

**A HANDBOOK TO**  
**POLITICAL QUESTIONS**  
**OF THE DAY**

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A

HANDBOOK TO  
POLITICAL QUESTIONS  
OF THE DAY,

AND THE ARGUMENTS ON EITHER SIDE,

*WITH AN INTRODUCTION,*

By SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P.

EIGHTH EDITION.

*REVISED AND WITH NEW SUBJECTS.*

LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.  
1892.

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## PREFACE.

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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 they branch



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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 has been 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.

I have confined myself to questions of Home Policy ; of these some more or less important 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 BUXTON.

## PREFACE TO EIGHTH EDITION.

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THE kind favour with which the "Handbook" has been received has enabled me from time to time to enlarge and to improve it. Each successive edition has contained more or less of fresh matter; new subjects have been added, the different sections have been revised, enlarged, and brought up to date, and in some cases entirely re-written; while sections on subjects that have become obsolete have been omitted.

The new subjects included in this edition are—*Legislative Interference in the Hours of Adult Males*, "*Trade Option*," *Miners' "Eight Hours Bill*;" *Registration Reform*, "*One Man, One Vote*," *Shorter Parliaments*, *Simultaneous Elections*, *Second Ballots*; *Municipal Home Rule for London*, "*Water*," "*Gas*," "*Tramways*," and "*Markets*;" *Taxation of Ground Values*, *Division of Votes between Owner and Occupier*, *Separate Assessment of Land and Building*, *the Taxation of Reversionists*, *the Rating of Vacant Lands*, *A Municipal Death Duty*, and "*Betterment*;" *Immigration of Pauper Aliens*.

Several sections have been, to a large extent, re-written, notably *Manhood Suffrage*, *Welsh Disestablishment*, *Payment*

*of Members, House of Lords, "Compensation" to Liquor Trade, Sunday Closing of Public Houses, etc.* The omitted sections are those on *Proportional Representation, Free Schools,\* Ballot, Disfranchisement, Cremation, etc.*

It was in no way the object of this book, as some seem to have supposed, to point out which arguments are weighty, which worthless, which are sound, and which rotten; nor to arrange the arguments in the order of their importance. Its existence will, I think, have been justified, if it has been of any practical use to the public; and if, by showing how much sound argument can usually be urged on the "other side of the question," it has, in any degree, taught toleration.

I have cordially to thank friends and critics for the kind way in which they have received this work, and also for valuable suggestions towards its improvement.

S. B.

15, EATON PLACE,  
March, 1892.

\* The arguments are omitted, an analysis of the Act of 1891 is given.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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WE are in this country fortunate enough to possess a system of party government, which, while it divides the political life of Great Britain into two or more parties, and gives rise to angry argument and heated discussion, does not degenerate into animosity. There is, consequently, nothing to prevent men of opposite modes of thought from remaining on amicable and intimate terms, or even from discussing temperately the questions on which they differ.

The reasons for the general absence of personal animosity between the rival political parties are not far to seek. In the first place, there is no diversity of opinion on the general question of the form of government best adapted for the country; and, though the various Estates of the Realm, which together make up the body politic, may struggle for power and influence, and from time to time may vary in constitution, it is taken for granted that a Sovereign who reigns but does not govern, is for us the best Head of the State. The country is thus saved from any agitation and intrigue, having for its object a change of Dynasty, or the institution of a Republic; and there is no Pretender caballing against the occupant of the throne. The Sovereign, and the supporters of the existing form of



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government, have no need, therefore, to be constantly engaged in attempting to crush or paralyse the Opposition, in order to preserve their own power, or office; to save themselves from exile, imprisonment, perhaps even death. The Opposition, on their part, are not tempted to engage in secret plotting, to which they would be certain to descend, if the despairing conviction were forced upon them, that their only hope of participating in the government of the country, was by a complete upheaval and reversal of the existing state of things.

Then, again, there is no hopelessness in English politics. Though, from time to time, one of the two great parties in the State has been forced to linger for many a weary year in the cold shade of opposition, while the other has been enjoying the sweets of office and the fruits of victory, a turn of fortune's wheel has always come, sooner or later; the minority has converted itself into a majority, ousted the Government, and taken its seat on the Treasury bench. The party in opposition has the ever-present consciousness that within three or four, or at most six years, it will of necessity have an opportunity of appealing to the intellect, to the interests, or to the passions of the nation. The sanguine expectation of future success which animates politicians, whilst it keeps alive a knowledge of, and an interest in politics, and prevents the defeated party from descending to violence and intrigue, has also, in Parliament and out, a powerful moderating influence on the Opposition; inasmuch as they are aware that, at any moment, they may be called

upon to undertake the responsibilities and the cares of office.

Thus party contest, while occasionally effervescing and bubbling over unpleasantly, is honest, sober, and sedate at bottom, and mostly kept within reasonable bounds.

On the other hand, the historic past of the two great Parties, the genuine divergence of opinion and principle, the real interest which is taken in matters of policy and of politics, are sufficient to keep alive the rivalry between them in its best and most ennobling form, and to prevent it from degenerating into a mere conflict between the "ins" and the "outs." Other countries—more especially, perhaps, some of our own Colonies—point the moral for us, that where no traditional or fundamental difference of opinion or principle exists, party politics cannot flourish in a satisfactory form, but reduce themselves to the low level of personal strife, desire for place, the pitting of class against class—ignoble aims and sordid aspirations.

England is not likely to fall on such evil days. Even when the momentous question which now dominates English politics has been laid to rest, there will yet remain, awaiting solution, many great questions of national importance, involving principles and details on which the two parties conscientiously differ. Moreover, we may well believe that, with an Empire such as ours, when the questions of the immediate present, and those looming large in the distance, have been settled, others of equal moment will come to the fore.

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Party government, as it exists amongst us, possesses this further incidental advantage, that each side is interested in the orderliness and intelligence of the other, whilst the country itself is almost as vitally concerned in the conduct of the Opposition as in that of the Government.

The stronger and more capable the Opposition—with due regard to the existence of a proper working majority on the Ministerial side—the better, more thorough, and lasting will be the work and legislation of the Government. A weak, lazy, or stupid Opposition, cannot exercise half the influence for good, either within or without the House, that will be exercised by one vigilant and strong. A Government which has to bear the brunt of intelligent, searching, and able criticism, will have a great additional inducement to propose well thought-out plans, high principled schemes, and measures which will commend themselves to the nation at large as well as to the Ministerialists.

Moreover, a well commanded, well drilled, and united Opposition will be less of a hindrance to the proper legislation of the Government, than one which is broken up into factions, has little respect for itself, and less regard for the dignity of the House. An Opposition such as this not only unreasonably delays the business of the nation, but brings discredit on itself and on the House of Commons.

In order to obtain an intelligent Opposition as well as a strong Government, the electors must be able to discriminate between the different parties, and to weigh the merits of different candidates. They must examine for themselves, as

best they can, each political question as it arises, so that—though they may not perhaps be able to make a very profound study of the situation—they may look at it from an intelligent and common-sense point of view, and cast their votes on the side which seems to them to be most in the right, and which, for the time being, appears to be most likely to promote the welfare of the country.

It cannot be to the interest of either party to veil the truth from the elector, or to keep him in darkness and ignorance. On the one hand, the Liberals may, and doubtless do, imagine that it is to their special interest that light should be shed, intelligence awakened, ignorance dispelled, and knowledge increased. They believe, or ought to believe, so firmly in the truth and vitality of their principles, as to be convinced that, the more these are studied and understood, the wider and more lasting will be their influence. Indeed, ~~if they do~~ if they do not hold this faith, they are either hypocrites, false to their political creed, or meaningless repeaters of parrot cries.

But, on the other hand, the Conservatives must have the same implicit belief in the truth, justice, and eternity of the principles which they profess; and if they are convinced of the righteousness of their cause, they must rejoice to see just intelligence awakened and increased. They also must feel that the more capable a man is of thinking and understanding, the more will the doctrines in which they believe be acceptable and accepted by him.

If, then, it be allowed by the advocates of both parties—as it surely must be—that increased knowledge is an advantage; and if they hold—as they surely must—that the arguments advanced by their own side outweigh those which can be urged by the other, neither can shrink from the test of having these arguments placed fairly side by side, for both must be convinced that the mind of the intelligent and unprejudiced inquirer will incline towards their own creed.

Unfortunately—though the fact may not be without compensatory advantages—men are far too apt to make up their minds that they are in the right in thinking this or that, simply and solely because somebody else thinks it, or has thought it. Such men, no doubt, are not troubled with many qualms of conscience, but wrap themselves up in the impenetrable cloak of unthinking deference to authority of opinion, and, whilst professing to be open to conviction, stubbornly refuse to see that there can possibly be more than one side to a question.

Those, however, who take the trouble to examine both sides carefully, will be ready to admit the force of opposing arguments; and, when they have weighed them well, and after anxious doubt and laborious thought have made up their minds, they will feel that with themselves at least the stronger arguments have prevailed, and that their convictions are founded on truth and justice.

In no case can a man of intelligence allow himself to remain for ever doubting and hesitating; right or wrong, he finds he

must range himself on one side or the other ; and the step once taken, his opinions naturally become stronger and stronger, he becomes more and more convinced that his party is in the right. It is well that this should be so, for without an instinctive inclination to believe in the truth of one's opinions, the mind would be enveloped in a mist of doubt, party government would be impossible, and politics would remain a chaos without form and void. "Very few," as Hartley Coleridge said, "can comprehend the whole truth ; and it much concerns the general interest that every portion of that truth should have interested and passionate advocates."

There exists, however, a class of men—a very large class—who knowing nothing and caring less about politics, are politically everything by turns and nothing long ; and who, unfortunately, make up in many constituencies the margin of voters who turn the scale of the election. These are the men whose wavering conviction opposing candidates must make it their business to arrest, by plying them with every argument that can fairly be urged, with the hope that one at least may strike home.

The spread of education, of newspapers and of literature, the increased means of communication and of locomotion, are gradually decreasing the numbers of this neutral host ; and no efforts should be spared on our part in enticing as many as we can of the soldiers composing this body to come over to us, and in ourselves enlisting recruits who would otherwise join its ranks. This army consists of men of all conditions in life, men of all degrees of knowledge, intelligence



and capacity; a large part of it is distinctly mercenary. The more it can be reduced in numbers the less will be experienced the tremendous reverses of electoral fortune which have been seen of late years. Reverses which have been caused chiefly by a sudden whim, pique, fear, or hope, seizing this usually impassive body of men, and causing them to desert the side which they formerly supported, and to support the side which they had before opposed.

The sin which most besets party politics consists in this, that prejudice and passion too frequently warp the feeling and conduct of politicians.

In order to convince themselves that they are in the right, men are often led to speak ill of opponents in their public capacity, in a way which they would never think of doing, or dare to do, in the private relations of life. It is foolishness itself to impute to the other side motives which one must know would never actuate them as individuals; and while arrogating to one's own party all virtue, infallibility, and prophetic foresight, to ascribe to his opponents political vice, stupid fallibility, and insane shortsightedness.

The difference between the principles held by Liberals and those held by Conservatives is not, except under the influence of excitement, asserted by either side to be the difference between right and wrong. It is frankly acknowledged to be but a conflicting idea, or a dissimilar point of view; a belief on the one side in the beneficial results of action, on the other a dread of the evil results of great

changes—the whole tempered by the personal equation of the individual, by the constitutional difference of feeling and thought. The principles advanced by the two parties cannot be reconciled, and may differ almost fundamentally; but they are, after all, founded on the same basis of supposed right, and the conception and realization of them is but a matter of degree. Every Englishman, whether he be Whig or Tory, Unionist or Home Ruler, Conservative, Liberal, or Radical, is actuated more or less by the same motives, though the conduct of one man may be governed by feelings and passions which another does not hold and cannot understand.

Even where it is evident that a man is personally interested in opposing a reform, we ought, before levelling insinuations against his good faith, to look around, and to see whether those who are supporting the measure are wholly free from personal bias, and are not themselves actuated by sinister interests of their own.

Toleration, indeed, in its largest sense, ought always to actuate public leaders as well as the rank and file, in word, action, and legislation. And the more it is recognised that on the merits of every question a great deal can be honestly urged from the opposite point of view, and that in many cases both opposer and supporter have right on their side, the more widely, one may hope, will political forbearance and consideration prevail.

But, though toleration should always be practised, and mutual recrimination, misrepresentation and abuse always

avoided ; we ought, at the same time, never to forget that there are cases in which, as Burke once said, "Temper is the state of mind suited to the occasion." Wrong is wrong, and right is right. There are evils that may not be patiently endured ; and, in spite of all we now-a-days hear of the heat to which political passion has risen, I am myself inclined to believe that we have among us too much of that lukewarm indifferentism which believes that there is nothing new, and nothing true, and that nothing matters very much.

## PRIME MINISTERS SINCE 1783.

DATE.	PRIME MINISTER.
Dec., 1783 . . . . .	WILLIAM PITT.
March, 1801 . . . . .	HENRY ADDINGTON (LORD SIDMOUTH).
May, 1804 . . . . .	WILLIAM PITT.
Feb., 1806 . . . . .	LORD GRENVILLE.
March, 1807 . . . . .	DUKE OF PORTLAND.
Nov. } 1809 . . . . .	SPENCER PERCIVAL.
Dec. }	
May, } 1812 . . . . .	EARL OF LIVERPOOL.
June, }	
April, 1827 . . . . .	GEORGE CANNING.
Aug., 1827 . . . . .	VISCOUNT GODERICH.
Jan., 1828 . . . . .	DUKE OF WELLINGTON.
Nov., 1830 . . . . .	EARL GREY.
May, 1832 . . . . .	
July, 1834 . . . . .	VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.
Dec., 1834 . . . . .	SIR ROBERT PEEL.
April, 1835 . . . . .	VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.
Aug., 1839 . . . . .	" "
Aug. } 1841 . . . . .	SIR ROBERT PEEL.
Sep. }	
July, 1845 . . . . .	LORD JOHN RUSSELL (EARL RUSSELL).
March, 1851 . . . . .	" "
Feb., 1852 . . . . .	EARL OF DERBY.
Dec., 1852 . . . . .	EARL OF ABERDEEN.
March, 1855 . . . . .	VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.
Oct., 1865 . . . . .	EARL RUSSELL.
July, 1866 . . . . .	EARL OF DERBY.
Feb., 1868 . . . . .	B. DISRAELI.
Dec., 1868 . . . . .	W. E. GLADSTONE
Aug., 1873 . . . . .	" "
Feb., 1874 . . . . .	B. DISRAELI (EARL OF BEACONSFIELD).
April, 1880 . . . . .	W. E. GLADSTONE.
July, 1885 . . . . .	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
Jan., 1886 . . . . .	W. E. GLADSTONE.
July, 1886 . . . . .	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

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