sense of your ancestors, without equality, did give the English, a something, which limited her kings, drove her enemies, and made a handful of men fill the world with their name. Will you, in your union with Ireland, withhold the regimen which has made you strong, and continue the regimen which has made her feeble? You will further recollect, that you have invited her to your patrimony, and hitherto you have given her taxes, and an additional debt, I believe it is an addition of twenty-six millions; the other part of your patrimony, I should be glad to see it, talk plainly and honestly to the Irish, "It is true your taxes are increased, and your debts multiplied, but here are your privileges, great burthens, and great privileges; this is the patrimony of England, and with this does she assess, recruit, inspire, consolidate." But the Protestant ascendancy, it is said, alone

can keep the country, namely, the gentry, clergy, and nobility, against the French, and without the people: it may be so; but in 1641, above ten thousand troops were sent from England to assist that party; in 1689, twenty-three regiments were raised in England to assist that party: what can be done by spirit will be done by them, but would the city of London, on such assurances, risk a guinea? The Parliament of Ireland did risk everything, and are now nothing, and in their extinction left this instruction, not to their posterity, for they have none, but to you who come in the place of their posterity, not to depend on a sect of religion, nor trust the final issue of your fortunes to anything less than the whole of your people.

The Parliament of Ireland—of that assembly I have a parental recollection I sat by her cradle, I followed her hearse. In fourteen years she acquired for Ireland what you did not acquire for England in a century—freedom of trade, independency of the legislature, independency of the judges, restoration of the final judicature, repeal of a perpetual mutiny bill, habeas corpus act, nullum tempus act—a great work! You will exceed it, and I shall rejoice I call my countrymen to witness, if in that business I compromised the claims of my country, or temporised with the power of England; but there was one thing which baffled the effort of the patriot, and defeated the wisdom of the Senate, it was the folly of the theologian When the Parliament of Ireland rejected the Catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies then uttered against the Catholic body, on that day she voted the Union if you should adopt a similar conduct, on that day you will vote the separation many good and pious reasons you may give, many good and pious reasons she gave, and she lies THERE with her many good and her pious reasons. That the Parliament of Ireland should have entertained prejudices, I am not astonished, but that you, that you who have, as individuals and as conquerors, visited a great part of the globe, and have seen men in all their modifications, and Providence in all her ways, that you, now at this time of day, should throw up dykes against the Pope, and barriers against the Catholic, instead of uniting with that Catholic to throw up barriers against the French, this surprises, and, in addition to this, that you should have set up the Pope in Italy, to tremble at him in Ireland; and further, that you should have professed to have placed yourself at the head of a Christian, not a Protestant league, to defend the civil and religious liberty of Europe, and should deprive of their civil liberty one-fifth of yourselves, on account of their religion—this surprises me, and also that you should prefer to buy allies by subsidies, rather than fellow-subjects by privileges, and that you should now stand, drawn out as it were, in battalion, 16,000,000 against 36,000,000, and should at the same time paralyze a fifth of your own numbers, by excluding them from some of the principal benefits of your constitution, at the very time you say all your numbers are inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges.

As I recommend to you to give the privileges, so I should recommend the Catholics to wait cheerfully and dutifully. The temper with which they bear the privation of power and privilege is evidence of their qualification; they will recollect the strength of their case, which sets them above

impatience; they will recollect the growth of their case from the time it was first agitated, to the present moment; and, in that growth, perceive the perishable nature of the objections, and the immortal quality of the principle they contend for. They will further recollect what they have gotten already—rights of religion, rights of property, and above all, the elective franchise, which is in itself the seminal principle of everything else · with a vessel so laden, they will be too wise to leave the harbour, and trust the fallacy of any wind: nothing can prevent the ultimate success of the Catholics but intemperance For this they will be too wise; the charges uttered against them they will answer by their allegiance so should I speak of the Catholics. To the Protestant I would say, you have gotten the land and powers of the country, and it now remains to make those acquisitions eternal Do not you see, according to the present state and temper of England and France, that your country must ultimately be the seat of war? Do not you see, that your children must stand in the front of the battle, with uncertainty and treachery in the rear of it If, then, by ten or twelve seats in Parliament given to Catholics, you could prevent such a day, would not the compromise be everything? What is your wretched monopoly, the shadow of your present, the memory of your past power, compared to the safety of your families, the security of your estates, and the solid peace and repose of your island? Besides, you have an account to settle with the empire; might not the empire accost you thus? "For one hundred years you have been in possession of the country, and very loyally have you taken to yourselves the power and profit thereon. I am now to receive at your hands the fruits of all this, and the unanimous support of your people where is it? now, when I am beset with enemies and in my day of trial" Let the Protestant ascendancy answer that question, for I cannot. Above twenty millions have been wasted on their shocking contest, and a great proportion of troops of the line locked up in the island, that they may enjoy the ascendancy of the country, and the empire not to receive the strength of it. Such a system cannot last their destinies must be changed and exalted, the Catholics no longer their inferior, nor they inferior to every one, save only the Catholic; both must be free, and both must fight—but it is the enemy, and not one another. thus the sects of religion renouncing, the one all foreign connection, and the other all domestic proscription, shall form a strong country; and thus the two islands, renouncing all national prejudices, shall form a strong empire—a phalanx in the west to check, perhaps ultimately to confound the ambition of the enemy I know the ground on which I stand, and the truths which I utter, and I appeal to the objects you urge against me, which I constitute my judges, to the spirit of your own religion, and to the genius of your own revolution; and I consent to have the principle which I maintain tried by any test, and equally sound, I contend, it will be found, whether you apply it to constitution where it is freedom, or to empire where it is strength, or to religion where it is light.

Turn to the opposite principle, proscription and discord—it has made in Ireland not only war, but even peace calamitous: witness the one that followed the victories of King William, to the Catholics, a sad

servitude, to the Protestants a drunken triumph, and to both a peace without trade and without constitution. You have seen in 1798 rebellion break out again, the enemy masking her expeditions in consequence of the state of Ireland, twenty millions lost, one farthing of which did not tell in empire, and blood barbarously, boyishly, and most ingloriously expended. These things are in your recollection · one of the causes of these things, whether efficient, or instrumental, or aggravating, the proscriptive system, I mean, you may now remove, it is a great work! —or has ambition not enlarged your mind, or only enlarged the sphere of its action? What the best men in Ireland wished to do but could not do, the patriot courtier, and the patriot oppositionist, you may accomplish. What Mr Gardiner, Mr Langrishe, men who had no views of popularity or interest, or any but the public good; what Mr. Daly, Mr Burgh, men whom I shall not pronounce to be dead, if their genius live in this measure, what Mr Forbes, every man that loved Ireland, what Lord Pery, the wisest man Ireland ever produced; what Mr. Hutchinson, an able, enlightened, and accomplished servant of the Crown; what Lord Charlemont, superior to his early prejudices, bending under years and experience, and public affection; what that dying nobleman; what our Burke, what the most profound divines, Dr Newcome, for instance, our late Primate (his mitre stood in the front of that measure), what these men supported, and against whom? Against men who had no opinion at that time, or at any time, on the subject, except that which the minister ordered, or men, whose opinions were so extravagant, that even bigotry must blush for them; and yet these men above mentioned had not before them considerations which should make you wise—that the Pope has evaporated, and that France has covered the best part of Europe That terrible sight is now before you, it is a gulf that has swallowed up a great portion of your treasure, it yawns for your being—were it not wise, therefore, to come to a good understanding with the Irish now, it will be miserable if anything untoward should happen hereafter, to say we did not foresee this danger; against other dangers, against the Pope we were impregnable; but if instead of guarding against dangers which are not, we should provide against dangers which are, the remedy is in your hands—the franchises of the constitution. Your ancestors were nursed in that cradle, the ancestors of the petitioners were less fortunate, the posterity of both born to new and strange dangers, let them agree to renounce jealousies and proscriptions, in order to oppose what, without that agreement, will overpower both Half Europe is in battalion against us, and we are damning one another on account of mysteries, when we should form against the enemy, and march

Photo *Lafayette*

VISCOUNT GREY

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN

(SIR EDWARD GREY)

"INDUSTRY"

Sir David Dale memorial lecture delivered in Assembly Hall, Darlington, October 28, 1910. This was the inaugural lecture of a series on the relation of the employers and employed, to perpetuate the memory of Sir David Dale in the North of England

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

Sir David Dale has left a name which will be remembered and honoured to the end of life by all who were his contemporaries, who, though young to be his contemporaries, were old enough to know and appreciate his work. He was a great man of business, but his life was much more than that of a great man of business. He had a peculiar wideness of interest and understanding which made him not only a captain of industry, but a healer of troubles In 1898 I became a colleague of Sir David Dale, and what first struck me in committee work on that board was the way in which Sir David Dale addressed his mind to the business before him. He would concentrate his mind upon the particular point and its merits, isolating it, so to speak, and focusing his attention upon it by order and concentration, thus ensuring economy both of attention and time.

In the next place, Sir David Dale was eminently a man of compromise; not because compromise was easy, but because on occasions of strife and difficulty he thought it right Compromise—I use the word in the sense of the avoidance of extremes—is an essentially British characteristic It has made our Empire and our trade; it is hated equally by the Jingo and the extreme Socialist But the common-sense moderation of the British character has hitherto preferred compromise and rejected extremes. The enemies of compromise are dogmas—I do not mean religious tenets, but dogmas in the sense of theories. The British mind, though it may have been interested in theories and inclined towards them, has not usually been satisfied with them, and the history of theories in this country has not been very fortunate. Charles I lost his head because he was possessed by a theory of what was due to his position as a king and would not compromise We lost our American colonies because we were possessed by the theory of what was due to the mother country, or perhaps I should rather say, of what was not due to the Colonies, and would not compromise. The greatest and most daring minds originated great plans and tried to bend circumstances to them. They took great risks. Sometimes they succeeded, but often they failed. Small minds who attempted that always failed. In our history, I think, great things have been done rather by men who made the most of the occasion than by men who made great plans.

Great things have been done by insight rather than by foresight, by a faculty for deciding how much was possible and by attempting that and not something else. That, I think, is the positive of what we called judgment—the faculty of setting before oneself something which is possible as the object which one would attain The negative side of judgment is to avoid mistakes in attaining the object a man had set before him

Sir David Dale was no pessimist, because he was convinced that the British people were fundamentally reasonable He was sympathetic. He had a sympathy, not so much of emotion as of understanding. He liked to understand, and the surest way to get on with men was to make them feel sure that they were understood Men constantly realized in their own mind the expectations which were formed of them Sir David Dale tried to understand others, and that was one of the ways in which he was first so often a healer of troubles I do not think Sir David would have liked the life of a politician as compared with that of a man of business There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides Men of business have the great advantage of privacy They are not obliged to think in public, but, on the other hand, they have not the stimulus of having to perform in public, and there are men whose minds would be comparatively sterile were it not for the pressure of public life and the stimulus of publicity What the politician gives to the public—it is not his fault, it is the misfortune of his circumstances—is often necessarily immature He can choose neither his time nor his subject. His thought must often be incomplete and sometimes inchoate, and the form he gives to it must be crude and often ragged Sir David liked what he gave to the public, or what he gave to any one, to be mature in thought and finished in form He was by nature a worker and a thinker, and pressure of circumstances was not needed to make him one or the other. When I say he was a thinker, I would ask you to bear in mind that mental activity is not necessarily thinking

Some of the most tiresome people in the world are those whose minds are almost always active, but who do not think, they have no continuity of the mind Sir David Dale was a man who always thought with a purpose and cautiously. I should like very much to know what Sir David Dale would have thought with regard to the modern conditions of life It seems that the tendency of modern inventions is to give people less time to think, one has to do much more than before, because of modern inventions Owing to the motor-car the last election was incomparably the most strenuous I have ever taken part in It meant three meetings per night, whereas before the days of the motor-car it was not possible to have more than one. How that tendency of modern invention is to be counteracted we have yet to find out In spite of telegraphs, telephones, and motor-cars, how are we, to-day, to do our work without being out of breath, and how are we to secure leisure which is necessary for fertile thought? Sir David Dale would have thought that we must take increasing care in what we were attempting to do if we were to keep any order in our minds The tendency of modern life is to create disorder and confusion in our minds. The assimilation of the news in newspapers would be enough to destroy any mind, and

I think we must be increasingly careful to remain ignorant of much about which we might easily know something. Concentration is the essential force. Formerly many people began life by having to overcome the difficulty of finding something to do. In modern life the greatest difficulty is in attempting to do too much.

I will now pass to a subject which is so important in the industrial world that I cannot well pass it by on an occasion of this kind—that is, industrial problems, which are so critical at the present moment. We are confronted by an outbreak of strikes of an unprecedented widespread character. When I say that I do not mean in this country or district alone They are becoming world-wide. They are most frequent in those countries where industrial and social conditions are most advanced In dealing with large subjects of this kind I always remember that large questions do not admit of small and defined answers. I am not going to attempt to deal with this big subject in any sort of a complete fashion. What I want to do is not to try and answer the questions which arise in our minds so much as to stimulate thought about them

It is easy enough, or it may be easy enough, to examine the cause of each particular strike and to speak of its merits We hear that so many men have gone on strike for such and such a matter, and it is easy to say that in one case the men are hopelessly wrong and unreasonably so, and that in the other the employers or their officials have provoked the men and have been obstinate, but underlying this whole phenomenon there must be some general cause or tendency quite apart from particular cases, that operates on the thoughts and dispositions of the men, thus predisposing them to strike It is not easy to say what that underlying reason may be Men in the mass may be swayed by a train of thought of which each as an individual may be unconscious. Each man may be able to tell you that he has gone on strike and why he has done so, but what can he tell you of the cause which lies in the background? He can tell you, perhaps, that he has come out on strike because of some incident which appears to the outside world comparatively trivial, what he cannot tell you is why to-day he has come out because of the particular incident, whereas three, four, or ten years ago he would not have come out because of that incident. The reason why we cannot be told these things is probably because the people themselves do not know them or are only half conscious of them. But there cannot be widespread strikes and unrest without widespread discontent. That takes us no further —the discontent is a consequence and not a cause What is causing the discontent? Is it exceptional, abnormal, and increasing hardship which is causing discontent? Well, plenty of hardship there, no doubt, is in the world, but less hardship on the whole than fifty years ago, far less than one hundred years ago. I do not think that can be a satisfactory account of the cause, because the strikes are not strikes on the part of men driven to despair by unemployment and suffering, but by men in full employment at the moment, and the conditions under which work is carried on and the remuneration of labour, however much room there is still for improvement, have undeniably improved during the last fifty years, and will in all probability continue to improve.

I think the underlying cause is not that the conditions of labour are worse, that suffering is greater, but that the hopes and expectations of men are greater than they were. I would say rather that it is disappointment which has increased until it has raised the temperature of the industrial world, and that disappointment has increased not because hardships are more, but because expectations and hopes are greater. Let me attempt to analyze this a little further. The prosperity of this country, its total wealth, has been increasing and so has that of other countries—Germany and the United States and so forth—who have the same problems as we have and the same labour troubles. There are vast millions of wealth I am not sure that the connection between wealth and happiness is as close as is generally supposed. The countenances of the rich are not in my experience more happy or less worried than those of people that are not rich, but who are wage-earners; but as long as it is the case that everybody desires wealth and that nobody who possesses wealth is willing to part with it, inequality in this respect is bound to be some cause of comment. The wage-earning classes are sure increasingly to ask, as wealth grows and prosperity increases, are they getting their share? Well, I think that the desire for greater equality, or rather, I should say, a plea that greater equality ought somehow to be possible, has gained ground and has been followed by great expectations as to the pace at which the conditions of life should improve; and, if you come to think of it, I think you will see it is inevitable from the history of politics that that should be so During the last fifty years in the leading countries of the world the theory of political equality has been accepted for men and has been applied consciously or unconsciously. I think that was bound to create an expectation of greater economic equality and to stimulate a demand for it.

I think part of the restlessness and impatience which is unsettling the industrial world in all great industrial countries is due to great hopes and expectations on the part of the wage-earning classes, combined with consciousness of power, with dissatisfaction at the results hitherto obtained, and to determination to find more effective means of using that power This has led to a situation which is very disquieting. I am not concerned to-night to argue whether the hopes and expectations are beyond the limits of what can be obtained and are therefore excessive. This would lead me into a discussion of economic and political questions which would cover too much ground Rather would I urge that the important thing for the wage-earning classes is to choose methods of using their powers for realizing their hopes which, even if they fail to achieve all that is hoped for, will yet make sure of attaining something which is possible, which will not by wrecking and destruction make improvement impossible. Order and organization are essential to such methods. Without order there is chaos, and those who seek relief in chaos are in effect committing suicide in the hope of thereby obtaining something better. They are not facing the problems of life, they are running away from them. They are following the lead, not of courage, but of despair I can understand the choice of such a course by men who are driven by the misery of poverty, distress, and unemployment.

There must be order and organization not only in a trade union, but

also in a business. It is essential that the power of a union should be used so as not to disorganize the business. Without the prosperity of a business there can be no progress, and it is as essential to the prosperity of a business that the men, having made a bargain voluntarily, of their own free will and independence, with the employers, should carry out the bargain, as it is for the employers who conduct a great business to carry out their contracts with other firms. It is essential to progress that the methods by which it is sought should be sound, and that is the point on which I wish to lay stress. I do not mind whether the expectations are greater than can be realized or not, so long as the methods by which it is sought to realize them are sound methods. It is essential for masses of men who have power that they should not throw away that power by want of discipline. Without order, discipline, subordination, and trust in leaders a trade union, like a nation or like any mass of men, becomes a mob, and like every mob such a trade union has the power to wreck and destroy and not to build up or to conquer.

Now, disorderly methods are fatal to progress Nothing provokes men more than the belief that their point of view is not understood. So long as they think that no argument affects them and they are not open to reason Convince them they are understood and then they are ready to understand. This, I believe, is what happens when employers and employed meet round a table Material understanding of each other's difficulties leads to compromise and a reasonable settlement. The difficulty is to make the settlement seem reasonable to those in trade who have not been through the process of mutual discussion and understanding, to convince men that their delegates or shareholders have come out of a conference not weaker, but wiser than when they went in.

There, I believe, we come to one of the great difficulties of modern industrial life—the awful separation there is between the shareholder paying for his share and expecting his dividend and the workman employed by the limited liability company and upon whose work that dividend and profit must depend. How far it is possible to bridge over that gulf I cannot say, but I am sure it is both for the employers and employed to do all that they can in their respective organizations to make the touch of human nature felt between those who receive the dividends and those whose work is essential to the earning of the profits.

That is one reason why I believe that the best and most intelligent firms of employers have welcomed having to deal with trade unions, because by that means, through the representatives of the men, they get into touch with the whole body of men, understand their thoughts and difficulties, and so forth. But to maintain that, it is essential that the men themselves should stand by their unions and their organizations.

We talk of public spirit as if it only meant the sparing of some effort, the rich from their leisure and the poor from their work, to give some service to the State. It means that, but it also means doing our own ordinary work well, building up an industry, not only to get a livelihood, but also to enrich the State. The greatness and strength of this country depend upon the prosperity of our industries. Without that it cannot have the resources to be either great or strong. Every one who works in an industry is engaged in public services as well as earning his own

livelihood He must make and maintain a home, that being the first duty of citizenship.

Yet I know that altruistic motives are apt to be, like the tides, a great potential force which is always with us, but which it is difficult to apply to daily work, and the higher motives for industry tend to be obscured by the fact that an industry to be prosperous must have profits, and the division of profits amongst those who are engaged in an industry is the subject of frequent contention. Interesting experiments were tried in co-partnery by which an automatic arrangement should give an increasing share of all improvement in industry to the wage-earning classes It is easy to dilate on the difficulties of these things; they have great difficulties which can only be solved by those who are actively engaged in business. But I do feel that anything which would mean in a great industry that a reduction of the working expenses, upon which they look with so much suspicion, shall not only go to increase the profits, but, simultaneously with an increase of dividends, shall give or lead to increased wages, would be one of the greatest alleviations of the view of modern work under which it is brought about. But, as a matter of fact, the union of the wage-earning classes is now so strong that they do share in increased profits No doubt you see greatly increased wealth in the hands of individuals, but much of the profits that do not go to the wage-earners is used for increasing the business and providing more employment But the excessive wealth of a few individuals, who are constantly investing their money in new production which gives opportunities for more employment, is a small matter compared with the growing means of employment, the rise in wages, improved conditions of life from education in childhood, to pensions in old age, the cost of which is increasingly thrown upon direct taxation—that is, taxation which falls in the first instance on the rich and, so far as it is possible to limit the incidence of taxation, falls upon them alone One other thing I would throw out is that anything which can be done to give people a greater feeling of security—because people who are in employment may often feel that life is insecure if they are only assured of an employment temporarily and may be thrown out by sickness or misfortune—and make men feel they can have some insurance against the risks of life, that again would be an alleviation of industrial conditions.

There is no doubt that the present situation has many disquieting features The indomitable Plugson of Undershot, by which name Carlyle had to address the employers, has got his back against the wall He sees the conduct of his business threatened, which is a much more serious thing than the mere question of wages. Wage-earners are clamouring to put their hands in their pockets The industry which cannot live without the efforts of both is in danger. The usual methods of conciliation which have served so often, said Undershot, and so well in many cases, have broken down. No doubt that is a situation which is disquieting and may be dangerous. That is precisely what makes me hopeful. It is danger which brings common-sense and reasonableness to the top when they are present in men's natures at all, and I believe they still are present in undiminished degree in the majority of the British people. You will always have some prigs and pedants amongst employers,

some wild theorists among the wage-earners, and some pig-headed people among both. When things are serious these men go under or are pushed aside, being felt to be the obstacles to progress which they really are.

Whatever disturbances or catastrophes there may be in foreign politics, the greatest movements and developments of this century will be internal—industrial, economical, and social. The statesmanship of politicians will have to play its part in solving those problems soon, but it will be powerless unless there be also, amongst the leaders of employers and employed, qualities which are akin to statesmanship. Amongst employers Sir David Dale was a man who had these qualities. Men of his temperament, impartiality, and broad views, are now needed more than ever, and I am sure we shall not lack them in our need. Nor are these qualities lacking in the ranks of the employed and the wage-earners I will quote some words spoken recently by a man belonging to the wage-earning classes These are the words of Mr Thomas Burt "Whatever the method of improving humanity and of raising men to a higher position than they occupy to-day may be, and whenever and however the millennium may be reached, it is not to be reached by declaring in favour of class consciousness and class antagonism, hatred between one class and another. It will have to be brought about by other methods than these Authority, discipline, the maintenance of order—these are necessary and must be acted upon if we are to keep society together. The problem we have to solve is an educational and moral problem. No political constitution can enfranchise a people, no privileges can assist them, no possessions can enrich them, no rank or title can ennoble them unless they have solid manly character, wholesome honesty as the granite rock upon which they are built As with the poor man so it is with the rich man and his possessions Let us all, through self-help and mutual help, strive to build up a great industrial commonwealth in which we shall not only claim our rights, but perform our duties, a commonwealth in which the worker shall not be regarded as a mere beast of burden, in which he shall not be merely a hand, but a heart, a soul, an intellect" Those are the words of a man who had attained to those heights of thought, feeling, and knowledge where all class distinction disappears. It is essential that there should be amongst employers, as well as amongst employed, men who can reach those heights where alone they can rise above class prejudices and limitations of feeling and thought which class prejudice imposes It has hitherto been the salvation of this country in all times of trouble that it has found such men when it needed them, and that the great masses of our countrymen have been so reasonable—I would go further and say so wise—as to listen to those men and be led by them in time of difficulty In all classes such men are still to be found, and though there are some men, given prominent positions in the public life of the country, in whom those qualities of statesmanship, great thoughts, and noble feelings, are conspicuously lacking, there are others in whom they are just as conspicuous and who are to be found. It is essential to workers that they should be possessed of such men in all classes, and, possessing them, that they should seek for them, find them, honour them, trust them, and follow them.

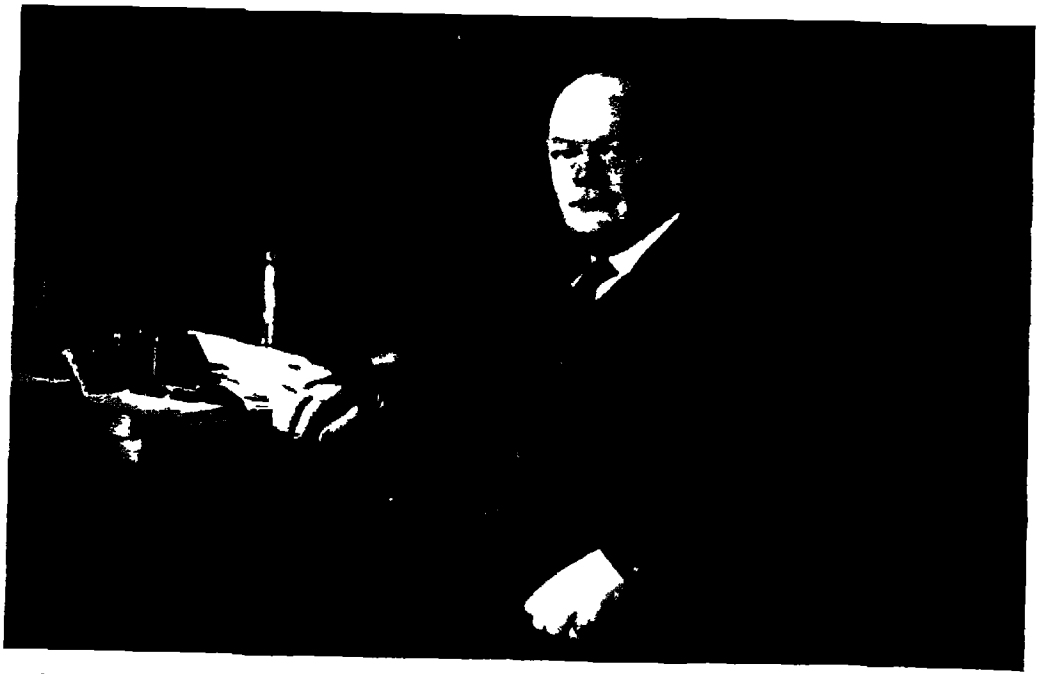

Photo THE RT HON LORD HAILSHAM *Lafayette*

Facing page 251

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT HAILSHAM, P.C.

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE

Address at the Luncheon Meeting of The Canadian Bar Association, Palliser Hotel, Calgary, Alberta, Wednesday, August 31, 1932

YOUR HONOUR, MR ROWELL, MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, May I begin by discharging myself of a public mission. On behalf of the legal profession of England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, I have to convey to you, Mr. St. Laurent, and to your colleagues of the Canadian Bar, the most cordial greetings to our brethren in Canada, and our British warm wishes for the success of the Conference on which you are now engaged in Calgary I should like, if I may, to add to that message an expression of my own appreciation of the privilege which has been allotted to me in being its bearer to you this afternoon It has been, as you, Mr Rowell, reminded us, a hospitable custom of the Canadian Bar Association for many years past to invite the English Bench and Bar to send a representative to your Annual Meeting A custom which, to my mind, has been of great benefit, both to Great Britain and, I hope, to Canada We who are privileged to come as delegates from the Old Country have an opportunity of meeting Canadian Counsel in the more intimate association, shall I say, of the Ranchmen's Club rather than in the more formal surroundings of the Board Room at 11, Downing Street, and to get to know you more intimately and better than we ever could by listening to your arguments at home, and I hope and I believe that the addresses which have been given by those who were privileged to come have been able to extend the British conception of the various provinces of law with which they dealt more fully and more accurately than they ever could have been learned by studying case books or by reading legal periodicals The fact of our appreciation of these annual visits is, perhaps, best shown by the calibre of the men whom, in the past, we have been able to send Since the war I find that the men who have represented England at these meetings comprise four who have been ex-Lord Chancellors of England, five of whom have held the office of Attorney-General, one who has been Law Advocate of Scotland, one a Lord Chief Justice of England and one a Master of the Rolls.

For some years past it has been my ambition to be allowed to act as that delegate. Years ago my old friend, Sir James Aikens, in a sense the father of the Canadian Bar Association, invited me over. Later on, no less a person than the Honorary Life President of the Canadian Bar Association invited me to come over. Twice at least I have very nearly been able to come Once four years ago it so happened that at the last moment I was called upon to act as temporary Prime Minister

at home, and, therefore, I could not get permission to go beyond the Four Seas. Last year I had anxiously canvassed whether I could possibly come as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, I felt that the political complications and the political situations were too difficult to render it right for me to be absent from home. When I remind you that this week is just twelve months since the National Government was formed, I think you will agree with me that my reason was a well-grounded one. Now at last the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa has given me the chance for which I had been looking so long, but that fact, with all its advantages, has brought in its train one grave disadvantage Year by year those who came to your gathering have produced before you some treatise on some grave topic of legal interest to Canada and to England I could never have hoped to emulate the eloquence of Lord Buckmaster or the wit of Lord Darling. I could not ever have brought to you the power and force of Lord Birkenhead or the erudition of Lord Macmillan or the polish of Lord Hearst But if I had come in some earlier year I would at least have tried to follow their example and to give you a discourse on some subjects of legal interest in which I might, perhaps, to quote your President's observations this morning, "have had a more first-hand knowledge than is afforded to some of you" in Canada This year that is impossible To a lawyer it is abhorrent to have to break away from precedent, but I have to do it this afternoon]

When I received from you, Mr Rowell, and from your indefatigable secretary, Mr. Coleman, the invitation to come to attend the Calgary meeting of the Canadian Bar, I was feign to confess that the pre-occupations of a Cabinet Minister and the departmental duties of a Secretary of State for War, all the problems of Geneva and Lausanne, of Ireland and of India, that all the thronging world questions with which we have to deal rendered it impossible for me to devote myself to the preparation of a treatise such as I have described If I have not forsaken the law, I have for a moment at least strayed from its straight and narrow path, and I have to add that the only subject which was filling my mind and heart during the weeks which elapsed after my acceptance of the invitation for my attendance here this afternoon, the only subject on which I could speak with any real conviction, was the subject of the work which we all try to share in accomplishing at the Ottawa Economic Conference last month, and so it is that I have to ask for your indulgence if I break new ground and, if instead of speaking as a lawyer about legal matters, I venture to speak to you this afternoon on the subject of what we did at Ottawa

It is, after all, a matter which is of common interest to Canada and Great Britain, and which I at least believe is a matter which is going profoundly to affect the lives of every citizen of your country as well as of mine, and if I speak of what we did at Ottawa, I have first of all to recall to you in a few sentences the circumstances under which we came to meet at Ottawa, and the history of the events which led up to it

It is a far cry from to-day to the birth of the first Dominion by the British North America Act of 1867, and the Confederation originally of

four Provinces of Canada at that time. After that year the ideas of Dominion status which were present to the minds of the founders had been radically changed long before the century had expired. It is, I think, one of the proudest boasts of our British Commonwealth that we are able to mould and adapt our institutions to the changing requirements of succeeding ages. It is, perhaps, easier with an unwritten constitution as we have it at home than it is with a written constitution such as the British North America Act confers, but none the less it is true that the conception of Dominion status when the war broke out was something profoundly different from what was embodied in the Acts of Parliament which had been passed at or about the time when the Dominion of Canada saw its birth Then came the War and after the War that full international recognition that the Dominions had attained, full status of nationhood, and they were admitted as independent members of the League of Nations, and perhaps to some of us it might have seemed that we could have gone on in the same way, satisfied with the tacit understanding which had so long existed between the Dominions and the mother country There remained on the Statute Book laws which seemed to indicate an inferiority of status, which seemed to describe a state of affairs which have long since become obsolete, and it was not unnatural that some of the younger Dominions, less experienced than Canada in the ways and growth of the British Commonwealth, should have looked with suspicion on the maintenance and retention of these Statutes as indicating a status of subordination, and inferiority And so it came about that for the next two Imperial Conferences in 1923 and 1926 our time was very largely occupied with the discussions of matters of constitutional status These discussions culminated in the famous declaration framed by Lord Balfour in 1926 That was followed in turn by a meeting of the committee of lawyers on the operation of Dominion legislation in 1929, and at the Imperial Conference of 1930 the report of that committee was accepted and embodied in the Statute of Westminster which all the parties to the Conference agreed was to be passed before the close of 1931. By that Statute as you will remember not only was any question of inferiority, of subordination, eliminated not only was every trace of Statute which seemed to imply such a subordination swept away, but every legal tie which bound the several parts of the Empire together was expressly repealed and abolished, save only our common allegiance to the Crown, and even that tie is enshrined only in the preamble to the Act, and not in any of its enacting provisions

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a living organism, and living organisms never stand still. They develop in one direction or another, and there were many of us who thought that, when the Statute of Westminster was agreed to in 1930, matters could not stand still with the British Commonwealth. If in truth nothing was left to hold us together except our allegiance to the same king, occasions would arise of difference of opinion and of strife in which even that link might easily be snapped. We might find ourselves, since we were no longer coming closer together, drifting further apart The whole tendency of world commerce and industry was in the direction of bigger economic units

We saw it in the isolationist policy of our neighbours in the United States. We saw it in Monsieur Briand's proposal for a United States of Europe; in the Geneva proposal for a Danubian Confederation; in the arrangement between Holland and Belgium for closer economic intercourse, in the suggestion of a customs treaty between Germany and Austria To us, it seems that in the British Empire you had the possibility and economic system as great as any of those to which I have referred It seemed to us that in the scattered parts of the British Empire there were the opportunities of Inter-Imperial trade. There were the opportunities of one part of the Empire acting as a complement and a supplement to the other that the very fact of our geographical separation, our far-flung Dominions spread over the whole face of the globe, stretching from hemisphere to hemisphere, the whole facts of our differences of climate, and of economic organization, lent themselves to an economic union between those parts and the very seas which divided us from the best means of communication which ought to link us all together.

We saw in fact of the economic union the one chance of creating fresh links of material interests which would reinforce the sentimental tie of allegiance, and which would make of the British Empire a more solid unit than anything which it had known before. But if that opportunity were not taken, if that economic system were not created, it seemed to many of us that the different parts of the British Empire could not permanently stand by themselves, that they would inevitably drift into the economic orbit of the great systems to which they were severally contiguous, and if we did not come together as one whole we should divide into an infinite number of parts To some of us that seems a catastrophe We believed that the destiny of the British Empire has not yet been consummated We believed that the opportunities for service to civilization which the British Empire had already used had not been exhausted We believed that its disappearance into one of the great empires of history which are nothing more but history, would be a disaster to civilization and a calamity to every one of our several parts

Gentlemen, that was the position in 1930, and there was one man who, even before the adoption of the report which enshrined the Statute of Westminster, attempted to put into practice and to carry into effect that economic unity and that Imperial ideal That man was the immediate past president of the Canadian Bar Association and who happened also to be Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. Gentlemen, Mr. Bennett's plan was accepted by every one of the Dominions in 1930, but it happened that the Government in the United Kingdom felt itself constrained by its political affiliations, and by its traditions to refuse to accept the proposals which Mr. Bennett put forward. I think a great many men would have rested satisfied with that refusal, would have felt that they had done their best to save the Empire from disintegration, and would have felt that in future their principal, and perhaps their only duty, was to do the best they could for Canada on the assumption that the United Kingdom did not want to accept the proposals which Mr. Bennett had put forward, but as it was said this morning by Mr. Rowell,

your Prime Minister is a man who does not easily take "no" for an answer. He refused to accept that rejection as final. He proposed that on its economic side the Conference should be adjourned to 1932, and that the adjourned meeting should take place in the capital of your own Dominion, as guests of the Government of which he was the head. I think it deserves to be recorded, whatever we achieved in Ottawa, whatever future generations may say is owed to our meeting there, it is due to the courage, to the vision, to the imperialism of one man, that the meeting at Ottawa was made possible, and that the disintegration of the Empire, which so many of us feared, did not begin in London in October, 1930.

Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot speak for Mr. Bennett On proper occasions he is quite able to speak for himself, but I venture to think that probably when he moved that adjournment he had it in mind that the rejection by the British Government of the proposals for economic, for closer economic unity, did not really represent the mind of the British people, and that if time were given it might well happen that an opportunity would be afforded to the people as a whole to pronounce their verdict as to whether the decision which had been given in their name really represented their point of view as to whether they were as short sighted, as parochial, as lacking in Imperial sense, as that refusal may have indicated You know how abundantly that hope, if it existed, was fulfilled I do not suppose that even Mr Bennett contemplated in October, 1930, that in October, 1931, there would have been the general election of that year in the United Kingdom, that you would have seen created a National Government able to speak for the people of the United Kingdom as no Government in time of peace has ever been able to speak for them before, able to say that it represented every shade of political opinion, every party in the state, and that it was supported by a majority as overwhelming as I suppose has ever been known in the history of British democracy, and yet that is what has happened, and so it is when we came to Ottawa in July, 1932, the delegation which represented the United Kingdom came with a mandate from the National Government representing the whole nation to say that those proposals which the Government of 1930 had felt itself unable to accept, should be not only accepted, but should be developed to a higher degree than Mr. Bennett would have ventured to suggest when he put them forward in 1930 And there is another thing which had happened by July, 1932. When in October, 1930, the meeting took place at London, there was economic depression passing over the world, but I suppose that none of us then foresaw how prolonged that depression was going to be, how much it was going to deepen before the meeting in July, 1932, so that when, alas, we did meet, we met at a time when prices of primary products had sunk to such a level that no producer could continue in business. We met at a time when we saw before our eyes the trade of the world drying up, whole populations thrown out of work and we saw the very foundations of the whole structure of our economic and industrial life crumbling before our eyes; when once more as happened a century ago, that Europe turned to England for an example, that civilization as a whole, which had been saved by the British Empire in the Great

War, was looking to that Empire for a lead, and for an example to save us in time of peace It was in those circumstances that the meeting took place six weeks ago, and I think most of us when we came to that meeting, although we realized that there were going to be difficulties, thought that our task was a far simpler one than it ultimately proved to be. To some of us at least it seemed such a simple problem in its broadest outlines. Here on the one side were the Dominions in the aggregate, the greatest producers of primary products in the world. On the other, consumers to the extent of millions of pounds (£) of foreign manufacturers every year. Here on the other side was the United Kingdom, hopelessly over-industrialized, depending for the very physical existence of her people on finding markets for her industrial products, and offering on the other side the greatest market in the world for those primary products which the Dominions were able to furnish. It looked so simple. So to arrange that the products of the Dominions should come to British markets and that the foreign manufacturers which the Dominions needed should be found by British factories It was only when we came closely to grips with the problem that we found how grave the difficulties were. Let me, if I may for just a few minutes, indicate what some of them at least were In the first place the Dominions, though they produced these primary products in large quantities, did not in most cases produce enough to satisfy the United Kingdom's demand. It was very difficult to devise means which would give to the Dominions the preference which they required without imposing upon the British consumer an undue burden, especially in the cost of those necessities of life which the poorest of our people cannot afford to pay more to receive Then again these foreign manufacturers which the Dominions consumed, many of them were of a class similar to that which the Dominions themselves produced, and the Dominions manufacturers were afraid lest the free entry of British products would swamp their markets and drive them out of business Even in those manufactures which are not produced in the Dominions themselves, the handicap of geographical propensity, the similarity of taste and fashion, the opportunity for mass production, afforded such an overwhelming advantage to the foreigner that it was impossible to overcome it except by imposing an impossible burden upon the Dominion consumer.

Then again there was the difficulty of the competition of the different Dominions among themselves There was the difficulty that in many primary products we had hopeless over-production, glutted markets, a situation which seemed to be crying out for some organized restriction of supplies, and yet how were you to organize such a restriction without arousing the innate fear of an Island people against any restriction of their source of supply, and without at the same time arousing an equally deep-rooted dislike of a young Dominion against any reduction of its powers of production. Then again the United Kingdom and the Dominions alike had to look for some of their markets outside the British Empire More than half of our industrial products at home are consumed by foreign countries. The Dominions have to find a market for vast quantities of such products as wool and wheat and many other things which they have to sell. Neither of us could afford to lose those

foreign markets, and yet we might easily find them closed against us if we did anything which the foreigner might regard as unfair or unfriendly. These and many other difficulties alike to them were sufficient, I think, to tax the brains of the ablest of statesmen. They were almost enough to discourage the heart of the stoutest Imperialist. We faced those difficulties. I believe that we have in a large measure at least overcome them, but if we did overcome them, we did it only because we were able to find not in any one delegation but in all delegations the spirit of tolerance and goodwill, of infinite patience, of generous willingness to appreciate the other man's point of view, of close co-operation in the task of attaining an Imperial idea which enabled every one of us to approach the problems which we had to solve with the knowledge that those with whom we were in conclave were not our opponents but our friends I should like, if I may, to say a word or two about our own United Kingdom delegation, because you will not think it egotistical of me to say that in some ways we had the heaviest burden to bear. Every Dominion wished to make agreements with us We, therefore, had eight times as many agreements to make as most of the other Dominions We had with each of them problems to consider which reacted one on the other, and we had at once to appreciate the point of view of our own people at home, and to see that anything we did with one Dominion did not infringe the bargains which we were making with another I have said that we represented a National Government We were men drawn from every political party and representing every political viewpoint, but, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to say at once that that fact, so far from being, as some people have suggested, a source of weakness, was perhaps our principal source of strength. From beginning to end there was never any sort of rift between any of us, or any divergence in our common end We had first of all Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the son of his father by hereditary right the champion of the system of Imperial preference, by virtue of his office the Chancellor of the Exchequer, charged with those financial and monetary problems which bulk so large in any commercial discussions to-day. We had Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, by his office charged with the duties of watching over our trade relations with foreign countries, and by his own experience and training as one of the great ship-owners of the world, peculiarly qualified to deal with questions of commerce and trade We had Sir John Gilmour, Minister for Agriculture, the champion of the farming and agricultural interests, whose vital interests were so intimately interwoven with those of the producer in the Dominions, and with those products with which our negotiations were so largely occupied We had Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister, himself an ex-president of the Board of Trade, Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose duty it was to see that the Colonies took their fair share in giving and receiving the benefits of any preference We had Mr. Thomas, the head of the department immediately affected, Secretary of State for the Dominions, himself a member of the Labour Government of 1929, himself, therefore, the representative of that Labour element in our National Government with which our Prime Minister is so intimately associated, and peculiarly allied to the problems of the cost of living

of our industrial classes, and of the necessity of safeguarding their interest in any arrangements which we might make, and we had finally Mr. Stanley Baldwin, an ex-Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, our leader, our spokesman on all formal occasions, whose duty it was to express our views, and at the same time as our leader to keep the team together. To indicate to some extent the closeness of the liaison in which we were working, the intimate association which we maintained, I would like to tell you that in the four weeks of that Conference, our own delegation had sixty-six meetings of us seven, that is outside altogether of the meetings of the Committees and sub-Committees, and plenary sessions of the Conference, outside altogether of the negotiations with all the other delegations, singly or grouped together, sixty-six meetings of us seven in order that we might keep in touch with one another and help one another to deal with the problems as they arose

Behind our own delegation there stood our Civil Servants Their industry, their knowledge, their months of preparation, were absolutely necessary to us if we were to meet and solve the problems with which we were confronted, and the work that they did, I think, justified the boast, which we are always proud to make, that Britain has the best, the most impartial, the most loyal-hearted Civil Service in the whole world. The Civil Service always remains anonymous, but there is one man who happens to have been singled out by name for attack, Sir Horace Wilson, and I should like therefore to say of Sir Horace Wilson, what he will never say for himself, that no man deserves more credit for the success of the Conference than Sir Horace Wilson No man worked more energetically or more enthusiastically or more impartially to achieve success for that Conference than Sir Horace Wilson, who was the leader of the Civil Servants and without whom I do not believe we could have ever reached agreement

Finally we had those industrial advisers representing no one sectional interest but chosen by great representative bodies to put forward the point of view of agriculture, of labour, of industry and of manufacturing, who were there to give us their own advice, but also were there to act as protectors against that great army of unofficial, would-be advisers, which thronged the lobbies of the Château Laurier, and whose interests were not always, ladies and gentlemen, the same as the interests of the Conference While I have spoken of our own delegation, let me say again, that no one delegation could have achieved success at Ottawa. No one delegation deserves credit for the success which was achieved. It was only by the whole-hearted co-operation of all by the consciousness of all that the vital interests of each was the prosperity of the Empire and that, while each of us was bound to put forward the needs and desires of our own people, while each one of us has to see that no agreement ignored or prejudiced those interests, we none of us lost sight of the fact that the the most vital interest of each part of the Empire was the prosperity of the whole

Now, what was it then that we did at Ottawa? First of all we reached *certain conclusions of fact on which to build our constructive work.* We were all agreed that permanent Empire prosperity cannot be achieved

while world economic conditions remain unaltered. We were all agreed that the two immediate causes of world economic depression were, first of all, artificial restriction of international trade by tariffs, by quotas, by exchange restrictions, by Customs regulations, by all the vain endeavours of almost every country in the world to prevent itself receiving any imports while it maintained an absolutely free entry for all its exports

The second cause was the unduly low price of the primary products which was destroying the purchasing power of the producer, and which was driving large masses of the population of all countries into bankruptcy and into unemployment, and into destitution

Thirdly, we were all agreed that while permanent Empire prosperity cannot be achieved while world economic depression continues, yet the reorganization of Imperial Trade on sound lines might very well be an example and a starting-point for the recovery of the world as a whole. Starting on those premises we embarked on the constructive side of our work, and the first principle which I think can be found in the agreements which we were able to negotiate is the principle that in order to recreate the links of Empire and to develop the trade relations between its several peoples, the principle of Imperial preference should be accepted by each constituent part

Imperial preference is no new thing Before ever free trade was embarked upon by the United Kingdom preference was an accepted principle of our colonial trade After free trade, one great Canadian statesman, Sir Wilfred Laurier, introduced the principle of Imperial preference into the Canadian tariff That example was followed by one Dominion after the other, and ultimately by the United Kingdom itself, but those preferences were unilateral, could be withdrawn at a moment's notice, were unscientific, formed no necessary part of the economic policy of the Empire as a whole, and the first great achievement of Ottawa, as I see it, was the enshrinement of the principle of Imperial preference as a basis of the economic policy of every part of the British Empire Let me add that that policy is pro-British, but is not anti-foreign. It would tend, it is true, to restore prosperity to the Empire, but in doing so it would accelerate and not retard the recovery of the world

Then in the second great principle which I find enshrined in the Ottawa agreements is that in carrying out the principle of Imperial preference artificial barriers should, as far as possible, be swept away and tariff preferences should, as far as possible, be given by reducing tariffs on Empire products rather than raising tariffs on foreign products. You find expressly set out in the clauses of our agreements provision for certainty as to the operation of tariffs for the reduction of delay and friction to a minimum, for the provision of machinery, for the prompt and impartial settlement of disputes, and speaking to an assembly like this, I need not remind those of you who are acquainted with business that there is nothing which is more abhorrent to the business man, nothing which is more better calculated to check and hamper trade, than uncertainty in business matters. By sweeping away uncertainty, by sweeping away all those difficulties which have grown up almost

insensibly, almost unconsciously, necessarily as a result of the makeshift provisions which emergencies call upon us to create, the sweeping away of the uncertainty was in itself a tremendous step forward in the direction of better trade relations between our countries, and remember too by creating a preference, by lowering of British tariffs, by lowering of Imperial tariffs, rather than by raising foreign tariffs, we were setting an example to the world how best to set its own house in order, and how best to start again the wheels of industry revolving at home and abroad

Thirdly, in applying the principle of protection, only those industries should be protected which are reasonably assured of sound opportunities for success In our judgment any other policy is extravagant to the State, and burdensome to the consumer, and we have set out expressly in our agreements that that principle underlies the whole protective policy of each one of us

Fourthly, in applying the principle of protection, the underlying principle should be, as far as possible, to put Empire producers on an equality with domestic producers, that is to say, in the case of established industries protection should be no more than necessary to countervail the extra cost of efficient production to the domestic producer I think it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the statement of that principle It is a real recognition of the economic unity of the Empire

I do not believe, ladies and gentlemen, in what is sometimes spoken of as "Imperial Free Trade," I do believe that by the principle which I have just stated we are providing a certainty of fair play to the producer, and the avoidance of exploitation of the consumer in a way which will redound increasingly as time goes on to the greater prosperity of us all

Fifthly, in the United Kingdom, and this applies I think only to the United Kingdom, in the United Kingdom, the principle should as far as possible be extended to the grant of free entry to Dominion products against all protective tariffs I do not know whether you all appreciate how great a concession that really is We gave it freely and voluntarily when we embarked upon our policy of protection in February last, but it does mean that in so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, we are giving no protection to our manufacturers and to our producers against the Dominion produce We are letting him into the market on the same terms as our own home people are able to enjoy it

Next, in the Dominions a tariff tribunal shall determine what is necessary to afford protection in accordance with these principles, and the Government undertakes to take the necessary steps to give effect to its findings of fact. I think a lawyer above all ought to be able to appreciate the importance of insuring that there shall be an impartial investigation and a decision on facts, and I think the politician ought to be able to appreciate the importance of taking the tariffs as far as possible out of politics It may be said that these provisions leave out the whole efficiency of our principles to the mercy of a tribunal, and that is true. It is no good having good laws unless you have an efficient and reliable tribunal to administer them, but ladies and gentlemen,

I believe it to be true that one of the greatest assets of the British Commonwealth of Nations is the impartiality and high standing of its tribunals, and I believe that there is nothing which has helped more to establish the reputation of British justice and British freedom throughout the world than the confidence which every man feels in the fairness of the tribunals and the fairness of the decisions which they render, and I can imagine nothing which is better calculated to ensure the success of the principles which I have enunciated than the knowledge that a Canadian tribunal is impartially to investigate the facts, and a Canadian Government is going to give effect to the findings of the facts.

The last of my principles is one which perhaps does not affect Canada quite as immediately as some of the others, but at the same time it is a very important one The last principle I find in the agreements is this, it will be the deliberate purpose of Imperial tariff policy to restore the prices of primary products to an economic level This can be done most effectively in those products for which the Empire is the only or the principal market, and in order to effect this purpose a beginning should be made by organized restriction of supply of those meat products in which the depression is most marked and for which the United Kingdom is the principal market That, I do not disguise from you, was one of the most difficult principles to work out, but I think it is one which is fraught with very far-reaching consequences for the Empire as a whole Although I have said that it is not immediately operative in the case of Canada, even in the case of Canada it will not be long, for instance, that in the case of bacon you may see the development of a great industry rendered possible by the bringing into practice of this principle

Ladies and gentlemen, I have stated the principles which I have found in the agreements, which we have entered into, but there is one other factor which it is necessary to recall before I pass from these principles It is no good making arrangements for preferential tariffs, for preferential markets, or for any of the advantages which we design in order to foster Imperial trade, if we leave ourselves at the mercy of foreign competition to destroy those advantages We are able and willing to face any fair trade competition, but we are not willing to permit any foreign state to interfere in the policy which the Empire has chosen as its own and to attempt to destroy by state action those preferences which we have determined to set up, and accordingly you find embodied in the agreements an undertaking, not by the United Kingdom only, but equally by the Dominion of Canada, that wherever unfair state competition is calculated to injure or destroy these trade preferences which we have set up and the policy which they are intended to carry out, then the country in which that state competition begins to operate will take steps effectively to stop it by putting an embargo on the product which come in for that purpose.

What then? What then, is to be the verdict of Ottawa? It may be said that the whole agreements rest upon good faith and the loyalty of the Governments which have entered into them. I admit it, but if you do not believe in the good faith and loyalty of your partners in

the Empire, the sooner you stop being partners the better. It may be said that however much we trust existing Governments, there may be a change of Government, there may be a change of Parliament, and a Government of the future may refuse to carry out the bargains of its predecessor, or a Parliament of the future may repeal the enactments which the Parliament of to-day has carried. That is true. It is true also of every treaty that has ever been made by any country, and it is our experience, in the British family of nations at any rate, with regard to all those with whom we negotiate, that we can trust the people of any of our Dominions to implement the bargains which their authorized representatives have made. And I would add this, that in regard to this particular series of agreements, I believe that as their advantages are appreciated, as the democracies are educated up to the policy, these principles will become so engrained in the political sense of our peoples, that no parties will be so foolish as to attempt to reverse them, and that no Parliament would ever dream of trying to repeal them.

In estimating the success at Ottawa, do not try to do it by weighing up one against the other the advantages or the sacrifices which any one country has got to make or to receive Do not try and see whether Canada has managed to get the better of the United Kingdom or whether the United Kingdom has scored at the expense of Canada It is not on that principle that any one of us was negotiating, and you cannot judge Ottawa by percentages or by schedules, but we had at Ottawa, each of us, to explain the standpoint of our own people, each of us to put forward the needs and demands of our own people, but none of us at Ottawa ever lost sight of the vital principle that the greatest interest of each of us was the prosperity of the whole

The question you have to answer in passing your verdict is not what is the gain of the debit or credit for each individual partner in this bargain; the question you have to answer is, does this bargain inure to the prosperity of the British Empire as a whole And remember that in answering that question that anything which tends to increase the prosperity of the producers in any one country of necessity increases the purchasing power of that country, and that if, as we hope and intend, the result of Ottawa is to turn the trade, each of our trades, towards other parts of the Empire, it follows that the increased purchasing power of any one country of necessity means increased prosperity and increased demands for the products of the others In other words, that each of us, by helping each other, is taking the surest means of helping ourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not pretend that there will be no friction and no difficulty in administering these agreements When you have a series of proud democracies set in different geographical and climatic surroundings, with different social and economic outlooks, with different political standpoints, there are bound to be occasions when one misunderstands the other, when one thinks that the other is niggardly in refusing a concession or is slow to yield an advantage which would cost it very little. Mistakes we shall make Misunderstandings shall arise. Difficulties and differences will come up, but mistakes can be remedied, misunderstandings can be cleared up, difficulties can be overcome, differ-

ences can be adjusted, if only each part of this great partnership holds firmly to the principles which we have laid down, and never loses sight of our common Imperial ideal

I hope and believe that, although it may be said that Ottawa is only a beginning, although it may be said that we have only laid the foundations, yet the Empire builders of the future will be able to fashion on the foundations which we have laid, a British Commonwealth of Nations, greater than any the world has yet seen I believe that they will be able to use the principles which have guided us to achieve a prosperity and a happiness for all our peoples which has never been dreamed of in the history of the world up to now. It will take time It may take longer than many of us will live to see, but I at least shall be satisfied if I can believe that prosperity, when it looks back to Ottawa, will be able to say of those who took part in these gatherings that whatever their shortcomings, whatever their mistakes, whatever their lack of vision, or loss of opportunity, they built, they laid the foundations on sound lines, and that in what we did we builded better than we knew.

Photo *Sport & General*

LORD HEWART

THE RT. HON. LORD HEWART

MODERN ORATORY

Presidential Address of the Lord Chief Justice to the English Association at Bedford College

Oratory has been said, tentatively, to be "speech regarded as an art" "If the thing be well considered," says Francis Bacon, in the *Advancement of Learning*, "the office and use of this art is but to apply and recommend the dictates of reason to the imagination in order to excite the affections and will" The description merits examination. The affections are to be excited in order that the audience may be attracted to the cause, or the course of conduct, which is being advocated The will is to be roused in order that it may lead to action. And the imagination is to be provoked into championing something which is represented as reasonable Moreover, all these effects are to be produced by the use of speech These signals, therefore (that is, words), are to be much more than mere transmitters They must, at any rate, have a beauty of their own

Now, the Greeks and the Romans, with whose oratory it is natural and necessary to contrast modern oratory, were profoundly conscious of this fact To say that, in their view, oratory was a fine art is to understate the matter It was, they thought, a fine art worthy of the closest attention of the best intellects Nobody who reflects for a moment upon the volume of ancient treatises on technical rhetoric, the public and elaborate discussion, for example, of competing styles, the detailed examination of the art of expression and the art of handling subject-matter, the classification of orators as "inventors" or "perfecters," or all the vast and varied apparatus of teaching and training in oratory that lay ready to the hand of the young citizen of the ancient city-state can fail to observe what a remarkable change in these respects has taken place It is not without significance, perhaps, that the English word "orator" is commonly used in a facetious or ironical sense. No such associations appear to have affected the corresponding term in Greek or Latin. A "pleader" or a "speaker" was a person who, with varying degrees of merit up to the highest, was for some reason or other engaged in the practice of a fine art—an art deliberately cultivated with the care, and in the spirit, excited and merited by poetry, by painting, or by sculpture

The scrupulous nicety of diction and of composition indicates a degree of care which proves not less forcibly than the repetition or even the borrowing of finished and polished passages that the mind and attitude of the speaker are the mind and attitude of the artist. The same

moral is pointed by the organized and assiduous training of the ancient orator not less in the art of composition than in the art of delivery, while the audiences, for their part, tested with a fastidious ear the form as well as the matter of the speech. When Isocrates writes of "the antitheses, the symmetrical clauses and other figures which lend brilliancy to oratorical displays, compelling the listeners to give clamorous applause," he is not of course imputing to the mass of the audience the complete equipment of a trained critic of rhetoric. But is it not with speeches as with music—the hearers know what they like, and the critic knows why they like it? For a similar reason, and in the absence of the printing press, the ancient pamphlet or manifesto took the form, not of a letter nor of an essay, but of a speech supposed, like the Second Philippic, for example, to have been delivered in circumstances which did not in fact occur An uncharitable observer might perhaps say that not the least of the merits of many ancient, as contrasted with modern speeches, was the fact that they were never delivered. The point is, however, that the form which was chosen was the form of a speech, and that that choice did not provoke ridicule.

And it is quite common for ancient critics to suggest a comparison between the pains that go to make a statue and the pains that go to make a speech They are, indeed, fully conscious of the bad side of "set speaking." Just as Euripides finds expression for the wish that facts could speak for themselves, "that clever speeches might be of no avail," so, for example, in the second book of the *Republic* it is in an unpleasant context that Plato puts into the mouth of Adeimantus the remark that "there are professors of rhetoric who teach the art of persuading courts and assemblies" In that passage, at any rate, the art is treated as something which may help a man to make unlawful gains and not be punished, and, in the same vein, Plato speaks of oratory as 'the art of making the worse reason appear the better'. But he is equally well aware that it may be the art of making the better reason appear what it really is, and when he seeks to exhibit and describe the finished smoothness of a masterpiece of oratory it is in the chisel of the sculptor that he finds his metaphor The lesson is everywhere enforced that the man who seeks to become a speaker must discipline himself from day to day, and discipline himself not least by writing.

Through the combined operation of many causes, the deliberate teaching or avowed cultivation of the art of set speaking seems to be as repugnant to the modern as it was natural to the ancient world. Ancient criticisms, of course, from the grave remonstrances of Socrates to the contemptuous diminutives of Catullus, detected in oratory, as in cookery, a certain taint of insincerity. But it remained for the modern world to add an entirely novel ingredient of insincerity—in what has been called the habitual presumption that every speech is extemporary or, as Hume terms it, the "great affectation of extemporary discourses." A good deal of nonsense is, in fact, written, and possibly believed, even, by the writers, upon the effortless spontaneity of modern oratory. But it is one thing to say that a man is required to be spontaneous even though he lies awake all night to be so. It is another thing seriously to suppose that, if he successfully takes pains to conceal the pains which

he has taken, he has not really taken any pains at all. It is obvious, on the contrary, that he has taken at least no more pain. Yet to-day the labour of preparation must be concealed, or even denied, and the illusion of the extempore must, if possible, be maintained.

It seems to follow that, except in private, and by a few practitioners, set speaking is no longer regarded as an art. But neither is it regarded as a conjuring trick On the contrary, it is precisely the distrust of art and artifice which, together with one other predisposition, seems to offer the chief explanation of the modern temper That other predisposition is the passion for relevancy It was for Aristotle a real regret that too little attention was paid to logical proof, which seemed to him to be the very body of rhetorical persuasion, while all the rest was mere appendage. But is not Jebb manifestly right when he says that "logical vigilance, with a comparative indifference to form, is, on the whole, the first great characteristic of modern oratory," and, again, when he says that "the broadest characteristic of modern oratory, as compared with ancient, is the predominance of a sustained appeal to the understanding"? In other words, both modern theory and modern practice are in harmony with the opinion of Aristotle Greek oratory, it is true, was far more relevant than the oratory of Rome Of some of Cicero's speeches it is fair to say that, exquisitely composed as they are, less than one-sixth of their contents is really relevant.

To-day what Judge and jury have done for forensic oratory, the thrust and parry of debate seem to have achieved for Parliament, while the healthy impatience of the public has rendered a like service to the platform and the pulpit Indeed, it may be thought, the contrast between ancient and modern oratory is too often drawn with something less than fairness to the moderns It is easy to exhibit a striking difference between the first-rate and the third-rate. A man does not need to be an expert in the art of rowing in order to perceive that the boat which is head of the river is in many respects superior to a boat which is near the bottom of the third division. Nor is there much point in comparing Demosthenes and Cicero at their best with an indifferent contemporary performer at his worst The fair course seems rather to be to compare the best with the best, and at the same time to reflect that, fortunately for the human race, the great orator is probably as rare as the great poet. The notion that, by taking thought, a multitude of persons at any given time can teach themselves, or be taught, to reach and maintain the level of the Speech on The Crown or the Speech for Cluentius is worthy only to be placed side by side with the pathetic belief that, if only there were a sufficient number of evening continuation schools, there would be an indefinite supply of Miltons and Shakespeares. It is probably true that no editor or annotator of a modern speech would think of indexing, as the editor of one at least of Cicero's speeches indexes, under forty-four different heads, the rhetorical terms employed or illustrated in the text. But that is not to say that the science and art of rhetoric are not in fact completely exhibited by modern oratory. And with what orators of which days, it may be asked, ought men to shrink from comparing for example, Latimer and Oliver Cromwell, Jeremy Taylor and Robert Smith, Chatham and Junius, Burke and

Grattan, William Pitt and Canning, Brougham and Erskine, Macaulay and John Bright, Disraeli and Gladstone?

There are, no doubt, certain obvious defects or blemishes which cannot escape the impartial critic of modern oratory He observes—does he not?—its complexity, by contrast with such ancient oratory as has been recorded. The difference may be thought to be due in part at least to the enormously increased complexity of modern life. Even Cicero, writing of life at Rome, already felt something of this burden. "Neque vero ego hoc tantum oneris imponam nostris praesertim oratoribus in hac tanta occupatione urbis ad vitae, nihil ut eis putem licere nescire" (*De Oratore*, I. 6). The critic is repelled too, not merely by complexity, but also by the volume of words. In fairness, of course, it should never be forgotten that ancient oratory comes down to us chiefly after very careful editing, and often after more editings than one. But is not every one who reads the reports of speeches that flood, or used to flood, the newspapers, struck by the avalanche of words? And, as the voter said, who heard one of the torrents of a certain statesman falling at election time, "considering how much there was of it, there was precious little in it." Does not some of it deserve Cicero's phrase "Volubilitas inanisatque inridenda" (*De Oratore*, I 5)? Also to complexity and verbosity there is often added obscurity of expression. The hearer or the reader of many a modern oratorical performance finds himself asking What has the speaker in substance said? In the case of a politician, especially perhaps of a Minister of the Crown, the obscurity may sometimes be studied. It would be easy, though it would be impious, to give instances Who was it who said that a politician is never so obscure as when he assures his audience that he is taking them into his confidence? And did not the same philosopher add that the confidences of a Minister are either an imposture or an infidelity? Perhaps, it is a hard saying, as usually they are neither, for they tell nothing But to return to our hypothetical critic, it must be confessed—must it not?—that his ear is frequently offended by bad or indifferent English.

Opinions have differed, of course, as to the constituent elements of successful oratory. But will it be denied that one of the secrets, if not the chief secret, is perfect simplicity of diction and the appeal to what is primeval in mankind—that is, to the primitive emotions? Many an example easily occurs. In prose fiction there are the famous words of Jeanie Deans, in the immortal 37th chapter of the *Heart of Midlothian*, pleading to Queen Caroline for her sister's life Is there anywhere a more perfect instance of natural eloquence? And in poetry there is the leading case of Odysseus, in the sixth book of the Odyssey, pleading to Nausicaa for succour and indeed for clothing—a perfect instance of consummate art and knowledge in the orator. Both Odysseus and Jeanie Deans use simple language, and both appeal to the common instincts of humanity. Or in history, although Thucydides does not claim to give an exact report of Pericles—on the contrary, his phrase is that the orator spoke not "these words" but "words like these"—and although the speech is at once elaborate and ornate, it is nevertheless full of such phrases as "of famous men the whole earth is the tomb"—phrases which live for ever because they appeal to what is primitive.

Of the same kind, and on the same plane, are the speech of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg in 1863, marked, as all his speeches were marked, by a noble simplicity of diction, and what is called the "Crimean Speech" of John Bright in 1855—"the angel of death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings"; and the words uttered by Edith Cavell before she met her death. Everywhere it is the same achievement or lesson—the unrivalled efficacy of plain speech. And, although it is easy to contemplate modern oratory without enthusiasm, it does seem perhaps to exhibit one encouraging feature. As it grows more and more modern, it tends more to plain speech than, for example, the rounded periods of early Victorian and late Georgian oratory did. To disdain all ornament needs, to be sure, great courage. Only a perfect figure, it is said, can venture to go naked. But "nuda veritas" is irresistible. Perhaps indeed there is only too much warrant for the doubt of Anatole France. He coquettes in a pleasant passage, with the question whether human speech is perfectly well adapted for the expression of the truth Its origin, he reflects, is to be found in the cries of animals and it retains their characteristics It expresses sentiment and passion, joy and grief, hate and love But—"il n'est pas fait pour dire la vérité". Perhaps it may be right to amend or extend that remark—half playful, half serious as it is—by two sentences from the wise words of Benjamin Jowett "Speech," he says, "is not a separate faculty, but the expression of all our faculties, to which all our other powers of expression, signs, looks, gestures, lend their aid of which the instrument is not the tongue only, but more than half the human frame" And in another passage "The greatest lesson which the philosophical analysis of language teaches us is, that we should be above language, making words our servants, and not allowing them to be our masters."

HERR HITLER

GERMANY'S AIM

Speech at the opening of the Reichstag, May 17, 1933

"I asked the Speaker to summon the Reichstag to define our standpoint on questions which to-day affect not only our own people but also the world. The problems, as you know, are of such great significance that upon their successful solution depends not only political pacification but also the economic salvation of all.

"The crisis of the present time has its origin in those passions which at the end of the War blunted the cleverness, insight, and sense of justice of the nations For all the present troublous problems are due to omissions in the Peace Treaty, which did not settle fairly and sensibly for the future the most important and decisive questions of that time. Neither national, economic, nor juridical demands of nations were settled by the treaty so as to stand for all time in the face of criticism and common sense It is, therefore, understandable that the idea of revision has constantly recurred, and was even foreseen as necessary by the authors of the Treaty themselves, and was legally provided for in the Treaty provisions.

"If I dwell briefly upon the problems which this Treaty was supposed to solve it is due to the fact that it was from its shortcomings in those problems that the latest situation has arisen It is not wise to rob peoples of the economic possibility of existence without taking into account the fact that human beings demand the right to live

"The idea of rendering service to other peoples by destroying economically a people of 65,000,000 is so absurd that nobody can dare openly to champion it to-day. Even more absurd is it to try to destroy it by methods which, according to the law of cause and effect, must sooner or later lead the victors to catastrophe

"After the conclusion of the Great War it ought not to have been a hard task for a real peace conference to reorganize European States on the principles of national ideas and nationality. The clearer the nations' frontiers had been defined by such a settlement, the more remote would have been the possibilities of future conflict. If this new territorial organization of Europe had been carried out on the basis of national frontiers, then, perhaps, the sacrifice in blood of the Great War would not have been quite in vain The world would have been given the basis for a real peace."

After references to economic problems, Herr Hitler spoke of reparations, and said Germany had fulfilled the obligations imposed upon her in spite of their lack of sense and the fact that it could be foreseen that

their consequences would be truly suicidal. "The international economic crisis is absolute proof of the correctness of this assertion."

In regard to War-guilt Herr Hitler said that the "War-guilt lie" meant in justice that the names of victor and vanquished became formally the basis of a new international judicial and social law, and the degradation of a great people to a nation of second class at the very moment when the League of Nations was born "Young Germany is animated by the deepest understanding for similar feeling, as well as justifiable claims to life, by other peoples. This generation has suffered too much from the insanity of our time to wish to visit similar suffering upon others Treaties which are concluded in order to pacify nations, have sense only if they are based on a real and honest equality of all."

An attack on the injuries suffered by Germany at the hands of the Allies was cheered, especially his remark that these "facts could not be compensated for by sanctimonious phrases"

"The Versailles Treaty is no solution of the world's problems, but nevertheless no German Government will of its own accord break an arrangement without being able first to supplant it by a better one"

German disarmament should be the signal for general disarmament. "Germany demands the disarmament of others because her equality claim is moral, legal, and sensible The advantages of the moment are as nothing when compared with the development of centuries Germany, France, and Poland will continue to exist Germany wants nothing that she is not ready to give to others"

Herr Hitler recapitulated what arms Germany had destroyed, and he claimed that the country had disarmed "The storm troops [of the Nazi Brown Army], started without any aid or financial support from the Reich or Reichwehr, are without any military training, and their equipment is merely for party purposes and needs Their purpose was, and is, solely the removal of Communist danger, and their organization is purely for propaganda purposes The Steel Helmet organization was created from the memory of common experiences in the trenches, and for the purpose of fostering the tradition of comradeship, and also to protect Germany against Communism, a danger which other nations cannot estimate

"If the statesmen at Geneva claim that these are military units, they might just as well include fire brigades, gymnastic clubs, rowing clubs, and other sport organizations.

"Germany has disarmed Her Army consists of 100,000 men, and the strength and quality of her police are internationally regulated. The auxiliary police established during the revolution has an exclusively political character. Following the victory of the revolution, this auxiliary police is already being demobilized and will be completely dissolved before the end of the year. Germany has now the moral right to demand that other nations should also pursue their obligations under the Treaty of Versailles The equality promised her last December has not been realized.

"No fresh European war is capable of putting something better in the place of the unsatisfactory conditions which to-day exist. On the contrary, neither politically nor economically could the use of any kind

of force in Europe create a more favourable situation than exists to-day. Even by the decisive success of a new European settlement by force, the final result could only be an increase in the destruction of European balance of power, and thus would contain the seeds for later differences and fresh complications. New wars and sacrifices, new uncertainties, and new economic distress would be the result.

"The outbreak of such a madness without end would lead to the collapse of the existing social order in Europe. A Europe sinking into Communistic chaos would bring about a crisis in the development of the world of unimaginable extent and duration.

"The experiences of the past fourteen years, both politically and economically, are perfectly obvious. The misery of nations has not been relieved, but has increased The deepest origin of this misery, however, lies in the division of the world into victors and vanquished as the definite basis of all treaties and of all future law. The worst effect of this definition lies in the compulsory defencelessness of some part of the world against the increased armaments of the rest.

"Germany demands the disarmament of all because her demand is one of right and of common sense and is laid down in the Peace Treaty. The degradation of a nation cannot be maintained for ever, but must finds its end one day It must be the aim of a real permanent treaty not to tear open wounds but to heal them. The Treaty of Versailles has not acted on this principle"

Herr Hitler asked what concrete safeguards did France demand beyond the international obligations already assured, and what security was Germany to have He gave figures of French armaments, and then, after declaring that Germany had assumed all the security obligations arising from the Treaty of Versailles, the Kellogg Pact, arbitration agreements, and non-aggression pacts, he asked what security Germany had Referring to her lack of aeroplanes and heavy guns possessed by other nations, he asked "Has not Germany more justification to claim security in view of her defencelessness than the armed States, united together in coalition?

"Nevertheless, Germany is at any time ready to assume further international security obligations if all nations are prepared to do so and Germany benefits thereby Germany is also ready without further ado to dissolve her entire military forces and destroy the weapons left to her if other nations will do the same If, however, they are not willing to carry out the disarmament stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, then Germany must at least maintain her claim to equality."

Referring to the MacDonald Plan, Herr Hitler said: "The German Government sees in it a possible starting-point for the solution of the disarmament question, but it must demand that no destruction of the existing defence system must be imposed without conceding at least qualitative equality. It must further demand that a transformation of the present system, which was not desired but was forced upon Germany, shall proceed apace in proportion as the other States actually disarm. Germany is ready to regard a five-year transitional period as adequate for re-establishing national security, provided that at the end of this period Germany will really be on an equal footing with others.

Germany is further ready to renounce instruments of aggression if during the five years other nations likewise destroy theirs."

Germany was ready to accept a five-year transitional period for the restoration of her national security in the expectation that after that period a real equality of Germany with other nations would be achieved.

"Germany has only one desire; to protect her independence and frontiers," Herr Hitler said. "She is prepared to accept a general international control of armaments if other nations will do so, and will include in that control organizations, the non-military character of which can thus be established clearly before the world. The German Government will also not reject the prohibition of weapons if other nations were in its favour"

The Chancellor insisted that the French Colonial troops must be reckoned as part of the French Army, as they could be used at once on the mainland, and he declared it was ridiculous to include as part of Germany's military strength, organizations which had only simple sport and educational aims

Dealing with President Roosevelt's proposals, Herr Hitler said they were warmly welcomed by the Government, which was ready to accept that method of relieving the international crisis, because the Government was also of the opinion that, without a solution of the disarmament problem, no permanent economic recuperation was possible.

"Germany is prepared to co-operate selflessly in this work of bringing into order the political and economic conditions of the world The German Government is convinced that to-day there can only be one great task, and that is to assure the peace of the world."

Reverting to disarmament, the Chancellor asserted that the reason for the argument of France and Poland could on no account be due to their fear of a German invasion, for such a fear could only be justified by the possession of modern weapons of offence, which Germany did not possess at all The only country which with justice might fear an invasion was, therefore, Germany, he declared, amid applause.

Germany was ready, he added, to join in any non-aggression pact, for she was not thinking of any attack, but only of her equality. She would welcome the possibility suggested in President Roosevelt's proposal of bringing the United States into European relations as a guarantor of peace The President's proposal denoted a great pacification for all who wished to co-operate in the honest maintenance of peace.

"The German Government wishes to settle all difficult questions with other Governments by peaceful methods It knows that any military action in Europe, even if completely successful, would, in view of the sacrifice, bear no relation to the profit to be obtained."

The Chancellor then made the following statement

"The German Government and the German people will, however, in no circumstances allow themselves to be forced into any kind of signature which would signify the perpetuation of Germany's degradation

"The attempt, by means of threats against the Government and people to influence them will make no impression. It is unimaginable

that Germany, against all right and morality, may be violated, and it is unthinkable and out of the question that such an act should receive legal admission by our signature.

"If, in newspapers and regrettable speeches, the attempt be made to impose sanctions upon Germany, such a monstrous action could only be the punishment for our demanding the fulfilment of the treaties after we have disarmed. Such an action could only lead to the final moral and actual annulment of the treaties themselves. Even in that case Germany would not abandon her peaceful demand.

"The responsibility for the political and economic consequences and the chaos that such an attempt would bring upon Europe, would fall upon those who fought with such means against a people which is not harming the world. Any such attempt to violate Germany by a majority vote, against the clear sense of the treaties, could only be dictated by the intention to hold us at a distance from the Conference. The German people, however, possess enough character to-day in such a case not to force their co-operation upon other nations, but would assume with a heavy heart the only possible consequences.

"As a permanently defamed people, it would be very difficult for us to continue to belong to the League of Nations

"The German Government and people see the crisis of the present time. For years Germany has uttered warnings against the methods which inevitably led to this political and economic development. The end cannot be doubted if the same methods are still pursued. After apparent political successes by individual nations, the result would mean all the more serious economic and political catastrophes for all. We regard it as our chief task to avoid this."

Herr Hitler concluded by referring to the miseries which the Treaty of Versailles had brought upon the German people, and declared in this connection: "Since the day of signing that Treaty, which was to be as a work of peace, the cornerstone for a new and better time for all nations, 224,900 Germans, men and women, old men and children, have taken their own lives, almost always because of misery and distress. These unbribable witnesses are accusers against the spirit of a treaty from which once the world, including the millions of Germans, hoped for prosperity

"May the other nations understand the unbreakable will of Germany to end once and for all a period of human errors, in order to find the way to a final agreement between all on the basis of the same rights for all.

"Germany will tread no other path than that laid down by the treaties. The German Government will discuss all political and economic questions only within the framework of and through the treaties. She understands too well that a military attack of any kind if it were successful must lead to disaster. The German people will not let themselves be forced into anything that might prolong their disqualification. They have no thought of invading any country."

Photo *Sport & General*

MR A B HOUGHTON
(Former U S Ambassador to England)

ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

Ex. U.S. Ambassador to England

OPEN DIPLOMACY

Speech at the Pilgrims' Dinner, London, March 26, 1929

There are two outstanding moments in the life of every American Ambassador in London—the one when, on his arrival, he is welcomed by the Pilgrims, and the other when, on the eve of his departure, the Pilgrims gather to bid him good-bye. Four years ago you overwhelmed me by the generosity of your welcome. To-night, as these years among you come to an end and I rise, for the last time as Ambassador, to say a word of farewell, I find myself again overwhelmed by your friendly greeting. I have no words to thank you. That is beyond any powers I possess. But I beg you to believe that I do not fail in appreciation. The memory of this evening will remain with me always.

I rise, I said, to say a word of farewell. I find it not easy. No man can live among you and be the recipient of so many kindnesses, so many acts of consideration and courtesy and hospitality as have fallen to me, and go unmoved. Happy as I am to return to my own home and kindred, eagerly as I look forward to seeing the familiar scenes and faces which await me there, I cannot turn from the associations and friendships which have surrounded me here without emotions of profound regret.

I feel they have enriched and deepened my life As I leave them, I realize how great a privilege has been mine I take with me only happy memories—not the least among them memories of your countryside. I know its haunting loveliness will come back to me again and again in quiet moments, and will call up from the depths of recollection fragrant and happy memories. But what I shall treasure most, I think, and longest, is the better knowledge and understanding I have gained of those great and enduring qualities which have made this people what they are—their deep and fervent patriotism, their sense of even-handed justice, their love of freedom and order, their instinct for public service of the highest integrity, their insistence on fair play, and their dogged and unconquerable courage. You carry, worthily, a great inheritance. I share your pride in it.

May I take advantage of this occasion also to speak of my official relations, and to say, in all sincerity, that throughout them I have met only frankness and good will? We have differed at times. There are two sides to every question, and the obvious fact is emphasized most abundantly, I have come to believe, where questions of national interests are considered. If these conflicting interests are to be fairly and justly reconciled, there must be an effort to understand the other's point of view, and a willingness where justice and common sense demand it, to

modify one's own. That willingness, that effort, let me say, I have always found. And it has confirmed me in the belief in which I came, that no serious misunderstanding can long divide our peoples if approached in that spirit which is the spirit both of Britain and of America, the spirit of fair play.

My lord chairman, as I recall the events of the past few years I am impressed anew by the fact that, taken together, they represent a steady advance in the direction of a more permanent peace. After all, there are, as General Smuts said, only two ways in the world—the way of force and the way of understanding. Within the comparatively brief span of my own stay in Europe I have seen several momentous steps taken on the road to understanding, culminating in the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. This pact, I believe, is the embodiment of a deep-lying movement among the peoples.

There are, of course, aggressive pessimists who claim it to be a mere, platitudinous expression of good will which, in the face of actual events must prove of no effect I think they underrate and undervalue its significance. I believe with the British Prime Minister that the pact is an opportunity for a fresh start. I believe it records a definite change of attitude and outlook and marks the opening of a new era. In that sense, we in America signed the pact with every intention of keeping our plighted word. I am sure that the other signatories are equally sincere. We have all condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in our relations with one another. The opinion, the conscience, of the massed signatories of the pact is now mobilized against its violation or threat of violation Henceforth the nation who turns to the way of war and breaks that solemn trust will obviously do so at its peril.

When I turn more particularly to Anglo-American relations, I am made conscious that these are the days of open diplomacy. We are all diplomats and we are all interested, and a common language serves to make discussion between us easy and general. I do not regret this. On the contrary, I think such discussion is of the highest possible value. Washing linen in public may not be an edifying spectacle, but at least it has the merit of leaving nothing hidden to be washed after, perhaps, in blood And as I have watched the recurrent ebb and flow of this discussion, two thoughts have come to me. It may serve a useful purpose if, for a moment, I refer to them.

What strikes me first of all is that many good and sincere people in both countries are inclined to regard and to discuss international affairs in much the same way that they regard and discuss their personal affairs. And the practice leads, I am afraid, to bewilderment, and sometimes to a certain sharpness of temper. These people assume that international friendships are merely personal friendships on a grand scale. And that is not true As individuals we choose our friends. We choose them because we like them and because we find in them understanding, and sympathy, and inspiration, and, it may be, even a similarity of interests. Very often we prefer not to have business relations with them. And if, for one reason or another, our friendship wanes, we turn from it, and each of us goes his separate way.

But that is not at all what happens between nations. As nations we do not choose our friends. All are assumed to be our friends, by which we mean, I suppose, that we deal with one another freely. But since no two nations have identical interests, the relations between them give rise continually to differences of one sort and another, which continually require adjustment. Even so, those nations continue to encounter one another, to trade with one another, to profit from one another, and because they are in fact mutually and increasingly dependent on one another, their differences ultimately find adjustment. The fact that differences between them exist, merely shows that they are not alike, and that they are holding friendly intercourse.

What I want to emphasize is that we must expect these differences. That is the normal condition of international life It is nothing to exaggerate. Above all, it is nothing to deplore. To assume, for instance, because the British and American peoples speak the same mother tongue, possess some of the same laws and institutions, read much the same literature, think many of the same thoughts, that friendship between them, as between two individuals, renders differences between them an offence against good taste and violationof the code of friendly decencies, is simply to misunderstand the situation. I suggest that it puts a certain strain on the adjustment of these difficulties if people on both sides of the Atlantic tend to reason that such differences ought not to be, and that their existence is somehow abnormal and provocative.

Such differences are wholly natural. They merely show that we are alive and about our business. If anyone is anxious about Anglo-American relations because there are unsolved problems between the two peoples, I have no words to comfort him. There will never be a time when such problems do not exist. If he is alarmed with the loose talk he hears about the danger incident to such problems, I can only say to him that the world has become astonishingly safe for loose talk It is one of the luxuries of security.

That is one comment which has occurred to me Another is that we are perhaps inclined to be too contented with our own knowledge of our own good will. We Americans have a strong and vivid sense that we do not want to quarrel with anyone—that, on the contrary, we wish to live in peace with all the world, and, conscious of our own integrity of purpose, coveting neither the lands nor the possessions of others, we believe that peace would even now be permanently established on earth if other peoples felt the same way. The fact always interests me, and "intrigues" me vastly, for, so far as I have been able to discover, every civilized people does feel the same way. You in Britain have, I know, the same sense of your own good will, and you are equally conscious of the sincerity of your own desire for peace. So it is wherever one looks. I doubt if ever before the nations were quite so conscious of their good will. That is certainly cause for gratification. I am, I hope, sufficiently grateful for it.

But, unhappily, good will alone is not the only factor needed for bringing about the peace of the world. The nations may all of them be filled with good will, but, nevertheless, still bristle more or less with armaments. Wherefore, it follows, I think, that at some point, if the growth

of armaments is to be reversed and the swords are to be turned into ploughshares, there must be acceptance of the good will of others. We already have some of that belief. I know of no magic formula by which it can be created. But I do believe that a little more acceptance of the good will of others and a little less of that distrust and suspicion which expresses itself in the form of armaments, will be found justified in fact, and will increase rather than decrease our security.

In particular, as between Britain and America, I confess frankly I see only one reason for distrust. And that is the existence of two mental hobgoblins. One of these hobgoblins appears from time to time in America to assure us that Britain is a predatory Power, cynically careless of right and wrong, indifferent to the interests of others, greedy, cunning, and waiting only for a favourable opportunity to strike us down. The other appears from time to time in Britain to assure you that as America becomes more conscious of her strength, she will inevitably become imperialistic and, ruthlessly and brutally seeking to exploit others, will use that strength merely to play the bully and become a danger and a menace to the peoples of the world. If these two hobgoblins speak the truth, the future is dark indeed. If the British people and the American people are fairly represented in their character and aspirations by what these two hobgoblins tell us, then serious trouble must be expected, and we would both do well to prepare again for the hell of war.

But these two hobgoblins do not speak the truth. There are no such peoples as those described. The description is false The real peoples are wholly different. They are made up of millions of kindly, decent, hard-working, God-fearing men and women who possess innate common sense, who are busy about their own affairs, who do not fear one another, who want to live in peace, and who mean, God willing, to do so. Is it not about time that we recognize that fact fully and consciously, and turn definitely away from such fantastic views of our true relations to each other? A durable and unbreakable peace exists even now between the British and American peoples if they will but recognize the fact.

And so I end as I began. I thank you and, through you, the British people for all their kindness and consideration to me during the years it has been my privilege to live among you. I wish you all good fortune in the years that lie ahead. I wish you happiness and prosperity. And I bid you good-bye and good luck.

Photo *Sport & General*

DLAN INGI

The Very Rev. DEAN INGE, D.D.

CAUSES OF WAR

Sermon on the League of Nations at the Cathedral Church, Geneva

After speaking of the great privilege and the great responsibility of preaching at Geneva, and of the fact that even thoughtful and religious people are not sufficiently alive, either to the peril which hangs over civilization, or to the flagrant contradiction between the condition of international politics and the principles of Christianity, Dean Inge continued:

I do not think it is at all helpful to inveigh against the wickedness and folly of human nature in general; still less against the wickedness and folly of particular nations or particular classes. The out-and-out pacifist (you must forgive me for saying it) is usually a rather naive and ill-informed person, convinced of his own rectitude, and ready to denounce imaginary wicked people, whom he calls militarists, imperialists, diplomatists, aristocrats, emperors, or what not, and whom he supposes to be naturally bloodthirsty and indifferent to the sufferings which their insensate ambition causes to the innocent masses. I believe that such denunciations do unmitigated harm, and are a serious hindrance to the work of the League. I shall, therefore, take leave to contradict them, before passing on to what seem to me to be the real sources of danger.

Civilized nations do not regard war as a sport. They do not enjoy fighting, as the head-hunting tribes of Borneo are said to do. Nor is it true that wars are made by the manufacturers of armaments, or by groups of financiers The influence of such trades and groups is not great; and "big business" has far more to lose than to gain by a general conflagration

The notion that wars are made only by kings and emperors, and that to make the world safe for democracy is to make it safe for peace, is utterly untrue, and extremely dangerous. The old proverb, *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*, requires to be amended in the light of recent events. It should run, *Delirant Achivi, plectuntur reges.* Nations go mad, and make scapegoats of their rulers. My study of modern history convinces me that in bellicosity and injustice to weaker nations there is not a pin to choose between monarchies and republics.

There is, unfortunately, rather more justification for the charge that some wars have been wars of exploitation—economic wars. These are always attacks by some great Power on barbarous or ill-armed nations. This is precisely the kind of war which the League of Nations ought to be able to prevent. As for wars between great nations on the

same level of civilization, like the Great War of 1914, we may surely say without fear of contradiction that no one who has anything to lose is ever likely to vote for such a war again. Frankly, I regard this as the trump card in the hand of the friends of peace. It gives the opponents of war a most potent argument which they have never been able to use with such convincing force before

As for those persons—and I fear they are numerous—who wish to abolish international rivalries only in order to clear the way for a ruthless and probably sanguinary civil war of classes in the bosom of every nation, the friends of peace may pray to be delivered from such allies. In that direction lies a deadly menace to the whole movement.

Having thus, to the best of my ability, deprecated some of the mistaken diagnoses and unhelpful remedies which too often darken counsel in this great problem, let me try to suggest to you what are the real causes which place serious obstacles to the triumph of the cause which we all have at heart.

The first of these is the form which the spirit of patriotism has taken in modern times.

The love of country has burnt with a peculiarly intense flame in the time in which we live. There have been times when the privileged classes in different countries have felt more sympathy with each other than with the masses in their own country. This sympathy mitigated patriotic ardour in the eighteenth century. But ever since the French Revolution and Napoleon kindled into a fierce flame the national consciousness which they wished to extinguish, patriotism has been by far the strongest of the generous emotions which make the European man ready to sacrifice his property and his life, without counting the cost.

These sentiments of love, pride, and devotion, continued Dean Inge, were not to be condemned outright And yet this megalomaniac nationalism was one of the chief causes of war. To the patriot in an exalted mood, the questions at issue between his own country and its enemies seemed to be simply questions of right against wrong.

We know, alas, how, when the sword has once been drawn, every Government tries to stimulate these prejudices by unscrupulous propaganda, and how, when terms of peace are to be discussed, hatred and indignation, thus artificially exaggerated, stifle the desire to show justice and generosity to a beaten foe, which enlightened self-interest no less than chivalry and Christian charity should encourage In this way a passionate wish for a war of revenge is generated in the minds of the losers, and each war sows the seeds of another

But this sentiment of patriotism is far too noble a thing to be condemned outright It needs only to be directed into right channels, to be purified from its base, vulgar and archaic perversions The question is not whether we ought to love our country, but what kind of success and glory and happiness we should desire for it. Instead of the childish wish to paint the map of the world red, or whatever our national colour may be, our pride should be to make it honoured, respected, and even beloved by other nations.

Romantic patriotism, which is only the distortion of a noble sentiment, is one of the causes of modern war. But the main cause is simply

fear—fear of sudden and unprovoked attack. And here again we must beware of passing thoughtless censure. The plain truth is that the fear is justified. I need not point out to you how fear drove all the chief belligerents in the Great War to take up arms. In our own case the one convincing and unanswerable argument was that of the Prime Minister: "If we remain neutral we shall be left without a friend in the world, the pre-destined victims of the next coalition."

I have named the two chief causes of war; but no doubt there is a third. The Government of a country may see that the nation is disintegrating and heading for civil strife. An appeal to patriotism, to defend the country against a foreign enemy, may seem to be the only chance of averting internal disruption It can hardly be doubted that this argument did weigh with more than one Government in 1914. The consequences, however, were so disastrous that it seems very unlikely that this gambler's stake will be played again.

We are left therefore with the two causes which I mentioned first —patriotism and fear. Can the League of Nations remove the well-grounded fear of the nations that they may be attacked and destroyed without provocation? Hitherto, unwarlike nations have found no mercy. We need only think of the treatment of China all through the nineteenth century. Or must we go on as we have done hitherto, each nation naturally desiring to be secure, and realizing that it cannot be secure unless it is stronger than any probable assailant?

This is surely the crux of the whole problem. Can the League offer the nations security, not against nations which are willing to keep the covenant, but against any nation which may choose to break it?

I have no doubt that this question is constantly before the minds of the Council of the League, and of the numerous publicists in Europe and America who realize the situation. It would ill become me to advocate any particular solution, I have not the requisite knowledge. Whether the suggestion of an international air force is worth serious consideration it is not for me to say. But let us concentrate on this point—that the removal of fear—of quite reasonable fear—is the riddle of the Sphinx. If the League can solve it, it will have succeeded in its work; if not, it will have failed

What can we do—what can you and I do for peace? We can put away hatred and vindictiveness from our hearts We can try to understand the point of view of other nations, and to help our countrymen to understand it. We can avoid expecting too much, and yet we can remember that as ice melts at a certain temperature, so does the human heart. Without quixotically surrendering important interests, we can look out for opportunities of generous conduct towards foreigners and foreign nations. We can let our diplomatists and statesmen know that the cunning of a smart solicitor outwitting the lawyers on the other side is exactly what we do not want from them. And, lastly, we can remember the League in our prayers, and bring our earnest desire for peace before Him who is the Prince of Peace.

ROBERT GREEN INGERSOLL

FUNERAL ORATION

Delivered by Robert Green Ingersoll at Washington, D.C., June 3, 1879, at the funeral of his brother, Ebon C. Ingersoll

My Friends:

I am going to do that which the dead oft promised he would do for me.

The loved and loving brother, husband, father, friend, died where manhood's morning almost touches noon, and while the shadows still were falling toward the west.

He had not passed on life's highway the stone that marks the highest point, but being weary for a moment, he lay down by the wayside, and, using his burden for a pillow, fell into that dreamless sleep that kisses down his eyelids still While yet in love with life and raptured with the world he passed to silence and pathetic dust.

Yet, after all, it may be best, just in the happiest, sunniest hour of all the voyage, while eager winds are kissing every sail, to dash against the unseen rock, and in an instant hear the billows roar above a sunken ship. For, whether in mid-sea or 'mong the breakers of the farther shore a wreck at last must mark the end of each and all. And every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jewelled with a joy, will, at its close, become a tragedy as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death.

This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock, but in the sunshine he was vine and flower. He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights and left all superstitions far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day.

He loved the beautiful, and was with colour, form, and music touched to tears. He sided with the weak, and with a willing hand gave alms; with loyal heart and with purest hands he faithfully discharged all public trusts.

He was a worshipper of liberty, a friend of the oppressed. A thousand times I have heard him quote these words: "For justice all place a temple, and all seasons, summer" He believed that happiness was the only good, reason the only torch, justice the only worship, humanity the only religion, and love the only priest. He added to the sum of human joy; and were every one to whom he did some loving service to bring a blossom to his grave, he would sleep to-night beneath a wilderness of flowers.

Life is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. We cry aloud, and the only answer is the echo of our wailing cry. From the voiceless

lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word; but in the night of death hope sees a star and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing.

He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with the latest breath: "I am better now." Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas, and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead.

And now, to you who have been chosen from among the many men he loved, to do the last sad office for the dead, we give his sacred dust. Speech cannot contain our love. There was, there is, no greater, stronger, manlier man.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861,

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President before he enters on the execution of his office.

I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform, for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read.

> "Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

I now reiterate these sentiments; and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration.

I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service to labour. This clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service of labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law.

All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause, "shall be delivered up," their oaths are unanimous. Now if they could make this effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by National or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept?

Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the several States"?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular Acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those Acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period, fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties.

A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal

law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure for ever, it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak: but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself.

The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of the Confederation in 1778; and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere notion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly, so far as it is practicable, fulfil it unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the National Authority.

The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.

Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people

that object. While the strict legal right may exist of the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it best to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union.

So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favourable to calm thought and reflection.

The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances already existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons, in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them.

To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak, before entering on so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step, while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so great a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right, plainly written in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this.

Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would if such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case

All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain, express provision for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labour be surrendered by National or by State authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. May Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities.

If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the Government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a

case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent, which, in turn, will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such a perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only and to prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible So that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice

At the same time the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon the vital question affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal

Nor is there in this view any assault upon the Court or the Judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other section believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section; while fugitive

slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They can but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical question as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favour rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it.

I will venture to add, that to me the Convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to be now implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, alone, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely

prevail by the judgment of His great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the Government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no Administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time.

If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either

If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favoured land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties.

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

You can have no conflict without being yourselves aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend it."

I am loath to close We are not enemies, but friends We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection

The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

THE GETTYSBURG ORATION

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have

consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that Government of the people, by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

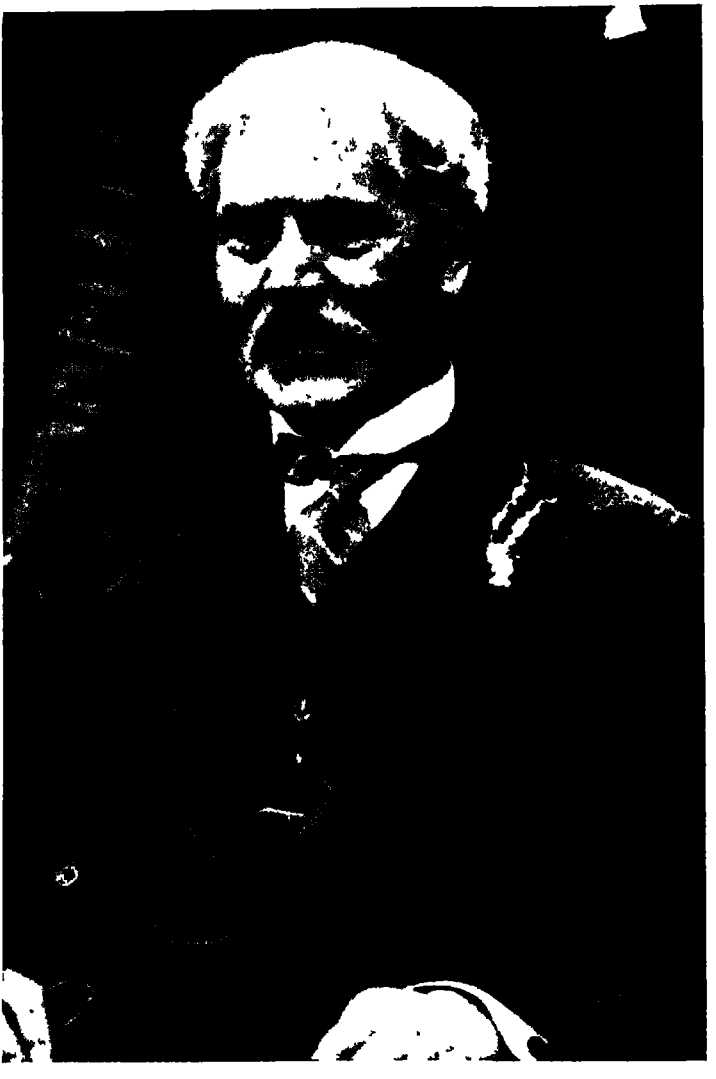

Photo *Sport & General*

THE RT HON RAMSAY MACDONALD

The Rt. Hon. RAMSAY MACDONALD

EMPIRE DAY

Broadcast Speech given on May 24, 1933

This is now the fourth Empire Day in succession on which I have had the opportunity of speaking over the wireless as the head of the Government here. On the other occasions I have spoken of some of the features of the British Commonwealth which I think mark it out from other Empires that have flourished during an hour of glory and then, having made their contribution to advancing civilization, have passed into history with their laurel crowns on their heads My hope is, and all our endeavours should be, that ours shall be a continuing influence and leadership for many generations yet to come, so that our story may not be one that has been told, but one that is still being written. If that is to be, we ourselves must do it Especially must those who are growing up to take our places feel not only the pride of a great inheritance, but the energy of a great duty

Pride In Service

In such times as these, when burdens are heavy and solutions illusive, pessimism finds an easy way into our hearts, and impatience and vague fancies rush into our minds like the waters of overflowing torrents We must protect ourselves against that Should it not give us cause for pride that wherever the great issues of life and death to the nations are being fought out, in the forefront of the struggle the representatives of our community are respected and honoured as leaders? I speak of pride, yet I think of neither swagger nor vanity, but of that pride from which springs devotion, enlivened and made active by personal energy and service. We have in our far-scattered communities men and women who by history and race do not like to range themselves even under the wide name of Briton. Some have been brought in from the battlefield, some have been kept in by what they have been taught to regard as the force of authority, which surely is a poor binding material for a community of nations But if the present state of the world shows anything very clearly, it is surely this, that no nation can live to or by itself alone.

There must be association, and, provided there is liberty within the grouped sections, all can acquire a superimposed satisfaction in constitutional union with each other, because the fame and the deeds, the spirit and the influence of the whole of the association, reflect back again upon the component parts in honour and dignity. Thus, we can

be Irishmen, or Africanders, or Indians, or Welshmen, or Scotsmen, cherishing our separate culture, praising the stirring deeds which make the pages of our own histories ablaze, doing homage to our fellow-nationals whose names will live while the world is; and at the same time we can glory in the fact of our association and accept with all our hearts our common loyalty because it gives us new sources of strength and self-respect and opens out wider horizons for our special nationalities.

In any event, no mere yoke can bind us. Were that the only bond, what would the Empire be? It might have a constitution, a wisely defined legal relationship, advantageous economic arrangements, but it would not be the living thing with ideals and policies relating to human progress, liberty, righteousness, which to so many of us it is, and will continue to be if we can help it. When one speaks in these terms, the voice of the critic who cannot see the graceful trees in the forest for the stunted and sickly ones, reminds us of blemishes and regrets, but sufficient it is for those who make a plea that this Commonwealth should be served with devotion and built up on a fair plan, to say that the building is not yet finished, and that they are trying to enlist labourers who know the plan and are inspired by it.

Each generation must leave its mark upon the growing fabric, and that mark will be of its practical work as well as of its ideals If the ideals are sound the mark of the practical will be fitting Nations that have been crushed are reawakening, and their awakening shows the conditions which spring up from imprints of iron-heels They are unlovely, they are menacing What is to be our solution with our own Parliaments? Surely to show a new devotion to the politics and the work of those liberal men who have led us successfully thus far, combined with a keen apprehension of the changing needs of the day and an adaptation of our guiding spirit to the existing facts of the world.

Watchwords Of Empire

I should like to attract those who dream of what ought to be and with their fellows co-operate in dealing wisely with the specific problems which face us In the fulfilment of such work we have watchwords. One is adaptability An unenlightened policy of rigidity, assuming that the life of the world is static, ends in disruption It avoids the risks of change and prefers the certainty of disgraceful defeat. The ever-active test imposed upon every political structure like the British Commonwealth is, can it keep the balance between its continuing existence and the maintenance of liberty in the federated groups?

We have bred in our very bones the conviction that the sense of liberty and responsibility in the citizen is the foundation-stone of the State. The real defence of the State is the character and spirit of its people, and for the development of this, discipline is not enough. Freedom is essential. Freedom used by an enlightened people yields the highest discipline. We have shown the whole world how a free democracy has withstood intact the strains and stresses of this generation. We have had our crises—crises of war, and crises of economic catastrophe —but in none of them, neither here nor in any of our self-governing

Dominions, has the régime collapsed, the constitutional system proved inadequate, or the people been found incapable within the framework of their constitution and without surrender of their liberties, of meeting and dealing with their difficulties.

We must strive that that will remain so. We must be in the truest sense conservative of all that is best in our heritage, but at the same time remember that that heritage has not been given to us as a treasure to be buried in a napkin, but one to be enriched by our own efforts in using it for good.

Glancing over the past year, we see the British Commonwealth and our home Government engaged in almost ceaseless activity. Its work at Geneva, its influence in world peace by bringing nations together in spite of much discouragement, its championship of international goodwill instead of arms as the only sure foundation of security, have added distinction to our Commonwealth's history. In the same way we have dealt with our internal concerns The year will be a landmark on the road of our Commonwealth journeying.

It would be out of place for me to-night to speak of party differences in a party spirit Partisanship is the curse of representative Government and national endeavour. I cannot hope that all of you who listen to me will agree with all that has been done, but none of you will dispute its importance

We had to deal with the position in India Where its demands became the occasion for defiance of order and of peace, they were dealt with quietly but firmly. Every good Government should be prepared to listen to reason, but no good Government should be prepared to be terrorized The problem of India is one of natural growth. It has a parentage in the education we have given to it and the political lessons we have taught its people. Whatever steps we may have taken to meet it should have shown that we knew why the problem had arisen, what its nature is, and that our way of handling it has been to provide conditions for peaceful development while retaining allegiance to the Crown. That is the progress which gives both life and strength to the Commonwealth.

The Ottawa Conference was an attempt to unite material interests without seriously interfering with our relations with the outside world. The experience and the methods of Ottawa may well be copied in the wider endeavours we are about to make at the World Economic Conference to regularize and put into some system the economic relations of the world In this respect again we may consider the Commonwealth in its life and constitution an epitome of the World League of Nations. Of that Commonwealth we are and it we serve. Have you come across the words written by Sir Walter Raleigh, now used as a grace at the dinners of the Oxford Raleigh Club? I shall leave them with you. They run. "Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Britannic Empire to a glorious and enviable height with all her daughter isles about her, stay us in this victory."

THE REV JOHN WATSON
(IAN MACLAREN)

"IAN MACLAREN"

SCOTTISH TRAITS

Lecture by the Rev. John Watson (Ian Maclaren) delivered in various places during his tour of the United States in 1896-97

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

I shall have the pleasure of speaking to you about certain traits of character of the people of my nation. One of the first traits I shall illustrate is their humour We are, I hope, a Christian people, but I am certain that our Christianity has been tested a good many times by that often-repeated proverb of Sidney Smith's, that it takes a surgical operation to get a joke into a Scotchman's head

A recent writer, whom I cannot identify, and whose name I do not want to know, denies that there is anything in our humour that is light in touch, delicate and graceful. He asserts instead that there is much that is austere and awkward, tiresome, and unpleasant. Now each nation takes its own humour in its own way, some joyously, some seriously, but none more conscientiously than the Scotch.

When an Englishman sees a joke in the distance, he immediately capitulates and laughs right out. He takes it home for the enjoyment of the family, and perhaps the neighbours hear it through the doors Then for days afterwards the man who captured it shares it with his fellow-passengers in conveyances, possibly impressing it forcibly upon them. In the Scotch mind, when a jest presents itself, the question arises: "Is it a jest at all?" and it is given a careful and analytical examination, and if, after twenty-four hours, it continues to appear to be a jest, it is accepted and done much honour Even then it may not cause a laugh As some grief is too deep for tears, so some humour is appreciated without demonstration, and, again, as all soils are not productive of the same fruit, so each country has its own particular humour. Understand the humour of a nation and you have understood its character and its traditions, and even had some sort of an insight into its grief.

If you want the most beautiful flower of humour, wit, you must go to France for it. There is no wit so subtle, so finished, so complete as the French wit, especially the wit of the Parisian. There you will find what might be termed the aristocracy of wit.

What I mean by wit is this: Two men were riding together one day through Paris. One was exceedingly bright and clever, while the other was correspondingly dull. As is usually the case, the latter monopolized the conversation. The talk of the dullard had become almost unendurable, when his companion saw a man on the street far ahead yawning. "Look," he exclaimed, "we are overheard!"

That story divides the sheep from the goats. I was telling it once to a Scotch lady, who remarked: "How could they have been overheard at that distance?" "Madam," I replied, "that never occurred to me before"

The Scotch have no wit. Life to them has been too intense and too bitter a struggle for the production of humour of the French kind. Neither have they drollery, which is the result of standing the intellect upon its head, so that it sees things bottom upwards. This is the possession of the Irish; not the North Irish, who are only Scotch people who went over to Ireland to be born; but the South Irishman, the Milesian, who sees things upside down habitually. It is because of drollery that these lovable, kind-hearted people are so irresistible

An Irishman was once sent to deliver a live hare, which escaped and started to run for its liberty. The Irish made no attempt at pursuit. Not he He simply shook his sides with laughter, while he exclaimed: "Ye may run, ye may run and kape on running, but small good it'll do yez. Ye haven't got the address!"

We Scotch have not the most democratic form of humour, which is called "fun." Fun seems to be the possession of the English race. Fun is John Bull's idea of humour, and there is no intellectual judgment in fun. Everybody understands it because it is practical More than that, it unites all classes and sweetens even political life. To study the elemental form of English humour, you must look to the school-boy It begins with the practical joke, and unless there is something of his nature about it, it is never humour to an Englishman. In an English household, fun is going all the time. The entire house resounds with it. The father comes home and the whole family contribute to the amusement, puns, humorous uses of words, little things that are meaningless nonsense, if you like, fly round, and every one enjoys them thoroughly for just what they are. The Scotch are devoid of this trait, and the Americans seem to be, too.

If I had the power to give humour to the nations I would not give them drollery, for that is impractical; I would not give them wit, for that is aristocratic, and many minds cannot grasp it; but I would be contented to deal out fun, which has no intellectual element, no subtlety, belongs to old and young, educated and uneducated alike, and is the natural form of the humour of the Englishman.

Let me tell you why the Englishman speaks only one language. He believes with the strongest conviction that his own tongue is the one that all people ought to speak and will come in time to speak, so what is the use of learning any other? He believes, too, that he is appointed by Providence to be a governor of all the rest of the human race. From our Scottish standpoint we can never see an Englishman without thinking that there is oozing from every pore of his body the conviction that he belongs to a governing race. It has not been his desire that large portions of the world should be under his care, but as they have been thrust upon him in the proceedings of a wise Providence, he must discharge his duty. This theory hasn't endeared him to others of his kind, but that isn't a matter that concerns him. He doesn't learn any other language because he knows that he could speak it only so imperfectly that other people

would laugh at him, and it would never do that a person of his importance in the scheme of the universe should be made the object of ridicule.

An Englishman and a German were once speaking of this subject, and the latter asked the former why it was that Englishmen did not speak as good French as the Germans, to which the Englishman replied: "I'll tell you why. If Napoleon Bonaparte had come twice to our nation to teach us his language, we would speak it as well as you do."

Here is another sample of the English jest. The Duke of Wellington was once introduced by King Louis Philippe to a marshal whose troops the Duke had whipped in the Peninsula. The marshal gruffly refused the Duke's hand, turned and walked away, while the Duke said: "Excuse him, your Majesty; I taught him that lesson."

But English humour consists of fair fighting, hitting above the belt. It is healthy fun that has made family life happy, taken precociousness out of boys, and enabled the Englishman to give his neighbour a slap when he needed a slap, and no hard feelings.

If I may venture to say anything of American humour, I would say that it has two conspicuous qualities The one is its largeness. It is humour on a great scale, which I presume is due to the three thousand miles between San Francisco and New York We live in a small poor country, and our humour is thrifty, your country is large and rich, and your humour is extravagant The other quality of your humour is its omissions, which perhaps is due to the fact that, having so huge a country, you cannot travel through it in daylight. So in your humour you give the first and last chapters of a jest, which is like a railroad journey across this big country, much of the time spent in sleep, but with frequent sudden awakenings But did it ever occur to you that you Americans are a terribly serious people? Your comic papers, for example, contain almost no genuine fun. They leave a bitter taste. The fun is there for a purpose, it is bitter, well-nigh malignant. The items hit, as well as raise a laugh, and they never lack an ulterior motive. You are too busy; you put out too much nervous energy; your life is too tense to make pure fun for the pleasure of it; such, for example, as is found in our *Punch*.

There is one department still left, perhaps the most severely intellectual of all. It is irony. In irony there is a sense of the paradox of things, the unexpectedness of things, the conjunction of joy and sorrow, the sense of the unseen. The Scotch literature and life are exceedingly rich in irony. It has come from the bitter indignation of a people who have seen some amazing absurdity or wrong. Hence, the sair laugh of the Scotchman is a bitter laugh, not on the outside, but on the inside, and deep down. Irony is the most profound form of humour, and in that department of humour the Scotch are unexcelled. The Scotchman has to plough ground that is more stones than earth, he has to harvest his crops out of the teeth of the snow-storm, three centuries of the sternest Calvinism are behind him, his life has been a continual struggle and surprise; and all these things have taught him the irony of life.

Let an Englishman and a Scotchman come together for a bit of banter. The Englishman asks the Scot why so many of his people go abroad and never return to their native land. The Scotchman tells the

Englishman that it is for the good of the world. Then he retorts by telling the Englishman that just across the border is a city in Scotland composed of 30,000 Englishmen. The Englishman is incredulous until the Scotchman tells him that the name of the town is Bannockburn, that the same Englishmen have been inhabiting it for several centuries and that they are among the most peaceful and law-abiding citizens of Scotland. Then the Scotchman wants to be alone for a couple of minutes to enjoy the taste of that in his mouth.

A Scot's humour is always grim because he is always in contact with the tragedy of life A Scotchman goes out to play golf. He is annoyed by a slow player who is ahead of him on the links, and tells his caddie to gather up the sticks and go back to the club, as he does not want to follow a funeral procession all day. The caddie replies, after thought: "Ah noo! Dinna be hasty He might drop deid afore he has gone three holes." Is there any nation like this, sensible always of the divinities hanging over them?

Scotch humour is always dry and never sweet; always biting and never consoling. There was a Scotch woman whose husband was sick. Although she attended the church of the Rev Norman McLeod, she sent for another minister to administer spiritual advice to her husband. The minister came and discovered that the man was suffering from typhus fever In speaking to the wife he asked her what church she attended. She replied that she went to Norman's church

"Then why did you not have him come?" was the query.

"Why," answered the woman, "do you think we would risk Normie with the typhus fever?"

The grimmest example of Scotch humour that I ever heard is this story that was told me of a criminal who was condemned to death. Just before the execution his counsel went to see him for the purpose of cheering him up He told the Scot that sentence had been pronounced, it was perfectly just, and he must hope for no mercy, but he asked if there were anything he could do for him The condemned man thanked him, said he was most kind, and there was one request he would make.

"What is that?" asked his visitor

"I would ask you to go to my chest and fetch my Sabbath blacks?"

"And what do you want with your Sabbath blacks?"

"I wish to wear them as a mark of respect for the deceased," said the condemned man.

I will pass on and claim for the Scotchman what no one has ever denied him, although rarely understood, and that is that he is cautious. I will put the phrase in its commonest form, and say that he is canny. We say, not a cautious Scot, but a "canny" Scot. What is canny? you ask Well, I will leave that answer to any man who has ever done business with a Scotchman A Scotchman in business is not a creature of impulses, he makes sound bargains. He is perfectly honourable, and will not go back on a bargain once made; but I do not think he is accustomed to be bested in a bargain. It is said that it takes two Jews to outwit a Greek, and two Greeks to outwit an Armenian, and yet an Armenian went to the town of Aberdeen in Scotland and in two weeks had not a dollar. Canniness is merely the attitude of a man's mind

who has to watch hard to get a harvest. The Scotchman has acquired the quality from being plundered by the Highlandmen above, the English below, while the French, overseas, were trying to annex his country, and so he has learned to stand with his back to the wall to prevent anybody from getting behind him. This has made him watchful and self-controlled. That is "canny." So this has come to be the intellectual attitude also of the Scotch people, and it makes them watchful, careful and self-controlled.

I should like to emphasize the fact that there are really two nations in Scotland: there is the Lowland Scot and there is the Celtic Scot—the man of Midlothian and Edinburgh, and the man in the district beyond Inverness. It is the northern Scot that wears the kilt, plays the bagpipes, and speaks in Gaelic. Now, every single virtue which the Lowland Scot has in abundance, the Celtic Scot largely wants, and every little frailty which the Lowland Scot has—if he has any—is wanting in the character of the Celts. I have already spoken to you of Scottish cautiousness, but the Highlanders are rash and impulsive. The Lowlander is a good man of business, the Highlander a good man of war. The Highlander is a good sportsman and a good soldier. The humour of the Highlander, again, is entirely different from that of the Lowlander.

Another characteristic of the Scotchman is that he will admit nothing He is so careful in picking out his words that never is there room to get back of one of his statements and push it from its citadel. It is cruel to try to get an admission or an agreement to any statement from a Scot. Be satisfied if, when you say to Sandy "You have a splendid crop," he replies: "It might have been waur." I have tried to get definite answers from Scotchmen, and I know whereof I speak. I have striven for weeks to get a Scotchman to admit something—on the weather, on the crops, on anything—but he never would make an admission

An Englishman meets a Scotchman in a pouring rain, and remarks that it is a regular deluge. The Scotchman does not say that it is a deluge, in the first place because there will never be another. The most that you are likely to get him to admit is that "if it were gaun to keep on as it's doing it might be wet afore evening" And he can retreat from that!

The vice of the adjective has never been the vice of a Scotch mind, which lacks the effusiveness of more southern nations. The reason why a Scotchman has so much trouble in speaking is because he makes the fitting of a noun with an adjective a matter of conscience An Englishman puts his hand in a bag and takes out half a dozen adjectives and uses them all. The Scotchman knows every one of the words, but does not use them, because he would have to go over the entire list before persuaded which one to use, and this requires too much time.

Conversation in Scotland is a game at chess, and a game played cautiously, move by move, in prospect of an intellectual checkmate. The idea of conversation in Scotland is argument over subjects political or theological, preferably the latter, because there is such a chance to dispute—and to get hold with your teeth. There is none of the rattling small-talk in which some other nations indulge. A Scotchman will carry on an argument even unto death. He can make religious distinctions that no one else can see. He has sharpness, for his sword has

been whetted for centuries with argument. The very power of brain which he has acquired by use in this way serves him well in the business world.

To illustrate the extraordinary argumentativeness of the Scots, there is a story of a Scotchman who lay dying in a London hospital. A woman visitor wanted to sing him some hymns, but he told her that he had all his life fought against using hymn-tunes in the service of God, but he was willing to argue the question with her as long as his senses remained. I say that when a man in the face of death is willing to stand for the truth as it has been taught to him, it is out of such stuff that heroes are made.

Controversy is Scotland's great national game. Some people say that golf is our national sport. We play golf, but we play it and say nothing about it. Other nations play it a little and talk about it a great deal. But our real sport, our great national pastime, is heresy hunting —and we hunt a heretic according to a huntsman's rules. A heresy case is meat and drink to a Scot We even keep a choice selection of heretics on hand to use in times of scarcity Every one reads the newspaper accounts of a heresy case, and no one bears the least ill-will to the heretic. I have heard of a kirk where, when a moderator was to be elected, although there had been dissensions without bitterness during the year, "the whole congregation felt bound to this man by the ties of rebellion." The scotch nation, to a greater degree than any other, is ecclesiastical or theological, for all Scots are either pillars in the Church or buttresses outside. Yes, and for various reasons One is that the Scotchman regards the fear of God as the deepest thing in human knowledge, and that a man cannot have a religion that has got no reason in it and no principle. Again, the Scotchman takes to theology like a duck to water, because it affords him the best opportunity he can get for discussion and argument Intellect is like a razor, and it matters not what the grindstone is But there is no better grindstone for the intellect than the Shorter Catechism. Our whole nation, in fact, rejoices in theology. It is the national enjoyment of the Scottish people.

I have heard of a Scottish farmer who kept up a discussion on the topic of "faith or work" during a ten-mile railway journey, dismounted at the end of it, and as the train was moving off called out to his antagonist: "I dinna deny what ye brocht forward from the Romans, but I take my stand here and now (he was holding on to a railway post) on the Epistle of James." Now, if working farmers can conduct a discussion of that kind, and conduct it well, after dinner, what cannot such a nation in its serious moments do before dinner?

The reason a Scotchman takes to theology is because he is determined to reason things out. Theology affords the strongest grip for his teeth, and he can get the biggest mouthful Leave a Scot to the freedom of his own will, and he makes for theology at once. Other things he is obliged to talk about. Theology he loves to talk about. Whenever or wherever Scotchmen meet, and there is no particular business on hand, they go as naturally into theology as a cow into clover, and if there are not enough of the heterodox kind present, some will take that side just to keep things a-going.

Another tendency of the Scotch is to go to law. For centuries, when there was no other amusement or diversion for a Scotchman, he could engage in a lawsuit.

The Scottish people have long been noted for their austerity and for the respect shown to the Sabbath. I will leave it to my audience to say whether it has been the weakest or the strongest nations of the earth which have kept the Sabbath. Did not the American forefathers themselves consecrate Sunday as a day of rest, and keep it with the utmost strictness?

Another Scottish trait is "dourness," defined in the dictionary as "obstinacy." This is hardly adequate to express the truth. I had rather deal with a dozen obstinate men than with one dour Scotsman. Dourness is obstinacy raised to the eighth power. It is one hundred obstinate people rolled into one. It fills me with despair to try to explain it. If I could present the picture of a Highland cow, with her calf by her side, watching the approach of a tourist whom she thinks is coming too near—could I depict the expression of her face, that, I would say, would fairly represent what is meant by "dour". Not that the cow would take the aggressive, but, if interfered with, I'll warrant she would not be the one permanently injured. Led by this trait, a certain Scotsman always stood up during prayers when others were kneeling, and sat down when others stood to sing, because, as he expressed it, the ordinary method was the only one used by the English, and he wasn't going to do as they did.

Let the Scotch alone, and there are no more civil people in the world, but let someone come bringing them a new faith, or let the tyrant try to oppress, and they resist to the end. There were Scotch martyrs, but they nearly always designed it so that when they went to their death someone who brought it about went along with them. But if you take a Scotsman on the right side, flatter him, and tell him that you want to be his friend, he is too soft, you can do anything with him, and herein is the inconsistency of his nature. You trust us, and you may use us as you please; but take us on the wrong side, try to make us do what we do not want to do, and we would not yield an inch if you proposed the most reasonable thing in the universe. But unless a nation has a backbone, it deserves no honour.

It would not be well if I did not make a plea for the bright intelligence of the common people of Scotland. It is owing to their intelligence, together with other hardy virtues, that our people have had some measure of success. It is because of his intelligence that the Scotchman may be said to have three yards start over his competitors in the race. There is no other nation where the country people and the labouring classes of the city have such general educational facilities. The result of this education is that when a Scot leaves his country he goes by law of Divine Providence to improve other countries. You will not find him a scavenger or day labourer, but a skilled artisan; not a cheap clerk, but rising in the firm, with an eye on a junior partnership.

One man, John Knox, is responsible for this Scotch system of education. Your nation had its leader, whom you reverence as the "Father of His Country". Israel had its Moses; Germany her Martin Luther;

and Scotland stands to-day an eternal monument to the foresight and determination of a single man—John Knox. It was he who, in his capacity as a political and social reformer, laid down the same principle in Scotland which you have recognized here—that if a nation is to succeed, it must be educated. It was he who, in the sixteenth century, devised a system of education in which every parish should have its school and every boy should attend that school. Successful there, he was to have been sent by the State to a higher school, and thence to a university. The system failed because three-fifths of the money appropriated for it went to the Scottish noblemen. Although I cannot prove it, I feel certain that Knox's scheme must have been known to the founders of the American system of public schools, and must have had some influence upon the creation of the American school system. To the influence of John Knox on the Scottish people is due the fact that they are an intellectual race to-day John Knox took the educational ladder and put its lowest rung at the door-sill of the shepherd's cottage and the highest at the door to the university.

The Scotchman regards only two things with absolute reverence. Money is not one of them. His religion is one, learning is the other. If one had pointed out a millionaire in Drumtochty, nobody would have turned his head, but Jamie Souter would have run up a hill to see the back of a scholar disappearing in the distance.

Come with me where the heather rolls in purple billows. Come with me to a district which some of you know or of which you have heard, any Highland glen you can think of or of which you have read Here is a shepherd's cottage, on top of which the mosses grow. Stooping, we enter the doorway and are shown into the best room, where, in striking contrast to the rest of the poor furniture, is a shelf of calf-bound books. The shepherd's wife is in reality most anxious to have you examine these books and ask about them, though Scotch manners prevent her from calling them to your attention. It would be a vain display and boasting to speak first of them But when you have broken the ice, she will take you into the kitchen and explain that these were the university books of her son, for whom the whole family has toiled and saved that he might have an education.

To have a scholar in the family is one of the greatest ambitions of the people who live in Drumtochty. To prepare a son for college after he has been duly declared by the minister and other authorities as having in him the making of a scholar, no sacrifice is too great, or labour too hard, or planning too arduous. It is worth all it costs to be able to say once in three generations, at least, that there is a scholar in the family. It would be well if between the cottages and the university an open road were kept, and upon that road the grass were never allowed to grow. For professors the Scotchman in the glen has immense reverence. To him the professor is the incarnation of learning, a heavenly body charged with Greek and Latin. No students have suffered so much to secure an education as those in Scotch universities.

Among all our qualities, the deepest-rooted, apart from the fear of God, is sentiment. And yet we do not receive credit for it, because we have not sentimentalism, which is the caricature and ghost of senti-

ment. The sentiment of the Scotch is of the heart and not of the lips. If I saw a couple of Scotchmen kissing each other good-bye, I wouldn't lend five shillings to either of them. It is not an uncommon thing to see such an exhibition among Italians. I do not blame them. They are as God made them, and so they must be People doubt whether we have any sentiment at all. Some people think we are hard-hearted and cold-blooded. Our manner is less than genial, and not effusive. Our misfortune is not to be able to express our feelings. This inability is allied to our strength; strong people conceal their feelings. The Scot is endowed with an excess of caution, unnecessary reserve. Recently a train in Scotland came to a junction, where the porter shouted inside each carriage: "Change carriages for Duan, Callendar, and the Trossachs" After he had gone an old Scotchman said: "I'm for Duan misel', but I would not let on to that man." This story shows the national reserve carried too far, it would perhaps be a good thing if the Scotch people "let on" more than they do

But notwithstanding the irony that underlies the Scot's nature, and his apparent stolidness, there does lie within his bosom, unseen, a store of sentiment, for where do you find ballads touching home life so beautifully as do those of Scotland—such as "Robin Adair," "Will Ye No Come Back Again?" "Auld Lang Syne"? And if you want to know that which no Scotchman can talk to you about, read the poetry written by one of his own type, Robert Burns If a Scotchman is forced to leave his home, the roots of his life are being torn up, he is outraged in feeling and ready to become an anarchist. There is no greater sin than to dispossess a Scotsman of his home If you wish a real nice friend to come and have afternoon tea with you, and tell you how sweet your children are, and that she can't live without seeing them, do not send for Elspeth McFadyen, unless she has been living a long time away from Drumtochty; but if one of your children is ill with a contagious disease, she will be the first to proffer care and service

Forgive us that we have no outward manners Believe us that we have a warm heart. If you want manners, go to another nation If you want a warm heart, go to a Scotch woman or man. The songs of Robert Burns are indicative of the character of the Scotch people Reading them you can hear the beating of the Scotch heart It is true we do not wear our heart on our sleeve, but where do you find a warmer, truer heart than that which beats beneath the Scots plaid? History has no more generous, impulsive rebellion than the Rebellion of '45, when men sent their sons, maidens their sweethearts, to the field in behalf of Prince Charlie. They had nothing to win, they had everything to lose, and they gave their blood freely for a sentimental cause.

But we are told that we are a thrifty people, as if that were a reproach. But does not Scottish thrift mean some of the best and most useful qualities—foresight, self-denial, the conscientious use of money? Does it not mean independence? When I contrast this quality with the recklessness and improvidence of the man who gets thereby a reputation for being "generous," I declare before this audience that I am not ashamed of the thrift of our people by which they have maintained their self-respect, have been enabled to help one another, and to keep

their poor from becoming a burden to the great cities; and I trust in no city are they a burden to the police. It is the nations, like the individuals, that know how to deny themselves, who make their mark in the world.

It follows as a natural consequence for the inhabitants of a country so poor as Scotland to emigrate when there are so many rich lands to go to. But everywhere the Scotsman goes he retains his characteristics. Never revolutionary, he is for culture and everything that is for the welfare of his adopted nation. The problem with Scotsmen going to other countries is. How did they get along until we got here?

"Lord gi'e us a gude conceit o' oursel's," may be called the national prayer, and there is perhaps no prayer that has been so remarkably answered. Once a Scotsman, cornered with Shakespeare said: "Shakespeare micht a been an Englishman—we hae nae evidence to the contrary—but he was able enough tae hae been a Scotsman."

The Scotch have one illusion, too. It is that nobody notices their accent. If a Scotchman is asked what part of Scotland he came from, his first remark after answering the question is apt to be "Now that is curious. How did ye ken I came from Scotland at all?"

There exists between all natives of Scotland a bond of sympathy. Where do you find persons who love their country as do the Scotch? Let three Scotchmen meet in a foreign city, and they form a St. Andrew's Society to assist their countrymen.

Scotland has been a stern mother to her children, never overfeeding them, and using the stick when it was necessary, and when they have departed from their native country, they always look back and bless her Ours is a little country, and that is perhaps one reason that we love it so well. Yours is great and good country, and I wish it peace and prosperity; but there is advantage in a little country—you can carry it more easily in your heart

Photo *Sport & General*

M POINCARI
(Ex President of the French Republic)

CARDINAL MANNING

CARDINAL MANNING

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

Address by Cardinal Manning, delivered February 1, 1882, in the Egyptian Hall of the Mansion House, London, at a meeting convened by the Lord Mayor to give expression to the feeling excited in England by the then recently perpetrated atrocities upon the Jews in Russia.

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It has often fallen to my lot to move a resolution in meetings such as this, but never in my memory have I moved one with more perfect conviction of my reason or more entire concurrence of my heart.

I need not disclaim, for I accept the eloquent disclaimer of the noble lord, that we are not met here for a political purpose. If there were a suspicion of any party politics, I should not be standing here. It is because I believe that we are highly above all the tumults of party politics, that we are in the serene region of human sympathy and human justice, that I am here to-day. I can also declare that nothing can be further from my intention, as I am confident nothing can be further from yours, than to do that which would be a violation of the laws of mutual peace and order, and the respect which binds nations together, or to attempt to interfere or dictate in the domestic legislation of Russia. I am also bound to say that I share heartily in the words of veneration used by the noble earl (the Earl of Shaftesbury, who moved the first resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the persecution and the outrages which the Jews in many parts of the Russian Dominion have for several months past suffered, are an offence to civilization to be deeply deplored") towards his Imperial Majesty of Russia. No man can have watched the last year of the Imperial family, no man can know the condition in which the Emperor stands now, without a profound sympathy which would at once quell every disposition to use a single expression which would convey a wound to the mind of the Czar. Therefore, I disclaim absolutely and altogether that anything that passes from my lips—and I believe I can speak for all—should assume a character inconsistent with veneration for a person charged with a responsibility so great. Further, I may say that while we do not pretend to touch upon any question in the internal legislation of Russia, there are laws larger than any Russian legislation—the laws of humanity and of God, which are the foundation of all other laws, and if in any legislation they be violated, all the nations of Christian Europe, the whole commonwealth of civilized and Christian men, would instantly acquire a right to speak out aloud.

And now I must touch upon one point, which I acknowledge has been very painful to me. We have all watched for the last twelve months the anti-Semitic movement in Germany. I look upon it with a twofold feeling—in the first place with horror as tending to disintegrate the foundations of social life and, secondly, with great fear lest it may light upon an animosity, which has already taken flame in Russia and may spread elsewhere. I have read with great regret an elaborate article, full, no doubt, of minute observations written from Prussia and published in the nineteenth century, giving a description of the class animosities, jealousies, and rivalries which are at present so rife in that country When I read that article, my first feeling was one of infinite sorrow that the power and energy of the Old Testament should be so much greater in Brandenburg than those of the New. I am sorry to see that a society penetrated with rationalism has not so much Christian knowledge, Christian power, Christian character, and Christian virtue as to render it impossible that, cultivated, refined, industrious, and energetic as they are, they should endanger the Christian society of that great kingdom I have also read with pain accounts of the condition of the Russian Jews, bringing against them accusations which, if I touch upon them, I must ask my Jewish friends near me to believe I reject with incredulity and horror. Nevertheless, I have read that the cause of what has happened in Russia is that the Jews have been pliers of infamous trades—usurers, immoral, demoralizing, and I know not what When I read these accusations, I ask, Will they be cured by crime, murder, outrage, abominations of every sort? Are they not learning the lesson from those who ought to teach a higher?

Again, if it be true, which I do not believe, that they are in the condition described, are they not under penal laws? Is there anything that can degrade men more than to close against intelligence, energy, and industry all the honourable careers of public life? Is there anything that can debase and irritate the soul of man more than to be told: "You must not pass beyond that boundary, You must not dwell in that town, you must live only in that province"? I do not know how any one can believe that the whole population can fail to be affected in its inmost soul by such laws, and if it be possible to make it worse, this is the mode and the discipline to make it so They bring these accusations against the Russian Jews, why do they not bring them against the Jews of Germany? By the acknowledgment of the anti-Semitic movement, the Jews in Germany rise head and shoulders above their fellows. Why do they not bring these accusations against the Jews of France? Is there any career of public utility, any path of honour, civil or military, in which the Jews have not stood side by side with their countrymen? If the charge is brought against the Jews of Russia, who will bring it against the Jews of England? For uprightness, for refinement, for generosity, for charity, for all the graces and virtues that adorn humanity, where will be found examples brighter or more true of human excellence than in this Hebrew race? And when we are told that the accounts of those atrocities are not to be trusted, I ask if there were to appear in the newspapers long and minute narratives of murder, rapine, and other atrocities round about the Egyptian Hall,

in Old Jewry, in Houndsditch, in Shoreditch, if it were alleged that the Lord Mayor was looking on, that the Metropolitan police did nothing, that the Guards at the Tower were seen mingled with the mob, I believe you would thank any man who gave you an opportunity of exposing and contradicting the statement.

Well, then, I say we are rendering a public service to the public departments and Ministry of Russia by what we are doing now, and I believe it will carry consolation to the heart of the great prince who reigns over that vast empire But let me suppose for a moment that these things are true—and I do not found my belief in their truth from what has appeared either in the *Times* newspaper or in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which has confirmed the statements. I hold the proofs in my own hand. And from whom do they come? From official documents, from the Minister of the Interior, General Ignatieff. The resolution speaks of the laws of Russia as regards its Jewish subjects I do not assume to be an old jurist in English law, much less to say what the laws of Russia are in this respect I should not know what to say on the resolution if I did not hold in my hand a rescript of much importance I hope I shall not be told that, like the ukase, it is a forgery These horrible atrocities had continued throughout May, June, and July, and in the month of August this document was issued. The first point in it is that it laments and deplores—what? The atrocities on the Jewish subjects of the Czar? By no means, but the sad condition of the Christian inhabitants of the southern provinces. The next point is that the main cause of these "movements and riots," as they are called, to which the Russian nation had been a stranger, is but a commercial one. The third point is that this conduct of the Jews has called forth "protests" on the part of the people, as manifested by acts—of what do you think? Of violence and robbery Fourthly, we are told by the Minister of the Interior that the country is subject to malpractices, which were, it is known, the cause of the agitation.

My Lord Mayor, if the logic of this document be calm, the rhetoric and insinuation of it are most inflammatory, and I can hardly conceive how, with that rescript in their hands, the Russian population could not have felt that they were encouraged to go on The document then goes on to say, "We have appointed a Commission to inquire"—into what? "First, what are the trades of the Jews which are injurious to the inhabitants of the place; and, secondly, what makes it impracticable to put into force the already existing laws limiting the rights of the Jews in the matter of buying and farming land and trading in intoxicants and usury. Thirdly, how shall these laws be altered so that the Jews can no longer evade them, and what new laws may be passed to prevent their evasion."

Besides answering the foregoing questions, the following additional information was sought—first, on usury, secondly, on the number of public-houses, thirdly, on the number of persons in the service of the Jews, fourthly, on the extent and acreage of the land; and, lastly, on the number of Jewish agriculturists. We have in our hands the Russian laws affecting the Jewish subjects of the Empire. I would ask what is the remedy for a population in this state? Is it more penal

laws? Is it to disqualify them from holding land? Is it to forbid them to send their children to higher places of education? No, my Lord Mayor; I believe that the remedy for this state of things is twofold —first, the vital supremacy of Christian law in all its amplitude. It was not by laws like these that the Christians won the world and won the Imperial power to execute justice among men. It will not be by laws other than these that the great Imperial power of Russia will blend with the population of the Empire their Jewish subjects.

The other remedy I believe to be this; a stern and merciful execution of justice upon evil doers, coupled with a stern and rigorous concession of all that is right in the law of nature and of God to every man. All that is necessary for the protection of life and limb, and liberty and property—all that constitutes human freedom—this, and nothing less than this, will be the remedy for the evil of which the Minister of the Interior complains.

I look very hopefully to what may be the effect of this meeting. Do not let us overrate it If we believe that this meeting will have done the work, and that we may cease to speak, its effect will not be what we desire Let us not underrate it either I believe that all through the United Kingdom there will be a response to this meeting Manchester and Birmingham have begun, and wheresoever the English tongue is spoken throughout the world, that which your Lordship has said so eloquently and so powerfully will be known I believe at the very moment we are assembled here, a meeting of the same kind is assembled in New York, and what passes here will be translated into every language of Europe, and will pass even the frontiers of Russia Like the light and the air, it cannot be excluded, and wheresoever there is human sympathy, the declarations that are made here and elsewhere will meet with a response that will tend to put an end to these horrible atrocities

There is a Book, my lord, which is common to the race of Israel and to us Christians That Book is a bond between us, and in that Book I read that the people of Israel are the oldest people upon the earth Russia, and Austria, and England are of yesterday, compared with the imperishable people which, with an inextinguishable life and immutable traditions, and faith in God and in the laws of God, scattered as it is all over the world, passing through the fires unscathed, trampled into the dust, and yet never combining with the dust into which it is trampled, lives still a witness and a warning to us. We are in the bonds of brotherhood with it

The New Testament rests upon the Old. They believe in half of that for which we would give our lives. Let us then acknowledge that we unite in a common sympathy. I read in that Book these words. "I am angry with a great anger with the wealthy nations that are at ease, because I was a little angry with Israel, and they helped forward the affliction" That is, My people were scattered; they suffered unknown and unimaginable sufferings, and the nations of the world that dwelt at ease and were wealthy, and had power in their hands, helped forward a very weighty affliction which was upon them all.

My lord, I only hope this—that not one man in England who calls

himself a civilized or Christian man will have it in his heart to add by a single word to that which this great and ancient and noble people suffer; but that we shall do all we can by labour, by speech, and by prayer to lessen if it be possible, or at least to keep ourselves from sharing in sympathy with these atrocious deeds.

Photo *Lafayette*

THE LATE LORD MORLEY

THE RT. HON. LORD MORLEY

Speech in the Town Hall at Rochdale, after the statue of John Bright had been unveiled, on the 24 October, 1891

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN. As Mr. Brierley in his very excellent remarks observed, the occasion that has brought us together is one that has united the sympathy, the active interest, and the practical support of men and women of all political opinions and all religious opinions, and, as the Chairman observed, the interest and support of all classes, from the wealthy down to the humblest and the most lowly. I may be forgiven for adding that the fact that the invitation to take a prominent part in this ceremony was conveyed to me, whose misfortune was not to be able to take sides with Mr Bright in the great controversy of his closing days, is an additional illustration that this is not an occasion of a partial, a narrow, or an exclusive description, but is one that touches the interests and sympathies of Englishmen of all kinds, equally and alike.

We have recalled the outward semblance and the bodily presence of this illustrious man, and I think I am only saying what you would desire me to say, when I express my opinion, which I believe is yours too, that the sculptor has succeeded with admirable skill in reproducing the comeliness of mien, the dignity, the pose, the gesture, which we all knew and remember so well I am strongly inclined to think, that if we all did what was the best thing for us, we should now, after having performed this ceremony, go to our own homes and read for ourselves one of those famous speeches of Mr Bright, which from their language, their purpose, and their effect on men's minds, are his titles to lasting honour. However, in scenes like this it is expected that we should not part in silence, so, instead of doing what is best for us, I shall ask you to listen for a short time to a few observations as to which I cannot for a moment flatter myself that they possess any originality.

We stand at a distance of eighty years from the date of Mr. Bright's birth, and of fifty years from his entry into Parliamentary life. It would be idle for me to attempt to tell over again, in the midst of those among whom he lived, the story of his days You know his upbringing in that religious body among the prime articles of whose creed is hatred of war, abhorrence of slavery, absence of formal or professional priesthood, the freedom of religion, and of the indwelling light in the mind and conscience of men, from all connection with the powers of the earth. You know how he was surrounded from his youth by men earning their bread by hard toil and with honourable industry. He had no marked advantages of literary education, but he was blessed with an inborn readiness to take an active and an understanding concern in objects of great public in-

terest. When he was some four-and-twenty years old, his views of national policy were thrown into definite shape by reading a remarkable pamphlet by a man whom also, though he was not your townsman, you know well in Rochdale, I mean Cobden. Mr Bright said himself of this pamphlet of Cobden's—it was called England, Ireland, and America—that it excelled in sagacity, in foresight, and in practical wisdom any political essay that had ever been published in our tongue. And I believe myself that those who are most competent to judge, and those who have read this pamphlet, and have measured its place in political history, will be of the mind that Mr. Bright did not at all in these words exaggerate its value.

Mr. Bright looked round, and he perceived that Cobden's reading of what he saw about him was elevated, was practical, was wise, and fitted in with the whole spirit of his own early teaching and his own early surroundings They became comrades and fellow-workers, bound to one another by a true and faithful friendship, which lasted as long as their common lives, and stands as one of the purest, closest, and most magnanimous friendships in our political history.

Mr Bright had not been long engaged in his first great public task, which, as you all know, was the repeal of the taxes on food, before it was found that he possessed the natural gifts of a great orator; that he had the power by his speeches to excite, to interest, to convince, to exalt In a country governed by Parliament, and by public meetings, it is obvious that the power of a great speaker must be a power of almost the first importance, and that circumstance has led many to satirize the British system as government by talk I am not now going to discuss that question, though it is one full of interest I will only remark —that it is not irrelevant on an occasion like this—that it has been pointed out, that if you look at English political history from the days of Sir Robert Walpole down to the days of Lord Palmerston, with three or four exceptions, you will find that those who have taken the foremost place in the English politics of their times have not been orators of the first class One great exception is well known to all of us But even in the case of Mr Gladstone—the exception best known to us, it will not be forgotten that he first established his great ascendency in Parliament and in the country by his practical achievements in the sphere of public business, and by his unsurpassed mastery over the financial system of his country

Therefore, we should not have been here to-day, I venture to say, if Mr Bright had been no more than a great master of tropes and figures, images, perorations, and all the rest of rhetorical paraphernalia He once himself said caustically in the House of Commons of some one, that he would be a very good speaker if you did not listen to what he said In the same vein, Mr Bright once said, as to thinkers in Parliament, that the worst of great thinkers is that they so very often think wrong Well, we are not here to-day merely because we think that he was always right, we are not here because he made speeches, which were magnificent apart from their contents. No, eloquence is more than words. Speech is not eloquence. Eloquence is character, conviction, sincerity, purpose, service, fitness—eloquence is the moment, is the man

The fashion of oratory changes. Lord Derby, in his admirable speech on a similar occasion to this a fortnight ago, said something about Burke. Certainly, Burke's two speeches on American taxation and American conciliation I have always regarded as the most masterly manual of civil wisdom in the English language. Still I think if those speeches were made now in the House of Commons we should see member after member slipping away into the noble ease of the library, or the more ignoble ease of the smoking-room I should say that the foundation of Mr. Bright's oratory—and remember this is not merely literary examination, but in criticizing the oratory, we are criticizing the character of the man whom we are met here to-day to honour—I should say that the foundation of his oratory was, first, the possession of a body of what to him were living principles, secondly, his gift of thoroughly mastering the facts of his case, with his rare power and skilful use of and firm control over detail; thirdly, that he always had, in every speech he made, a definite and practical end without which deliberative eloquence is nought, and even worse than nought, fourthly, he constantly appealed to the strong parts of human character, and to the higher aspects of national destiny, fifthly, and most important, there was in every speech he made a moral fervour, beating like a pulse under the array of spoken words, warming political objects into moral objects, and sending a current of moral ideas like a Gulf Stream, enriching political discussion, nourishing it, and making it alive

On one occasion, Lord Palmerston—to whom he was all his life in active and direct antagonism—spoke of him as "the honourable and reverend gentleman," and scoffed at what he said as things for the pulpit. Lord Palmerston did not know the spirit of the times into which he had survived It was Mr. Bright's power of appeal to reverence, to human sympathy, to pity—it was these things that gave him his almost unrivalled authority over those great audiences, so well known now to all of us, who are dimly feeling their way through the intricacies of political fact and the long bewilderment of political controversy, but who always mean to follow what is right, who are always eager to stretch out a hand to the downtrodden and helpless, and who, even in their hours of delusion and of false enchantment, are always ready to take a high and generous view, and always to repel a low or a base or an ignoble one

Though he belonged to the persuasion of Non-resistance, he had plenty of that spirit of contention without which public life is hardly possible in a free country. Mr. Bright was not famous for handling his opponents tenderly, and I suppose nobody ever less implicitly followed the apostolic injunction to "suffer fools gladly." Dr. Johnson said that "to treat your opponent in argument with respect, is to give him an advantage to which he is not fairly entitled" Few of Mr. Bright's antagonists ever gained that unlawful advantage He thought that old Fuller was not far wrong when he said that he should suspect that a man's preaching had little salt in it if no galled horse did wince.

Apart from the direct objects of Mr. Bright's career there were two services which he rendered in a pre-eminent degree, though the shallow and the cynical may say, if they please, that they are no better than dilettantism and sentimentalism. The first was that he was careful

of the dignity and simplicity of the English tongue. I remember when he was kind enough to perform for me the friendly office of reading through the proof-sheets of a book which it was my fortune to write upon Cobden—how prompt he was all through that task, particularly to note any slipshod, any loose, any affected, any too familiar expression. His literary taste on all these points was perfect Here, as in so much else, he had caught the spirit of Milton, who said that next to the man who advises his countrymen with wise and intrepid counsel of government, he valued most the man who liked and cared for the purity of his mother-tongue—and therefore there is something particularly appropriate in the circumstance that, as I gather from the Chairman, it is intended to devote some portion of the fund which has been raised to the foundation of scholarship for literature in connection with Victoria University.

The second service was this. It is a striking thing, and I think it is a promising and a fruitful thing, that this man, who in his day was called a revolutionist and a destroyer, should have been the first and strongest to appeal to historic precedents and to the great forefathers of English freedom two centuries ago. A political leader does well to strive to keep our English democracy historic, and to make them ready magnanimously to praise great men, and our fathers that begat us John Bright would have been a worthy comrade for John Hampden, John Selden, John Pym. He had the very spirit of the Puritan leaders He had their brave and honest heart, their sound and sedate judgment, their manly hatred of oppression, of bad laws, of all government outside laws Besides, that is true of John Bright which the historian has said of John Pym, that he had the civic temper and habit of looking for wisdom in the result of common debate, rather than in one supereminent mind It was this that made him glory in the House of Commons He despised the gladiatorial triumphs of the Parliamentary arena, and scorned the fleeting laurels of its contentions, but no man who has ever lived has more deeply and profoundly honoured the grand traditions and the great responsibilities of the mother of Parliaments

He had the same foundation of religion as had the Puritan leaders He took, as they did, civil duty to be a part of religion, though happily there has come into the nineteenth century a wide tolerance, an appreciation of spiritual and intellectual freedom, which was hardly possible to the Puritan leader in the seventeenth century. You remember a beautiful reflection in one of Mr. Bright's speeches He said "I accept the belief in a grand passage which I once met with in the writings of the illustrious founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, who says that the humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls are everywhere of one religion, and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers" Yes, it is good to think that this wise and strong tolerance in these supreme concerns springs in his case, as I hope it springs in the whole temper of this generation, not from slackness, not from indifference, but from a better understanding of one another.

The most signal practical successes of Mr. Bright were undoubtedly Free Trade and the enlargement of the Parliamentary franchise. These

were his two most signal practical successes. The grandest exhibition of his moral courage, and one of the very grandest in our history, was the stern and unquailing front with which he resisted the flood of popular prejudice and passion raging at the time of the Crimean War—raging in favour of a conflict which Mr. Bright regarded not only as a terrible crime before high heaven, but as destructive of the best and the truest interests of the country. Then, the most striking passage of his rhetorical performances, taken singly and as a whole, I dare say many will think was the speech he made in Birmingham in the year 1858—a well-known and famous speech But I confess my own view that it was during the Civil War in America that we saw all Mr. Bright's highest and greatest gifts at their best The force of his vision and of his hopes for the destiny of mankind was never more keen, the masculine strength of his argument never was so massive and so exalted, the power of his language never so commanding and so pathetic, as during that mighty struggle, when, in his own sublime words, "a continent reeled under the American nation during four years of agony, till at last, after the smoke of the battlefield had cleared away, the horrid shape of slavery, which had cast its shade over the whole continent, had vanished and had gone for ever." As we look back, as we survey all his career, as we remember the enormous importance at that moment of the crisis of the relations between Great Britain and the United States of America—looking back and remembering the impression he made on the public opinion of his country, we may say of him in connection with it, that he was one of those who have turned the balance of the greatest events.

Mr Bright was constantly taunted with being parochial It was said of him that he cared for no country but his own, and then he was usually charged in the very same breath by the very same people with being a cosmopolitan who cared for every other country except his own As if anything could be less parochial than Free Trade! As if you can trace parochialism in the contrast that he drew between Rome —lone mother of dead empires—and England—the living mother of "great nations on the American and Australian Continents, who promise to endow the world with all her knowledge and all her civilization, and something more than the freedom that she herself enjoys!" What was there parochial in his splendid and beneficent vision of the English-speaking nations all bound together, not by the bars and framework of some cast-iron political machinery, but each in its own way working out the common principles of free government in a deliberate and well-compacted peace with one another? Far more parochial was the statesmanship that would have plunged us into war for some sanguinary scuffle of a Don Carlos in Spain, or Don Miguel in Portugal, or in Savoy, or Schleswig-Holstein—there was the true parochialism, and not in Mr. Bright.

Many fine and true things have been said of George Washington. I always think one of the finest and one of the truest was this, that "Washington changed mankind's ideas of political greatness." And we may say of Mr. Bright that he changed our ideas of national greatness. You remember these beautiful words of his "Palaces, baronial castles, great halls, stately mansions—these do not make a nation.

The nation in every country dwells in the cottage; and unless the light of your Constitution can shine there, unless the beauty of your legislation, and the excellence of your statesmanship are impressed there on the feelings and conditions of the people, rely upon it that you have yet to learn the duties of government." This is a consideration which sounds very obvious and very simple, and yet which rulers and Parliament and Cabinets are all very liable to forget, and this was the consideration which lay at the root of all his public endeavour for Free Trade, for extended suffrage, for wise and just diplomacy, for peace. Mr. Bright very well knew that the duty of statesmen is to see that your country shall be strong. He did not shrink even from the approval of war, when the existence of the majestic fabric of American union was at stake. He knew that the business of the statesman is to keep his country strong, but he insisted the strength of a country must be sought in what I may call the moral reason of things He fought for Free Trade, for the admission of new classes to the suffrage, for public economy, for wise and just diplomacy affecting the rights of other nations, because he believed all these things were the key to England's holding her place as a powerful and beneficent nation among the great states of the world.

I am not going to take you, even for a moment, over the ground of the Free Trade controversy, nor, in fact, over any of the disputed political points which arose in the course of his career The distinguished man who has for the last five years presided over the Government of this country, said the other day that the doctrines of the Manchester School in their old intensity were now repudiated and disavowed. This may be partially true of their "old intensity," but if we look round, we do not see that the doctrines of the Manchester School, in all that was sound in them, have in any degree lost their hold upon the policy of this country. All responsible men, for instance, admit that given a country like ours, with a gigantic manufacturing plant, with a huge manufacturing population, being mainly dependent upon other countries for its food and for its raw material—such a country can have but one policy, and that policy, if it be conducted by wise men, must and can only be a policy of peace, of non-intervention, and of Free Trade. When Mr. Bright entered Parliamentary life this was nothing short of industrial life or death to the country. I know it is said that Free Trade was carried by a parcel of Lancashire manufacturers, who had a sharp eye to the main chance and were looking after their own pockets To take that view is to misunderstand entirely and absolutely the whole body of principles upon which Mr Bright and Mr Cobden uniformly argued their case And the propositions, I venture to say, which these two men established in the minds of the country, are now accepted, and finally and permanently accepted for all serious purposes, by both parties in the State as the basis of the economic policy of this country.

Mr. Bright would have been the last man to claim place either as a great originator of new ideas of national policy, like Cobden, or as a great practical instrument for carrying out the policy of others, like Sir Robert Peel. His instinct probably told him that his place was one not any less high—to be the adviser and the counsellor of his countrymen. It is quite true that he did not always avoid Ministerial responsibility

but for the Parliamentary arts of making and keeping majorities, of measuring the exact ripeness of questions for Parliamentary treatment, for the necessity of somehow or other carrying on the Queen's Government—all of this inevitable, but rather slippery, ground, Mr. Bright would never tread. But it was, with the greatest reluctance, as he told the world, that he ever consented to accept office. Mr Gladstone has told me that he had to wrestle with him—I think from nine o'clock one night until one o'clock in the morning—before he could induce him to take office in 1868. Mr. Bright felt that his mission was rather that of a counsellor, standing outside of practice and administration. At the same time he was no pedant, he was no irreconcilable, he was always willing to help when he saw a Minister steering the ship of State in the direction in which he wished it to go He was always ready to make allowances for difficulties. He pressed no unreasonable exactions upon friends in office. He was the most loyal and helpful of colleagues, endeavouring to make things easy and not difficult You know that he himself preferred the simple position of plain citizenship, and the answer came from his heart when he used those beautiful words of the Shunammite woman, that she liked best to dwell among her own people.

I do not propose to attempt to survey the various fields in which he was active and exercised vast influence You know how much he cared for India. You know how vigilantly he watched our almost ceaseless frontier wars, and how strenuously he protested against a harsh or lawless or oppressive bearing against inferior races. Everybody knows, again, that there was no subject which engaged his most anxious meditations from the time of the famine of 1846-7 to the day of his death, than that of Ireland It occupied a foremost place in his thoughts, and inspired many of his most admirable speeches In 1881, in a speech that he made at the Mansion House in London, talking about the Irish Land Act, which had just become law, he used some remarkable words—and I hope nobody will suppose I am going for a moment to violate what I may call the sacred spirit of this occasion by introducing a word of controversy. His words were these

> I have said that there are fears—I have fears—that after the state of things through which the Irish people have gone in so many successive periods, it is not perhaps quite certain that all remedial measures are not too late I will not express a strong fear that such is the case; on the contrary, I will express a strong hope that such is not the case.

Five years after that, some of his old colleagues adopted a new policy, based on the belief that, with respect to remedial measures of the partial and limited kind of which Mr. Bright was speaking, his fears and not his hopes had come true. I remember the first time that I saw Mr. Bright after the formation of the Cabinet of 1886. As he shook hands with me in the lobby he glanced at me with an eye of rebuke, and intimated pretty bluntly with how little favour he viewed the course on which we had embarked. Well, gentlemen, it was not for me, in the words of a Greek disciple about his teacher, "It was not for me to lay hands on my father Parmenides." I will only repeat here what I said in the

House of Commons on the day of his death, that one of the deepest feelings in the minds of many of us during those months of stress and conflict and sharp controversy, was a feeling of regret that the last days of so noble a career should have been in any degree clouded or made less happy by division from the comrades and fellow-workers of a lifetime.

Here I will leave this memorable man. I have already told in Rochdale how, one evening at One Ash, he mused over the contrast between the enormous space that a public man fills in the eye and in the ear of his generation whilst he is living, with the silence that seems to fall about his name when the last page of the book of his career has been closed. We may be sure of this, that Mr. Bright's name will be perpetuated in material less perishable than marble or bronze. It is quite true that the chill of time congeals the glowing current of fervid speech, and hardens the orator's molten metal into dull and inanimate shapes. Yet I cannot suppose but that many a page of Mr. Bright's is so classic in form, so noble in thought, so apt in principle and application to great occasions of national life, that they will live to be a lamp for many a generation of Englishmen in times to come It has been well said that monuments, anniversaries, statues, are schools whose lessons sink deep. So this statue, to the minds of future generations, as they pass it in going to and fro about the affairs of their daily business, will recall a lofty example, a man of unshaken firmness and constancy, a faithful, an enlightened, an unselfish citizen, and a great and a famous pleader for the best causes of mankind.

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI

THE FOUR-POWER PACT

The Four-Power Pact, which is to be known officially as an "Agreement of Understanding and Co-operation," was initialled in Rome on June 7, 1933, by the representatives of Italy, Great Britain, France, and Germany.

It provided for the collaboration of the four signatory States within the framework of the League of Nations, special reference being made to Articles 10, 16, and 19 of the Covenant, to which "due effect" is to be given. Its duration is ten years

After the initialling Signor Mussolini, the chief instigator of the pact, made a speech in the Senate which was enthusiastically received.

Signor Mussolini spoke altogether for about three-quarters of an hour. The principal points on which he laid emphasis were that the pact was directed against nobody and was intended to assure the peace of Europe for ten years Signor Mussolini paid warm tributes to the work done by Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon, and also to the tireless labours of the various Ambassadors

France and Italy

Signor Mussolini made it clear that, notwithstanding the modifications, the fundamental principles of the original text of the pact had been maintained, and illustrated his claim by reading parts of the original document and of the final draft He also made a special point of denying rumours that France had ever tried to "torpedo" the project On the contrary, he said, she had shown a spirit of loyal collaboration.

Another outstanding feature of the Duce's speech was his expression of confidence that Franco-Italian relations would now be put on an entirely different footing The problems still dividing the two countries were not insuperable, he said, and could now be examined in the light of the better atmosphere created by the pact. He was now hopeful of a solution of these questions The cheers with which these words were welcomed in all parts of the House indicated clearly that Italy is ready to come to an understanding with her neighbour.

Dealing at some length with the problem of treaty revision, Signor Mussolini in particular referred to the speech of Dr. Benesh, the Czecho-slovak Foreign Minister, who, he argued, had not categorically rejected the principle of revision, but, on the contrary, had accepted it upon the fulfilment of certain specified conditions. A chapter in the post-War history of Europe had been closed and a new one opened. It was not to be thought that all difficulties would now be swept away by the mere

conclusion of this pact, but it was essential that its spirit should be constantly operative, so that, as problems arose, they should be examined and settled in the new spirit of loyal co-operation.

Explaining at the outset that the origin of the pact dated back to the Treaty of Locarno and his speech in Turin last October, Signor Mussolini declared that the pact above all was the continuation and development of the spirit of understanding between States exemplified in the Pact of Locarno. It excluded every idea of opposing groups and antagonistic political aims.

In the Pact of Locarno the position of the four Powers was clearly defined, but European policy had only too often strayed from the logical consequences of this pact It was now time that the four Western Powers should revert to the principles of 1925, and undertake solemnly to collaborate and agree among themselves on all questions that regarded them. They should also do their utmost to realize a policy of effective collaboration with other Powers "This is in fact the understanding which the new pact solemnly consecrates in Article II, which constitutes its fundamental point, and from which the succeeding articles derive and with which they are connected."

There was no intention of a definite and immutable hierarchy among the States Such a hierarchy did, however, in fact exist as regarded the four great Western States of Europe under such an eminently democratic institution as the League of Nations, where they had permanent seats on the Council.

Revision by force was never part of the original project, and had never been suggested in the subsequent drafts. Ever since the end of the War the peace treaties had been gradually undergoing adaptations and it would be dangerous to ignore the existence of such a process, which had often developed under much greater difficulties than would have been found in an atmosphere of greater reciprocal trust and understanding.

The Four-Power Pact did not mean an imposition of will upon others. It affirmed principles and laid down procedures It confirmed and developed old undertakings and set up new ones. It thrust aside all idea of opposing groups and sought to conciliate the interests of the individual States with the supreme common interest of all—namely, the consolidation of peace and the possibility of reconstruction.

Turning then to the part played by the individual nations, Signor Mussolini first referred to the friendly attitude taken by Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon. Tendentious and contradictory rumours had been spread about the attitude of France M. Daladier had never refused to consider the Italian initiative, and France had given an example of collaboration on the European plan for which it is necessary to give her credit. "In this improved atmosphere of the Four-Power Pact a rapid liquidation of certain particular questions dividing Italy and France, a liquidation already desired by M. Herriot, as also of other questions which may interest Germany and France, is perfectly possible. Once the signature of the Pact has established a new situation of mutual trust and collaboration, the questions outstanding between France and Italy in fact assume within the new framework of European policy a different

character from that which they have had hitherto, and the possibilities of solution become easier."

The attitude of Germany had been equally inspired by a keen desire of collaboration. At a given moment the spectre of war had been raised by certain elements, but Herr Hitler's great speech had immediately cleared the situation, a speech which was morally courageous and politically tranquillizing. Germany desired peace and not war, a constructive peace within and without her frontiers. By authorizing the German Ambassador to initial the Pact, Herr Hitler had given concrete proof of the intentions of his Government.

Thus Germany's desire for peace had been solemnly reaffirmed. It was necessary to remember that there was now in course of development in Germany a profound revolution which was not only national, but social, and to attempt to judge her by the measure of pre-War Germany was, to say the least, risky.

Some people had seen in Article 4 of the pact a tendency, at least potential, to set up a united front. No such idea had ever been cherished by any of the four Powers. The pact was imbued with the idea of collaboration with all other States, great and small, in Europe and outside Europe, and in particular with the United States, without whose support the solid and constructive work of political pacification and economic restoration of the world was not possible.

Under the pact there must be more or less periodical and more or less frequent meetings, according to necessity, between those directly responsible for the foreign policy of the four States. As for the League, it would be helped and not hurt by this methodical collaboration between the permanent members of its Council.

DANIEL O'CONNELL

THE STRUGGLE FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

(On Thursday, November, 1812, there was an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of the county of Dublin, held at Kilmainham, convened, according to the terms of the requisition, "to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the total repeal of the penal laws affecting our (the Catholic) body," but, in fact, to afford an opportunity of discussing the results of the elections just concluded, and the conduct of particular parties in various localities during those elections, and, generally, the state and prospects of the Catholic cause William Gerald Baggot, of Castle Baggot, was called to the chair
When Mr Baggot had concluded his short address, on taking the chair, Randal M'Donnell, Esq, after some remarks in praise of the conduct of the poorer classes of the electors during the late contests, introduced the resolutions that had been prepared There were loud calls on every side for "O'Connell, O'Connell," and, as the newspaper reported, "after a short hesitation, the Man of the people came forward and addressed them as follows")

GENTLEMEN

I could not be an Irishman, if I did not feel grateful, if I was not overpowered at the manner in which you have received me. Sorry, sunk, and degraded as my country is, I still glory in the title of Irishman. Even to contend for Ireland's liberties is a delightful duty to me. And if anything is wanting in addition to the evidence of such humble efforts as I have already been engaged in, for the restoration of our freedom and independence, to evince my devotion to the cause of my country, I do swear, by the kindness you have shown me now—by any I have ever experienced at your hands, and by all that I hold valuable, or worthy of desire, that my life is at her service. And may the heavy hand of adversity fall down upon me, and upon all that are dearest to me—the children of my heart—if ever I forsake the pure pursuit of the liberty of Ireland. Gentlemen, we are now arrived at a period when we are not only struggling for the interest of our own religion, but for the liberty, security, and peace of our Protestant brethren, both here and in England.

We are arrived at an important crisis when a serious profession has been made, on our behalf, by the English Parliament. This is the first time that a declaration such as that to which I allude was ever made in the senate. It is the first time that the voice of religious liberty was really heard in the British Parliament—the first time that men were allowed to judge for themselves, and to obey the divine precept of treating others as they themselves would wish to be treated

The period is highly important, and calls for all the watchfulness, zeal, and assiduity of which we are capable. An administration (formed, Heaven knows how!) have given us a specimen of their acting a neutral part towards us. They have promised that they shall not interpose

their authority to interrupt the good intentions of any man. Some of them have even pledged themselves to support the Catholic question; and probably half of them have given some earnest of their improved liberality. I will, however, give them little credit for sincerity; I believe they would not even pretend to lay much claim to our confidence—they have too much modesty to expect to be believed by us—we have, I believe, without paying much attention to the professions of the Cabinet, arrived at a most important crisis. It behoves every man of us to do his duty, and to take care that we shall lose none of the important acquisitions we have made. This very administration of whom I am speaking, notwithstanding all their fair promises, have been busily employed in throwing new impediments in our way since last session. But those impediments shall do us little injury if we do our duty. They certainly are our natural enemies—they hate liberty—they have an inherent abhorrence to freedom, and their hostility to us is particularly embittered by our contempt for them. Yes, gentlemen, such are the men whom you, in your resolutions, have justly termed "incompetent" and "profligate"—such are the men who now command the destinies of those realms, and probably the fortunes of Europe.

I am afraid, gentlemen, that I shall take up too much of your time if I advert to some topics that are crowding upon my mind. The first I should be inclined to allude to is an address, lately published by a real friend to religious liberty, and printed by Mr Cobbett, a distinguished colleague of his, in the exposure of public corruption—I mean Lord Cochrane, one of the members for the City of Westminster, than whom no man deserves better of every real admirer of political integrity and patriotism.

This distinguished member observes, that he was once opposed to the Catholics, because he disapproved of the slavish doctrines which prevail "in the Romish Church." It is some consolation, gentlemen, that there is some person who can assure ministers there is no danger in granting us emancipation—we are not too fond of liberty. But, gentlemen, see the consistency and rationality of our calumniators! At one time they say we are agitating democrats, crying aloud for an unwarrantable portion of freedom, the very next moment they turn round and tell us that we have a marvellous propensity for slavery! The truth, however, is that their accusations are false in both instances; we do not go to excess on either side; we are partial to a legitimate and well-modelled monarchy in an hereditary line, and we, at the same time, reverence the majesty of the people. While we bear a true allegiance to the British constitution, we still say that life is not worth enjoyment without the blessings of freedom. Lord Cochrane admits that he is converted from his original antipathy to Catholics, and he says he is now ready to grant them all the immunities he himself enjoys, if, in the first place, they accept the privileges of Englishmen, and if, in the second, they renounce the jurisdiction of the Pope. I say, we are most anxious to obtain the privileges of Englishmen. Let Lord Cochrane recollect what the first Irishman that ever was born said at Newry.

I am not surprised—continued Mr. O'Connell, when silence was again restored—I am not surprised that you should feel the most ecstatic

emotions of the Irish heart when I but allude to the name of John Philpot Curran. It recalls to us everything that is dear or interesting in our history—it pronounces everything that we are proud to live with in this age, and everything that shall be estimable in the minds of posterity. I know the name of John Philpot Curran has conducted you back involuntarily to that most awful era in our annals, when we were deprived of our independence and metamorphozed into the colony of a people who were not, and are not, in the least worthy of being our MASTERS. But, my friends, if we are true to ourselves—if Protestants and Catholics be alive to their commonest and most intimate interest, we may, profiting among other aids, by the assistance of this very idol of ours, to whom you have just paid your affectionate tribute—we may, I say, become a kingdom once more!

I had adverted to what my most venerated friend, John Philpot Curran, said at Newry. I would take leave to remind Lord Cochrane of it, assuming it to be the expression of Catholic feeling The Irish Cicero there observed that Englishmen love the privilege of being governed by Englishmen. I would tell my Lord Cochrane, that Irishmen fully as highly value the privilege of being governed by Irishmen.

The second proviso of Lord Cochrane is one merely of a polemical description He wishes to destroy the jurisdiction of the Pope. I would ask of him, in the name of Christian charity, has he not our solemn oaths to satisfy him? We are degraded, excluded, and insulted, because we regard the obligation of an oath—because, for any favour earthly power can bestow, we would not violate our consciences, and still, though this fact is clear and patent before the world, we are insulted by being told that our oaths are not a sufficient security for our allegiance! It is most amazing how men will presume to play with our feelings. We show them that we would be willingly bondsmen to all eternity, sooner than violate our oaths; yet they demand, as a security, a breach of the precepts of our religion—not thinking even an oath from such people sufficient. In the course of my professional pursuits, I have been one hundred times compelled to swear that I did not think it lawful to commit murder. You laugh, gentlemen, but what I tell you is not a greater absurdity than Lord Cochrane's proposed pledge But see how the imputation which such men would throw upon us would operate as applied to an individual in private life They demand a pledge of us, saying, by implication, that we do not value an oath Why, if any man in the community had the audacity to tell me directly that I did not value an oath, either he or I should not long survive such a flagrant insult. But we are told we have predilections—we do not deny the charge. As for my part, I do not value the man who has not his predilections and resentments; but at the same time, Lord Cochrane may be as much afraid of our predilections for the Grand Lama of Tartary as for the Pope of Rome.

Those imputations upon our value for an oath evince only the miserable ignorance of our opponents with regard to our principles and our uniform conduct. They bring to my recollection, again, the words of the Great Curran at Newry, and serve to convince me still more of their entire justice, when he said "that they are unfit to rule us,

making laws, like boots and shoes for exportation, to fit us as they may."

I have taken up much of your time, gentlemen, but I confess I am anxious that the people of England should know us. If Lord Cochrane were here, I do not think that we could fail to convince him of the mistakes he has fallen into. We are no deluders or traitors—we do not make promises to violate them. There is a long tribe of wretches who accuse us of treachery; if they, indeed, revived their slanders, they should not obtain a reply. This junta constitutes the worst and vilest herd of the community. Whenever the invader touches our shores they will be the first to join him; while we, the insidious and agitating demagogues, are ever most ready to oppose him. And why should they not sell their country?—surely they sell it to the minister. They may as well sell it to Bonaparte as to Lord Castlereagh, if they be proportionately rewarded. This tribe, I say once more, accused us of an insensibility to moral obligation I would not condescend to answer them, but Lord Cochrane deserves a reply, he is a friend to civil liberty—a man whose bravery in the battles of his country is not more distinguished than his integrity in the senate, it is a useful occupation of time, to labour to disabuse his mind of prejudices adopted, doubtless without consideration, his charges merit an answer, and if he were here they would, I trust, receive a full and satisfactory answer.

Photo *Lafayette*

THE LATE EARL OF OXFORD
(MR H H ASQUITH)

The Rt. Hon. H. H. ASQUITH
(Lord Oxford and Asquith)

CULTURE

Rectorial Address delivered at Marischal College, Aberdeen University, October 25, 1910

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen The office to which you have elevated me is associated with some of the most splendid periods in the history of learning. It goes back to the time when the Church and the Empire, in theory at any rate, exercised an unchallenged supremacy over the spiritual and temporal concerns of the Western world. Three out of our four Scottish Universities are of Papal foundation. Aberdeen, the youngest of the three, owes its origin, in 1494, to a bull of Alexander VI, which may, I suppose, be regarded as a redeeming act in the career of one of the most infamous of the Popes It was at any rate the final gift of the Papacy to learning and the humanities in this island, for of the two great disruptive forces, the Renaissance and the Reformation, which within the next half-century undermined and overthrew the spiritual and ecclesiastical unity of Europe, the one had already begun its invasion of Great Britain, and both in England and in Scotland by diverse routes the way was being prepared for the triumph of the other.

But in neither country ought we to erase from the national memory the debt of obligation which British learning owes to the great Churchmen of the Middle Ages—a debt which I am glad to know we here in Aberdeen are about to recognize by a fitting commemoration of our real founder, Bishop Elphinstone

When we look back to the way in which organized education has been developed in Western Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, we are struck by the fact that it apparently began at the top of the scale with the more advanced forms of teaching. In point of time you have first the Universities, then what we call in England the public schools and the grammar schools, and finally the parish schools, which the whole English-speaking world owes in so large a degree to the insight and foresight of John Knox. We must, however, not be misled into wrong inferences which may easily be drawn from a superficial survey of the facts. The mediaeval University was never intended to be, and was not in fact, an aristocratic or exclusive institution which opened its doors and offered its teaching only to the children of the well-to-do. As I tried to show some years ago when, on a similar occasion to this, I was addressing your fellow-students at Glasgow, the typical University of the Middle Ages, whether at Paris or Bologna or Oxford, was cosmopolitan in composition, to some extent at any rate (as this institution of the

Rectorship proves) democratic in government, and recruited by students drawn from all ranks and classes, but for the most part the sons of low-born parents.

University education was then, except of course for the few who pursue learning for learning's sake and who are at all times, in every home of learning, a minority of a minority, the most accredited qualification for admission to and for the practice of certain indispensable and much-frequented professions—in particular the law and the higher branches of medicine and the Church.

As time went on and the so-called ages of chivalry were submerged by the Renaissance, what we now describe as culture in the academic sense came to be looked on as the proper and necessary accomplishments of a gentleman. It is true (as Mr. Sidney Lee has pointed out in the learned and interesting book which he has just published on *The French Renaissance in England*) that the process was slower in this island than elsewhere. More, Colet, Linacre, and their teacher and friend, Erasmus, sowed the seed which did not ripen for harvest until Elizabeth had been more than twenty years on the throne, but the illustrious Queen herself, according to the unimpeachable testimony of the younger Scaliger, was better educated than all her contemporaries among the great of the earth, and was familiar with no fewer than five languages, in addition to her native tongue—Latin and Greek, French, German and Italian.

I hesitate to trespass even for a moment upon thorny ground, but, with all the progress that female education has made in the last three centuries, can it produce a more conspicuous example of the combination of culture and capacity? Culture, as I have said, came to be looked upon, like good manners or good clothes, as part of the social and personal equipment of the well-born and well-to-do. It continued also, in its more specialized forms, to be the recognized avenue to eminence in the learned professions and the Church.

But the notion that education was for the common man—a part of his natural heritage, a necessary condition of his civic usefulness, an ingredient that could be safely mixed with the drudgery of manual toil and the simple round of homely pleasures—except, indeed, to some extent in Scotland, such a notion would have been everywhere dismissed as a dangerous paradox. It is little more than a hundred years since an eminent prelate of the Church of England declared that all that the people of a country had to do with its laws was to obey them. It was in the same spirit and from the same point of view that the mass of the population was expected to leave letters to their betters. The growth of enlightenment, a stimulated sense of special community and corporate duty, and, it must be added, the advent of democracy, have brought without violence and by general consent the most revolutionary of all the changes of our time—a national system of free and compulsory teaching.

The celebrated sarcasm of Mr. Lowe that we must begin to "educate our masters" has been translated into practice, and though there are still plenty of ragged edges and ugly gaps in the actual working of the machinery, the ideal, at any rate, is universally accepted that no child shall start upon the work of life unfurnished with the keys of learn-

ing, and that in the case of every child whom nature has gifted with brains and ambition the barriers of fortune and circumstance shall no longer block its progress at any stage of the way which leads to the innermost courts of the palace of knowledge.

This is not an appropriate time or place to discourse, as I might otherwise be tempted to do, on the lights and shadows of popular education. It will be more to the purpose if I ask your patience for a few desultory and discursive thoughts on some of the shortcomings and drawbacks which seem in these days to threaten the academic pursuit of the higher forms of knowledge. I would instance first the growing tendency of specialism, which has become a marked feature of University work both here and in England during the past fifty or sixty years. It is much more common than it used to be for a student to give exclusive, or almost exclusive, devotion to one subject or group of subjects, and to be content, as regards the rest, with the bare minimum of academic requirements The change is, of course, largely due to the greater thoroughness with which each subject is taught and learnt; to the enor-enormous extension in the area of the fields of research which are still called by the old names, classics, mathematics, science, philosophy; to the higher standard, both of information and of exactness, which has naturally and legitimately been set up. All this is to the good in so far as it tends to promote erudition and accuracy at the expense of that which is merely superficial and smart. But the advantage is purchased at an excessive price if it is gained by the sacrifice of width of range and catholicity of interest. Pedantry is on the whole more useful and less offensive than sciolism, but a University which is content to perform the office of a factory of specialists is losing sight of some of its highest functions. Nobody but an impostor can in these days assume to take all knowledge for his province. Such an encyclopædic purpose as inspired Francis Bacon, even he, the most gifted of our race, if he could be re-incarnated under modern conditions, would recognize to be beyond the dreams of intellectual ambition. But the man whom you turn out here as your finished product at the end of his University course ought to be, in Bacon's own phrase, a " full " man

Victor Hugo says somewhere in his grandiose and impressive way that genius is a promontory which stretches out into the infinite. We cannot lay down laws for genius. That incommunicable gift sets at naught both heredity and environment. But, genius apart, there is much to be said for the old University ideal of the " all-round " man—not the superficial smatterer who knows something about everything and much about nothing, but one who has not sacrificed to the pursuit of a single dominating interest his breadth of outlook, the zest and range of his intellectual curiosity, his eagerness to know and to assimilate the best that has been and is being thought and written and said about all the things that either contribute to the knowledge or enrich the life of man.

But if a certain width of range is essential to the reality of academic culture, it is equally true that in external form and expression it is, or ought to be, marked by precision, aptitude, harmony—by the qualities in a word, which combine to make up what we call style. In all artistic

productions there are three factors—the subject, the form in which it is presented, and the vehicle by which the presentation is effected. In each of the separate arts—painting, sculpture, architecture, music—the particular vehicle controls and limits, or ought to control and limit, the choice of subject But given appropriate subject and apt vehicle, and there is nothing in which the insight of genius is better tested than in the mating of the two. It is the formative capacity of the artist which determines the value of the product. That sounds like a platitude when we are talking of the fine arts, but it is strange how careless of form even highly educated people show themselves in the commonplace, every-day acts of speaking and writing. A vast deal of the slipshod and prolix stuff which we are compelled to read or to listen to is of course born of sheer idleness When, as so often happens, a man takes an hour to say what might have been as well or better said in twenty minutes, spreads over twenty pages what could easily have been exhausted in ten, the offence, in a large majority of cases, is due not so much to vanity or to indifference to the feelings of others as to the inability or unwillingness to take pains And the uncritical world, just as it is apt to mistake noise of utterance for firmness of character, has an almost invincible tendency to think that a writer or orator cannot be eloquent unless he is also diffuse.

In my opinion it ought to be regarded as one of the serious functions of a University to inculcate the importance and to cultivate the practice of style. Remember that in the British language we have received, as part of our common inheritance, the richest and most flexible organ of expression among living tongues I say nothing for the moment of poetry, which may be classed among the arts, but there is no department of the prose which we all have to speak and write every day of our lives for which our literature does not provide us with a wealth of models and examples There are fashions in style, as in other things, which have their day, exhaust themselves, and cannot be revived. No one, for instance, would nowadays set himself deliberately to copy the manner of Archbishop Cranmer, the first great writer of English prose, or of Sir Thomas Browne, with his magnificent organ of many notes; or of Gibbon, who stands in solitary splendour at the head of our writers of history, or of De Quincey, with his curious and sometimes irritating medley, imaginative, critical, discursive, but a master who has rarely been surpassed in the manipulation of the English sentence.

The classical reproductions may be useful as an exercise, It was resorted to, if I remember right, in his youth by the most accomplished practitioner in the art of style that Scotland has produced in our time—Robert Louis Stevenson. But the man who wants to write or speak English will go on to the great authors whom I have just named again and again, not to echo their cadences or to mimic their mannerisms, not merely to enrich his own vocabulary, but to study the secret of their music, to learn how it is that with them language becomes the mirror of thought, to master step by step the processes by which these cunning artificers in words forge out of their phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and give to each its proper place and function in the structure of an immortal work.

But, further, it is not enough that a University should teach its students to eschew narrowness in the range of their intellectual interests and slatternliness in speech and writing. It should put them permanently on guard against the dogmatic temper. We cannot get on without dogma, which is nothing more than the precisely formulated expression of what we believe to be true. The term is sometimes used as though it were restricted to the domain of theology, but science and philosophy have their dogmas also; and if it be suggested that that which differentiates a dogma is that it is accepted in deference not to reason but to authority, the same may be said of not a few of the propositions which in every department, both of speculation and of practical life, form the basis of belief or conduct.

But to give intellectual acceptance to a dogma or a series of dogmas is one thing; to carry on the operations of the intellect in a dogmatic spirit is quite another. There is a famous and primitive saying of Lessing's, that if the Almighty offered him the choice between the knowledge of all truth and the impulse to seek the truth, he would reverently select the second as a greater boon than the first And this surely is the attitude which it should be the aim and end of education to make easy and natural To be open-minded, to struggle against preconceptions and hold them in due subjection, to keep the avenues of the intelligence free and unblocked, to take pains that the scales of the judgment should be always even and fair, to welcome new truths when they have proved their title, despite the havoc they may make to old and cherished beliefs --these may sound like commonplace qualities well within every man's reach, but experience shows that in practice they are the rarest The temper which I am endeavouring to describe is not in any sense one of intellectual detachment or indifference, nor has it anything in common with that chronic paralysis of the judgment which makes some men incapable of choosing between the right and the wrong reason, or the better and the worse cause It implies, on the contrary, an active and virile mental life, equipped against the fallacies of the market-place and the cave, animated by the will to believe and act, but open always to the air of reason and light of truth

One final counsel I will venture to offer you I speak as an old University man, who, in a crowded and somewhat contentious life, has never wholly lost touch with the interests and ideals of Oxford days If the short span which in fuller or lesser measure is allotted to us all is to be wisely spent, one must not squander but husband and invest what never comes again and what here and now is offered to every one of you. The more strenuous your career, the more you will need to draw upon that unfailing reservoir Sometimes amid the clash of public strife there may steal back into the memory the sombre lines of the greatest of Roman poets:

> "Di Jovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
> Amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores"

That is but a passing word, except in an ill-furnished mind Keep always with you, whatever your course may be, the best and most enduring gift that a University can bestow—the company of great thoughts, the

inspiration of great ideals, the example of great achievements, the consolation of great failures. So equipped, you can face without perturbation the buffets of circumstance, the caprice of fortune, the inscrutable vicissitudes of life. Nor can you do better than take as your motto the famous words which I read over the portals of this college when I came here to-day: "They have said. What say they? Let them say."

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

"THE MILITANT SUFFRAGETTE"

Speech given in The Queen's Hall on December 22, 1908

FRIENDS:

I cannot help thinking to-night of the many hundreds of meetings that have been held in this country in defence of the principle of women's enfranchisement. How many times have noble women poured forth their very soul in an appeal for political justice. How many times has such an appeal been made, and made to ears that were deaf and unheeding. It is well for us all to remember that we are engaged in no new movement. There were those who came before us, pioneers of forty and fifty-six years ago, who began the agitation for women suffrage. They worked well, they worked devotedly, and yet, after all those years of hard work, women have not yet got the Parliamentary vote.

I am afraid the reason of this is that the rulers of our country are not to be moved by appeal or by persuasion The ordinary person, I believe, is, but amongst those who get into high places, those who have power over others, something seems often to go wrong with their nature, and, frankly, they don't understand the kind of enlightened appeal upon which Suffragists used to place their sole reliance. There is an old saying, and a very true one, that God helps those who help themselves. Now, Suffragists of old times made a mistake which experience—theirs and our own—has taught us to avoid. They relied too much upon the justice of their cause, and not enough upon their own strong right arm. They thought justice could go forward without help from those who wanted it My friends, that can never be, and never has been. An idea only has life and power in so far as it is expressed in deeds. Now, that is the whole secret of success, the whole secret of getting reform. It is because we have realized that the policy of persuasion, and of argument, and of talk has failed that we have undertaken the new militant campaign, which I believe, and I think you believe, is so very nearly at a successful end. When men begin an agitation like ours, they are, of course, open to all kinds of criticism and attack, but I do not think that the very dangerous and difficult form of attack is brought to bear against them that is brought to bear against us. Men are never told that they are hysterical, and that they do not know what they are doing. They may be told they are violent, they may be told their action is reprehensible, but people are usually willing to admit that at least there is method in their madness, and that, as there is a limit to human endurance, if men are very much oppressed, they have a right to revolt against oppression. We in this woman's movement, on the other hand, have

been accused of not having thought things out, and of simply running along in a headstrong fashion without knowing where we are going or why we do go.

I want you to understand, however, that our militant campaign has been thought out with the utmost care. Whatever else we may be, we are neither heedless, rash, nor unthinking, and we realize that the recognition of this fact is beginning to become more general, because when they stop abusing us for being foolish and unwise, they begin to charge us with doing all this in cold blood, and with not being spontaneous enough.

No, my friends, we did not undertake this campaign in any light or heedless spirit. We knew what we had got to face; we knew we had to face danger, sheer physical danger. We knew well that in what we did we ran the risk of imprisonment Now, that is a very serious thing. Imprisonment is what you reserve for those who are preying upon society, those who are enemies of the body politic, imprisonment is the worst thing you have to offer them, and yet we knew full well that we, who were trying, at any rate, to do our duty to other people, must realize that for us this fate was in store. We knew that we should have to meet the bitter attack of the party politician—and I think there is no form of attack which is more venomous, which is more unscrupulous—and as we were women, we had to face another thing, we had to face censure as being unwomanly, as being unladylike (you know, that is thought worse than being unwomanly), as being, well, unconventional and ridiculous, and all the rest of it Now, you know, to some women that is the worst thing of all, and to all men that is the worst thing of all too.

I have summed up the price that had to be paid by those who adventured upon the perilous course of militant methods, and it astounds me to find that there should be any left (and there are not very many) who presume to condemn the people who have principles and are trying to vindicate those principles, even though it means that penalties fall upon themselves. It is, indeed, extraordinary how much blindness there is even in these enlightened days, people never seem to be able to read the signs of the times, they never seem able to understand what is going on under their very eyes, and yet we live in a great Christian country We live amongst people whose minds are always turning back to One who paid in greater measure than we have done the price of the regeneration of others. It seems to me none of you understand the story of which you hear over and over again in the churches. Why, you are brought up from your cradles to understand this thing, and when, on a smaller and humbler scale, the whole thing is acted out under your very eyes, you don't seem able to see at all what it means—at least, you don't see for a good long time.

I assure you that if there were not a great thing at stake, we should all of us prefer to follow a course of life which would not expose us to the difficulties of which I tell you. But think what is at stake. Human liberty. The most priceless thing there is, the only thing that is worth fighting for, the only thing that is worth paying for. We are fighting for that. We are fighting for the emancipation of women. The emancipation of men was begun long ago, and men are now working out their

salvation, although they will never see it in full measure until the women, whose brothers and whose partners they are, see their emancipation too. We are working for the bread of women, we are working that women may not go hungry, we are working for what is even more important—we are working for the dignity of women. How can they say other questions are more important? How can they say it? They cannot really think it. Why, it is the most important question; it is the most vital question of the present day. The freedom of men and the freedom of woman, the liberty of human beings. What can transcend that?

Now, I am going to speak to those women here who want the vote, but don't agree with our methods. I ask them, why do you hold aloof, why do you not believe in the methods, and why, if you believe in them, don't you practise them? Because neither from you nor from Cabinet Ministers do we want sympathy. No, what we want is action. We would rather have you marching along with us side by side than we would have your cheers or your support or your praise. We do not look for that; we do not want you to come and say that we have done well, we want you to come and do with us. Why then do you not throw yourselves into this agitation, why are you not ready for prison? You should not see prison through other people's eyes, you should go there yourselves if you think that we have done well to go there. You know the old methods of working for the vote are futile, and not only futile, but humiliating, unworthy of you I say any woman here who is content to appeal for the vote instead of demanding and fighting for it is dishonouring herself. Is the price too great? Cannot you make the necessary sacrifice? I can tell you that we who are prepared for it take a great joy in it. Why, the women in this Union are the happiest people in the world We have the love of our comrades, we have the respect of our enemies, we have the support of the people. We have something to live for, and we are going to do something worth doing We are sorry for the people who go through their lives achieving nothing, leaving the world no richer than they found it. Those people are poor indeed, those people we pity As for us, we have the glorious pride of being made the instrument of those great forces that are working towards progress and liberty

Now, the rightness of revolt, the rightness of our militant methods, does not depend upon success. You may resist injustice and fail, or seem to fail, and still you have done right. When you are confronted by oppression, when you are confronted by the forces of evil, then you must go and do battle against them. Unless you believe that might is right you must agree with what I say. Now we none of us really think that might is right. There is not one here who has not read of the brave deeds of people who were few in number and weak in strength, who went forward against countless numbers greatly their superiors in force. We all of us feel proud of those members of the human race who have stood perhaps alone against overwhelming strength and overwhelming numbers. So often the gallant stands that men and women have made against their superior force have seemed to be in vain. We read of their being crushed underfoot, and every trace of them being trampled away, but I think there is in the heart of every one of us a conviction that somehow and

somewhere that heroism is recorded, that heroism is counted, and that we to-day are the richer for it, and that the forces of good have been strengthened by the action of those heroes who have seemed to fail, but in reality have triumphed. And I want you to believe that even if we had no hope of success, even if we thought our militant campaign were destined to failure, we should go on with it. We should go on with it while life was ours, we *are* going on with it; so long as we live we are never going to renounce this struggle But we are going to win because we have right on our side No, you must not forget that "thrice armed is he that hath his quarrel just, and he but naked, though locked up in steel, whose conscience with injustice is corrupted." Well, my friends, there is great truth in those words, and I think you will admit that our quarrel is just. Why, even the enemy has to admit that. We could never win if we were not in the right, but because we are in the right we are going to win

Well, I have been telling you why we adopt our methods; I have been trying to explain to you the frame of mind in which we are, and the reasons why we have taken to these methods, and what the methods are. If you read the leading articles in some of our newspapers, you would think our methods were Russian methods, or even worse. You really would suppose that we were the most dangerous set of people, and the most violent set of people that have ever been seen. The fact is, however, that we are singularly mild—indeed, we are just as mild as we can be, consistently with doing our duty. We do not want to go an inch farther than the Liberal Government drive us, because we do not want to waste our forces, we do not want to overstep the mark by a hair's breadth, and we have never done so. We go to by-elections, and work against the Government. Surely that is not very unconstitutional or very violent. Our protests at public meetings have been very effective, but they involve no danger to life or limb—unless our own. As I say, these protests don't involve any physical danger to our Cabinet Ministers, yet they produce a marked impression Ministers are simply terrified. They hide from us behind locked doors They go in secret nowadays. They dare not run the risk of meeting women even in a railway train. Have you read the *Daily News* to-day, and seen the account of Mr. Lloyd George's attempt, not only to keep women out of his meeting, but to escape them? Well, if he were the Czar of Russia going among his subjects, it might be natural Why this fear? Why not trust the people? They are decidedly afraid of women in these days—and then you say that women cannot pursue militant methods with success The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I know this—they are more afraid of one Suffragette than they are of 5,000 men

Then we go on deputations to the House of Commons. What is there wrong in that? Men are constantly having deputations, and I have never heard of a men's deputation going to prison yet—but we have to go to prison. I wonder how it is that you do not see that instead of our being violent, violence is used against us. We have not caused Mr. Asquith to languish for a single day in gaol—it is he who has vicariously attacked and imprisoned us. We are very sorry to have to give all this trouble; we would rather militant methods should cease, and they would

cease if we were to have the vote. Now, how simple it all is. Can't you understand that the Government have brought these troubles down on their own heads? We are not responsible for it—they are responsible. Do not waste your sympathy upon them, my friends. It is all their own fault. If they would give us the vote, they would have no more trouble from us.

Yet, my friends, they have had time to pass another bill—the Public Meetings Bill. In a panic they have carried through a private members' measure, a measure of coercion—that's what it is, pure and simple—and because they were so anxious to put an end to action on our part (which they could have ended in a better manner by giving us the vote), they have reduced the right of public meeting in this country to a farce. Before I say more of that, I want to tell you that if at the General Election this bill had been in force, a great many of Mr. Asquith's supporters would have been in gaol on Polling-Day. We are entitled to protest at public meetings, because we are voteless, if for no other reason; but let me remind you of the fact—I speak of Manchester where I was at the General Election—no Conservative candidate could get a hearing. Meetings were smashed, furniture was destroyed, scenes of extraordinary violence were witnessed at election meetings, and all this was done by men whose votes have placed Mr Asquith where he is, and have given him the power to carry this measure in order to deal with us. Now, I say, better that a thousand meetings should be destroyed than we should have this kind of interference by the police with assemblies of citizens met together to discuss public affairs. As a public speaker, I say I want none of their bill. If I can't get a hearing by the force of my own will, by my own knowledge of how to deal with an audience, by the strength of the cause I wish to promote, then I will wait and hold a meeting at some other time. Yes, we are prepared to hold our own at any meeting, and I do not see why the men politicians cannot do what we can. Do you think this Bill is going to make any difference to us? It may make it very difficult for Liberals to do as they did in Ipswich the other day, get roughs at a shilling a head to come to our meetings and make a disturbance; they will have to be ready to pay down at least *five pounds* in future, but this Bill will not deter women from demanding the vote. We are not so poor in spirit, nor so deficient in courage, that a month in prison is going to prevent us from claiming justice

But, friends, when you look at the record of this Government, you who are Liberals, what do you feel? Are you proud of them, or do you feel deeply ashamed of them? I am sorry for you that you have such leaders. I tell you, they are not leaders, they are false to your principles, and it seems to me they are like some pirate gang who have boarded the good old ship of Liberalism, and are steering her on the rocks.

Now, what of next Session? Whilst I was in prison I read Mr. Asquith's "epoch-making speech," his "great utterance" upon the future policy of his party, upon his action for next Session. He certainly made one thing very evident, that those who shout the loudest will get the first attention. He does not study in a statesman-like way the condition of the people, and consider which are the most pressing questions to be dealt with. No, he is looking all round; he is saying: "Who is

going to worry me the most, because who worries me the most must get what he, or she, wants"; and he turns—he looks at Sir Alfred Thomas, he looks at Dr. Clifford, and he looks at this, that, and the other leader, and I do not suppose—I am sure—he does not forget to keep an eye on what the Suffragettes are doing. Then he weighs it all up, and those who are the most obnoxious and active will get a place in the King's speech.

Then he told us of another thing. A very remarkable Budget is going to be introduced. Yes, ladies, they are going to take our money and play their own political games with it. If there had been women there, he would hardly have had the courage to say it—but even as it was, I wonder that he could get up and say that women taxpayers were to have their pockets picked—because that is what it means when they do not give them the vote. Women are going to have their pockets picked so that Mr. Lloyd George may see what he can do to revive the sinking fortunes of the Liberal Government. And yet it is said that the predominating political issue is the question of the House of Lords. Well, they may say so, but they do not seem to think so We know what we think the predominating issue—Votes for Women.

They have made us an offer, but it is an offer that we have rejected with scorn. You rejected that offer with scorn at the Albert Hall. That was one of the brightest days of our sentence in Holloway. It was absolutely necessary that you should do that. It was right, it was statesmanlike, it was wise. Mr. Lloyd George told us that he was going to convert the country, but we have spared him the trouble of doing that; we have done it ourselves. It is not for him to convert the country, it is for him to *do* something, and the chief reason why you did well in going to that meeting and making your protest was this: you made it unmistakable that we should have nothing to do with that offer, you rejected it in the most dramatic and effective way possible.

We are told that a Reform Bill is to be introduced. It was only to be for men at first, but a private member can move an amendment, and if it is carried, then the Liberal Government will send the whole thing up to the House of Lords Now, that does not satisfy us, because we do not know when the Reform Bill is to be introduced, for one thing Before they go out of office, they say. But, my friends, once bitten twice shy. The last Government was going to introduce a Redistribution Bill and carry it before they went out of office. Now, it was our intention to try to get an instruction moved which would have led to the provision for Women Suffrage in that Bill, and we were working very hard for that. The times we have moved resolutions—and got them carried—in favour of such an amendment to the Redistribution Bill! Then, as you know, the ground was cut from under our feet, because Mr. Balfour resigned office. I think the same thing is certain to happen in the present case. This Government is on its death-bed. What would you say of some hardened old sinner who, when he was asked to repent at the eleventh hour, were to say: "Well, two or three years hence I will think about it"? You would say that was wrong, and it is wrong for a discredited Government to tell women who are crying for enfranchisement, who mean to have the vote at the next General Election, that they must wait

until the last Session of Parliament, that they must wait for the Reform Bill. The Reform Bill may never be introduced. It will certainly not be carried, because it is not meant to be carried. It is a war-cry for the Liberal Party at the next General Election, and woman suffrage may or may not be part of the Government war-cry; but we shall never be a war-cry, if we can help it, for any party.

We want to vote at the next General Election. If they had wanted to go to the country on this question they ought to have done it in 1906, but they cannot now do it. It is too late for that, they must carry our Bill now. This Reform Bill, if it ever comes to life, will be too complicated to get through the House of Lords, and if it does not get through, I am afraid that in order to facilitate its passage through the narrow legislative door, the women will be left behind as they have been before. We stand for a separate, a distinct measure for woman suffrage, just a Bill to say that if women show the same qualifications as men voters, they shall be voters too. We know what we want. It is not as though we were uncertain as to that, we know what we want, they have only now to give it to us Then, they say, as a last excuse "We know the House of Lords won't pass it" But they must not be too sure of that. The House of Lords often disappoints this Government! They were not crocodile tears that Mr Asquith shed at the Reform Club, they were real tears that stood in his eyes when he said that he did not know why they had passed the Trades Disputes Bill The Government has never got over it from that day to this, they did hope the House of Lords would save them from that, and they hope, too, that the House of Lords will reject a Woman Suffrage Bill. If we compel them to pass it through the House of Commons, they hope the Lords will come to their rescue. But I, for one, do not believe the Lords will do anything of the kind. Probably the Lords will carry our Bill. I speak with all possible seriousness when I say that. But, if they don't—very well, then we must try to change their minds. I am sure we shall manage better in dealing with the House of Lords than the Government can do. It seems to me that the Government think we are such good fighters that they want to get us mixed up with their Reform Bill, so that we may do the fighting and they may take the credit But, no, no, no! We won't have such feeble allies as this Government! In any possible future conflict which may arise between us and the Upper House we can fight better without them. They would hinder us, they would prevent us from winning. We will not have anything to do with them as allies against the House of Lords.

Now, friends, I do want you all to take this question very, very seriously. One has a good deal of time for meditation in prison. We used to read the papers, and then think of what we had read, and I noticed this one thing—it is very extraordinary just to see how the world is moving on, how the conditions are changing. I noticed that in two months in which we were in prison aircraft came out of the region of theoretical and problematical things into being something quite practical —they are to be as useful to us as motor-cars, or even more so. Now, that means that the world is going to be far different in future from what it is to-day, and it means, above all, that our own national conditions

are going to be changed. It means that we in this country will have to rise to new occasions, and will have to base our place among the nations on a different foundation. We shall have to readjust ourselves. Other countries are wealthy, other countries have greater territory than ours, and other countries have even greater natural resources; if we are to hold our own in the world in future, we men and women of great Britain, we have got to be well equipped. Ours must be an Empire of mind and intelligence and spirit, or we shall get left behind—other countries will hold the place that we hold to-day.

Now, I think we are all enough of us patriots to want our country to stand high. We are the heirs of a great past; what we are going to hand on posterity, what are we going to hand on to the Great Britain of the days to come? Well, I do not think things are well with our nation at the present time; I do not think the physical condition, or the mental or the spiritual condition of the mass of our people is what it ought to be, and therefore it is as patriots that we are here to-night; we want to take our share in saving the country. Will you deny us that—shall we be denied that? I do not think so; I think all men of generous and pure mind and heart will be with us in this fight. This is not a party question, it is a question for the nation This is not a question for the moment, it is a question for all time. I call on the men who are here to-night to join forces with us, to help us to overcome the Government which at the present moment is the greatest obstacle in the path of human progress If men's eyes are still shut to these truths, yet nevertheless the women are awake, and the women have the power, they have the absolute power to gain the liberty which they want; they have the power and the capacity to seize this indispensable weapon of reform, which in their own interests, and in the interests of the country that is dear to them, they ought to have, and which they speedily will have.

WILLIAM PITT

ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

House of Commons, May 13, 1805

Differing, Sir, as I do, from the hon gentleman who proposed this motion, and differing also in many respects from several of those who have opposed it, I feel it necessary to state shortly, but distinctly, the views, the motives, and the grounds upon which that difference of opinion is founded But in doing this, I cannot refrain from expressing, in the first instance, the very great satisfaction I feel at the temper and moderation with which the motion was introduced, and with which for so many reasons, I am particularly desirous that the discussion should be conducted Happy am I also that the manner in which the subject has been introduced has relieved me from the necessity of entering at large into those general principles and grounds which, when the question was discussed before, I felt myself compelled to do

I observe with pleasure that the application made by the petitioners has not been advanced as a claim of right, but of expediency I observe also, with equal pleasure, that the hon gentleman has argued it upon that ground, not that I mean to infer that the hon. gentleman has abandoned the opinion he held upon that subject, but that in the application of the principles which have governed his conduct he has thought proper to discuss the question upon the ground of expediency. That is the ground upon which I feel the measure ought alone to be discussed; for I cannot allow that, at any time, under any circumstances, or under any possible situation of affairs, it ought to be discussed or entertained as a claim or question of right. I, Sir, have never been one of those who have held that the term emancipation is, in the smallest degree, applicable to the repeal of the few remaining penal statutes to which the Catholics are still liable. But, possibly, in my view of the grounds of expediency, I may think it to be much more contradistinguished from the question of right than the hon. gentleman does. He seems to consider that there is only a shade of difference between the expediency and the right; whereas my view of the difference is broad, evident, and fundamental I consider right as independent of circumstances, and paramount to them, while expediency is connected with circumstances, and, in a great measure, dependent upon them

With regard to the admission of the Catholics to franchises, to the elective franchise, or to any of those posts and offices which have been alluded to, I view all these points as distinctions to be given, not for the sake of the person and the individual who is to possess them, but for the sake of the public, for whose benefit they were created, and for whose

advantage they are to be exercised. In all times, therefore, and upon every occasion, whether relating to the Roman Catholic or the Protestant dissenter, to the people of Ireland, or to the people of England, I have always, from a due regard to the constitution, been of opinion that we are bound to consider, not merely what is desired by a part, but what is best and most advantageous for the whole. And therefore it is, that I think it not sufficient to show that what is demanded is not likely to be prejudicial, but that it is proper to take a comprehensive view of all the circumstances connected with it, whether they relate to the time at which the measure is proposed, the manner in which it is discussed, or the effect that is likely to follow from the discussion. That, Sir, is my view of contemplating the propriety of acceding to the wishes of the Catholics, or of refusing them. It was upon that principle that I felt satisfaction in the repeal of those laws against the Catholics which have been abolished, and from the abolition of which I certainly am not one who infers that danger to the country, with which some gentlemen seem to be so deeply impressed. But, deeply as I felt that satisfaction, I also felt that in no possible case previous to the union could the privileges now demanded be given, consistently with a due regard to the Protestant interest in Ireland, to the internal tranquillity of that kingdom, the frame and structure of our constitution, or the probability of the permanent connection of Ireland with this country It is true, that after the union, I saw the subject in a different light; but whilst that event was in contemplation I did state, as the hon. gentleman says, that the measure would make a material difference in my opinion: but he has also stated, what is very true, that I did not make a distinct pledge. On the contrary, I believe the line of argument I took was, that if it should be thought right to give what the Catholics required, it might be given after the union with more safety to the Empire, or if it were thought proper to refuse giving it, that it might then be refused without producing those disastrous consequences which might have been apprehended before the union. I come, then, to the present discussion, perfectly free and unfettered. I certainly was of opinion that under an united Parliament those privileges might be granted under proper guards and conditions, so as not to produce any danger to the established Church, or the Protestant constitution. And I remain this day of that opinion and I still think, if, from other circumstances, there was no objection to complying with the demands of the Catholics, and if by a wish they could be carried into effect, I own I see none of those dangers which have been urged by some gentlemen, nor do I think that the introduction of a certain proportion of Catholics into the Imperial Parliament would be likely to be productive of any influence or effect detrimental or injurious to the welfare of the estate, or the safety or security of the constitution

But, Sir, in delivering this frank opinion, I do not mean wilfully to shut my eyes to this conviction, that a Catholic, however honourable his intentions may be, must feel anxious to advance the interest of his religion; it is in the very nature of man; he may disclaim and renounce this wish for a time, but there is no man, who is at all acquainted with the operations of the human heart, who does not know that the Catholic

must feel that anxiety whenever the power and the opportunity may be favourable to him. But, if these guards and conditions to which I have alluded have been applied, and which, could my wishes have been accomplished, it would have been my endeavour to have supplied, I firmly believe no danger would have existed, and no injury could have been apprehended. I thought so on grounds different from which have been stated by others, not because as Catholics they had been engaged in any of the scenes preceding the rebellion. I do not mean, however, to say, that the Catholics were not engaged in it in greater numbers for the reasons that have been stated. I go further; though Jacobin principles were the foundation of the rebellion, yet I do not mean to deny that the influence of the priests themselves, tainted with Jacobin principles, might not have aggravated the evil, though they were not the cause of it. My idea was not to apply tests to the religious tenets of the Catholics, but tests applicable to what was the source and foundation of the evil, to render the priests, instead of making them the instruments of poisoning the minds of the people, dependent in some sort upon the government, and thus links, as it were, between the Government and the people. That would have been a wise and comprehensive system; that would have been the system which I should have felt it to be my wish, and thought it to have been my duty, to have proposed I never thought that it would have been wise or prudent to have thrown down rudely or abruptly the guards and fences of the constitution; but I did think that if the system I have alluded to had been deemed proper to be adopted, it ought to have been accompanied with those checks and guards, and with every regulation that could have given additional respect and influence to the established Church, to the support and protection of the Protestant interests, and to the encouragement of every measure that could tend to propagate and spread the example of the Protestant religion These were the general views and intentions I entertained. And if, Sir, it had been possible to have found out that general concurrence which I so anxiously desired; if I could have carried them into effect in the manner I have stated, if persons of more ability and experience than myself would have defeated them, I am still inclined to think, that, instead of being attended with those dangerous consequences which some gentlemen apprehend, they would have afforded increased security to the Church, and have been favourable to the welfare of the State, to the stability of the constitution, and to the general strength and interest of the empire.

But when I state this, I must also remind the House that I considered the period of the union as the period favourable for the adoption of such a measure, not because any pledge had been given, but because there was a greater likelihood that the measure might be adopted after the union than before it. The period was favourable also on another account, favourable from the recent impressions that might be expected to be made on men's minds, of the probability of increased security from the union; from being amalgamated and incorporated with the imperial legislature, remote from the dangerous influence that might at times have been supposed to operate upon it, and overawe the local legislature of Ireland. Sir, I repeat, that if under the recent impression of

these circumstances, I could have brought forward the measure as the firstfruits of the union, I should have hoped there might have been a disposition to have received it without rekindling those religious animosities, or reviving those contending interests, between Catholic and Protestant, which, whenever they do exist, are most adverse to the welfare, the prosperity, and the happiness of the State.

This was the view in which I considered this most important subject; these were the objects which I wished to attain; but circumstances, unfortunate circumstances, in my opinion rendered it at that period impossible to bring forward the measure in the way in which I then hoped it might be practicable to bring it forward—in the only way in which I think it ought at any time to be brought forward—in the only way in which it could be brought forward with advantage to the claims of those whose petition is now under consideration, or with any hope of reconciling all differences, of burying all animosities, and of producing that perfect union, in the advantages of which gentlemen on all sides so entirely concur. What the circumstances were to which I allude, as having at that time prevented me from calling the attention of Parliament to this subject, in the manner and with the prospect which I wished, it is not now necessary for me to state All the explanations which I thought it my duty to give I gave at that time—more I do not feel myself now called upon to give, and nothing shall induce me to enter into further details upon this subject. I shall, therefore, now content myself with stating that the circumstances which made me feel that it was then improper to bring forward this question, and which led to the resignation of the then administration, have made so deep, so lasting an impression upon my mind, that, so long as those circumstances continue to operate, I shall feel it a duty imposed upon me not only not to bring forward, but not in any manner to be a party in bringing forward or in agitating this question

Having said this much, Sir, upon the opinions I then entertained, and upon the principles which then, and I trust always will, govern my conduct, I think it right to add that the whole of the plan which I had formed, the whole essence of the system which I meant to have proposed, was a measure of peace, of union, of conciliation—a measure which I did hope would have had the effect of softening down all religious differences, of extinguishing all animosities, and in uniting all men of both religions in one common zeal for the preservation of the constitution and for the general happiness and prosperity of the empire But, desirous as I then was of proposing this measure, and sanguine as I was in my hopes of its success, nothing could be further from my intention than to bring it forward if there did not appear a rational prospect of it being carried (not with unanimity, for upon such an important subject that I knew was impossible), but with general concurrence, because I knew that, if it were brought forward under other circumstances, instead of producing the effect I had wished, it would only tend to revive those animosities which I wished to extinguish, to aggravate those difficulties which I wished finally to remove. Not being able, from the circumstances to which I have alluded, to propose the measure which I thought likely to be productive of such beneficial effects, I did then form the

determination not to press it at any period unless I thought it could be done with that prospect of success, and with that general concurrence, without which it can never be beneficial. When I use the term general concurrence, I am sure I shall not be supposed ever to have been so visionary as to imagine that a question of such immense importance, and upon which men's feelings and passions are so strongly excited, could ever be carried with perfect unanimity; but I mean with that general concurrence which would have enabled us to gratify the wishes of one party, without awakening the fears or exciting the jealousy of the other. Whatever gentlemen may think of the abstract rights of the petitioners, or of the expediency of complying with the prayer of their petition, I am sure they will agree with me in thinking that the chance of extinguishing all those animosities which have unfortunately prevailed, and of producing that perfect union which we all wish, must depend upon the combination of circumstances under which the measure was brought forward. Not having in any degree changed my opinion upon this subject, regarding it in the same point of view I did then, and retaining the same feelings, I must say that at the present moment I think I see a little chance, I should rather say I see no chance, of its being carried at all, certainly not in that way which I meant, and in which way only think it can be productive of real advantage to the petitioners or of benefit to the State; I mean as a measure of peace and conciliation.

If then, Sir, the question is not now to be carried, I think that to agitate it, under such circumstances, will only tend to revive those dissensions which we wish to extinguish, to awaken all that warmth and acrimony of discussion which has heretofore prevailed, and to excite those hopes, which, if they are to be disappointed, may be productive of the greatest mischief. As to the chance of carrying the question at present with general concurrence, of gratifying the Catholics without offending the Protestants, of confirming the affections of the one without raising the suspicions and exciting the fears of the other, not only in Ireland but in England, I confess there appears to me to be none. I lament it as much as any man can do I lament that the impression which now prevails has taken place, many circumstances have combined to produce that impression, all of which are to be deplored. I ask any gentleman whether he does not believe, looking to the members of the established Church, of the nobility, of the men of property, of the middling and respectable classes of society—I ask him, whether he does not believe, looking at the sentiments of the mass of the Protestants of this country and of Ireland, that there is the greatest repugnance to this measure, and that even if it could now be carried, so far from producing conciliation and union, it would tend, on the contrary, to disappoint all the prospects of advantage which under other circumstances would be derived from it? Even those gentlemen who have argued the most strongly in favour of this measure have candidly confessed that, in the present state of men's minds it is not likely to be carried. I am sure I shall not be contradicted when I say that ever since the union this subject has in a very considerable degree attracted public attention, and that of late, notwithstanding the other events which have occupied the public mind, it has been the subject of much conversation both in

public and private, particularly since the Catholic petition has been presented, and since the hon. gentleman has given notice of his present motion, and I should disguise my real sentiments if I did not say that at present the prevailing sentiment is strongly against this measure: what circumstances may occur to overcome that sentiment it is not for me to predict or conjecture.

In speaking of the probability of carrying this question at this time, I cannot but advert to what fell from the hon. gentleman who opened the debate this day respecting the decision which took place last night in another place. I know perfectly well that no man can mention the decision of another branch of the legislature for the purpose of influencing, much less of controlling, the decision of this House. I know there are many instances where differences of opinion have prevailed between this and the other House of Parliament, in which the sentiments of this House, in concurrence with the public opinion properly expressed, have ultimately prevailed. I am as far as any man, Sir, from wishing not to hold high the undoubted privileges of this House; but if I am right in my general view of this subject, I think the determination to which I am alluding ought not to be laid out of our consideration, because it goes to the very essence of the measure itself, I mean as far as relates to the practical advantages that are to be derived from it. Supposing, then, that we were all agreed as to the propriety of granting the prayer of this petition, is it not our duty to consider what bad effects might be produced by the marked difference which would then subsist between this House and the other branch of the legislature upon this subject? If carried at all it ought, as I have already stated, to be carried with general concurrence, and when an endeavour is made to carry a measure, the object of which is to conciliate one part of his Majesty's subjects, care must be taken not to shock the feelings of a much larger class of the community. Under such circumstances, when such an opinion has been given by another branch of the legislature we are bound to take it into our consideration in deciding upon the line of conduct we ought to adopt, because this is a subject in which no man can act wisely or prudently who acts entirely from his own views, or his own feelings. It is his duty to his country, to the Catholics, and to the community, to look at it in a combined point of view, to consider all the probable effects which the carrying of it (if it were practicable) with such a strong sentiment prevailing against it, or which the failing to carry it may produce. Upon this part of the subject there is one point on which I wish to say a few words.

It has been urged by some gentlemen that we ought to go into a committee, whatever we may resolve to do at last; and some of the minor grievances under which the Catholics are said to labour have been pointed out, upon which it is said there can be no difference of opinion on the propriety of granting them relief—such as the circumstance of Catholics engaged in a military life coming over to this country, and who are thereby exposed to the operations of the Test Act, to which they are not at home. Another circumstance which has been mentioned is that the Catholics in the Army are not only not to be allowed to have mass performed, but they are compelled to attend Protestant worship.

Sir, I contend that these points are much too important to induce us to go into a committee upon a petition which embraces the whole of this important subject, and which excites the hopes and fears of all the subjects of the United Kingdom. I again repeat that I do lament that this subject has now been brought forward; I lament for the sake of the Catholics themselves; I lament for the general interest of the country, that gentlemen have thought proper to agitate this subject at this moment. That gentlemen have a perfect right to exercise their judgment upon this subject I do not deny; I do not complain of their conduct; I only lament that they have felt it their duty to bring it forward at this period, and under the present circumstances, when, if they were to succeed, the consequences would not be such as we all desire, and, if they fail, they may be such as we must all regret.

And now, Sir, let me ask the hon. gentleman, who has brought forward the present motion, and who fairly avows that his object is that everything should be conceded to the Catholics; let me ask the hon. gentlemen who supported the motion last night with such a splendour of eloquence, what effect this is likely to produce upon the Catholics themselves? When the hon member, or the hon. mover of the question, talks of the effect of disappointing hopes that have been raised, I trust they have over-rated and exaggerated it. But one of these gentlemen did state that, amongst the possible causes of a religious feeling having mixed and operated in the late rebellion, might be enumerated the hope held out by Lord Fitzwilliam, that the claims of the Catholics would be taken into consideration. They allege the disappointment of that hope as one of the causes that might have tended to produce the rebellion. If that be their conviction, what must they think who wish to go into a committee upon the petition, and yet are of opinion that they still reserve to themselves the freedom of rejecting it altogether, or of rejecting it in its most important parts? I submit this to the consideration of the House shortly, but distinctly; it rests upon grounds so obvious and so strong, that it will be taking up your time unnecessarily to debate upon them. I submit this with a wish that the measure when brought forward will be carried with a general concurrence But the circumstances which have hitherto rendered it impossible for me to urge and press it, make it impossible for me to urge and press it now, feeling as I do, that to press it and to fail, or to press it and even carry it with such strong opposition, are alternatives, both of them so mischievous, that it will be difficult to decide between them. Seeing, Sir, what are the opinions of the times, what is the situation of men's minds, and the sentiments of all descriptions and classes of the other branch of the legislature, and even the prevailing opinion of this House, I feel that I should act contrary to a sense of my duty, and even inconsistently with the original ground upon which I thought the measure ought to be brought forward, if I countenanced it under the present circumstances, or if I hesitated in giving my decided negative to the House going into a committee.

M. POINCARE

Speech at the Invalides, Paris, eulogizing the services of Marshal Foch to his country and the allies

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE, ALTESSES, MESSIEURS,—Durant les longues semaines où, par un dernier prodige de vigueur physique et morale, le Maréchal Foch a résisté pied à pied aux assauts de la mort, la France, refusant jusqu'au bout de le croire vaincu, n'a pas mesuré le vide que devait laisser dans le monde la perte de ce grand homme. Nous voici maintenant en présence de la douloureuse réalité et, tout de suite, nous comprenons que la flamme qui vient de s'éteindre était une des plus ardentes et des plus pures qui eussent jamais jeté leur éclat sur la terre.

Comme beaucoup d'autres nations, la nôtre compte dans ses annales un grand nombre d'illustres capitaines et Foch retrouvera plusieurs d'entre eux dans la célèbre chapelle où il va dormir son dernier sommeil. Il avait certes toutes les fortes qualités qu'à l'époque même où Mansard venait d'achever l'Eglise Saint Louis des Invalides, Bossuet énumérait comme les traits caractéristiques d'un héros, " valeur, magnanimité, bonté naturelle ; vivacité, pénétration, grandeur et sublimité de génie." Il possédait par surcroît " ce don inestimable de la piété " que l'orateur catholique considérait " comme le tout de l'homme." Mieux que personne aussi, il savait que " dans les grandes actions il faut uniquement songer à bien faire et laisser venir la gloire après la vertu " Mais, avec tous ces mérites, il en a eu d'autres, qu'il a reçus en partie de sa propre conscience, en partie des évènements et des mœurs contemporaines, et qui lui ont donné par rapport à ses prédécesseurs une immortelle supériorité. Porté, sans avoir recherché cet honneur, au commandement de millions de soldats alliés, il a conduit à la bataille des peuples entiers, non par orgueil, mais par obligation morale, non pour la conquête d'un sol étranger, mais pour la délivrance de pays envahis. Il n'a eu d'autre ambition que de servir, il n'a voulu d'autre récompense que le sentiment du devoir accompli ; et voilà pourquoi le deuil où nous sommes aujourd'hui plongés n'est pas seulement le deuil de ceux qui l'ont connu et qui l'ont aimé, ou de ceux qui l'ont vu à l'œuvre, ou de ceux qui ont servi sous ses ordres ; c'est celui de la France et d'une grande portion de l'humanité civilisée. Il est significatif qu'au premier rang des visiteurs qui sont venus, à la nouvelle de sa mort, saluer sa dépouille mortelle, se soient trouvés l'illustre homme d'Etat qui a été en France le chef du Gouvernement de la Victoire et l'admirable souverain qui, dès le début de la guerre, a incarné devant l'univers l'éternelle justice.

S'il vous avait été donné, Messieurs, de parcourir les messages de sympathie qui sont parvenus ces jours-ci, de tant de points du globe, à M. le Président de la République et au Gouvernement, vous éprouveriez

devant cette unanimité de la reconnaissance et du respect, une émotion faite, à la fois, de tristesse et de douceur, et vous vous diriez qu'un tel homme, si affreuse que soit sa perte, ne disparaît pas tout entier et qu'il laisse derrière lui un exemple impérissable. . .

Pour Foch, il n'y a de véritable supériorité que celle du caractère. Il prend hardiment la défense de " ces grandes abstractions qui sont le devoir et la discipline ", et il résume ses idées naîtresses en quelques définitions saisissantes : " La guerre, département de la force morale ; la bataille, lutte de deux volontés ; la victoire, supériorité morale chez le vainqueur, dépression morale chez le vaincu " Il prend soin toutefois d'ajouter que, ni la clairvoyance, ni l'énergie ne suffisent au chef ; il lui faut encore la rare faculté de communiquer l'esprit qui l'anime aux troupes qu'il a sous son commandement Il doit donc connaître ses hommes, les comprendre, les aimer et maintenir entre eux et lui cette confiance mutuelle, plus indispensable encore a une armée nationale qu'à une armée de métier, et seule capable de donner à l'obéissance militaire toute sa grandeur et toute sa beauté. Tel est, en raccourci, l'enseignement du maître qu'aux heures incertaines de la paix, Georges Clemenceau, par une sorte de divination, a nommé directeur de l'Ecole de guerre. . . .

Si aujourd'hui l'Angleterre et la Belgique sont au premier rang des nations amies pour s'associer au deuil de la France, c'est en particulier, parce qu'elles n'ont rien oublié des inappréciables services rendus par Foch à la cause de nos trois pays pendant la bataille de l'Yser et la bataille d'Ypres. Ce serait faire œuvre impie que de vouloir, dans une entreprise collective, diminuer, au profit d'un des alliés, le rôle des autres ; mais personne ne conteste, je crois, que du haut de la colline de Cassel, Foch ait constamment veillé, avec une incomparable autorité, à la préparation des succès communs

Et voici maintenant que le front s'immobilise et que va commencer, sur d'immenses lignes fortifiées, un long siège de géants, où des peuples arrêtés face à face, seront tour à tour assiégeants et assiégés . . . Deux années se passent. Foch est nommé Chef d'Etat Major de l'armée au Ministère de la Guerre ; il dresse les premiers plans de la coopération américaine ; il apporte au Comité de guerre français les précieux avis d'une expérience que chaque jour mûrit et alimente ; il préside magistralement à Versailles le Conseil supérieur interallié : premier pas, bien timide encore, vers l'unité de commandement ; et, tout à coup, vers la fin de mars 1918, dans une heure d'alarme, tous les yeux inquiets cherchent un chef et instinctivement, irrésistiblement, se tournent vers Foch. . . .

Le 25 mars, lord Milner et le général Wilson, alertés par le Maréchal Haig, arrivent sur les lieux. Les deux gouvernements et les deux états-majors se rencontrent le 26 mars à Doullens et, d'un commun accord, Foch est officiellement chargé de coordonner dorénavant l'action des deux armées alliées. Le 3 avril, cette décision salutaire, mais encore incomplète, se précise et s'améliore à Beauvais. Foch reçoit effectivement la direction stratégique des opérations militaires et, quelques jours plus tard, le titre de général en chef consacre définitivement aux yeux de tous la reconnaissance de son autorité suprême.

Aussitôt investi de ce commandement, qui va s'exercer de la mer du Nord à la plaine d'Alsace, sur une ligne continue de quatre cents kilomètres, et qui met entre les mains d'un seul homme le sort de plusieurs millions de ses semblables, Foch veut que, du centre où il s'installe, sa pensée rayonne à tout instant jusqu'aux cellules extrêmes du prodigieux organisme dont elle doit être l'animatrice ; il faut qu'elle parvienne au soldat dans la tranchée, à l'artilleur près de sa batterie, à l'aviateur dans les airs ; il faut qu'elle inspire à tous la même énergie et la même foi. Ne craignons rien. Foch est prêt ; et ce miracle s'accomplira.

De son quartier général de Sarcus, il tient toutes les commandes du mécanisme qu'il dirige. Il est présent partout et rien ne lui échappe Après avoir assuré la défense de la Somme, il est obligé d'envoyer des renforts français dans les Flandres pour barrer aux Allemands la route de Calais ; et lorsqu'il a fait échouer ces deux tentatives, c'est du côté du Chemin des Dames qu'il est brusquement appelé à conjurer un désastre. Quatre mille pièces d'artillerie, massées en un court espace, ont enveloppé dans d'épais nuages d'ypérite nos troupes de première ligne ; et d'excellentes divisions allemandes, jetées sur la vallée de l'Aisne, ont traversé la rivière, écrasé tout sur leur passage, franchi la Vesle, et menacé pour la troisième fois les approches de Paris Mais bientôt, secondées par les divisions américaines, nos troupes, reprises en main, retiennent l'ennemi dans la large poche aux bords sinueux, où il s'est imprudemment engouffré . . .

Quelques indices concordants lui donnent à penser qu'à l'est et à l'ouest de Reims, les Allemands méditent une double attaque. Loin de s'émouvoir de ces signes précurseurs, Foch comprend tout de suite que s'il réussit à maîtriser les adversaires, leur situation se trouvera singulièrement compromise dans l'impasse où ils se sont aventurés. . . .

" Dans toute guerre, a dit Foch, il y a un moment où une armée se sent portée en avant, comme si elle glissait sur un plan incliné." C'est au chef qu'il appartient de saisir alors l'occasion fugitive Au mois de juillet 1918, Foch a entendu le premier appel de la victoire Il a vu que l'ennemi commençait à chanceler ; il s'est promis de le bousculer sans trêve et sans merci " L'Entente, s'écrie-t-il, doit frapper maintenant à coups redoublés." A sa voix Belges,Anglais, Américains, Portugais, tous nos autres alliés, redoublent de courage et d'entrain. Amiens est dégagé, Montdidier reconquis, Bapaume et Péronne sont enlevés ; St. Mihiel et une partie de la Woevre sont délivrés, Gouraud s'avance en direction de Rethel et de Mézières ; et bientôt, dès les premiers jours d'octobre, la forte ligne de bastions derrière laquelle se sont réfugiés et retranchés les Allemands commence à céder et à crever çà et là. Foch n'en est que plus fortement déterminé à précipiter ses attaques. Il sait qu'en Italie le général Diaz prépare lui-même une vigoureuse offensive ; qu'en Orient Franchet d'Esperey a déjà contraint les Bulgares à demander un armistice, que l'Autriche faiblit et s'épuise. Il s'empresse donc de repartir au pas de charge, et dorénavant, de jour en jour, les victoires succèderont aux victoires ; les Belges rentreront triomphalement à Ostende et à Bruges ; Lille et Valenciennes seront libérées d'une longue captivité ; le drapeau étoilé flottera aux lisières de l'Argonne. Deux armées françaises seront disposées en Lorraine sous le commandement

de Castelnau et se prépareront à tourner la place de Metz par l'est, dans la direction de Sarrebrück, pour couper la retraite aux Allemands. A partir du 31 octobre, c'est d'heure en heure que s'accentue la progression des alliés. Nos adversaires déconcertés se résignent à un repli général. Foch les poursuit l'épée dans les reins et ne leur permet pas de reprendre haleine Pour éviter de succomber sur la Meuse ou d'en être réduite à capituler en rase campagne, l'armée allemande envoie des parlementaires à Rethondes et sollicite la suspension des hostilités.

Le 11 novembre 1918, Foch était maître d'étrangler l'ennemi : Mais dans la conviction qu'un armistice permettrait de régler, à la complète satisfaction du droit, les conditions de la paix future, il n'a pas voulu, par sentiment d'humanité, conseiller de plus longues hécatombes. Pour ce soldat français, pour ce soldat chrétien, la guerre n'était pas un but · elle n'était qu'un moyen, et non pas le moyen de procurer à un pays l'enrichissement ou la domination, mais le moyen de maintenir son indépendance et sa pleine sécurité.

Lorsque l'armistice est signé, Foch félicite en un noble langage ses officiers, ses sous-officiers et ses hommes d'avoir gagné la plus grande bataille de l'histoire et d'avoir fait triompher la cause la plus sacrée, celle de la liberté du monde, puis, avec sa simplicité native, il arrête et clôt son journal de marche, sans même s'attendre aux hommages du pays qu'il a sauvé Si, dès le 23 août 1918, il a reçu le bâton de maréchal, si les Chambres ont proclamé qu'il a bien mérité de la patrie, si l'Académie française s'est empressés de l'accueillir dans son sein, il n'a rien demandé à personne, et il paraît étonné, presque gêné, des honneurs qui lui viennent de France ou de l'étranger Dans la paix comme dans la guerre, il n'a qu'un désir, toujours le même, celui de servir, au poste qui lui est assigné Ce qui le préoccupe désormais, c'est le maintien, dans l'avenir, de cette sécurité qu'il a demandée à la victoire. A la tête de la Commission militaire interalliée, il reste un contrôleur attentif et informé, il ne néglige rien pour renseigner les gouvernements intéressés ; il ne laisse passer aucun abus, mais jamais ses observations ne lui sont suggérées par l'esprit impérialiste, par la rancune ou par la haine. Aujourd'hui que la guerre est finie, il n'entend plus être que le soldat de la paix

Bonté naturelle, modestie charmante, discret effacement, qui ont bien souvent ému ceux qui l'ont fréquenté ou seulement approché Il avait l'esprit vif et ses propos ne manquaient ni de verve, ni d'ironie. Mais, pour le bien juger, il ne fallait pas croire qu'il mît dans ses boutades familières le meilleur de lui-même, il fallait pénétrer plus profondément en lui et savoir reconnaître que, si alerte que fût son intelligence, il était partout un homme de cœur et de conscience. Dans la vie publique comme dans la vie privée, il a eu de grandes joies et de grandes tristesses. Il n'a jamais été ni enivré par les unes, ni accablé par les autres. Il avait cette force de se considérer comme faible devant l'éternité et de pouvoir attribuer à la générosité divine les mérites dont on lui faisait gloire. Négliger, devant ces draperies funèbres, des traits aussi saillants de son caractère, ce serait, par réticence ou par restriction, trahir la vérité. Nous devons à la mémoire de Foch, nous devons à ceux qui le pleurent ici, à la noble femme qui a été sa conseillère et son soutien, à ses enfants

à son frère, à ses amis, de ne laisser dans l'ombre aucune ligne de sa grande figure et de le montrer tel qu'il a été. Ceux mêmes qui ne partageaient pas ses croyances n'ont jamais pu se défendre d'admirer en lui, outre les merveilleux talents militaires, l'épanouissement des plus belles vertus civiques et le trésor des plus hautes qualités morales. Inclinons-nous, messieurs, devant les restes sacrés de celui qui, en servant la France, a servi l'humanité et qui vivra d'une vie sans cesse rajeunie, dans l'esprit de la postérité.

Photo *Lafayette*

MR JOHN REDMOND

JOHN REDMOND

IRISH FREEDOM

Speech delivered at the Irish National Convention, held in Chicago, August 18, 1886

GENTLEMEN:

The duty which devolves upon my colleagues and myself of representing the Irish nation at home, at this great gathering of the Irish nation abroad, is one in which the honour is great and the responsibility heavy. Perhaps the greatest glory of our nation is to be found in the fact that our people, driven by misfortune and misrule from the land of their fathers, and coming to this land, rude, ignorant, and poor, have yet been able to bear an honourable part in building up the fortunes of America, and to give to the world undeniable proof that, in addition to the qualities of fidelity and honesty, Irishmen, under a free constitution, can be worthy sons and good citizens of their adopted country. The Irish people in this great republic, no less as American citizens than as Irish Nationalists, have arrested the attention and commanded the admiration of the world. The assembly of this day is a proof of devotion to a great cause, perhaps unparalleled in history.

The hardships, the oppressions, and the miseries which drove you or your fathers from Ireland, have wedded your hearts to Ireland's cause by ties which neither prosperity, nor distance, nor time can destroy or weaken. No selfish interests urge you to support the old cause, devotion to which brought ruin and death upon your forefathers and exile upon yourselves. Selfishness and worldly interest all point to another course as the best; but it is the undying glory of Ireland that her exiled sons, in the midst of prosperity, and in the light of liberty, have yet found time to absent themselves from felicity awhile to tell her story, and have made it a part of their daily life and nightly dream to help in working out her redemption.

The Irish soldier, whose sword was consecrated to the service of America, dreamed, as he went into battle, of the day when his arm, skilled in the service of his adopted country, might strike a blow for Irish liberty. The Irish business man who found in one of your gigantic cities scope for his enterprise and for his industry, looked forward to the day when from his store help might go across the Atlantic to sustain Ireland's champions on the old sod. The Irish labourer, whose brawny arms have built your railroads and reared your stately palaces, in the midst of his labours laid aside his daily or weekly mite to help those who were fighting, time after time, with one weapon or another, in the old cause against the old enemies of Ireland. Rich or poor, high or low,

alike, the Irish in America have never forgotten the land whence they sprang, and our people at home, in their joys and their sorrows, in their hopes and in their fears, turn ever for help and encouragement and confidence to this great republic, upon whose fortunes and whose future rest to-day the blessings of the Irish race. To assist at this great convention of the Irish nation in America, especially to stand here as I do as the ambassador sent here to represent the Irish nation at home, is indeed a supreme honour which I can never over-estimate and can never forget.

But it is also an honour which bears with it indeed an overwhelming sense of responsibility—the responsibility of showing to you that we who are conducting this movement at home are worthy of your confidence, and have a right to claim your continued support, the responsibility also of clearly placing before you the conditions upon which alone we can accept that support or value that confidence. Let me dwell a moment upon these two points Are we worthy of your confidence, and have we a right to claim your continued support? In order to answer this question satisfactorily we must show, first, that we are guided by the same principle and animated by the same hopes as yourselves, and in the second place, that our movement is conducted on a wise and honest policy. What is the principle underlying this movement? It is the unquestioned recognition of the nationality of Ireland. We are working not simply for the removal of grievances or the amelioration of the material condition of our people Nothing, I think, is plainer than if Ireland had in the past abandoned principle, she could easily have bartered her national rights to England, and in return have obtained a certain amount of material prosperity. If only our forefathers had meekly accepted the yoke of an alien rule, Ireland's fetters would have been gilded, and the hand which for centuries has scourged her would have given her, as a slave, indulgences and favours which would have perhaps saved her from sufferings which are without a parallel in the history of oppression If, at the bidding of England, Ireland had ages since abandoned her religion, and consented to merge her nationality, we might to-day be the sleekest of slaves, fattened by the bounty of our conquerors Scotland, by even a smaller compromise of her national existence, has secured for herself comparative prosperity. But Ireland has preferred rags and an unconquered spirit of liberty to favours won by national dishonour

The principle embodied in the Irish movement of to-day is just the same principle which has been the soul of every Irish movement for the last seven centuries—the principle rebellion against the rule of strangers —the principle which Owen Roe O'Neil vindicated at Benburg, which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and to which Emmet sacrificed a stainless life. Let no man desecrate that principle by giving it the ignoble name of hatred of England Race hatred is at best an unreasoning passion I, for one, believe in the brotherhood of nations, and bitter as the memory is of past wrongs and present injustice inflicted upon our people by our alien rulers, I assert, the principle underlying our movement is not the principle for revenge for the past but of justice for the future. When a question of that principle arises there can be

no such thing as compromise. The Irish leader who would propose to compromise the national claims of Ireland, who would even incline for one second to accept as a settlement of our demand any concession short of the unquestioned recognition of that nationality which has come down to us sanctified by the blood and tears of centuries, would be false to Ireland's history and would forfeit all claims upon your confidence or support. Such a contingency can never arise, for the man who would be traitor enough to propose such a course would find himself no longer a leader. No man can barter away the honour of a nation. The one great principle of any settlement of the Irish question must be the recognition of the divine right of Irishmen, and Irishmen alone, to rule Ireland. This is the principle in support of which you are assembled to-day, this is the principle which guides our movement in Ireland But consistently with that principle we believe it is possible to bring about a settlement honourable to England and Ireland alike, whereby the wrongs and miseries of the past may be forgotten; whereby the chapter of English wrongs and of Irish resistance may be closed, and whereby a future of freedom and of amity between the two nations may be inaugurated.

Such a settlement, we believe, was offered to us by Mr Gladstone, and quite apart from the increased strength which Mr Gladstone's proposals, even though temporarily defeated, have given to our cause, we have, I think, reason to rejoice at the opportunity which they afforded to our suffering and exasperated people to show the magnanimity of their natures, and the unalloyed purity of their love of liberty What a spectacle Ireland afforded to the world, when at last one great Englishman arose bold enough and wise enough to do justice to her character! Ages of heartless oppression and bitter wrong, hundreds of thousands of martyrs to Irish freedom, ages of stupid religious persecution, ages of depopulation and state-created famine, never-ending insult, and ruthless calumny —all in that one moment were forgotten, and the feelings uppermost in the hearts of the Irish race at home and abroad were gratitude to the aged statesman who simply proposed to do justice, and anxiety for a "blessed oblivion of the past" Who, in the fact of the reception given to the Bill of Mr. Gladstone, cramped and deformed as it was by humiliating safeguards and unnecessary limitations, will dare to say that the principle of our movement is merely race hatred of England?

No! Last April Ireland was ready to forget and forgive She was ready to sacrifice many things for peace, as long as the one essential principle for which she struggled was conceded. She was willing, on the day when the portals of her ancient senate-house were reopened, to shake hands with her hereditary foe, and to proclaim peace between the democracies of two nations whom the Almighty placed side by side to be friends, but who had been kept apart by the avarice, the passions, and the injustice of a few. What centuries of oppression had failed to do seemed about to be accomplished by one word of conciliation, by one act of justice.

Almost one hundred years before a similar opportunity arose, the Irish people then demanded Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform, and in 1795 Lord Fitzwilliam came to Ireland to carry out a policy of justice. Then, just as last April, the Irish question was on the

very brink of settlement. The passion of revenge died out, ancient wrongs were forgotten, faction faded at the approach of liberty, and for one brief moment the clouds lifted over Ireland. But the moment was brief

Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and Lord Camden went to Ireland and deliberately commenced the policy which culminated in the rebellion of 1798. Fatally alike in almost all its details was the crisis of that day to the crisis of to-day. Once again the policy of conciliation has been cast aside by England. The English Viceroy, who represented the policy of liberty, and who was the first English Viceroy since 1795, who was greeted with the acclamations of the populace in Dublin, has left our shores, and in his place has come one bearing the hated name of Castlereagh. Once again all thought of amity with England has been banished from the minds of Irishmen, and to-day we are once more face to face with our hereditary foes. The storm-cloud has descended once more upon our land, but we have a right to call on the world to remember, when by-and-by it perhaps shudders at the darkness and gloom and horror of the scene, how brightly and peacefully the Irish landscape smiled during the brief sunshine of the last few months.

The duty of the moment is clear. We have given England the most convincing proof that on the concession of liberty we can be trusty friends, it now remains for us to prove for the thousandth time that as slaves we can be formidable foes. I assert here to-day that the government of Ireland by England is an impossibility, and I believe it to be our duty to keep it so. Were our people tamely to submit to the yoke which has been once again placed on their necks they would be unworthy of the blood which they have inherited from fathers who preferred poverty to dishonour and death to national slavery.

But there is no danger of such a disgrace. The national movement is in the hands of a man who can be bold as well as cautious, and I claim the confidence and support of the Irish in America, not only because they are animated by the same principle and the same hopes as we are, but because our movement at home is conducted on a wise and honest policy. Judged by the test of success, how does that policy stand? Has our cause for one instant stopped in its progress toward triumph? When last you assembled in convention, two years ago, the Irish party in Parliament did not number more than forty; to-day we hold five-sixths of the Irish seats, and speak in the name of five-sixths of the Irish people in Ireland. Two years ago we had arrayed against us all English political parties and every English statesman, to-day we have upon our side one of the great English political parties, which, though its past traditions in Ireland have been evil, still represents the party of progress in England, and the greatest statesman of the day, who has staked his all upon winning for Ireland her national rights. Two years ago England had in truth, in Mitchel's phrase, the ear of the world. To-day, at last, that ear, so long poisoned with calumnies of our people, is now open to the voice of Ireland. Two years ago the public opinion of the world —ay, and even of this free land of America—was doubtful as to the justice of our movement; to-day the opinion of the civilized world, and of America in particular, is clearly and distinctly upon our side. Has

the policy which has wrought this change been a success, and are the men who have raised the Irish cause to its present position worthy of your continued confidence and support?

Well, but for the future, what is the policy and who are to be the framers of that policy? Here I come to the second point I mentioned at the beginning—namely, the condition upon which alone we can value your confidence or accept your support. So long as we are true to the great principles of Irish nationality, resolutely refusing either to be bought or coerced from a rigid adherence to the full measure of national right, and so long as we are able to point to our past policy as honest and successful, we say we, and no others, are entitled to decide for ourselves upon Irish soil and upon our own responsibility what our policy for the future is to be. This is the condition upon which you have given your support to us in the past, and it is the condition upon which alone we can accept your support for the future. Of one thing, however, you may rest assured—the policy in Ireland in the near future will be one of fight The chief of the present English Government recently prescribed as a remedy for Irish discontent twenty years' coercion. He forgot the historical fact that since the Act of Union there had been eight-six years' coercion, and that the spirit of the people is sterner and higher to-day than ever it was before For coercion he was quite prepared, and to coercion Lord Salisbury will most assuredly be forced to come, although the policy of the new Government seems to be to try and stave off stern measures for awhile. They will, however, soon find out their mistake.

To the concession of justice and liberty there is no alternative but coercion. To imagine that Ireland could jog along peacefully for even six months under the rule of the new Castlereagh is to set down our people as cravens or fools. In the coming winter the laws of nature itself will forbid the possibility of peace. For the last six months the tenant farmers of Ireland have played a part too little known and appreciated here. They submitted to untold privations and sufferings and exactions in patience and in silence, lest by one word or act of theirs they should embarrass their leaders in Parliament, or retard by one moment the concession of Home Rule The landlords of Ireland noted, but totally misunderstood the meaning of the change of attitude. They mistook forbearance and patriotism for cowardice, and the crowbar brigade once more set to work. Still the tenants suffered in silence. Mr. Gladstone proposed a Land Bill which would have bought out the landlords at an extravagantly high figure, yet the Irish tenants were ready, because it was coupled with the concession of Home Rule, to pay this exorbitant sum as the price to be paid for national freedom. But all motive for forbearance on their part is now gone, the sands have run through the hour-glass, and the old fight between landlord and tenant must revive if the people are not to be swept out of existence while they are waiting for Home Rule.

Once more Irish landlords have behaved with unaccountable folly and stupidity. They have once more stood between Ireland and her freedom, and have refused even an extravagant price for the land because the offer was coupled with the concession of an Irish Parliament. So.

be it. I believe the last offer has been made to Irish landlordism. The ultimate settlement of this question must now be reserved for the Parliament of Ireland, and meantime the people must take care to protect themselves and their children. In many parts of Ireland, I assert, rent is to-day an impossibility, and in every part of Ireland the rents demanded are exorbitant, and will not and cannot be paid. The old struggle will be revived, and before three months are over the new Government will be forced, as of old, in defence of the rents of the landlords, to attempt to forge anew the fetters of coercion The process will not be an easy one, and even if successful we have no reason to fear the worst they can do. For my part, indeed, I think it but right and fitting, that so long as Englishmen rule Ireland they should be forced to do so by coercion. We have to-day no constitution, and it is well that the mask of constitutionalism should be torn from the faces of our rulers and the fact made patent to the world In this coming struggle, which we honestly believe will be the final one before victory, we claim the assistance of our fellow-countrymen and the sympathy of all the citizens of this great republic. Gentlemen, I have now done The memory of this day will live with me while memory lasts The effects of the work upon which you have been engaged will, I believe, live and be felt as long as this struggle continues Your wisdom will guide our policy, your courage will inspire our hearts, your marvellous union will excite our emulation. You have good reason, indeed, to be proud of the proceedings of this day You are, in truth, engaged in a noble and a sacred work—nothing less than championing the weak against the strong, the helpless against the powerful, the afflicted against the prosperous You have long since earned for yourselves and your adopted country the blessings of the poor, and rest assured, when at last victory sits upon our cause and freedom is again enthroned in Ireland, you also will reap a reward, for the God of the poor and the oppressed, the God of justice and of mercy, will also increase your prosperity and watch eternally over your liberties.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

Inaugural Speech given at Washington, March 4, 1933

This is a day of national consecration, and I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candour and a decision which the present situation of our people impels This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country to-day. This great nation will endure, as it has endured, and it will revive and will prosper So first of all let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself —nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror, which paralyzes needed effort to convert retreat into triumph.

In every dark hour of our national life leadership of frankness and vigour has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory, and I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days. In such a spirit we face our common difficulties They concern, thank God, material things Values have sunk to fantastic levels, our factories are without orders, taxes have risen, our ability to pay has fallen, Government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income, the means of exchange are frozen, the withered leaves of our industrial enterprise lie on every side Farmers find no markets for their produce, and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return

Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment. We are stricken by no plague of locusts compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid Nature still affords her bounty, but the generous use of it languishes in the very sight of supply This is primarily because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated.

The practices of unscrupulous money-changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and the minds of men True, they have tried; but, faced by the failure of credit, they have proposed only lending more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow them they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and where there is no vision the people perish.

The money-changers having fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization, we may now restore that temple to the ancient truths.

The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, the thrill of creative effort. The dark days will be worth all they cost if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto, but to minister to ourselves and our fellow-men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and business that too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. But restoration calls not for changes in ethics alone; the nation is asking for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put the people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would an emergency of war; but at the same time we can accomplish greatly needed projects to stimulate and organize the use of our national resources

Hand in hand with that we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in industrial centres, and endeavour on a national scale by redistribution to encourage the settlement on the land of those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products, thus increasing the power to purchase the output of the cities; by preventing realistically the tragedy of growing loss through foreclosure on small homes and farms, by the unifying of relief activities that to-day are often scattered and uneconomic; by insistence that the Federal, the State, and the local governments act forthwith on the demands that their costs be drastically reduced; by national planning for, and supervision of, all forms of transportation, communication, and other public utilities. There are many ways by which the task can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order. There must be strict supervision of all banking and credit investments. There must be end to speculation with other people's money. There must be provision for an adequate but sound currency. These, my friends, are the lines of attack. I shall urge on the new Congress in a special session detailed measures and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the forty-eight States. Through this programme we shall address ourselves to our national task of putting our house in order and of making our income balance our outgoings.

Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are, in point of time and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favour as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic adjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment. In the field of world policy I would dedicate the nation to the policy of the good neighbour, who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbour who

respects obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements with his neighbours in the world.

If I read the temper of our people correctly we now realize as never before our interdependence on each other, that we cannot merely take, but must give as well; that if we are to go forward we must go as a trained and loyal army willing to accept sacrifices for the sake of common discipline. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good, and because without it no progress can be made and no leadership becomes effective

This leadership I propose to offer with the pledge that its purposes shall be binding upon us all as a sacred obligation, with a united duty heretofore invoked only in times of armed strife. With this pledge taken I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people in action dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our main difficulties. This image is feasible under the form of government we have inherited from our ancestors.

Our Constitution is so simple, so practical, that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the world has ever seen. It has met every stress of a vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter international strife, of world difficulties, and it is fully adequate to meet the unprecedented issues before us.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of the Executive and Legislative authority may be adequate to meet the task, but it may be that the unprecedented situation and the need for undelayed action may call for a temporary departure. I am prepared to recommend measures that a stricken nation may require These measures, or such other measures as Congress out of its experience and wisdom may build, I shall seek within my constitutional authority to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that Congress shall fail to take one or other of these courses, and in the event of a critical national emergency, I shall not evade the clear course of duty I shall ask Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet such a crisis—namely, a broad executive power to wage war against the emergency as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want vigorous action For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and devotion that befit the time We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity, with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We may add the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life Our people have asked for discipline and direction in leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it. In this dedication, in this dedication of a nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

THE LATE LORD ROSEBERY

Rt. Hon. The EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.

At the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, at the Centenary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, November 1, 1897

I am deeply grateful to you for the cordiality of your reception to-night. It is at any time an honour to speak in the Free Trade Hall to a great audience of Manchester citizens such as this is. But on this occasion I deem it a signal though rather an embarrassing distinction. I venture to think that there was among your cheers to-night a note of compassion when you received me. And I will tell you why On such occasions as these, when you have the Free Trade Hall crowded to the roof, you expect from some eminent politician a controversial speech, spiced with epigram and possibly not removed from personality, which shall tickle the political palate of the audience and keep it in a state of agreeable excitement But to-night we can have none of these things. This is one of those occasions which I think are somewhat too rare among us when great audiences meet together, composed of both, or perhaps I ought rather to say of all, the parties in the State—from which, therefore, everything of a controversial kind is banished. It is all very well to say " hear, hear," but is the gentleman who says " hear hear " prepared to discourse for an hour on an uncontroversial topic with eloquence and vivacity before a crowded audience? If he is, I am willing to give place to him

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce
An Historical Retrospect

Now, the occasion that we are met to celebrate to-night is of a very much more peaceful character I have enumerated some of the disabilities under which I lie to-night, but I have not named what, after all, perhaps, is the greatest, that we are assembled to commemorate the centenary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and it is not a centenary at all I confess that when I ascertained from my friend the President that such was the case my courage almost failed me How was I to come, in these days of epochs and anniversaries, to celebrate a centenary which had already long passed by? But the gloomy fact of the situation is this, that your centenary took place, not in 1897, but in 1894. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce, like many human beings, was vague as to the date of its birth—and only discovered it recently in an accidental exploration. Well, after all, " better late than never." It is a good occasion; it is a time that we must not neglect. We must never forget the foundation of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and it would have been better to defer the celebration for

ten or fifteen or twenty years too late than not to commemorate it at all. The birth of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce took place in wild times of war and difficulty. The year 1794 found us in the midst of revolution; in the second year of a war with France, in the very commencement of a struggle which was destined to last for nearly twenty years. I can hardly imagine a more gloomy moment for the birth of so peaceful an institution as this And what was it that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce set itself to do? Although it was patronized by the great men of Manchester of that day—the Peels and the others—all that it attempted to do, or at any rate its primary duty, was this, to establish a black list of firms abroad with whom it was not safe to deal. And what was the result of this effort of Manchester in 1794? That black list contained only one name, and that name upon consideration was expunged. I venture to think that was very creditable to Manchester in those days We all of us have our black lists. There is not an individual in this hall who has not his confidential black list, who has not his political black list, who has not his literary black list, who has not his social black list, and who, perhaps, has not his financial black list. But I venture to say there is not a single person here that is so fortunate as the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and has only one name on the black list that he keeps in his innermost mind. Now, no one, I think, could have argued from that humble beginning the imperial destiny, the cosmopolitan destiny, reserved for the Manchester Chamber of Commerce I pass over nearly half a century of work, useful work, employed in deputations to the Governments of the day, employed perpetually in the work of endeavouring to free commerce from its chains; and I come to the great critical epoch of your history, which was December, 1838.

Advent of the Anti-Corn Law League

Before December, 1838, two events had happened in Manchester which were destined to bear the most speedy fruit. In a small room over a stable in a Manchester hotel yard there had met in October, 1838, seven men, who had then set on foot a resolution to form a league, which should not be dissolved till the corn laws were done away with. About the same time Mr. Ashworth tells us in his history that he was walking with Mr Cobden, I think it was in Liverpool—and they had been talking of these taxes, and Cobden stopped and said: "I will tell you what it is, Ashworth, we will use the Manchester Chamber of Commerce as a lever for doing away with the corn laws" And what Cobden said he usually did; so he came to Manchester in December, 1838, and in two great meetings he beat the governing body of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which was not so enlightened as himself, and he got the Chamber of Commerce to petition for a repeal of the laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence Now, I think that that occasion reflects undying lustre on Manchester and its Chamber of Commerce. Cobden himself said afterwards that "just as Jerusalem was with the origin of our faith, and just as Mecca was in the eyes of the Mahometans, so would Manchester be identified

in the eyes of historians as the birthplace and the centre of the greatest moral movement since the introduction of printing". There is no need to tell you here to whom you owe this achievement. You, Sir, have dealt in your introductory remarks on some of the names that occurred to you; but I venture to say that it is not necessary in Manchester, it would be almost impertinent on the part of a stranger, to run over the Homeric list of names which constitute the glory of this movement It would be still more difficult to give the full meed of approval to those unknown workers, those unknown givers, who swelled so largely the success of that movement. There is one name, however, that we cannot forget to-night That is the name of the Parliamentary pioneer of the movement, who was enabled to work for it before Cobden ever became a member of Parliament, who lives happy among us in a green and honoured old age, who is still a member of the House of Commons, who still sits for Wolverhampton, the pedestal from which he urged that reform—I mean, of course, Charles Pelham Villiers This movement had another rare distinction. It produced a great poet and a great orator. The poet was Ebenezer Elliott; the orator was John Bright. When one thinks of John Bright in this Free Trade Hall of Manchester, and of the eloquence with which he has thrilled it, one almost feels inclined to sit down or to leave the hall. But it is difficult for anyone who has had the honour of his acquaintance not to pay one word of tribute to his memory, as one knew him—to his geniality, to his kindliness, to his simplicity, to his inherent dignity, to his horror of all that was false, or cowardly, or untrue. I think there is nothing in all the annals of our political history so completely and unalloyedly beautiful as the political brotherhood of Cobden and Bright, the great twin brethren who slew the corn laws. I suppose they each of them were to some extent the complement of each other Each had in superabundance qualities which, thrown into the common stock, made an irresistible force. Cobden had the sagacity, the persuasion, the initiative, Bright the splendour and the eloquence. And he had something else. Bright, as you know, was a Quaker, but he was the most pugnacious Quaker that ever lived—and I think we may say, without any fear of contradiction from any member of that peaceful and excellent sect, that the pugnacity of Bright had something to do with the repeal of the corn laws. What, then, were the weapons with which this gigantic contest was carried on? It was not carried on with the arm of the flesh. "Our march," said the League, in its farewell manifesto, "has been stained by no blood, and our success is sullied by no tears." No, they slew their giant with the smooth stone from the brook of hard facts, and there is no more formidable weapon. When they started on their crusade it was no doubt to some extent a class crusade. It was the old crusade carried on by the townspeople against the country people. They would not have been able to raise the vast sums that they did for a purely abstract and philanthropic enterprise. But remember one or two things in connection with that. It very soon ceased to be a class agitation, and comprehended almost all classes of the community before it had achieved its victory. The next point is this, that, if it was a class agitation, it was a class struggle in more senses than one, because it was a class

fighting against a class—it was the commercial class fighting against the landed class. And, in the third place, I would have you to remember that what money was raised even by an appeal to class interest was spent, not in corruption, but in enlightenment. What it did was to bring home to the nation the facts of its own situation. Well, these facts, as I have said, were deadly weapons.

Condition of England before Free Trade

Never, I think, was the condition of England so gloomy, not even during the great war against France, as it was at the time when this agitation was taken up by this Chamber of Commerce Let me give you two or three facts, very elementary facts, or I would rather say let me recall them, because they are probably known to you. There were 20,000 persons in one place whose average earnings were only 11¾d. a week; there were 10,000 in another who were on the verge of starvation. In Manchester 116 mills and other works were standing idle; 681 shops and offices were untenanted, 5,492 dwellings were unoccupied. In one district of Manchester there were 2,000 families without a bed among them, 8,666 persons whose weekly income was only 1s. 2½d. In Stockport 73,314 persons had received relief whose average weekly income was 9.1/6d Some grim humourist had chalked up on a shutter in that town "Stockport to let" Carlyle sums it up in a sentence: "So many hundred thousands sit in the workhouses, another hundred thousand have not got even workhouses, and in thrifty Scotland itself, in Glasgow, in Edinburgh city, in their dark lanes, hidden from all but the eye of God, and the rare benevolence of the minister of God, there are scenes of woe and destitution and desolation such as one may hope the sun never saw before in the most barbarous regions where men dwelt." That was the condition of the commercial districts when Cobden and his band of brothers began their agitation, and when they fought their fight. Then came at last the Irish Famine, that great object-lesson of the corn laws, that curse which was to breed a blessing, and under the shadow of that calamity the victory was won. Well, the little meeting of seven people in a stable yard in Manchester was to overthrow one of the most powerful Governments and the most powerful interest which could be conceived in England. But what is strange and beautiful in the result is this—that the Minister whom they had overthrown, the Minister whom they have compelled and convinced and vanquished, shares the glory of the victory with them. They were fortunate in that at the head of the Government there was a man like Sir Robert Peel—one of the two Prime Ministers of this century who have been distinguished above all others by a true, tender, transparent political conscience He was one I will not name the other It was fortunate, as I say, for the League that Robert Peel was Prime Minister at that time, and it is certain that the name of Peel will go down united with the name of Cobden and the others, as the fathers and benefactors of this great movement.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may well say to me: "All this was long ago, all this is done and achieved for ever; why recall it to us, who

know it so well?" I say, on the other hand, you cannot recall it too often, and on an occasion like this we should be almost sinners if we did not commemorate it. Standing in this hall, built on the very site of the massacre of Peterloo, on this historic spot, on this historic occasion, we cannot too well remember what that fight was and from what it saved us I will tell you one thing, at least, from which it assuredly did save you. It saved you not merely from starvation, but it saved you from revolution Mr. Bright in 1845 said, and said with truth: "There is no institution in this country—the monarchy, the aristocracy, the Church, or any other whatever—of which I will not say, attach it to the corn laws, and I will predict its fate." And who can doubt that at the time he spoke, with the condition of things that I have described, and with the revolution of 1848, which shook every throne and every constitution in Europe but ours, looming ahead, who can doubt that if the beneficent change of 1846 had not taken place, a revolution would have been the result in this country? That is one supreme result There is another, also a negative result, which I can describe by a single distortion of a sentence Lord Melbourne, on a famous occasion in the House of Lords, said that he had heard of many mad things, but, before God, the idea of the repeal of the corn laws was the maddest he had ever heard of Well, if you substitute for the word "repeal" the word "re-enactment," you have, I think, one certain result of the agitation of Cobden. Of all the mad things we have heard in our days, the re-enactment of the corn laws is the maddest we can possibly conceive.

Now, it is always well, I think, not to overstate your case. It must be perfectly clear to us all that, in the ecstasy and in the enthusiasm of this great revolution, men hoped from it more than it has been able to accomplish. It has not, for example, produced peace and disarmament. I do not care to measure the extent or the density of the thick war-cloud which broods over Europe. I do not care to compute the number of millions of armed men who stand ranged in battle array, face to face on the continent of Europe, like bewitched armies, waiting only the evil spirit to rouse them into life and activity—but at any rate we can say this, that if the increase of armies has gone on by gigantic strides since the repeal of the corn laws, that is not due to Free Trade; but, on the other hand, those very military preparations have led those countries far from Free Trade into fiscal errors, as we believe them to be, to the hampering of their trade, the restriction of their commerce, and the imposition of protective duties which we believe to be detrimental to their industry. Again, it is true that the sanguine expectations of the promoters of Free Trade have not been realized, because they have found very few imitators in the world. But Cobden did not demand imitation as a condition of success. He declined to be judged by imitation as a test of his success He said "If Free Trade be a good thing for us we will have it. Let others take it if it be a good thing for them; if it be not, let them do without it."

Free Trade and Agriculture

Well, there is another point on which I think some of our friends think that Free Trade has been a failure. I mean with regard to the agriculture of this country. I hear a faint ripple of applause. I do not know if it comes from a distressed or a reassured agriculturist, but I am perfectly certain that this hall will be a building even more exceptional than I think it is, if it does not contain an agriculturist who is full of complaints For, after all, the first necessary condition of agriculture —and I say it not with a smile, but in grim earnest—is that it always has complained, that it always must complain, and that it always will complain. From the times of Theocritus and Virgil, and even from further back—I suspect, from the time when Adam delved—agriculture had been in a state of complaint. And who can wonder at it? I say in perfect gravity that that is a necessary condition of a trade or calling which is at the mercy of every whim and humour of Nature. There is no conceivable weather which will suit every crop, and so farmers look on all weathers with impartial foreboding What may secure a harvest may ruin roots, what may swell a swede may drown an oat. Innumerable diseases haunt animals and crops A poisonous beast may taint the cattle of a nation; a sick potato may starve a race. It is impossible to put any limit to the afflictions which in the ordinary course of Nature, without any interference from art, harass the agriculturist When he has an abundance, prices fall. When prices rise, there is nothing to sell. You laugh, but it is no laughing matter I am a landowner and a farmer, and for such it is a long tragedy. And if you put aside even what Nature has done as against the farmer, you have besides what is even more ruinous the increasing means of communication—the great steamers that cross the ocean and bring to our markets the abundant harvests of Australia India, America, and Russia Farmers are now not Scottish or English or Welsh or Irish, they are cosmopolitan. They contend in the markets, not with their neighbours or with those of the adjoining counties, but with distant and virgin regions of the world. Altogether, I confess I think that the complaints of agriculturists are more well founded than complaints of a class usually are. Agriculture suffers under Free Trade, and has always suffered since the Garden of Eden, and will always suffer But the question is with us to-night Is agriculture worse off now than it was under the operation of the corn laws? Now, as far as we can judge, farmers are better off than they were before the repeal of the corn laws. They live now at a much higher standard, they pay a much lower rent, their purchasing power is vastly increased by Free Trade And what was the condition of the farmers of England before Free Trade? There was a Committee of the House of Commons that sat in 1836 to consider the condition of agriculture in this country. It sent up a report which was an account of almost universal ruin and almost universal insolvency. From such counties as Lincoln, Middlesex, Surrey, Northampton, and Suffolk there came the statement that farmers were paying their rent out of capital. From Buckinghamshire it was positively asserted that a great many of the farmers had failed, and that at least half of the remainder were insolvent.

Of the tenantry of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, the same, or worse was testified. They were "verging on insolvency—the most desperate state men can be in." And so forth; it is unnecessary to multiply monotonous testimony.

Well, then, the next class that we have to consider are the labourers. Is it not perfectly true that the labourers, though their condition is not what it should be in the agricultural districts even yet, are infinitely better off than they were before 1846 in wages, in purchasing power, and in the dwellings they inhabit? Go into the country districts on a Sunday, and you will see a well-dressed population of labourers and their families that you can scarcely distinguish from the best in the neighbourhood. But what was the condition of things before the repeal of the corn laws? There is in a book that I recommend you to read —if you have leisure to read a work of two volumes on a political subject —Mr. Jephson's *History of the Political Platform*, a most pathetic account, taken from the *Times* newspaper of that date, of a meeting of the agricultural labourers of Wiltshire in January, 1846, four or five months before the repeal of the corn laws was actually achieved. Will you pardon me if I read one or two sentences from it? "The chairman was a labourer; the speakers, with the exception of two, were labourers. The object in view was to call public attention to the present condition of the labouring population in this part of the country, and to petition Her Majesty and the Legislature to take decisive steps for the speedy relief of their extreme distress. The meeting was to have been held in a large booth erected in a field, but the great expense of providing such accommodation was beyond the combined contributions which these poor people could spare from their very scanty means, and therefore they were compelled to assemble together in the crossroad of the village, and to endure the inclemency of a winter night, while they talked over their common sufferings The whole of the arrangements and proceedings were strikingly characteristic of the occasion. A hurdle, supported by four stakes driven into the ground beneath a hedge on the roadside, formed a narrow and unsteady platform, capable of supporting only the chairman and one speaker at a time. . . . Four or five candles, some in lanthorns, and others sheltered from the wind by the hands that held them, threw a dim and flickering light upon the groups on this spot, before and around which were gathered nearly 1,000 of the peasantry of Wiltshire. . . . In the shadows of the night the distinctive garb of their class was everywhere discernible, and when the flittering clouds permitted the moon to shine brightly in their faces in them might be seen written, in strong and unmistakable lines, anxiety, supplication, want, hunger. . . . One speaker said: 'I don't know much of the corn laws, only that they ha'nt done we labourers much good. It is a long time till July next, before we get new potatoes; and unless something turns up for we poor creatures, starvation stares us in the face on both hands.' Another speaker said: 'There was nothing left for them now but starvation or Free Trade.'" Well, I do not think that that description requires any enlargement, or that anybody who reads it will doubt that the condition of the agricultural labourer was infinitely worse before the repeal of the corn laws than in our time.

Then there are the landlords. I feel like the man in the play, who says. "Ah! thou hast touched me nearly" But I will only make one remark upon the landlords. Their rents have undoubtedly fallen since the means of communication have so greatly improved between foreign countries and ourselves; but I have only one comment to make upon that, and it is this, that the interests of the nation cannot be sacrificed to the interests of a class—and though I feel the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of many landlords whose cases I know, yet I believe they would be the first, in a spirit of patriotism, to deny any claim that the nation should be sacrificed to them. I must also make one further remark; that, so far as we can judge from inquiry, the condition of agriculture in foreign countries, in spite of bounties and in spite of protective duties, is not much better, and in some cases is certainly worse, than the condition of agriculture in Great Britain under Free Trade.

Commercial Results of Free Trade

But there is one point as to which the results of Free Trade are absolutely unmistakable, and they are the commercial results May I read to you two sets of figures, which will show this in a moment. In 1846 —the year when the corn laws were repealed—the total imports of this country were about £76,000,000 sterling in value. They are believed to have been somewhat overrated, but certainly were not underrated. In 1896, after fifty years' operations of Free Trade, they are £441,802,000, showing an increase of £365,855,000, or 481 per cent. The total exports in 1846 were £74,000,000; in 1896 they were £296,370,000, showing an increase of £222,250,000 or 300 per cent. The exports of British and Irish products in 1846 were £57,786,000, nearly £58,000,000, in 1896 they were over £240,000,000 or £182,000,000 more, showing an increase of 315 per cent, and the exports of foreign and colonial productions were £16,296,000 in 1846, and £56,233,000 in 1896, showing an increase of about £40,000,000 or 245 per cent Now any comment on those figures would rob them of their importance and their weight. They are more like a fairy-tale than the sort of statistics that they turn out from the Board of Trade, but they are literally and exactly true, and they are largely due to the work which was done by Villiers, Cobden, Bright and Peel.

But there is one effect of Free Trade which may seem strange and paradoxical to you, but on which I, for my part, lay the very greatest stress. I believe that one of the most important effects of Free Trade has been the maintenance and the consolidation of the British Empire. Now, I fear this may seem strange and paradoxical to those who have been brought up in the belief, which is commonly asserted, that Cobden, and what is called the Manchester School, were hostile or indifferent to the existence of the Empire. But Cobden's own testimony on this point is simple and direct enough. He says: "People tell you I want to abandon our colonies, but I say: 'Do you intend to hold your colonies by the sword, by armies and ships of war?' That is not a permanent hold upon them. I want to hold them by their affections." I think in that definition you must allow the word affections to include the word

interests, because national affections, which are not based on national interests because national, are apt to be sterile plants. But I think that if you allow me that amplification, and allow that national affections shall include for this purpose national interests, you have a true and complete definition of the best foundation of the British Empire. Under that policy, at any rate, the Empire has marched with seven-leagued boots, until in this year of grace we have been privileged to witness a moving panorama of empire, and, what is more, to receive the proposals of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, offering on behalf of Canada commercial facilities to the mother country for the avowed purpose of drawing us closer and closer together.

Free Trade and the Empire

But I will explain in a moment to you why it is that, in my opinion, Free Trade has had so important an effect in maintaining and in consolidating this Empire. In the first place, it has produced the wealth that has enabled us to sustain the burden, and the burden of an Empire like ours must always be great as regards expenditure of energy and of money. Without Free Trade I venture to say that we should have been wholly unable to sustain it. In 1841, when Sir Robert Peel came into power, we were staggering under a much less burden than we bear easily now, and staggering under it with deficits and with despair We were then in a condition which bordered on revolution, and revolution means the dismemberment of our Empire. I venture, then, to say that both on the ground of maintenance and as having averted revolution, Free Trade has rendered enormous services to our Empire.

But these are not the sole services that Free Trade has rendered us. In my judgment, whatever that may be worth, Free Trade has preserved the Empire The colonies, indeed, have not travelled very far in our wake with regard to our commercial policy They know their own business best, and will work out their own salvation on their own lines. But I have an illustrious authority—perhaps the most illustrious outside these islands and inside the Empire—to sustain my view as to the preserving force of Free Trade upon our Empire. Sir Wilfred Laurier said the other day " There are parties who hope to maintain the British Empire upon lines of restricted trade If the British Empire is to be maintained, it can only be upon the most absolute freedom, political and commercial. In building up this great enterprise, to deviate from the principle of freedom will be to so much weaken the ties and bonds which now hold it together." Well, that is a view that I hold, and that I believe you hold in this hall I believe that anything in the direction of an Imperial commercial league would weaken this Empire internally, and excite the permanent hostility of the whole world. Now, I begin to feel that in approaching this subject I ought to tread tenderly and delicately, because, though the proposition has been often made, it has been recently made from a political point of view, and therefore I ought perhaps to avoid it altogether. I treat it, however, not with regard to its recent development—which is only its latest—but as regards the doctrine which has been held forth for many years by men of both

political parties, that such a league is eminently desirable. I tread delicately near the subject for another reason, because I believe that the idea is dead. I tread near it with the reverence due to a corpse. Now, I respect all serious proposals for binding our Empire more closely together. A great part of my life I have been studying those proposals, and I respect their motive and try to support them, but this particular proposal, I believe, would have a directly contrary effect to that which its promoters claim for it. In the first place, it would be a disturbance of Free Trade. Free Trade need not be considered an idol or a fetish, but it is at all events the system on which our commercial greatness has grown up and developed, and he would be a rash man that would endeavour to lay hands upon it In the next place, the proposal, if I understand it rightly, would tend to interpose checks upon the free import of the food of the people I believe that that is absolutely impracticable, but that if it were practicable and were done in the name of the Empire, it would only succeed in making the Empire odious to the working classes of this country. And there is another objection, not less fatal —although it is external and not internal

Gentlemen, I think it must have occurred to you that such an Empire as ours cannot be built up without exciting great jealousies The aggrandizement of nations is something like the aggrandizement of individuals. If you see a person who was very poor suddenly blossom out with a prodigious fortune you are apt to envy him, and further to believe that that fortune may not have been too honestly acquired. I suspect that something of the same sensation comes over foreign nations when they look at the chart of the world and see how largely the British Empire bulks in it That may be the reason—I know of no other, and certainly of no better—that may be the reason for a fact which you must regard as one of the most salient factors in our foreign policy, in our Imperial policy—and in our relations with foreign nations—I mean the general envy and suspicion with which we are regarded abroad. Nothing is more amazing to the ordinary Briton than to discover the deep-rooted suspicion of our motives, of our policy, and of our action which is entertained towards us in foreign countries, a feeling, no doubt, with which we have sometimes regarded other nations, but which we are completely stupefied at discovering with respect to ourselves You, I daresay, can scarcely understand it, you are conscious, as citizens of a great nation, of high, noble, and even chivalrous aims, and you cannot understand that in pursuing these aims the foreign observer is apt to suspect or think that he detects a trick Well, I cannot lay too much stress on this point in regard to this subject I am perfectly certain of this, and I think all your friends who travel will tell you the same, that we lie, for various reasons, under the deep and abiding suspicion of foreign nations. That is a central fact, and under the circumstances I ask you whether, with your extended dominions, and with all your liabilities, it is not well, while you walk strongly, to walk warily upon the path of empire? Well, apply this fact to the proposal to which I have been alluding. Suppose, in the face of this suspicion, that it were proposed to establish an Imperial Customs Union. I believe that to be an impossibility, but supposing it were possible, it would be something which

would place all the nations of the world in direct antagonism to it—it is something which, if possible, they would all combine to destroy. We have, of course, a perfect right to do this, but, though all things may be lawful to us within our own borders, all things are not expedient; and I am discussing this now not as a question of right, but as a question of policy. My belief on this point is confirmed by something that happened this year. You will remember that this year we denounced our commercial treaties with Germany and with Belgium—an innocent step, a simple step, and rendered a necessary step under the happy impulse of Canada. But throughout Europe, in every newspaper, in every country, there was a note of alarm at what we thought was an obvious and ordinary proceeding. They seemed to see an important departure involved; they seemed to see something portentous and menacing. And if that were the case—as it was—with regard to the denouncing of two commercial treaties, I ask you what the feeling of mistrust and suspicion would have been had we established instead an Imperial Customs Union? Remember, gentlemen, that in these later days every savage, every swamp, every desert, is the object of eager annexation or competition; and what in that state of circumstances would have been the feeling created by the development of a new empire—for under these new commercial conditions it would be new—not like the Russian Empire, local, though vast, but a world-wide empire, surrounded by a Customs rampart, a challenge to every nation, a distinct defiance to the world? On the other hand, what is the present state of circumstances? Our Empire is peace, it makes peace, it means peace, it aims at peace Its extension under Free Trade is for the benefit of all nations Its motto is the old one of the volunteers "Defence, not defiance" A scattered Empire like ours, founded upon commerce and cemented by commerce, an Empire well defended, so as not to invite wanton aggression, can mean and make for nothing but peace We have on our side, in the long run, all that makes for peace and free commerce in the world That is a fact that all nations know in their hearts It is a fact that no wise statesman can hope to disregard But an empire spread all over the world, with a uniform barrier of a Customs Union presented everywhere, would be, in comparison—I will not say an empire of war, but a perpetual menace, or, at least, a perpetual irritation

I say, then, that our Empire is peace—that our Empire as at present constituted, under the wise guidance of a Free Trade policy, makes for peace, for commerce, and for enlightenment Men in these days want little more than that, they are lucky if they get so much But that is not all. If you want your foundations to be sounder still, if you wish to dig deeper and broader and stronger the foundations of this world-wide Empire, the home of all English peoples, you want something more even than peace and commerce and enlightenment You must take care that the corner-stones of that majestic structure are not simply peace, but honour, honour and justice, and fair dealing to all, of whatever colour, who live within our borders We as a nation have, I think, rarely been so fortunate as to obtain the affection of the subject races over which we rule, but we have at least earned their respect—we have earned their respect for upright government, for scrupulous truth, for

straightforward dealing as between governor and governed. If we maintain this high standard of energy and patriotism, I fear nothing for that Empire of which we are privileged to form a part. But we have the example of other empires before us, and if through any lapse on our part, if for any reason whatever it be written in the inscrutable decrees of Fate that we are to follow their example and to crumble and disappear, we can at least resolve this—that we will leave behind us a monument more splendid and more durable than any constructed by the Caesars and the Pharaohs—the memory of an empire of which the mottoes and the corner-stones were honour, and justice, and peace. These, gentlemen, I venture to think, are the teachings of this hall and of this occasion.

Photo *Sport & General*

THE RT HON SIR JOHN SIMON

The Rt. Hon. SIR JOHN SIMON, G.C.S.I.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Speech in the House of Commons, May 6, 1926

Although the hour is late—we have now reached the final stage, and we are invited to pass this resolution dealing with the regulations as a whole—I desire to ask the attention of the House for a few minutes to one feature of the present situation which I think has received insufficient attention We have all of us been so much concerned with the gravity of the crisis that one novel feature of it has not, I think, been appreciated as widely as it ought to have been We speak of the present disaster as a "general strike," and this general cessation of work is regarded by a great many people in the country as though it were merely a variety—no doubt more serious, widespread and threatening—of the strikes we have usually known By referring to it as a "general strike," there has grown up in some quarters a belief that this situation is the same in character as previous strikes, though of course on a vastly greater scale.

If I may give an illustration which will appeal to everybody in the House, we speak of this situation as a "general strike" much in the same way as we speak of the last war as the "great war," because it is something of exceptional gravity and importance and suffering But I wish to address this consideration to the House When this disturbance is over, and when Parliament resumes its normal function, it will be very necessary to appreciate that this general strike is not a strike at all It is something very different. I am not apportioning blame or praise, I am merely pointing out a most important fact A strike, properly understood, is perfectly lawful. The right to strike is the right of workmen in combination, by pre-arrangement, to give due notice to their employers to terminate their engagements, and to withhold their labour when these notices have expired. That is what the right to strike is. When that happens, as it has sometimes happened—as it has often happened in the history of this country—neither the workmen nor the trade union leaders are breaking any law, and I hold, and I hope that at this time of day most people hold, that it is an essential part of the rights of the British wage-earner that he should have the right to strike, and that it never ought to be taken away from him I am sure that those who really appreciate the character of British institutions will never wish to take it away from him. I cannot imagine a state of society in which it might be taken away from him, unless we reach a Socialist state. If that ever happened, as I pointed out in the Debate a year or two ago, nothing is more certain than that the right to strike would be impossible, because, in a completely Socialist State, the right

to strike would be a claim to mutiny. But in society as we have it, and as it is likely to remain, the right to strike is a very precious one, which everybody who values British institutions should acknowledge and defend.

What I wish, however, to point out to the House, and if my voice can reach outside, I desire to point it out wherever I can, is that the Resolution which was arrived at at the Memorial Hall last week, or, at any rate, the decision of the Council of the Trade Union Executive, to call out everybody, regardless of the contracts which those workmen had made, was not a lawful act at all Every workman who was bound by a contract to give notice before he left work, and who, in view of that decision, has either chosen of his own free will or has felt compelled to come out by leaving his employment without proper notice, has broken the law. He has broken the law just as much as the coal-owners would have broken the law if they had failed to give due notice to terminate the existing engagements of their men, and had attempted to turn them off on the 1st May without any warning There is no difference whatever, in this matter, between the law as it applies to the workman and the law as it applies to the employer

As I have said, I am not saying this with the slightest desire to blame or praise, but it would be lamentable if the working classes of this country go on with this business without understanding that they are taking part in a novel and an utterly illegal proceeding It is this feature of the general strike that constitutes its novelty. There may have been sporadic cases before, but this time it is part of a system. We have had serious strikes before, as we all know, but a general strike proclaimed by leaders of organized labour which disregards all contracts of employment is a wholly different matter

I am speaking not in the least in the language of threat, but purely for the purpose of being plain, but let this be observed Take the case of the railway men Most of the railway servants of this country serve under contracts which require that a notice should be given on either side Every railwayman in that position who is now out in disregard of the contract of his employment is himself personally liable to be sued in the County Court for damages Let me point out another serious thing. Every trade union leader who has advised and promoted that course of action is liable in damages to the uttermost farthing of his personal possessions I am not saying these things with the least desire to secure a cheer from one side or a protest on the other, but I feel it to be my duty, so far as I possess any power of exposition and explanation, not to fail, whatever the cost may be, to make this as plain as I can. I am not saying for a moment that action of that sort will be taken; I know nothing about it But I point it out, because the fact that it might be taken is the plainest possible proof to any honest citizen that what we are faced with now is something quite different in character from any lawful strike. The fact that these proceedings could be taken against these tens of thousands of decent workmen, and against trade union leaders of great authority and position in the House and out of it, shows at any rate what a world of difference there is between a strike as hitherto understood and the general strike which is now proclaimed.

Let me give two illustrations to point the meaning and effect of this. It is a very common thing to find in the rules of a trade union—in the course of my professional life I have had to consider those rules on behalf of trade unions—a rule to say that if a trade unionist does not obey the orders of the executive of his union he forfeits his benefits. I am going to take the opportunity of making a perfectly dogmatic statement, on such responsibility as attaches to my experience and knowledge. Any such rule, laying down that a trade unionist forfeits his benefit if he does not obey the orders of his executive, means, and only means, that he may so forfeit those benefits if the order is lawful. It would be an intolerable position if any man forfeited his benefit because he declined to obey an unlawful order, and I think it cannot be too widely known, because many men are at this time deeply concerned to think that this demand has been made upon them, and that they have to choose between obeying it and losing their benefit It cannot be too widely and plainly known that there is no Court in this country which would ever construe such a rule as meaning that the man would forfeit his benefits if he is asked to do that which is wrong and illegal

Let me take a second point People talk about the Trade Disputes Act. It so happens that it was discussed in the House of Commons in the very first year in which I was a member That Act passed its Third Reading without a dissentient voice Lord Balfour, then Mr. Balfour, who was leading the Opposition, made a speech which will be found in Volume 164 of the Parliamentary Debates of 1906 He stated his own view, and invited his followers to adopt and follow his view, that there was no ground upon which it would be proper for the Conservative party to resist the carriage of that Measure Not a single Conservative Member of Parliament opposed it, not even Sir Frederick Banbury. What is the significance of that? It is this, that when Parliament passed the Trade Disputes Act and restored to trade unions the immunity of their funds which for thirty years had been assumed on all hands to belong to them, the situation with which we are now faced was not contemplated. That Act was carried through this House unanimously, on grounds which Mr Balfour, as he then was, admitted to be grounds of argument that could not be resisted, that argument being that workmen had the right to combine, and had a right to strike, and that they are breaking no law, they are inflicting no wrong if they do so, and on that assumption it was a reasonable thing that funds which they had gathered and organized, largely for the purpose of benefit and relief, should not be exposed to the hazards of the Courts by mere accidental, unintended lapse, perhaps of a subordinate. I only have to state that to point out the distinction. I venture to say that it is quite certain that what Parliament had in mind when it spoke of a "trade dispute"—I am not discussing the legal technicalities; I am talking about the substance of the thing—what Parliament had in mind in 1906 when it spoke of a "trade dispute" and guaranteed immunity for trade union funds, was a strike of a lawful character.

I apologize for keeping the House at this hour. I have said this because I am deeply interested in the protection, in the development and in the securing of trade union rights; I firmly believe that the free, fair

use by organized Labour of all its proper powers of combination is essential to the fair working of modern industry. I cannot conceal from anyone who is good enough to pay the smallest attention to my views that this proclamation of a general strike, from the point of view of the future of trade unionism, is a tragic blunder. What is the first thing it has done? At a blow, it has deprived the miners of this country—decent men, faced with a dreadful difficulty, in which they are entitled to receive, and did receive, the widespread sympathy of ordinary citizens—of a great deal of the sympathy that they thoroughly deserve. It has thrown the claim, the appeal, the case which they had, into the background, because we are faced with a perfectly new and most dangerous attack upon the community itself. It has put in jeopardy rights of organized Labour which for my part I want to do my utmost to protect and defend. The day will come when this struggle is ended in the only way in which it can be ended, when opinion—irritated, resentful, suffering opinion—will be proclaiming that we ought to make an immense invasion and reduction of the legitimate rights of organized Labour; and the people who are responsible for creating that situation are the very people whose duty it was at all costs to have told organized Labour in this country that a general strike was a very different thing from the trade dispute contemplated by Parliament.

I heard my hon. friend, the Member for Dumbarton Burghs (Mr. Kirkwood) this afternoon in a most powerful and eloquent, though perhaps somewhat discursive, speech, make a quotation from a famous passage in a play of Shakespeare An hon. gentleman below me thought it came from the poet Burns That was because he mistook the Doric accent in which the passage was declaimed for the well of English undefiled from which the orator drew his inspiration It was the famous speech of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* about "Man, proud Man, drest in a little brief authority." I wonder whether the hon. Member for Dumbarton (Mr. Kirkwood) remembers the lines which immediately precede the passage he quoted They are very apposite to this situation. They convey a warning which should be heard Immediately before Isabella deplores the conduct that "makes the angels weep," she exclaims.

> "O, it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant"

The real question here, which all of us who are honestly sympathetic with British labour are bound in good faith to put to all who control it, is this. Do you not realize that what you are doing with your immense organized power is this—you are abusing the power which the community gave you, and unless you are careful there may be a terrible reaction.

It is the duty of every Liberal, of every fair-minded man, to remember that when that reaction comes we must protect and secure and preserve the legitimate rights of organized labour.

I saw in the issue of the *British Gazette* this morning a telegram from Rome which announces that the Italian people, living under the dispensation which we know, are watching events in this country, and this

view is attributed to them that these events are "accepted in Italy as a proof that the old Parliamentary régime has passed in the march of modern historical conditions." I think that is a mistake. I think it will appear that at any rate in this country the old Parliamentary régime has not passed, for it is Parliament which will settle this business in the end. It is with no desire to utter threats or reproaches, or any want of sympathy with underpaid wage-earners, but because I have the deepest conviction that it is the duty of Liberals like myself to speak like this, that I beg those who have authority in the ranks of organized Labour to-day to realize that they are putting in jeopardy the most sacred possession of the wage-earners of this land, and that they are making it more difficult to preserve in the future those rights to which labour is legitimately entitled. Negotiations must be resumed: who would not wish them to be promoted and to succeed? But, whatever the cause or the excuse, those who have called the general strike have this responsibility—that they have committed hundreds and thousands of decent labouring men to a crusade which must end in failure, and which is in danger of setting back the useful peaceful progress of the working classes of this country, it may be for a generation.

Photo *Sport & General*

RT HON LORD SNOWDEN

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SNOWDEN

ATTACK ON THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD

Speech in the House of Lords, May 24, 1933

Viscount Snowden asked for a statement of the policy of the Government on the World Economic Conference and moved for papers. He said he put this question without any great hope in view of the many attempts which had been made elsewhere to get a statement of policy from the Government Whether the reason was that the Government had no policy or it was due to the constitutional inability of the Prime Minister to make any clear and understandable statement upon any question he (Lord Snowden) did not know; but the fact remained that the attempts to get a clear statement had failed. When the Prime Minister was asked in the House of Commons if the Government would publish a statement of the proposals they would submit to the Conference, the Prime Minister made a reply which could be described in no milder terms than as absolutely staggering. He referred the questioner to a speech by the President of the Board of Trade and there was not a word in that speech about the Conference. The only reference was a hope that it might be held as soon as possible, the remainder of the speech was an outline of the steps taken to promote trade between this country and several other countries. He would suggest to the Cabinet that they should look into the case of the Prime Minister, not only in his own interests but in the interests of the country, because it was a positive danger that its affairs should be in the hands of a man who every time he spoke exposed his ignorance or incapacity

The Prime Minister had been at Washington, but, from all that they had heard about the results of his conversations with the President of the United States, he might just as well have saved the time and expense of his visit. In the joint statement issued by the Prime Minister and the President there was nothing except a repetition of the platitudes that had been heard scores of times. The statement began by saying that the primary and fundamental necessity was an increase in the general price levels. That statement was sheer nonsense. Economic depression was the result of other causes, and until these were removed it was useless to attempt to deal with prices, or such questions as exchange chaos. The statement went on to say that commercial policies would have to be "set to a new orientation". The British Prime Minister drafted that sentence. He was fond of high-sounding words, and he (Lord Snowden) was quite sure that he was very well pleased with himself when he got that sonorous word "orientation" into the statement.

"Orientation" meant looking towards the East, and the only explanation which he (Lord Snowden) could give of that phrase was that it was an obscure reference to the necessity of dealing with Japanese competition. "Excessive tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions" were dealt with in three lines, and "etcetera" was added. The word "etcetera" was a very useful word, which was used by a person who had exhausted his knowledge and wished to convey the impression that he knew a great deal more than he told. Tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions, which were fundamental causes, were dismissed in less space than the silver question.

What were the Government going to do to implement the next suggestion, that "Governments can contribute by the development of appropriate programmes of capital expenditure"? He had never favoured the squandering of public money on public works, but he had always favoured—and, in office, he had supported—sound schemes of national development which would be remunerative The next illuminating suggestion was that "the ultimate re-establishment of equilibrium in international exchanges should also be contemplated". That was something that the Government could do. This Government was good at contemplating. They would go on contemplating, hoping perhaps that they might reach the ultimate stage at some time.

SILVER INTERESTS

He was very sorry that the British Prime Minister had allowed himself to be drawn into the net of the silver interests in the United States. The Democratic Party in the United States had always been largely influenced by the silver interests, and he was sorry that the Prime Minister had given some countenance to this selfish financial agitation.

It would have been interesting and certainly useful if the statement had been elaborated, especially in regard to tariffs, and some indication given as to the policy of the Government at the forthcoming Conference on these fundamental matters. There had been statements which seemed to indicate what the policy of the Government would be, as, for example, their attitude to the proposed tariff truce. The reservations made by the Government amounted to a practical rejection of any tariff truce during the sitting of the Economic Conference. As far as the Prime Minister was capable of making a definite statement or one not capable of half a dozen different interpretations, he had stated that the tariff truce was not intended to hinder them in their work. He had stated that excessive barriers, or unnatural barriers, should be moderated, but he went on to say that only those barriers should come under consideration for reduction which were more than sufficient for natural economic protection. That was giving away the whole case for high protection, as there was not a tariff in the world which was not considered by the country which imposed it to be necessary for its economic defence. Every country would settle for itself what constituted a natural economic defence, and so long as that was laid down as a policy, the Economic Conference would be wasting its time

Coming to our debt to the United States of America, Viscount Snowden

said that up to the present moment there had been nothing definite done in the settlement of this question. The next instalment was due in three weeks' time. What was going to happen? Were we going to pay, or were we going to default? It was very significant that there was not a word in the Roosevelt-MacDonald statement about debts. Why? He thought that the explanation was that Mr. Roosevelt dare not at present make any declaration on this question. As we had so often been told by the United States Government, this was not a matter for the Executive but for Congress, and Congress was very jealous of its rights on questions like this; and Mr. Roosevelt, if he made a declaration at the present time, would find that Congress would not accept it.

He wanted to know what the position was. The Prime Minister said that they talked about debts and that they left it over to this Conference. He said that they were going to talk about it in between, so to speak. But there was nobody coming from America to the Conference who was competent to deal with this question. It would not be settled at the Conference, and he did not believe that the United States would suggest anything definite until they saw the outcome of the Disarmament Conference If America got something out of that Conference, then it was likely that Mr. Roosevelt would have the courage to approach Congress on the debts question, point out what America had gained by the reduction of armaments, and propose that that should be an offset to the reduction of debts.

He had always strongly opposed and viewed almost with abhorrence any idea of repudiation or default. Unless the Government went into the Conference with a clear-cut, well-thought-out practical plan they might at once abandon the whole hope of any practical and successful results of the Conference. He knew something of the problems which this Conference would be up against. If all the Governments were determined that something should be done to relieve the world of the terrible depression which had affected it for so long, then the fears of the pessimists might be confounded and the sanguine hopes of the optimists realized.

Rev. C. H. SPURGEON

THE BIBLE

Speech at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, held in Exeter Hall, London, May 4, 1864

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The history of the Bible may be divided into certain epochs, and if I start without beginning at the beginning, I should say that the time of the Reformation was the period of the Bible's liberation. Like Paul and Silas, with its feet fast in the stocks, the Bible was singing sweetly the song of grace in the midst of the dark dungeons of the Middle Ages, when suddenly there was a great earthquake, and the bands of all thought, of all science, of all truth, were loosed, and then, like Paul and Silas, the Bible came forth to its glorious liberty.

We have not now to contend for the liberty of circulating the Scriptures. That period is over. Then came—and that period still exists—the period of the multiplication of Scripture. The Bible, when it first came out into the world translated, in the fewness of its copies, I may compare to that first bright angel which heralded the advent of our Lord; but the multitudes that have been scattered by this Society I may liken to the mighty host which suddenly were with the angels praising God, and saying: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men." The period of the multiplication of Scripture is not over; and it will continue, it must continue, as long as men multiply; and as long as there is poverty in the world, men will need to be supplied with cheap copies of the Word of God.

But I do think it is time we entered more heartily into the third grand period of human history, the application of divine truth on a larger scale, labouring to bring it home to the masses, and to make them read as well as to possess it, and to understand it as well as to regard it as the divine Word. I believe this is more what we want in this age than even controverting objections against it. For my part, I do not undertake the task of refuting objections, because I believe that the logical faculty in me is too small, and that if I were to talk against arithmetical objectors I should be like the boy who, in the churchyard, whistled to keep his courage up, and said: "Who's afraid?" I don't think that is my particular work, and I believe that ninety-nine out of every hundred Christians are not called for the defence of the Gospel against infidel objectors, so much as the pressing of that Gospel home to men's hearts, casting light upon the eyes that have been in darkness, that they may behold its glory and rejoice therein. To apply the Gospel seems to be absolutely necessary, through the help of God the Holy Spirit,

that we may really know its fruits. There is a tale that when Scanderberg's sword was hung against the wall, one who had heard of the trenchant deeds of valour done by the barbarous conqueror, said, as he looked on the sword: "I can see nothing in it." "No," said the man who showed it; "but if you could have seen the sinews of the brawny arm that was wont to wield it, you would have admired the sword and the arm too."

Now, the Word of God is nothing but a dead letter till the Spirit of God, with omnipotent arm, grasp it, and then it cuts to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. And we want to cry out to-day; "Lord, if thine adversaries doubt whether this be the sword, lay Thou hold upon its hilt, and cut them to their very quick, and make them know that there is a God in Israel still, and that there is still a God's Word." Merely to circulate the Bible will not prove its virtues. There is no virtue in the Bible any more than there is harm in a three-volume novel, if I do not read the one or the other. If they lie there on the shelf unread, the one will do me no good and the other no harm. Erasmus laughs at the idea of the man who attaches a benefit to the mere possession of the Bible. He likens him to one whom he calls Cyclops, who wears in his belt on this side a goodly bottle of sack, and on the other side a richly ornamented copy of the Word of God, and says in his swaggering style: "In truth I am as good a saint as any." Erasmus tries to disprove this, in his witty way, and says. "Prithee serve thy sack bottle as thy Bible. There are many virtues in that bottle of sack; it warms you when you are cold; it gets your valour up when you are half afraid. But do not take it, never take the cork out of it, and then see what its virtues are." Of course our friend objects. He admires the bottle of sack, but he likes it better when the cork is out, and, most of all, when it is against his lips, and the stream is flowing merrily. "Aye," says Erasmus, "but what do you say to this Book?" He says: "It is tedious." But begin to read and study it. "Ah," he replied, "it is all dry matter that does not concern me." "Verily, then," adds the other, "I see thou art indeed a true disciple of the sack, but a false disciple of the Book."

There is much truth in that wit If people carry their Bibles as Erasmus wished this man to carry his sack, they will get no good out of them. We may scatter Bibles by millions, and reduce the price to twopence, or nothing, but we have done nothing but add to men's responsibility, unless we pray earnestly that God will lead men to study it, and by His Spirit bless it to their conversion, their edification, their sanctification in righteousness. I take it that while this is necessary to show the true quality of the Bible, it is also necessary to show the true answer to objectors. My metal is of such a kind, that I thank God when the adversaries of truth are loudest. A slumbering devil is more to be feared than a roaring devil. Let the devil roar, he shall but wake us up from our slumbers and make us the more earnestly to contend for truth. Why were there no objections to the Bible twenty years ago from high and eminent places? Because they were not necessary to Satan's ends. What was the Bible, then, to many of us who were slumbering, and

even sound asleep—what was it but a harp that was getting out of tune because it was not played—a sword that was growing rusty because it was not used? And Satan said within himself: "As long as they do not handle these edged tools I will not care to blunt them."

I am glad to think that the Church is being urged to activity, and I am reminded of the cynic, who, sooner than be still, would roll his tub about. Sooner than the Church should lie still, I would have her roll her Articles and doctrines about. Keep the Church still, permit its voice not to be heard crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord," and you are hindering its course and depriving it of all power to bless the world.

Then let us commend this plan of endeavouring to bring the Scriptures home to people's hearts. I do think that the best answer to objectors is the answer that David gave to his envious brethren when they said: "Because of thy pride and the naughtiness of thine heart, thou art come down that thou mightest see the battle." Oh, beardless youth, so ruddy and fair of countenance, get thee back to thy sheep! But David has no answer. "Is there not a cause?"—is quite sufficient to reply. But in a little while you shall see David's answer. He came back carrying in his hand the head of the great monster, dripping with clots of gore, and as he holds it up, there is a triumphant refutation of the objection—because of thy pride. Go you and evangelize London, scatter light in dark alleys, carry the Gospel to the South Seas and Africa, and make the whole world ring with it, and you need not stop to answer objections. This is the best logic—this is the noblest argument—the application of the Word—"the entrance of thy Word giveth light". Pray God to bring the Word home to the heart and the conscience, and it shall give light. I may, therefore, with as much brevity as possible, just say that I think the Bible Society, while it continues its efforts to spread the Bible, will always do well to listen with earnestness to the advice, and look with great affection upon the efforts of those who wish to make it a Society for Bible reading and Bible understanding, as well as Bible distributing.

While we want collectors and auxiliaries, and all that, we do want more of the Bible reading element—more Bible expounding to the people. It strikes me, that here in England we greatly need more Bible catechizing of the children of all classes. I was very much struck with the Scotch, how vastly superior their children are to our youngsters in the knowledge of the Scriptures. I sometimes take young men into my institution for the ministry whose education is very deficient, and I sometimes find these good, earnest young English brethren, though they have read the Scriptures, not thoroughly acquainted even with the historical parts and narratives, but often make sad blunders. Now though I have dealt with many Scotchmen, I never met with one who was not thoroughly acquainted with the narrative and well instructed in the doctrine. I attribute that to the use of catechisms, and I think that if we could revive more and more the use of a good catechism, or the catechetical principle of bringing home, by question and answer, the doctrines and truths of Scripture to the lads of our villages, we

should be doing a world of good. The way to secure the masses would be to secure them when young.

I remember being greatly puzzled when I was a child. One of my earliest difficulties was—not the source of the Nile; I had not got the length of that, but a certain matter which was far more wonderful. On a shelf in my grandfather's parlour was a little vial, containing an apple just the size of the largest part of the bottle. Now, I had no business to touch anything on the mantelshelf; that was forbidden. But whenever I could get alone, I took a chair and got the vial down, and tried to find out how the apple could possibly have got down that small neck. I thought the vial must have had a false bottom, and I really wonder how it was that in my various essays I did not, in my zeal and scientific diligence, manage to break the bottle, and so get a sound thrashing. But it happened, quite accidentally, that this great mystery of nature —one of the problems that I thought scarcely the wisest men of the East could solve—became unravelled. One day, as I walked in the garden, it came to me that my grandmother had put a little apple inside the bottle while it was growing, and that it grew there to its present size. And thus:

"Nature well known, no prodigy remained."

I could not but think of that while standing here. We cannot get men under biblical influence very readily after they are grown up; but if we can put them inside the bottle when they are little ones, I am sure we shall be following the analogy of nature And we have quite a scriptural precedent for it, for we find that Timothy knew the Scriptures from his youth up. I am afraid that some distinct Sunday School teaching is not what it should be with regard to Bible teaching; and I should like all of us who have to teach others to look very much after this, labouring for the good of young people.

And, then, again, I think that the exposition of Scripture should become more and more a distinct feature in our congregations. It may possibly be that, in some cases, the service will not allow a practice into which some of us have fallen, of always expounding the Lessons as we read them; but there might be extra services, of which that should be the main feature. There might be little Bible-reading parties, intended to break up difficult parts, and presided over by some brother who had the ability to study the chapter, and that would be exceedingly profitable. In Wycliff's days it was the classes that used to do so much good—classes that met and studied Scripture, and then dispersed, scattering abroad the knowledge that had gathered in that manner. It was these classes that brought on the Reformation; and I say it is thus that we must maintain the Reformation. We must get an intelligent knowledge of what God tells us in His Word, by studying therein, and then spreading abroad that same intelligent knowledge amongst others by expounding it.

Then, again, we must ourselves labour more and more to get into the spirit and soul of Scripture. My heart has often turned away in sadness when I have read my Bible without being profited thereby, as I am certain I have. For I hold that the mere reading of a chapter is nothing. "The letter killeth," we say of it; but it is when we get into

the chapter and when the chapter gets into us—when we not only gather the sense, but mark, learn, and inwardly digest the bread of life—then it is that we get the good out of it. I find commentaries very useful; but, after all, many a text that will not open to a commentary will open to prayer. Just as the stone-breakers go down on their knees to break the flints on a heap, I believe we often break up texts better on our knees than in any other position. When we draw near to God, feeling that Holy Scripture is His incarnate truth, and we want to get beyond the mere veil—when we can have boldness to enter thus within the veil—then Scripture becomes a real power to us, then it gives us a force which will make our efforts tell upon the world at large.

And we want, dear friends—and here I conclude—we want, if we would exercise more influence upon others, to cultivate in our own souls a greater deference and respect for the Word of God in all things. The habit of sometimes making jokes upon Scripture is a very bad one, and one greatly to be avoided. I forget the exact words of quaint old Fuller, but I think he says: "If I want to wash my hands, can I find no other place than a Church font?" and I put it in my own words—If I want to play the fool, can I find no other vestments in which to make my motley than the words of God's own Scripture? Cheerfulness is to be cultivated, but that levity which takes the Word of God and prostitutes it to its own purpose is to be detested and abhorred as next akin to blasphemy. We must cultivate the highest reverence for God's Word, especially as to our obedience to it.

Perhaps the last thing the Bible will do for the Church is that after which many of us are sighing—it will establish the unity of the Church. When we shall all become reverent subjects of God, and obedient to God's will, as we find it in Scripture, we shall all come close to one another. All attempts to create unity apart from truth must fall to the ground, and let them Unity of action for God's glory we can have even despite our minor differences, and I trust we shall ever have it; but to attempt to form a Church on any other basis than that of definite fixed principles must be an attempt to build a house upon the sand, and it must come down. First purity, and then unity, first truth, and then oneness. I would not sell a principle of God's Word for all the brotherly love under heaven, because I hold that brotherly love which will not let me keep my conscience clear is not such brotherly love as Christ inculcated in the Holy Scriptures. Firmness to truth there must be—aye, and to every particle of it—to everything that you have received of the Lord. Let us seek no union by throwing aside those truths which God has clearly revealed to us.

The Bible is to be the great pacificator of all sects—the great hammer of all schismatics. The Bible is to be the end of all disunion. The Bible, when we shall be brought to read it with reverent eye, and receive it with meek and humble heart, bringing us to itself, shall, in the Spirit of God, bring us to one another. I would rather have a little discussion now and then as to the principles which divide us, and then, if we have dissented on any point without due grounds, let our dissent be ended. Oh! if we could get the Bible spirit, and say whatever I do not find here I will throw overboard—we should have a blessed unity established.

And it is because that this unity is coming on, that Satan is very wroth. We shall live, some of us, to see the day when we shall be distinguished the whole world over for our unity. I think I see looming in the future the rising of the sun that shall scatter all the mists of our bigotry. Some of us shall live to behold that happy day. Already this very meeting presents to us the blessed presage of it, but the consummation can never come except we hold the Bible, spread the Bible, and press the Bible home upon the heart and conscience of every one with whom we meet.

May I beg of you—most of whom I have never seen before—this very day to try and teach something scriptural to somebody? Every day a line, and then what a poem will your life's psalm be! Every day a soul, and, oh, what soul-winners you will be! Every day a seed, and then what a harvest shall you have! Every day a star, and then what a galaxy of glory shall glitter there! Every day a gem, and then what a crown of honour shall you have to put upon the head of your Christ! Every day a note, and then what a song shall that be which shall roll from you, poor mortal, but God-inspired, God-helped men, up to the throne of the great One who sits above us all!

Rev. THOMAS DE WITT TALMAGE, D.D.

"BIG BLUNDERS"

Address delivered in many Lyceum courses during Dr. Talmage's long career as a lecturer in America. This was the most popular of his various platform discourses

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The man who never made a blunder has not yet been born. If he had been he would have died right away. The first blunder was born in Paradise, and it has had a large family of children. Agricultural blunders, commercial blunders, literary blunders, mechanical blunders, artistic blunders, ecclesiastical blunders, moral blunders, and blunders of all sorts; but an ordinary blunder will not attract my attention. It must be large at the girth and great in stature. In other words, it must be a big blunder

Blunder the first: Multiplicity of occupations. I have a friend who is a very good painter, and a very good poet, and a very good speaker, and he can do half a dozen things well, but he is the exception. The general rule is that a man can do only one thing well. Perhaps there are two things to do. First, find your sphere; secondly, keep it. The general rule is, Masons, stick to your trowel; carpenters, stick to your plane, lawyers, stick to your brief, ministers, stick to your pulpit, and don't go off lecturing Fireman, if you please, one locomotive at a time; navigator, one ship; professor, one department. The mighty men of all professions were men of one occupation. Thorwaldsen at sculpture, Irving at literature, Rothschild at banking, Forrest at acting, Brunel at engineering, Ross at navigation, *Punch* at joking.

Sometimes a man is prepared by Providence, through a variety of occupations for some great mission Hugh Miller must climb up to his high work through the quarries of Cromarty. And sometimes a man gets prepared for his work through sheer trouble. He goes from misfortune to misfortune, and from disaster to disaster, and from persecution to persecution, until he is ready to graduate from the University of Hard Knocks. I know the old poets used to say that a man got inspiration by sleeping on Mount Parnassus. That is absurd. That is not the way men get inspiration. It is not the man on the mountain, but the mountain on the man, and the effort to throw it off, that brings men to the position for which God intended them. But the general rule is that by the time thirty years of age is reached the occupation is thoroughly decided, and there will be success in that direction if it be thoroughly followed. It does not make much difference what you do, so far as the mere item of success is con-

corned, if you only do it. Brandreth can make a fortune at pills, Adams by expressage, Cooper by manufacturing glue, Genin by selling hats, contractors by manufacturing hoddy, merchants by putting sand in sugar, beet juice in vinegar, chicory in coffee, and lard in butter. One of the costliest dwellings in Philadelphia was built out of eggs. Palaces have been built out of spools, out of toothache drops, out of hides, out of pigs' feet, out of pickles, out of toothbrushes, out of hose—h-ose and h-o-e-s—out of fine-tooth combs, out of water, out of birds, out of bones, out of shells, out of steam, out of thunder and lightning.

The difference between conditions in life is not so much a difference in the fruitfulness of occupations as it is a difference in the endowment of men with that great and magnificent attribute of stick-to-itiveness. Mr. Plod-on was doing a flourishing business at selling banties, but he wanted to do all kinds of huckstering, and his nice little property took wing of ducks and turkeys and shanghais and flew away. Mr. Loom-driver had an excellent factory on the Merrimac, and made beautiful carpets, but he concluded to put up another king of factory for the making of shawls, and one day there was a nice little quarrel between the two factories, and the carpets ate up the shawls, and the shawls ate up the carpets, and having succeeded so well in swallowing each other, they turned around and gulped down Mr. Loomdriver.

Blackstone Large-Practice was the best lawyer in town. He could make the most plausible argument and had the largest retainers, and some of the young men of the profession were proud to wear their hair as he did, and to have just as big a shirt-collar. But he concluded to go into politics. He entered that paradise which men call a caucus. He was voted up, and he was voted down. He got on the Chicago platform, but a plank broke and he slipped through. He got on the St. Louis platform, but it rocked like an earthquake, and a plank broke and he slipped through. Then, as a circus rider with one foot on each horse whirls round the ring, he put one foot on the Chicago platform and another foot on the St. Louis platform, and he slipped between, and landing in a ditch of political obloquy, he concluded he had enough of politics. And he came back to his law office, and as he entered, covered with the mire, all the briefs from the pigeon-hole rustled with gladness, and Kent's Commentaries and Livingstone's Law Register broke forth in exclamation: "Welcome home, Honourable Blackstone Large-Practice; Jack-of-all-trades is master of none."

Dr. Bone-Setter was a master in the healing profession. No man was more welcome in anybody's house than this same Dr. Bone-Setter, and the people loved to see him pass, and thought there was in his old gig a kind of religious rattle. When he entered the drug store all the medicines knew him, and the pills would toss about like a rattle box, and the quinine would shake as though it had the chills, and the great strengthening plasters unroll, and the soda fountain fizz, as much as to say: "Will you take vanilla or strawberry?" Riding along in his gig one day he fell into a thoughtful mood, and concluded to enter the ministry. He mounted the pulpit and the pulpit mounted him, and it was a long while before it was known who was of the most importance. The young people said the preaching was dry, and the merchant could

not keep from making financial calculations in the back part of the psalm-book, and the church thinned out and everything went wrong. Well, one Monday morning Messrs. Plod-on, Loomdriver, Blackstone Large-Practice, and Dr. Bone-Setter met at one corner of the street, and all felt so low-spirited that one of them proposed to sing a song for the purpose of getting their spirits up. I have forgotten all but the chorus, but you would have been amused to hear how, at the end of all the verses, the voices came in: "Jack-of-all-trades is master of none."

A man from the country districts came to be President of the United States, and someone asked a farmer from that region what sort of a President Mr. So-and-So would make. The reply was: "He's a good deal of a man in our little town, but I think if you spread him out over all the United States he will be mighty thin." So there are men admirable in one occupation or profession, but spread out their energies over a dozen things to do and they are dead failures. Young man, concentrate all your energies in one direction. Be not afraid to be called a man of one idea. Better have one great idea than five hundred little bits of ones. Are you merchants? You will find abundant sweep for your intellect in a business which absorbed the energy of a Lenox, a Stewart, and a Grinnell. Are you lawyers? You will in your grand profession find heights and depths of attainment which tasked a Marshall, and a MacLean, and a Story, and a Kent Are you physicians? You can afford to waste but a little time outside of a profession which was the pride of a Rush, a Hervey, a Cooper, and a Sydenham

Every man is made to fit into some occupation or profession, just as a tune is made to fit a metre. Make up your mind what you ought to be Get your call straight from the throne of God. We talk about ministers getting a call to preach So they must. But every man gets a call straight from the throne of God to do some one thing—that call written in his physical or mental or spiritual constitution—the call saying: "You be a merchant, you be a manufacturer, you be a mechanic, you be an artist, you be a reformer, you be this, and you be that, you be the other thing" And all our success and happiness depend upon our being that which God commands us to be. Remember there is no other person in the world that can do your work Out of the sixteen hundred millions of the race, not one can do your work. You do your work, and it is done for ever. You neglect your work, and it is neglected for ever. The man who has the smallest mission has a magnificent mission. God sends no man on a fool's errand. Getting your call straight from the throne of God, and making up your mind what you ought to do, gather together all your opportunities (and you will be surprised how many there are of them), gather them into companies, into regiments, into brigades, a whole army of them, and then ride along the line and give the word of command, "Forward March! and no power on earth or in hell can stand before you. I care not what your education is, elaborate or nothing, what your mental calibre is, great or small, that man who concentrates all his energies of body, mind, and soul in one direction is a tremendous man.

Blunder the next: Indulgence in bad temper. Good humour will sell the most goods, plead the best argument, effect the best cure, preach

the best sermon, build the best wall, weave the best carpet. The poorest business firm in town is "Growl, Spitfire & Brothers." They blow their clerks. They insult their customers. They quarrel with the draymen. They write impudent duns. They kick the beggars. The children shy off as they pass the street, and the dogs with wild yelp clear the path as they come. Acrid, waspish, fretful, explosive, saturnine, suddenly the money market will be astounded with the defalcation of Growl, Spitfire & Brothers. Merryman & Warmgrasp were poor boys when they came from the country. They brought all their possessions in one little pack slung over their shoulders. Two socks, two collars, one jack-knife, a paper of pins, and a hunk of gingerbread which their mother gave them when she kissed them good-bye, and told them to be good boys and mind the boss. They smiled and laughed and bowed and worked themselves up higher and higher in the estimation of their employers. They soon had a store on the corner. They were obliging men, and the people from the country left their carpet-bags in that store when they came to town. Henceforth when the farmers wanted hardware or clothing or books they went to buy it at the place where their carpet-bags had been treated so kindly. The firm had a way of holding up a yard of cloth and "shining on" it so that plain cashmere would look almost as well as French broadcloth, and an earthen pitcher would glisten like porcelain. Not by the force of capital, but by having money drawer and counting desk and counter and shelves all full of good temper, they rose in society until to-day Merryman & Warmgrasp have one of the largest stores and the most elegant show windows and the finest carriages and the prettiest wives in all the town of Shuttleford.

A melancholy musician may compose a "Dead March," and make harp weep and organ wail; but he will not master a battle march, or with that grand instrument, the organ, storm the castles of the soul as with the flying artillery of light and love and joy until the organ pipes seem filled with a thousand clapping hosannas. A melancholy poet may write a Dante's *Inferno* until out of his hot brain there come steaming up barking Cerberus and wan sprite, but not the chime of Moore's melodies or the roll of Pope's *Dunciad*, or the trumpet-call of Scott's *Don Roderick*, or the arch-angelic blast of Milton's *Paradise Lost* A melancholy painter may with Salvator sketch death and gloom and monstrosity. But he cannot reach the tremor of silvery leaf, or the shining of sun through mountain pine, or the light of morning struck through a foam wreath, or the rising sun leaping on the sapphire battlements with banners of flame, or the gorgeous "Heart of the Andes, as though all the bright colours of earth and heaven had fought a great battle and left their blood on the leaves.

Blunder the next: Excessive amusement. I say nothing against amusement. Persons of your temperament and mine could hardly live without it. I have noticed that a child who has no vivacity of spirit in after life produces no fruitfulness of moral character. A tree that has no blossoms in the spring will have no apples in the fall. A good game at ball is great sport. The sky is clear. The ground is just right for fast running. The club put off their coats and put on their caps. The ball is round and hard and stuffed with illimitable bounce. Get

ready the bats and take your positions. Now, give us the ball. Too low. Don't strike. Too high. Don't strike. There it comes like lightning. Strike! Away it soars, higher, higher. Run. Another base. Faster. Faster. Good! All around at one stroke. All hail to the man or the big boy who invented ball-playing. After tea, open the checker-board. Now, look out, or your boy Bob will beat you. With what masterly skill he moves up his men. Look out now, or he will jump you. Sure enough, two of your men gone from the board and a king for Bob. With what cruel pleasure he sweeps the board. What! Only two more men left? Be careful now. Only one more move possible. Cornered sure as fate! and Bob bends over, and looks you in the face with a most provoking banter, and says, "Pop, why don't you move?"

Call up the dogs, Tray, Blanchard, and Sweetheart. A good day for hunting. Get down, Tray, with your dirty feet! Put on powder-flask and shoulder the gun. Over the hill and through the wood. Boys, don't make such a racket, you'll scare the game. There's a rabbit. Squat. Take good aim. Bang! Missed him. Yonder he goes. Sic-em sic'em! See the fur fly. Got him at last. Here, Tray; here, Tray!

John, get up the bays. All ready. See how the buckles glisten, and how the horses prance, and the spokes flash in the sun. Now, open the gate. Away we go. Let the gravel fly, and the tyres rattle over the pavement, and the horses' hoofs clatter and ring. Good roads, and let them fly. Crack the whip. G'long! Nimble horses with smooth roads, in a pleasant day, and no toll-gates—clatter, clatter, clatter.

I never see a man go out with a fishing-rod to sport, but I silently say: "May you have a good time, and the right kind of bait, and a basketful of catfish and flounders." I never see a party taking a pleasant ride but I wish them a joyous round, and say, "May the horse not cast a shoe, nor the trace break, and may the horse's thirst not compel them to stop at too many taverns." In a world where God lets His lambs frisk, and His trees toss, and His brooks leap, and His stars twinkle, and His flowers make love to each other, I know He intended men at times to laugh and sing and sport. The whole world is full of music if we only had ears acute enough to hear it. Silence itself is only music asleep. Out upon the fashion that lets a man smile, but pronounces him vulgar if he makes great demonstration of hilarity. Out upon a style of Christianity that would make a man's face the counter upon which to measure religion by the yard. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," is as true as preaching, and more true than some preaching. "Better wear out than rust out" is a poor maxim. They are both sins. You have no more right to do the one than the other. Recreation is re-creation. But while all this is so, every thinking man and woman will acknowledge that too much devotion to amusement is ruinous. Many of the clergy of the last century lost their theology in a fox chase. Many a splendid business has had its brains kicked out by fast horses. Many a man has smoked up his prospects in Havanas of the best brand. There are battles in life that cannot be fought with sportsman's gun. There are things to be caught that you cannot draw up with a fishing tackle. Even Christopher North, that magnificent Scotchman, dropped a great deal of usefulness out of his sporting jacket. Through excessive

amusement many clergymen, farmers, lawyers, physicians, mechanics, and artists have committed the big blunder of their lives. I offer this as a principle: Those amusements are harmless which do not interfere with home duties and enjoyments. Those are ruinous which give one distaste for domestic pleasure and recreation.

When a man likes any place on earth better than his home, look out! Yet how many men seem to have no appreciation of what a good home is. It is only a few years ago that the twain stood at the marriage altar and promised fidelity till death did them part. Now, at midnight, he is staggering on his way to the home, and as the door opens I see on the face inside the door the shadow of sorrows that are passed, and the shadow of sorrows that are to come. Or, I see her going along the road at midnight to the place where he was ruined, and opening the door and swinging out from under a faded shawl a shrivelled arm, crying out in almost supernatural eloquence: "Give him back to me, him of the noble brow and the great heart. Give him back to me!" And the miserable wretches seated around the table of the restaurant—one of them will come forward, and with bloated hand wiping the intoxicant from the lip, will say: "Put her out!" Then I see her going out on the abutment of the bridge, and looking off upon the river, glassy in the moonlight, and wondering if somewhere under the glassy surface of that river there is not a place of rest for a broken heart. Woe to the man that despoils his home! Better that he had never been born. I offer home as a preventive, as an inspiration, as a restraint. Floating off from that, beware!

Home! Upon that word there drop the sunshine of boyhood and the shadow of tender sorrows and the reflection of ten thousand fond memories. Home! When I see it in book or newspaper, that word seems to rise and sparkle and leap and thrill and whisper and chant and pray and weep. It glitters like a shield It springs up like a fountain. It thrills like a song It twinkles like a star. It leaps like a flame. It glows like a sunset It sings like an angel. And if some lexicographer, urged on by a spirit from beneath, should seek to cast forth that word from the language, the children would come forth and hide it under garlands of wildflowers, and the wealthy would come forth to cover it up with their diamonds and pearls; and kings would hide it under their crowns, and after Herod had hunted its life from Bethlehem to Egypt, and utterly given up the search, some bright, warm day it would flash from among the gems, and breathe from among the coronets, and the world would read it bright and fair and beautiful and resonant as before —Home! Home! Home!

Blunder the next the formation of unwise domestic relation. And now I must be very careful. It is so with both sexes. Some of the loveliest women have been married to the meanest men. What is not poetry, that is prose. The queerest man in the Bible was Nabal, but he was the husband of beautiful Abigail. We are prodigal with our compassion when a noble woman is joined to a husband of besotted habits, but in thousands of the homes of our country, belonging to men too stingy to be dissipated, you may find female excellencies which have no opportunity for development. If a man be cross and grudgeful and unobliging

and dangerous in his household, he is more of a pest than if he were dead drunk, for then he could be managed. It is a sober fact which everyone has noticed that thousands of men of good business capabilities have been entirely defeated in life because their domestic relations were not of the right kind. This thought has its most practical bearing on the young who yet have the world before them and where to choose. There is probably no one in this house who has been unfortunate in the forming of the relation I have mentioned; but if you should happen to meet with any married man in such an unfortunate predicament as I have mentioned, tell him I have no advice to give him except to tell him to keep his courage up, and whistle most of the time, and put into practice what the old lady said. She said she had had a great deal of trouble in her time, but she had always been consoled by that beautiful passage of Scripture, the thirteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Nicodemus: "Grin and bear it."

Socrates had remarkable philosophy in bearing the ills of an unfortunate alliance. Xantippe, having scolded him without any evident effect, threw upon him a pail of water. All he did was to exclaim: "I thought that after so much thunder we would be apt to have some rain." It is hardly possible that a business man should be thriftless if he have a companion always ready to encourage and assist him—ready to make sacrifices until his affairs may allow more opportunity for luxuries. If during the day a man has been harassed and disappointed, hard chased by notes and defrauded, and he find in his home that evening a cheerful sympathy, he will go back next day to his place of business with his courage up, fearless of protests, and able from ten to three o'clock to look any bank full in the face. During the financial panic of 1857 there was many a man who went through unabashed because, while down in the business marts, he knew that, although all around him they were thinking only of themselves, there was one sympathetic heart thinking of him all day long, and willing, if the worst should come, to go with him to a humble home on an unfashionable street, without murmuring, on a sewing machine to play "The Song of the Shirt." Hundreds of fortunes that have been ascribed to the industry of men bear upon them the mark of a wife's hand. Bergham, the artist, was as lazy as he was talented. His studio was over the room where his wife sat. Every few minutes, all day long, to keep her husband from idleness, Mrs. Bergham would take a stick and thump up against the ceiling, and her husband would answer by stamping on the floor, the signal that he was wide awake and busy. One-half of the industry and punctuality that you witness every day in places of business is merely the result of Mrs. Bergham's stick thumping against the ceiling. But woe to the man who has an experience anything like the afflicted man who said that he had during his life three wives—the first was very rich, the second very handsome, and the third an outrageous temper. "So," says he, "I have had 'the world, the flesh, and the devil.'"

Want of domestic economy has ruined many a fine business. I have known a delicate woman strong enough to carry off her husband's store on her back and not half try. I have known men running the gauntlet between angry creditors while the wife was declaring large and unpre-

cedented dividends among milliners' and confectioners' shops. I have known men, as the phrase goes, "with their nose to the grindstone," and the wife most vigorously turning the crank. Solomon says: "A good wife is from the Lord," but took it for granted that we might easily guess where the other kind comes from. There is no excuse for a man's picking up a rough flint like that and placing it so near his heart, when the world is so full of polished jewels. And let me say, there never was a time since the world stood when there were so many good and noble women as there are now. And I have come to estimate a man's character somewhat by his appreciation of womanly character. If a man have a depressed idea of womanly character he is a bad man, and there is no exception to the rule But there have been men who at the marriage altar thought they were annexing something more valuable than Cuba, who have found out that after all they have got only an album, a fashion plate, and a medicine chest

Many a man reeling under the blow of misfortune has been held up by a wife's arm, a wife's prayer, a wife's decision, and has blessed God that one was sent from heaven thus to strengthen him; while many a man in comfortable circumstances has had his life pestered out of him by a shrew, who met him at the door at night, with biscuit that the servant let fall in the fire, and dragging out the children to whom she had promised a flogging as soon as the "old man" came home to the scene of domestic felicity. And what a case that was, where a husband and wife sat at the opposite ends of the tea-table, and a bitter controversy came up between them, and the wife picked up a teacup and hurled it at her husband's head, and it glanced past and broke all to pieces a beautiful motto on the wall entitled "God bless our happy home!"

There are thousands of women who are the joy and the adornment of our American homes, combining with elegant tastes in the arts and every accomplishment which our best seminaries and the highest style of literature can bestow upon them, an industry and practicality which always insure domestic happiness and prosperity Mark you, I do not say they will insure a large number of dollars A large number of dollars are not necessary for happiness I have seen a house with thirty rooms in it, and they were the vestibule of perdition, and I have seen a home with two rooms in it, and they were the vestibule of heaven You cannot tell by the size of a man's house the size of his happiness. As Alexander the Great with pride showed the Persian princesses garments made by his own mother, so the women of whom I have been speaking can show you the triumphs of their adroit, womanly fingers They are as expert in the kitchen as they are graceful in the parlour; if need be they go there And let me say that this is my idea of a lady, one who will accommodate herself to any circumstances in which she may be placed. If the wheel of fortune turn in the right direction, then she will be prepared for that position. If the wheel of fortune turn in the wrong direction (as it is almost sure to do at least once in every man's life), then she is just as happy, and though all the hired help should that morning make a strike for higher wages, they will have a good dinner, anyhow. They know without asking the housekeeper the difference between a wash-tub and a filter. They never sew on to a coat

a liquorice drop for a black button. They never mistake a bread-tray for a cradle. They never administer Kellinger's horse liniment for the baby's croup. Their accomplishments are not, like honeysuckle at your door, hung on to a light frame easily swayed in the wind, but like unto the flowers planted in the solid earth, which have rock under them. These are the women who make happy homes and compel a husband into thriftiness

Boarding schools are necessities of society. In very small villages and in regions entirely rural it is sometimes impossible to afford seminaries for the higher branches of learning. Hence, in our larger places we must have these institutions, and they are turning out upon the world tens of thousands of young women splendidly qualified for their positions. But there are, I am sorry to say, exceptional seminaries for young ladies which, instead of sending their students back to their homes with good sense as well as diplomas, despatch them with manners and behaviour far from civilized. With the promptness of a police officer they arraign their old-fashioned grandfather for murdering the King's English. Staggering down late to breakfast they excuse themselves in French phrase The young men who were the girl's friends when she left the farmhouse for the city school come to welcome her home, and they shock her with a hard hand that has been on the plough handle, or with a broad English which does not properly sound the "r" or mince the "s"

> "Things are so awkward, folks so impolite,
> They're elegantly pained from morn 'til night"

Once she could run at her father's heel in the cool furrow on the summer day, or with bronzed cheek chase through the meadows gathering the wildflowers which fell at the stroke of the harvesters, while the strong men, with their sleeves rolled up, looked down at her, not knowing which most to admire, the daisies in her hair or the roses in her cheeks, and saying "Bless me! Isn't that Ruth gleaning the reapers?" Coming home with health gone, her father paid the tuition bill, but Madame Nature sent in her account something like this.

Miss Ophelia Angelina, to Madame Nature, Dr.

To one year's neglect of exercise	.	15 chills
To twenty nights of late retiring	.	75 twitches of the nerves
To several months of improper diet		A lifetime of dyspepsia

Added up, making in all an exhausted system, chronic neuralgia, and a couple of fits Call in Dr. Pillsbury and uncork the camphor bottle; but it is too late. What an adornment such a one will be to the house of some young merchant, or lawyer, or mechanic, or farmer. That man will be a drudge while he lives, and he will be a drudge when he dies.

Blunder the next. Attempting life without a spirit of enthusiasm and enterprise. Over-caution on one side and reckless speculation on the other side, must be avoided, but a determined and enthusiastic progress must always characterize the man of thrift. I think there is no such man in all the world as he who is descended from a New England Yankee on the one side, a New York Dutchman on the other. That is royal blood, and will almost invariably give a man prosperity, the

Yankee in his nature saying: "Go ahead," and the Dutch in his blood saying: "Be prudent while you do go ahead." The main characteristics of the Yankee are invention and enterprise. The main characteristics of the Dutchman are prudence and firmness, for when he says "Yah" he means "Yah," and you cannot change him. It is sometimes said that Americans are short lived and they run themselves to pieces. We deny this An American lives a great deal in a little while—twenty-four hours in ten minutes

In the Revolutionary War American enterprise was discovered by somebody who, describing the capture of Lord Cornwallis, put in his mouth these words

"I thought five thousand men or less
Through all these States might safely pass
My error now I see too late,
Here I'm confined within this State,
Yes, in this little spot of ground,
Enclosed by Yankees all around
In Europe ne'er let it be known,
Nor publish it in Askelon,
Lest the uncircumcised rejoice,
And distant nations join their voice.

What would my friends in Britain say?
I wrote them I had gained the day
Some things now strike me with surprise,
First, I believe, the Tory lies
What also brought me to this plight
I thought the Yankees would not fight
My error now I see too late,
Here I'm confined within this State,
Yes, in this little spot of ground,
Enclosed by Yankees all around,
Where I'm so cramped and hemmed about,
The devil himself could not get out"

From that time American enterprise has continued developing, sometimes toward the right and sometimes toward the wrong Men walk faster, think faster, drive faster, lie faster, and swear faster. New sciences have sprung up and carried off the hearts of the people Phrenology, a science which I believe will yet be developed to a thorough consistency, in its incomplete stage puts its hand on your head, as a musician on a piano, and plays out the entire tune of your character, whether it be a grand march or a jig, sometimes by mistake announcing that there are in the head benevolence, music, and sublimity, when there is about the same amount of intellect under the hair of the subject's head as in an ordinary hair trunk, sometimes forgetting that wickedness and crime are chargeable, not so much to bumps on the head as to bumps on the heart Mesmerism, an old science, has been revived in our day. This system was started from the fact that in ancient times the devotees of Æsculapius were put to sleep in his temple, a mesmeric feat sometimes performed on modern worshippers Incurable diseases are said to slink away before the dawn of this science like ghosts at cock-crowing, and a man under its influence may have a tooth extracted or his head amputated without discovering the important fact until he comes to his senses The operator will compel a sick person in clairvoyant state to tell whether his own liver or heart is diseased, when if his subject were awake he would not be wise enough to know a heart

from a fiver. If you have had property stolen, on the payment of one dollar—mind that—they will tell you where it is, and who stole it, and even if they do not make the matter perfectly plain, they have bettered it; it does not all remain a mystery; you know where the dollar went.

There are aged men and women here who have lived through marvellous changes. The world is a very different place from what it was when you were boys and girls. The world's enterprise has accomplished wonders in your age. The broad-brimmed hat of olden times was an illustration of the broad-bottomed character of the father, and the modern hat, rising high up as the pipe of a steam-engine, illustrates the locomotive in modern character. In those days of powdered hair and silver shoe-buckles, the coat extended over an immense area and would have been unpardonably long had it not been for the fact that when the old gentlemen doffed the garment it furnished the whole family of boys with a Sunday wardrobe. Grandfather on rainy days shelled corn or broke flax in the barn, and in the evening with grandmother went round to visit a neighbour where the men sat smoking their pipes by the jambs of the broad fireplace, telling of a fox chase, or feats as mowing without once getting bushed, and gazing upon the flames as they sissed and simmered around the great back log, and leaped up through the light wood to lick off the moss, and shrugging their shoulders satisfactorily as the wild night wind screamed round the gable, and clattered the shutters, and clicked the icicles from the eaves; and Tom brought in a blue-edged dish of great "Fall pippins," and "Dair claushes," and "Henry Sweets," and "Grannywinkles," and the nuts all lost their hearts sooner than if the squirrels were there; and the grandmothers talking and knitting, talking and knitting, until John in two pants, or Mary in linsey woolsey, by shaking the old lady's arm for just one more "Grannywinkle," made her most provokingly drop a stitch, and forthwith the youngsters were despatched to bed by the starlight that dripped through the thatched garret chinks

Where is now the old-fashioned fireplace where the andirons in a thrilling duet sang "Home, Sweet Home," while the hook and trammels beat time? In our country houses great solemn stoves have taken their place, where dim fires, like pale ghosts, look out of the isinglass, and from which comes the gassy breath of coal, instead of the breath of mountain oak and sassafras One icicle frozen to each chair and sofa is called a sociable, and the milk of human kindness is congealed into society—that modern freezer warranted to do it in five minutes.

You have also witnessed a change in matters of religion I think there is more religion now in the world than there ever was, but people sometimes have a queer way of showing it. For instance, in the matter of church music The musical octave was once an eight-rung ladder, on which our old fathers could climb up to heaven from their church pew. Now, the minstrels are robbed every Sunday.

But, oh, what progress in the right direction. There goes the old stage coach hung on leather suspenders. Swing and bounce. Swing and bounce. Old grey balky, and sorrel lame. Wheel fast in the rut. "All together, yo heave!" On the morning air you heard the stroke of the reaper's rifle on the scythe getting ready to fight its way through

the swaths of thick-set meadow grass. Now we do nearly all these things by machinery. A man went all the way from New York to Buffalo on an express train, and went so rapidly that he said in all the distance he saw but two objects; Two haystacks, and they were going the other way. The small particles of iron are taken from their bed and melted into liquid, and run out into bars, and spread into sheets, and turned into screws, and the boiler begins to groan, and the valves to open, and the shafts to fly, and the steamboat going, "Tschoo! Tschoo! Tschoo!" shoots across the Atlantic, making it a ferry, and all the world one neighbourhood. In olden times they put out a fire by buckets of water, or rather did not put it out. Now, in nearly all our cities we put out a fire by steam. But where they haven't come to this, there still has been great improvement. Hark! There is a cry in the street: "Fire! Fire!" The firemen are coming, and they front the building, and they hoist the ladders, and they run up with the hose, and the orders are given and the engines begin to work, and beat down the flames that smote the heavens And the hook and ladder company with long arms of wood and fingers of iron begin to feel on the top of the hot wall and begin to pull. She moves! She rocks! Stand from under! She falls! flat as the walls of Jericho at the blast of the rams' horns, and the excited populace clap their hands, and wave their caps, shouting "Hurrah, hurrah!"

Now, in an age like this, what will become of a man if in every nerve and muscle and bone he does not have the spirit of enthusiasm and enterprise? Why, he will drop down and be forgotten, as he ought to be He who cannot swim in this current will drown Young man, make up your mind what you ought to be, and then start out

And let me say, there has never been so good a time to start as just now. I care not which way you look, the world seems brightening Open the map of the world, close your eyes, swing your finger over the map of the world, let your finger drop accidentally, and I am almost sure it will drop on a part of the world that is brightening You open the map of the world, close your eyes, swing your finger over the map, it drops accidentally Spain! Quitting her cruelties and coming to a better form of government What is that light breaking over the top of the Pyrenees? "The morning cometh!" You open the map of the world again, close your eyes, and swing your finger over the map, it drops accidentally. Italy! The truth going on from conquest to conquest. What is that light breaking over the top of the Alps? "The morning cometh!" You open the map of the world again, you close your eyes, and swing your finger over the map, and your finger drops accidentally India! Juggernauts of cruelty broken to pieces by the chariot of the Gospel. What is that light breaking over the tops of the Himalayas? "The morning cometh!" The army of Civilization and Christianity is made up of two wings—the English wing and the American wing. The American wing of the army of Civilization and Christianity will march across this continent On, over the Rocky Mountains, on over the Sierra Nevada, on to the beach of the Pacific, and then right through, dry shod, to the Asiatic shore. And on across Asia, and on, and on, until it comes to the Holy Land and halts. The English wing of the army of Civilization and Christianity will move across Europe.

and on, until it comes to the Holy Land and halts. And when these two wings of the army of Civilization and Christianity shall confront each other, having encircled the world, there will go up a shout as the world heard never · "Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!"

People who have not seen the tides rise at the beach do not understand them Some man who has never before visited the seashore comes down as the tide is rising The wave comes to a certain point and then retreats, and he says "The tide is going out, the sea is going down." No, the tide is rising, for the next wave comes to a higher point, and then recoils. He says: "Certainly, the tide is going out and the sea is going down." No, the tide is rising, for the next wave comes to a higher point and then recoils, and to a higher and higher and higher point until it is full tide So with the advance of Civilization and Christianity in the world In one decade the wave comes to a certain point and then recoils for ten or fifteen years, and people say the world is getting worse, and the tides of Civilization and Christianity are going down. No, the tide is rising, for the next time the wave reaches to a still higher point and recoils, and to a still higher point and recoils, and to a higher and a higher and a higher point until it shall be full tide, and the "earth shall be full of the knowledge of God as the waters fill the sea" At such a time you start out There is some special work for you to do.

I was very much thrilled, as I suppose you were, with the story of the old engineer on his locomotive crossing the Western prairie day after day and month after month. A little child would come out in front of her father's cabin and wave to the old engineer, and he would wave back again It became one of the joys of the old engineer's life, this little child coming out and waving to him and he waving back. But one day the train was belated, and night came on, and by the flash of the headlight of the locomotive the old engineer saw the child on the track When the engineer saw the child on the track a great horror froze his soul, and he reversed the engine and leaped over on the cowcatcher, and though the train was slowing up, and slowing up, it seemed to the old engineer as if it were gaining in velocity But, standing there on the cowcatcher, he waited for his opportunity, and with almost supernatural clutch he seized her and fell back upon the cowcatcher The train halted, the passengers came around to see what was the matter, and there lay the old engineer on the cowcatcher, fainted dead away, the little child in his arms all unhurt

He saved her Grand thing, you say, for the old engineer to do Yes, just as grand a thing for you to do There are long trains of disaster coming on toward that soul Yonder are long trains of disaster coming on toward another soul. You go out in the strength of the Eternal God and with supernatural clutch save some one, some man, some woman, some child. You can do it.

"Courage, brother, do not stumble,
Though thy path be dark as night,
There's a star to guide the humble,
Trust in God and do the right

"Some will love thee, some will hate thee,
Some will flatter, some will slight,
Cease from man, and look above thee,
Trust in God and do the right"

Sf & General

THE RT HON J H THOMAS

Rt. Hon. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.

THE IRISH QUESTION

Speech in the House of Commons, June 17, 1932

The SECRETARY of STATE for DOMINION AFFAIRS (Mr. J. H. Thomas): It is probably true that not during this Parliament are we called upon to discuss a more serious issue than that which arises to-day. I want to say, on behalf of the Government, that our attitude throughout this business has been, and is to-day, a genuine desire to help the Irish Free State. I do not, for very obvious reasons, propose to deal with the past history of Ireland It is not relevant so far as to-day is concerned, and it would do no good. The present position arises directly out of the Treaty of 1921, a Treaty, let me observe, not only solemnly made, but made at great political risk on both sides On this side, many statesmen who are in the House of Commons to-day risked their political fortunes in the attitude that they adopted My right hon friend the member for Carnarvon Boroughs (Mr Lloyd George), who, we are delighted to know is to take part in this Debate, showed great courage and great statesmanship My right hon. friends the member for Epping (Mr. Churchill) and the member for West Birmingham (Sir A. Chamberlain) made, if I may say so, even more sacrifices, because of the particular policy of their party on this particular issue; but at all events, in risking their political fortunes in taking the stand that they took, they did so conscientiously believing that it was to the interest of both nations that peace on a permanent basis should be established.

While it is true that they took risks, do not let us forget that on the Irish side also considerable risk was taken. There were statesmen on that side who not only risked their political fortunes, but gave their lives in defence of this Treaty. Those of us who are entrusted with the grave responsibility of dealing with this unfortunate situation to-day not only are not likely to forget their sacrifices, but there is a moral obligation on our part, to keep it clearly in mind.

I think I should carry the House with me if I said that, when that Treaty was made, no one assumed that it was the last word, that there could be no change of any sort or kind, because you have only to remember the circumstances under which it was made, and the difficulties, to realize that there must be, by the very nature of things, differences of opinion arising from time to time. I venture to say, however, that, while everyone assumed that there would be differences of interpretation and that changes could be made, no one assumed for a moment, then or now, that any change could be made without agreement on both sides, and throughout the case that I shall state for the Government I hope that aspect of the question will be kept clearly in mind.

If any evidence were needed to show the spirit in which both sides

approached the problem, let me remind the Committee that in the past ten years there were constant consultations on points of major and minor importance; there were three formal agreements amending or supplementing the Treaty; but in every case the Irish Free State Government asked for negotiations and took part in consultations, and the agreements that were ultimately made were made with the approval of both sides. It is necessary to emphasize that point, because it shows very clearly the different conceptions of their obligations by two Governments. No one will assume for a moment that the late Michael Collins, Arthur Griffiths and Mr Cosgrave were not as good and loyal Irishmen as anyone in Ireland to-day. Just as they realized what was their responsibility to their nation they never forgot their obligations and their duties arising from their signature of the Treaty. I think I am justified in saying that everyone taking part in the three Imperial Conferences that were held following the Irish Free State Agreement which were attended by representatives of the Irish Free State, would pay tribute to the magnificent contribution from their point of view, in the interests of their nation, that Irish statesmen have made during the past ten years.

That is, shortly, our experience prior to the change of Government in Ireland, and, although we noted the change, although we realized that the Opposition became the Government of the day, we had no right to expect an assumption on their part that Treaties and agreements would be torn up with impunity by one side Therefore, we received the intimation from Mr De Valera with astonishment So that there shall be no doubt and misunderstanding let me say that I take some responsibility for receiving any intimation There was no change in the representation of the Irish Free State Commissioner to England, Mr. Dulanty, who had represented Mr. Cosgrave for a number of years, and everyone who knows him will agree with what distinction he represents Ireland The relationship between the High Commissioners of all the Dominions is such that they are in daily contact with my office. I felt that I was justified in saying to Mr Dulanty, "What is the exact position between your Government and ourselves?" We had read speeches and seen statements made as to what was taking place both with regard to the Oath and to the annuities.

Within a few days, after that inquiry, we received a document from the Irish Free State I need not go into all the details of the case They are set out in the White Paper, which I am sure all members have read. Shortly, Mr De Valera's statement was this "We intend, and are taking the necessary steps, to abolish the Oath, and our grounds are, shortly, that in our judgment it is not mandatory in the Treaty" Later, he gave reasons why they intended to withhold the annuities He did not make the latter statement in the document sent to me. The document sent to me, which is included in the White Paper, merely referred to the Oath. On the same day that I received the document, Mr. De Valera made his statement in Ireland that he intended to withhold the annuities.

Observe the different attitude that he adopted. I have already indicated that Mr. Cosgrave, during the whole of the ten years that he was in office, found himself in conflict on points of interpretation on many issues. Always, when there was a difference, he simply said. "Let

us discuss it," and we did. Mr. De Valera, in his first intimation to me, and in every intimation since has said: "My intentions are not to have a discussion, not to thrash out our differences, not to see whether there is any legitimate difference of opinion." He coldly and boldly said: "This is my business and, without consultation of any sort or kind, I propose to take this action." That is an attitude which is not only impossible in government, but one which would make ordinary business relationship impossible. It is simply something that is not done. It is an attitude which to day is not understood and appreciated by any section of the community.

I replied on behalf of the Government, courteously but firmly, intimating that that was a position that we could not accept. Then Mr. De Valera replied Those who have read the White Paper will have observed a very significant change of attitude with regard to the Oath. The first ground set out for abolishing it was that it was not mandatory in the Treaty I replied showing that it was, and pointing out clearly that there could be no doubt about it His next despatch said "Never mind whether it is mandatory or not. That is not the issue now. It is purely a matter of domestic concern" That was a change, and a remarkable change, from the first two despatches. Whether the Oath was or was not an integral part of the Treaty made ten years ago is not now the issue It is important to observe—at least I think so—that he either believed that it was mandatory when making his first statement and intimating so to me, or what was the reason, when I showed that it was mandatory, for him immediately to change his ground? At all events, summed up fairly, I think, as hon. members will judge, his attitude was *this*. "I am going to abolish the Oath, I am going to withhold the annuities, and I am doing it regardless of anything which you may say or do"

I submit that that made the position an intolerable one. Whatever our anxieties or our views may have been, and however anxious we were, and are to-day, for a friendly understanding, that clear, bald intimation compelled the Government to leave both Mr De Valera and the Irish people in no doubt whatever as to what their attitude should be, because this was no constitutional issue It was no question of status, and no question where lawyers might disagree and quibble over legal points. It was a short, simple issue of an agreement made between two parties, with one party baldly declaring to the other that they had an absolute right to repudiate the agreement. That was the clear intimation given by Mr. De Valera. It was accepted by us in that spirit. We said: "We meant, and we mean to-day, that if that is the attitude, we will not enter into any agreement with a Government which treat their obligations in this way." I made that clear beyond a shadow of possible doubt. It meant, and was clearly intended to mean, that, while we would not attempt to influence in any way, and we do not to-day intend to influence, our Dominions, or bring them into the conflict, we intended to leave them and the world in no doubt as to where we stood. It was not intended as a threat, but it was the clear and unanimous decision of the British Cabinet that they would not make further agreements while the Irish Government adopted that attitude. In our anxiety

not only to be scrupulously fair, but honourable to our agreements, we received a clear intimation that money legally and morally due to us was to be withheld by the Irish Free State Government. There were certain commitments due to Ireland. No one could have complained if we had said: "Very well, you have told us that you are going to withhold the money to which we believe we are entitled, we will at least keep this in advance rather than send it to you." That was an attitude which could have been adopted, but we said, "No, our part of the agreement says that you are entitled to that money." We sent quite recently £60,000 to the Irish Free State which was due under the Agreement, because we were not going to have it said, when dealing with a Dominion Agreement, that there could be any default of any sort on our side.

That was the position as we found it up to last Saturday week when I received from Mr. Dulanty an intimation that Mr. De Valera was prepared to have a preliminary discussion as to the difficulties between the two countries in relation to the negotiations in connection with the Ottawa Conference. That intimation was conveyed to me by the Irish Free State representative. The Cabinet discussed it They knew that the fact that we were invited to Ireland would cause doubts and misapprehension We knew that there would be some people who would criticize us on the ground that we were climbing down and humiliating ourselves We knew the risks We knew all too well the doubts which would be cast upon our action, but we said, "No, neither dignity nor pride must prevent us from using every opportunity to come to a reasonable agreement if it is possible to do so" We knew our case We had confidence in our case. We knew how just was our case, and we had no fears whether that case was going to be discussed in Dublin or anywhere else, but we did have very grave doubts as to the wisdom of refusing an opportunity at least to have a discussion We took the risk.

The Cabinet decided that Lord Hailsham and myself should go to Dublin We went with a genuine desire to lose no opportunity of adjusting our differences We met Mr De Valera, and I will give the Committee, quite briefly but fairly and accurately, a summary of his views. So that I cannot be accused of revealing anything private or of unfairly interpreting his views, and so that there need be no controversy afterwards about revealing anything that took place in a sort of semi-private way, I took the precaution before I spoke to-day of intimating to Mr. De Valera the statement that I was going to make as representing his views Therefore, there need be no doubt that what I do represent as his views will not be in any way challenged by him.

Mr. De Valera said that it was not for him to confirm; he would rather not, which means this, that Mr. De Valera had no objections whatever to my statement being made He did not take exception to it, but it was not for him to say whether I ought or ought not to make it. I would again emphasize the importance of my adopting that attitude, and it is this. that, if afterwards there was a controversy as to what took place, there would be differences on facts. I now know, and I will show, that there is no difference on facts. Equally, I think it was my duty to be courteous to Mr. De Valera, no matter what the differences between the Governments might be. Therefore, it was for that reason that I did it.

Mr. De Valera's intimation to us in Dublin can be very briefly summarised under two heads. First, his views as to the only basis of lasting peace and goodwill in Ireland—what he called his ultimate aim. They were, first, the union with the Irish Free State of the six counties now forming Northern Ireland. [*Interruption.*] I hope hon. members will not interrupt. I am stating Mr. De Valera's views. Those were his views. The second head has a bearing on the first. The first is the union with the Irish Free State of the six counties now forming Northern Ireland, and, after that was accomplished, with a united Ireland, the recognition of Ireland as a Republic with, he pointed out, some form of association with the British Commonwealth in some circumstances and for some reasons, and the recognition of the King as head of the association. That is to say, that his conception, his ideal, and his ultimate aim was a united Ireland called, understood, and accepted as a Republic, but there may arise and probably will arise certain circumstances where the whole of the British Commonwealth could act together for external purposes Then, His Majesty the King would be recognized under those circumstances as the head

That is a fair summary of what Mr. De Valera honestly and conscientiously believes is the only basis that would bring what he called lasting peace to Ireland He quite frankly and fairly stated that he did not think he had in the last election a mandate to give effect to that, but it did not prevent him from making it quite clear that he assumed that he ultimately would get that mandate. He said

"I am also anxious to provide some *modus vivendi* whereby we shall get over the present difficulty"

We said

"Very well, let us hear it"

He said:

"You"

—that is, the British Government—

"must agree to accept the abolition of the Oath as being our right and our business and as nothing whatever to do with you. Secondly, not only do we intend, and believe we are entitled, to withhold the payments of annuities, but there are several other financial matters that we are looking into, and we feel equally that our attitude will be the same on them"

That is a short summary of his views expressed, I repeat, quite cogently and very firmly to us in Ireland I need hardly say that we on our side pointed out that there were very strong differences in these matters between us We felt that we ought to leave him in no doubt as to that side of the question, and we said:

"We hope that you will come to London to state your case, because we are certain that no harm could arise from a free and frank interchange of views"

He agreed, and last Friday we met in London. Mr. De Valera immediately outlined his views on what I call the ultimate aim which I have already described. We told him straight away that in our judgment no useful purpose would be served by a discussion on those lines. We said, quite clearly and definitely, that in our opinion not only this Government but no British Government would ever agree to any such suggestions. We said, however:

"Rather than make this conference abortive, let us come down to a discussion of the two differences that exist at the moment, namely, the Oath and the annuities."

Mr. De Valera then stated his views on the Oath. He concentrated not only on the mandatory character of the Oath, but said that in his judgment the whole position was forced upon them by duress.

He said that they were compelled, absolutely compelled, under duress, and in his judgment it was not only not mandatory but was never understood or accepted by the Irish people as mandatory. Very well. This is where we must clearly say to ourselves · who can we bring that will give us the most conclusive evidence on this pomt, and I am going to submit to the House the names of some whose sincerity for Ireland or their right to express an authoritative opinion on this matter certainly no member of this House would question. Immediately the Treaty was made it was not ended. There were days and weeks of debate in the Dail. There were not only Debates in this House, but immediately they got back this aspect of the Treaty was challenged. Everyone knows the great record of the late Mr. Kelvin O'Higgins. He took part in the Debate, and I am going to quote his words as an answer to the criticism on the Oath. This is what he said in October, 1922:

"It has been suggested here and suggested in the press that the taking of the Oath is an entirely optional matter We do not think it is. We do not for a moment hold that that position is tenable in common sense or in common public honesty. We do not think that in the mind of any signatory, British or Irish, there was the idea that this Oath, that gave so much trouble and tension at the late stages of the negotiations, would be anything else but an Oath to be taken by all Members of Parliament"

That is the statement of Mr Kelvin O'Higgins in 1922, when the mandatory character of the Oath was being challenged. Mr Duggan was a signatory to the Treaty—I put it to the House that it is not sufficient for hon. members here to say what the interpretation is and to challenge such views as this—and he said:

"I wish to tell the Dail what was in my mind at the time we were putting our names to that Treaty. We agreed that that form of Oath should be taken by every member of Parliament. Now, if that were not so, why should we in the later stages of the negotiations, when pressure on our time was so great, have devoted so much time and so much amount of trouble to finding out the form of Oath that would be acceptable to us"

And this is one of the signatories to the Treaty—

"Surely, if the Oath were optional, no one cares what particular form it was in, because I am sure the British representatives knew, and we certainly knew, no member of this Dail would take it. It would not have been of the least interest to us or them for that reason, and I can also tell the Dail that the late President and the late Commander-in-Chief, Michael Collins, were of the same opinion on this subject as I was."

In conclusion Mr. Duggan said:

"I am fully prepared to take the Oath myself, and it would be

well if every member of this Dail should realize that any quibbling on the Oath means the tearing up of the Treaty."

Was there ever such a forecast? Can it be assumed to-day, can it be argued to-day, that it was not mandatory, that it was something which the Irish people never understood or never accepted? I have quoted the words of the signatories to the Treaty. What is more important, two general elections followed when the present Government, which was then the Opposition and which challenge the position, had their opportunity to put their views to the country, and two general elections endorsed the statements that I have read out. The statements that I have read to the House I quoted to Mr. De Valera, and I said to him, just as I have said to the House: "How can you in the face of those statements, in the face of your own action and in the knowledge that two general elections have taken place, maintain the position that you do to-day." I am telling the House nothing different from what I told Mr. De Valera to his face on behalf of the Government.

He said, with regard to the annuities that that was a secret agreement, made behind the backs of the people, of which the people knew nothing and could, therefore, repudiate, and for that reason, as well as for the reason that Ireland was entitled to some millions of pounds from us and not we from them, he intended to withhold this money. I reminded him not only that that was not true, but that the particular, specific agreement made between Mr. Cosgrave and the representatives of this Government was challenged in the Dail, was challenged by the Opposition; but here again, after the agreement was made and the money paid year after year a general election took place in Ireland, and the one who is supposed to have made this secret Treaty was again returned as the head of the Government. I pointed out that by a challenge of that kind he raised an entirely new issue in the conduct of Governments. To assume as he did that a previous Prime Minister could enter into an agreement, morally and legally binding, and that because in the political fortunes a new Government comes in they could repudiate the obligations of the other would not only lead to chaos, but that no Government could be conducted on that basis Indeed, I went beyond that, and said that, "According to that answer, if we made an agreement with you now, your successors could claim the same right as you are claiming now."

Therefore, we put it to him fairly "Look. We are getting near Ottawa. We want the Ottawa Conference to be representative of all the Dominions. We want to get there and discuss the economic problems that afflict us. We would like to put to you quite clearly and specifically a simple question. If you believe that you are right, if you are so sure that you are right on this question of the annuities, and if you have such an unanswerable case, and we, on the other hand, feel that we are right, surely there ought to be some Empire tribunal—that indeed was visualized and agreed to at the last Imperial Conference—that ought to be able to adjust this difference." He said: "No." He said: "The dice would be always loaded against Ireland." I put to him the answer that I put now. I said: "Surely, Sir, if you are going to proclaim to the world that there are not three honest people capable of doing

an honest thing, that is a very serious reflection upon the integrity of the British Empire," because that is the issue. If he said, as he did say, that he could not trust the question of the difference on the land annuities to be the subject of arbitration before an Empire tribunal, he was proclaiming to the world in my judgment, and I said so, that there were not three honest people capable of arriving at an honest judgment. Therefore, we said quite clearly that that was an impossible situation. He replied that so far as the Oath Bill was concerned it was his business and not ours.

Here I must draw the attention of the Committee to a very important Clause in the Oath Bill. Supposing Mr De Valera had said: "Very well, I am only concerned with removing the Oath," he could have argued, as he did argue, that that was his only object, because in his judgment it was not mandatory But I pointed out to him, as I point out to the Committee now, in two clauses of the Bill, in addition to abolishing the Oath, he has taken away the only right that the Irish Free State people possess to challenge the validity of his action in their own Courts. In other words, he is not only abolishing the Oath, but in the Bill now before the Dail he takes the right to prevent any Irish citizens who want, as they have a right in the Treaty, to challenge the validity of the Act in their own Courts—he is taking that away. In answer to my question to him. "Why deny them that right?" he said he knew perfectly well that he was doing it, and he intended clearly that no courts should interfere with the Act That put the position quite clear so far as the Oath was concerned. But Mr De Valera said, talking about a tribunal: "I would be prepared to consider, and only consider, some tribunal, not to arbitrate on the land annuities, but to go in and examine and arbitrate on the whole of the financial obligations made in the Treaty", in other words, to scrap in substance the whole of the financial obligations under the Treaty.

That was the position last Friday evening Therefore, we were faced with a clear and definite intimation on three points. First, the absolute refusal to withdraw the abolition of the Oath; a clear determination to refuse an Empire tribunal to consider and arbitrate on the question of annuities, and an intimation that in Mr. De Valera's mind the annuities were only the first instalment of further moneys to be withheld that we feel are due to us That was the position as it was left last Friday night after all the negotiations I intimated to Mr. De Valera that the position in which the question was left rendered it impossible for us to assume that the House of Commons would not want to debate the matter. I felt it was my duty to say that, while up to now the House of Commons had trusted the Government, after these negotiations it was imperative that our position should be made clear to the House and the country. I said that, that being so, I thought the Debate would be arranged for next Friday, and added: "so that if you have any communication of any sort or kind I do hope we can have it before then." I again said: "I hope that you will keep clearly in mind how anxious we are for a settlement, but the terms proposed by you render it impossible." That was the situation on Friday last. Within the last two hours, this morning, since I arrived at my office, I received

a further despatch from Mr. De Valera, and I will read it. It is dated June 16th:

"The proposal of the British Government for arbitration on the question of the land annuities has been considered by the Government of the Irish Free State.

The Government of the Irish Free State accepts the principle of arbitration and agrees that a tribunal of the general character outlined in the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1930 would be suitable, but it is unable to agree to the restriction of the personnel of the Tribunal solely to citizens of the States of the British Commonwealth.

The Government of the Irish Free State is of opinion that, in justice to the people of the Irish Free State, the matters to be submitted to the tribunal for determination must include, not merely the land annuities, but also the items of the other annual payments to the British Government by the Government of the Irish Free State, except those made in pursuance of Agreements formally ratified by the Parliaments of both States. I must further add that, in the view of my Government, any agreement reached between the two Governments on these matters must be submitted to both Houses of Parliament for their approval."

That despatch which, as I say, was received at 9.30 this morning, can be summarized in a few words. It does not depart by one iota from Mr. De Valera's original position. The Committee will observe, first, that it does not even mention the Oath, which means that he is acting consistently with his attitude that it is not our business. Secondly, it will be seen that, with regard to the annuities, while he is prepared to accept arbitration, it must be by arbitrators not limited to the British Commonwealth of Nations. And thirdly, that even if arbitration were agreed upon it is not the question of the land annuities that is to be argued, but practically the whole financial basis of the Treaty of 1921. Therefore, I have not found it necessary to alter in one word the views which I expressed a few moments ago that this despatch leaves the position, in my judgment, worse than it was before. That is the position.

I therefore want to say, in conclusion, how much the British Government deplore this situation. I opened by saying that we wish well to the Irish people. I repeat it now. We have given evidence of it by tariff preferences which benefit the Irish Free State probably more than any other Dominion. We want a happy and prosperous Ireland. We want to live in peace and goodwill with the Irish people. We are not unmindful of the tremendous millions of Irish patriots in this country and in all parts of the world, and therefore it is to our interest to live in peace, as well as our desire, but whatever may be the consequence, we cannot and will not countenance for a moment the breaking of agreements nor will we—and neither do we believe will any other Government that could be elected in this country—ever attempt to force Ulster against her will. If there is to be a unity of the Irish people, Ulster and the Irish Free State must come together by their own mutual consent and agreement. But, may I ask: Is the present attitude of the Irish Free State calculated to bring about such unity? Do they think for a moment that, with the history of Northern and Southern Ireland,

the attitude which I have described to-day and the position as we know it is calculated to bring peace? No, Sir, the unity of Ireland is never likely to be brought about, however desirable, by the Irish Free State Government adopting an attitude of this kind.

As to the existing preferences, our position is quite clear. We made an agreement; we observed the agreement; we are anxious to maintain that agreement. It was broken by the other side, and therefore we do not and will not enter into any agreement or attempt to make a new agreement while that position is maintained by the Irish Free State. Our preferences cannot operate after 15th November unless new agreements are made I have already indicated our view on that subject. But, behind all this, there is a wider issue, and, in fairness to Mr. De Valera, I must say that he never attempts to disguise it. It is the issue of what part is the Irish Free State to play in the British Commonwealth of Nations in the future The Irish people must make up their minds. They are either part of the Commonwealth accepting its responsibilities and duties, or they are not. The land annuities are a legal and moral obligation accepted by the Irish people's representatives. If they withhold money, legally and morally due to us, we on our side will not repudiate our obligations to those, either in Ireland or Great Britain, who loaned the money to us, but we shall take whatever steps we deem necessary to deal with that side of the situation. That is not intended as a threat, but as a clear intimation that we intend to uphold our rights.

The Irish Free State people are entitled to know the facts and our intentions. I hope I have left them in no doubt whatever as to our attitude. But is it too late to ask, with a world in strife and turmoil, what do we gain by rehashing the old difficulties of the past? Let us, I would rather say, look to the future The British Commonwealth of Nations is wide enough, broad enough, yes, and tolerant enough, to give free scope and real hope for true democracy, and it is the choice of this association that the Irish people must ultimately make. May I not ask Mr. De Valera, who is new to the responsibilities of Government, who has not yet had the advantage of contact with all the other Members of the British Commonwealth, and who is unable at the moment, because of that lack of contact, to appreciate fully all that the British Commonwealth stands for—may I not beg him and his Government to hesitate a long time before committing the Free State to a policy which involves such grave consequences, before they have had the chance to find out for themselves the advantages that real liberty in the British Commonwealth really means?

This is no moment when a nation can afford to neglect or be blind to what is taking place in the world Who can deny it, except those who are blind to world facts and who refuse to see the misery and suffering existing in every land at a time when nations are clamouring for peace, for statesmanship, for a new outlook on life. This, Sir, is the moment that Mr. De Valera chooses to do what no business man does, and no statesman can survive if he attempts to do. It is, in my judgment, unbelievable that the Irish people themselves can stand for action of that kind In conclusion, I reaffirm our profound hope that wisdom will prevail. So far as the British Government are concerned, we are prepared to be judged at the bar of public opinion.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

THE PEERAGE BILL

Speech in House of Commons, December 8, 1719

Among the Romans, the temple of fame was placed behind the temple of virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of fame, but through the temple of virtue But if this bill is passed into law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour, but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family · a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation, who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation

" Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam "

It is very far from my thoughts to depreciate the advantages or, detract from the respect due to illustrious birth ; for though the philosopher may say with the poet .

" Et genus et proavos, et quae non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco ",

yet the claim derived from that advantage, though fortuitous, is so generally and so justly conceded, that every endeavour to subvert the principle would merit contempt and abhorrence But though illustrious birth forms one undisputed title to pre-eminence and superior consideration, yet surely it ought not to be the only one. The origin of high titles was derived from the will of the sovereign to reward signal services, or conspicuous merit, by a recompense which, surviving to posterity, should display the virtues of the receiver, and the gratitude of the donor. Is merit then so rarely discernible, or is gratitude so small a virtue in our days, that the one must be supposed to be its own reward and the other limited to a barren display of impotent goodwill? Had this bill originated with some noble peer of distinguished ancestry, it would have excited less surprise ; a desire to exclude from a participation of honours is no novelty in persons of that class Quod ex aliorum meritis sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meis ascribi nolunt

But it is a matter of just surprise, that a bill of this nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted, by a gentleman who was, not long ago, seated among us, and who, having got into the house of Peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him.

When great alterations in the constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time before the proposed change

is finally carried into execution, lest it should produce evil instead of good; but in this case, when the bill is once sanctioned by Parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, because the Upper House will always oppose the repeal of an act which has so considerably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords, ought to inspire some jealousy in the Commons; for it must be obvious, that whatever the Lords gain must be acquired at the loss of the Commons, and the diminution of the royal prerogative, and that in all disputes between the Lords and Commons, when the House of Lords is immutable, the Commons must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede.

The view of the ministry in framing this bill is plainly nothing but to secure their power in the House of Lords. The principal argument on which the necessity of it is founded is drawn from the mischief occasioned by the creation of twelve new peers during the reign of Queen Anne, for the purpose of carrying an infamous peace through the House of Lords; that was only a temporary measure, whereas the mischief to be occasioned by this bill will be perpetual It creates thirty-one peers by authority of Parliament, so extraordinary a step cannot be supposed to be taken without some sinister design in future. The ministry want no additional strength in the House of Lords for conducting the common affairs of government, as it is sufficiently proved by the unanimity which they have carried through this bill. If, therefore, they think it necessary to acquire the additional strength, it must be done with views and intentions more extravagant and hostile to the constitution, than any which have yet been attempted. The bill itself is of a most artful and insidious nature The immediate creation of nine Scotch peers, and the reservation of six English peers for a necessary occasion, is of double use; to be ready for the House of Lords if wanted, and to engage three times the number in the House of Commons by hopes and promises

To sanction this attempt, the King is induced to affect to wave some part of his prerogative, but this is merely an ostensible renunciation unfounded in fact or reason. I am desirous to treat of all points relating to the private affairs of His Majesty with the utmost tenderness and caution, but I should wish to ask the House, and I think I can anticipate the answer Has any such question been upon the tapis, as no man would forgive the authors, that should put them under the necessity of voting against either side? Are there any misfortunes, which every honest man secretly laments and bewails, and would think the last of mischiefs, should they ever become the subject of public and parliamentary conversations? Cannot numbers that hear me testify, from the solicitations and whispers they have met with, that there are men ready and determined to attempt these things if they had a prospect of success? If they have thought, but I hope they are mistaken in their opinion of this House, that the chief obstacle would arise in the House of Lords, where they have always been tender upon personal points, especially to any of their own body, does not this project enable them to carry any question through the House of Lords? Must not the twenty-five Scotch peers accept upon any terms, or be for ever excluded? Or will not twenty-five be found in all Scotland that will? How great

will the temptation be likewise to fix English, to fill the present vacancies? And shall we then, with our eyes open, take this step, which I cannot but look upon as the beginning of woe and confusion; and shall we, under these apprehensions, break through the union, and shut up the door of honour? It certainly will have that effect; nay, the very argument advanced in its support, that it will add weight to the Commons by keeping the rich men there, admits that it will be an exclusion.

But we are told that his Majesty has voluntarily consented to this limitation of his prerogative. It may be true; but may not the King have been deceived? Which if it is ever to be supposed, must be admitted in this case. It is incontrovertible that kings have been overruled by the importunity of their ministers to remove, or to take into administration, persons who are disagreeable to them. The character of the King furnishes us also a strong proof that he has been deceived, for although it is a fact, that in Hanover, where he possesses absolute power, he never tyrannized over his subjects, or despotically exercised his authority, yet, can one instance be produced when he ever gave up a prerogative?

If the constitution is to be amended in the House of Lords, the greatest abuses ought to be first corrected But what is the abuse against which this bill so vehemently inveighs, and which it is intended to correct? The abuse of the prerogative in creating an occasional number of peers, is a prejudice only to the Lords, it can rarely be a prejudice to the Commons, but must generally be exercised in their favour; and should it be argued, that in a case of a difference between the two Houses the King may exercise that branch of his prerogative, with a view to force the Commons to recede, we may reply, that upon a difference with the Commons, the King possesses his negative, and the exercise of that negative would be less culpable than making peers to screen himself.

But the strongest argument against the bill is, that it will not only be a discouragement to virtue and merit, but would endanger our excellent constitution; for as there is a due balance between the three branches of the legislature, it will destroy that balance, and consequently subvert the whole constitution, by causing one of the three powers, which are now dependent on each other, to preponderate in the scale. The Crown is dependent upon the Commons by the power of granting money; the Commons are dependent on the Crown by the power of dissolution. The Lords will now be made independent of both.

The sixteen elective Scotch peers already admit themselves to be a dead court weight, yet the same sixteen are now to be made hereditary, and nine added to their number. These twenty-five, under the influence of corrupt ministers, may find their account in betraying their trust; the majority of the Lords may also find their account in supporting such ministers; but the Commons, and the Commons only, must suffer all, and be deprived of every advantage If the proposed measure destroys two negatives in the Crown, it gives a negative to these twenty-five united, and confers a power, superior to that of the King himself, on the head of a clan, who will have the power of recommending many. The Scotch commoners can have no other view in supporting this measure but the expected aggrandizement of their own chiefs. It will dissolve

the allegiance of the Scotch peers who are not amongst the twenty-five, and who can never hope for the benefit of an election to be peers of Parliament, and almost enact obedience from the Sovereign to the betrayers of the constitution.

The present view of the bill is dangerous; the view to posterity, personal and unpardonable; it will make the Lords masters of the King, according to their own confession, when they admit that a change of administration renders a new creation of peers necessary, for by precluding the King from making peers in future it at the same time precludes him from changing the present administration, who will naturally fill the vacancies with their own creatures; and the new peers will adhere to the first minister with the same zeal and unanimity as those created by Oxford adhered to him.

If, when the Parliament was made septennial, the power of dissolving it before the end of seven years had been wrested from the Crown, would not such an alteration have added immense authority to the Commons? and yet, the prerogative of the Crown in dissolving Parliaments may be, and has been, oftener abused than the power of creating peers.

But it may be observed that the King, for his own sake, will rarely make a great number of peers, for they, being usually created by the influence of the first minister, soon become, on a change of administration, a weight against the Crown, and had Queen Anne lived, the truth of this observation would have been verified in the case of most of the twelve peers made by Oxford Let me ask, however, is the abuse of any prerogative a sufficient reason for totally annihilating that prerogative? Under that consideration, the power of dissolving Parliaments ought to be taken away, because that power has been more exercised, and more abused than any of the other prerogatives; yet in 1641, when the King had assented to a law that disabled him from proroguing or dissolving Parliament, without the consent of both Houses, he was from that time under subsequent mischiefs, and his own destruction It may also be asked, whether the prerogative of making peace and war has never been abused? I might here call to your recollection the peace of Utrecht, and the present war with Spain Yet who will presume to advise that the power of making peace and war should be taken from the Crown?

How can the Lords expect the Commons to give their concurrence to a bill by which they and their posterity are to be for ever excluded from the peerage? how would they themselves receive a bill which should prevent a baron from being made a viscount, a viscount an earl, an earl a marquis, and a marquis a duke? Would they consent to limit the number of any rank of peerage? Certainly none; unless, perhaps, the dukes. If the pretence for this measure is that it will tend to secure the freedom of Parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions.

That this bill will secure the liberty of Parliament I totally deny; it will secure a great preponderance to the peers; it will form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude in all cases of extinction and creation all such persons from their body,

who may be obnoxious to them. In the instances we have seen of their judgment in some late cases sufficient marks of partiality may be found to put us on our guard against committing to them the power they would derive from this bill, of judging the right of latent or dormant titles, when their verdict would be of such immense importance. If gentlemen will not be convinced by argument, at least let them not shut their ears to the dreadful example of former times, let them recollect that the overweening disposition of the great barons, to aggrandize their own dignity, occasioned them to exclude the lesser barons, and to that circumstance may be fairly attributable the sanguinary wars which so long desolated the country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Speech delivered by George Washington, in New York, on April 30, 1789

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time; on the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken, in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, and not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.

In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impression under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute, with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every

public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And, in the important revolution just accomplished, in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with the humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient" The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given It will be more consistent with those circumstances and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests —so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity—since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained—and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain

with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient, at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. For I assure myself that, while you carefully avoided every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen and a regard for the public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and more advantageously promoted

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible

When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impression which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuation in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave, but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble application, that, since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged view, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

EMPEROR WILHELM II OF GERMANY

THE MAILED FIST

William II, German Emperor and King of Prussia, was born in 1859 He was brought into the world by a village doctor, who accidentally maimed the arm of the new-born babe The religious influences under which he grew up profoundly influenced his character, as is evidenced by his speeches In 1888 he ascended the throne Considered in the light of his oratory, William is a remarkable man The tone of every one of his 176 speeches is that of assurance "My policy is good, and I am in the hands of God as his great instrument" Such is the message he seems eager to convey to the world in the set speeches he has delivered since his reign began. The following sermon shewing the emperor's figurative style of oratory, was addressed to his men on board the royal yacht in August, 1900

It is a most impressive picture that our text to-day brings before our souls Israel wanders through the desert from the Red Sea to Mount Sinai. But suddenly the heathen Amalekites stop them and want to prevent their advance, and a battle ensues. Joshua leads the young men of Israel to the fight, the swords clash together, and a hot and bloody struggle begins in the valley of Rephidim. But, see! whilst the fight is going on, the pious men of God, Moses, Aaron, and Hur, go to the top of the hill They lift up their hands to heaven; they pray. Down in the valley the fighting hosts, at the top of the mountain the praying men This is the holy battle-picture of our text. Who does not understand to-day what it tells us? Again, a heathenish Amalekite has stirred in distant Asia with great power and much cunning. By burning and murder it is sought to prevent the entrance of European trade and European genius, the triumphal march of Christian morals and Christian faith. Again the command of God has been issued: "Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek." A hot and bloody struggle has begun. Many of our brothers already stand under fire, many are on their way to the enemy's coasts, and you have seen them, the thousands who at the call, "Volunteers to the fore! Who will be the guardian of the empire?" now assembled, to enter the fight with flying colours. But you who remain behind at home, who are bound by other sacred duties, say, do you not hear God's call, which He makes to you, and which says to you, "Go up on the mountain. raise up thy hands to the heavens"? The prayer of the just can do so much if it be earnest. Thus let it be. Yonder, far away, the hosts of fighters; here at home, the hosts of praying men. May this be the holy battle-picture of our days. May this peaceful morning hour remind us—may it remind us of the sacred duty of intercession, of the sacred power of intercession. The sacred duty of intercession! Certainly it is an enthusiastic movement when a ship with young men on board weighs anchor. Did you not see the warriors' eyes flash? Did you not hear their many-voiced

hurrahs! But when the native shores vanish, when one enters the glowing heat of the Red Sea or the heavy waters of the ocean, how easily brightness and enthusiasm grow weary! Certainly it is a sublime moment when, after a long voyage, in the distance the straight lines of the German forts can be seen, and the black, red and white flags of the German colony become visible, and comrades in arms stand on the shore waiting to give a hearty reception But the long marches in the burning sun, the long nights of bivouac in the rain! How easily gaiety and strength vanish! Certainly it is a longed-for moment when at last the drums beat to the charge and the bugles are blown to advance when a command is given "Forward! At the enemy!" But then, when amid the roar of the guns and the flashing of the shells comrades fall to the right and left, hostile batteries still refuse to yield—how easily at such a moment the bravest hearts begin to tremble!

Christian, in order that our brothers over yonder may remain gay even in the greatest distress, faithful in the most painful duty, courageous in the greatest danger, they want something more than ammunition and sharp weapons—more even than youthful courage and fiery enthusiasm. They want a blessing from above, vital power from above; otherwise, they cannot win and remain victorious And the heavenly world opens only to prayer.

Prayer is the golden key to the treasury of our God But he who *has it has also the promise that to him who asks shall be given* Or shall we remain idle? Woe to us if we are idle whilst they are carrying on a hard and bloody piece of work; woe to us if we only look on curiously at the great struggle! This would be Cain's spirit with the cruel words, "Am I my brother's keeper?" This would be unfaithfulness towards our brave brothers who are staking their lives Never! We will mobilize not only battalions of warriors, but also a holy force of praying men Yes How much there is to ask for our brothers going into the field! They are to be the strong arm which punishes assassins. They are to be the mailed fist which strikes in among them They are to stand up, with the sword in their hands, for our most sacred possessions So we shall accompany them with our prayers, out on to the heaving waves, on their marches, into the roar of the battle, and into the peacefulness of the hospitals, shall pray to God that they may stand at their posts like men, that they may fight their battles courageously and heroically, that they may bear their wounds bravely and calmly, that God may give those who die under fire a blessed end and the reward of faithfulness—in short, that He may make the warriors heroes and the heroes victors, and then bring them home to the land of their fathers with the laurels round their puggarees and the medals on their breasts.

Or do we, perhaps, not believe in the sacred power of intercession? Well, then, what does our text say? "And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed?" The earnest prayers of a Moses made the swords of the enemy blunt. They pushed themselves like a wedge between the enemy's lines, made them waver, and brought victory to the flying banners of Israel. Should not our prayers be able to do what the prayers of Moses did? God has not taken back one

syllable of His promise; heartfelt prayers can still to-day cast down the dragon banner into the dust and plant the banner of the cross on the walls. And Moses does not stand alone with his intercession. Look yonder. There on the heights of Sodom stand Abraham, interceding before his God, and with his prayers he prays Lot out of the burning city And should not our prayers succeed in praying our fighting comrades out of the fire of the battles? Look yonder. There in Jerusalem lies the young Christian community on its knees. Their leader, their father, lies imprisoned in a dungeon, and, see, with their prayers they summon the angel of God into the prison, and he leads forth Peter unharmed. And our prayers—should not they have the power even to-day to burst the doors of the oppressed prisoners and the persecuted, and to place an angel at their side? Yes, the God of old lives still, the great Ally rules still, the Holy God, who cannot let sin and acts of violence triumph, but will carry on His holy cause against an unholy people; the Almighty God, who can shatter the strongest walls as if they were spiders' webs, and who can disperse the greatest crowds like heaps of sand, the merciful, faithful God, whose fatherly heart looks after the well-being of His children, who bears every sigh, and who sympathizes with every distress Pious prayers open His fatherly hands, and they are filled with blessing Earnest prayer opens His fatherly heart, and it is full of love. Yes, true, continuous prayer fetches the living God down from heaven and places Him among us. And if God is for us, who shall be against us?

Up in the tavern there hang strange bells on the heights No man's hand rings them Still and dumb they hang in the sunshine But when the storm-winds blow, they begin to swing, and commence to ring, and deep down in the valley their song is heard God the Lord has hung the prayer bell in every man's heart In sunshine and happiness how often it hangs still and dumb! But when the stormy winds of distress break forth, then it begins to ring How many a comrade who had forgotten how to pray will, out yonder, in the fight for life or death, fold his hands again! Distress teaches us to pray, and so shall it also be at home. Let the serious days which have come upon us, let the war-storm which has come on, set the bells ringing again Let us pray for our fighting brothers Not only now and then, in a solemn hour. No, no, let us be true in prayer As our fathers once in war-time rang the bells every evening and bared their heads at the sound and prayed, so let us not forget intercession for a day. Moses held up his hands, until the going down of the sun, and Joshua discomfited Amalek, and his people with the edge of the sword Our fight is not brought to an end in a day. But do not let the hands become tired or idle until the victory has been gained Let our prayers be a fiery wall around the camp of our brothers

How the thought will strengthen them, make them enthusiastic and excite them, that thousands, nay, millions, at home bear them in their praying hearts! The King of all kings calls volunteers to the fore. Who will be the praying one for the empire? Oh, if one could only say here "The King called, and all—all came!" Not one of us must be wanting. History will one day describe the fights of these days But man sees

only what he has before him; he can say only what the wisdom of the leaders, the courage of the troops, the sharpness of the weapons, have done. But eternity will some time reveal still more—it will show how the secret prayers of the believers were a great power in these fights, how the old promise is again fulfilled. "Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and He saveth them out of their distress." And thus, keep to prayer. Amen.

Almighty God, dear Heavenly Father, Thou Lord of Hosts and Ruler of Battles, we raise, praying our hands to Thee. On Thy heart we lay the thousands of brothers-in-arms, whom Thou Thyself hast called to battle. Protect with Thy almighty protection the breasts of our sons. Lead our men to victory. On Thy heart we lay the wounded and sick. Be Thou their comfort and their strength, and heal their wounds which they receive for the king and fatherland.

On Thy heart we lay all those whom Thou hast ordained to die on the field of battle Stand by them in the last struggle, and give them everlasting peace. On Thy heart we lay our people. Preserve, sanctify, increase the enthusiasm with which we are now all imbued. Lord our God, we trust in Thee. Lead Thou us in battle. We boast, Lord, that Thou wilt help us, and in Thy name we unroll the banner Lord, we will not leave Thee; then wilt Thou bless us. Amen.

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