

THE LEGACY OF LIBERALISM

By AL. CARTHILL

Author of 'The Lost Dominion'

*'This dead God here against my face
Hath help for no man'*



LONDON
PHILIP ALLAN & CO.
QUALITY COURT

THE WESTMINSTER LIBRARY

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

RT. HON. L. C. M. S. AMERY, M.P.

RT. HON. RONALD M'NEILL, M.P.

COLONEL JOHN BUCHAN

MRS. F. H. GLANVILLE, LL.B.

Volumes Published or in Preparation :

- THE EMPIRE : A FAMILY AFFAIR .. By *Percy Hurd*
THE LEGACY OF LIBERALISM .. By *Al. Carhill*
STATE SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE .. By *Archibald Hurd*
SOCIALISM By *Dr. A. Shadwell*

*Numerous other volumes dealing with the History,
Politics, and Economic Life of the British Empire
are in course of preparation.*

3s. 6d. net.

First published in 1924

**MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
SOUTHAMPTON TIMES LTD.
SOUTHAMPTON.**

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. GENESIS	I
II. LIBERALISM AS A RELIGION	18
III. THE MORALS OF LIBERALISM	33
IV. LIBERALISM AND SOCIETY	50
V. LIBERALISM IN THE STATE	69
VI. LIBERALISM AND PROGRESS	87
VII. LIBERALISM AND THE EMPIRE	III
VIII. LIBERALISM AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS	133
IX. LIBERALISM AND THE END	151

The Legacy of Liberalism

CHAPTER I

GENESIS

THE historian who, in the sixth millennium after Christ, shall write the story of the nineteenth century will no doubt devote some paragraphs to an account of the origin, rise, splendour and fall of Liberalism in these islands and elsewhere. Let us try to anticipate what he will say. But, living as we do so near the times when the effectiveness of this power was at its maximum, we must devote rather more space to it than the future Grote will think necessary.

Liberalism was in England a foreign product, but like many a foreign product had as its basis good British stuff. Thus the juice of the uninspiring gooseberry returns from a short Continental sojourn in the more exhilarating form of champagne. Liberalism is the descendant of Whiggery. The Whigs were not interested in liberty in our sense.

They stood by the liberties of England as expressed in the charters and the common law of the realm. They were, that is, champions, not of the rights of man, but of the rights of Englishmen. The principal right of the Englishman of the eighteenth century seemed no doubt to be that of being governed by the Whigs, but there were others. This Government by great families had grave defects, but the country thrived under it, and in military affairs displayed unheard of tenacity and drew on unimagined resources. France was then the chief rival of England, and had suffered severely in many wars. The French therefore began to investigate into the reasons of this superiority, and they found that England was better governed than France. They studied what they imagined to be the constitution of England, and deduced from that study certain universal principles which they thought made for efficiency in Government in general. At the same time there came into existence 'the political man,' the creature of the imagination of professors and closet politicians. Man is and has been always and everywhere the same. The form of Government which best suits A is obviously also the best for B, C and other letters of the alphabet.