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CAUSE OF DEFEAT OF THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT—continued.

the most extreme measures, and therefore, sir, the death duties, although modestly retiring into a second place in this debate, do in reality, if I am able to comprehend the case, constitute the ground and basis of the whole of this opposition. If my right hon. friend had taxed wine, and forbore to tax beer and spirits, there would have been no mitigation of this opposition, because he would still have made a profane attempt to modify the death duties to the disadvantage of landed property. In 1853, the grand crusade against the Consolidated Fund availing itself of the heavy taxation of the towns for local purposes, and under cover of that to obtain large relief for land, had not begun, and when it did begin I warned gentlemen opposite that their course would lead to a readjustment between taxation on realty, and other taxation that might not be ultimately agreeable to them. My right hon. friend has proposed a plan under which a nominal equality is to be established under a form of extraordinary mildness, between the taxation of land, through the death duties, and the taxation of personal property. It is a much milder proposal, extending over a long series of years, before its full operation, than it would have been if made more sweeping and with full application at once. It is not true that an equality has been established by the plan of my right hon. friend, nor is it true that the whole £200,000 which has to come in this year is to be drawn from realty. There are a great many points on which it is quite plain that equality will not be established. The President of the Local Government Board has indicated one of them when he said that realty is generally left for lives and personalty is generally left in fee. Are gentlemen aware that the consanguinity scale is a device in favour of realty in order to secure the passing of great masses of real property on death at the one per cent duty? Are we unreasonably asking for some taxation? If you will not have protective duties, and will not have a tax on raw materials, am I not right in saying you have nothing to choose between for a considerable sum except alcoholic liquors, tea, and sugar, and that is the issue before the country? That is the issue on which we have made up our minds. That is the issue on which we are attacked on a question of life and death. As such we accept it; as such we welcome it; and as such we do not envy those who, if they gain a victory, will have to bear the consequences.

THE DEATH DUTIES.

The Budget debate (Mr. Childers') has been instrumental in directing a great amount of attention to these taxes, and with the probable result that landholders will bitterly regret their so-called "victory." The "Death Duties" are the probate, legacy, and succession duties. The first two apply only to personal estate, or personalty, i.e., goods, money, &c. Succession duty applies mainly to real estate, or realty, i.e., houses and lands.

Probate duty is paid upon the net amount of personalty left. Legacy and succession duty on the separate amounts inherited. The amount of probate duty depends upon the value of the personalty left by the deceased. If this does not exceed £500, it is charged at the rate of 2 per cent; if over £500, and not above £1,000, 2½ per cent;

if over £1,000, 3 per cent. No probate duty at all is charged upon realty.

The rate of legacy and succession duty is fixed by the degree of the blood relationship of the heir to the dead man. Thus:—

Legacy to husband or wife, or to any of the Royal Family	Free.
To a child or descendant of a child of the deceased, or father or mother, or any lineal ancestor of deceased (see note below)	1 per cent.
To brother or sister, or any descendant	3 per cent.
To uncle or aunt	5 per cent.
To great uncle or aunt	6 per cent.
To any other relation, or to any person not a blood relation	10 per cent.

[The legacy duty at the rate of 1 per cent is not payable where probate duty has been paid, excepting in some cases, such as foreign property.]

So if a man leave his wife £50,000 in personalty she has to pay £1,500 probate duty; if it is left in houses or land (realty) she would pay nothing.

But so far only a small portion of the tenderness exhibited towards the realty of the landowner compared with the treatment given to the personalty of the business man, is shown. Probate and legacy duties are charged upon the full value. But in the case of succession duty, the annual income from the houses or lands is treated as an annuity to that amount, and the tax is calculated upon the value of an annuity to that amount for the number of years the owner may be supposed to live. Now rich people are proverbially notorious for being long livers, and there is generally a great amount of truth in old proverbs, and certainly this is no exception. The average rate of the succession duty—the sole duty on real estate—is 1½ per cent only.

Further, the successor to personalty must pay the full duty at once, and supposing he dies immediately after the duty is paid, his successor would have to pay the whole duty again. But the landholder is allowed four-and-a-half years in which to pay his reduced duty by eight half-yearly instalments, and in case he died before all or even any of these instalments had been paid, those remaining unpaid would not be payable, and thus be so much lost to the revenue.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE DEATH DUTIES.

Interest on inheritance calculated at 3½ per cent.				
		Landholder's Son.	Business Man's Son.	
		(Realty—Houses and Land.)	(Personalty—Money, Goods, &c.)	
Value of Inheritance.	Age of Inheritor.	Duty Paid, £	Duty Paid, £	
£5,000	21	30	150	
	40	26	150	
	60	17	150	
	75	9	150	
£100,000	21	602	3,000	
	40	521	3,000	
	60	340	3,000	
	75	189	3,000	
£1,000,000	21	6,020	30,000	
	40	5,206	30,000	
	60	3,402	30,000	
	75	1,893	30,000	
From 1797 to 1884 Personalty paid		£217,000,000		
Succession Duty (Realty)		22,000,000		

Difference—Loss to the country and pocketed by the landed interest £195,000,000
—Financial Reformer.

ABSTRACT OF MR. GLADSTONE'S MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

1.—PERSONAL INTENTIONS.

Remarking that a great change has been effected in our representative system during the last Parliament, he submits himself to the judgment of the Electors of Midlothian, and confidently seeks re-election.

2.—PARLIAMENT OF 1880: ITS LEGISLATIVE WORK.

The work of the last Parliament is contrasted, briefly, with that of its predecessor of 1874. Remarking that Parliament was one of "friends," but it effected no legislation for the farmer in his time of trial. Inheriting at its birth, in 1874, a most flourishing finance, it left untouched the Malt Tax.

But the last Parliament repealed the malt tax, passed a law giving real security to improvements made by tenants, and also dealt, I believe, effectively in its very first session with the serious grievance of the occupiers of land from the ravages of ground game. Apart from the subjects I have mentioned, the Irish Land Act and Arrears Act, the Burials Act, the Bankruptcy and Patents Acts, the valuable, if still incomplete, reform of the death duties, the Scottish Secretary Act, the important law framed by Sir Henry James for the repression of corrupt practices at elections, both parliamentary and municipal, and the commencement effected with so much difficulty in the reform of procedure, form an honourable record of the determination and ability with which, in the teeth of such an amount of obstruction as had never before been exhibited, the House of Commons has laboured in your cause.

3.—ARREARS OF LEGISLATION.

It is too true indeed that the public business of this great Empire still remains lamentably in arrear. I may refer to the subjects of London government and of local government generally, in which I include the liquor traffic and the land laws. But I say advisedly that with both these subjects we should have been enabled effectually to grapple had not the Tory party unhappily deemed it to be a duty to encounter with the most determined opposition our main attempts to improve the procedure of the House of Commons.

4.—POLICY ABROAD: THE TREATY OF BERLIN.

In 1879-80 the territory promised to Montenegro and the territory virtually promised to Greece had not been given, and a full and formal title was thus afforded to any of the contracting States whose purposes it might suit to renew at its pleasure the war in the East of Europe. With the countenance and aid of some of the Powers we were enabled to obtain the fulfilment of the covenant with Montenegro, and to secure Thessaly for Greece. Other important provisions of the treaty unhappily still remain a dead letter, but they have not the same immediate connection with the public tranquillity.

5.—AFGHANISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

This section opens with the declaration "we found Afghanistan broken to pieces," and explains how peace in that country was made, 40,000 British troops thus set at liberty on the Indian frontier, "an indecent" Indian press law abrogated under Lord Ripon, "whom every expression of Indian opinion" puts in the front rank of Indian viceroys.

6.—SOUTH AFRICA.

"Not less unfortunate was the position of affairs in South Africa," says Mr. Gladstone, who further declares that after placing military means in the Transvaal sufficient to quell the Boers, we refused to "prosecute a work of sanguinary subjugation," and left the country free. He challenges criticism.

7.—EGYPT.

"The policy of a foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs," which Mr. Gladstone has denounced since 1876, "has produced its natural results, which the late administration strove . . . yet in vain, to avert." It is then explained that all the measures pursued down to the suppression of Arabi Pasha were taken in fulfilment of an agreement with France, "sorrowfully" compelled by honourable pledges to the Khedive much more than any appreciation of English interests in Egypt, the subsequent military measures have been undertaken in that country.

The war in the Soudan he declares to be "in no way due to us," but owns that errors of judgment were made in the effort to withdraw the Soudan garrisons by peaceable means. "I know there are persons of no mean authority who have held that the expedition to Khartoum would have been the most arduous military effort undertaken by us since the battle of Waterloo. We thought the evacuation necessary, wise, and just. The Tories thought it needless and deplorable. Either the country has been saved by the late Government from a most perilous and costly undertaking to which the present Government had striven to commit it, or it has been deprived by us of a noble opportunity which they would have used on its behalf." The section concludes with describing the policy of the annexation of Egypt as that of some mischievous persons.

8.—PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Mr. Gladstone traces the cause of the heavy national bills of late years to the Afghan and Egyptian policy, and declares expenditure to depend upon "Establishments," which "must depend upon policy." Therefore peace means economy in expenditure.

9.—PROCEDURE.

The well-known "obstruction" tactics of parties in the late House are referred to, and constituencies implored to return members who will honourably work by fair means, and declares "this country will not in the full sense be a self-governing country until the machinery of the House of Commons is amended and its procedure reformed."

10.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

"The limits of his address," Mr. Gladstone declares, do not permit him "to set out in detail" what he thinks on this head. The country also, he says, has not made up its mind. The subject is of vast importance, and he is glad that Lord Salisbury has lately spoken out upon it. Mr. Gladstone thinks the first object in the reform of local government should be "to rectify the balance of taxation as between real and personal property, to put an end to the gross injustice of charging upon labour, through the medium of the Consolidated Fund, local burdens which our laws have always wisely treated as incident to property; to relieve the ratepayer, not at the charge of the

ABSTRACT OF MR. GLADSTONE'S MANIFESTO—continued.

working population, but wholly or mainly by making over for local purposes carefully chosen items of taxation; to supply local management with inducements to economy instead of tempting and almost forcing it into waste; finally, and most of all, to render the system thoroughly representative and free." Other questions, Mr. Gladstone sees, will arise in this connection, "and we may most reasonably look for an effectual adjustment of the laws relating to the sale of alcoholic liquors."

11.—LAND.

"My desire is both to maintain freedom of bequest and to establish freedom of possession as our future system, and also to deal freely with the transfer of land, the registration of land, the taxation of land during life and upon death, and the custom of primogeniture as it now exists in cases of intestacy. I shall rejoice if the means thus to be provided, or other means in themselves commendable, shall lead to a close connection between the nation and the soil, through a large extension in the numbers of those directly interested in its possession and its produce, but most of all in the proprietorship of their own dwellings."

A reference to the equitable taxation of land concludes the section.

12.—REGISTRATION.

"The whole subject demands review in order that this essential process, the complement of the late Reform Act, may be carried through with certainty, simplicity, and the smallest possible expenditure of personal labour and of money."

13.—CONDITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

"I have already named four legislative subjects of moment which have reached a state of maturity. Upon each and all of them, with a reasonable freedom as to details, I believe that the Liberal party is generally and firmly united. They are in basis and spirit truly Liberal, yet they ought not to stir Conservative alarms. The work is ready and the workmen—the Liberal candidates—await the commission to proceed which the constituencies alone can give."

He thinks the Liberal party have made modern Britain what she is, and has confidence that future trust in Liberalism will be well deserved.

14.—ULTERIOR SUBJECTS OF LEGISLATION OR DISCUSSION.

Under this heading those questions are referred to which Mr. Gladstone says may be described as the arrears of parliamentary work about which the country agreed, and they need only to be added to the statute book. His age, however, precludes him from setting them all forth, so he contents himself with mentioning the reform of the House of Lords, abolition of payment in primary schools, and the severance of Church and State.

15.—CHANGES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

By far the best safeguard against any changes of a revolutionary kind in the measure reforming the House of Lords would be provided by that House immediately becoming a reflex of the popular mind, and not, as has been the case since 1832, always to range themselves in opposition to the popular will. Though agreeing with Burke that knowledge and virtue alone have the right to govern, Mr. Gladstone hopes any reform of the Upper House will admit a reasonable share of

16.—THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

This question, whilst evidently travelling towards separation during the last fifty years, Mr. Gladstone thinks is yet far away from practical politics. He marks with satisfaction that the curtailment of the church's prerogatives which has taken place from time to time has not alienated her people or impaired her usefulness.

17.—GRATUITOUS EDUCATION.

Upon this question Mr. Gladstone desires to reserve a final judgment. "The rule of our policy is that nothing should be done by the State which can be better or as well done by voluntary effort." He recognises that the country is not prepared for a secular education, and that a universal form of religious education to suit Churchmen, Dissenters, and Romanists is impossible.

18.—IRELAND.

Beginning with a reference to the extended franchise affording Ireland a greater opportunity of making her wishes known to Parliament, Mr. Gladstone continues:—

"Those grievances of Ireland with which we have been historically too familiar before and since the Union have at length been happily removed. The poison of religious ascendancy in its various forms has been expelled from the country, and the condition of the cultivators of the soil, constituting the majority of the people, which had been a scandal and a danger to the Empire, has been fundamentally improved at a cost of no small effort by the action of Parliament. But the wants of Ireland have to be considered as well as her grievances. Down to this hour Ireland has continued greatly in arrear both of England and of Scotland with respect to those powers of local self-government which associate the people in act and feeling with the law, and which lie at the root, as I believe, of political stability, of the harmony of classes, and of national strength. This is a serious evil, and it is the more to be regretted because both the circumstances and the geographical position of Ireland may appear to invest her, as a portion of the Empire, with special claims to a liberal interpretation and application of the principles which the people of Great Britain have traditionally held so dear. Whatever be the obligations of the party now in power to those known in the existing Parliament as Irish Nationalists, the Liberals of England and Scotland will have to draw the inspirations of their future policy from a higher source, and to cast aside the recollections of party action during the last few years, which ought not to prejudice in any way any just claim of the Irish people."

Referring to the Irish separation policy, Mr. Gladstone believes history will consign to infamy any man on either side of the channel who shall bring about so dire a result. He thinks Ireland has no right to expect that the wrongs of a hundred years shall be undone in a very short time.

19.—THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

This subject is dismissed with small notice, principally confined to the declaration that he will not criticise them now, and that a generous support, where practicable, was given to them last session.

20.—THE CONCLUSION.

Hopes the Midlothian constituency will hold its former high place in politics, and again return

Right Hon. MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.



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HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY.

1st. The money spent upon intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom is nearly twice as great as the total amount paid for bread.

2nd. We pay nearly four times as much for intoxicating liquors as we pay for butter and cheese.

3rd. We spend four and a half times as much upon drink as we spend upon milk.

4th. We spend more than five times as much upon drink as we do upon sugar, and nearly seven times as much as all our expenditure upon tea, coffee, and cocoa.

5th. We spend more upon drink than the rent roll of all the farms and all the houses in the United Kingdom.

6th. We spend about twice as much upon drink

as our total expenditure upon woollen, cotton, and linen.

7th. Beside the enormous expenditure upon drink, we have to pay poor and police rates, costs of insanity, crime, vagrancy, accidents, disease, loss of labour, premature death, &c., giving at the very least another £100,000,000, and making a total loss to the nation of more than £200,000,000 yearly.

Working men! This is the way the money goes! and the reason why trade is so bad! If you want to be prosperous, avoid drink, and shun the public-house.

Burke says, that "war suspends all the rules of moral obligation."

TITHES AND THE POOR.

Now that people are talking about tithes, and what should be done with them, when they are no longer paid to the clergy, the purposes to which tithes were originally applied should be kept in mind.

It is commonly supposed that tithes were meant merely for the support of the clergy, but that is a mistake. In all the early rules and laws about tithes, it is clearly laid down that the poor were to have a share of the tithes, and as good a share as the clergy.

At first, it seems, all tithes were divided into four parts. One went to support the bishop, one to repair the Church, one to maintain the clergy, and one for the benefit of the poor. But, after a while, the bishops had land allotted to them for their support, and the tithes were divided into only three parts, and the poor had one. At that time tithes were simply free-will offerings, which nobody was compelled to pay. But, later on, when, as the tithes were not offered freely enough to satisfy the priests, and a law was therefore passed to compel people to give them, the same plan of dividing them was insisted upon, and the poor still had their share.

That was before the time of Parliaments. But when Parliament made laws on the subject, the right of the poor to their share was preserved. A law of the time of Richard II. requires the bishops to set aside a part of the fruits and profits of certain parish churches for "the poor parishioners, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever." In the time of Henry VIII., a law was passed compelling the clergy to live in their own parishes; and partly for this reason, that they might attend to the "relief of poor people." Sir Simon Degge, writing about this law, says, "I would wish every clergyman to remember that the poor have a share in the tithes with him."

Nobody seems to know exactly how, or when, the poor lost their legal claim to a share of the tithes. It is sometimes put down to the Reformation, because, when the monasteries were abolished, a large part of the great tithes, which had got into the hands of the monks, were given to laymen, and lost to the Church. But that can hardly be the reason; for, in Queen Elizabeth's time, the old law still held good. One of her Acts provides that, if an incumbent absents himself from his parish for more than eighty days in the year, he was to lose a year's profit of the living, which the bishop was to "distribute among the poor of the parish." A later Act provided that if the incumbent still kept away, "the parishioners might retain and keep their tithes," and the churchwardens were empowered to take the profits of the glebe and other rents, to be employed to the use of the poor.

It is quite clear, then, that the poor were meant to have a share of the tithes; and when they come into the hands of the nation, the poor will be right in claiming that the tithes shall be employed in part for their benefit.

But the clergy have the tithes now, and so long as the Church remains established they will keep them. The first step, therefore, towards getting back the tithes for the benefit of the poor is, disestablishment and disendowment. — Tract of Liberation Society.

It is difficult to say how happy a country we might have if there were more sobriety and providence among the lower class of people. — Mr. Justice FRY.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON FREE EDUCATION

They should remember that no one proposed that parents should go scot free, that they should not pay for the education of their children but the proposal was that they should pay for it as an assurance extended over the whole of their lives, in their contributions to rates and taxes, that they should not be called upon to pay a sum out of all proportion to their scant incomes just at the moment when they were called upon to provide for the existence of their children. (Hear, hear.) He knew that many parents who were anxious for the education of their children were yet induced by the pressure of necessity, when slackness of work or illness came upon them, to keep the children from school. He was reading the other day the account of the proceedings at a provincial school board meeting in England in which there was a case of a mother and father, honest, sober, and industrious people, who were found with their children at home, thrown out of work by some accidental circumstances. The officer remonstrated with them, and begged them to send the children to school, and they told him they had not the money. He said he would be forced to summon them if they did not, and in the course of a few days two of the children presented themselves at the school, and then it was found out that the clothes of the other little ones had been pawned to enable them to pay the fees of the others who were receiving education. ("Shame.") In another case where the visiting officer called because a family of four children were being kept at home, he found the family without any bread to eat, and the bread-winner of the family was eating a cabbage stalk as the only food he could find. ("Shame.") Their critics said this misery and wretchedness was unnecessary—why did they not go to the parish? But that was the point. These poor martyrs to a high ideal struggled with starvation rather than have recourse to what they thought the degradation of parish relief. Under these circumstances it was a mockery and an insult for people who had never wanted for anything, who had luxuries at command, to demand from poor men their uttermost farthing at a time when they had not enough to live on or to do upon, under the pretence that they were saving them from degradation. — *Inverness*, Sept. 18, 1885.

OUR TAXATION.

It was enacted by the 4th of William and Mary, 1692, that a tax of four shillings in the pound should be levied on all lands, tenements, hereditaments, at a rack rent, without abatement for any charges whatsoever, but with exceptions in favour of Universities, schools, hospitals, &c.; on salaries of public officers, excepting soldiers and sailors in actual service; on personal property, with exemption of household furniture, &c. An assessment was made and produced £1,922,000, which is £871,533 more than the net produce of the tax in 1880-1. The tax has been reduced so that instead of four shillings in the pound it only produces an average of 1½d.

Vicessimus Knox says, "Morality and religion forbid war in its motive, conduct, and consequences."

Right Hon. JOHN BRIGHT.



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WHAT IS THE GOOD OF A VOTE?

At the next election two millions of men will for the first time have the right to vote for members of Parliament. Some of these men have been anxious to obtain the vote, and will know how to use it? Others will be inclined to ask, "What good will it do me? Will it make wages better, or food cheaper, or improve my prospects?" The answer to these questions is, that though the vote will not directly put money into your pocket, there is no doubt the vote may be a means for improving your condition, because it will give you a voice in making new laws, and reforming old laws which may have been unfair and oppressive to you.

Men sometimes remark, "What is the good of troubling about politics?" Now it is of importance

that all Englishmen should take a deep interest in the government of their country. You know that there is a great difference in masters. Some are just and considerate, others are harsh and grasping. You would think it hard if you had no choice in deciding for what master you would work. The government of the country makes the laws which we have to obey, and may in a sense be said to be our master. Up to the present time agricultural and other labourers in the counties have had no voice in deciding what men they would have to govern them. It will be so no longer. At the next election you will have the opportunity of helping to place the government in the hands of the Tories or Liberals.

Experience teaches us that when the govern-

ment has been in the hands of one class, the interests of the rest of the nation have suffered. A little more than sixty years ago—within the memory of some men—trivial offences were most cruelly punished. The penalty for stealing five shillings' worth of goods from the counter of a shop was hanging. Shooting a rabbit or destroying a hopbine was punished at the gallows. There were no less than 230 offences for which persons were hanged. Besides this the mode of punishment was often most revolting. It was no uncommon sight for wretches to be stripped half naked, tied to a cart's tail, and thus flogged through the streets. Honest men were afraid in those days to be out after dark for fear of being seized by the press-gang and compelled to serve on men-of-war, while their families were left to starve. This state of things existed when the nobles and wealthy men had the government of the country almost entirely in their own hands, but when the people were partially admitted to power these abuses were abolished.

The agricultural labourers have been kept without a vote until now, and consequently their interests have suffered. During the last 200 years an extent of land about equal to one-fourth of Scotland has been enclosed. Much of this land was public property. It belonged to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages. They had the right to pasture sheep, cows, or any other kind of live stock they might possess on the common, and where the common was forest land they had the right to cut fuel. These rights were invaluable to the peasants. As the commons were enclosed, sometimes by Act of Parliament, and sometimes illegally, the people were deprived of their rights. The land was fenced in, and the poor man's cow had nowhere to feed. In 1845, 600,000 acres were enclosed by Act of Parliament, and of this quantity the villagers received only one acre for every 149 acres given to the landlords. Since these common rights have been abolished the agricultural labourer has lost all chance of improving his position so long as he remains in his native village. He has no chance of getting hold of any land, and so rising in the social scale. As Mr. John Bright once said: "For the agricultural labourer the bottom steps of the ladder are broken off." Once all had land, from the meanest peasant to the greatest noble, and he who had least might hope for more. Now there has been taken away that which he had.

If the labourers had possessed votes, would they have allowed their commons to be filched from them? No, they would have refused to vote for any man who would not pledge himself to put a stop to it.

For more than thirty years the people were compelled to pay a bread tax, which raised the price of the loaf to 9d. or 10d. This tax was put on to enable the farmers to pay higher rents. The tax was repealed, but it never could have been imposed if the working classes had been electors.

Even within the last few years the interests of the agricultural labourers have been ignored. In 1879 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the agricultural distress. The labourers, as well as the farmers, have suffered from the bad seasons, but when the Tory Government was asked to permit Mr. Arch, or some other person in whom the labourers had confidence, to sit as member of the Commission, the request was refused. If they had enjoyed the franchise, they

would not have been treated with so much disdain.

In 1883 an Act was passed to give farmers compensation for capital expended on their land, but the Act does not give the labourer any protection for his allotment. The farmers suffered a grievance through the destruction of their crops by hares and rabbits; their grievance has been redressed, but the Game Laws which press so heavily upon the labourer remain untouched. It was only in March last that Mr. Jesse Collings asked a question in the House of Commons relative to a sentence of three weeks' imprisonment with hard labour for snaring a rabbit. Such a harsh sentence is a shock to our ideas of justice, but so long as most of the magistrates before whom poaching cases are tried are themselves game preservers, such unreasonable sentences are to be expected. If you desire the reform of the Game Laws, and a less partial bench for trying poaching cases, you must remember that the right to vote is the first step towards getting redress.

The right to vote has been obtained for you by Mr. Gladstone's Government and the Liberal Party. The Conservatives were opposed to your having it, but it is now a settled matter, and they can no longer keep you from it. You will be able to use it without fear, because you have the Ballot to protect you, and no one will know how you vote unless you tell. The exercise of the right to elect members for Parliament is a sacred trust, and you should vote for the party who you believe will govern, not in the interest of any class, but of the whole country.—National Reform Union.

A FIJI ARBITRATION, 1885.

As a sample of how international quarrels may be settled, read the following:—

One, at least, of the troublesome colonial questions, which keep cropping up between England and Germany, has been disposed of, and that in the most satisfactory manner possible. This is the dispute about the land claims of certain German subjects in Fiji. After embroiling the diplomatists, and disturbing the good relations of the two countries for several years, the claims in question were, this spring, referred to two Commissioners, one German and one English, to settle between them. The English Commissioner received his instructions on March 3rd, and by April 15th he and his German colleague had, it appears, come to a completely amicable and satisfactory settlement. The German claim originally amounted to £140,000, but the sum upon which the Commissioners have now agreed is £10,620, and they part with mutual satisfaction and goodwill. The attainment of so excellent a result in so short a time is something so unwonted that one is at first quite at a loss to account for it. Some light is thrown on the miracle when we learn that the English Commissioner was Mr. R. S. Wright, one of the half dozen ablest men at the English bar, and of an energy fully as remarkable as his talents. What a light is thrown by this little incident on so many of our troubles! Given the same shrewdness and energy in the diplomatists who ultimately arranged the arbitration, as in the Commissioner who conducted it, and there need never have been "a Fiji difficulty" at all, to help in exciting ill-feeling between us and our natural allies.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Right Hon. C. W. DILKE, Bart.



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TWELVE REASONS FOR THE ABOLITION OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF DIRECT TAXATION.

I.

Because taxation, properly considered, is rent due from every solvent subject to the State, which ought to be equably assessed, deemed as obligatory as any other payment for services rendered, and collected in the least expensive way, without affording any tenant the option or opportunity of throwing his debt, or any portion of it, on his neighbour.

II.

Because duties on articles of general consumption are most expensive in collection and protection—such articles being greatly enhanced in price to consumers by necessary charges of dealers upon

the duties, so that the people pay much more than the State receives, whilst those who choose to abstain from the use of taxed articles escape their fair liability to the State.

III.

Because such duties press most hardly on the working classes and the poor, whilst they scarcely affect the wealthy; and, amongst the working classes and the poor, weigh most heavily on married men, just in proportion to the number of mouths they have to feed.

IV.

Because whilst the payment of such duties, and

ABOLITION OF CUSTOMS AND SUBSTITUTION OF DIRECT TAXATION—*continued.*

the charges beyond them may absorb one-fourth of the earnings of the working man with a family, the rich man, besides the advantage of getting his tea, coffee, cocoa, &c., wholesale out of bond, thus paying no more than the Government receives, may contribute in this way less than a four-hundredth part of his annual income.

V.

Because the levying of about two-thirds of the public revenue,—by means which would not be submitted to for a single year if the people had opportunity to purchase what they want, at natural market prices, at one counter, and were required to pay the duties and extra charges on them at another, or at the door,—encourages Government in extravagant expenditure, and deprives taxpayers of the check upon it which they ought to possess, viz., knowledge of what they pay, and whether there is a proper equivalent for the payment.

VI.

Because customs and excise duties, besides interfering most injuriously with the operations of trade and commerce, deny to man his natural right to free exchanges of the fruits of his labour; and by incalculably reducing the demand for foreign productions, below the consuming power of the people of this country, lessen in the same proportion the foreign demand for British productions, and thus diminish both the demand for his labour, and the remuneration for it.

VII.

Because these duties not only create pauperism by restricting the field for employment, but lead to the commission of many offences, such as smuggling, adulterations, corruption of officers, and frauds innumerable; thus demoralizing whole classes of the community, injuring the public health, and entailing heavy expenditure for the detection, prosecution, and maintenance of offenders, and the support of their pauperized wives and families.

VIII.

Because the wisdom and advantages of altogether repealing Customs Excise Duties have been demonstrated by the experience of the last thirty or forty years, during which period, in consequence of extensive, though only partial, modifications thereof, the foreign trade of this country has increased from £172,202,716, in 1840, to £719,680,322 in 1882, whilst, in the same period, the exports of British produce and manufactures have risen from £51,308,740 to £214,323,097, and home trades in glass, paper, bricks, soap, candles, and other articles, have benefited amazingly by their liberation from Excise imposts and supervision.

IX.

Because without the abolition of Customs and Excise, and all other imposts pressing indirectly but heavily on industry, and the substitution of direct taxation, real freedom of trade, of which we have as yet but the shadow, is impossible.

X.

Because, far into the 17th century, the expenses of government in this country, both during peace and war, were mainly provided for, and that without incurring debt, by holders of the lands parcelled out at the conquest, on conditions of feudal suit and service, strictly in the nature of rent, from all which obligations landholders freed them-

selves in the Convention Parliament of Charles II., in a manner denounced by eminent statesmen and lawyers, who were members of it, as nothing else than an infamous fraud upon the people.

XI.

Because Customs and Excise establishments constitute a blockade of our own coasts, rivers, and harbours, against free intercourse with all the nations of the earth, the raising of which blockade would tend to the removal of national jealousies, prejudices, and misunderstandings, which have often led to actual warfare,—to show to the people of different countries that mutual dependence upon each other is what Almighty God designed to be the bond of universal brotherhood amongst mankind,—to the reduction of military and naval armaments as nations become more and more impressed with the truth that all are interested in the prosperity of each, as each is in that of all,—and, ultimately, to render war,—which is, and ever has been, with very rare exceptions, the epitome of all human follies, crimes, and calamities—impossible.

XII.

Because, in the words of the ever-to-be honoured and lamented Richard Cobden—"The man, or body of men, who shall succeed in abolishing Customs and Excise Duties in this or any other country, will be its greatest possible benefactors."—*Financial Reform Association Tract.*

MR. RUSKIN ON THE BEATITUDES.

"I place," says Mr. Ruskin, "side by side the ancient and modern versions of verses of the New Testament which were the teachings of Christ":—

ANCIENT.

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the poor in heart, for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

MODERN.

Blessed are the merciless, for they shall obtain money.

Blessed are the foul in heart, for they shall see no God.

Blessed are the war makers, for they shall be adored by the children of men.

THE COST OF THE ARMIES OF EUROPE.

The *Volks Zeitung* of Berlin gives some statistics of the cost to Europe of her armies. For the seventeen States of Europe the total of the armies on a peace footing is 2,529,522 men. Calculating their wages at 2s. 6d. per day, and omitting the holidays, we have a sum of £37. 10s. per annum for each man. Multiplying this sum by 2,529,522, the total comes to £94,820,575 per annum. Adding to this the total of the seventeen war budgets, which is £101,672,782, the total loss suffered by Europe annually on account of her armies is £196,514,852.

The Duke of Wellington said, that "men who have nice notions of religion have no business to be soldiers."

Right Hon. EARL GRANVILLE.



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PATRONAGE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

There is no public department in which such discreditable jobbery takes place in connection with the bestowal of patronage as in the Church of England. The mode in which many vacant livings are filled up is one of the scandals of the day. Any man who can procure the technical testimonials of three beneficed clergymen, and who is in priest's orders, is eligible for preferment by purchase if he or his friends be fortunate enough to have money. The man may know nothing of theological lore, and be in blissful ignorance of the art of rhetoric; he may mumble or mumble a number of words—called a sermon—which few can hear, and no one understand; but, all the same, he is the responsible and duly instituted overseer of the souls within that parish. It

is his peculiar privilege to enjoy a monopoly in the matter of public religious instruction to his parishioners, be they many or few. He may be the son of a tinker or of a lord; he may be vulgar and ill-bred, or gentlemanly and refined; he may be heretical or orthodox, Ritualist or Revivalist; a sportsman, or a hard-working, plodding parson; he may, in short, be everything or anything, if he can only just manage to keep within reasonable limits of elasticity in life and doctrine. If he can do this—and it is by no means difficult of accomplishment—he may live on for years without being brought to book by any lawful authority.

A curate wants to get a living. It is the easiest thing possible if he have the necessary capital wherewith to purchase a nice benefice in some

PATRONAGE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—continued.

pleasant locality. It is easily arranged. There are dozens of good vicarages or rectories this moment for sale on very reasonable terms—a capital investment, light work, good society, commodious house, well-laid-out grounds, and a few hundred people to look after. What more can any man of simple aims and an unambitious temperament require? Here is the very acme of luxury and ease—a competent future, agreeable surroundings, the freshest of fresh air, time at one's own disposal, "*solutus omni fœnore*," free from all pecuniary anxiety, horse or horses and carriage, two or three months on the Continent every year, and no committees to test his temper or powers of endurance. The Church is a respectable position in the social scale. It is open to the highest bidder. Let any man in want of a pleasant parish, with about £600 a year net, a good house, and everything else in keeping, walk into a clerical agent's office any day, and for about £4,000, or even less, he can purchase the perpetual advowson, or the next presentation for perhaps £1,000 or £1,200, according to the age of the present possessor. The older the incumbent the higher the price. The grim details of the probability of an early vacancy are set forth with mechanical accuracy—age 84; paralysed; almost blind; unable to do any duty; living may be void any day; no time to be lost; excellent bargain. *O tempora! O mores!* Shades of Peter and Paul, and all the other holy apostles and martyrs, what would ye say to such merchandise in men's souls? All parties in the Church are herein guilty; Evangelical and Ritualist makes no difference. All schools of thought are represented in this market of souls. It is awful, horrible, revolting to every fine feeling of the heart, to buy and sell patronage without the slightest regard for the parishioners, or giving them any voice whatever in the deed of transfer.

At the present time there are the following ways of obtaining preferment:—(1) By the bishop's favour. (2) By private patrons. (3) By trustees. (4) By the Crown or the Lord Chancellor. (5) By public companies. (6) By purchase. (7) By college preferments, as at the universities. In no instance is preferment to be obtained in any of these ways without interest, except in the last two cases. The most deserving man is generally the most modest and retiring, and hence he is not likely to join in the contest involved in a competitive candidature. When a living becomes vacant, the applicants, especially in the case of a private patron, render his life miserable for weeks till the appointment is filled up. When Lord Westbury was Lord Chancellor he always knew when one of his livings became vacant by the string of letters, far beyond the ordinary routine of business, that poured in upon him from all quarters. . . . There is no feasible way of controlling the movements of private patrons. If a man of means finds himself in the Church, and that he has neither interest nor friends either at Court or in the episcopal palace, there is nothing at present left for such a man but to become his own friend and patron, and purchase a quiet living for himself. Many men are driven to adopt this course from the manner in which they are passed over by the bishops and others.

There are at this moment clergymen in every diocese in England who have done "good suit and service" in the cause which they undertook to up-

hold at the time of their ordination; and yet, though men of blameless lives and unsullied reputation, they are permitted by their bishops to study the art of economising from starvation, while they have at the same time to present a respectable appearance before the eyes of their parishioners. These men have wives and children dependent upon them for support. The slender means at their disposal renders this task in no small degree an effort beyond their strength. If it were generally known how poor the fare, how scanty the raiment, which many a poor curate's family, or that of the still poorer incumbent of a small living, presents, there would be a strong public protest against the gross injustice that is done to this class of the clergy when young and unmarried favourites are put over their heads, and comfortably located in "good fat livings," while the poor married curates or incumbents, often with large families, are passed wholly by, and allowed to pass into their graves worn out by age, infirmity, and neglect. This is a scandal and a real grievance which loudly calls for remedial legislation.—*The Rock*.

EFFECT OF WAR ON TAXATION.

It may be well to consider the effect of the Crimean war on taxation. In the seven years of peace, from 1846 to 1852, the country was relieved of taxes amounting to £6,557,835, and the new taxes imposed were £602,000. In 1853 the taxation of the country remained almost stationary, but the first effect of the war in 1854 was to double the income tax, which was then standing at 7d. During the years 1854-55 taxes were taken off amounting to £1,597,067, but the fresh taxes imposed totalled £15,180,550. This included fresh duties on spirits, sugar, and especially malt, by which £3,600,000 was realised by the Exchequer. But this by no means represented the actual cost of the campaign to the country. The expenditure in the last year of peace was £51,606,218. In the first year of war it had swollen to £65,833,800; and in the second year of war the estimate was for £86,339,000, but this sum was not found sufficient. In this year an extra war contribution of 15½ millions was levied, exclusive of an increase in the National Debt of 16 millions. Altogether the cost of the two war years exceeded that of the two preceding years of peace by £53,088,000; and a further cost of £24,500,000, made necessary by the war, was spread over the year that followed the declaration of peace.

The effect of the Crimean war was to reduce the amount of foreign wheat imported 50 per cent in two years; to reduce the supply of wheat in the English markets 35 per cent in a similar period; to raise the price of wheat 75 per cent in a year, of barley 25 per cent, and of oats 83 per cent; to increase the cost of beef to the retail purchaser 44 per cent, and of mutton 50 per cent; and to make potatoes 20 per cent more costly in three months. In the *Times*, for March, 1854, "best whites" are advertised at 4s. 10d. per stone. Today the housewife pays 2s. 3d. Wheat meal for brown bread was ticketed 4s. 4d. per stone. The modern housewife would grumble if she had to pay more than 1s. 10d. Continued activity in trade and an increase in the rate of wages only enabled the workman to keep himself alive.—*The Echo*.

Right Hon. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.



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MR. RUSKIN ON WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR WAR.

You may wonder, perhaps, that I have spoken all this night in praise of war. Yet truly, if it might be, I for one would fain join in the cadence of hammer-strokes that should beat swords into ploughshares; and that this cannot be is not the fault of us men. It is your fault. Wholly yours. Only by your command, or by your permission, can any contest take place among us. And the real final reason for all the poverty, misery, and rage of battle throughout Europe, is simply that you women, however good, however religious, however self-sacrificing for those whom you love, are too selfish and too thoughtless to take pains for any creature out of your own immediate circles. You fancy that you are sorry for the pains of others. Now, I just tell you this, that if the

usual course of war, instead of unroofing peasants' houses, and ravaging peasants' fields merely broke the china upon your own drawing-room tables, no war in civilised countries would last a week. I tell you more, that at whatever moment you chose to put a period to war, you could do it with less trouble than you take any day to go out to dinner. You know, or at least you might know if you would think, that every battle you hear of has made many widows and orphans. We have none of us heart enough truly to mourn with these. But at least we might put on the outer symbols of mourning with them. Let but every Christian lady who has conscience toward God vow that she will mourn, at least outwardly, for His killed creatures. Your praying is useless, and your

WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITY—*continued.*

church-going mere mockery of God, if you have not plain obedience in you enough for this. Let every lady in the upper classes of civilised Europe simply vow that, while any cruel war proceeds, she will wear black—a mute black—with no jewel, no ornament, no excuse for, or evasion into, prettiness. I tell you again, no war would last a week. And, lastly, you women of England are all now shrieking with one voice—you and your clergymen together—because you hear of your bibles being attacked. If you choose to obey your bibles you will never care who attacks them. It is just because you never fulfil a single downright precept of the book that you are so careful for its credit; and just because you don't care to obey its whole words that you are so particular about the letters of them. The bible tells you to dress plainly, and you are mad for finery; the bible tells you to have pity on the poor, and you crush them under your carriage wheels; the bible tells you to do judgment and justice, and you do not know, nor care to know, so much as what the bible word "justice" means. Do but learn so much of God's truth as that comes to; know what He means when He tells you to be just; and teach your sons that their bravery is but a fool's boast, and their deeds but a firebrand's tossing, unless they are indeed just men, and perfect in the fear of God; and you will soon have no more war, unless it be indeed such as is willed by Him, of whom, though Prince of Peace, it is also written, "In righteousness He doth judge and make war."

MR. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., ON AGGRESSION.

In a speech at Birmingham, in January, 1885, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., said:—"Our Government has spent, out of your taxes, during the Queen's reign, more than one hundred and fifty millions sterling of money; and as to the number of lives lost—I say nothing of the lives of our opponents, enemies as they are called, who have been killed—60,000, 70,000, or 80,000, or more, have been killed. If the Manchester policy be dead, then I say let us humiliate ourselves, for morality and Christianity are dead also.

"But there is a spirit which is by no means dead, and that is the spirit which is raised and cherished by certain editors. They cultivate as much as they can a hunger for more territory; they have been lamenting that the Colonial Office has not annexed a great island in the South Pacific, an island so great that it may be called almost a continent; and they complain because a few Germans have occupied a small portion of that vast territory. They do not seem to be aware of the fact that in the United States there are no emigrants to that country who are more highly prized than the Germans, who take refuge among them and make their homes there. Then they want more territory, more colonies, more taxes, because, as you extend your territory, you lay yourselves open to demands continually for greater fleets, more expenditure, and heavier taxes, and at the same time you lay yourselves open to greater chances of dispute and greater peril of differences with other nations. These men seem to have read history, without gathering either sense or knowledge from it. What has become of all the vast empires of the world? Where are they gone? Take the empire of Alexander the Great; take the empire of Rome, including almost all the

civilised world; take the empire of the Great Mogul in India; take the empire of Charles V.; take the European empire, almost the whole of Europe, of the first Napoleon—where are they? They are all gone. Not a trace of them remains, except in the pages of history. Well, this ever-growing empire, which so many men clamour for, is, in my opinion, only a delusion and a snare. It involves an increasing burden, and it must involve, in some not very remote future, catastrophes from which we hope that our children may be saved."

MR. BRIGHT ON THE EUROPEAN MILITARY SYSTEM.

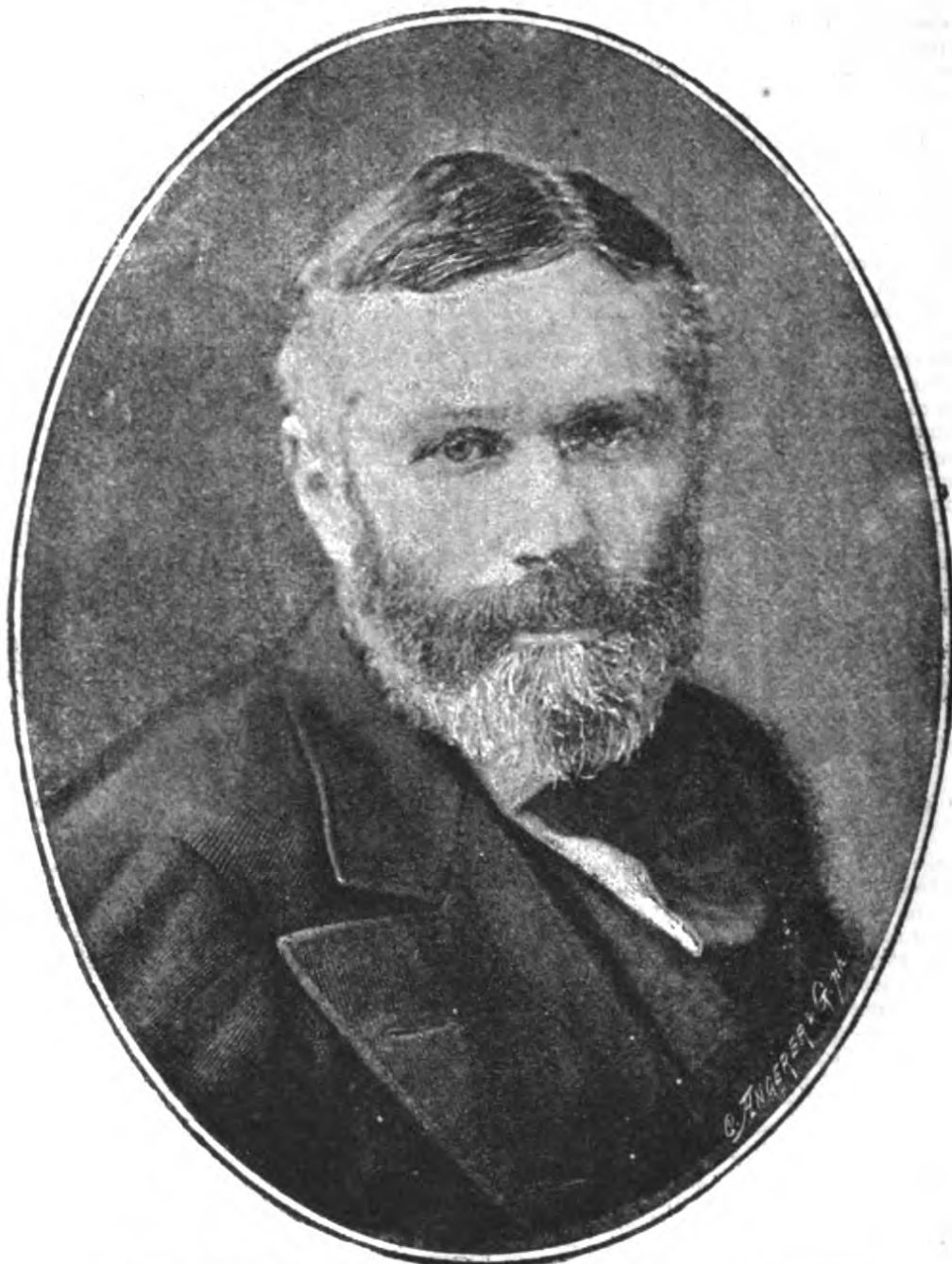
M. Frederick Passy, member of the French Parliament, has received the following letter from Mr. Bright:—

"Rochdale, June 22, 1885.—My dear M. Passy,—I duly received your too amiable letter of the 3rd April and your speeches in the Chamber against the augmented duties on corn. That those speeches failed to convince the Chamber can only be attributable to the too general ignorance of your countrymen of the matter in question. There have been some attempts with us to revive Protection under the name of Fair Trade, but they have miserably broken down. If the European nations would accept commercial liberty, that is moderate customs duties, if not the suppression of Customs altogether, Europe might rapidly tend to an era of perpetual peace. As things stand, nations find their resources swallowed up by the insatiable exigencies of the militarism in which they live. You are adding every year to your enormous debt, and we are adding to our War Budget. Our mistakes have brought us into all sorts of difficulties in Egypt. You are in a similar situation in Madagascar and Tonquin. The interests of peoples are sacrificed to the most miserable and culpable fantasies of foreign politics, and unhappily neither your fellow-citizens nor mine are able to understand the folly of this policy. Both France and England possess a wide suffrage and democratic institutions, but our policy remains pretty nearly what it was formerly, and the real interests of the masses are trodden under foot in deference to false notions of glory and national honour.

"I cannot help thinking that Europe is marching towards some great catastrophe. The crushing weight of her military system cannot be indefinitely supported with patience, and the populations, driven to despair, may very possibly before long sweep away the personages who occupy thrones and the pretended statesmen who govern in their names. Your nation has not lost all moral sense, and I cling to this consideration not to be discouraged. When moral sense is wanting I see nothing for a people but darkness and peril. I hope your country and mine may not only remain at peace, but be real friends. I am afraid the Paris and London journals too often stir up bad passions; but since 1860, the date of our dear friend Cobden's Treaty, reciprocal jealousies and fears have in a great measure given way to better sentiments.—I am, &c., "JOHN BRIGHT."

Bishop Watson says, that "war has principles and practices peculiar to itself, which but ill quadrature with the rules of moral rectitude, and are quite abhorrent from the benignity of Christianity."

Right Hon. G. O. TREVELYAN.



From a photograph, by permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.

GLEBE LANDS AND ALLOTMENTS.

It is well known that, all over the country, a large quantity of land is in the occupation of the clergy. It is not their private property; it is part of the public property by which they are supported, as the ministers of the Established Church.

This land is commonly spoken of as "glebe land." But that is a mistake. A portion of it, no doubt, is old glebe land, which was set aside for the support of the clergy in ancient times. But the greater part of it is land which has been assigned to the clergy, in recent days, in exchange for tithes.

In many of the counties there are thousands of acres which the clergy have had assigned to them in this way. In Bedfordshire there are more than 11,000 acres; in Cambridgeshire more than 17,000

acres; in Huntingdonshire more than 9,000 acres; in Leicestershire more than 8,000 acres, which have been thus handed over to the clergy in exchange for tithes, under Inclosure Acts; and in many other counties the clergy have had assigned to them more or less land in the same way.

When the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church takes place all this land will come into the possession of the nation. It belongs to the nation now; but at present it is appropriated to the support of the clergy.

The question is one for the labourers themselves. They now have the vote, and can make their voices heard. If they wish it, this great boon may be made one of the first results of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD, M.P.



From a photograph, by permission of Mr. F. Baum, Manchester.

Mr. Chamberlain and the Land Question.

A person living at Runcorn recently wrote to Mr. Chamberlain asking if the following was not the Radical programme: 1. Free trade in land—in other words, that land should be freed from artificial restrictions and be subject only to those economic laws which regulate accumulation and dispersion of other kinds of property. 2. Cheapening of sale and transfer of land by the establishment of a proper system of registration of titles. 3. Taxation of sporting, uncultivated, and unoccupied lands. 4. Restitution of all common land enclosed during the last fifty years, or compensation. 5. The conferring upon public bodies of compulsory power to purchase land for purposes of public utility at a fair price. 6. Enfranchisement of leaseholds upon just and equitable terms. Mr. Chamberlain's private secretary has replied:—

"I am instructed to say that your statement of the reforms desired by the Radical party in connection with the land is perfectly accurate, except that the paragraph numbered 4 in your list should read 'restitution of common land or other public rights which have been illegally appropriated.'"

Dr. Guthrie says, "We talk of wild beasts—we speak of savage animals—but where does Nature, in her most savage aspects, present any scene analogous to a field of battle? A thing, in truth, so unnatural is war, that men would stand astonished to see the brutes copy their example, and outrage nature by so monstrous a sin. . . A battlefield where men, brethren—the children of a common Father—are met to destroy each other, is the most revolting, and indeed, monstrous spectacle this earth offers to the eye of God."

TWELVE REASONS FOR THE REVISION OF THE LAND TAX.

In view of the approaching agitation on the Land question and that of the Land Tax, we deem it expedient at this juncture to republish our "Twelve Reasons" for the revision of the latter, which appeared in the *Financial Reformer* for December, 1872. And we recommend them to the careful consideration of all true lovers of their country, and its constitution, whatever their political opinions may be.

REASONS FOR A REVISION OF THE LAND TAX.

By Act iv., William and Mary (1692), c. 1, s. 4, it was enacted, in very stringent and precise terms, that there should be paid "unto their Majesties" a tax of four shillings in the pound upon the full true yearly value at a rack rent of lands, houses, mines, tenements and hereditaments, as also of mines of all kinds, iron works, salt springs and works, parks, chases, warrens, woods, coppices, fisheries, and, in short, on all real property whatsoever, with a proviso that no deduction or abatement from the full rack rent "in respect to reparations, taxes, parish duties, or any other charges" should be allowed. This tax of four shillings in the pound, heavy as it may now appear, was a very moderate, and indeed wholly inadequate compensation for the original Feudal charges and duties to which the holders of all such property were liable up to 1660, when the Convention Parliament abolished them altogether (so far as regarded tenants of the Crown, *in capite*, but retained them with respect to their sub-tenants, alleging that to do away with them "would be very prejudicial to the Lords of Manors"), and gave to King Charles II. and his successors, in exchange, "Excise Duties for ever." There is strong reason to believe that the assessment made in execution of this Act was never very rigorous or impartial; but, such as it was, a Parliament of landlords always contrived to avoid any revision thereof until 1789, when by Act xxix., George III., chap. 9, the contribution was made permanent at the sum which it produced in 1692, a subsequent Act, the xxxviiith of George III., fixing the quota to be paid by each parish or division, so that in no case should it exceed four shillings in the pound on the valuation of 1692.

We contend that this manifest evasion of the true intent of the law of 1692 ought to be remedied, and that the Land Tax should be re-enacted and re-assessed, and for the following reasons:—

I.

Because, with the exception of Crown or State reserves, the lands of this country were parcelled out at the Conquest on Feudal conditions, the grantees being bound to render military service, both in person and by their dependants, in numbers according to the extent of their fees, and to provide them with arms, horses, and provisions; and also to make heavy payments to the Crown on occasions of births, marriages, &c., &c. From these and other heavy burdens successive Parliaments of landholders, every man of whom, according to the late General Perronet Thompson, "had taken a solemn oath that he had a personal pecuniary interest in the question," have gradually relieved themselves, not merely without giving the public any equivalent, but throwing their own proper burdens upon the shoulders of industry, trade, and the non-landholding community. It is high time that this gross injustice should be redressed.

II.

Because rent grows, and is, in fact, created by the public, viz., by the growth of trade, wealth, and population, and that which the nation has created the nation has a right to share in by taxation; at all events, so far as the public necessities may require.

III.

Because rent is the only kind of property which can be taxed without interfering with the production of wealth. "Both ground rents and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue (says Adam Smith, book V., chap. II.) which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any care or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him in order to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will be given to any sort of industry." Evidently, it can make no difference whatever to a tenant, whether he pays the landlord or the taxgatherer. The less the taxation the more the rent, and *vice-versa*; but the total will not be affected by the proportion paid for each.

IV.

Because a tax upon rent is more easy to ascertain accurately, more difficult to evade, and cheaper to collect, than any other.

V.

Because it has been admitted by the Earl of Derby and other landholders, that the land of England does not produce more than one-half as much food as it ought to do; and the most efficient, if not the only means, to compel the landholders generally to do their duty to their estates and to the public, it is to tax them soundly, that they may be driven by necessity to cultivate and make the land yield more produce, and, therefore, more rent.

VI.

Because the receivers of rent usually live in idleness, upon the fruits of other people's industry; and it is monstrous that industry should be burthened that idleness may go free. Those "whose recognised function is that of handsomely consuming the rents of England, shooting the partridges of England, and as an agreeable amusement (if purchase moneys and other conveniences serve) dilletante-ing in Parliament and Quarter Sessions for England" (*Carlyle*), must verily be made to pay their due share of the taxes at least.

VII.

Because, since trade and manufactures, or in other words, profits, are the mother of rent and wages, it is only necessary to allow them to grow and develop freely to increase rent and wages also, to an indefinite extent. Rent is a tree which must be pruned to make it fruitful, and to shift the burthens naturally attaching to it upon trade and industry is simply killing the goose which has laid all the golden eggs of the landlords.

VIII.

Because, while everybody acknowledges the vast benefits derived from the scanty measure of Free Trade enjoyed in these islands, perfect freedom, or any material approach thereto, can only be attained by the total abolition of customs and excise duties, and of such stamps and assessed taxes as interfere with employment, production, or exchange; and this is only practicable by imposing the main weight of taxation upon realised property in the first instance; all which, however, the owners would speedily recover, through the

REVISION OF LAND TAX—*continued.*

increased wealth of the nation, and the consequent rise in the value of their land. It may safely be asserted that not one day's profitable work is done in this United Kingdom which does not raise the value and the rent of land.

IX.

Because the House of Commons, still principally composed of land-holders, has long since abdicated its proper function of steward of the nation's purse, and not only makes no attempt to check extravagant expenditure and reduce taxation, but notoriously assists and stimulates ministerial and departmental lavishness; and the only possible way to bring it back to vigilant economy, is to tax the rich heavily enough to make honourable members feel that in voting away the public money they are voting away their own.

X.

Because it is plainly more just and reasonable, in any civilised and Christian country, that the rich should be taxed to spare the poor, than the poor to excuse the rich, as is the case at present. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves," says St. Paul; but landholders, in Parliament assembled, have read the text backwards.

XI.

Because, to raise the bulk of our revenue from land and other realised property is the old, approved, constitutional plan of this nation, in reverting to which we are only standing upon the ancient ways, and being guided by the wisdom of our ancestors like true Conservatives.

XII.

Because taxes upon trade of every kind are the barbarous contrivance of a barbarous age; a sort of black mail, devised when honest industry was a disgrace, and war and fighting the only honourable occupation; they are consequently a badge of degradation worn like a serf's collar by commerce and manufactures; they wage ceaseless and bitter war against the free intercourse of nations; and therefore against peace and civilisation, and are thus a solecism and an anomaly in an age of railways, steamers, and telegraphs. But the abolition of this long standing disgrace to modern intelligence is only possible by the taxation of real property.

EFFECT OF THE LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE.

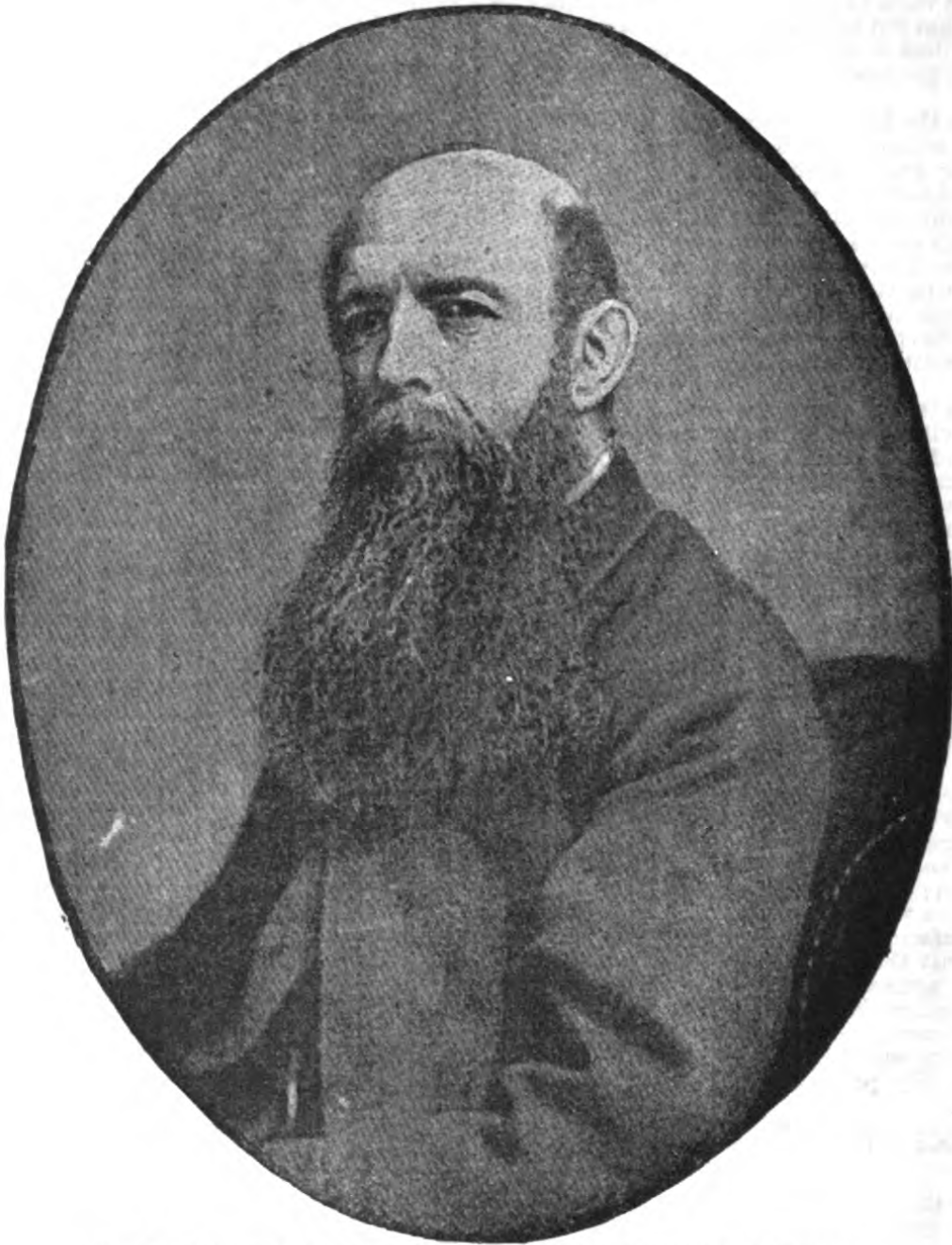
Among the worst of the sins against the State of which the land as held is guilty, if it is not actually the worst, is the law of primogeniture. We fancy it is the worst because it is the cause of a myriad minor evils. This law, on the face of it, shows class purposes, and class purposes of a kind which really react against those who are supposed to benefit by them. The craze for keeping up large estates is a craze, and nothing beyond, and landowners must see this now that the pension lists are so carefully scrutinised, and are in the times to come likely to be scrutinised still more closely. Primogeniture has cost the country hundreds of millions in providing places, sinecures and semi-sinecures, for the younger sons and younger sons' younger sons of the great landed proprietors. If we take as evidence a duke with a hundred thousand a year and a large family, we find he must either pinch and scrape, heavily insure his life at ruinous rates, or provide for his younger sons at the expense of the country. And although to most of us a hundred thousand a year

seems a fabulous amount, there are men who possess it and who are really not as well off as other men are with a single thousand. The charges on great estates are enormous, and then there are the castles and places, the large and noisy town houses, and the small and quiet shooting boxes, to be kept up, and with all this affluence the possessor of it has ever one long struggle before him so as to obtain spending money. While the duke is alive he looks after his children; but when he dies, and the next man comes in, they have to look after themselves. Brotherly love does not give them much beyond that to which they are strictly entitled. Look at the vast number of Lord Johns and Lord Williams, and Lord Thomases who belong to extremely rich families, but who are themselves usually hard set as to which way they shall get a guinea. The Woodstock midget himself might never have been heard of in Parliament had he not secured an independence by marrying the daughter of an American speculator who had "struck ile" or otherwise made money. Not so very long ago there was a peer of immense fortune who was never sober from the time that he came of age until he died under circumstances too horrible to relate, and while he was squandering something like a million upon the turf, and in furnishing bijou residences for the ladies of his seraglio, his brothers found in their wits the readiest and best of their resources. Thousands of other instances of like nature could be given; it could be shown how the Circumlocution Office and all the other and similar offices, with the Church as it still stands and with the army as it used to stand, were originally but the outcome of the necessity for finding something in the way of a living for the younger sons and brothers of great landowners. But the specimen given—though it is but a small specimen—will be found sufficient. What would be thought of a man who was worth nine or ten million pounds in ready cash, and dying he left it all to his eldest son, and allowed, say, half-a-dozen other sons to go without a penny? Yet that is not what individuals alone do with the land; it is what the law of entail, which is simply the practical insistence of the law of primogeniture, makes absolutely compulsory on ninety-nine per cent of our most important freeholders. If Mr. Chamberlain can persuade the incoming Parliament to wipe out this blot, he will even then be but at the commencement of his labours. But to get the wedge in is something; and so long as he drives it in the necessary direction, and keeps clear of foolish Communistic fancies, he is safe to have the best wishes of the country behind him.—*The Referee*, August 10th, 1885.

THE COST OF WAR.

If you have to take away masses of men from all industrious employment—to feed them by the labour of others—to provide them with destructive machines varied daily in national rivalry of inventive cost; if you have to ravage the country which you attack—to destroy for a score of future years its roads, its woods, its cities, and its harbours; and if finally, having brought masses of men counted by hundreds of thousands face to face, you tear those masses to pieces with jagged shot, and leave the living creatures countless beyond all help of surgery, to starve and parch through days of torture down into clots of clay—what book of accounts shall record the cost of your work—what book of judgment sentence the guilt of it?—*Crown of Wild Olives*, § 102.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON.



From a photograph, by permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.

ON THE CAUSES OF WARS.

WARS OF CONQUEST.

Formerly nothing was deemed so glorious as conquest. A conqueror was applauded by his people, admired by the whole world, immortalised by historians, poets, and sculptors. None thought of inquiring by what butcheries and inhumanities, by what treacheries and lies, his conquests had been achieved. In our own time a perpetual tribute of admiration has been poured forth to Frederick II. and Napoleon I.; and most of the public monuments in Berlin and Paris have been dedicated to the demon of conquest. Louis Philippe, the most pacific of kings, who fell for loving peace too well, must consecrate the Palace of Versailles *à toutes les gloires de la France*, and bring home the ashes of a conqueror

whose memory ought to have been held up to the detestation of the new generation. Thus the love of military glory has been breathed into the soul of the chief nations of the Continent from their infancy; and in general estimation there is still no glory equal to that of having slaughtered hundreds of thousands of one's fellow-men.

Nevertheless there is already a minority, not without influence, to whom a great conqueror seems rather a monster to be execrated than an object of homage and admiration, and who point out that the feudal brigands, who from their secure fortresses swooped down upon peaceful merchants and travellers, were in like manner admired and celebrated in their day. Already, too, neither nation nor government venture to

own that they meditate conquest. Napoleon III., when he annexed Savoy and Nice, made a show of consulting the suffrages of the inhabitants. The Germans, when they tore Alsace and Lorraine from the bleeding body of France, did not invoke the right of conquest; they appealed to the principle of nationality, and the necessity of defence against a people bent upon conquest. The Russians themselves, the least civilised of European nations, to justify their ambitious schemes south of the Danube, talk of the duty of protecting oppressed Christians and the future of the Slave race.

Wars of conquest, therefore, we may affirm are on the point of disappearing, and the world's morality is rising above them. All history ought to be re-written to that end; for what history has ever told what conquerors or conquests have really been?

At all times men have instinctively admired those who have seemed most useful to them. In ancient times, strength and courage were the primary factors of usefulness. Hence, in the heroic ages, it is physical strength that is most honoured by all, and Hercules, Theseus, and Siegfried are the national heroes. Later on, conquerors like Alexander or Cæsar rise to fame; and still later a similar glory surrounds statesmen such as Richelieu, Pitt, and Bismarck. The time will come when mankind will reserve their esteem for those who have most contributed to their enlightenment, their morality, and their well-being.

WARS FOR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

France and England, Spain and Holland, have waged long and bloody wars for colonies. But nations at length begin to understand that colonies are now-a-days only a source of difficulty and weakness to the mother country.

No colony, except Java, yields a net profit to Holland after the cost of the troops and fleet necessary for its defence has been deducted from the gross revenue. Colonies are therefore seldom of advantage to the taxpayers, and they are generally the cause of increased taxation.

Besides, it is no longer the doctrine that colonies are to be treated as conquered countries, from which tribute is to be gathered. Holland has made railways with the net revenue yielded by Java; but this comes of the mother country looking upon itself as the owner of the soil, in accordance with Mohammedan principles, and a powerful party has arisen which seeks to establish the injustice of the system, and to prevent the fruits of Javanese labour being confiscated to enrich Holland.

Ideas of liberty and of equality will spread in every direction, and it will soon become impossible to govern colonies according to the old despotic system.

Colonial questions, on the other hand, are apt to throw the business of parliamentary government into confusion, and the interior administration of the mother country often suffers from difficulties which have arisen at the antipodes. This is actually the case in Holland.

Parliamentary assemblies are seldom capable of governing distant colonies, because, in the first place, they are not chosen for that object; and, secondly, because most of the members know absolutely nothing about colonial questions. Absolute power cannot be given to the executive,

and yet the imperial assembly is incapable of exercising any useful supervision. The whole colonial system is a legacy of the old order of things. It requires a despotic authority to carry it out, and in these days the continuance of despotism can nowhere be tolerated.

In the case of a colony peopled by Europeans, like Australia or Canada, it may be left to govern itself; but then what is the use of bearing the responsibility of a government in which one has no part? Colonies no longer offer even the advantage of a privileged market, for they impose import duties on the produce of the metropolitan country. Let their independence be proclaimed, they will buy as much from the mother country, and will no longer expect to have soldiers and ships sent out for their protection.

The possession of colonies is an anachronism, in opposition to the ideas, the institutions, and the interests of our times. This anachronism will disappear—it is visibly disappearing; but it may yet cost heavily to those who prolong it.

See what harm the possession of Algeria has already done to France. Algeria costs, after deducting what it brings in, more than fifty millions of francs a year, which, added up during forty years, comes to two milliards of francs. Had this sum been expended on public instruction, what incalculable power would have been developed in a country so favoured in every respect as France is. How many universities, colleges, and men of learning might have been endowed with this colonial budget! One might have thought that the only advantage the French derived from the ungrateful task they had undertaken of conquering, governing, and, in case of need, smothering out the Arabs, was to form a good army, by means of the permanent fighting which was kept up in Africa. It turns out now that it is in Algeria the French army acquired the faults and vices which have led to its ruin.—From E. de Laveleye, Cobden Club Essays.

MR. BRIGHT ON PEACEMAKERS.

Mr. Graham Chester, as a linguistic effort, having sent Mr. Bright the Scriptural verse commencing "Blessed are the peacemakers," in nine languages, the right hon. gentleman replied, "The verse is known among all Christian peoples, and yet not one of them seems to accept it, or to act upon it. We, ourselves, perhaps the most Christian nation, or professing to be so, are not less given to war than other nations. I hope the future may be better than the past."

TAXATION OF TEA.

As Sir M. Hicks-Beach has denied that he suggested additional taxation on tea, we give an extract from his speech in the House of Commons against Mr. Childers' Budget of June 9th. "It was evident from the returns that the consumption of tea was largely increasing in the country, and that by imposing a comparatively small addition to the duty on tea the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have obtained from that article as large a revenue as the most sanguine estimates of the right hon. gentleman anticipated from the increased duties on spirits and beer."

Franklin says, "I have been apt to think that there never has been, nor ever will be, any such a thing as a good war, or a bad peace."

Right Hon. A. J. MUNDELLA.



From a photograph, by permission of the London Stereoscopic Company.

Gratuitous Education.—Sir,—Mr. Gladstone says that “according to the habits of this country a contribution towards the cost of the article tends to its being more thoroughly valued by the receiver,” and Mr. Goschen “that greater interest was taken in schools by the parent who paid for the education of his children than by the parent who got his children’s education free.” Contrariwise, Mr. Chamberlain tells us that “in every case where a free school has been established and the fees diminished the proportion of attendance has increased.” . . . We have the unequivocal and telling experience of the Manchester Free School to enlighten us on the subject. This school, a boys’, situated in Hewitt-street, close to the phenomenal Knott Mill Station of the Manchester and South Junction Railway Company, and at which the instruction has ever been

entirely “free,” has now been in existence for 30 years, for the last 20 of which it has had an average of 320 pupils. It continues to rank in the regularity of its attendance, as it does in the efficacy of its teaching and in regard to its discipline and conduct, among the very highest in the kingdom. The proportion of boys who have attended respectively from two to seven years without the break of a single school day is perhaps unparalleled.—*Extract of a Letter from the “Examiner and Times.”*

Southey says, “Whence is it that wars still disgrace the self-styled Christian world? It is owing to the doctrine of expediency. If Christians had boldly looked in the face of their duty, as developed in the New Testament, this senseless and infernal system of wholesale butchery must long ago have ceased.”

PRINCIPAL PROVISIONS OF THE CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT, 1883.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

It is now a corrupt practice for any person either before, during, or after an election, directly or indirectly to give or provide any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing that person or any other person to give his vote or to refrain from voting at a Parliamentary election. This offence of "treating" is a misdemeanour, and any person who corruptly accepts such entertainment is equally guilty. The penalty for the offence is imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding £200. All persons convicted of the offence are disqualified for registration as electors for seven years, and for the holding of any public or judicial office, &c., for the same term. In the case of a candidate, the election is void, and he becomes incapacitated for ever from sitting again for the same constituency.

It is also a misdemeanour for any person by himself or any other person to threaten or make use of any force or violence or threaten to inflict any temporal or spiritual injury on any person with the view of preventing the free exercise of the franchise.

The offence of bribery, whether it be the receiving of money or any valuable consideration, or of offering the same, is punishable as a misdemeanour with the same penalties as those attached to treating and the exercise of undue influence.

For the purpose of this Act the term "person" includes an association, and the individual members of any association being parties to the commission of illegal acts are punishable.

It will be well to remember that the treating of non-electors, even, is open to very serious suspicion, and if it could be shown that such treating was intended to indirectly influence electors it would be sufficient to void an election in those cases where the candidate or his agents could be implicated, and in the case of other persons it would be punishable as a corrupt practice.

It is not illegal to provide ordinary meals or refreshment to paid agents on the day of election, but all paid agents are prohibited from voting. It would, however, be imprudent to give refreshments, &c., to voluntary workers who are voters, unless it could be clearly shown that it was *bona fide*, and not given to corruptly influence voters. As the provisions of the new Act limit the amount of the candidates' expenses, the extent of all such entertainment as is here contemplated will be in consequence affected.

Personation, or the aiding or abetting of the offence is punishable with severity as a felony.

ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

It is an illegal practice in connection with the election of a candidate to pay for the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, either by the hiring of horses, carriages, the payment of railway fares, or otherwise. There is an exception, however, where the nature of a country is such that electors residing therein are unable to vote without crossing the sea or a branch thereof. It does not appear to be a contravention of the Act for persons to lend their private horses, carriages, or boats to bring up voters to the poll, but all such loans must be *bona fide* and without expectation of any payment or reward.

A candidate may use his own private convey-

ances for the purpose of bringing up voters to the poll, but he must not pay anyone to drive them and in the case of his own servants driving, they must not receive anything beyond their ordinary wages.

An elector may hire a conveyance to take himself to the poll, or several may combine for the same purpose.

No payment or contract for payment is allowed to be made to an elector on account of the use of any house or premises for the advertising of any address, placard, or notice, or for the exhibition of the same. In the case of any person whose ordinary business it is to display and exhibit notices and placards it is declared not to be an illegal practice to receive payment for such services. Electors of course may give a free exhibition of placards.

The engagement of all rooms for the use of committees in excess of the number allowed by the Act is illegal, as well as all expenditure in excess of the amount stipulated by the Act. Any number of free committee rooms may be used, as long as they are not on prohibited premises.

The publishing of a false statement of the withdrawal of a candidate is punishable as an illegal practice.

The above are a few of the leading offences defined as illegal practices. The penalty for the offence on conviction is a fine not exceeding £100 and the deprivation of the right to be registered as an elector, parliamentary or otherwise, for five years in the constituency where the offence is committed. Should the candidate be implicated, he becomes incapable of sitting for the constituency for the term of seven years.

It is well to remember that both parties to any of the above offences are equally guilty of illegal practices.

ILLEGAL PAYMENT, EMPLOYMENT, AND HIRING.

Any person, club, or association, or body of persons providing money for any payment which is contrary to the provisions of the Act, or for any expenses in excess of the maximum amount allowed by the Act, will be guilty of an illegal payment.

All moneys contributed towards the expenses of an election must be paid to the candidate or his agent. Providing any money for the forwarding of an election, except through the ordinary channels, is punishable as an "illegal practice."

For the guidance of clubs and associations not under the control of the candidate, it may be said that all expenditure in connection with a contest made by them between the vacancy and the election would be illegal.

It is declared illegal for a person to let, lend, or employ any public stage or hackney coach, or any animal kept for letting out on hire, for the purpose of conveying electors to or from the poll.

It would be a contravention of the Act for a cabmaster to give the free use of his vehicles, &c., on the day of election, and any person who hires, borrows, or accepts the free use of them would be guilty of illegal hiring. Of course, as previously stated, a voter may hire such a conveyance to take himself to or from the poll, or a party of voters may conjointly do the same.

Should a cab proprietor or a job master be a candidate, he could not use his own vehicles for the purpose of polling voters.

All payments or contracts for payments, by

PRINCIPAL PROVISIONS OF THE CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT—continued.

whomsoever made, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate, on account of bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction, are punishable as illegal payments.

Bands, banners, torches, and flags may be used, but the use must be voluntary and without any expectation of payment or reward. The law declares it to be illegal for any person to give or provide any ribbon, cockade, or any mark of party distinction in connection with an election.

All paid canvassing is now prohibited, although any number of volunteers may be engaged in this work. The law declares that no person shall, with the object of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election, be engaged or employed for payment or promise of payment for any purpose or in any capacity whatever except as stipulated in the schedule of the Act.

The exceptions are as follows:—Election agent, sub-agents, polling agents, clerks, and messengers. The numbers of these to be employed are regulated according to the number of electors in the constituency. All persons employed in these capacities, if electors, are disqualified from voting.

The hire or the use of any premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors, wholesale or retail, is forbidden as committee rooms, also of any premises whereon refreshments of any kind, whether food or drink, is ordinarily sold for consumption on the premises. This latter clause prohibits the use of such places as coffee taverns, temperance hotels, &c., as committee rooms. Further, it is illegal to hire or use as committee rooms any premises whereon intoxicating liquor is sold or supplied to members of a club, society, or association, other than a permanent political club.* Neither can public elementary schools be used for this purpose.

There is an exception, however, in favour of premises which have a separate entrance and no direct communication with those parts of premises on which liquors or refreshments are supplied, and which are usually let for holding meetings, &c.

The premises which come under the above description are disqualified, and their use declared to be illegal for the purpose of committee-rooms. It would be quite within a strict interpretation of the Act to allow the rooms in connection with such places to be used for public meetings of the electors, to be addressed by the candidate or his friends. The number of hired committee-rooms allowed by the Act is regulated by the number of electors in the constituency.

Every bill or placard having reference to an election must bear upon the face thereof the name and address of the printer or publisher. The omission in the case of the candidate or his agent is punishable as an illegal practice, and in the case of other persons there is a fine on summary conviction for the offence of a sum not exceeding £100.

It is illegal for private persons or independent committees to issue placards, &c., with the object of directly supporting and aiding a particular candidate. All such expenses must be paid through the authorised election agent. It would not however be considered a violation of the law to post a placard of a general character, such as the *Alliance* "Address to Electors," or the "Drink Diagram."

* In the Municipal Corrupt Practices Act, 1884, there is no exception in favour of political clubs.

These no doubt would influence the result in some elections, but it would hardly be judged necessary to pass the expenses through the official channel.

The penalty for "illegal payment, employment, and hiring," if committed by any person other than the candidate or his election agent, is a fine not exceeding £100 on conviction, with prohibition of the vote or voidance of vote if given. In the case of the candidate or his agent, these offences rank as illegal practices, and are punishable as such.

The conduct and actions of all active supporters may seriously compromise a candidate and possibly void an election. The law of agency is very stringent, and all workers at an election whose labours have any general sanction or approval are agents within the meaning of the Act, so far as making the candidate responsible for their actions is concerned.

J. A. GIBSON,
In the *Alliance News*.

THE TORY SCREW AT NORFOLK.

Under this heading Mr. W. G. Reeve, of the Great Yarmouth Liberal Association, writes to the *Daily News*:—The following facts should be interesting, as showing that during the coming struggle the political faith of working men will be put to the severest test:—Fact No. 1: In a certain parish in Norfolk there resides a Tory landlord and farmer, calling himself a man, on whose estate are several cottages, mostly occupied by agricultural labourers in his own employ. These men, having exhibited certain ominous symptoms of weakness in the direction of Radicalism, have been solemnly forbidden to attend all Liberal meetings, on pain of eviction and dismissal. The same "squire" expressed to a friend of mine his deliberate intention of clearing all Radical "vermin" off his estate. No. 2: I have perused a copy of an interesting document, in the shape of a letter from another Tory employer to a working man, from which I give the following extract: "If you mix yourself up with Liberal meetings you leave me!" No. 3: A Norfolk tradesman, a Nonconformist holding Liberal views, recently declined on conscientious grounds to contribute towards the support of a voluntary school at which Church of England doctrines are enforced; whereupon the vicar in token of his displeasure not only ceased to deal with the tradesman in question, but furthermore (dear soul!) avowed his fixed determination to do his utmost to induce others to follow his Christian (?) example. This vicar could surely write an instructive work on "Boycotting in Norfolk, by one who has tried it." Of yore it was by the Tories considered proper to rely upon the sublime instincts of an ancient people, but in these more degenerate days it is evident that more reliance is placed upon the "screw."

He had often mentioned, and he did not know that he could do better than mention it again, a most remarkable instance of the connection between offences of violence, and excessive drinking. On one occasion, in a northern country, he sat to try a calendar of 63 prisoners, out of which 36 were charged with offences of violence, from murder downwards, there being no less than six murderers for trial amongst those 36. In every single case not indirectly but directly, these offences were attributed to excessive drinking.—Mr. Justice DENMAN.

Right Hon. EARL ROSEBERY.



From a photograph.

THE BALLOT : A CONVERSATION.

Q. Is the Ballot secret?

A. Yes; for a duly qualified voter, absolutely.

Q. But if there is a petition and scrutiny, do they not then examine all the votes?

A. No; the paper of a disqualified voter is the only one which can be examined.

Q. How do I know that I am not disqualified?

A. The only persons who can be disqualified are Peers of the Realm, Women, Policemen, and Felons; so if your name is on the Register, and you are not a Peer, a Woman, a Policeman, or a Felon, your vote is absolutely secret.

Q. But my register number is written on the counterfoil, and there are other printed numbers on the counterfoil and on the vote; could not anyone find out by comparing these numbers with the Register?

A. Yes, if they were allowed to do so; but the counterfoils are locked up directly the polling is

over, and no one can get at them to compare them with the voting papers.

Q. But cannot the agents find out from the voting papers themselves, while they are counting?

A. No; there is no mark whatever on the paper to identify it with the voter; the printed number on the back is simply the number of the voting paper, and no more identifies the voter than the number of a cheque shows who signed it. If the votes were exhibited in public for a week for anyone to examine who liked to do so, no one would be any the wiser.

Q. Are you sure no one can get hold of the counterfoils and the voting papers after the Election is over?

A. Quite sure; they are packed up in a box, sent to London, stored in a Government vault for six months, and then destroyed.

THE WORK OF THE LIBERAL PARTY DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

Rochdale,
January 17th, 1885.

Dear Mr. Townsend,

You suggest that I should write something that may be of use to the new voters under the Franchise Bill which has just become law. If I were speaking to your new voters, and especially if to those who are farm labourers, I should say something like that I am about to write.

I should tell them that there is a great difference between the two parties which will ask for their votes in November, 1885—a difference which they may see in all things during the last fifty years. The Reform Bill of 1832 was carried by the Liberal party against the violent opposition of the Tories. It was the first step, in our time, towards a better representation of the people in Parliament. In the year 1867, now seventeen years since, the suffrage was first given to working men, when household suffrage was granted in our cities and towns. This was gained by the agitation promoted by the Liberal party in the country, and was pressed upon the Tory Government during the discussions in the House of Commons in the session of 1867.

The Liberal party in the country and in Parliament has advocated household suffrage for the counties for several years, during which the Tories have constantly opposed it. Last year the Bill giving household suffrage in the counties became law, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Tories to obstruct it.

The Liberal party gave to all voters the protection of the ballot, which the Tory party strongly opposed. Every voter is now able to vote as he wishes. No landlord, or farmer, or employer of any kind can know how any vote is given—and now the poorest man is as safe in giving his vote as the richest. This is a great safeguard for the voter. The Bill for the re-arrangement of seats now before Parliament is the work of the Liberal party. The Tory party when in office did not propose it, and it is only under a Government of Liberals that so great and wise a measure could have been passed into law.

Political freedom, therefore, and a real representation of the people, rich and poor, the country owes to the Liberal party. But we owe much more to the Liberal party.

We owe to it the repeal of the cruel Corn Law, and the removal of the hindrances to trade, caused by monstrous taxes on almost everything brought from foreign countries. The Corn Law, by shutting out foreign corn, was intended to keep the price of wheat at, or near, 80 shillings the quarter; its natural price without Corn Law is probably about 40 shillings the quarter.

Bread is, and will be, about half the price at which the Corn Law intended it to be in all years when English harvests were not good.

A great Minister, Sir Robert Peel, repealed the Corn Law. The agitation of the Anti-Corn Law League, the Irish famine in 1846, and the help and votes of the Liberals in Parliament, with the support of a portion of the Tories, gave him power to repeal this wicked and cruel law. Some of the Tories are now proposing to restore it, and again to make the labourers' bread dearer, so that farmers may be able to pay rents which they say are too high unless the law is put in force to raise

the market price of wheat, and the baker's price of bread! The Tory party and country gentlemen were very angry with Sir Robert Peel because he would not maintain the Corn Law. His party deserted him, and drove him from office and from power because he preferred the interests of the nation, and the comforts of the labouring classes to dear bread, and high rents for the landowners.

When the Corn Law was gone, other bad things went with it. The Liberal Government which came in after Sir Robert Peel destroyed the monopoly in sugar. Other great changes have been made, chiefly by Mr. Gladstone, supported always by the Liberals. The new voters who are not young will remember the price of bread in former days; they will know that sugar is about one-third of the price it once was, and that they now can buy three pounds for the price they formerly paid for one pound; and they know that tea costs less now than the tax alone which was imposed upon it before the Free-traders began the reform in our tariff and the repeal of duties on imports from foreign countries. And during these years there has been a general and large rise in the wages of working men and labourers in all parts of the country. Farm labourers' wages have risen one-half or more, and in some counties they have nearly doubled since the days of Protection and the Corn Law.

But the Liberal party has done more than give the mass of our people a real representation and a real power in Parliament. It has done more than give them freedom for their industry. It has given them the means to understand what Parliament is doing, and what it ought to do, for it has given them the vast advantage of a Free Press, and to their children the not less vast advantage of cheap and good schools. Now almost every labourer can have an admirable newspaper weekly for a penny, or every day one somewhat smaller in size, but not less admirable in quality for a halfpenny. Newspapers, not so large and not so good as these, cost sevenpence when the Liberal party began to deal with this question. The taxes on paper, and on the printed newspaper, strangled the Press, and the tax on advertisements was as great when a gardener sought a situation and employment as when a rich man advertised a mansion or an estate.

All this is gone,—these scandals and cruelties of the past are gone. The Liberals spoke and worked; the Tory opposition step by step was vanquished, and one after another these great evils vanished, and no longer disgrace English legislation.

And what of the cheap and good schools? The child of the labourer may gain an education that will give him as good a prospect, as regards labour and trade, as the child of the richer man has. He will grow up with a sense of self-respect; he will see before him a path along which he may find independence and comfort. The present gain of this is great; the future gain is beyond all we can estimate.

And what of the future? What will Household Suffrage in Counties and the new arrangement of Seats do for the new voters, and especially for the farm labourers? If the new voters know their interests, and if the Liberals are returned in great power to the new Parliament, two things will

WORK OF THE LIBERAL PARTY—continued.

have a chance of being done. The Land Laws will be reformed, and much of them reformed out of existence. In past times and now our Land Laws have been framed to protect the great estates of great families. Great estates lead to great farms, and great farms lead to the result that it is almost impossible for farm labourers to become farmers, and thus the path of the intelligent and hard-working labourer to an improved position and condition for himself and his family is barred and blocked. The holding of great estates under entails and settlements, and often heavily mortgaged and burdened, makes it impossible for them to be well cultivated, and thus the demand for labour is lessened, and a better rate of wages is prevented. This whole system of Land Laws must be broken down, and the new and great Reform will do little if it does not get rid, as far as possible, of the mischiefs of the past.

The Game Laws, too, will come under revision. Parliament may accept the principle that the creatures which live on and from the land, are the property, if there be any property in them, of the farmer, at whose cost, and by whose labour, the farm is cultivated. When this principle is admitted in our law, then what is called "preservation of game" may cease: murderous conflicts on game preserves may be no longer known, and labourers may not have before them an almost constant and irresistible temptation to become poachers, and breakers of the law. If the new voters will help the Liberal party, the Liberal landowners, the Liberal farmers, the Liberal shopkeepers and tradesmen, in the towns and villages of the Counties and County Divisions, we may see much good done by a new Parliament.

If what I have written shall give information or useful counsel, I shall be glad. I have for more than forty years endeavoured to press forward in the country and in Parliament the changes to which I have referred. They have all, so far as they have been effected, in my view, been of great service to the country. The period of Reform is not yet ended; it will rest, in no small degree, on the good sense of the new constituency, combined with what is intelligent and just in the old body of Electors, whether, as on two past occasions, in 1832 and 1867, a large measure of Electoral Reform shall be followed by great measures of improvement in the legislation of our country. Perhaps I have written at too great length in reply to your letter—if so you will forgive me. The subject is too grave and too great to be treated in a paragraph.

I am, very truly yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

T. S. Townsend, Esq.
&c., &c.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT "CHURCH DEFENCE."

A "Church Defence Institution" exists in London, and some hundreds of "Church Defence" Associations throughout the country. What is it they are defending?

1. Not the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Creeds, or the Prayer Book; for the "Liberation Society" does not want to touch a line of either.
2. Not the archbishops and bishops; for nobody proposes to abolish them.
3. Not the deans and archdeacons, the rectors and vicars, or the curates of the Church; for those

who object to the State-Church are quite willing that she should have these functionaries, if her members appoint them and pay for them themselves.

What these "Church Defenders" really defend is:—

1. The political supremacy of their Church as a State-supported Establishment, and their hold of the public property by which it is sustained; while all other religious bodies have to support themselves, and stand or fall according to their own merits.

2. The privileged position of the archbishops and bishops, with incomes of from £3,000 to £15,000 a year, most of them paid out of public property, and with seats in the House of Lords.

3. Deaneries with salaries of from £3,000 a year downwards, and hardly anything to do for the money; and cathedral canonries with £1,000 a year, which are equally useless.

4. Incumbencies with large incomes in small places, while there are numbers of clergymen almost destitute working in the midst of large populations.

5. The appointment of clergymen, not by their congregations, but by "patrons," who may, and many of whom constantly do, sell their "livings" by public auction to the highest bidder.

6. The denial to the laity of the Church of all power to share in the management of its affairs, and the government of the Church by a Parliament composed of men of almost all kinds of religion, and of no religion at all.

7. The maintenance of the exclusive rights and privileges unjustly conferred upon the Church of England to the disadvantage of other religious bodies, and the community at large.

Many candid Churchmen see all this, and refuse to have anything to do with "Church Defence." "A Beneficed Clergyman," writing to the *Rock* of September 23rd, 1881, says:—"Let not the 'loaves and fishes'—the fat livings and canonries, the comforts and dignity of the State-Church—blind our eyes to the fearful evils we see around us. Is a free Church, depending upon the offerings and love of the people, or a State-Church, propped up by earthly wealth and pomp, and an antiquated ecclesiasticism, more like the mind of Christ?" A writer in the *Church Review*, however, very properly says of the *National Church*—the organ of the "Church Defence Institution"—"It would seem to be much more keen to contend earnestly for the fishes it has secured in its net, than for the faith once for all delivered to the Church of God."

That is why so much is heard about the Church's endowments at Church Defence meetings, and why "Liberationists" are so strongly denounced as "robbers" and "spoliators."

Let the Church defenders everywhere be asked what it is they defend. If they say "the Church," tell them that nobody is attacking the Church, and that it is in no danger. If, however, they are obliged to admit that it is the Establishment, then tell them that works so badly, for the Church and the nation, that the sooner it is abolished the better it will be for both!—Tract of Liberation Society.

Jeremy Bentham says, "Nothing can be worse than the general feeling on the subject of war. The church, the state, the ruling few, the subject many, all in this case seem to have combined to patronise vice and crime in their widest sphere of evil."

FREE TRADE AND ENGLISH COMMERCE.

If to protect native industry by putting such duties on foreign commodities as shall keep them out of the market, and compel the consumers to deal exclusively with native producers, be beneficial to a country, the same system must, for the same reasons, be beneficial if applied to the various provinces of that country. Let us take an instance. Wales at present buys her cotton goods from Lancashire, and her pottery from Staffordshire. There are a few small cotton mills and three or four manufacturers of coarse earthenware scattered

and labour should be transferred from profitable to unprofitable employments. We will suppose, however, that this is a benefit to the principality. If so—by parity of reasoning—why should not the native industry of Monmouthshire be protected against the competition of the Carmarthenshire producers? And if we continue to carry out the principle to its logical results, we finally arrive at a state of things which in primitive times did really exist—viz., that in which each family live on their own farm produce, and in clothes of their own

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.



From a photograph by Messrs. Robinson & Thompson, Liverpool.

here and there throughout the principality, but these cannot develop themselves under the competition of English producers. Wales therefore demands "protection for her native industry," through the imposition of such protective duties on English cottons and pottery as shall keep them out of the Welsh market. Supposing the request granted, the Welsh cotton mills and potteries at once receive great extension; capital and labour are diverted to them from other industries, and the entire Cambrian community pays a heavy tax in the shape of high prices for bad goods, in order to support a few native manufacturers, and in order that capital

spinning and making—a state of things in which there would be no imports, and which would afford complete protection against foreign competition.

If a free interchange of commodities between two regions be an evil at all it must be an evil inherent to the system itself, and not convertible into a good, if the two regions happen to be under the same government. If it be to the advantage of a community to restrict its trade with the world, it can make no difference whether it be independent or politically connected with other communities.

THE PROTECTION CRY AGAIN.

(Reprinted from the *Manchester Examiner and Times* of December 5th, 1884.)

Sir,—As is usual in times of commercial depression, the protection cry has again been raised. We are told that one-sided free trade is ruining the country, and that the country can only be saved from ruin by adopting protection. The chief argument the Protectionists advance in support of their contention is the fact of our imports being so much in excess of our exports. But, sir, this fact is in reality one of the strongest evidences of the benefit of free trade. If we were not importing more than we exported, our merchants would not only not be making any profit upon their transactions, but an actual loss,

the consumption of food per head of the population with the same during the days of protection, there is a wonderful improvement all round, as the following figures show:—

IMPORTS.

Under Protection.

Year.	Total Value.	Per head of population
1840 ..	£62,004,000	£2. 7s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Being only £2. 7s. 6d. worth of tea, sugar, and other articles from abroad to every person in 26,000,000 of population, re-exports included.		

Mr. BURT, M.P.



From a photograph by Messrs. A. & G. Taylor, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

because of the freight and insurance charges which they have to pay. The complaint of the Protectionists is that the Dutch and other foreign nations are giving us too much and asking far too little. The depression is general throughout the world, and is more severe in the great protectionist countries of the United States and France than it is in free-trade England. In conclusion, whatever Protectionists may say, the increased prosperity of the country under free trade cannot be gainsaid. If we compare the imports and exports, the total foreign trade, the amount of pauperism and crime, the number of depositors and the amount of money deposited in savings banks, the number of letters per head of the population, the progress of railways, the tonnage of British vessels, the wage of the working man, the value of property and profits assessed to the income tax, the cost of the necessaries of life, and

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Total Value.	Per head of population
1879 ..	£362,991,875	£10. 12s. 7d.
Being £8. 19s. 1d. worth of tea, sugar, and other articles from abroad to every person in 34,000,000 of population, re-exports excluded.		

EXPORTS.

British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported.

Under Protection.		
Year.	Total Value.	Per head of population
1840 ..	£51,308,740	£1. 18s. 9d.
The most prosperous year of protection.		

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Total Value.	Per head of population
1879 ..	£191,531,758	£5. 12s. 2d.
A year of great depression.		

THE PROTECTION CRY AGAIN—continued.

TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE.

Under Protection.

Year.	Value.	Per head of population.
1840 ..	£123,312,740	£4. 13s. 1d.

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Value.	Per head of population.
1879 ..	£611,775,239	£17. 18s. 3d.

PAUPERISM.

Under Protection.

Year.	Population.	Paupers.
1842 ..	England & Wales. 16,130,326	In & Out. 1,429,089

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Population.	Paupers.
1879 ..	England & Wales. 25,165,336	In & Out. 800,426

CRIME.

Under Protection.

Year.	Population.	Con- victions.
1840 ..	United Kingdom. 26,487,026	34,030

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Population.	Con- victions.
1879 ..	United Kingdom. 34,155,126	16,823

SAVINGS BANKS.

Number of Depositors and Amount of Deposits in Savings Banks.

Under Protection.

Year.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Deposits.
1831 ..	429,000	£13,719,000

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Deposits.
1881 ..	4,140,000	£80,334,000

POST OFFICE STATISTICS.

Under Protection.

Year.	Average number of letters per head to population.
1840 ..	7

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Average number of letters per head to population.
1882 ..	35

PROGRESS OF RAILWAYS.

Under Protection.

Year.	No. of Miles Open at end of each year.	No. of Passengers.*	Total Receipts.
1843 ..	1,952	23,466,896	£4,535,589
1844 ..	2,148	27,763,602	5,074,674
1845 ..	2,441	33,791,253	6,209,714
1846 ..	3,036	43,790,983	7,565,569

Totals .. 9,577 .. 128,812,734 .. £23,385,516

Under Free Trade.

Year.	No. of Miles Open at end of each year.	No. of Passengers*	Total Receipts.
1879 ..	17,696	562,762,890	£59,395,282
1880 ..	17,933	603,885,025	62,961,767
1881 ..	18,175	623,047,789	63,908,237
1882 ..	18,457	654,838,295	66,537,128

Totals .. 72,261 .. 2,444,503,999 .. £252,802,414

* Exclusive of season-ticket holders.

BRITISH SHIPPING.

Tonnage of British vessels, sailing and steam, entered and cleared at ports of the United Kingdom from and to foreign countries and British possessions:—

Under Protection.

Year.	Total Tonnage.
1840 ..	6,490,485

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Total Tonnage.
1882 ..	43,670,361

THE WORKMAN'S WAGE.

Under Protection.

Year.	Average Wage per week.
1833 ..	£1

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Average Wage per week.
1883* ..	£2

PROPERTY AND PROFITS Assessed to the Income Tax.

Under Protection.

Year.	Gross Value.
1843 ..	£251,013,003

Under Free Trade.

Year.	Gross Value.
1881 ..	£585,223,890

PRICE OF FOOD.

Under Protection.

1841.	
Bread ..	2½d. per lb.
Tea ..	5s. "
Sugar ..	9d. "

Under Free Trade.

1884.	
Bread ..	1½d. per lb.
Tea ..	2s. "
Sugar ..	3d. "

CONSUMPTION OF FOOD

Per head of the population.

Under Protection.	
1840.	
Bacon and hams, a small fraction of ..	1 lb.
Butter ..	1 "
Cheese (nearly) ..	1 "
Corn, wheat, and wheat flour (nearly) ..	42½ "
Eggs (in number) ..	3½ "
Rice (nearly) ..	1 lb.
Sugar, raw ..	15 "
Tea (nearly) ..	1½ "

Under Free Trade.

1882.	
Bacon and hams ..	8½ lb.
Butter ..	6½ "
Cheese ..	5 "
Corn, wheat, and wheat flour ..	241 "
Eggs (in number) ..	23 "
Rice ..	13½ "
Sugar, raw ..	62 "
Tea ..	4½ "

In the face of such facts as these—and others could be adduced—I do not think the people of this country will be induced to drop the substance—free trade—in order to grasp the shadow—protection.—Yours truly,

G. W. B. SANDERSON.

Manchester, December 4th.

* The hours of labour are estimated to be nearly 20 per cent less than in 1833.

Mr. HENRY BROADHURST, M.P.



From a photograph, by permission of Mr. W. B. Allison, Stoke-on-Trent.

Sir Wm. Harcourt on the Tories and Free Trade.—"The Tory party were trying to say that they had given the suffrage to the counties. They had done that just about as much as King John was the author of Magna Charta. . . . The Tory party complained that everything was too cheap. They said food was too cheap. It was getting cheaper, thank God; but the Tory party did not thank God for it, and they were appealing against the bounties of Providence to a Royal Commission to see if they could not find out some means to stay this plague of abundance. Again, wool was cheaper, and consequently clothes were cheaper. Wood and metals were cheaper, and they were therefore able to build better houses, but those gentlemen thought that rents were too low, that the profits in capital were too low; in fact, that everything was too low except wages, for

they said that if they were allowed to raise prices the people would get higher wages. Don't believe it. Since Free Trade had been passed the population of the country had nearly doubled. But the land had not increased, and how could they suppose the people of this country could have lived if they had not received support from elsewhere? 470,000 live cattle, more than a million sheep, more than six million head of dead meat, 2,300 cwt. of butter, and 2,000,000 cheeses were imported, and yet the consumption of the live cattle of the country had not diminished. All this was in addition to what was produced at home. If then, they paid less for their bread, for their meat, for their bacon and their butter, they were able to buy more of other things, and the consequence was that they were able to get 213,000,000 lb. of tea, and 24,000,000 cwt. of sugar."—At Blandford, Sept. 28, 1885.

CALENDAR FOR 1886.

JANUARY.						FEBRUARY.					MARCH.						
Sunday ...	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28	...	7	14	21	28
Monday ...	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	...	1	8	15	22	29
Tuesday ...	...	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	...	2	9	16	23	30
Wednesday ...	...	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	...	3	10	17	24	31
Thursday ...	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...	4	11	18	25	...
Friday	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26	...	5	12	19	26	...	
Saturday...	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27	...	6	13	20	27	...	
APRIL.						MAY.					JUNE.						
Sunday	4	11	18	25	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27
Monday	5	12	19	26	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28
Tuesday	6	13	20	27	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29
Wednesday	7	14	21	28	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	30
Thursday..	1	8	15	22	29	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	...
Friday	2	9	16	23	30	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...
Saturday...	3	10	17	24	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26	...
JULY.						AUGUST.					SEPTEMBER.						
Sunday ...	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26
Monday ...	...	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27
Tuesday ...	...	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28
Wednesday ...	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29
Thursday..	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	30	
Friday	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	...	
Saturday...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...	
OCTOBER.						NOVEMBER.					DECEMBER.						
Sunday ...	...	3	10	17	24	31	...	7	14	21	28	...	5	12	19	26
Monday ...	...	4	11	18	25	...	1	8	15	22	29	...	6	13	20	27
Tuesday ...	...	5	12	19	26	...	2	9	16	23	30	...	7	14	21	28
Wednesday ...	...	6	13	20	27	...	3	10	17	24	...	1	8	15	22	29
Thursday..	...	7	14	21	28	...	4	11	18	25	...	2	9	16	23	30	
Friday	1	8	15	22	29	...	5	12	19	26	...	3	10	17	24	31	
Saturday...	2	9	16	23	30	...	6	13	20	27	...	4	11	18	25	...	

INLAND TELEGRAM RATES.

ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

The charges for Inland Telegrams are:—12 words, counting the addresses, 6d. and 1d. per word afterwards. Free delivery to extend three miles from office. Mounted messengers beyond three miles, 1s. per mile in England, or 8d. per mile in Ireland. Messages may, however, be delivered any distance under three miles beyond postal delivery on foot at a charge of 6d. per mile, or part thereof.

In counting telegrams, names of towns and villages will be counted as one word each. Thus, Malvern Wells, which under the former rules was counted as two words, will be only one. Again figures, which were counted as one word each, will be counted, as in Continental telegrams, at the rate of five figures to a word. Thus, "344, Oxford-street," which under the former rules was counted as five words, will be only three.

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Recommended for disorders of the HEAD, CHEST, BOWELS, LIVER and KIDNEYS; also in RHEUMATISM, ULCERS, SORES, and all SKIN DISEASES—the Pills being a *direct purifier of the blood*.

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