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A HANDBOOK
TO
POLITICAL QUESTIONS
OF THE DAY.

BACON gives a list of subjects for books which he has not time to undertake himself, and which he recommends to posterity; among them, "a collection of studied antitheses; or short and strong sentences on both sides of the question on a variety of subjects."

BACON, "*De Augmentis Scientiarum.*"

A HANDBOOK
TO
POLITICAL QUESTIONS
OF THE DAY.

BEING THE ARGUMENTS ON EITHER SIDE.

By SYDNEY C. BUXTON.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1880.

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PREFACE.

IN 1866, my father—Charles Buxton, M.P.—published a small book, entitled “Ideas of the Day on Policy,” the aim of which was to show what were the actual principles at that time swaying public opinion on the more important questions of the day.

That this book has been of use to many, by way of reference and help to the better understanding of political questions, I have often been assured; and it seemed to me, that, without infringing on the plan of the “Ideas,” there was room for a handbook on somewhat similar lines, which might be not altogether useless. Instead of the arguments being reduced to ideas, the arguments themselves, which govern each question, might be placed side by side, with the view of clearing the ground, and with the hope that some student of politics might be the better able to accept the true and reject the false, and so arrive at just conclusions.

In carrying out this intention my plan has been to give

the main and real arguments advanced on each side of the chief questions of domestic Policy. Each argument is capable of illustration, and in different minds branches out into varying forms; but my endeavour has been to sketch the central stem only, from which all these various forms proceed. Where I have thought it advantageous I have prefixed a short paragraph explanatory of the subject discussed, bringing it up to date.

No doubt many important arguments are overlooked, but in some cases an argument, supposed by the critic to have been omitted, may be really contained in one of those set out. I have endeavoured to be perfectly impartial, and to give every genuine argument which can be advanced on either side of each question; it is probable, however, that I have fallen short of entire impartiality.

It will be seen that occasionally arguments used by some are cheek by jowl with those used by antagonistic others, and yet they are equally advanced to prove the same point. This is unavoidable, so long as men with different aims and views attack or defend the same citadel from opposite quarters.

During the fourteen years which have elapsed since the "Ideas of the Day" was published, many of the questions then prominent have sunk into the obscurity of realisation; while a large number of questions, then either not hatched,

or thought to be too callow for notice, now strut full-fledged before the view. Again, some subjects there discussed have remained stationary, while others have advanced a few, or many stages, on the road to accomplishment.

It may be of interest to tabulate the questions under these four heads; and we find that amongst the subjects dealt with in the "Ideas" and since decided, are, Church Rates, Irish Church, University Tests, Revision of the Bible, Education (in one aspect), Reform (from the aspect then considered), Limited Liability, Strikes, Charitable Trusts, Purchase, Competitive Examinations, etc. Of subjects not there discussed, but now before the public, are, Burials Bill, Education (in certain aspects), County Franchise, Women's Suffrage, Registration of Land Titles, Distress, Tenant Right, Local Taxation, Local Self-government, Local Option, Gothenburg System, Sunday Closing of Public-houses, Sunday Opening of Museums, Reciprocity, Home Rule, Irish Land Questions (in their present aspect), &c. Of subjects which have remained almost stationary, may be quoted, the Permissive Bill, Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister, and Abolition of Capital Punishment; among those which have advanced in popularity, but are not yet accepted, are, Disestablishment, Abolition of Intestacy and Entail, and

Abolition of Flogging; while Redistribution of Seats, and Ballot, have to be reconsidered from a fresh point of view.

I have confined myself to questions of Home Policy, of these some more or less important ones have been perforce omitted, and the book in no way pretends to be complete.

I am much indebted to friends for advice and assistance.

SYDNEY C. BUXTON.

7, GROSVENOR CRESCENT,
June, 1880.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

IN issuing a Second Edition, I have to thank friends and critics for the kind way in which they have received this little work; and also for valuable suggestions towards its improvement.

In this edition I have given a few arguments before omitted, and have added one new subject—that of “*Obstruction* ;” and though this should not, perhaps, be included among Political Questions, it affects all political issues so deeply that it is hardly out of place here.

In the Preface to the first edition, I noted the rapid changes which take place in Social Politics, and even since that was published—but four months since—the aspect of three or four of the questions there discussed has been radically altered. A Burials Bill has been passed which seems to offer a substantial solution of the *Burials Question*, though to many it appears not to be a final settlement, inasmuch as services and ceremonies which are not “Christian,” are still forbidden in consecrated burial grounds. The *Game Laws* have been amended, so that now both tenant and landlord have an inalienable right of killing the ground game. *Flogging* in the Services has

received its death-blow, the Government having promised to introduce a Bill next session dealing with its abolition. The abstract resolution termed "*Local Option*" was carried last session. An *Irish Franchise Bill* passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords, and the Government has promised to introduce it as a Government measure next year.

Some critics, notably the "Pall Mall" and "Saturday Review" have taken me to task for the "scant courtesy" with which is treated the question of how best to carry out a plan of *Local Self-Government*. The reason for not attempting to summarise the arguments for and against the various schemes proposed, is that they are so numerous, so vague, and so conflicting, that it would be almost impossible adequately to discuss them in full. Moreover, it is beyond the scope of the work to note any proposal which has not yet assumed a shape typical of the desires of the one party or the aversion of the other.

It was in no way the intention of the book, as some seem to have supposed, to point out which arguments are weighty, which worthless, which are sound, and which rotten. Its existence will, I hope, have been justified, if, by placing side by side the feeble arguments and the strong, the mischievous with the good, it should induce any to think this or that, not merely because their fathers held such and such opinions, or because they imagine that their party believe in them; and should persuade them not—like

Croaker in the "Good-natured Man"—to be fixed, determined, and thereupon ask the other side to produce their reasons, because they can then do no harm; but to weigh well the arguments, and make up their minds on the merits of the question. If moreover the book, by showing how much sound argument can usually be urged on the "other side of the question," should in any degree teach toleration, it will have been of some practical use.

S. C. B.

7, GROSVENOR CRESCENT,
October, 1880.

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