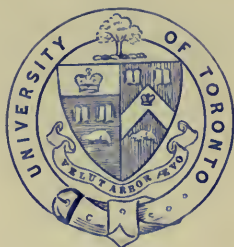




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ELEMENTARY CIVICS

BY

Chalkbeek
C. H. BLAKISTON, M.A.

ASSISTANT MASTER AT ETON COLLEGE

ADAPTED TO THE SYLLABUS
OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE ON
TRAINING IN CITIZENSHIP

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EDWARD ARNOLD

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PREFACE

THIS little sketch does not claim to be more than a very simple outline of some of the elements of civics that every British citizen should know. It is necessarily very incomplete, and the very nature of the subject makes the statements in it liable to change from year to year, if not from day to day. The actual facts of civic life at any moment can be found in directories ; indeed, no one can try to teach civics without a copy of Whitaker's Almanac ready to his hand, but it is less easy to find a simple statement of some of the main principles which underlie our national and local institutions. This little outline may serve to give an introduction to the study of these principles.

Amongst the many books to which the author is indebted for ideas and information he desires particularly to express his acknowledgments to: "Outlines of Local Government," by Mr. John J. Clarke, M.A., F.S.S. ; "The Teaching of Civics in Public Schools," by Mr. C. H. Spence of Clifton College ; and "The Government of the British Empire," by Mr. Edward Jenks, Director of Legal Studies of the Law Society.

C. H. BLAKISTON.

ETON COLLEGE,
August, 1920.



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FOREWORD

By BISHOP WELLDON

AT the meeting of the British Association in Bournemouth last year the subject of civic duty was fully discussed. There was a general feeling in the Educational Section that the responsibility of good citizenship should be impressed by teachers upon children of both sexes in all schools, and not least in elementary schools. The Public School spirit, as it is called, which was so signally exemplified in the War, should be the spirit of all citizens throughout the British Empire. Citizenship, indeed, is the end of all true education. But the discipline of boys and girls, and of young men and women, for citizenship implies both information and exhortation. It is necessary that they should know what the Government of their country is; what opportunities it affords, both national and local; how it can be modified; what are the reforms that are, or will probably be, needed in it; what contribution it is in the power of every citizen to make to the common good. This is the main subject of the handbook which Mr. Blakiston, even before the meeting of the British Association, had begun

to write as the result of his experience in teaching pupils at Eton and elsewhere, and which he has now expanded in the light of the discussion at Bournemouth. He has not forgotten that the young will be inspired to become good citizens in after-life, if they are taught at an early age to realize that the man or the woman who violates or disregards civic duty is not a true patriot. If only the spirit which was exhibited on the battle-fields and in the trenches during the War could be carried into the years of peace, the nation and the Empire would be safe.

I feel great pleasure in introducing Mr. Blakiston's handbook to the educational world. It leaves, and it is intended to leave, room for the personal influence of the teachers who may use it; but it will, I think, constitute a sound basis for such instruction and inspiration as will enable the living to pay the only adequate homage to the dead who have sacrificed themselves for the safety and honour of the British Empire, by living lives which will, in the coming days, tend to elevate and consecrate the Imperial destiny of Great Britain.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

June, 1920.

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ELEMENTARY CIVICS

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE MEANING OF CIVICS

Civics may be defined as the rights and duties of a citizen. So the first thing to be done is to explain what we mean by a citizen : and clearly the word does not only mean those who live in cities or large towns, because those who live in smaller towns, in villages, and in the country, must not be left out. Actually, in the eyes of the law, every grown man and woman is a citizen, though their rights and duties differ in some degree ; and children are future citizens, remaining, whilst they are still young, under the care of their family and their teachers.

England is a free country, and we are proud to sing that " Britons never shall be slaves." But the next word we shall have to look at carefully is the word " free," for we must know what that means before we can talk of freedom.

Freedom means that one may follow one's own will, and carry out one's wishes, without hindrance. But if each one did exactly what he

liked and never stopped to think of anyone else, his wishes would soon come into conflict with those of others. For instance, most people want to be first, or to stand in the front row; or to have the best seats, but this is not always possible. In a family, if a father or mother gave absolute freedom to the children, they would often do foolish things and possibly cause harm to themselves or to others—most likely the latter. So a wise parent tells the children what they may or may not do, and the children grow up from the earliest stages of infancy knowing that it is best to obey. And the best way of securing obedience is through affection and not through punishment, though that is sometimes necessary; so that a well-trained child knows that his parents wish him to do some things and to avoid others, and tries to follow out their wishes, and understands that when they punish him it is for his good. So the State in which we live is really a great family, and tells us to do certain things and to avoid others, that we may be good members of this great family; and if we are good citizens, we shall keep the wishes of the State which are expressed in laws, and avoid the wrong actions which are called crimes.

But you may say this is not absolute freedom. Of course it is not; but the experience of hundreds of years has shown men that they live most peaceably and comfortably when they agree to fit in with and work in harmony with others, respecting the reasonable wishes of others and

avoiding what may hurt or offend them. So that freedom in a well-ordered country means the right to do what we like so long as it does not clash with the just and reasonable wishes of others, and so far as it helps to make the life of the country work smoothly.

Education.—But how are we to know what are the reasonable wishes of others, and what we ourselves should choose and avoid? To go back to our first illustration, the wise parent trains the children from the very first, showing them how to feed themselves and to wash and dress themselves, and giving them words to express themselves by; and as the children grow older they go to school, and learn to read and write and to count, and gradually by imitating others teach themselves to think more or less correctly, till they are fit to judge for themselves. All this time they are surrounded with all sorts of opportunities of learning, not only from their parents and teachers, but from all the daily objects of life around them, and as they learn to read from books and newspapers. No doubt much of what they pick up is confused and incorrect, and often wrong judgments are formed; but the influence of education on a child both direct and indirect helps to form its mind.

Character.—But beside forming a child's mind, a wise parent goes a step further and tries to mould its character; and this is of the greatest importance for citizenship. Just as a good

mother teaches her children to love the truth for truth's sake and not for any gain, so in a good State the citizens ought to be taught to love justice, fairness, and honesty, and not merely to follow them for the hope of advantage. Sometimes proverbs mislead us; there is an old saying that "Honesty is the best policy," which is quite often untrue. Many men have built up large fortunes by business methods that nobody could call honest—and to look upon the virtue of honesty as a policy is to degrade it to the level of a money-making dodge, whereas it ought really to be one of the great principles of our life. The object of civics should be to teach the sound principles that lie beneath our mutual dealings with one another, and to prove that men and women make the best citizens who do not always think of their own advantage, but of the common advantage of all—to use simple and well-known words, we should try to do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

The Object of Civics being thus defined, how shall we work it out in detail? By seeing how our duty towards our neighbour affects us as citizens and householders, and how these duties create for us in return certain rights and privileges which we call the rights of a citizen.

CHAPTER II

THE PRINCIPLES OF CIVILIZATION

Civilization is a rather vague word, which implies that those who live under it are no longer savages acting separately, but are bound together by some common ties of agreement making for the comfort and well-being of all. If we were uncivilized we should have no houses, no roads, no shops, no post, no railways—none of the labour and time saving appliances to which we are so much accustomed. Man in a savage state tries to keep himself and his family from starvation, and from perishing by cold, or by the attacks of wild beasts and of enemies : and it takes him all his time to do this. Perhaps his earliest thoughts are turned to procuring food, then shelter, and rough clothing. But he must also protect himself, and defence and war take a very prominent place in his life. If he has found a good cave, or a fruitful tree, or a plentiful spring, he has to fight for it. So the earliest steps that man takes in civilization are towards the provision of defence : two or more families agree to shelter together, or to share a plot of land and to keep off aggressors. Or a powerful head of a family, like an Arab sheikh, gathers round him not only a numerous family, but also servants and captives who swell his train

as he moves about the country, till, like Abraham, he has to break up his party, for "the land was not able to bear him and Lot, for their substance was great." This is the beginning of the Tribe, an early form of organization that has lasted on amongst the Arabs to this day. In a modified form this tribal government by an "old man" or chief is found in every part of the world. But in course of time the family-tribe becomes too large, and work becomes more specialized: one man becomes a smith, another a carpenter, and a third a miller, and as the agriculture of a country grows, the dwellers tend to live in groups, each with its own special works supplying the simple needs of the hamlet. Hence grows gradually village life, the earlier form of that civilization which we still see amongst us to-day.

Trade.—It happens very early in the history of man that one family or one tribe possesses articles that another family or tribe wants and cannot procure for itself. Hence arises simple exchange or "barter," if the more rough-and-ready way of taking the goods in war fails. But it is not always easy to balance advantages, and men soon found the need of having the same standards of value. In the early Greek stories men estimated slaves or armour as worth so many cows or so many cooking-pots, and exchanged them accordingly. But cows and cooking-pots are rather unwieldy and not convenient to divide into fractions, so they soon took to bars of metal, tokens, and coins as means of exchange; and with the invention of

money comes in the whole history of commerce. Towns which began as fortresses for protection of the neighbouring villagers and farmers in times of stress, or for the defence of a ford, a port, a shrine, a pass through mountains or forests, soon began to be centres of trade. Markets and fairs sprang up, and from the simple buying and selling of goods over a stall there has gradually grown up our complicated system of credit, finance, and banking, and all this simply because it is found to be of convenience.

The Home.—Soon after the dawn of civilization men began to settle in permanent dwellings and to build for themselves some sort of home, and in course of time the house became a most important fact in every man's life. In a cold climate like that of England it is not possible to sleep out all the year round, and the home plays a larger part in English life than in that of more Southern nations. Once we get past the earliest and most savage times, the home begins to be the symbol of family life and unity.

But in the present day it is very rare that a man builds his own house. In the vast number of cases he takes one already built, or has one built for him by others whose trade it is to make houses or parts of houses. And when he has settled to take this house he has either to buy it outright, and so make it his own, or to pay rent to someone else to whom it belongs. This at once raises the question of ownership of land and house property.

Property.—In a civilized country it is understood that a man owns what he buys with his money, and what he inherits from his parents or relations. Usually a man earns money in return for the work he does at his trade or profession, which is his contribution to the life of the nation; and what he earns by his own toil is considered fairly to belong to him. What he inherits represents either what his parents or ancestors earned by their toil or (in some cases) took by superior force in days long since gone by. The laws of the country we live in uphold the rights of ownership; and apart from the bare necessity of earning enough to keep himself and his family alive, a man will usually try to acquire as much private property as he can for the pleasure of possessing it.

Land.—The ownership of land is a rather more difficult problem than that of money. In early times the King as head of the tribe was supposed to own all the land, unless (as was the case in New Zealand) it was held to belong equally to all tribesmen. From the idea of royal ownership grew up that of feudalism, a system in which great lords held land direct from the King, and lesser chiefs held it in turn from them, the mass of the people only working on land held by one of these feudal tenants of the King. But by the gradual disappearance of the old feudal duties, whereby the lords and barons paid for their tenure of land by rendering "homage" to the King and producing so many men-at-arms in

time of war, the great landlords became in time owners of the land and dealt with it as they saw fit. At first they let their lands to tenants in return for services rendered, later for money rents; and in the last two hundred years the old system of great estates has rapidly disintegrated, and land has been bought and sold in so many ways and such varying quantities that landed property is one of the most complicated subjects for lawyers to deal with. It is now often possible for the private householder to own the land on which his house is built, and but little remains as Crown property save certain woods, parks, and forests; also many public buildings, and in some sense the Duchy of Lancaster and the Duchy of Cornwall as belonging to the eldest son of the King.*

* Cf. J. J. Clarke, "Outlines of Central Government." Pitman, 1919.

CHAPTER III

THE KING AND THE STATE

The King.—Ever since the beginning of history some men have stood out above their fellows as leaders—at first in war, and later in the arts of peace. Thus every tribe has some sort of chieftain whose power remains as long as he is strong enough to enforce it. There have been leaders, like the Judges in the Old Testament, “raised up” to guide their nation or tribe through some crisis, and retiring into private life when the danger is over; but much more often the chief has held his power for life or until some more powerful chief wrests it from him. And, once a man has held such a position, he naturally wishes to pass it on to his descendants; and thus grew up the idea of hereditary kingship, which was the traditional form of rule amongst our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. These Kings had power of life and death over the tribesmen, led them in war, judged them and punished them when necessary. Kingship in this form is called **despotism** or **absolute monarchy**. But as a tribe or nation grows larger, a King can seldom deal with all questions that arise without advice or help, and so gradually the Kings gathered round them a body of wise men and elders to advise them. Soon these

bodies of elders (like the Saxon "Witenagemot," or "wise men's meeting") became a regular council, and not only advised the King when he asked for help, but checked him from acting rashly, and even forbade him to carry out plans which they disliked or thought unwise. Such was the state of affairs at the time of the Norman Conquest; and though the Norman Kings tried to restore the absolute monarchy, and act as though unlimited in power, they soon found that the feeling of the nation was too strong for them. Limits to the royal power crept in, and when the Great Charter was signed at Runnymede the English Kings became **constitutional monarchs**—that is, rulers whose right to rule rests upon their keeping faith with the people and respecting the free rights of citizens. The gradual growth of the power of Parliament lessened the power of the King, until the struggle of the Civil Wars showed that the real power lay with the people; and since the Restoration of Charles II. (1660) the actual government of the country has passed more and more into the hands of Parliament and the Ministry, though the Crown has retained the nominal headship of all authority. Thus the King is still in theory the head of the Army and Navy, though no English King has led troops into battle since George II. at Dettingen: he is head of all justice, though he sits in no courts; he is the titular author of all laws which are quoted by the year of his reign (thus the National Insurance Act of 1911 is quoted as 1 and 2 Geo. V., ch. 55),

yet he makes none and can only issue an Order in Council.

But in spite of the limits of the British Monarchy, the King plays a most important part in the life of the Country and the Empire. He is the living representative of a family that has ruled in England for over a thousand years, and is the visible symbol of the unity of the British nation, and the continuity of government.

Many who cannot understand the difficult duties of Parliament and all the administration of the State, can see what is meant by the King and his Ministers, and will readily obey the laws from a sense of personal allegiance. It is said that the millions of India believe that the King-Emperor actually manages in person the whole of the affairs of the vast British Empire, and accordingly submit to the British Government in India as the expression of his will. Certainly the strongest bond that holds together our loosely-knit Empire overseas is that of personal loyalty to the King. In the sense, then, that he is the representative of law, order, and justice, the King deserves the allegiance of every British citizen.

The State is a word which we use to mean the whole body of citizens in the country. It includes all, whether old or young, rich or poor, educated or not, even those who are infirm, helpless, or insane. Those whom the State supports in Poor Law institutions and asylums, or detains in prisons and reformatories, are kept in those institutions just because they are members of the

State. Thus when we talk of "State aid" we mean help given by the whole country towards some object, usually through taxes*: when we speak of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs we mean the man chosen to represent the interests of all citizens of this country in dealing with other countries, and not the interests of one class only. It is not quite correct to speak of the State as the nation—for example, the British Nation contains all those of British birth, many of whom, for purposes of business, live in other countries under the Government of some other State, though a large majority live within the British Isles. Nor is the British Empire the State, for within the British Empire are several States, such as the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and the Union of South Africa is a collection of several States united for certain purposes, but separate in other respects. However, speaking generally, in Great Britain, by the State is meant the whole body of citizens of every description.

The Body Politic.—Within the State there are certain persons who, by their age and condition, are fit to take a part in carrying on the affairs of the nation, both public and private. These form the body politic—*i.e.*, a group com-

* It is important to remember that the State is not a body outside ourselves, but that it is ourselves, and that we all contribute to all expenditure by this State, either directly or indirectly.

posed of those who are capable of doing their duty and exercising their privileges as citizens: for the term "politic" is derived from the Greek word for a "citizen with full rights" as opposed to a slave, a foreigner, or a child. It has long been found that the best way of giving the members of the body politic the means to express their wishes is to give to those who are fit to use it the power of electing representatives by vote—*i.e.*, of appointing persons whose particular work it is to arrange and carry out the public business of the State. Those who have this vote are called **electors**, and the whole number of electors who at any given time are qualified to vote form the electorate.

The Electorate.—Not all citizens of the British Isles have acquired a vote, though the electorate is now very large. The growth of this power of voting has been as follows:

In A.D. 1215 Magna Charta, obtained from King John by the Barons, asserted clearly the right of citizens to be represented on the councils of the nation.

In 1295 the first properly elected Council or Parliament (*i.e.*, "talking" body, from the French *parler*, to talk) was summoned to Westminster by Edward I. Representatives from every shire and every borough (*i.e.*, fortified town) were present, though it is not clear how they were elected—probably in the first case by a show of hands at the "shire moot," or meeting of armed men of the shire, the Sheriff counting and deciding

who were fit to vote, and in boroughs by a similar meeting in the market-place.

In 1430 the system of voting changed; only those who held land to the value of forty shillings could vote, and a voter had the right to send someone else to record his vote, called a "proxy." The number of "divisions" (*i.e.*, shires and boroughs each returning a member to Parliament), as laid down in 1430, was not changed till 1832. A man holding land in more than one division had a vote in each division in which he held land. Under Henry VII., and again under Queen Elizabeth, Parliament, which had begun only as a council to advise the King, rapidly gained power, and in the seventeenth century, when the Stuart sovereigns tried to curtail this power, was strong enough to depose King Charles I. There followed the Commonwealth, and when Charles II. was restored Parliament could dictate terms to him.

The year 1750 saw the first attempts to make the divisions of England more equal. Many of the boroughs which were important in the days of the Wars of the Roses had almost ceased to exist, and many great towns had grown up which were not represented at all—such, for instance, as Birmingham, Liverpool, and Cardiff. About a million citizens could vote, but in many of the old boroughs there were few voters—in some cases less than ten, and these "rotten boroughs" were so numerous that, by carefully picking the representatives, it was possible for 6,000 voters to command a majority of Members in Parliament.

This was clearly unjust, and after many years of agitation it was decided to alter the divisions and change the qualification of voters.

In 1832 Lord John Russell's Reform Bill extended the vote to those who possessed land of the value of £10 per year, or held land or houses on lease of the value of £50. This, at one blow, increased the number of electors from one million to three million. The Bill took away their members from fifty-five rotten boroughs returning two members each, and one returning one; it gave two members each to twenty-two towns not previously represented, and one member each to twenty-four others. It did away with much bribery and corruption, and gave a vote to almost all men of the professional and business classes.

In 1867 Disraeli's Government brought in the Representation of the People Act. This gave a vote to every male householder in a borough and to every occupier of a house or land to the value of £12 per year, and every lodger paying more than £10 per year. It took away members from eleven towns, and reduced the representation of forty-five boroughs from two members to one. It gave members to nine boroughs that had none, a second member to large towns that already had a member, and twenty-five more members to the counties; one to London University, one more to Wales, and seven to Scotland. It increased the electorate from three millions to over four millions. Dissatisfied with the results of the Bill of 1867, Gladstone's Government of 1884

passed a new Franchise Act giving further votes, chiefly to holders of leasehold property and to lodgers, and increasing the electorate from 4,500,000 to over 7,000,000. This enormous increase in voters made politics unwieldy, and it was pointed out that Members of Parliament would have to spend all their life at their political work, and must therefore be paid; and payment of members was at last brought in in 1911. The gradual shifting of population rendered many divisions very unequal in size in the latter years of the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1918 that any attempt was made to equalize and redistribute the divisions; and in the meantime the cry of "votes for women" had at last secured that a certain number of women should be added to the electorate, and in December, 1918, the first elections were held at which women voted. At a bye-election in 1919 Lady Astor was elected as the first woman member of Parliament. The electorate was of course enormously increased by adding the women's vote, and the number of electors is now roughly between one-third and one-fourth of the population, and will not increase greatly unless votes are given to persons under twenty-one years of age.

It must not be supposed that the object of those who promoted the various Bills here described for extending the electorate was solely to obtain good government for the State, as it is obvious that the House of Commons, with each extension of the electorate, was increasingly elected by

those of the people who had less knowledge. From the point of view of good government it was at least as likely that a man of character and ability such as Pitt would be appointed by a nobleman to a rotten borough as that an unwieldy division early in 1914 should elect a man with German sympathies. Nor were these Bills based on any abstract idea of freedom, for it is clear that if we divide up the nation into the classes of rich and poor, the rich are more entirely in the hands of the poor than ever the poor were in the hands of the rich, for the poor have always had the power of rebellion in extreme cases, but the rich, owing to the smallness of their numbers, have no redress. This, however, is rather a question of economics. The real advantage of democracy is that the government is in the hands of the majority of the people, and therefore in the hands of a body which, in the long run, is the most powerful in the country. It has also the further advantage that, by giving to all a voice in the solution of the problems of government, it gives to all a chance of seeing their views prevail without recourse to arms. Lincoln's phrase, "Government by the people for the people," is somewhat deceptive. It is true that the people all have a chance of joining in the government, but only those who support the majority actually do so; and it would be truer to speak of "Government by the majority for the majority."*

* For fuller information as to the details of the present franchise see Clarke : "Outlines of Central Government," p. 19.

CHAPTER IV

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Government of a constitutional State is carried on by persons chosen to represent the great body of citizens; and in this country the House of Commons is a body of citizens elected by the voters to carry out their wishes, as shown by the majority at the elections held from time to time. The House of Lords acts as a second chamber, to criticize and act as a check on hasty legislation. But as the constant changes made at elections would make it rather hard to carry on continuous work, the business of government is divided up into three kinds—legislative, administrative, and executive; and the work of the two latter kinds is usually carried out by Government officials or “civil servants,” who take their orders from the legislative body for the time being, but carry out the details according to more permanent methods.

1.—**Legislation** means the framing and passing of laws, and the legislative work of government is carried out by the Houses of Parliament, which discuss and, if necessary, alter existing laws, and form new ones to meet the increasing needs of the country. A law is made as follows:

Any member of the House of Commons may

introduce a Bill into that House, or move the House for leave to introduce it. The Speaker, at the proper time, calls his name and invites him to present the Bill. This he does by giving to the Clerk at the Table of the House a "dummy" Bill, giving the title of the Bill, the member's name, and those of his supporters. The reading of this title constitutes the "first reading" of the Bill, which is then discussed in detail, and proceeds to a "second reading," or rough sketch, after which it "goes into Committee," either before one of the Standing Committees for Bills or before a Committee of the whole House—*i.e.*, a sitting of the House less formal than usual, with the Speaker not present. Once the Bill has been discussed in detail, clause by clause, before Committee, it is reported to the House, sitting formally, in what is called "report stage." Then comes the third reading, when the House considers the Bill as a whole, and votes whether it should or not become law. It then goes up to the House of Lords and passes through similar stages, and, if approved there, proceeds finally to the "Royal Assent," when it is read again by "Lords Commissioners," sitting to represent the King. Thus it will be seen that before a Bill can become law it is subject to the most careful and repeated discussion and examination; and laws are not added to the Statute Book hurriedly and without consideration.*

* For further information about Parliament and its work, which lies rather outside the scope of the present sketch of

2.—**The Administration** of Government is the application of existing laws to the needs of the moment. It is carried out by His Majesty's Ministers of State, who are appointed by the Government in power—*i.e.*, the political party which won most seats in the last election. Each Minister of State is assisted by a Government Office, at which there are permanent officials who advise the Ministers and work out the details of the laws to be applied. As the Ministers change so often, these permanent officials are of the greatest possible use; and a wise Minister usually consults and is very largely guided by those who have experience in the particular branch of Government work carried on by the office over which he presides.

The Ministry.—Every British Government has some ninety ministerial appointments to make; and the most important of the Ministers so appointed, numbering roughly twenty, form the Cabinet, or inner Committee of the Government. At the head of the Cabinet, as of the Government, is the **Prime Minister**. Curiously enough, the Prime Minister, though he is the leader of the party in power, has no real official position, and usually combines his nominal status as head of the Government with an actual salaried post such as that of First Lord of the Treasury. This is a good position for him to hold, as the Treasury,

civic duties, the reader is referred to Sir Courtenay Ilbert's admirable manual on "Parliament," in the Home University Library.

which controls all the money of the State, is the most important of Government offices.

The Cabinet, of which the Prime Minister is Chairman, also includes the following high officers of state :

The Lord High Chancellor is Chairman of the House of Lords, his official seat being known as the Woolsack ; he is also head of the judicial department of the Government—that is, the chief officer dealing with justice.

The Lord President of the Council is the official Chairman of the Privy Council,* an ancient body which now has purely formal duties, such as issuing as Orders in Council the resolutions passed by the Cabinet, which is in theory a Committee of the Privy Council.

The Lord Privy Seal is in theory the King's Private Secretary, but is by long custom the leader of the ministerial party in the House of Lords.

The First Lord of the Admiralty is head of the department that deals with the Fleet and all naval affairs.

The Secretaries of State for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, War, and India are each respectively head of the departments dealing with those forms of Government business.

* *I.e.*, private. It was originally the King's private body of advisers, sworn to secrecy, and has certain important judicial powers (Clarke, p. 31).

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is responsible for the country's finance, and prepares the estimates of the revenue and expenditure—that is, he sees to the making and collecting of taxes, and to the spending of them when collected. **The Secretary for Scotland** and the **Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland** are respectively responsible for the local government of those members of the United Kingdom.

The Postmaster-General is directly in charge of the postal, telegraph, and telephone service.

The Ministers next in importance are those respectively in charge of the Board of Trade, Board of Education, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Ministry of Labour, and Ministry of Pensions. The New Ministries Act of 1917 added to the number of these a Ministry of Reconstruction, now defunct, and the Act of 1919 added a Ministry of Health. The Ministry also contains the Attorney-General, the First Commissioner of Works, and certain other naval, military, and legal representatives.

3.—**The Executive** is that branch of the Government which carries out in detail the functions of government all over the country. Starting with the administrative offices and their respective ministerial heads, the Executive includes all who are actively engaged in putting the laws and regulations into being. Thus it may be said that the Executive of the Treasury begins with the Prime Minister and ends with the local income-

tax collector; the Military Executive starts with the First War Lord and the Inspector-General of the Forces and Chief of the General Staff, and works down through Army and Divisional Commanders, brigadiers, colonels in command of battalions, majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants, and corporals to the private of the line, trooper of horse, gunner, or airman, who carries out the orders of his superiors and so promotes the safety of his country. But a point where British government differs from that of many other countries lies in the large amount of executive work that is done, not by paid officials, but by voluntary effort on the part of private citizens. Thus, in local government, Aldermen, County Councillors, the various representatives on Urban and Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians, are all unpaid, and the only salaried officials present on these bodies are the clerks and their permanent office staff. Justices of the Peace are unpaid, and some of the higher county officials are not only not paid but have heavy expenses to bear out of their private pocket in the fulfilment of their official duties. It has been the tendency of recent legislation to increase the number of paid officials sometimes out of all proportion to the work done; but there is no doubt that the British tradition of unpaid Government work gives one of the finest instances of good citizenship in history.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Early Divisions, Parishes, and Shires.—

Besides the government of a country, as a whole, there is a great deal of local work that has to be carried on for the benefit of citizens of a particular area. For these purposes there are various ways of dividing up the country, and of these the chief are: the parish, the union, the district, the borough, and the county. The two earliest divisions in point of time were the parishes and shires. The word "parish" means, in Greek, a group of people living near together, and England was first divided into parishes by Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, in A.D. 670.

The word "shire" is connected with "share" and "shear," and simply means the pieces into which England was cut up by the Saxon Kings shortly after the time of Alfred the Great (A.D. 880). Each shire was then given some definite officials, of whom the chief was the Earl, who was responsible to the King for the government and good behaviour of the shire; a council, or meeting, called the "shire-moot," composed of elder men, or **aldermen**, who were summoned and presided over by the shire-reeves, or **sheriffs**. A sheriff had to produce so many soldiers at the bidding of

the Earl, or at the order of the King, and so he divided up his shire into so many "hundreds," or areas capable of producing a hundred armed men. In some parts of England these hundreds are known by other names, such as Wapentakes—*i.e.*, Weapon-takes. The great Yorkshire was so large that it had to be subdivided into three: Thirdings or Thridings, which have been corrupted into **Ridings**. The old shires of England often took the name of the still older kingdoms which they replaced, such as Essex or East Saxons, Sussex or South Saxons, Middlesex or Middle Saxons. The name Surrey is a corruption of Sudric, the "South kingdom" of the Middle Saxons. Norfolk and Suffolk preserve the names of the old North Folk and South Folk of the East Anglian kingdom. Somerset and Dorset preserve the names of two Saxon generals or leaders of sets—*i.e.*, hosts of warriors. Other shires took their names from their chief town, such as York or Lincoln. Shropshire is so called from the rough shrubs on the hilly Welsh border, and so on. But when the Normans came William the Conqueror wanted to reward his chief followers or "Comites" (*i.e.*, Counts), by giving them tracts of land to govern, and as the old shires were too large and too few he made many new divisions called **Counties**, such as Bedford, Huntingdon, and Hertford, but did not set up the old councils of aldermen in the counties. Thus there were aldermen in Hampshire in the ninth century, but the first aldermen for Bedfordshire were

appointed in 1888. During the Middle Ages the great nobles, such as Dukes (or Generals), and the lesser Earls or Counts, controlled the shires and counties almost as though they were their private property. But after the Wars of the Roses there arose other officials to take their places, such as the Lord-Lieutenant—*i.e.*, the Lord “taking the place” of the King or his Earl—Deputy-Lieutenants, Sheriffs as in the days before the Norman Conquest, and Justices of the Peace. These were the representatives of local government in England, of whom we read in the time of Shakespeare.

The Parish, like the shire, gradually developed as a means of local government. At first parishes were divisions for Church purposes only. But as the “parson” (the word really means the “voice” or representative of the parish) was usually the only person who could either read or write, he naturally became a local secretary for the sheriff. Each parish had its meeting, or **moot**, which met occasionally. When a crime was committed, and the criminal was not caught red-handed, the sheriff would send messages to all the parish moots within the shire, and each moot had to find four men to raise “hue and cry” until the criminal was found. These moots usually met either in the church or in the church porch, but so many brawls took place that they had to be held in the vestry, hence until quite recent times parish meetings were known as “vestries.” These vestries, in course of time, acquired the

power of appointing **overseers** to look after the poor of the parish, and "waywardens," or **surveyors**, to look after the roads. But each vestry, or parish meeting, only decided purely local questions, and owing to the uncertainty of the powers of these local bodies local government was often very badly carried out until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There are in this country now about 14,000 ecclesiastical parishes, some of which have been divided up for local government purposes into two or more civil parishes, entitled in most cases each to its own Parish Council since 1894.* The proper definition of a parish, in the eyes of the law, is "the place for which a separate poor-rate may be made."

The Union.—In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the first great step was taken to deal with poverty, and parishes were ordered to support their own poor by means of rates. These, in the eighteenth century, became so heavy, and the number of poor to be supported so great, that many parishes could not afford to do it—*e.g.*, in the parish of Cholesbury, Bucks, in the latter half of the eighteenth century the poor-rate rose to 21s. in the pound, so for the sake of economy parishes were formed into groups or unions, each with an infirmary and workhouse for the sick and feeble poor. The Acts of 1782 and 1834 divided England and Wales into some 650 such unions, and similar poor-houses were established in

* For the exact circumstances see Clarke : "Outlines of Local Government," p. 20 (3rd edition).

Scotland to deal with rather larger areas. The Union has hardly ever been used for other purposes than those of the Poor Law (see p. 35).

Local Government Reform.—During the nineteenth century it became clear that the machinery of local government in England was very old-fashioned, if not altogether out-of-date, and after several attempts at partial reform it was decided to remodel the whole. Up to that time county business had been conducted by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county and the Justices of the Peace whom he nominated. This meant that no two counties were administered alike, and that business was carried on very irregularly. In 1888 the Local Government Act completely re-arranged the counties, set up County Councils on a uniform model, and gave power for subdividing them into districts. In 1894 another Local Government Act brought the old parish meetings into definite relations with the County and District Councils, and a third Local Government Act of 1897 linked up the whole of the system under the Local Government Board.

Counties.—Before the Local Government Act of 1888 there were in England forty-two counties and twelve in Wales, varying greatly in size, population, and importance, and there were also several special areas with customs of their own. The Act of 1888 divided some of these counties and changed the boundaries of others—*e.g.*, Worcestershire. In some cases the old county town remained the centre for county business, and in

others another town was chosen for sake of convenience. The following counties have been divided: Cambridgeshire, which now forms (1) Cambridge and (2) the Isle of Ely, with its capital at March; Lincolnshire, which falls into the "parts" of (1) Holland, capital Boston, (2) Kesteven, capital Sleaford, (3) Lindsey, capital Lincoln; Northamptonshire, which now forms (1) the county of Northampton and (2) the "Soke" of Peterborough. ("Soke" is a Saxon word meaning free lands, which in this case once belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough.) The old county of Southampton now forms Hampshire with its capital of Winchester, and the Isle of Wight with its capital of Newport. Suffolk is divided into East Suffolk, capital Ipswich, and West Suffolk, capital Bury St. Edmunds. Sussex forms East Sussex, with its capital at Lewes, and West Sussex, which divides its business between Chichester, Horsham, and Lewes. Yorkshire falls into three Ridings: the offices of the East Riding are at Beverley, those of the West Riding at Wakefield, and of the North Riding at Northallerton.

The administrative County of London has been carved out of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, and touches the border of Essex.

The Scilly Isles form part of the County of Cornwall, though for certain purposes they have their own county council and meet at Hugh Town.

Instances of the old county town not being a

centre of county business are Essex, where the county offices are at Chelmsford, not at Colchester; Lancashire: Preston, not Lancaster; Westmoreland: Kendal, not Appleby; Wiltshire: Trowbridge, not Salisbury or Devizes.

Nearly all the Welsh counties have superseded their old county towns by more convenient centres—*e.g.*, Pembrokeshire, where the county offices are at Haverfordwest, not at Pembroke.

Many of our greatest towns are now counties in themselves, or, as they are called, **county boroughs**. Thus, Hull is administered by its own council and not that of the East Riding.

Duties of County Councils.—County councils are responsible for the administration of local affairs within the county, except those of large towns which are of themselves county boroughs. They vary very much in size according to the population of the area that they administer. Thus there are twenty-nine county councillors in Rutland and 119 in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The local government electors of each county* elect the councillors to serve for three years; the councillors themselves elect a certain number of aldermen, who serve for six, and the councillors and aldermen together elect a chairman. The work of the councils is very various, and is divided amongst various committees; their principal duties are to deal with main roads, education, lunatic asylums, the administration of Acts deal-

* See Representation of the People Act, 1918: Clarke, "Outlines of Local Government," p. 17.

ing with weights and measures, foods and drugs, diseases of animals, small holdings, etc. The organization of police is not wholly in the hands of the county councils, but of a standing joint committee composed of county councillors and justices of the peace. This committee elects a clerk to the peace, who is the county council's secretary, and administers county offices. The Insurance Act is administered by the Ministry of Health through the health committee of the county council, and the Old Age Pensions Act is controlled by the Inland Revenue, and administered by a pensions committee belonging to each county council.

Local Government Districts.—It is clear that there are many forms of local business that do not affect the whole county, and for these purposes counties are divided again into districts. Where the population is scattered, and the villages comparatively small, they are grouped together into rural districts containing sometimes as many as thirty parishes. Where there is a small town, or group of small towns, an urban district is formed. There are many towns in England which, before the Act of 1888, were boroughs—*i.e.*, they already had their local government managed by a municipality—that is, a mayor and corporation. But unless these towns are large enough to be county boroughs (that is, to have a county council of their own) they are to some extent subject to the county council of the county in which they lie. These boroughs (of which

more will be said), and also the rural and urban districts, have consultative councils elected by the Local Government electors which deal with such questions as secondary roads, bridges, drainage, and public health. They also carry out in detail the orders issued by the Ministry of Health and the County Council. Their officers include a medical officer of health, inspector of nuisances, and surveyor, a clerk, and a treasurer. Boroughs and urban districts may levy and collect a general district rate; rural districts meet their expenditure by a levy on the overseers. The elections to these district councils are usually held in April, and the councillors are elected for three years.

County Boroughs were created by the Act of 1888 as special areas too thickly populated to be governed by a Municipality or an Urban District Council, and therefore large enough to have a County Council of their own. These towns are all over 50,000 in population, many of them much larger; though it does not follow that all towns of 50,000 are County Boroughs. The chief difference between a County Borough Council and an ordinary County Council is that in many cases County Boroughs indulge in municipal trading—that is, they run their own trams, gas, water, and electricity on a business footing and for profit; this is not possible to an ordinary County Council where the area is too great to make such trading profitable. Apart from this difference and some questions of the administration of justice, County

Boroughs may be said to have the same powers as County Councils.

Boroughs and Cities.—As has already been stated, some old towns in England have for centuries enjoyed peculiar privileges, not only such as that of returning members to Parliament, but also of having special titles and special officials—*e.g.*, many Cathedral towns by ancient tradition are called “cities,” which is purely a title of honour. Some are even known as “counties and cities”—*e.g.*, the City and County of Exeter. Some (such as York, with its Ainsty) have a small piece of territory attached which is not part of any county. Some have the right to call their chief official Lord Mayor; but all these survivals make no legal difference. All **Municipal Boroughs** have a “Corporation,” that is a “grouping together in a body” of the inhabitants, and their government by a Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses (*i.e.*, persons upon the Local Government register of electors), who act through a Council consisting of a Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors, the Mayor holding office for one year, Aldermen for six, and Councillors for three years. Their work, like that of County Councils, is chiefly carried on by committees, and their officers are the Town Clerk, Treasurer, and Sanitary officials. Some boroughs have a separate “Commission of the Peace” and Court of Quarter Sessions; and some that possess ancient privileges have their own High Sheriff. Boroughs have the peculiar right of presenting to persons of

distinction their "Freedom"—*i.e.*, the position and honour of a burgess of that borough.

The Poor Law Unions are groups of parishes which combine to provide workhouses and infirmaries for the aged and sick poor, and to deal with other forms of relief under the Poor Law Act of 1834, such as casual wards for vagrants, cottage homes, and boarding-out for children not otherwise provided for, and schools for such children. These are known as indoor or institutional forms of relief; and also outdoor and medical relief to the sick and aged poor in their homes. Each Union has a Board of Guardians, elected in rural parishes as Rural District Councillors, and in urban parishes as Guardians only, and serving for three years; and each Board can co-opt its chairman, deputy-chairman, and not more than two members, often persons whose knowledge of such relief work is intimate. The Guardians are empowered to spend the moneys raised as poor-rate by the overseers of the parishes in the Union. Each Board manages an institution and infirmary, and sometimes other institutions for relief, and maintains a Clerk and Treasurer (who, in Rural Unions, serve also for the Rural District Council), a master and matron of the workhouse, relieving officers and medical officers to report on and inspect cases. The system is now passing through a period of change and reform.

Parish Councils.—There is yet a smaller division under the Act of 1894, which gave a Parish

Council to all villages and civil parishes with a population of over 300 (and even, with the consent of the County Council, to all parishes with a population of over 100). It was found that out of some 15,000 civil parishes in England nearly 13,000 had the right to a Parish Council. The Parish Councillors are elected by the ratepayers by ballot, and have certain powers of which the most important are the following :

- i. The appointment of overseers to raise a poor rate.
- ii. The provision of an allotment or garden for any householder who demands one.
- iii. The maintenance of footpaths.
- iv. The right to report on unhealthy dwellings or farm buildings to the Local District Council.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSEHOLDER : RATES AND TAXES.

The Householder has the protection of the laws of the country. He has the security of knowing that the police are bound to prevent anyone breaking into his house or stealing his property. He has the use of the roads, the postal, telegraph, and telephone service; and in towns, and in some cases in the country, water, gas, or electric light are laid on for him. His country is defended from invasion by an Army and a Navy; trade and commerce are rendered possible for him by an organized currency or system of coins and paper money. In return for these and many other privileges it is natural that he should be asked to pay his share of their upkeep, and this is easily seen in the case of letters or telegrams, on to which he actually puts Government stamps representing so much money paid for the use of public means of communication. But for the other privileges, or, as they are called, public services, he pays a contribution either in the form of rates or of taxes; and for some of the goods he buys at a shop he pays more than their actual value (plus the shopman's

profit), because the Government has already taken a tax upon them before sale.

If the householder does not pay his rates and taxes he is eventually punished, either by a fine or by imprisonment; so that we have to say that one of the first duties of a citizen as householder is to pay his rates and his taxes cheerfully and punctually, because they represent so many privileges to him.

Rates are moneys levied and collected by the local authority, to be spent within the district. They are calculated on a proportion of the value of the house occupied by the householder, usually five-sixths or four-fifths of its annual rent; thus a man may pay £100 a year in rent for his house to his landlord and find that its "rateable value" is £80. On this "rateable value" charges of so many pence in the pound are made by the local authority; thus if the rateable value of the house is £80, and there is an eightpenny rate for county purposes, levied by the County Council, the householder will pay $80 \times 8d.$ —*i.e.*, £2 13s. 4d. For convenience, several rates are usually levied together, thus :

General District Rate at	...	8d. in the £.
Poor Rate	3s. od. ,,
		<hr/>
Rates payable at	...	3s. 8d. ,,

The money thus collected is spent on public undertakings within the area in which the rate-payer lives: some only within his actual parish, some within the union of parishes which con-

stitutes the local poor-law unit, some within the urban or rural district or municipality which contains his parish, some within the county or county borough in which he lives. All these are local government administrative areas, and are explained under the section dealing with local government. Water,* gas, and electric light are sometimes managed by the local authority and are then charged as "rates," but more often they are run by private companies permitted by the local authorities to supply these very useful advantages.

Public health and education are now to a great extent dependent on rates; the district council or municipality provides proper drainage and sees to the maintenance of healthy conditions in houses, shops, and factories, whilst in most cases the county authority provides the educational facilities.

Briefly, then, rates are charged to the householder to enable him to pay his share towards good conditions locally, such as good roads, good sanitation, and good education.

Taxes are moneys, levied and collected by the Government of the country as a whole, and are intended to pay for the national needs.

To state these briefly, a nation needs protection, hence we pay taxes to keep up a Navy and an

* In the depths of the country each house usually has its own spring or well as a water supply; but villages often depend upon a common well or pump, and the water question is often a difficulty.

Army. It needs direction, so we pay for government; it needs communications, so we pay for postal services, and so forth. Moreover, in the past there have been great expenses, usually for war, which the nation has had to meet by borrowing money, and the payment of interest upon this national debt, as well as the gradual reduction of the debt itself, has to be met out of taxes.

Taxes are commonly raised in two ways, known as direct and indirect taxes, or as taxes on condition and taxes on exchange.

Taxes on Condition are those which are paid directly by those whose condition or position is sufficiently prosperous to enable them to contribute actual sums of money towards the nation's need. Those who are only just able to pay for their daily sustenance and housing and a few small comforts do not fall under these taxes. Of these, the principal taxes are the income-tax, house duty, taxes on land,* estate duty, licences, and some monopolies.

Income-tax is a direct charge upon the income of a citizen, based on the return he makes, on the prescribed form, of the money that he earns, the interest on his capital, the profit on his business, etc. At present, workers earning less than £120 are exempt from this tax, and those with incomes less than £700 a year can claim relief from, or abatement of, the tax; larger

* On this difficult subject see "Taxation of Land Values," by John Orr (1912).

incomes are taxed on a rising scale, till the "super-tax" is reached on incomes over £2,000 a year. In each year's estimate of the current expenditure and revenue, called the Budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer can raise or lower the amount of income-tax according to the country's debts; thus, in the last thirty years the income-tax has been as low as 9d. in the pound, and as high as 6s. It is only right that income-tax should fall more heavily on very large incomes than on small, and that some difference should be made between "earned income" and "unearned income"—*i.e.*, the interest on capital invested in Government bonds, trading companies, etc.

Inhabited House Duty is paid by the occupier of the house, and is usually calculated, like local rates, on four-fifths of the annual rental: it is not charged to the owners of empty houses, but is a direct means of making the householder pay for the privilege of dwelling safely under a roof—*i.e.*, in a country protected by Army, Navy, and police. This safety was rather rudely attacked by the air raids of the Great War, and many householders found therein an opportunity to grumble against the inhabited house duty.

Estate Duty is charged on properties passing from one owner, at his death, to another owner. The State steps in and, in effect, says: "This land and money is yours by inheritance, not by any effort of your own, and we will therefore tax it to show you that your ownership of it depends on

the safety of the nation." The duty is like the income-tax, calculated on a scale that rises with the size of the estate, and also varies with the relationship of the late owner to his successors. If the property passes from father to son, the duty to be paid is less than if it passes to more distant relations, and is very high on legacies to persons of no connection with the family of the testator—*i.e.*, the maker of the will. There are other variations in this tax, such, for instance, as the comparatively low charge on money left to charities.

Licences again only affect those who can afford a certain amount of luxuries, or who practise certain profitable trades. In the first of these classes we find licences to keep dogs, to use firearms and kill game, to carry armorial bearings (*i.e.*, to put a family crest or coat-of-arms on a carriage, etc.), and to keep men-servants. Remissions are possible, as in the case of the shepherd, who pays no tax upon his dog, as he has to have one to keep the sheep in order, or the farmer who only uses a gun to keep down destructive vermin. Further, licences are charged on wheeled vehicles, except when used for trade purposes; and in the case of motor-cars the licence increases according to the size and power of the engine.

In the second class of licences fall such trades as brewing, retailing beer, wines and spirits, whether at the inn or the grocer's shop. Again, licences are charged on theatres, music-halls, and

entertainments, except when the whole of the profits taken are given to charity.

The object of these licences is to increase the revenue by taxing some citizens who can afford to pay—in the first class, by charging them a little for the use of certain pleasures, and in the second, for carrying on occupations that bring a quick and easily calculated profit.

Monopolies are undertakings allowed to be run by the State, the local authority or their representative, and by no one else—the name meaning “sole sale.” An instance of a Government monopoly is the sale of postage stamps and the control of the telegraph by the Post Office. The telephone service, previously run by a private company, was taken over by the Post Office authority in 1912.

It may be argued that these are not really taxes; yet they are expenses incurred by the State for the citizen, and paid for by the citizen's money across the counter of the local post office, and so are practically a tax upon condition, as the man who sends many letters or telegrams, whether for pleasure or in course of business, pays more than he who sends but few.

Taxes upon Exchange, or, as they are often called, indirect taxes, are not collected direct from the citizen, but in the course of sale, transfer, or exchange. Many goods that cannot be produced in England, and have to be brought from abroad, are capable of producing considerable revenue,

and are therefore taxed by the Government on entering the country, or, as we say, pay custom-house duties—often called “**customs**” for short. Other goods produced in this country have a tax “taken out” from them before being sold to the general public; this is called **excise**, a word merely meaning “cut out.”

Many business transactions are carried on by means of legal documents bearing a stamp of varying value, representing a Government charge on the transaction—these are called stamp duties. The railway companies pay a small duty on every passenger carried, and this is included in the price of the ticket bought; and during the War an entertainments tax was introduced on all theatre, music-hall, and other entertainment tickets. These last two instances approach very near to direct taxation, and indeed it is difficult to draw a very sharp distinction.

Customs afford the most complicated instance of taxation. The amount charged depends not only on the cost of production of the article, but also on the way in which it is collected and distributed. The simpler customs duties are those on such imported goods as tea, coffee, tobacco, wines, and foreign spirits. These are all produced outside the British Isles, and have to enter our ports, and can consequently be taxed on arrival at British shores and before distribution to the public—*i.e.*, the consumers. So the importer of the goods pays the tax to the

Revenue officials, but as he adds the amount of the tax on to the price he charges to the consumer, the tax is really paid by the public, though indirectly; and a rise or fall in "customs" levied on tea or tobacco means to the man in the street a rise or fall in the price he pays for his cup of tea or for his smoke after it.

Excise Duties are "cut out" of some goods manufactured in this country, such as whisky, patent medicines, mineral waters, and refined motor spirit. The quantities that each consumer requires are not very large, and so the duty is imposed upon the manufacturer, who pays it, and adds it to the price he charges to the customer. In the case of patent medicines an excise stamp is pasted over the cork to prevent the same bottle being used again without paying duty. Excise and certain licences (*e.g.*, for the sale of tobacco and intoxicating liquors) are controlled by the Inland Revenue, which has local offices in each area.

Stamp Duties on business transfers are a guarantee that the State upholds the rights of property.

Perhaps the two commonest forms of stamp duty are the stamp on cheques and the receipt stamp upon a paid bill.

CHAPTER VII

LAW AND JUSTICE

Law.—We are so accustomed to the idea that laws are the rules by which the country is governed, that perhaps it is a surprise to many people to know that a great deal of English Law was not made by Act of Parliament. Indeed, amongst early peoples, a certain course of conduct grows up and forms a custom, which after a time is often thought to have been sent from heaven, and not made by man. Soon there grew up a class of men who were specially skilled in these customs; these were usually priests, and they very often used the customs for their own benefit. But after a time, to avoid disputes, these customs were written down, sometimes by one man, as at Athens, where the early laws were written down by Draco, and again, later, by Solon. More often they were collected by a Council of Wise Men under the orders of their King; thus the early Saxon laws of some districts of England were written down by Ethelbert and by Alfred. But neither of these Kings had really made the laws: they simply had them written down, and thus gradually grew up a great body of traditional laws in England that form the basis of our English

“Common Law.” Gradually the Kings claimed the right to issue royal commands, usually only for some temporary purpose, but they tried to enforce these as laws. However, in the thirteenth century, Parliament acquired the right to vote “supplies”—that is, taxes—to the King. They also claimed a power to “petition” the King, begging him not to carry out some unpopular royal command, and threatening that, if he did, they would grant him no taxes. But this was rather putting the cart before the horse, because it meant that the Parliament had to wait till the King had done something really bad before they could ask him to make any improvement. So, by the fifteenth century, the two Houses of Parliament acquired the custom of suggesting improvements or remedies in the existing laws and orders by bringing forward “Bills.” If the King approved, the “Bill” became law. But the King still had the power to issue certain commands on the advice of his Privy Council; these were known as Orders in Council, and usually only dealt with temporary matters, and were not entered into the “Statute Book”—*i.e.*, did not become laws.*

Civil and Criminal Law.—We have seen that the laws of England have grown up partly from custom, partly from royal command, and partly from Acts of Parliament. There is no simple statement of all English Law in one book, as Roman Law is set forth in the “Institutes” of

* These distinctions still exist between Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council.

Gaius or French Law in the "Code Napoléon." The consequence is that it requires much more skill for a judge to interpret English Law; but because there are not always hard-and-fast rules laid down for the punishment of any offence, English Law is much fairer than a strict code, and there are far fewer "hard cases" where people are unjustly punished. Indeed, whereas Roman Law is based on the idea of absolute justice, so that every breach of a given law should be equally punished, the English Law is based on "equity"—*i.e.*, fairness—so that every man should be treated as fairly as possible. It has been said that Roman Law assumes that every man brought up for trial is guilty until he is proved to be innocent, whereas English Law maintains that he is innocent until it is proved that he is guilty.

Laws are made as rules of conduct for citizens, and a man who breaks the law is a bad citizen, because he is disregarding the wise rules drawn up by his countrymen in the past. But law-breakers fall into two different classes: those who commit an offence against the State, and those who in some way have wronged their neighbour. The former are called "Criminal," and the latter "Civil" offenders. In both cases the King is the source of justice which deals with their cases, and, if necessary, punishes them.

Criminal Courts.—In theory, the peaceful relations between citizens are held to be a direct result of government by the King, and anyone who disturbs those relations is considered to be

breaking "the King's peace," and in the thirteenth century there were appointed Justices of the Peace, who still survive as the simplest form of judicial officers. They are appointed by the King, acting through the Lord Chancellor, on what is known as the "Commission of the Peace" for the local county or borough. In most cases they are unpaid, but in London and some large towns permanent paid, or stipendiary, magistrates give up the whole of their time to this duty. When a man is accused of a crime he is either "arrested"—*i.e.*, forcibly brought before the magistrate—or "summoned"—*i.e.*, ordered to appear before several magistrates on a certain day. If there is no evidence against him the magistrate dismisses the charge, but if the magistrate decides there is a case against him he commits him for trial, except in certain cases where the offence is so simple and clear that the offender can be dealt with "summarily," in which case the magistrates pass immediate judgment upon him without a jury. It is also possible in some slight offences for the magistrate not to punish him, but to bind him over to keep the peace—that is, to make him swear not to commit the offence again. If the offender is committed for trial, the magistrates can either give orders for him to be kept in prison till his case is tried before a jury, or to be let out "on bail"—*i.e.*, allowed to go free on the promise of some responsible persons, under threat of a fine, that they will see that he comes up for justice when called for. The meetings of the

magistrates before whom the offenders are first brought up are called "Petty Sessions." "Summary" justice can only be delivered by a court composed of at least two magistrates, sitting in a regular court-house, except in the case of stipendiary magistrates. When a prisoner is committed for trial by a more important court than Petty Sessions, a formal "indictment" has to be brought against him—*i.e.*, a written statement of a particular way in which he has broken a particular law. The less serious of such offences are tried at Quarter Sessions—that is, a meeting held once every three months by all the justices of the county or the recorder of a borough. The chairman of the justices acts as their mouthpiece, and is thus a sort of Judge. The recorder of a borough is a professional lawyer, appointed on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. At Quarter Sessions the case is tried before a jury composed of twelve men, chosen at random by the Sheriff from a list of householders drawn up by the local authorities. Evidence is produced on both sides, and, since 1898, the accused may make a statement if he wishes. When both sides of the case have been heard, the chairman or recorder acting as Judge "sums up" the case—*i.e.*, picks out the important points of evidence and reminds the jurymen of the laws that bear on the case. The jury then retire to think over their verdict; if they find the offender "not guilty" he is discharged; if they find him "guilty" the chairman or recorder passes sentence—*i.e.*,



states the punishment provided by the law. In most cases he exercises considerable discretion; it rests with him to say how large the fine or how long the term of imprisonment must be.

Assizes.—But there are many offences which are too serious to be tried by Quarter Sessions, such as treason, murder, forgery, perjury, and bigamy. These must be brought before permanent Judges who, since the thirteenth century, have held "Sittings, or Courts of Assize," three or four times a year, in certain county and assize towns. These Judges of the "High Court," as they are called, are learned and experienced lawyers, and travel on "Circuit" to dispense the King's justice in all serious cases. There is also a Central Criminal Court in London, at the Old Bailey, which meets monthly. The procedure before these Judges is, in substance, the same as at Quarter Sessions,* but the courts are conducted with more solemnity, and the Sheriff of the county is in attendance on them to represent the King's power to enforce his laws. Only Judges at Assizes can pass the death sentence. But in 1907 there was instituted behind and above the Assize Courts a Court of Criminal Appeal, to which, in certain cases, the accused, if dissatisfied with the form of his trial, could appeal for a fresh hearing. Here he can be tried before not less than three Judges, who can modify the sentence, but cannot order a new trial. From this it will be seen that the

* For the question of Grand Juries at Assizes and Quarter Sessions see Clarke, "Central Government," p. 79.

English criminal law system is perhaps rather slow and complicated, but it is scrupulously fair, and the trial is in open court before an unbiassed jury, while the whole burden of proving the case rests upon the accuser.

Civil Courts are those in which one citizen brings an action against another, either for some real or fancied wrong, known as a "tort"; or for a "trespass"—that is, interference with his privileges; or for a breach of contract—that is, failure to keep some business promise. Nearly all these wrongs involve money, and the "plaintiff"—*i.e.*, the person who complains—claims so much money from the "defendant"—*i.e.*, the person whom he accuses of wronging him. If the claim is not a large one (perhaps not more than £100) he will sue the defendant in the County Court.

Under the Act of 1846 County Courts were set up on an uniform plan all over the country to take the place of innumerable and widely different local courts. They are each presided over by a paid County Court Judge, chosen from amongst barristers of experience by the Lord Chancellor. If the amount claimed is over £5, the "plaintiff" or "defendant" may demand a jury of eight persons. But this is very seldom done, because County Court proceedings are very simple and usually rather informal. Claims for more than £100 must (and claims for less may) be taken to the High Court of Justice. The County Courts deal with much other business besides civil cases—*e.g.*, the distribution of bankrupts' property and

the assessing of claims under the Workmen's Compensation Act. An appeal can be made from the County Court to the High Court; thence, if necessary, to the Court of Appeal, and finally to the House of Lords. If the amount claimed is more than £100, or the value of the property under dispute is over £500, instead of being taken to the County Court the case is usually referred to the High Court of Justice. This sits in London, and is divided into three principal sections which have taken over the duties of various ancient bodies. The first of these is known as the Chancery Division, which took over the work of the old Court of the Lord Chancellor, dealing with questions of equity, and, in some cases, with the work of the old Court of Exchequer. The second division is that of King's Bench, which deals with the questions of "Common Law" and has taken the place of the old Courts of King's Bench, and of Common Pleas, and, in part, of the Court of Exchequer. The third division is that of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty, which deals with the special laws relating to wills and testaments, to dissolution of marriages, and to maritime matters. Many of the duties of this latter division were formerly managed by separate Courts belonging to the Established Church. Each division has its own separate Judges and a great number of peculiar and difficult rights, but, in the great majority, trial is by jury and the sentence is at the discretion of the Judge. In some cases there is no jury, the Judge himself sitting as a jury and deciding both

on the facts and on the law; and much of the work of the Probate Division is not done in court at all, but through the Government offices at Somerset House.

But besides these divisions of the High Court of Justice, there is a still higher branch of the Supreme Court of Judicature, called the "Court of Appeal," where certain Lords Justices of Appeal can hear again cases tried before the Lower Division, and it is possible for three Judges of this Court to alter or reverse a decision of the Lower Court. Even this is not the last resort of a dissatisfied claimant. In certain cases an appeal can be taken before the House of Lords,* just as in some cases an appeal from a Court in the Colonies and India can be taken before a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

This is a very brief and incomplete outline of the British system of justice, but should be enough to show that in civil cases, as in criminal, the chance of a case being fully and fairly heard is as great as can reasonably be expected. One of the features that other nations have always noticed as particularly British is the love of fairness and justice, and our Law Courts, both in the United Kingdom and all over the Empire, bear a very high name for impartial and patient administration of justice to all that come before them. The British Law is cumbrous and sometimes costly to put into action, but it never condemns a man unheard, and is more likely to err on the side of leniency than that of harshness.

* See Clarke, "Central Government," p. 73.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC PEACE

Internal Peace.—In the early days of English history, the King, as the chief representative of the power of the State, was bound to maintain order. This was necessary, not only because it is very hard to raise taxes in a country which is not at peace (as King Charles I. found to his cost), but also because the country that is not at peace within is liable to fall an easy prey to an enemy without. So much has it been considered the duty of the King to maintain peace throughout the country, that the peace of the nation is still spoken of as the "King's Peace." To maintain this peace in very early days seems to have been the special duty of the Master of the Royal Stables (the *Comes Stabuli*, or constable), under whom was a special class of "civilian soldiers" maintained to observe the "King's Peace." This central force seems to have been formally recognized by the Statute of Winchester, 1285, but by the reign of Edward III. there were "petty constables" appointed to carry out these duties locally, and by the time of Shakespeare every village had its constable and "watch"—*i.e.*, men appointed to maintain good order, to prevent

and detect crime, and generally to preserve the peace.

Police.—The growth of large towns in the nineteenth century showed that the old parish constables were insufficient for the needs of a rapidly growing population, but it was felt that for work of such local importance it would not be well to have a body too much under central control. This would make the police force far too like an army enforcing the will of the Government on the people instead of protecting the rights of peaceful citizens. So, in the Police Act of 1856, each county was permitted to appoint its own police, and municipal boroughs with a population of not less than 10,000 could have their own police if they wished. London has two forces, the Metropolitan and the City of London, who are directly under the Home Office.

County Police are controlled by a standing joint committee of the County Councils and Justices of the Peace, **Borough Police** by a Watch Committee of not more than one-third of the Borough Council. The Home Office has general authority over all the police in the country, which are subject to inspection by officials directly responsible to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs. The police are officered by chief constables, superintendents, inspectors, and sergeants, and are a particularly well-trained and responsible class of men. They are enlisted voluntarily, paid and clothed at the expense of

the local authority, and given a special form of education. In every case they represent the authority of the State, and act in the King's name. Even the staff or truncheon which a policeman carries bears a little copy of the King's crown. For ordinary purposes the police may enter any public building in discharge of their duties, but can only enter a private house on the invitation of the householder, or under a warrant from a magistrate. Besides the maintenance of good order, the management of traffic, and the prevention and detection of crime, they have a large number of duties of inspection to carry out under various Acts.

Special Constables.—In addition to the police appointed by the local authorities, it is possible for special constables to be appointed when there is any unusual need, and if volunteers are not forthcoming, householders can be compelled by the Justices of the Peace to act, and there is a general obligation on all citizens to assist the police, when necessary, in the performance of their duty. In the War period of 1914 to 1918, in the absence of many policemen on active service, large numbers of special constables came forward and took up the important work, not only of preserving public peace, but also of promoting public safety and restoring confidence in such emergencies as air raids.

CHAPTER IX

NATIONAL DEFENCE

The Army and the Navy.—It is one of the simplest duties of a citizen to protect his home and country so far as he can. In early stages of civilization every able-bodied man was a soldier; and there are many who think that all that is needed to protect a State is a "citizen army." But modern warfare, whether by land or sea, is a very complicated business, and before each individual can become an efficient fighter he needs months, if not years, of training. Moreover, in an island realm, the defence of the coasts and merchant shipping cannot be left to chance volunteers, however brave. It is necessary to maintain a permanent and professional Navy. For centuries past, therefore, the calling of arms, whether by land or sea, has been considered a special life's work, and has attracted brave and venturesome citizens by its very dangers.

The Army has grown from being a gathering of armed householders, through the stage of a feudal army, to that of a professional army, equipped by the Crown with the sanction of Parliament. The Army Act of 1881 embodies

most of the law dealing with the permanent force of regular soldiers, though an annual Army Act is passed, carrying on the old Mutiny Acts (which date back to William and Mary's reign), and setting forth exactly the number of regular troops which the King may levy and maintain. The less important affairs of military life are set forth in a number of minor rules known as the King's Regulations. The Secretary of State for War controls the Government office which deals with the Army, and prepares and lays before Parliament the annual estimates for military expenditure. The Army Council is the central authority which issues formal orders for the administration of the Army. It consists of the Secretary of State for War, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for War, and the Financial Secretary of the War Office, acting with the Inspector-General of the Forces and the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, and the Master of the Ordnance. In peace time the Army over which they exercise authority consists of—

1. The Regular Army, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers ;
2. The Royal Marines ;
3. The Territorials ;

and there are also Reserves of various classes.

In the recent war-time, after the passing of the Military Act of 1916, every male subject resident in Great Britain became liable to be enlisted and transferred to the Reserve for calling up as required.

1.—**The Regular Army** is recruited* under a voluntary system for a period not exceeding twelve years; in practice, however, the private soldier usually serves seven years with the Colours and five with the Reserve, and during his service with the Colours he is liable to be sent anywhere and on any service that the Army Council sees fit. The officers who accept a "commission" from the King serve during the pleasure of the Crown.

2.—**The Royal Marines** occupy a curious position; when they are serving on land, whether as infantry or artillery, they are subject to the Army Act, but when on board a ship of war they come under the Navy Discipline Act.

3.—**The Territorials** subject to the Act of 1907 are a body of trained citizen soldiers, liable for home defence and service; they include the older corps of "Yeomanry" and "Volunteers." The former are cavalry and the latter infantry and artillery. The Act also provides for voluntary enlistment of men willing to give up part of their time during four years to periods of concentrated military training.

The Territorials are largely managed by County Associations under the presidency of the Lord Lieutenant. There is also a Special Reserve, which is liable under certain circumstances for service abroad.

* At the time of writing, the question of recruiting is under revision.

By nature, the Englishman is averse to professional soldiering: partly because we are not a militarist nation, and have had little experience of war in our own country, partly because recruiting fell into disrepute and the Army became a refuge for broken men. Our first organized regiments date back only to the time of Cromwell's new Model Army.

The Navy, since 1832, has been controlled by the Board of Admiralty, consisting of the First Lord of the Admiralty and several "Naval" and "Civil Lords" who act as Lords Commissioners. The Navy is recruited voluntarily, and no man can be compelled to serve for more than five years. But in addition to the regular Navy there is a large force known as the "Royal Naval Reserve," which includes many volunteers and time-expired sailors. The Royal Navy is under special discipline Acts and its sailors are, to some extent, outside the jurisdiction of ordinary justice, being tried by Naval Courts-Martial.

So long as we retain our great overseas Empire a navy is of the utmost importance to us, as our communications are all by sea.

The Air Force is a distinct new branch of the armed Forces of the Crown, dating only from 1917, and uniting the two previous separate forces of the "Royal Naval Air Service" and the "Royal Flying Corps." Airmen are recruited in much the same way as sailors and soldiers, and are subject to military law.

NOTE ON UNIVERSAL SERVICE.

It has never been the custom in England to compel every citizen to bear arms. Though, in the recent war, the Military Service Act of 1916 enacted that, speaking generally, all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five should be liable to some form of service, the exceptions mentioned in that Act show that in the eyes of the State there is a great deal of useful national work that can be considered equivalent to combatant service. Indeed, England has never been a militarist nation, and it has been argued from the experience of the late war that it suits her better to have a small standing Army, capable of sudden expansion in war-time to a large combatant force, rather than to insist upon conscription or some other form of compulsory military service.

CHAPTER X

PUBLIC HEALTH

ONE of the first cares of a well-ordered State is for the health of its citizens. Yet so rapid was the growth of towns in England between 1750 and 1840 that there were few, if any, precautions taken to insure that the dwellings of the poorer residents were healthy. It is said that in the year in which Queen Victoria came to the throne, though there were 200,000 persons living in Whitechapel, there was not one single sewer. However, in 1848, Government legislation took up the question of sanitation, and from that year to 1875 many Acts were passed dealing with public health. During this period many large towns experimented on various methods of keeping streets and houses clean and healthy, and in 1875 the results of a generation's work took shape in a very comprehensive Public Health Act, which forms the basis of our present Law. How various were its enactments will be seen from a few of its headings, which deal with :

1. Sanitary provisions, such as regulations for sewers and drains, and water supply; inspection of cellars and lodging-houses, offensive trades

and nuisances, infectious diseases, hospitals, and mortuaries.

2. Local Government provisions as to highways, streets, pleasure grounds, parks, markets, and slaughterhouses. Besides these provisions there were a large number of sections dealing with powers to raise money for these duties, prosecute offenders, and to enforce the regulations. Many of the duties of the Public Health Act are carried out by the Borough Councils and Urban and Rural District Councils, others by County Councils, and since 1875 many additions have been made to the laws on the subject, dealing with such various questions as the sale of food and drugs, pollution of rivers, factories and workshops, milk and dairies, and a host of other subjects. The Ministry of Health deals with questions of public health through the local authorities.

Mental Deficiency.—Besides the bodily health of citizens the mental welfare of the nation is a matter of great importance to the State, and the difficult question of dealing with those who are not right in their mind has to be dealt with by State institutions. Those who are definitely insane—*i.e.*, too dangerous or too helpless to be dealt with at all in their own homes—come under the Lunacy Acts of 1890-1911. Of course, there are many lunatics whose relations can pay for their maintenance, and for these there are private asylums and homes not supported by the State. But those lunatics whose relatives are too poor to

provide for their proper maintenance are "detained" in county and borough asylums, or, in the case of the more violent who have already shown themselves dangerous to the public, in State institutions known as "criminal asylums." The supreme authority to deal with these cases consists of the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, and a Board of Control, formerly known as the "Commissioners in Lunacy," who can decide on legal and medical grounds whether a patient should be detained or not. The local authorities who control the actual buildings and maintenance of the asylums are generally the County or County Borough Council, acting through a Visiting or Asylums Committee, and the expenses are partly met by a grant from the Exchequer Contribution Account, and partly by the Guardians of the Poor. Under the Mental Deficiency Acts of 1913 a much larger class of mental cases is dealt with. This includes idiots (*i.e.*, those whose mind is practically useless, but who are harmless), imbeciles (*i.e.*, those who are too weak-minded to support themselves), feeble-minded persons (*i.e.*, those who are capable of only a little education), and moral imbeciles (*i.e.*, those whose freedom is a danger to the morality of the public). Here again the Central Board of Control works through the local authorities—*i.e.*, the County and County Borough Councils, who have power to provide for the supervision of such persons, and, if necessary, to maintain homes and institutions for them. But the whole of this system is not yet

fully worked out, and there is much to be done before it can be said that all mental cases in the country can receive proper care and treatment.

Care of Children.—One of the most important questions allied to public health is the care of children. Apart from education, very little was done for children by the State until the Children Act of 1908. The conditions under which children might work in mines and factories had indeed been the subject of laws passed in 1833 and 1867. But it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that anything was done to safeguard the conditions under which the children in crowded towns were brought up. The Act of 1908 gave the local Boards of Guardians authority to enquire into the homes of infants and protect them from neglect and ill-usage.

The second part of the Act deals with the prevention of cruelty to children. This includes not only physical cruelty, but also the exposure of children to bad surroundings, or the sending of them out to beg. But perhaps the most important part of the Act is that which deals with children who are convicted of some offence against the law. This enacts that these "juvenile offenders," as they are called, should be tried in separate courts, and as far as possible in a way that is not too public; and also that they shall not be put into police cells or prison, but kept in separate places of detention, and if they are sentenced to a period of punishment they should be sent to a reformatory school, and not to prison.

Those whose surroundings are so bad that they might be led into crime may be sent to industrial schools, away from their homes. The object of all this legislation is to prevent children from being treated as criminals and joining that part of the population which is habitually given to crime. Other enactments of the Act endeavour to deal with juvenile smoking, and to prohibit children from frequenting public-houses and pawnbrokers' shops.

Children's care committees, set up in conjunction with all education authorities and juvenile employment exchanges of the Ministry of Labour, endeavour to ensure that children should not only be brought up free from crime, but also clean, healthy, and able to take proper care of themselves.

There is one caution that should be urged in this connection. It is the object of the State to see to the wellbeing of children, but at the same time the responsibility of parents towards their own offspring ought not to be set aside. And the State should aim rather at helping and advising the parents than at relieving them of their natural duties.

Housing presents one of the most difficult problems of a civic nature. With the growth of interest in public health and legislation on its behalf, there has come the recognition of the fact that bad housing is often the cause of ill-health and even of crime, but the increase of the population has outrun the supply of houses, especially

as the cost of building and the growth of rates have discouraged property-owners from adding to the number of dwellings. Moreover, in many districts, old and badly-built houses have been condemned by the local sanitary authorities, so that in some places the actual number of available houses is less instead of more. A very large number of houses are seriously overcrowded; thus, in the 1911 census, it was shown that at least five million persons dwelt in overcrowded houses, and that some 8 per cent. of the houses had more than two inhabitants to each room. Often the conditions were infinitely worse, as, for instance, in a street in Southwark, where thirty-six houses contained 800 people, or in Edinburgh, where it was shown that 45 per cent. of the population lived in single-room tenements. It was not only the towns that were overcrowded; in a rural district in Oxfordshire, in 1912, it was shown that out of 723 cottages, 710 had two rooms, or less, and the average number in each of these houses was seven inhabitants.

As private enterprise seems powerless to deal with this shortage of accommodation, Parliament has tried to undertake some improvement, and the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890 to 1903, supplemented by the Housing and Town Planning, etc., Acts of 1909 and 1919, give the local authorities power to prepare schemes for improving existing dwellings and laying out additional streets and houses, subject to the approval of the Ministry of Health. Unfortunately,

the expense of this has so far deterred many local authorities from doing much in the matter, and the housing problem still remains very acute, and will continue to be so until it is found possible to build large numbers of satisfactory dwellings, that can be let at an economic rent.

It must not be forgotten that improved housing means a general rise in the standard of comfort. As long as many persons are content to remain in bad houses their whole outlook will remain unsatisfactory. It is thus advisable to educate people to want better conditions, as well as to help them to get them—for a dirty, feckless family will soon spoil a good house.

CHAPTER XI

PENSIONS AND INSURANCE

Old Age Pensions.—It has always been a difficulty among the poorer citizens of any State that, as they get old, their power to work becomes less, and with it decreases the chance of their earning money. For very many generations it has been part of good citizenship to encourage thrift—*i.e.*, the saving of money to meet the extra calls of illness or old age. But there are often people who, through no fault of their own, have been unable to save, and to meet these hard cases charitable citizens have in many parishes given or left sums of money to provide dwellings or grants of money, clothing, or food for such persons. These old alms-houses and parish charities were constituted in many different ways, but they nearly all of them had a test of good character, so that the pension or alms-house was not granted to lazy or undeserving people. But these benefactions, which are now largely controlled by a Government authority known as the Charity Commission, are by no means enough to deal with all cases of poverty or sickness in old age, and the aged poor naturally

dislike being compelled to live in the workhouse in the midst of invalids and imbeciles.

Gradually it was felt that something like Government pensions should be given to all over a certain age, who could prove that they were in need. Mr. Gladstone's Administration in 1881 promised to do something for the aged poor, and for twenty-five years Bill after Bill was drafted, but none proved satisfactory, because it was so difficult to know how to make those who would receive the pension after a certain age contribute towards it. At last, in the Election of 1906, the Liberal Party promised free pensions to all persons over seventy who could prove poverty. In spite of opposition the Old Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908, and soon superseded by a revised Act in 1911, and an Amending Act, 1919. The cost to the country is very heavy, as nearly a million people are entitled to a pension, and it is possible that the Act may have had a rather bad effect in one way—if it has discouraged thrift, or has given some sons and daughters who ought to have helped their aged parents an excuse for not doing so.

Insurance against Sickness.—But it is not only the aged poor who are in need of relief; a great number of citizens fall into poverty because of sickness. Of course, there are other causes of poverty, such as drink and ignorance, dirt and neglect; the two latter are probably curable by Government legislation and educational and temperance movements; and laws may do some-

thing towards lessening the former evils. But sickness may fall on the members of any family and find them unprepared, and if they have not been thrifty in the past their resources soon run short. For years past various Friendly, Sick Benefit, and Assurance Societies have collected the money of the thrifty and so raised large funds to enable them to receive grants in times of sickness or stress. There are also large business companies which are prepared to insure any citizens against sickness or accident; and the enormous wealth of these companies depends upon the very large numbers who insure with them. So that for some generations many citizens have been able to practise thrift and to insure against sickness. It is just those who are lazy and thriftless, and have not insured, that make it necessary for the Government to step in with a system of State-aided insurance. Consequently, in 1911, there was introduced the Insurance Bill, the first part of which, as a National Health Insurance Act, provides that all persons over sixteen years of age who are employed at a rate of less than £250 a year shall contribute to a National Insurance scheme, their subscriptions being met by further contributions from their employers and from the State. In this Act there are numerous provisions for different classes of benefit which include medical treatment, sanatorium treatment, sickness and disablement benefit—*i.e.*, a payment of so much each week during the continuance of illness or dis-

ability—and also maternity benefit. Under this Act two important principles come into play—the first, that workers should contribute towards their own support in times of sickness, and the second, that the employer must also bear his share. It used to be a complaint that a hard master worked his men for his own profit whilst they were well and able to serve him, but discarded them ruthlessly as soon as they were ill or old. Of course, this was not true of a very large number of employers. Indeed, the relations between masters and workpeople often were, and are, most cordial and brotherly; but those who were anxious to make a big profit could, and did, maintain that the support of sick and disabled people was “bad business,” as indeed it is from a purely monetary point of view. And many held that, with the rapid growth of trade competition with other countries, all business expenses must be rigidly cut down in order to enable British industry to continue at all, so that it was probable that fewer and fewer employers would be able to treat their workpeople generously, and hence a compulsory Government scheme of insurance became necessary. There is no doubt that competition, unless it is most carefully safeguarded on lines of equity, does tend to make it difficult for the different sections of society to work together in a fair and brotherly spirit. However, it is true to say that some employers, who have invariably met their workers fairly, and have given them pleasant and satisfactory condi-

tions of life, have been very successful in competitive trade, and have avoided industrial disputes.

Unemployment Insurance.—Besides old age and sickness there is another very serious cause of poverty—*i.e.*, lack of work. Unemployment is, of course, sometimes the fault of the worker; if he is idle, or careless, or wasteful, employers are naturally not very anxious to give him work. But there are many who are out of work through no fault of their own; the causes are numerous. Some of the commoner ones are the shifting of the centres of trade or employment, the changes of public taste or demand, foreign competition and dumping—*i.e.*, the sale in Britain of foreign goods not needed in their own country and sold here at a price lower than that which the British manufacturer must charge if he wishes to make a profit. For these and other reasons workpeople, either singly or in large numbers, were in times past often unable to obtain work. Shortly after the South African War there were so many cases of unemployment that, in 1905, an Act was passed to deal with the question, and this set up distress committees to deal with applications from persons out of work; these committees, if satisfied that the applicants were genuine or suitable cases, had the power to provide temporary work, and in some cases to assist the applicants to emigrate or to remove to some district where work was forthcoming. In London these distress committees were under a Central Unemployed body

It was found that, though the Act provided for a certain number of temporary cases, it did not really provide a permanent solution of the problem of unemployment. It seemed that what was really needed "was some system of Labour Exchanges, by which the movement of workpeople about the country could be rendered easier, and their search for work more quickly rewarded. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress, 1905-1909, were strongly in favour of Employment Exchanges, as also of Trade Boards and Unemployment Insurance. In 1909 an Act, entitled the Labour Exchanges Act, was passed to provide a voluntary market for labour; the idea underlying it is that it is the duty of the nation to prevent the waste of the citizen's time and energies by providing free a list of employers wanting workpeople and workpeople wanting employment. This has led to the establishment of a regular "Ministry of Labour," inquiring into all the conditions of work, and from this sprang the Trade Boards Act of 1909 to remedy abuses in trades which appeared underpaid or ill-supervised; and as a result of these two Acts the second part of the National Insurance Act of 1911 provided for insurance against unemployment. In this scheme the worker and the employer both contribute and the State adds a further grant, so that there is actual out-of-work pay provided by the State in certain "insured trades" such as building, constructional work,

shipbuilding, engineering, ironfounding, etc. By a further Act in 1916 this insurance is controlled locally by "Employment Exchanges" (*i.e.*, the Labour Exchanges of 1909 Act, with further powers), and the Acts of 1916 and 1918 have still further developed the principle of national insurance against unemployment. Against unemployment, as against sickness, the thrifty workmen in the past insured in his Trades Union or Society, but the present scheme forces all workpeople to insure, and also their employers to help with the insurance, in those great industries which have proved in the past to be most liable to the evils of unemployment.*

* One of the chief sources of industrial unrest, and thus of unemployment, is the so-called "ca' canny" principle. The theory embodied in this is that the less work a man does, the more there is for others to do. The truth, however, seems to be that the more means of production—say coal, iron, and food—that a man handles, the greater is the productive power of the whole country, the greater are its exports, and the greater becomes the demand for labour to carry on this increased trade.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION

The object of Education is to guide us to right and useful knowledge, that we may make the best use of life, and forward the progress of humanity. To educate people is to train their minds to form correct inferences from the facts before them. It is possible for men and women to grow up ignorant and ill-informed, and yet to live good and useful lives; but their chances of usefulness are greatly widened if they have received some form of education, and do not act simply by the light of nature or from information casually picked up. Hence, it has long been the aim of good citizens to promote education; and many of the oldest charities in this country are educational—*i.e.*, money has been left and buildings raised to ensure the education of a certain number of deserving or promising children. But anything like general education is not of very great age in this country.

Elementary Education has had a rather chequered history. In the eighteenth century there were few towns and villages where there was not some sort of teaching offered, but by no means all the population availed themselves of it.

Indeed, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, more than half the people of this country were unable to read and write; and, so far, the State had taken no steps to provide uniform schools. The Church of England, which for some time past had been providing some form of education in Sunday schools, now came forward with a strong movement in favour of elementary education, and the "National Society," founded in 1811, was started with a view to provide schools for the children of all Church of England parents, the Nonconformists, in a parallel movement, having started schools for children of their own denominations, which were soon controlled by two societies known as the "Wesleyan" and the "British" Societies respectively. By the aid of these denominational schools and those provided by the Poor Law Unions, the children of the great mass of English parents were given elementary education on no very definite system up till the year 1834. In the meanwhile, the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1828 had permitted Roman Catholics to open schools for children of their creed. In 1834 the first step towards a system of national education was taken by the Treasury in giving a small annual grant towards the erection of schools in "necessitous areas;" and in 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council was formed for educational purposes. But the vast bulk of national educational work was still carried on by private enterprise; and the small payments made by the scholars (usually 2d. per week) did not nearly

cover the expenses, which were met by private subscription. At last, in 1856, Parliament set up the office of Vice-President of the Privy Council for Education, whose first duty was to try to ensure that these different denominational and charity schools should produce something like an uniform standard of education; and in 1860 there was drawn up the **Code of Regulations** for elementary schools, which still forms the basis of rules for teachers in schools of that type. But the result of this code was to show that many schools did not come up to the Government requirements, and many districts had no schools, or insufficient accommodation; and so, to make sure that elementary education should be within the reach of all, the Government decided to start additional schools, supported by rates and taxes.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 therefore set up, in areas where the existing denominational and charity schools were insufficient for the needs of the people, **School Boards**. These were bodies of citizens elected locally by the ratepayers and empowered to raise rates for education, and so to supply schools and teachers to districts which were not already provided for. Such schools were known as **Board Schools**, and were directly under Government control, whereas the denominational schools were to some extent independent, though liable to be visited and reported upon by Government inspectors. As soon as schools of one or the other kind were provided for all, it became necessary to make sure

that they were fully used ; so in 1880 a law made it compulsory for all children under the age of ten to attend school, and this age was raised to eleven in 1886. Meanwhile, it was agreed that, whereas the denominational or, as they were now called, the Voluntary Schools, had always upheld the principle of payment by the scholars (or their parents), education ought really to be offered free. In the County Councils Act of 1888 provision was made for education to become one of the duties devolving upon County Councils, and in 1890 the Local Taxation Act gave the County Councils right to raise money for educational purposes, so that the payment of fees for Board Schools, which now fell under the control of County Councils, was abolished. Naturally the Voluntary Schools could not charge fees if the Board Schools did not, and further Government grants had to be given to aid them. In 1899 a permanent Board of Education was established, and the school age was raised to twelve, or in some cases to thirteen, years, and in 1900 to thirteen or fourteen. Meanwhile, a long-standing difference between Voluntary Schools and Board Schools called for settlement. In Voluntary Schools, from the start, religious teaching had been given according to the wishes of the trustees or managers ; but the Board Schools had from the first made no definite provision for religious teaching, simply leaving the nine o'clock school hour open for religious teaching to be conducted by the teachers if they wished, and as they wished. Every Government between 1870 and

1896 tried to meet this difficulty; and from 1896 to 1902 there were various experiments in educational legislation, leading to the Act of 1902.

Education Act of 1902.—By this Act all elementary schools are placed under the Board of Education, and more directly under the local County (or Borough) Educational Authority, but differing in the appointment of their managers. The former Board Schools, now called "**Provided**" schools, have as their managers two members of the Local District Council, and four of the County Council Education Committee, whereas the "**non-Provided**" schools (formerly known as "voluntary") have on their boards of management one member from the County Council Education Committee, one from the District Council, and four managers under their original trust. In the "**non-Provided**" schools the religious teaching has continued as before. In the "**Provided**" the managers have had the option of continuing it on simple lines, or dropping it altogether. The Clerk to the County Council is Clerk to the County Education Authority, so that all schools in his area are directly under his supervision, and thus uniformity under the general Board of Education scheme is assured. (Much the same is true of Boroughs of over 10,000 and Urban Districts of over 20,000 population, though the relation of the local Education Authority to the Board of Education is here a little more complicated.)

After the 1902 Act many regulations were passed dealing with methods and teachers, and

giving local Education Authorities special powers to deal with defective children, to give medical treatment, to provide meals for scholars, and to find employment for those leaving school. These regulations have greatly assisted to remove the difficulties in the way of the spread of education. But one of the most awkward problems was that of the removal of children from school to work, before their education had reached even a comparatively low standard. This practice was specially common in some of the industrial districts where children were made to work part of the day in the mills or factories under the name of "half-timers," thus losing much of their schooling.

Moreover, the limit of school age was put too low. Girls and boys going out to work at thirteen and fourteen often drifted into "blind-alley" employments and learnt no regular trade or profession, consequently swelling the ranks of casual labour. For these and other reasons it was felt that new legislation was necessary.

The Education Act of 1918 at one blow provided that no children should be exempted from education between the ages of five and fourteen: none should be employed at any trade under twelve, and very few between that age and fourteen. All should attend continuation schools for part of their time up to the age of eighteen, unless their full-time education should have been continued up to sixteen. All fees for elementary and technical education were abolished, and an

attempt was thus made to put an end to any restriction upon all young citizens receiving a thorough schooling.

Secondary Education.—Besides elementary education there has always been some provision for higher or advanced teaching. This was, of course, provided voluntarily until the State had undertaken the burden of elementary education. The old endowed schools provided a certain amount of this higher education free, or at very low fees to those who could obtain scholarships or bursaries, and also allowed any who chose to pay full fees to attend and receive higher instruction. But all these schools, many of which still exist, had different methods and different standards, and it is only since the Education Act of 1902 that the local Education Authorities have been empowered to offer standardized secondary education of several different types through the medium of State-aided schools. Higher education falls roughly into four classes, as follows :

Technical Education.—This is definite teaching or training in some special art or science, leading directly to some trade or profession ; in many large centres technical schools are open to receive scholars recommended by the elementary and other schools as particularly suited to take up some art or science. These schools are expensive to raise, as they need so much equipment and machinery, but the Act of 1918 abolishes any fees or charges for technical education, and so the whole cost falls on the State.

Commercial Education undertakes to instruct pupils in the art of buying and selling the products of industry to the best advantage ; so, in addition to the ordinary knowledge of English, geography, and arithmetic, it provides special teaching in foreign languages, book-keeping, and economics. **Secondary Education**, other than technical or commercial, is taken to mean that further training in languages, history, and science, which will enable a pupil who has satisfactorily passed through the elementary stages to proceed to a university. Finally, **University Education** includes all the highest branches of science and philosophy. Indeed, a university should be able to provide competent teaching in the highest branches of any subject asked for by a genuine student. It is the wish of the Board of Education that all educational institutions in the country should work together, and though the universities and many secondary schools are not directly under the Board of Education, there is a general system of co-operation which makes it possible for a promising boy or girl to be passed on from one stage of education to another with very little cost to their parents. Education, however, is still very much in the experimental stage, and it will be some time before a complete scheme of education is formulated.

CHAPTER XIII

HIGHWAYS, ROADS, AND BRIDGES

Transit.—Before the advent of railways the transit of the country was carried on by road, except in a few districts where rivers provided a natural waterway, and though in the eighteenth century many rivers were artificially deepened and improved for navigation, and a certain number of canals were dug (one of the earliest being the Duke of Bridgewater's canal from Worsley to Manchester, 1757), yet traffic by water in England has never reached the same importance as in Belgium or in Germany. So from early times roads have been the principal method of transit, and the care and repair of them has been an important civic duty. The Romans, to subdue Britain, constructed main roads to serve as arteries of traffic, many of which, like the Watling Street from Dover to London and London to Chester, still follow nearly the same course; others, like the Fosse Way from Somerset to Lincoln, are partly neglected and grass-grown. Through the Saxon times these roads continued in use, though gradually growing worse from lack of repair, and cross-country journeys had to be taken on horse-back over the roughest possible tracks. The

Norman Kings used the Roman roads for their military purposes, and indeed claimed that they belonged to the King, hence the term the "King's Highway." Edward III. ordered the trees and shrubs for 100 yards on either side of these roads to be cut down, lest any should shoot at the King's messengers or soldiers in discharge of their duty. But in spite of this royal claim to the main roads, very little was done to mend them, and hardly any side roads were made. Here and there a charitable person would build a bridge and leave a sum of money to endow it and the chapel upon it. But even as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the roads were so bad as to be almost impassable for wheeled vehicles, and dangerously beset by highwaymen. In that reign the overseers of the poor seem to have taken on the duty of "way wardens," so that each parish became responsible for any roads within it. Thus the old roads were gradually mended and new ones made to suit the occupiers of outlying houses. The haphazard way in which this was done accounts for the extraordinary winding of many of our English roads to-day.* But though a rich parish could keep up its highways and byways fairly well, the poor ones could not, and thus the roads

* The nature of the old tracks, gradually converted into roads by parish authorities, often indicates the type of early settlers in the district. Thus, in the old territories of the East Saxons, who lived in scattered homesteads, the roads often run with frequent right-angled turns, showing that the tracks run from homestead to homestead along the edges of enclosures, and not direct from village to village.

became extremely patchy and awkward to travel upon until, in 1752, a new system was introduced.

Turnpikes.—In order to improve the main through roads of the country, the Turnpike Act of 1752 permitted private owners or companies to take over a main road for a certain number of years. They could alter and improve it, and charge all those who used it a small sum for its use. This money was collected at "Turnpike Gates," or "Toll Bars," which can be seen even now in some parts of England. This system rapidly improved the roads, but it led to two evils—(1) that selfish owners could, and often did, divert the roads to suit their own convenience, and (2) that it made the transit of goods very costly; for instance, it is said that in 1790 goods travelling from Southampton to Oxford, a distance of less than 70 miles, had to pay no less than eleven tolls at separate turnpike gates. Roads gradually fell back again into the hands of the parish authorities, and early in the nineteenth century a great improvement was introduced by the scientific methods of John MacAdam, who in 1812 was presented by Parliament with £10,000 as a reward for improving the road surfaces. At last, in 1835, the Government took up the question of roads, and the General Highway Act appointed proper surveyors of roads for each parish. But again the unit of the parish proved too small, and in 1848, under the Public Health Act, parishes were united into Highway Districts. The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 put the roads into the hands of

the Local Government authorities, and now the County Council is responsible for the upkeep of main roads and bridges; the Urban or Rural District Council or Borough Authorities keep up the secondary roads, and the Parish Councils see to footpaths that do not run along the public roads. The Road Board, set up in 1914, now treats certain main roads as of national importance, and gives grants to County Councils for their upkeep; such roads are those of great naval or military importance, as those from London to Southampton and Portsmouth, or London to Dover. Thus it will be seen that anything like good roads are barely 200 years old in this country, and first-class roads less than 100. The ordinary citizen who now drives, or cycles, or motors with comparative ease where he will, could only have ridden or walked over the majority of highways in the days of Queen Anne. In view of the increase of motor and steam traffic by road, both for travel and for transport of goods, it has become necessary to organize a Ministry of Transport, which has only recently begun to take up its functions. (Clarke, "Local Government," p. 15.)

PART II

CHAPTER XIV

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

BOTH industry and commerce are subjects of economic study ; but though it is not possible to enter into a full discussion of them here, their importance from the point of view of civics is so great that a few words are necessary.

Industry means work—to produce goods that men need or want for the carrying out of the business of life. It is, in a sense, the life-blood of a nation, and commerce is the circulation of this life-blood. Upon these two depend the interest and the progress of national life. But both have to be guided aright. The plea that “business is business” may be used to justify evil means, if not evil ends. No nation is secure or prosperous without trade ; but trade by itself, without a sense of civic duty, may lower the national standard of what is right. If it were not for the fact that men were not unselfish in their trade aims in the past, trade between countries, as between individuals, might have been free. Free trade in theory expresses the natural relation between countries, each country supplying what other countries need, and getting in return from them what it needs itself. The

world would be happiest if all men aimed at peace, and all trading were free. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century this view was upheld by such great thinkers and speakers as Cobden and Bright, and British trade was made freer than that of any other country in consequence. But so long as there is a danger of one nation attacking another in war, free trade has to be qualified by the necessity of a country being self-supporting as far as is possible, for in war-time imports from abroad may cease. Thus in Great Britain agriculture has to some extent decayed, and the crops grown are not nearly enough to support the population. It may be necessary to support agriculture by taxing foreign imports, even if the immediate result is to raise the price of bread.

Industry has developed very rapidly in the last two hundred years, and the problems it raises have become acute. Whereas in the earlier stages of human industry individual workers each made some article of commerce, the development of machinery and of the factory system has now made it the exception for any worker to produce a finished article by himself. This has had very wide results, and chiefly in the relations between the workers and those who employ them. Thus, in very many industries the workers have little or no knowledge of their employer, and the personal touch between master and craftsman has been lost. The feeling has too often grown up that those who do the actual work do not receive the

right share of the profits of their industry. But in order to maintain the very costly means of production, machinery, buildings, transport, and so forth, something more than the immediate profit on the sale of the goods is needed to carry on the trade, and thus there has grown up the store of wealth known as Capital. And in all modern industry some amount of capital is wanted to ensure the continuance of the trade. Unfortunately, the distinction between Labour and Capital has become more and more sharply drawn, and many have come to believe that their interests are different. This is not really the case, for no industry can go on without labour, and no group of workers can produce and put their goods on the market without some form of capital. So that what is needed is a feeling of confidence and mutual trust. If it were possible, the best solution of the difficulty seems to lie in co-operation. If the workers both with hand and brain—for no industry can be carried on successfully without good organization and management—can combine to work in harmony, and to share in the profits of the undertaking, all will work smoothly. The workers should take an interest in their work, feeling themselves actually partners in the business with those who provide the capital and find the money for wages and cost of materials and manufacture ; and the owners should feel that the workers have a right to a share in the produce of their toil, and to a voice in the management of their affairs.

Many writers and thinkers have urged that, as the system of capital tends to bring money in large quantities into the hands of the few rather than the many, and thus make the conditions unequal, the State should in some way intervene and make the ownership of some of the main means of industry national, rather than personal. There is much to be said on both sides of the question. At first sight it would seem that Government ownership would make for the happiness of the greatest number. Yet experience has shown that one of the greatest sources of progress in industry is the desire to increase personal wealth; and that private enterprise is much more likely to take risks than any Government, which is liable to the criticism of every citizen. Moreover, many instances prove that Government servants, paid regular salaries, work more slowly and less keenly than those working for themselves; as the saying is, "What is everyone's business is no one's business." Thus the nationalization of some of our main industries might not tend to progress, but even to less production. It is hardly a question of right and wrong, but rather of expediency. Is it better for a nation to have large and growing industries, full of energy and initiative, or to keep all production at one level, and prevent rapid growth of personal wealth by stifling enterprise? Only experience can show.

The wealth of a nation does not consist only in the actual money owned by the members of it, but

in the happiness and contentment of the citizens, and their ability to lead prosperous and peaceful lives; and whatever tends most to produce this result is the best policy to pursue.

The commerce of a nation depends upon the circulation of goods. Some articles can be produced at home and consumed—that is, used on the spot; others have to be brought from abroad, and either consumed at once, such as foodstuffs, or manufactured into articles of consumption. But it is clear that if a nation does not produce everything that it needs within its own borders, and has to buy food or raw materials from abroad, its wealth will decrease, unless it can send goods to other countries and sell them there, and so balance its trade. Upon these two principles has grown up the whole system of exports and imports; and that nation is most prosperous which can pay for its imports by exporting as much, or more, to other countries. Britain has, in the past, been a great trading country, and has built up her system of commerce by making and selling to other countries manufactured goods* to pay for the quantities of food and raw materials that she has had to import to feed and to employ her large population. When the price of imported goods rises, the only way to meet the cost of these imports is to make and export more goods than before—*i.e.*, to increase production.

* The only large British export that is not manufactured is coal, and the tendency is for home consumption of coal to exceed export.

However, this is perhaps going somewhat beyond the scope of civics ; for the purposes of citizenship it should be enough to understand the main problems of industry and commerce, and to see that, so far as may be, the industries of the country may be conducted in a manner to conduce to the welfare of the largest number, and that the commerce of the nation may lead to its prosperity. British commerce has in the past won for itself a good reputation in the markets of the world. The credit attaching to British honesty is the chief asset in British trade ; and as it is to the interest of the State that the citizens should be honest and straightforward in their dealings, this is something to be proud of. Indeed, the individual fairness and justness of traders goes far to make the character of a nation.

As was said above, the relations of Capital and Labour, and kindred subjects, belong more properly to the sphere of Economics ; and the questions raised by Trade Unionism and the attitude of workers to their employers are not purely civic, but rather sociological. However, they are very intimately connected with civic duties, and every good citizen should study these matters, so as to be able to form a sound judgment upon them.

CHAPTER XV

PATRIOTIC FEELING AND PUBLIC SERVICE

PATRIOTISM, or a natural feeling of pride in one's country and a desire to uphold it, is a sentiment common to civilized man. But it is quite possible for this feeling to be led into wrong channels, and to be actually harmful. If the desire to forward the interests of one's fatherland at all costs becomes too strong, it may lead to the neglect of the just claims of other countries. The doctrine of Chauvinism, or "my country, right or wrong," is surely false. True patriotism should lead us to serve our country if it is right, and where it is wrong to help to set it right. Just as the first duties that we recognize as binding upon us are those towards our family, and then as we grow up we recognize our duty towards our neighbour, and then to all fellow-citizens, so we must learn that beyond our duty to our fellow-citizens and to our country lies our duty towards all mankind. It may sometimes prove to be the case that the interests of the family must give way to the interests of the State; and so also, at times, the claims of home and country must make room for those of mankind as a whole. No patriotic feeling can be just unless it can be put into action in such

a way as not to injure the reasonable claims of other countries; but when a conflict arises between the rights of the fatherland and those of other nations, the good citizen must be guided by the dictates of his conscience.

The way to train the citizens of a State into a right patriotic feeling should be by teaching them that all have a duty towards the State, and that they themselves constitute the State. If, then, the State calls for service, it is right that those who wish to serve it should learn the principles of justice and equity; and it is even more right that they should try to put what they learn into practice.

The best cure for selfishness is a ready willingness to help others, and this can be made the basis of a good civic and patriotic spirit. But it is not always easy to see how to be useful, and hence the importance of knowing a little about all departments of national life. The understanding of different points of view helps to clear away distrust and difficulty, and to stir up a keen and active public spirit.

Some attempt has been made above to show the position of the citizen in the State, and the duties of the State towards the citizen. But it is not enough for the good citizen to know how and why certain questions are dealt with by the nation or by local authorities. Men and women should all try to take an active interest, and to see how far they can play a useful part in the national life. This is not merely a matter of using a vote at

parliamentary or local elections. It implies taking an active interest in all the questions of the day, and seeing whether there is not some side of Local Government work or assistance that each can give to make the lot of others happier and more satisfactory. It is clearly the duty of those who have special knowledge or ability to serve on Local Council Boards or Committees, rather than to avoid the trouble that a few extra meetings may give. Those who have had superior education or training should be willing to put their knowledge at the disposal of those who have been less fortunate, and those who know anything of the laws of the country should feel it a duty not to leave unnoticed any open breach of them that they may observe. The Englishman is by nature reserved, and anxious to mind his own business if others will mind theirs; but this feeling is too often made an excuse for leaving things undone that should certainly be done. Nobody wants to be considered a busybody, but an intelligent and kindly interest in the affairs of others promotes good feeling and good citizenship. It is not possible to make a nation good by Act of Parliament any more than to make it sober by legislation. At the present time there is a tendency to trust too much to Government interference; many think that State ownership of mines, railways, and land would solve some of the most difficult questions of industry. But experience has shown that some of the best work in the past has been done by private enterprise in all

departments of national life ; it is possible that too great an insistence on law and State regulation may destroy the sense of free citizenship, and perhaps the best motto for a free citizen is that of the Prince of Wales, " I serve."

Willing and hearty service on behalf of others undoubtedly brings out the best qualities of mind and character. Perhaps, in the future, that ideal will be better realized, and education will be aimed at producing keen citizens rather than selfish wage-earners. There are three hopes which should be before the mind of every British subject :—

1. That every child born in the country should have a full opportunity of finding self-expression ;
2. That the standard of justice between man and woman should not only be maintained, but rise to the utmost possible point ; and
3. That the freedom of each should mean the freedom of all.

CHAPTER XVI

NATIONAL UNITY

IT is much easier for the citizens of a small city-State, such as those of ancient Greece, to realize their unity, their oneness as members of the State, than it is for those who are members of a great modern nation. There is an old saying that it is often not easy to see the wood for the trees; and this is true of our present masses of population. The neighbours whom we know can easily be thought of as fellow-citizens; but it is hard to feel much interest in the teeming thousands of some distant town. And so, in peace time, we are apt to make more of our differences and our divisions than of our common nationality: it takes some great crisis, such as the recent War, to bring together the different elements in a nation. Yet it is possible for people with widely different traditions and aims to work together for common national objects. England itself is in its history a witness to this: the various Saxon kingdoms combined into one and absorbed their Danish conquerors; the Normans fused with the Saxons to form the English people; the Welsh, though preserving their language and many national customs, have

become united with the English; Scotland, after centuries of strife with England, eventually became united, at first in sentiment through the Stuart dynasty, and then in fact by the Act of Union (1707); and though there were attempted risings in 1715 and 1745, their very failure shows the union of Scotland with England to have been more than a mere paper agreement. Ireland has, unfortunately, never understood this principle of unity, and her attitude to England creates the most difficult problem of the day.

National unity calls for some sacrifice of personal wishes. It means that the party spirit must sometimes give way to the good of the whole. It is quite right and reasonable that each should hold his own party views, and party government seems to lead to the freest discussion of all questions; but the interests of one party should not be allowed to override the good of the country as a whole. It is this that makes the Crown in this country so valuable an asset to the State: the King is assumed to be above all party, and to be independent of the changes of political fortune, and as such is the head of the Nation and the Empire, and the visible proof of its oneness. In the same way, it is held that the foreign affairs of a nation ought to be beyond the range of party warfare, and managed by experts with no object in view but the good of the country as a whole.

Again, there is the utmost difference between man and man in religious matters; and it is right that there should be freedom and toleration for



all points of view. But most good citizens, however different their opinions in religion, agree as to the principles of justice and truth; and where there is a National Church it should stand for these principles and, however much people may differ from it in shades of thought and creed, it should uphold the standard of national honesty and purity.

Perhaps the chief bar to national unity lies in class distinction. Men are not born equal in gifts and capacities, and still less in position; and the sense of social or political privilege tends to make those who enjoy it proud, and those who do not possess it jealous. But though it is not possible to remove all social inequalities, much has been done to put aside political privilege. It is the glory of Great Britain that her citizens may rise from the humblest origin to the highest and most responsible positions; and more and more the ideal of "equality of opportunity" is being realized. The distinctions of caste and class are being broken down, and education, the great means of self-improvement, thrown open to all. Nothing makes for mutual trust and understanding more surely than work done together for the common good, and hence one of the most valuable means towards securing national unity is public service in the national interest. Thus it has been found that comradeship in the recent War has, for many, broken down old prejudice and misunderstandings, and made possible a better spirit. English folk are proud of being sportsmen; and the essence of

true sport is that it should be a common sharing of some strenuous or venturesome enterprise. Any game that makes those who play it play for the side, and not for their own hand, brings out this sportsmanlike feeling. To "play the game" means to us to be fair, to submit to the orders of a captain, and not to grudge the victory to the better side; and there is no better training for national unity than a sound training in healthy national games. Not the watching of a football match or a race meeting (which though harmless in themselves may lead to betting and gambling), but the actual participation in an athletic or gymnastic contest makes men not only physically stronger, but mentally and morally sounder.

Again, nothing can be better than that boys and girls should be trained as scouts and guides to work and play together for a common object, and no personal gain. The character-forming value of these growing institutions is inestimable, and will bear fruit in years to come as a real source of national unity.

Just as in industry and commerce, co-operation appears to point the way to a fuller recognition of individual rights, so, too, in political and social life, common work for a common object breaks down the barriers of exclusiveness and caste, and promotes goodwill and the happiness of the greatest number; and that leads eventually to a feeling of national unity.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN addition to the British Isles, the nation holds or administers vast regions overseas. Our island position to the north-west of the continent of Europe has caused generations of Englishmen to look to the sea for their livelihood, and to take part in the exploration of the world. Under the great Elizabethan mariners, such as Raleigh, Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins, our knowledge of the lands beyond the Atlantic grew apace, and British settlements grew up along the coasts of North America as well as in the West Indies. These became, under the Stuart Kings and the Commonwealth, trading stations and penal settlements, and gradually developed into colonial dependencies. In the reign of Elizabeth English merchants turned their attention also towards the East, and there grew up an East India Company, which gradually acquired lands in India and the Eastern Seas. The wars of the eighteenth century to some extent put a stop to this colonial expansion, and the unfortunate action of Grenville and Lord North lost to us, in 1771, the greater part of our North American colonies, which then began their separate existence as the United States of

America, and have since grown into one of the greatest world Powers. But we retained our hold upon Canada, and gradually pushed its boundaries westward from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the Pacific Ocean.

The loss of the American colonies caused us to look farther afield for a penal colony, and in 1788 the east coast of Australia was selected and settled upon; and from the first stations at Botany Bay and Port Jackson, British dominion gradually spread over the whole of that vast continent. New Zealand was not formally annexed until 1840, though British settlers had traded with the Maoris and held land there for fully fifty years before. In South Africa we had some interests since the seventeenth century, but did not finally purchase Cape Colony from the Dutch till 1814; and the gradual expansion of British influence over the South of that great continent took fully a hundred years. In India, the British Trading Company had bought land and been drawn into relations with native princes, which led to the gradual acquisition of nearly two-thirds of the surface of India; and in 1858 the Company handed over its territories and rights to the Crown, which has since administered British India and advised the native sovereigns, to the great advantage of the millions that live there.

It would not be possible here to trace the history of all our lesser dependencies and colonies, or of the great Protectorates, such as Egypt; but in one way or another Great Britain has acquired sway

over, or direction of, one-fifth of the land surface of the globe. This is not only a great privilege for the British race; it is also a very great responsibility. Of the total population of this Empire, estimated at some 436,000,000 in 1919, only one-sixth are white people: some 46,000,000 in Great Britain, 7,000,000 in Canada, 6,000,000 in Australia and New Zealand, and barely 3,000,000 in South Africa; whilst in India the white population is only some 300,000, and the coloured folks number 330,000,000.

Is this great collection of different peoples and lands really an Empire? Not in the sense that an Empire may be defined as a State, ruled over by a single monarch with a single system of government, such as was the great Roman Empire, or the short-lived Empire of Napoleon, or the rule of the Czars in Russia. Nor is it a State upheld by military despotism, such as was the German Empire before the War. Rather, the British Empire is a collection of loosely related units, bound together by a common sentiment of loyalty to the British Crown and a common interest in trade. The Governments of the various units composing the Empire differ widely. There are, besides the British Isles, five great self-governing Dominions—Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland; there is the great Dependency of India: there are Crown Colonies, Protectorates, Federated States (such as those of Malaya), and isolated outposts of Empire (such as Aden, Malta, Gibraltar);

there are wide spheres of influence in Eastern Africa, and territories temporarily administered by Great Britain such as Mesopotamia. In some parts of the world British administration has tried to pave the way for a nation hitherto backward or undeveloped to find her own independence; this is the case with Egypt, and may prove to be the solution of our problems in India. But however acquired, and great though the mistakes made in the past may have been, the aim of the British Empire has been to spread the sense of liberty and justice, and to forward the progress of civilization. There is no doubt that, on the whole, British colonial and imperial government has been for the good of mankind. Native races have, in countless examples, shown their trust in British justice. British trade has made for honesty and fair dealing, and, where there have been abuses, our imperial administrators have tried to deal with them justly and impartially. The British flag has rescued many races from slavery, and waged incessant war upon the slave trade. British government has encouraged freedom of speech, political rights, and religious toleration, and British colonial governors and civil servants have shown an unexampled devotion to the interests of the peoples under their charge. The aim of those in charge of the affairs of the Empire has been, and should always be, to direct the government of the various nations within the Empire towards their advancement and improvement. This has often been difficult, and those at

home, who know little or nothing of the overseas countries, have often criticized our colonial administrators unfavourably; but no other country can show such a record of devoted service to mankind.

It is the duty of every good citizen to take an interest in the Empire and its welfare, and to acquaint himself with its extent and nature. A strong body of sound public opinion upon Empire subjects will greatly help those who carry out the administration.

CHAPTER XVIII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

IT has been seen that the growth of civic ideas is from the family to the group or tribe, from that to the State or nation; and only when civilization has reached a high level do men realize their duties to citizens of other countries and to the world as a whole. The first feeling that we have towards those of other races and languages is not friendly; we do not naturally understand them or agree with them, and there is a tendency to suspect or to despise all those who are not of the same nation as ourselves. But this is not necessary, nor is it right; the interests of other nations need not be the same as ours, though they may fit in with ours and we may derive benefit from each other. From the early stage of dislike of foreigners sprang wars; the actual causes of war being many—sometimes the desire to gain land, sometimes to overthrow a hostile Power, sometimes to attack a religious creed. Thus, the Normans overthrew the Saxon Kings to gain their land, the continental Powers allied themselves against Napoleon to break his power, the Crusades were organized to regain the Christian

holy places from their Mohammedan conquerors. It is only within recent centuries that the idea has gained ground that nations can agree to differ, and that differences can be settled by the pen and not the sword : the idea of international rights and justice does not date back two hundred years. Even now it is misleading to talk of international law, for that implies that such law has been made and sanctioned by all or many nations ; but it does not really exist, and all that has been done is to substitute conferences and conventions for warfare where possible. This movement dates only from the middle of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the first instance of a disputed international point being submitted to arbitration was the celebrated Alabama case in 1872.

The Geneva Convention and the Hague Conference, in the last years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, did much to bring about peaceful discussion of international affairs, but their decisions were not backed with any real power, and were set aside by some of the combatants in the recent War.

Failing the existence of a real international law, it has been the custom of civilized nations to send special ministers to each other, to watch the interests of their own nation, and, if possible, to avoid causes of offence. These envoys, ambassadors, or plenipotentiaries, as they are called, are supposed to represent their own Governments, and to speak with authority on behalf of their own nation ; an embassy or legation deals with

questions affecting the rights of its own citizens and their trade in the country in which it is situated. As the relations between embassies and foreign Governments are very delicate, there has grown up a special art of dealing with these international questions, known as diplomacy; the word is derived from the "diploma," or official document, certifying the genuineness of the ambassador's appointment. For many years the object of diplomacy has been to bring about the peace of the world by a "balance of power"—that is, a rough attempt to stave off wars by equalizing the powers of rival nations, and, where smaller or weaker dominions seemed likely to be crushed by greater Powers, seeking alliances with other nations to restore the balance. This ideal of diplomacy is a low one, for it rests upon the assumption that Might is Right, and does not appeal to the moral sense of humanity. It is therefore liable to break down, and has done so; and the future of diplomacy must lie in taking a higher view of international aims. The idea of a League of Nations is that every nation, however small, should have the right of self-expression or self-determination, and that the greater should help the smaller to achieve this object. How far diplomacy will succeed in bringing this about remains to be seen. In the past, diplomacy has too often been used for selfish ends by scheming rulers or Governments, and its fault has been too great secrecy. President Wilson has appealed for open diplomacy, in which each nation may

state clearly its aims and work openly for the peace of the world, instead of secretly for the advantage of one Government. It is, of course, difficult for the public to follow closely all the steps in international relations, largely owing to the difficulties caused by differences of language and customs, but much more could be made known to all through the Press than has hitherto been the case, and then the suspicion of secret treaties and agreements would be avoided.

English folk have a great belief in good behaviour, or, as they say, the gentlemanly way of dealing with one another. There is no reason why nations should not behave in this manner; if disputes arise, it is far better not to quarrel or go to war, but to submit the case to arbitration. Such a case arose when Chile and the Argentine Republic referred the settlement of their difficult boundary question to King Edward VII. in 1902; and other instances can be quoted to prove the value of this way of adjusting disagreements. If simple arbitration fails, there should still be some Court of international law to which the case could be sent; and this is one of the objects of the League of Nations. Between nations, as between individuals, what is needed is a spirit of confidence. Those who deal fairly and honestly with their neighbours think well of them, and in their turn deserve to be trusted, and are trusted. This is the ideal to aim at in national affairs as well as in private, and the world is becoming more accustomed to the idea. Years ago travel was

difficult, and nations were very much cut off from each other ; but, with the improved means of communication at our disposal, the countries of the world are becoming much more closely united, and humanity is gradually finding that it is all one family, and that the interests of each are, to a great extent, the interests of all.

CHAPTER XIX

SOME CIVIC PROBLEMS

THE study of civics arouses interest in a very great number of questions, and it may not be out of place here to treat of some important problems of the day. **Luxury** and **waste** are at the present time responsible for a great deal of misery. The distribution of wealth is a subject more to be treated under the heading of Economics, but it is clear that where money and property are very unevenly divided, then some will get more, and others less, than they should. It is not true to say that the rich man's extravagant tastes give work to his less fortunate neighbours. Work is, of course, employed in the production of articles of luxury, but it is quite easy to show that that amount of work could quite as well be applied to objects of more use to the community. It is very hard to define luxuries. Besides the bare necessities of food, shelter, and clothing, we all have certain reasonable wants, and with the growth of civilization there is a rise in the standard of comfort. But luxuries are neither needs nor comforts, but rather things which are unnecessary and extravagant, and often only purchased to give a sense of pride and possession. Similarly, there

is much unnecessary waste, both of life and material, which could be avoided by the use of a stronger sense of civic duty.*

If taxation of large incomes can be regulated, so as to secure that a greater proportion of the wealth of the country really goes to promote the welfare of the greater number, much of the more obvious form of luxury will be avoided. But it is not only the rich who are extravagant or wasteful. Often those whose wealth is not great squander their money on unnecessary food, or useless display of clothes, or expensive entertainments, and thus reduce the amount that they can save or spend upon necessities. What is above all needed is sound public opinion on these matters. Rationing during the War taught the country to be economical, and to see how much can be dispensed with; and some form of Government control can reduce extravagance in food and fuel.

Drink.—It is asserted that much of our national poverty and misery is directly due to drink. Certainly the Northern races of Europe have a tendency to err in excessive drinking, and the evils resulting from it are national disasters. Apart from the waste of foodstuffs in the manufacture of intoxicants, the serious danger has lain in the fact that the promotion of the sale of drink has been to the interest of brewers and distillers. No such private interest should stand in the way

* See "Luxury and Waste of Life," by E. J. Urwick. (J. M. Dent and Co.)

of reform. The nation cannot afford to be a drunken nation. The excessive use of drink lowers the standard of efficiency.

Prohibition in the United States of America and in some of our Colonies—*e.g.*, New Zealand—is an industrial, rather than a social, measure. It is claimed that where the sale of liquor is heavily restricted or prohibited the efficiency of workers is increased by 10 per cent. at least. The public-houses in this country have too often been run simply in the interests of the brewers, and not of the public, and many political clubs have served as an excuse for drinking. There should be more restriction of licences, and the local authorities in each area should have local option as to the number of licences issued and the amount to be sold. During the War Government control has made a marked difference to the sobriety of the country, the Central Liquor Control Board having reduced the amount manufactured and issued, and greatly shortened the hours of sale. And there are two strong new factors making for temperance—firstly, the women's vote, and secondly the growth of sound teaching on the subject in the schools. There arises the question of the duty of the State in regard to the Liquor Trade. So long as private interest in the sale of drink exists there is danger to the State; and it might be to the good of the community if the State purchased and managed the entire trade. At any rate, much can be done by making those who sell liquor less directly interested in the quantity sold. Such disinterested

management as exists in public-houses managed by the People's Refreshment House Association and the Public House Trust Association and kindred bodies makes the problem easier, the profits on the sale of non-intoxicants and of food being to the advantage of the manager, who receives none for the sale of intoxicants. But there is more to be gained by teaching citizens to seek something better than by all the control and licensing laws. The State should try to remove the temptation to drink, and at the same time give encouragement to clubs, associations, refreshment-houses, and entertainments where no drink is sold. Children are wisely excluded from public-houses already, but there should be healthy and happy refreshment-houses where a man can take his wife and family without temptations to intoxicating drink, and without the degrading spectacle of human beings under the influence of liquor.

Of **Betting** and **Gambling** it is difficult to speak. There is no doubt that they lead to distress, and are a national evil. But there is a strong feeling that "a man may do what he likes with his own," and the temptation to risk money on a sporting event is common to many British folk; whether it be horse-racing, football, coursing, or boxing, there is always the motive of a desire to "put money on the winner." In some countries betting on horse-racing is controlled by the State on the totalizator system, and the profits on the working of the system go towards

the revenue; this is actually the case in New Zealand. But a great deal of betting takes place privately and not upon the racecourse, and is extremely difficult to control. So, too, with gambling; the police can find and suppress houses kept simply for the purpose of gambling, but they cannot prevent games played privately for high, even ruinous, stakes. Public opinion on this point is certainly sounder than in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, when many families were gambled out of house and home; but there is room for much improvement yet in these matters.

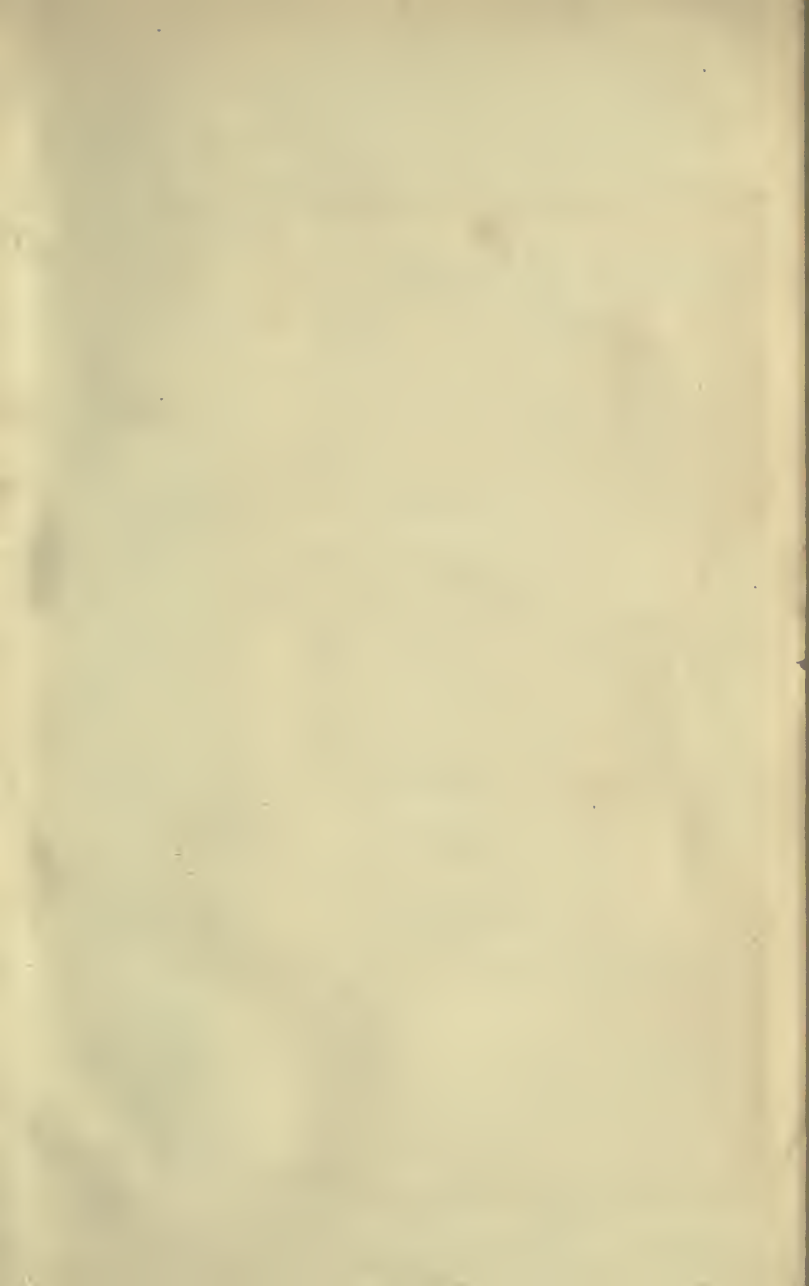
CHAPTER XX

THE PRESS

THERE is no doubt that the invention of printing has made a wonderful difference to the life of nations. Since it became common to print books, the influence of the spoken word has decreased; and, with the coming of cheap newspapers, the spread of ideas has become extraordinarily rapid. The Press is most powerful in a state of society where all, or most, can read, but not all have learnt to criticize and to set a just value upon what they read. There are far too many ordinary men and women who are prepared to accept any statement as true because they have seen it in print. It is owing to this that advertisements, very often couched in highly-coloured language, have such a success; patent medicines, and tipsters in horse-racing, owe their popularity to the gullibility of the public. Thus, if the printed word is to be taken at its true value, readers must learn to be more ready to use their own judgment. The responsibility for the news published in a newspaper rests with the owner and editor; and the danger in the control of several newspapers by one owner or editor is that the news issued in all of them may be misleading.

It is not at all certain that the publication of false news, whether intentionally or not, should not be made a criminal offence. The law is extremely severe as regards slander and libel—that is, the publication of statements likely to damage the character of any individual—and it might be extended to include false statements in general. Again, the Press is apt to encourage in the public a desire for sensation. This arises from the craving for excitement which is not healthy or wise, and leads to the printing of a great deal of ugly and sordid matter, such as police news, which cannot do good to the citizens as a whole. The British Press bears, on the whole, a good reputation as compared with that of other countries. The newspapers are not directly in the pay of the Government or any political party, and this makes for freedom of thought and speech. Indeed, freedom of the Press is essential to constitutional liberty, and attempts to suppress it lead to conspiracy and crime. The purity and decency of the British Press is in marked contrast to that of some lands, and the police can suppress at once printed matter that can offend against the better moral feelings of the citizens; so that the standard of public morals is largely in the hands of the newspapers, and the higher they can keep it, the better for the country. At the present time the chief fault of the Press from a civic point of view is the prominence given to certain reports which cannot do good, and may be responsible for serious harm. It is the aim of the

Press to supply the public with facts, attractively and readably set forth ; and so the journalists who prepare the news are bound to be closely in touch with popular opinion and wishes. They can do much to guide the public to think aright, and thus become a very great asset to the State. During the War Press censorship on foreign news had to be exercised by the Government, as well as on the reports of military and naval affairs ; this led to some restrictions, but also did a good deal to assure the reliability of news. If the Press can, without control from above, supply the country with true and healthy news, well put, and not liable to lead to excitement or alarm, the service so rendered to the State will always be valuable.



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