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FABIAN SOCIETY

~~RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE~~

Society Meetings

MINUTES

From February 15th, 1896
To June 14th, 1901.

10/13

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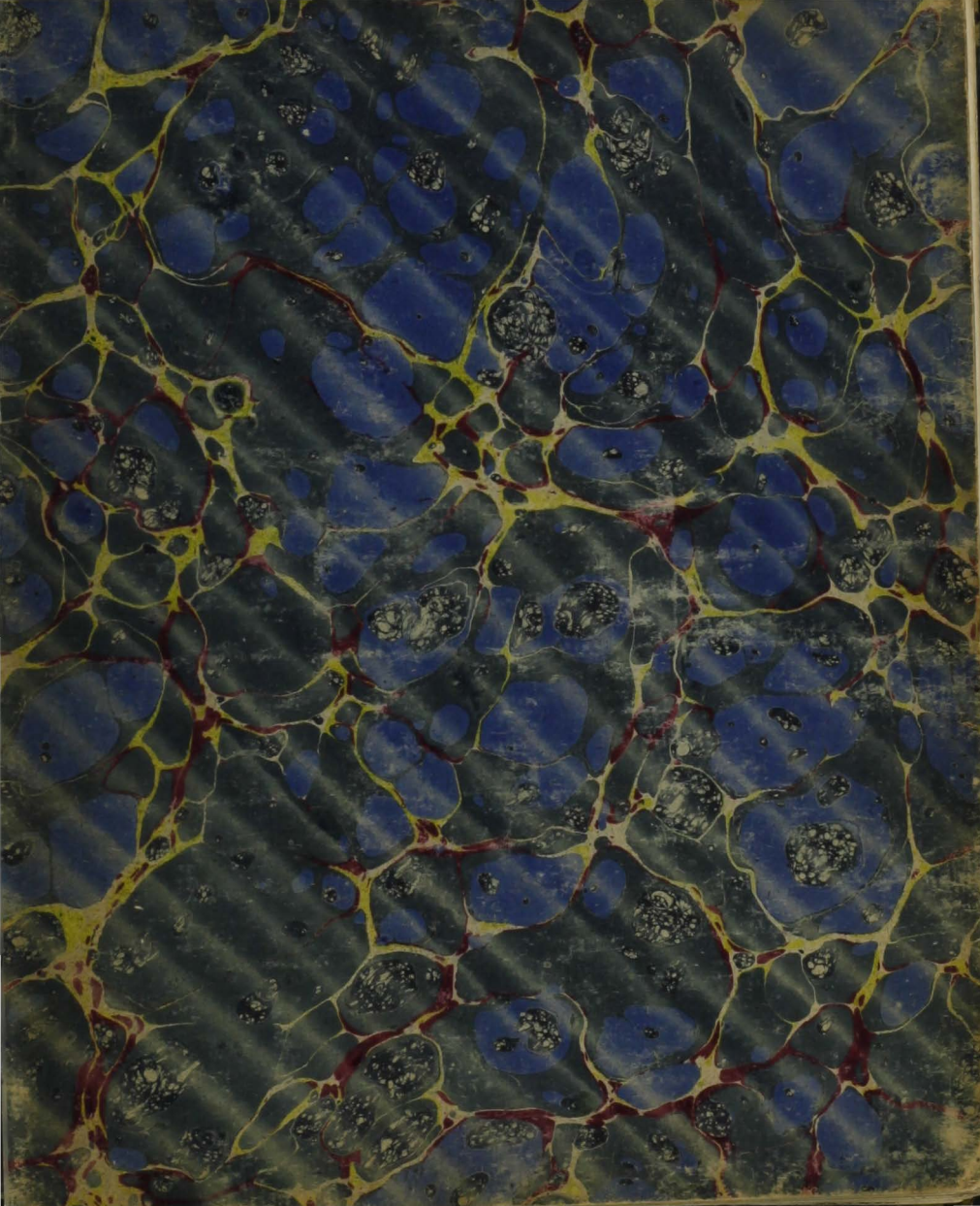
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Fabian Society
27b Strand, London W.C.

Minute Book of Society Meetings
No 4. -

February 14. 1896.

to
14 June 1901

①

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday 14th February 1896.

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman.
2. The Secy on behalf of the Exec. moved that the Executive be empowered to issue the following Tracts with the authors names: -

- (1) "The Reform of Political Machinery," by J. R. MacDonald.
- (2) "The Sphere of the State in Industrial Reconstruction," by H. W. Macrosty.
- (3) "The Sphere of the Municipality in Industrial Reconstruction," by Sidney Webb. [This will probably be divided into two Tracts—one statistical and the other theoretic.]
- (4) "Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad," by Edw. R. Pease. [The constructive part of this lecture will later be submitted to the Society for discussion, with a view to publication as a Tract under the authority of the Society.]

After discussion Nos 2, 3, & 4 were put and carried unanimously, & No 1 also with not more than one vote to the contrary.

3. The Hon. Bertrand Russell has lectured on

**"Lessons from Germany in Independent
Labor Politics."**

and a debate followed in which R. R. Steele, G. Bernstein, G. Wallas, H. W. Macrosty, Tom Mann, F. S. Green, H. B. Shaw took part

29/2/96
F. J. Hobson

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday Feb 28 1896.

1. Sam S. Holson was elected chairman
2. The minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.
3. J. W. Martin Ken gave his lecture:—

Feb. 28. "The State in Relation to Education."

By J. W. MARTIN.

SYLLABUS: Social-Democracy impossible without good national system of education—Efficiency and accessibility the supreme considerations—Cost to fall on well-to-do—Present provision in England for (a) accessibility, and (b) efficiency, of primary education—"Voluntary" Schools and Local Control—"Grants in Aid," their use and limit—Effects (if any) of dogmatic religious instruction—Practicable Ministerial and Sectarian Proposals for further aid to "Voluntary" Schools—Secondary Education to be made available to clever child of artisan and laborer, but not necessarily to be made "free"—Connection with Primary Education—Report of Royal Commission—Proposals for increasing efficiency of Secondary Schools—Position of Universities and Technical Colleges.

and a debate followed in which
H. D. Poarsall, Graham Wallas, Robert Steele
Hubert Bland, Sidney Webb, & A. Halliday
took part.

Robert Alex. Fiddie.

13-3-96.

(2)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday March 13th 1896.

1. P. A. Peddie was elected chairman
2. Auditors for year - John Tenney & N. L. Griffith were nominated, & unanimously elected.
3. Scrutineers for Spec. Election G. G. Desmond & John Mc Killop were nominated and unanimously elected. -
4. The Secretary mentioned that no notice had been given in Fabian News that nominations for the office of Hon. Treasurer could be made, but added that his absence of notice wd. not affect the validity of the election.
5. J. F. Oakeshott here gave his lecture on

Mar. 13. "Taxation Reform."

By J. F. OAKESHOTT.

SYLLABUS.—Necessity of an increasing revenue—Nationalization of the three rents—Direct and Indirect Taxation—Taxation through Monopoly—Progressive Taxation—Land Tax—Income Tax: earned and unearned incomes—Taxation and the moral and material standard of national life.

& a debate followed in which Mr. Betts, H. N. Macrae, Robert Steele, J. W. Martin, Miss Burton, G. B. Shaw & others took part.

Ang. Deamer

27. Mar. - 96.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday 27 March '96

1. Rev. Percy Dearmer was elected Chairman & the minutes were duly confirmed as usual.
2. J.R. Macdonald gave an account of the formation of the Glasgow University F.S.-
3. Ronald M. Burrows gave his lecture on

Mar. 27. "Socialism and Foreign Politics."

By RONALD M. BURROWS

(of Glasgow University)

SYLLABUS.—(1) Claims on British Socialists of Internationalism—Attitude of the Socialist Press on the Continent and in America.

(2) Claims on British Socialists of the development of their own movement—Socialism as a factor in Continental Politics—The Race Problem in Central and South-Eastern Europe—The Free Labor Problem of the East.

(3) How can these two claims best be balanced?—Can we support alliance with any particular Government?—What should be our present attitude in regard to (a) The Colonies, (b) The Dependencies, (c) Foreign Trade, (d) The Navy?

and a debate followed in which
A. J. Marriott, Robert Steele, J.R. Macdonald
& H.W. Macrosky took part.

George Samuel
Chairman

17.4.96

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on April 17 1896.

- 1. Geo Samuel was elected chairman
 - 2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
 - 3. The Secretary reminded members of the Executive Com^{tee} Ballot.
- H. Sidney Webb ~~read his paper on~~ gave his lecture on

April 17. "Chartered Companies."
 By SIDNEY WEBB.
 SYLLABUS.—The Old Companies—Modern difficulties of empire—
 The "man at the margin of civilization"—Scruples of the
 Treasury—The Trading Company—The Land-jobbing Com-
 pany—The Stock Exchange Company—Government "on the
 cheap," and its results.

and a debate followed in which Robert-Steel,
 J. McKillop, G. R. Peace, J. F. Oakeshott,
 H. W. Macrobert, G. B. Shaw, Mr. H. Wheatley Hart,
 F. B. Gardiner & Chas. Charrington took part.

J. W. Martin.

27.4.96

Members Meeting at Essex Hall Council Chamber on April 24th 1896. -

1. J. W. Martin was elected chairman
2. The minutes of April 17th were confirmed.
3. J. F. Bakerhoff on behalf of the Exec. made a report on the work of the Women's Tract Com^{ee} and moved That the Executive be discharged from the instruction of Feb 9th 1894. - After debate in which Mr. Gerrard, Miss Brooke & others took part, a motion was carried of 25 to 22 that the debate be adjourned. -
3. Miss Norton on behalf of the Executive moved three resolutions as printed in the April Fabian News, relating to L.C.C. Asylum attendants. Amendments were adopted in resolution one deleting the words "and is in no way similar to the work of domestic servants with whom

(9)

attendants are often confounded". - In resolution (2) line 7 after "beeked" adding the words "in future", and in resolution III substituting 48 for 60, and adding after "48 per week", "and as an immediate step, to 60 per week." With these amendments the resolutions were unanimously carried. -

4. A motion for urgency having been granted a. L. Toke moved "That the Society wishes all success to Tom Mann in his fight at North Aberdeen, & desires that some prominent member of the Executive be sent to help his candidature". This was adopted nem con. -

5. The Sec. 7 moved on behalf of the Exec. that Tract 68 be printed & issued. This was unanimously agreed to.

6. Bernard Shaw moved on behalf of the Exec. that leave be given to print & issue as a Tract with the author's name the lecture on

Board schools & Free meals delivered to
the Society of Graham Wallis. This also
was unanimously agreed to without debate.

7. The Resolutions for the International Socialist
Congress were then moved on behalf of the
Executive. Resolution 1 was carried after
rejection of an amendment in favour of an
eight hours day in one phrase. -

In resolution 2 Clause 4 ~~an~~ an amendment
adding after compulsory the words "with
maintenance" was agreed to, & the resolution
adopted. Resolutions 3 to 10 were carried
with a long debate. On Resolution ~~IX~~
Referendum, a long debate arose. After
various amendments had been rejected, and
motions to delete the resolution, & to adjourn
the debate had been defeated, the resolution
as drafted was adopted by 18 to 11. -
Resolution 12 was carried.

8. Prior to the business the Secretary had announced
the result of the Executive Election, had

(5)

called attention to the Testry Elections, & asked assistance for Fabian Candidates, and had announced Tom Mann's candidature for North Aberdeen, stating that the Exec. Com^{ee} asked for financial assistance on his behalf. -

9. (Omitted) Before the discussion on the ~~3rd~~ International Congress Resolutions, R. A. Peddie made a statement as to the intended action of the Agenda Com^{ee} & the following resolution was moved and carried by 39 votes to 5. -
That this Society enters its protest against the proposed action of the Conjoint Committee in editing the resolutions submitted by various Societies to the International Congress. -

F. G. Gardner

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday 8 May '96

1. F. S. Gardner was elected chairman.
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secretary drew attention to the Vestry Elections, gave names of Fabian Candidates & informed members that the Exec. had authorised him to receive subscriptions especially on behalf of one or two members who needed it particularly.
4. W. A. S. Hewins Ken gave his lecture :-

May 8. "A Legal Minimum Wage."

By W. A. S. HEWINS

(Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science).

SYLLABUS.—The State Regulation of Wages in former times—Political and Economic basis of the old system—How far it was effective—Causes of its decay and their bearing on the present situation—Trade Unionism v. State regulation.

+ a debate followed in which Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, H. W. Macroberts & J. R. Macdonald took part.

Robert Ward

(6)

Annual Meeting at Cliffords Inn 22 May 1896.

1. Hubert Bland was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secretary reported on the Vestry Elections:
Eight members elected five defeated. -
4. On the motion for the adoption of the annual report a long debate followed. Several amendments deleting passages were accepted or carried & at length the Report as amended was adopted.
5. The debate on the Womens Tract Com^{ee} was resumed & without further discussion the resolution that
"The Executive Com^{ee} be discharged from the instruction of Feb 9th 1894" (whereby the Committee was appointed) was carried without opposition.
6. Resolutions to print as tracts with the author's names, Webb's Difficulties of Individualism + Ball's Moral Aspects of Socialism were adopted unanimously. -
Yours Hubert
Chairman

Special Meeting at Essex Hall on
Friday June 5th 1896.
Sidney Webb in the Chair. -

1. The Minutes of the annual Mtg were read
& adopted.
2. After a few words from the chairman
Herr Wilhelm Liebknecht gave his
address on on the Social-Democratic Movement in Ger-
many, its organization, its press, its attitude towards
"State Socialism" and Christian Socialism, and in par-
ticular ~~with~~ its tactics, and its relations with other
political parties.
3. After the address the Chairman spoke on
Municipal Socialism, G. Bernard Shaw
on the Fabian Society & the Liberal Party &
J.R. Macdonald on the I.L.P. - A brief
repl from the lecturer concluded the meeting.

John Matthews
12/6/96

SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

ADDRESS BY HERR LIBBKNECHT.

Herr Wilhelm Liebknecht, the German Socialist leader, had a large audience at Essex Hall when he fulfilled a promise made two years ago to give the Fabian Society some account of the progress of the political movement with which he is identified.

Mr. SIDNEY WEBB, who presided, introduced the lecturer in a couple of sentences. Herr Liebknecht, who was given a most hearty reception, proceeded in excellent English to give a lucid and interesting account of the rise and progress of German Socialism. He showed how Bismarck, at the head of the reactionary Government, thought to capture the votes of the people by giving universal suffrage to the North German Constitution in 1847. He was mistaken; but the Socialists were the first to understand the great importance of the reform, and as Lassalle and Marx had been teaching the German working classes that they must organise as a class, and become an independent party, they had been learning in a good school. He was told in England that their splendid schools in Germany accounted for the movement. They must not believe that their schools were worse than others. Up to 1848 they were perhaps the best, but since then the reaction which had prevailed had been trying to render them only the instruments of those that held the power. Their workmen learnt reading and writing, rather feebly. Out of 10,000 Germans who had only had the education of the popular schools, not one was able to write a good essay. Education was now in the hands of the clergy, and the clergy in Germany were as reactionary as could be. They did not care much about mathematics, and as to history the teaching was to the effect that there was only one people in the world—(Laughter)—though, of course, there was a similar system in every other country. (Laughter.) They learnt that the Prussian kings were the best in the world—(laughter)—and that they were the greatest nation in the world, with the best constitution. Two-thirds of the school children in Prussia had not enough teachers, there being sometimes 80, 90, 120, or even 150 in one class. The Prussian schools, in fact, were the worst in the world. Their teachers had rather been such men as Marx and Lassalle. At the first election after Bismarck's introduction of universal suffrage they could not carry a Socialist; and at the first election of the German Reichstag in 1871 only one was elected, 124,000 being their total of votes in all Germany. In 1878 Bismarck's social law attempted to break up their movement, but in that year they polled 150,000 votes. Twelve years later they had 1,450,000 votes, and their party had become the strongest in Germany. (Cheers.) Socialism was triumphant, and Bismarck, with all the forces at his back, was beaten. Proof had been afforded that power did not lie in physical force, nor in intellectual force, but in moral, social, and intellectual force. (Cheers.) Necessity had its own laws, and no one could stand against it. There were 397 electoral districts in Germany, on the basis of one seat for every 150,000, but since that arrangement was made a great economic revolution had driven thousands and millions into the towns, so that on the same basis there should now be sixteen instead of six members for Berlin.

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They had on several occasions asked for redistribution, but the Government would not agree to it because it would be favourable to their movement. He himself favoured the system of proportional representation. The 1893 elections showed that they represented a quarter of Germany, or 12½ millions of people, and, therefore, instead of forty-seven members they should have fully 100. Referring to the relations of the Socialists to other parties, Herr Liebknecht emphatically declared that their party was one and by itself, having all others against it. The only concession they made was that on second ballots at which they were not represented, they went in favour of the more enlightened. In conclusion, he emphasised the point that the only true Socialism must be international. He did not speak against what was called municipal Socialism, for under present conditions true Socialism was impracticable; but real socialism meant above all the abolition of the wages system. He trusted that the coming International Congress in London would afford a good angry for the future of their movement. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman said that the Fabian Society had been often blamed for not forming a gigantic federation of the whole of the working classes for the purpose of capturing the government of the country, but he pointed out that the society had always adopted the settled principle of educating and helping the working classes, while recognising its own limitations as to members and station, and leaving the genuine working class organisation to be developed from working class initiative.—Mr. G. Bernard Shaw likened the present Government to the father of a middle-class household, who could be induced by one child or another to grant some slight favour. The work of acquiring sectional favours by the permeation of existing parties had largely engaged the Fabian Society in the past; but it might be that the fate of the late Liberal Government showed the inevitable limitations of such a policy.—Mr. J. R. Macdonald described the history and organisation of the Independent Labour party, and prophesied that it would result in the formation of a party in England on the same lines as the Social Democratic party in Germany.—Herr Liebknecht, in reply, praised the Fabian Society for its educational work, and said that as the result of his experience during a tour in the northern districts he had come to the belief that a genuine working-class movement was arising in England, as powerful and as important as the Chartist movement of the later years of which he himself had been a witness.

Daily Chronicle 8/6/96

Meeting at R Cliffords Inn on Friday
12th June 1896. -

1. John E. Matthews was elected Chairman
- 2 The minutes of the last meeting were con-
firmed.

3. Sydney Olivier gave his lecture on
"Sand"

and a debate followed in which
Mr. S. S. James, H. W. Macroft, G. G. Desmond,
J. Andrews, S. R. Pease, C. Charrington,
A. Halliday, H. Bland, G. Crower,
& the Chairman took part.

J. W. S. Acton.

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Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday 26 June '96.

1. F. W. Galton was elected chairman.
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. George Turner read his paper on
Old Age Pensions:-

June 26. "Old Age Pensions."

By GEORGE TURNER.

SYLLABUS.—Increasing disadvantages of aged workmen—Inadequacy of existing provision against—The startling figures of the Poor Law—Possibility of voluntary provision accomplishing more in future—State aid the only solution—What form shall it take?—Objections both of detail and of principle.

and a debate followed in which J. F. Coker, J. Andrews, C. Charrington, J. E. Matthews, G. B. Shaw, Mr. Rogers, & the Chairman took part.

Sydney Oliver

in the Chair

Members Meeting at Lower Essex Hall on
Friday 10th July 1896.

1. Sydney Olivier was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. Resolution empowering the Exec. to print & issue as a tract with the author's name the lecture on Old Age Pensions just delivered to the Society by Geo. Turner was adopted nem. con. -
4. The Report for the International Congress was then introduced by Bernard Shaw on behalf of the Exec. - A prolonged & animated discussion followed. Numerous amendments were moved; a few only were carried. A Resolution that the chairman leave the chair found only four supporters. A Resolution to adjourn the debate was rejected. The discussion on several clauses was closed & ultimately the resolution that the Report as amended be printed & issued.

(9)

as a tract, power as usual being given to the Executive
to make any verbal ~~amendments~~ alterations found
necessary, was adopted with only six dissentients.
The meeting was one of the largest members meetings
ever held by the Society.

5. Resolution in standing in the name of Bruce Wallace
was deferred. —

J. L. Martin.
26 Oct '96

Public Meeting at Essex Hall on Friday
25th September 1896.
Sidney Webb in the Chair.

(1) The Minutes of the Public Meeting on June
5th were read & confirmed

2. A. W. Trenwith, Member of the Victorian
Parliament, here gave an address on
The aims, methods & achievements
of the Labour Party in Australia.
After questions a debate followed
in which J. R. Macdonald, F. S.
Green, G. B. Shaw & others took
part & the lecturer replied.

Ad. Chronicle 26/9/96

Ad. Review

LABOUR IN AUSTRALIA.

Mr. Sidney Webb, L.C.C., presided last evening at Essex Hall, Strand, over a meeting convened by the Fabian Society, to hear an address by Mr. A. W. Trenwith, M.P., leader of the Labour party in the Victorian Parliament, on "The Aims, Methods and Achievements of the Labour Movement in Australia." In the course of an interesting address Mr. Trenwith referred to the success which had attended the Labour movement at recent general elections in New South Wales, South Australia, New Zealand, and other colonies. The aim of the party had been to obtain such legislation as would adequately meet the requirements of the people, provide those who were willing to work with employment, that those who worked should be adequately paid, that people who could, but would not, work should be treated as criminals, and those who would, but could not, work as members of one great family. In Victoria the Labour platform included an improvement in the electoral machinery, the abolition of plural voting, adult suffrage, the adoption of the referendum, an eight-hours day, and a minimum rate of wage. As to the methods of the party, they had joined with the Liberal party, or with that which was nearest to them, and thereby attained objects which would otherwise have been impossible. By this means in New Zealand they had obtained a land tax, which did not go quite so far as they would like, an Employers' Liability Bill, and a Factory Act, which raised the age of child labour from eleven to fourteen. In Victoria the same course had been adopted, and he would note a few of the results. They had first of all obtained a minimum rate of wage in connection with all Government work, a measure which had been unanimously carried. They had also obtained a graduated income tax, and thus had so amended the law of distraint that the landlord was bound to leave the tenant at least £20 worth of goods. In conclusion Mr. Trenwith gave some of his impressions of England.

Meeting at Lower Essex Hall on 2 Oct. 96.

1. J.W. Martin was elected Chairman
2. Sidney Webb gave the first of a series of lectures on the Machinery of Democracy.

THE MACHINERY OF DEMOCRACY.

Oct. 2. I.—Primitive Expedients.

(AT ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND.)

Syllabus.—Democracy as a form of government machinery—
 "Natural Rights"—"To everyone an equal and identical
 share in government"—Government by Public Meeting—The
 Village Community—Experience of Trade Unions—The Public
 Meeting as a Legislative Body—The Public Meeting as an
 Executive—The Public Meeting as a Tribunal of Appeal—
 The Fallacy of Atomism—The Social Organism and its organs
 —The Function of Public Meetings.

A debate followed in which Hubert Bland,
 Theodore Wright, R. Whiteing, G. G. Desmond,
 E. R. Pease & A. Toke, G. B. Shaw, & Charles
 Charrington took part.

J.W. Martin
 Chairman
 9/10/96

Members Meeting at Cliffords Lane on
Friday 9th October 1896.

1. W^m Sanders was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the Annual Meeting, & of the last private meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secretary asked members to volunteer assistance as Lantern operators, & also stated he w^d be glad of assistance at the office in preparing book-boxes. —
4. The Secretary announced that he had been instructed by the Executive Com^{ee} to write to the family of the late W^m Morris expressing the sympathy of the members in their ~~loss~~ ^{their bereavement} ^{their bereavement} & the loss that the Socialist movement had sustained. He also stated that at his request Sydney Olivier had attended the funeral on behalf of the Society.

5. The following resolution, proposed on behalf of the Executive was adopted unanimously: -

That his general meeting of the Fabian Society affirms its sympathy with the Carpenters & Joiners on strike in Brussels with the object of raising their wages to 5^d an hour from the present sum of 3^d an hour for a highly skilled craft, with a working day of 14 hours, and urges its members to assist the strikers by giving publicity to their demands, & by subscribing in their aid. -

b. The Sec. moved on behalf of the Exec. that the Tenants Sanitary Catechism for London be printed & issued as a tract. - This was agreed to without debate. -

7. J.R. Macdonald then moved on behalf of himself and other signatories to a requisition that tract 70 be withdrawn from publication. The resolution was supported by H.W. Macrosty & Pete Curran & opposed by G.B. Shaw, Sidney Webb & Hubert Bland. Sydney Olivier also spoke, &

The motion having been put 33 voted
for it, and 108 against.

This was the largest ^{meeting} meeting & the largest
vote in the annals of the Society. —

Henry W. Macrosty
16. 10. 96.

Daily Chronicle 10/19/96

For some little time past a few members of the Fabian Society have been much exercised in their minds about the issuing of a certain tract by the executive of the society. The tract in question has certain special features which make it eminently distasteful to this section of the society, since it is distinguished by a tone of vigorous common sense towards Socialist policy. An urgent whip was accordingly issued to those members who, it was thought, would support the malcontents in the furious onslaught they proposed to make upon the executive. The battle was waged last night at a meeting of the society held in Clifford's Inn, when Mr. J. R. Macdonald was spokesman for the malcontents, and Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Sidney Webb appeared in defence of the tract, the issue of which was approved of by 108 votes to 33.

(17)

Meeting at Lower Essex Hall on Friday Oct 16. 1896.

1. H. W. Macroft was elected chairman.
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secretary informed the members that the Lantern Slides had been sent to Keir Hardie, who proposed to stand for East Bradford, at his request, for the purposes of his candidature. And further that the Exec. had enquired for particulars of the candidature, whether & in what way any assistance could be given. —
4. Sidney Webb Khan gave the second lecture of the course on the Machinery of Democracy.

Oct. 16. II.—The Appointment of Officers.

(AT ESSEX HALL.)

Syllabus.—Organic development—Secretariat and Executive—
The Methods of Selection—Lot—Rotation—Popular Election
—Competitive Examination—Selection—The Permanence of
Elected Officers.

& a debate followed in which Mrs. Stelson, J. W. Martin, D. McEwen, H. Bland, L. A. Toke, Chas. Charrington & Bernard Shaw took part.

L. A. Toke

30.10.96.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday Oct 30th

1. L. A. Toke was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of last Meeting were confirmed
3. The Secretary announced that the Exec. had decided to make a special appeal for a Keir Hardie Election Fund.
4. Sidney Webb then lectured on

Oct. 30. III.—The Referendum and the Initiative.

(AT CLIFFORD'S INN, NEXT 187 FLEET ST.)

Syllabus.—The need of Popular Assent—The need of Public Control of Executive—The Referendum in Switzerland—The Referendum in Trade Unionism—The Initiative—The failure of these expedients to control the Executive—Their failure to ensure popular assent—What is needed is approval of results; what is given is assent to projects.

A debate followed in which
Hubert Bland, Rev. S. D. Headlam, Charles
Charrington, E. Bernstein, S. Oliver, J. R.
Macdonald, Mrs. C. P. Stetson, G. G. Desmond,
& A. Halliday took part. —
Graham Waller

(13)

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday Nov 13th 1896. -

1. Graham Wallas was elected Chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. G.B. Shaw on behalf of the Executive moved that "The State & its functions in New Zealand" be printed & issued as a tract. After a brief debate this was adopted nem con.
4. Sidney Webb then gave his lecture on

Nov. 13. IV.—Representative Institutions.

Syllabus.—Their modernness—Their inherent difficulties—The function of the Representative—Selection of the Executive—Control of the Executive—Expression of popular aspirations—The fallacy of the Imperative Mandate—The relation of the Representative to his Constituents—The "never-ending audacity of elected persons"—The Professional Representative.

& a debate followed, in which part was taken by Graham Wallas, Bernard Shaw, Charles Charrington, L.A. Toke, F. S. Gardner & others.

Sid M. Kearton

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on 27th Nov- 1896

1. Sid M. Peabree was voted to the Chair.
2. The Minutes of last Meeting were confirmed
3. Sidney Webb gave his lecture on

Nov. 27. V.—The Sphere of the Expert.

Syllabus.—The ever-increasing differentiation of the Social Organism—The need for professionalism—The dangers of the Expert—The need for some control of the Expert—Should the Expert be a Representative?

and a debate followed in which
J.W. Martin, Wm Mallet, G. Desmond,
L. A. Toke, Howard Luzzan, F. G. Gardner,
A. Halliday & the Chairman took
part.

Charles Channington
11 Dec. 1896.

(14)

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday Dec 11. 1896

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. Sidner Webb gave his lecture on

Dec. 11. VI.—Some Principles of Federation.

Syllabus.—The object of federation—The experience of Switzerland—The experience of Trade Unionism—How far should proportionate representation be conceded?—The limits of "capturing."

A debate followed in which Geo Standring,
F. G. Gardiner & Hubert Bland took part.

J. W. Martin.
15. 1. 97.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Lun on Friday
15 Jan 1897. -

1. J. W. Martin was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. The Sec. reported Tract 73, "The case for State Pensions in old age" published.
4. The Sec. on behalf of the Exec. moved that a tract by Sidney Wells on "The Workmen in 1837 + 1897" be printed & issued. -
The motion was agreed to without debate.
5. Charles Charrington gave his lecture on
A Municipal Theatre,
& ~~after~~ a debate followed in which
Bower Marsh, G. B. Shaw - J. L. Matthews,
J. W. Martin & Mrs. Charrington took part.

Miles Bland

(15)

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Jan 29th 1897. -

1. Aubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. Eduard Bernstein delivered his lecture on

Jan. 29. What Marx really Taught.

EDW. BERNSTEIN.

Syllabus.—The spectre Marx: a dogmatic materialist, a fatalistic historian, a system-making economist.—The real Marx: an evolutionist in human and natural history, in economics and Socialism.—Marx's theory of historic materialism and of scientific Socialism as opposed to Utopianism.—His theory of value as presented in the third volume of *Das Kapital* and his theory of rent.—Marx's teachings as shown by his actions (1) in politics: during the Revolution of 1848, during the English Reform movement of 1867, during the Franco-German war; (2) in his attitude towards trade unions, co-operative societies, the International, the Paris Commune; (3) and towards legislation and administration: "Force the midwife of new societies"; the State and the municipality, factory laws, the question of immigration.

This was followed by questions, but there was no debate.

Homer Motley.

Members Meeting at Cliffside Inn on
Friday 12th February 1897. -

1. Honor Morden was elected to the chair.
2. The minutes of last meeting were confirmed.
3. Clem Edwards gave his lecture on

Feb. 12. Nationalization of Railways.

CLEM EDWARDS.

SYLLABUS.—I.—Importance of the subject—alternative systems: (1) Private ownership unshackled; (2) Private ownership and State control; (3) State ownership and private working; (4) State ownership and working.

II.—The anomalies of the present English system—The wastes of competitive managements—Preferential and exorbitant rates—Effects on agriculture, industry and commerce—Treatment of labor—Hopelessness of system indicated in official reports.

III.—State ownership in practice in (1) Europe, (2) India, and (3) Australia—Its benefits.

IV.—Reasons for immediate agitation.

+ a debate followed in which
F. G. Gardiner, G. S. Desmond,
Sidney Webb + A. Beasley took
part.

J. F. Oakes

26: 11: 97

(16)

Members Meeting at Cliffords Linn 26 Feb. '97.

1. J. F. Oakeshott was elected chairman.
2. The Minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.
3. J. R. Macdonald gave a report on the progress of Tom Mann's campaign in Halifax.
4. The Secy moved that Hugh Linsbeer & Co. be appointed auditors for the current year.
This was adopted nem con. -
5. J. Bruce Wallace moved: -

RESOLUTION

"That the Executive be instructed to keep in mind, when considering applications for membership in the Society, that the Society, while committed to the socialization of the sources of wealth and the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange, is not committed to any particular plan for accomplishing this end."

This was seconded by Clem Edwards & opposed by Sidney Webb. The "previous question" was moved by Hubert Blant, & seconded by Bernard Shaw, & adopted by 13 votes to 4.

6. E. R. Pease moved on behalf of the Exec. that the tract "Houses for the People" be

printed & issued as a tract. This was agreed to without debate.

7. E. R. Peace moved a vote of urgency in order to propose that a tract on Municipal Tramways be printed & issued. - This motion & the motion that the tract be adopted were agreed to without debate or division. -

8. J. R. Macdonald on behalf of the Executive read in part, & explained the proposals for a tract on Employers Liability Problem. And moved a resolution, which was ultimately worded as follows: -

That the Executive Com^{ee} be authorized to print & issue a tract on the lines of the draft read to the Society & that it be circulated in prof^o to all the members. -

9. After some debate Clem Edwards moved as an amendment :-

(19)

That before the tract on Employers Liability be
revised, and it be circulated in proof,
and another members meeting be held for
its discussion. J. S. Matthews seconded,

10. After further debate the ~~resolution~~ amendment
was put + lost, only three voting for it.
The resolution moved by Macdonald was
then agreed to nem. con. —

Henry W. Macrosty
12.3.97.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday March 12 1897

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. J. M. Robertson then gave his address on

Mar. 12. A Possible Union of the Democratic Vote.
J. M. ROBERTSON.

SYLLABUS.—Position of the Liberal main body and the advance guards—Each powerless without the other—Yet a permanent combination impossible—The alternative: a strategic combination—Possible basis of such a union—The tendency in England to compromise on beliefs, where compromise is vicious, but not on action, where it is necessary—Compromise in this case forced by the situation, as an alternative to prolonged frustration—Attitude of the Independent Labor Party and some Socialists—A practical program.

A debate followed in which
H. S. Pearall, G. B. Shaw, Graham Wallas,
J. S. Matthews, & J. K. Macdonald took
part.

Charles Cherry
26th March 1897

(15)

Public Meeting at Essex Hall on
Friday March 19. 1897. —
Hubert Bland in the chair.

1. The minutes of the last public Meeting Sep. 25th were read + adopted. —
2. Prof: A. V. Dicey then lectured on

Mar. 19. The Need for the Referendum in England.

Professor A. V. DICEY, M.A.,
Vinerian Professor of Law, Oxford.

+ after many questions a debate followed in which Graham Wallas, Sidney Webb + Bernard Shaw took part.

PROFESSOR A. V. DICEY ON THE REFERENDUM.—The Fabian Society invited Professor A. V. Dicey to meet them last night and tell them about the benefits of the Referendum in politics. The professor advocated this method of ascertaining the popular will on the ground that it would correct the obvious faults of parliamentary government, and that it would raise the tone of public life. He wanted the Referendum so that people would not be obliged to vote on Home Rule, the liquor traffic, voluntary schools, and half a dozen other things all at once, but in order that the electors might have an opportunity of deciding upon one question at once. The guileless professor spent about an hour in explaining this view to the Fabian Society, apparently in ignorance of the methods of that body. The audience listened in courteous silence, and then Mr. Graham Wallas, Mr. Sidney Webb, and Mr. Bernard Shaw severally arose and went for the professor, more Fabians, and demolished him.

J. W. Martin
1/10/97

Day Chronicle

Members Meeting at ~~Coventry Hall~~ Cliffords
Linn on Friday 26th March '97.

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman.
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. Honno Morten ~~read~~ gave her lecture on

Mar. 26. Municipalization of Hospitals.

HONNOR MORTEN.

SYLLABUS.—Present Hospital Systems : State, Municipal, and Voluntary—Advantages and disadvantages of each system—Lessons from the Continent and the Colonies—The hospitals of America—Proposed methods of reform—The Lords Committee and the C. O. S.—The Municipalization of Hospitals—How it can be done.

After questions a debate followed in which H. W. Macrosty, Wm Mallet, Hubert Bland, J. B. Matthews, G. B. Shaw & Sidney Webb took part.

D. M^c Ewen
Chairman 9 April 97

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday, April 9, 1897. (19)

1. D. McEwen was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. J. A. Holron then gave his lecture on
a Fair Bargain. -
After 13 questions had been asked &
answered, a debate followed,
in which J. B. Shaw, E. S. Deemond,
J. E. Matthews & J. M. Robertson took
part. -

Sydney Oliver

Chair: 15 May, 1897

Annual General Meeting. -

Annual Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 14th May 1897. -

1. Sydney Oliver was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last members meeting were confirmed. -
3. The Gen. Sec. on behalf of the Exec. moved the adoption of the Annual Report & accounts. The Report was discussed paragraph by paragraph, but was not amended or altered. - The chief points discussed were the number of public lectures & ~~non-popular~~ character of the Tracts. Advertisement in Trade Union Annual Reports was suggested. The Report was adopted un. con. -
4. J. W. Martin proposed on behalf of the Exec. the issue as a tract with the author's name of a paper on Christian Socialism of the Rev John Clifford D.D. - He proceeded to read the paper to the meeting, but

(20)

before he had concluded, J. McKillop moved & E.E. Metivier seconded that the further reading of the tract be deferred to ~~be~~ a meeting of the Society in August. After debate this was rejected 5 only voting for the amendment. - After further debate Bland moved & Shaw seconded a further amendment that the Executive Com^{ee} be authorised to issue the tract without further reading. This was carried by a large majority. -

5. In the course of the discussion of the Report Gakeshott informed the meeting of the proposed publication of a 1st Edition of Labour in the Longest Reign: Shaw explained that in view of the Government Bill on Compensation for accidents the Employers Liability Tract was held over; and Webb gave some account of the work of the Hutchinson Trustees. -

Henry W. Macrosty.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
May 28. 1897. -

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. F. Wheelen Ken gave his paper on

"The Growth of Agitations."

By F. WHELEN.

SYLLABUS.—Illustrations: Chartism, Reform, &c.—Methods—
Machinery—Personalities of Agitators—Effect on Political
Parties—Results.

and after questions a debate followed in
which H. Bland Miss McTaggart,
G. R. Pease, C. Charrington G. B. Shaw
W. F. Heydon & others took part.

W. Bland

June 11/97.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn 11 June '97. (21)

1. George Standing was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. J.R. Macdonald, for the Exec., announced that it had been decided to invite Mr. J.R. Seddon Prime Minister of New Zealand to a dinner & reception.
4. The Secretary announced that the 1/- Edition of "Labour in the Longest Reign", Tract 75, published by Grant Richards, was now on sale. -
5. R. Wherry Anderson moved a vote of urgency in order to discuss the contribution authorized by the Exec. to the fund raised by the Strand Board of Works for the Jubilee Decoration of the Strand. Bernard Shaw seconded on behalf of the Exec., & the resolution was adopted nem. con. -

6. R. W. Anderson then moved:-

"That his meeting of the Fabian Society believing that it is the mission of Fabians only to support those public manifestations which make for Socialism & Democracy hereby requests the Executive Committee to cancel the subscription voted towards the decoration of the Strand for the Queen's Commemoration."

The resolution was seconded by Sydney Olivier & supported by J. F. Green, Theodore Wright, & R. R. Steele. Bernard Shaw & Sidney Webb opposed. After reply from Anderson, it was carried by 23 to 11.-

7. H. Morgan Browne then read his paper on

June 11. "The Social Problems of India."

H. MORGAN-BROWNE.

SYLLABUS.—India—National types—Origins—Development—
Environment—The physical contrast—The mental and moral
contrast—The problem.

and at the conclusion a large number of questions were asked & answered but no debate took place. — J. R. Macdonald

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn 22
25 June 1897.

1. J.R. Macdonald was selected Chairman
2. The minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. Mr. H. Stanton Blatch ~~was~~ gave
the lecture on

Some Economic changes in America
& after many questions & debate followed
in which Charrington, Martin, Bland,
& Brocklehurst took part. -

Alfred Bland

LUNCHEON AT THE HOLBORN.

A Fabian Prime Minister being in England, what could the Fabian Society do but entertain him in the orthodox manner? Hence the luncheon which the London Fabians gave in honour of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, yesterday at the Holborn Restaurant. Mr. Sidney Webb presided over an eminently respectable gathering (there were only about two red ties in the room) which included Mrs. and the Misses Seddon, Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Reeves, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Hubert Bland, Mr. Graham Wallas, and Mr. E. R. Pease (the Fabian Front Bench), Mr. W. G. Steadman, Mr. W. Crooks, Mr. Ben Cooper, Mr. and Mrs. Charrington, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. Sinclair, Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, Mrs. May Morris Sparling, and Professor C. Zeublin (Chicago).

Mr. SEDDON arrived late, but he explained that he had been with the other Colonial Premiers in conference with Mr. Chamberlain. At that conference an important resolution of his had been under discussion, and he deemed it desirable, in the interest of the Empire, that it should be carried. Therefore, he had stayed at the conference until it had gone through. (Cheers.)

After luncheon Mr. WEBB submitted the toast of "Our Country and its Queen." This having been honoured, the chairman gave "Our Guest," and said the Fabian Society had watched Mr. Seddon's career both with interest and profit. He had been engaged in carrying on some remarkable experiments in democratic government—experiments which their society had watched with parental satisfaction. The success of these experiments was shown by the fact that the present New Zealand Government had survived three general elections, and he could not recall any similar circumstance since 1832. Mr. Webb then went on to describe some of the legislative work which Mr. Seddon had accomplished. It had been said that New Zealand was a small place, but it was twice as large as England, and was doubling its population every twenty-five years. In that colony the Liberal, Radical, and Labour parties had united, and since that union had benefited magnificent progress had been made, whilst the progressive movement had remained undivided. (Hear, hear.) They had also Mrs. and the Misses Seddon present, and he would like to point out that, although her father was Prime Minister, Miss Seddon had continued her work as a teacher in the New Zealand schools. He was inclined to think that if Lady Gwendolen Cecil had been a Board school teacher her father would not have made so many mistakes in his education policy. This century was the century of mechanical progress, in which England had led the way. The new century would be that of new ideas in government, and England was looking to Australasia for real democracy without shams or phrases, and that combined the experiences of the past with the elasticity and vigour of youth. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon. R. J. SEDDON thanked the members of the Fabian Society for the cordiality with which they had received him, and said he felt honoured by an invitation from those who desired to promote the well-being of humanity, and he might say that their invitation was not accompanied by such a request as one made to him the other day, when a lady invited him, and "hoped that he would come in his native costume." (Laughter.) Few men had been honoured by such a welcome as that which had been extended to the Colonial Premiers by a whole nation during the past few

weeks. His experience in the mother country was the heartiest welcome that he and his fellow Premiers had received from the multitudes. During the hospitalities that had been showered upon them two men seemed to have been forgotten. He referred to the Grand Old Man of the Northern Hemisphere, Mr. Gladstone—(cheers)—and to Sir George Grey; and he looked forward with the utmost pleasure to the time when he should meet Mr. Gladstone. The speaker went on to refer to the question of a closer union of the colonies to the mother country, and said that in New Zealand no public man dare speak of separation. The progressive legislation of which Mr. Webb had spoken had done more than anything else to bind the colonies to England. It was when men had no freedom that separation was spoken of. Give men peace, plenty, and freedom and there was no danger whatever to constitutional rule. They had laws in New Zealand which would prevent what was going on in the mother country at that time, and if English legislators had tried what some of them called experimental legislation, industrial strife would, ere this, have been a thing of the past. As for this legislation, which they had initiated in New Zealand, it had been said that it would drive away capital, and that it would lessen the demand for labour. As to this, he would point out that capital was flowing into the country more freely than it had ever done, and the demand for labour was never greater. The wealth of the colony had increased by £11,000,000 during the past five years. (Cheers.) The time had come, he thought, when the colonies should be brought into closer touch with the mother country. He asked for direct representation in the Imperial Legislature; failing that, a Consultative Council, or, failing that, periodical meetings, such as those which had just taken place. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUBERT BLAND proposed "The Colony of New Zealand," to which Mr. W. P. REEVES, the Agent-General, responded. Mr. Reeves said that Mr. Seddon's programme had carried out a most rapidly executed system of social and progressive reforms, which had coincided with great progress in the colony itself, which was never more soundly prosperous than at the present time. (Cheers.) They had taught some lessons to the mother—he might almost say the grandmother—of Parliaments, which seemed to prefer verminous persons to women with votes. (Laughter and cheers.) The Jubilee, from the point of view of an advanced Democrat, marked the triumph of peace and freedom in the Victorian Era. The Empire had not been built up by raiders and filibusters and company promoters—(hear, hear)—but by peaceful and industrious English men and women, who did not want to rule as great pro-consuls over vast tracts of territory, and millions of the coloured races, but sought for lands where they could live by peaceful industry, and to carry out some of those ideals of freedom and democracy which the old world seemed to be too prejudiced to give them. He was an Imperialist, but he believed that the coming in of the colonies would be a mighty reinforcement of progress throughout the Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. BERNARD SHAW, in proposing "The Chairman," said that Mr. Seddon had received the greatest honour that it was possible to confer upon a Prime Minister. He was the first Premier who had ever been entertained by the Fabian Society, which, although it had plenty of Prime Ministers near at hand, had never honoured them with an invitation, but reserved that until it found a Premier of its own way of thinking. (Laughter and cheers.)

This concluded the toast list, and the guests left.

Daily Chronicle

JULY 9, 1897.

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NEW ZEALAND IN LONDON.

A DAY AT THE HOLBORN RESTAURANT.

THE FABIAN LUNCH.

The Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, was yesterday afternoon entertained at luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant by the members of the Fabian Society. Mr. Sidney Webb, L.C.C., occupied the chair, and among others present were Dr. Clarke, M.P., Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Hubert Bland, Professor C. Zouli, of Chicago, Mr. Frank Fawcett, of the Physical Research Society, Mr. J. R. Macdonald, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Janet Church, Mrs. May Morris Spalding, Mr. J. Montgomery (M.P. of New Zealand), the Hon. W. P. Reeves (Agent-General for New Zealand), Mr. Pease (secretary of the Fabian Society), Mr. W. Crooks, Mr. W. C. Steadman, Mr. B. Cooper, Mr. Graham Wallis, &c.—Mr. Seddon, who was accompanied by Mrs. Seddon and the Misses Seddon, was somewhat late in arriving, and apologizing to the company, he said he had been detained at the conference of the Colonial Premiers with the Government. An important resolution which he had under discussion required to be put, and he deemed it desirable in the interests of the Empire, and the Colonies especially, to remain to see it through, and it was carried successfully. (Cheers.)

After luncheon, THE CHAIRMAN proposed "Our Country and its Queen," which was duly honoured. The CHAIRMAN next proposed "The Guest." Hesitant at this interesting occasion they were met to honour one whose career many of them had watched with great interest and profit. During the last five or six years some of them had noticed far away on the other side of the world remarkable experiments in democratic Government, and they had, perhaps, with some natural fondness, thought of the application of principles which they had been encountering with more or less success to press for adoption in this country. For real new ideas we must look in the future to New Zealand.

MR. SEDDON on rising to reply was received with cheers. He said he felt greatly honoured at being with the members of the Fabian Society that day, for he knew that he was with those who desired to promote the well-being of humanity, and he had a communication received the other day he was somewhat in doubt as to how and under what circumstances he should appear before the Fabian Society. They had heard time after time of the injustice done to her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, but if ever there was an injustice done to the colonies it was done by one who wrote from that great country, and in inviting the Premiers to take part in an entertainment in Ireland as a special favour, it is to be hoped you will appear in native costume." (Laughter.) It fell to the lot of few public men to have received the honour and welcome that had been accorded to the Prime Ministers representing the several colonies or distant parts of the Empire in the mother country on the present memorable occasion. His own experience since he arrived in the mother country had taught him that there was a hesitancy on the part of those entrusted with the Government in Great Britain that did not exist

in the minds of the multitude. In other words, the Colonies were more in touch with the people and the people with them than those who hesitated at the present time. He also desired to say that while honours and hospitality were being showered upon the Colonists in the mother country, it would ill become the position and the people he represented did he not say that there were two men above all others who in respect of progressive legislation, in respect of that which had benefited mankind, who, whether by other means, or by direct representation, he alluded to Mr. Gladstone and Sir George Grey—(cheers)—both men who had done good for their fellow men, and there was one pleasure he looked forward to in the course of a few days—namely, a meeting with Mr. Gladstone. He was sure that in the midst of all the hospitality and festivity they had not been forgotten, but that all who desired to further the interests of humanity were ready to do honour to those who had done their fellow men good. He was himself somewhat disappointed in one respect. In the Colonies they had never for a moment thought of separating from the mother country, although statements to the contrary effect had frequently been made. He might tell them at once, so far as the most distant colony of New Zealand was concerned, that no statesman or public man dared either in the Press or on the platform to advocate separation from the mother country. (Cheers.) The Colonists there, however, paid the contrary to the cost of the coat of the Maori war, believing that in so doing they were upholding the Empire and maintaining the British flag. It had been said that New Zealand, by its progressive legislation was drifting in the direction of Socialism, and many harsh terms had been applied to those responsible for it. For instance, they had present that day himself and the Agent-General, who had been called the chief and the second in command of the South, who said that the present legislation of New Zealand was dominated. (Laughter.) These harsh terms, however, had not reduced them to a vanishing point. They had survived and would survive because there was no truth in the charges levelled at them, and when he told them that the progressive legislation passed in New Zealand had done more than anything else to bind the people of that grand colony to the people of the mother country, he wanted to know what the anxiety was that they should be taken from the governing power was where discontent prevailed. It was then that men and women resorted to unconstitutional measures. But give the people peace, plenty, and freedom, and there was no danger whatever to constitutional rule. It was the great freedom that existed in New Zealand which had been used for the benefit of mankind that led him to desire to see like freedom extended to every part of her Majesty's dominions. (Cheers.) If the mother country had not been so slow if she had occupied herself with what had been termed experimental legislation, he was sure that industrial strife here would have been a thing of the past. In New Zealand employer and employed regarded each other with respect and admiration. They had had their differences, but they were now settled by a compulsory Court of Arbitration, whose awards had been found to be satisfactory to the concerned parties. He was hopeful that the mother country's legislation would not be so slow away capital and lesser labour. The result had been quite the reverse. Capital flowed into the Colony, and labour was more plentiful. The wealth of the Colony, notwithstanding that Labour legislation, had increased by eleven millions sterling in five years, land values had gone up, and to-day New Zealand stood better than it had done for the last seven years. (Cheers.) The

time should not be far distant when the Colonies should be brought into closer touch with the Mother Country, either by means of a Consultative Council, by direct representation in the House of Commons, or by periodical conferences such as had been going on during the past few weeks between the public men of the Colonies and the Government of the Mother Country. Supposing his friend the Agent-General were admitted to take his seat in the House of Commons even without the power of voting, but simply to speak on matters affecting the Colonies, then he ventured to say that the erroneous statements which sometimes went forth to the world would never be made at all. He had no complaints to make, but only said in the interests of the Empire that these matters which he had suggested might be favourably considered, and if they could be realised he was certain good would result therefrom. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hubert Bland next proposed "Prosperity to New Zealand."

MR. W. P. REEVES (Agent-General), in responding, said the prosperity of New Zealand was not a reminiscence of the past, but a real and substantial present thing, which existed, and which nobody, not even a capitalist, could deny. The peculiarity of the prosperity of New Zealand was that it had gone hand-in-hand with the most rapidly executed socialist policy they had seen in recent times, and it was a matter of importance that the rapidly executed policy should not have plunged the Colony into anarchy and driven enterprise and progress away. Amongst other things they had carried a reform which the House of Commons, the Mother—she was almost going to say the Grandmother—of Parliaments would not even venture to discuss. (Laughter.) The House of Commons preferred the Vermilion Persons Bill to giving women the franchise, but if Mr. Lyell, and Mr. Lyell only took a trip to the Antipodes and saw what benefits the enfranchisement of women had conferred they would come back wiser and better men. For the rest the Liberal and Labour policy of New Zealand had not been a policy of one idea, of one principle, of one measure, or of one class. If it had been successful in gaining the affection of the people, and in raising, organizing, and making lasting a national and permanent enthusiasm in it had been because it had been a varied, a complex, and an all round policy. (Cheers.) Regarding the Imperial Jubilee from the point of view of an advanced democrat, he thought its significance lay in its vindication of the great policy of peace and freedom which had distinguished the Victorian era. Although the Colonists who took part in the memorable procession bore arms in their hands, it must be borne in mind that the Colonies could never be adequately represented by troops and warlike weapons. If any thing more than another had built up our Colonial Empire it had been a policy of peace. The great English-speaking Colonies had not been built up by the raid, the filibuster, or the company promoter, but by peaceful, hard working men and women. (Cheers.) If he as a democrat also called himself an Imperialist it was because he believed that the coming in of the Colonies to a federated Empire would be a mighty reinforcement to the party of progress and peace in the world. In conclusion, he proposed that the toast of the Fabian Society, which was responded to by the Chairman and Mr. Bernard Shaw.

Manchester
Guardian

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NEW ZEALAND AND THE FABIAN
SOCIETY.
SPEECHES BY THE RIGHT HON. R. J.
SEDDON.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

It was a happy thought of the Fabian Society to do honour to the New Zealand Premier, whose ultra-progressive Ministry has carried into law so many of the more practical of the Collectivist ideas; and the members of the Society assembled in London in great strength yesterday to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Seddon at luncheon. All the Fabian County Councillors and School Board members were there, together with Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Hubert Bland, Mr. Pease, and, in fact, most of the active "Fabians." Mr. Seddon was slow to arrive, having been, as he explained, detained at the Colonial Premiers' conference with Mr. Chamberlain; and in the somewhat trying period of waiting the Fabian ladies—amongst whom one recognised Mrs. Sparing (May Morris) and Mrs. Sidney Webb—did their best to entertain Mr. W. P. Reeves, the Agent General, Mr. Montgomery, a member of Mr. Seddon's party in the New Zealand Parliament, Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P., and their other guests. Mr. S. Webb, in proposing Mr. Seddon's health, described the "paternal fondness" with which the Fabians had detected in Mr. Seddon's legislation the ideas promulgated by the Society; and both Mr. Seddon and Mr. Reeves afterwards admitted the soft impeachment. Nor had the appropriation brought disaster, for, as Mr. Webb observed, Mr. Seddon could boast of a feat that no English Premier had achieved since 1832 in seeing his party victorious at three general elections in succession. In contrast with Queensland and New South Wales New Zealand had eschewed "independent labour parties," and Mr. Seddon had triumphed because he had known how to combine all the progressive forces. Then we had a little homily on the democratic statesman—how the Colonial Ministers put their hearts into their work; and Mr. Webb opined that we should get no genuinely democratic statesmanship in England until our Liberal politicians were effectually divorced from "their thoroughly pernicious connection with London society." This, however, depended on the aspirations and desires of their womenkind. Miss Seddon, it appears, is a teacher in one of the New Zealand Board schools, and did not dream of relinquishing her career when her father became Premier; and Mr. Webb suggested that Lord Salisbury might have been spared some educational blunders if his daughter, the Lady Guendolen Cecil, were earning her livelihood under the London School Board, just as our Factory Acts might become more effective if our Home Secretaries themselves, like New Zealand Ministers, knew what it was to be manual working wage-earners.

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Seddon in his homely but curiously involved dis-

honours and hospitality were being showered upon the colonists in the mother country, it would ill-become the position and the people he represented did he not say that there were two men above all others who, in respect of progressive legislation, in respect of that which had benefited mankind, somehow or other seemed to have been forgotten—(Cheers),—both men who had done good for their fellow-men, and there was one pleasure he looked forward to in the course of a few days—viz., a meeting with Mr. Gladstone. He was sure that in the midst of all the hospitality and festivity they had not been forgotten; but that all who desired to further the interests of humanity were ready to do honour to those who had benefited their fellow men.—(Cheers.) He was himself somewhat disappointed in one respect. In the colonies they had never for a moment thought of separating from the mother country, although statements to the contrary effect had frequently been made. He might tell them at once, so far as the no statesman nor public man dared either in the mother country.—(Cheers.) The colonists there cheerfully paid their contribution towards the cost of the Empire and maintaining the British flag. It had been said that New Zealand, by its progressive legislation was drifting in the direction of Socialism, and many harsh terms had been applied to those responsible for it. For instance, they had present that day himself and the Agent-General Seidon, who had been called the chief and the second in command of the seven devils, by whom it was said the legislation of New Zealand was dominated.—(Laughter.) These harsh terms, however, have not reduced them to a vanishing point; they have survived and would survive, because there was no truth in the charges levelled at them. And when he told them that the progressive legislation passed in New Zealand had done more than anything to bind the people of the grand colony to the people of the mother country, he wanted to know where the anarchy came in. Where there was danger to the governing power was where discontent prevailed. It was then that men and women resorted to unconstitutional measures; but give the people peace, plenty, and freedom, and there was no danger whatever to constitutional rule. It was that great freedom that existed in New Zealand which had been used for the benefit of mankind. That led him to desire to see the like freedom extended to every point of Her Majesty's dominions.—(Cheers.) If the mother country had not been so slow, if she had occupied herself with what had been termed experimental legislation, he was sure that industrial strife here would have been a thing of the past. In New Zealand employer and employed regarded each other with respect and admiration. They had had their differences, but they were now settled by a compulsory court of arbitration, whose awards had been found to be satisfactory to all concerned. It was prophesied that the labour legislation of New Zealand would drive away capital and leave a labour. The result had been quite the reverse. Capital flowed into the colony, and labour was more plentiful. The wealth of the colony, notwithstanding that labour legislation, had increased by 11 millions sterling in five years; and values had gone up; and to-day New Zealand stood better than it had done for the last seven years.—(Cheers.) The time should not be far distant when the colonies would be brought into closer touch with the mother country, either by means of a consultative council, by direct representation in the House of Commons, or by periodical conferences such as had been going on during the past few years.

Mr. Seidon
Mr. Gladstone

52

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on 9th July '97.

- 1. Hubert Bland was elected chairman
- 2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
- 3. Moved by J. F. Gakeshott on behalf of the Exec:-

1. That the present system of election of the School Board for London, with its enormous electoral areas and complicated cumulative vote, whilst costly and troublesome in its operation, fails to secure either satisfactory representation of minorities or genuine popular control; and that it is desirable that the election should take place in future on the widest printed register for the time being in force, and in constituencies identical with those for the Parliamentary and County Council elections.

Adopted *nem. con.*, without debate.

- 4. Moved by F. Whelen on behalf of the Exec:-

2. That in view of the facts that the public elementary school system is the largest and most promising of Socialist experiments, and the School Board for London, measured by its financial transactions, is the most important of our local governing bodies, it is desirable that as many properly qualified Socialists as possible should secure election to the Board, and get themselves placed upon its committees of managers.

An amendment to substitute the word "persons" for "Socialists" was supported by two votes only, and the resolution was then carried *nem. con.*

by Miss F. Grove

- 5. Moved by G. B. Shaw on behalf of the Exec:-

3. That an election on which the educational opportunities of seven hundred and fifty thousand children depend is of too vital importance to be used for electioneering campaigns for propagandist purposes, or for any other object than securing the Board most likely to promote the best possible instruction and training of London's children.

Carried without debate, *nem. con.*

- 6. Moved by J. W. Martin on behalf of the Exec.

4. That in order to secure the election of Socialists to the Board, it appears absolutely necessary to arrange for united action against the forces hostile to popular education, and to support no candidate who stands outside such arrangement.

The last resolution gave rise to a long debate. The Secretary explained that the last clause, by the printer's mistake, was omitted from the notices sent on post-cards to members. The resolution was supported by Wallas, Webb, Martin, Whelen, and others, and opposed by Pincombe, Peddie, Lowerison, and others. On a division, it was carried by 36 votes to 11.

7. In answer to a question regarding the toast "Our country + its queen" proposed by Sidney Webb at the Seddon lunch, Webb stated that the toast was not on the printed list, & it was proposed by him at the special request of Mr Seddon.

Geo. Staudring
Oct. 8/97

(27)

Public Meeting at Essex Hall 1st October 1897.
J. W. Martin in the chair.

1. The minutes of the last public meeting, March 19th, were confirmed.
2. Sidney Webb on behalf of the Executive moved the following resolution :-

That this meeting of the Fabian Society expresses its sympathy with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and the allied Unions, in their present struggle, and calls the attention of the Trade Unions throughout the kingdom to the importance of rallying in defence of the invaluable right of settling the conditions of employment by Collective Bargaining, now being called in question by the Federated Employers.

and this without debate, was unanimously adopted.

3. Graham Wallas then gave a lecture entitled

Oct. 1. "The Issues of the School Board Election."
By GRAHAM WALLAS.

SYLLABUS.—The place of Education in social development. Weismann and Darwin. The chaos of pedagogy. Public Education; the representative; the official; the teacher. The expert representative as a revolutionary force. The fight of 1896—its effects. Position of parties in 1897. The Progressive defence. The Progressive attack.

over

& a debate followed in which the Chairman H. W. Macroft, W. J. Pincombe, & Sidney Webb took part.
Graham Wallas -

FIGHT FOR THE SCHOOLS.

MR. GRAHAM WALLAS ON THE REFORM OF THE LONDON BOARD.

Speaking last night to the members of the Fabian Society, at Essex Hall, Mr. Graham Wallas gave an interesting lecture upon the merits and demerits of the educational methods of the London School Board.

Mr. WALLAS said that never perhaps were those who were interested in the work of education more impressed than at present with the difficulties that surrounded their task. What was the ideal boy and girl that each one of them had before him? How far did the London Board-schools compare with the schools of the world? He might almost term himself the International Man on this question, for he was constantly besieged from all sides as to the methods and results of the London Board-school. His answers were generally as follows: That, in the first place, the school buildings were good; they had been a hideously expensive job, and would probably cost more before they were finished. Then, again, in London, they were pretty well off for teachers; better pay was offered, consequently they got the pick. Then, perhaps, he would suggest to his interrogators, with tear and trembling, that they had a fairly satisfactory School Board; he acknowledged that it would be perfectly fair to term such a party pig-headed, but for all that they were an honest body of men. He also believed that a system had been developed full of infinite possibilities. In indicating generally certain ways in which the faults of school boards might be cured, Mr. Wallas singled out the more careful selection of teachers, the returning of a Progressive majority at the next election as the best means to be taken towards the curing of the woodenness of administration, and the doing something towards bringing the Board into closer touch with other existing educational bodies. He would deprecate as the greatest disaster that could befall the progress of education, the rigid definition of primary as compared with secondary education. Let the two systems develop side by side. He had not touched on that all-important question—the religious question, for reasons which might be obvious. He saw no reason why, if they kept doggedly sticking to point after point (if not in this generation then in the next), some approach to their ideal both in the matter of education and of what London as a city should be, should not be attained. (Cheers.)

FABIAN SYMPATHY.

At a meeting of the Fabian Society held last night Mr. Sidney Webb, L.C.C., in moving a resolution of sympathy with the A.S.E. in their fight, said their society was not in the habit of expressing its opinion on strikes in general, and possibly some of their members might not sympathise with the methods the engineers were pursuing in order to obtain an eight-hours day. But lately the struggle had taken an entirely new phase, and the policy of the employers was one that threatened the very existence of trade unionism itself. (Hear.) Therefore he asked them to show their sympathy with the unions which were being so ferociously attacked. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday Oct 8th 1897. (20)

1. Geo. Standring was voted to the chair
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. Ernest E. Williams gave his lecture on

Oct. 8. "Socialism and Protection."

By ERNEST E. WILLIAMS.

SYLLABUS.—Our National Food Supply. Protection and Agriculture. Protection and Manufactures. Protection and the Consumer. Inter-Empire Free Trade. Protection and the Industrial Outlook.

& a debate followed in which
L. B. Shaw — H. W. Macrosty,
H. S. Pearsall & J. W. Martin took
part. —

J. W. Martin.
29/10/97.

Public Meeting at Essex Hall on
22 October 1897. —
Graham Wallas in the chair

1. The Minutes ~~of~~ were confirmed
2. The Hon W. P. Reeves Kengame,
his lecture (see opposite)
~~and~~ which was followed
by a large number of questions
but not by debate. —

Walter Blunt

The Fabian Society.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

In place of the lecture arranged for Clifford's Inn on October 22nd, it has been decided to hold a

PUBLIC LECTURE

BY

THE HON. W. P. REEVES

(Agent-General for, and late Minister for Labor in, New Zealand),

ON HIS

COMPULSORY LABOR ARBITRATION ACT: AND HOW IT WORKS IN NEW ZEALAND,

AT

ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND,

ON

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22nd, 1897, at 8 p.m.

SYLLABUS—

Strikes and Locks-out—necessary until a better way is found. Is there a better way? Private Conciliation machinery—its failure to secure permanent peace and just treatment. Optional Acts of Parliament—ineffectual stop-gaps. The New South Wales Act. The Massachusetts Act. Compulsory Arbitration and the enforcement of Awards by the State—the New Zealand Arbitration Act and its working. The advantages of Compulsory Arbitration to (1) the Workmen, (2) the Employers, (3) the Community. Arbitration Tribunals a necessary element in any scheme for the State Regulation of Labor.

ADMISSION FREE.

Mr. W. P. Reeves, the Agent-General for New Zealand, and formerly Minister for Labor in that colony, told the Fabian Society last night how they manage their labor disputes on the other side of the world. The meeting was held in the Essex Hall, Strand, under the presidency of Mr. Graham Wallas. Mr. Reeves plunged at once into his subject. He avowed himself an advocate of compulsory arbitration—at the same time he was going to try and prove his case by facts and not by appeals to feelings. Strikes were a costly, unhappy method of settling disputes between Capital and Labor, and the dislocation of industry which they have caused is a subject of grave social concern. (Cheers.) Voluntary private arrangements had failed to solve this problem in England, and were, therefore, not likely to solve it. Then optional State arbitration machinery had been a failure, and was likely to continue a failure. What was called compulsory reference with no further powers had been tried, and failed in the most signal manner. Compulsory reference with legally enforceable awards had been tried in one case, and had been a striking success.

ARBITRATION BOARDS.

Arbitration boards had been tried in England. There was a time when it was thought that the organization of industry, both on the part of employers and employed, plus a voluntary tribunal for the settlement of disputes between them, would put an end to all disputes between Capital and Labor. That was the view held by Mr. Mundella, Sir Rupert Kettle, and Mr. Crompton. There were cases of success, but on the whole the pleasant vision had not been realised. There had been constant friction, and these arrangements had, sooner or later, broken down. Voluntary arrangements for arbitration were very like the Australian horse advertised for sale as a very good horse, the only drawbacks being that he was very difficult to mount, and you were never quite sure when he would throw you off again. (Laughter.) That was generally the way in which voluntary arbitration worked. The simplest rough test of this was the statistics of the Board of Trade which showed that labor disputes in this country during the past ten years had varied from 500 to 1,100 per annum. If that was the result of voluntary arbitration, he need not trouble the meeting with further arguments.

PREVENTION BETTER THAN CURE.

The present Conciliation Bill was not the first that had been passed. The statute book of this country was dotted over with failures to deal with this question. As for the law which had just been passed, he did not mean to say that it was not better than none. But let them consider the present terrible dispute now going on. He read in one of the papers that Mr. Ritchie had intervened at the psychological moment. (Laughter.) Psychological moment was good, but prevention was better. He did not wish to criticise Mr. Ritchie's measure, but an Act which required that a great labor dispute, with all its attendant suffering and loss, should last for four months, before the psychological moment had arrived for it to intervene, was at any rate not the last word to be said on this subject. (Cheers.) If they could not do something better than this, he thought they had better let it alone. If he were a countryman of Mr. Bernard Shaw—(laughter)—he would say that the proper time to intervene in a labor dispute was before it began or after it was over. (Laughter and cheers.) Optional State machinery did some good, but what is wanted is something that should prevent these conflicts from coming about at all. Any attempt to do this had been characterised as an attempt to interfere with the delicate adjustment of economic claims. (Laughter.) Mr. Reeves then went on to refer to the machinery of arbitration on the Continent and in the United States, and afterwards dealt with the experiment tried in New South

Wales of a compulsory reference to a State board without anything else. This he could only characterise as a glacial failure. It had been tried, found to be of no use whatever, and then abandoned.

THE NEW ZEALAND ACT.

The speaker then left the subject of experiments and proceeded to give an account of the New Zealand method. This was known as the Industrial Conciliation Act. It might be better described as an "Act for the regulation of labor," indeed that would be an exact description of it; but if it had been introduced under that name it would not have now been upon the statute book. (Laughter.) The Act provided in the first place for the establishment of conciliation boards in the various districts into which the colony was divided for the purposes of the Act. They were composed of equal numbers of employers and workmen, elected by the registered associations of each, and having an independent chairman. These boards had power to intervene in any industrial dispute of every conceivable kind, whatever might be the cause of quarrel. These boards had very full powers, not only to summon witnesses before them, but also to call for the production of accounts and papers from both sides. But they had no power to enforce their decisions. This was left to the general arbitration court of the Colony, which was composed of a judge of the High Court, assisted by two assessors, one representing the workmen and the other the employers. These three sitting together had the power to hear and determine all disputes which were referred to them. They could hear appeals from the arbitration boards, from persons who were satisfied with their decisions, but could not get them enforced, or in cases where persons were dissatisfied with the decisions of the arbitration courts. Or the Supreme Court might intervene in cases where no Conciliation Boards existed. When cases came before it, it heard them, and gave its awards. These awards had all the force of the decisions of a court of justice, and might be enforced in the same way. Penalties varying in amount were attached to any disobedience of the award. He might say that since the Act had been passed, it had never been found necessary to enforce these penalties. (Cheers.)

HOW THE ACT WORKS.

Under the Act trade unions had power to become corporate bodies. This might be looked upon as an extremely dangerous thing in this country, but he would point out that it was quite optional on the part of the trade unions, and the only benefit they gained by it was the power to elect representatives on the Conciliation Boards. So far, every case which had been brought before the court had been on the initiation of the trade unions. He had said enough to show that the Act was a very thorough-going one. It was not adopted in a hurry. He introduced it in 1891, but it was received with so little enthusiasm that he had to drop it. It was introduced again and passed in 1892, but rejected by the Upper House. They had an Upper House even in New Zealand. It was passed again in 1893, and met with the same fate. But in 1894, after the General Election, the Upper House had to pass it unaltered. (Cheers.) The Act had been used in sixteen cases, and he might say that since it had been passed, there had been no strike and no lock-out in the Colony. (Cheers.) As to the compulsory powers of the Act, he might say that every award had been implicitly obeyed. He attributed the success of the Act to its power of intervention before disputes had become furious, and had been raging for months, and when both parties had become embittered. Prevention in these cases was better than cure. Mr. Reeves then concluded by enumerating the advantages of the Act to the workmen, the employers, and the community, and said that arbitration tribunals with compulsory powers were a necessary element in any scheme for the State regulation of Labor. (Cheers.)

As usual at the Fabian meetings, there was a sustained fire of questions from the floor. These Mr. Reeves answered. They were mostly asked to obtain fuller details as to the working of the scheme.

AN OBJECT LESSON.
HOW THEY ARBITRATE IN NEW
ZEALAND.

MR. W. P. REEVES TELLS THE STORY.

Daily Chronicle

23 Col. 97.

An interesting contribution to the discussion of peace and war in the industrial world was made last night, in a lecture to the Fabian Society by Mr. Reeves, the Agent-General for New Zealand. The subject of his lecture will be familiar to readers of "The Daily News," as an article upon his New Zealand Arbitration Act which Mr. Reeves expounded last night appeared in our columns recently (Sept. 14). In each district of New Zealand there is a Conciliation Board. Its verdicts are not compulsory, and either party can appeal against them to a higher court. This High Court of Arbitration can at its discretion make its award either as a recommendation or as a compulsory order. In New Zealand, therefore, two things are secured. First, industrial combatants must always arbitrate before they fight; and secondly, in cases where the public interest requires it, "fighting it out" has to give way to judicial methods. The right of industrial warfare has in fact been taken away in New Zealand, just as in all civilized societies the right of private warfare in civil affairs has been taken away. This may be the ultimate development of civilization; but in this country we are still a long way off any such an enactment. For one thing, compulsion in the enforcement of an award would be almost impossible. But a compulsory award is one thing; compulsory arbitration—in the sense of the formula "always arbitrate before you fight"—is another. For this latter kind of compulsion, public opinion in the country may not be very long in ripening. There is one member of the present Administration who is already deeply pledged to it. He is not, however, a member who often manages to impress his views on his colleagues. We refer to Sir John Gorst, who in his dissentient report as a member of the Labour Commission proposed in 1894 a scheme of Conciliation and Arbitration very similar in some respects to the measure which Mr. Reeves enacted in New Zealand, but stopping short of actual compulsion in the award. "I am in favour," said Sir John Gorst, "of giving such a Board power "to summon parties and witnesses before it, "and to compel their attendance; and "of imposing upon the Board the duty, "where the disputants will not agree, "of making a public report setting forth "the origin and grounds of the quarrel, and "of the solution by which it ought to be terminated." Even under the existing Act the Board of Trade might, in cases where either party asked for its intervention, go some way in the direction just indicated. The next legislative move will be, we imagine, to increase its powers in the way Sir John Gorst suggested. The Peace and Arbitration Societies might do worse than start home branches for advocating the cause of Industrial Arbitration.

Daily News
23rd Oct '97

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

A NEW ZEALAND LEAD.

"The Compulsory Labour Arbitration Act, and how it works in New Zealand," was the subject upon which a lecture was given last evening under the auspices of the Fabian Society at Essex Hall, Essex-street, Strand. The chair was occupied by Mr. Graham Wallas, M.L.S.B., the lecturer being the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Agent-General for, and late Minister for Labour in, New Zealand. Having spoken of the failure of private conciliation machinery to secure permanent peace and just treatment, and of various optional Acts of Parliament in various parts of the world proving ineffectual stop-gaps, he contended that the best method yet found to prevent industrial disputes was the one adopted in New Zealand. The Bill which he had introduced, and which had been successfully working in the Colony for a couple of years, provided for compulsory arbitration and the enforcement of awards by the State. This measure, he said, which was of advantage alike to employers, employed, and the community, divided the country into districts, in each of which the federated employers and organized workmen formed a Conciliation Board. Both sides were equally represented in this tribunal, and the presidency of the Board was occupied by an impartial chairman. These bodies could be approached by any party to a dispute, and the Board was empowered to order the attendance of witnesses and enforce the production of books, accounts, and documents relating to the trades and parties in question. If either refused to accept the decision of his tribunal, provision was made for the case to be carried to a central Court of Arbitration, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, and two assessors, one representing the employers and the other the employed. This Court had power to hear all disputes referred to them, and when its award was given it was filed and recognised as any other legal decision. The penalty for non-compliance with the award on the part of the employers was a maximum fine of 500*l.*, and in the case of trades unions up to 10*l.* per head could be claimed against individual members who refused to carry out the decision of the Central Court. Under the Act all unions had to register, and they were constituted incorporated bodies to hold property with the right both to sue and be sued. As to the working of the Act, Mr. Reeves said that up to now seventy trades unions had registered, and where employers, as in a few instances, would have nothing to do with the Act, the Government nominated certain people to represent the employers on the Conciliation Board. Since the passage of the measure sixteen industrial disputes had been settled, and in no case had the parties refused to absolutely abide by the decision of the Boards, and he had every hope of its continued success in the future. Referring incidentally in the course of his lecture to the present engineering struggle, he said it had been urged in some quarters that the Board of Trade had not before interfered in the engineers' strike because the psychological moment had not arrived. "Well," said Mr. Reeves amid laughter, "psychological is good, but prevention is better than cure—(cheers)—and I can only say that from the point of view of New Zealand, an Act that requires that one of the greatest of labour struggles should be continued for four months, that should have wasted many thousands of pounds and intensely embittered the feelings of everybody concerned, until a psychological moment arrives is not good enough for us in New Zealand."

Echo

Daily Mail

LABOUR DISPUTES IN NEW ZEALAND.

SATISFACTORY METHODS OF SETTLEMENT.

At the Essex Hall, Essex-street, Strand, under the auspices of the Fabian Society, the Hon. W. P. REEVES, Agent-General for and late Minister for Labour in New Zealand, delivered an extremely interesting and convincing address on the necessity of Compulsory Labour Administration. Referring to the great Lock-Out, he said he read in an influential journal that the "psychological moment" for state intervention has arrived. Now, continued he, "psychological moment" is good, but he could not conceive how such a moment could possibly be reached in New Zealand under his Compulsory Labour Arbitration Act. That Act is a prevention, not a cure. Another journal, after carefully considering the engineers' dispute, came to the conclusion that compulsory arbitration is the only method for effectual settlement, but objected to this method because it would interfere with the "delicate adjustment of economic trade."

ACTS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

The lecturer then brought forward in a discursive way the various Acts, &c., that have been used with more or less success to settle disputes between master and man. Private conciliation machinery he regarded as a failure, because it does not secure permanent peace and just treatment. Optional Acts of Parliament were more ineffectual stop-gaps. Even the New South Wales Act of 1892, where the machinery is good, has proved "a ghastly failure," because the Courts cannot compel evidence to be tendered. Now the New Zealand Compulsory Labour Arbitration Act, of which the Hon. W. P. Reeves is the father, has power to force its awards. Labour disputes usually pass through Conciliation Boards. The Board appears to be constituted in the following way:—Chairman (State official) and an equal number of representatives from masters and men.

ONLY ORGANISED LABOUR has a right to appeal to the Conciliation Board, should either of the parties concerned in a labour dispute object to or disobey the ruling of the Conciliation Board then the case may be taken to the Court of Arbitration, which is constituted of one judge and two assessors, with power to settle all disputes and force the law. It is interesting to learn that Trades Unions may become corporate bodies in New Zealand, with power to sue and be sued. Seventy Trades Unions have already registered under the Act. Any employer who dismisses an employé because he or she is a member of a Trade Union can be called before the Conciliation and Arbitration Board. The Compulsory Labour Arbitration Act became law three years ago, and no strike or lock-out has since happened, the Courts being empowered to settle all cases that have arisen. The speaker strongly maintained that there are always three parties in a labour dispute—the workmen, the employers, and the community—and that compulsory arbitration steps between master and man in the name of the community and enforces peace for the general weal.

WHY NOT COMPULSORY ARBITRATION?

The Hon. W. P. Reeves, Agent-General for New Zealand, lecturing at the Essex Hall to the Fabian Society on his Compulsory Labour Arbitration Act and its operation in New Zealand, said private conciliation had failed to settle labour disputes and optional Acts of Parliament had been merely ineffectual stop-gaps, as was shown by the fact that in England the number of strikes and lock-outs for the last ten years had varied from 500 to 1,100 per annum. Mr. Reeves instanced the present engineers' lock-out as an example of the futility of the present English Act. The New Zealand "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1894," was really an Act to regulate labour disputes by State tribunals. The colony was divided into seven industrial districts coterminous with its legal districts. The District Conciliation Board investigated the dispute and endeavoured to reconcile the parties, and failing a settlement decided the questions at issue according to the merits and substantial justice of the case. The board could not enforce its decisions. This duty was left to the Court of Arbitration sitting for the whole colony, and composed of a judge of the Supreme Court, appointed for three years, and two assessors, one representing the employers, the other the workmen.

The Act had effectually prevented strikes and lock-outs in New Zealand. Since it came into operation two years ago there had been no strike or lock-out and only sixteen disputes, all of which had been settled under the Act.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn

29 Oct. 97. -

(31)

- (1) J. W. Martin was elected chairman.
- (2) The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
- (3) The Secy reported briefly on the School Board Election.
- (4) H. W. Macrobertz introduced the Tract on Shop. assistants. This was debated at length, & amended in various details. The resolution that it be printed & issued as amended was adopted nem. con.
- (5) Miss O'Brien introduced the Tract "A Word of Remembrance + Caution to the Rich, & John Woolman". This was adopted nem con.
- (6) The Sec. on behalf of the Exee. laid before the meeting project for an annual dinner to be held probably on a Friday in January. He said the plan was that members could attend & bring nominate guests, subject for

invitation of the Com^{ee} - That members could attend after the dinner, by ticket. -

That the ~~County~~ Fabian County Councillors be the guests at the first gathering: that some speeches & smoking be permitted. -

He concluded by explaining that the Executive desired the opinion of the Society on the plan. A debate followed in which the main detailed objection raised was to Friday, on behalf of Roman Catholic & High Church members. -

Several members stated that they were not in favour of the plan, but on a vote being taken, it was ~~to~~ declared to be approved by a majority of four to one. -

7. The Secretary on behalf of the Exec. stated that the Exec. had no resolution to propose in respect of the Lock-out of the Engineers & allied trades. - *pending the conference*
Charles Channington
26th Nov^r 1894.

Public Meeting at Essex Hall 12 Nov. 97 (32)
Hubert Bland in the chair

1. The Minutes of the last Public Meeting were adopted.
2. Sir Charles Dilke then read his paper
on The Empire
& after numerous questions, a debate
followed in which Sidney Webb, &
G. H. Ferris took part.
J. R. Macdonald

The Fabian Society.

A PUBLIC LECTURE

WILL BE DELIVERED BY THE

Rt. Hon. Sir CHAS. W. DILKE, Bart., M.P.,

ON

"THE EMPIRE,"

AT

ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, STRAND,

ON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12th, 1897, at 8 p.m.

SYLLABUS—

The nature of our autocratic rule in India. The Federal policy successful in the Canadian Dominion; now being attempted in Australia; possibly applicable to the West Indies. The legislation of the great self-governing colonies: Australasian legislation; Land systems, Functions of the State. Future relation of India and of the Colonies to the United Kingdom. A Zollverein. The Ottawa Conference. The Conference of Colonial Prime Ministers. Possibility of a combination of Indian autocracy and colonial democracy, with British constitutional monarchy, in any national union. Home Rule All Round. Opposition of certain colonies to Imperial Federation. Defensive Federation.

ADMISSION FREE.

SIR C. DILKE ON THE EMPIRE.

government. Mr. Chamberlain at Glasgow said that it should be one of our main objects in relation to the Empire to extend its citizenship as widely as possible. But in the West Indies the existing government was a caricature of representative institutions, and was in fact an oligarchy. He hoped Liberals would not be described as "Little Englanders" if they made some difficulty next year about voting the money of the British taxpayers for the West Indies without trying to make it a condition that their system of government should be improved. (Cheers.) Sir Charles Dilke turned next to the questions of Australasian labor and land legislation. So many people had been in the habit of talking about Australasian legislation as socialistic that some had come to think that the colonies must contain a large number of conscious Socialists. Australian State Socialism was, however, empirical, and dealt without any theory with the facts of life as they presented themselves. The Australian colonies, although in advance of us, were with us in the kind of rule of thumb by which they worked, as contrasted with the United States and Canada. There was a growing tendency in Australia towards promoting by legislation a more equal distribution of wealth, which was no doubt a Socialistic object; but the movement towards collectivist organisation of society was not on the whole more marked than it was at home.

FEDERATION.

How, asked Sir Charles, could an empire of which the constituent parts were so widely different be combined by Parliamentary methods into a federated whole? An amalgamation of Indian autocracy and Colonial democracy with British constitutional monarchy in a natural Parliamentary union would be difficult enough, even were there no opposition in the Colonies themselves to the principle of Imperial federation. The recent conferences in London with the Colonial Premiers did not seem to have carried us much beyond the proceedings of the Ottawa conference. The same considerations in respect of absence of regard to India affected suggestions which had been thrown out for a closer political union with the Empire. The first objection to such proposals had always been that there was no probability of their acceptance at the hands of New South Wales or Queensland, or perhaps some other Colonies, but if the difficulty were overcome, and the attitude of Mr. Reid in London this year proved that it was not likely to be surmounted, the difficulties of including India in such a scheme were to his mind overwhelming, and the practical force which such proposals for closer union must under present circumstances assume, resolved itself into an increase of the strength of the personal power of the Crown, as brought about by Home Rule in Australia, or a combination limited to the purposes of Imperial defence, or both. In conclusion, Sir Charles said: "The Greater Britain I had in view, when in 1868 I used the phrase, was the world of English speech and English law, governed or mainly peopled by the British race, and included the United States. The term retained the public favor, but is now used in a narrower sense or the lesser world, but still a world—the British Empire. When I first wrote upon the closer union of the Empire I recommended that the defence problem should stand first, and I confess that I still think that it is both the easiest to solve and also the most vital. (Cheers.)"

A number of questions were afterwards put to Sir Charles Dilke, several having reference to the defence problem. In reply to one, Sir Charles said if the colonies joined in a federation for the defence of the Empire and contributed funds, they would of course be entitled to representation. Several short addresses followed, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Sir C. Dilke for his address.

Daily Chronicle 13 Nov. '97

The Fabian Society.

A PUBLIC LECTURE

WILL BE DELIVERED BY THE

THE BRITISH EMPIRE. SIR C. DILKE WANTS UNION FOR DEFENCE.

The Fabian Society does not often deal with Imperial questions, but last night its members assembled in force to hear Sir Charles Dilke lecture on the British Empire.

After dealing with the position of India, Canada, and the Australasian and other colonies, Sir Charles pointed out how many difficulties stood in the way of welding an empire, the constituent parts of which are so widely different, into a working whole. At the Ottawa, as at the London Conference, there was no unanimity. In order to secure the adherence of the Cape of Good Hope, it was found necessary to include a foreign country, the Orange Free State, and what would Canada say to the claim of the West Indies to make reciprocity treaties with the United States? It was reported in the papers that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was now at Washington in order to make proposals for a reciprocity treaty with the States, and as recently as 1868 such a treaty did exist. Negotiations were again opened in 1874 for a fresh treaty, but Lord Dufferin, while admitting it would be an advantage to Canada, laid it down that nothing ought to be done detrimental to

THE TRADE OF THE EMPIRE.

In proposing special advantages for the colonies, continued Sir Charles, it must be remembered that these would benefit one-fourth of our trade and be detrimental to three-fourths. To give advantage to Canadian wheat would mean imposing a duty on that from the United States and the Argentine, and the raising of the price of the food of our own people. Again, to favour Australian wool would be detrimental to our manufacturers in Yorkshire, and in neither case were we offered free trade in return. Sir Charles concluded by declaring that when he first wrote on the British Empire, he maintained that the defence problem should stand first, and he still thought it was the first and the most vital. (Cheers.)

A Fabian having remarked, in reference to an observation that had fallen from Sir Charles, that Australia was now taking an interest in India; another, amid loud laughter, asked whether that interest did not consist of passing laws to exclude all Indians, except cricketers.

Sir Charles replied that New South Wales had passed an Act to exclude Asiatics, and he believed a proposal was made to except the gentleman alluded to.

SIR C. DILKE ON THE EMPIRE.

ADDRESS TO THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

THE DEFENCE PROBLEM.

Under the auspices of the Fabian Society, Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., last night delivered a lecture on "The Empire," before a large gathering at the Essex Hall, Essex-street, Strand. Mr. Hubert Bland occupied the chair.

Sir Charles Dilke, in commencing his address, said the matters concerning the Empire most worthy of the consideration of the Fabian Society would seem to be—the nature of our autocratic rule in India; the federal policy, successful in the Canadian Dominion, and now being attempted in Australia; the legislation of the great self-governing colonies, and especially of Australasia; in Africa and some of the non-African Crown colonies, the problem of the supply of colored races less civilized than the majority of the peoples of India; and the future relations of the component parts of the Empire.

OUR RULE IN INDIA.

In dealing with this question, Sir Charles assumed that his hearers were acquainted with the two main official views upon the subject. Although they were sharply hostile, they had one point in common. Both contemplated the gradual extension of a more or less feeble representative element in presidential councils, and both appeared to him to be equally open to objection. India being a continent, rather than a single nation, he did not see why the same sort of treatment should be extended all over the country. He rather favored the extension of the popular system of native States, although he should prefer extension without leave to keep up rabble armies. Why should not an elective system be tried in some parts of what was now British India, and a non-elective system in others? Why, above all, was not more attention paid to the success of the Mysore experiment, which was great?

CANADIAN HOME RULE.

As different as one country could be from another was the Canadian Dominion from India, but it presented a picture of a government as successful in face of difficulties as was the Government of Mysore. The extraordinary development of a federal policy with provincial Home Rule in Canada was certainly worthy of note. In Canada, we had the perfection of State Home Rule, and we saw the working of a Constitution which, created after that of the United States, had had the advantage of avoiding the mistakes which were made by the framers of the better known American Constitution. The federal policy which had had so extraordinary a success in Canada was after many failures being attempted in Australia, but the scheme was at the present between two stools. It was impossible to carry it by the pressure of the two great colonies, given the fact that even in these popular feeling was not unanimous, without concession to the smaller colonies, such as considerable financial powers to the senate. But the popular vote in Victoria and New South Wales was hostile to these financial powers of the Senate.

THE WEST INDIES.

Referring later in his address to the recent Commission in the West Indies, which had reported against a general federation of those Crown colonies, he said there was a good deal to be said for trying, at least experimenting, in some of them a more democratic

government. Mr. Chamberlain at Glasgow said that it should be one of our main objects in relation to the Empire to extend its citizenship as widely as possible. But in the West Indies the existing government was a caricature of representative institutions, and was in fact an oligarchy. He hoped Liberals would not be described as "Little Englanders" if they made some difficulty next year about voting the money of the British taxpayers for the West Indies without trying to make it a condition that their system of government should be improved. (Cheers.) Sir Charles Dilke turned next to the questions of Australasian labor and land legislation. So many people had been in the habit of talking about Australasian legislation as socialistic that some had come to think that the colonies must contain a large number of conscious Socialists. Australian State Socialism was, however, empirical, and dealt without any theory with the facts of life as they presented themselves. The Australian colonies, although in advance of us, were with us in the kind of rule of thumb by which they worked, as contrasted with the United States and Canada. There was a growing tendency in Australia towards promoting by legislation a more equal distribution of wealth, which was no doubt a Socialistic object; but the movement towards collectivist organization of society was not on the whole more marked than it was at home.

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A number of questions were afterwards put to Sir Charles Dilke, several having reference to the defence problem. In reply to one, Sir Charles said if the colonies joined in a federation for the defence of the Empire and contributed funds, they would of course be entitled to representation. Several short addresses followed, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Sir C. Dilke for his address.

Daily Chronicle 13 Nov '97

39

Members Meeting at Cliffords Lane
on Friday Nov. 26. 1897.

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. R. Wherry Anderson read his paper on

Nov. 26. "Socialism and Monarchy."

By R. WHERRY ANDERSON.

SYLLABUS.—Forms of Government. The Republican Idea.
The Socialist Idea. The Republican Movement in Great
Britain. Its Rise and Decay. The Relations of Repub-
licanism and Socialism.

After questions a debate followed in
which ^{Mr. Ag. & Mr. Wherry} J. F. Oakeshott, Theodore
Wright, Bernard Shaw, Edw. R. Pease
& J. R. Macdonald took part.

4. A vote of urgency having been carried
unanimously H. Brazell introduced
motion, (of which ~~notice~~ notice
had been given to London members) viz.

"That an appeal be made to members and friends of the Society (a) to guarantee
a weekly sum in aid of the locked-out Engineers as long as it may be needed;
(b) for loans, free of interest, to the Trade Unions, to be repaid when funds
will allow, lenders taking Trade Union I.O.U.s for amounts lent."

(35)

Bernard Shaw seconded. An amendment
moved by T. Wright to omit the words
"Lenders taking Trade Union & I.O.U.'s for the
amount lent". This was agreed to & the
resolution as amended was adopted
unanimously. —

Henry W. Macrosty
10-XII-97

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Dec 10. 97.

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. J. F. Green gave his address on

Dec. 10. "Socialism and Militarism."

By J. FRED. GREEN

(Secretary of the International Arbitration
and Peace Association).

SYLLABUS.—The armed peace of Europe. The blood tax. The money tax. The road to ruin. The national defence problem. The "law of the beasts" in international relations. The exaggeration of nationalism. The position of Britain. The new patriotism ("Brummagem brand"). The expansion of capitalism. Remedies for militarism. The duty of Socialists in international politics.

After questions a debate followed in which Sydney Olivier, a. g. Morrist, E. R. Pease, & J. W. Martin took part.

J. W. Martin

(36)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Jan 14. 1898.

1. J. W. Martin was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were read & confirmed
3. The question of the action of R. C. Phillimore in supporting Sir C. Furness at the York Election having been raised, Webb stated that whatever he did was done in the interest of the Engineers, & with the complete concurrence of their local Branch & its Officers.
4. J. R. Macdonald then read his paper on

Jan. 14. "The United States."

By J. R. MACDONALD.

SYLLABUS.

The critic in a new country—discrimination of essentials.
The Republic and the citizen. Liberty, Fraternity and Equality in America. Class distinctions in party politics.
The Republic and public opinion: The psychological effect of the Constitution. Closed questions. The man and the woman in society. The influence of a complexity of race on political faith. Corruption. The press.
Socialism. Its general influence nil. The Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democracy of America. Trade Unions.
The New Movements, and how far the machinery of American Democracy can express them. The American Judiciary v. the House of Lords.
A few prophecies. The Democratic Party—The Municipal Reformers—Labor Movements—Political Reforms.

A debate in which Sidney Webb & others took part followed it.

H. B. Matthews

Public Meeting at Essex Hall
on Friday Jan 28. - J.R. Macdonald
in the chair

1. The minutes of the last ^{Public} ~~the~~ meeting were read & confirmed
2. A question having been asked as to the conduct of a member at the York Election, the Chairman ruled that such matters were not in order at public meetings, & that the Society exercises no control over & takes no responsibility for the political action of its members.
3. Will Crooks F.C.C. then gave an address on

Jan. 28. "A Workman's View of the London County Council Election."

By WM. CROOKS, L.C.C.

SYLLABUS.—The Works Department: is it worth supporting?
What the Public Control Committee has done for London.
The Tramways and Labor. The value to the workers of the
Technical Education Board.

and a debate followed in which
Miss Morten, E.S. Metivier, Mr. Fitzpatrick
L.B. Shaw, Chas. Charrington & H.S. Chancellor
took part.

"A WORKMAN'S VIEW."

Before a meeting of the Fabian Society, held last night at the Essex Hall, Strand, Mr. Will Crooks dilated upon "A Workman's View of the London County Council election," with special reference to the Works Department, tramways, and the value to the workers of the Technical Education Board. Mr. Crooks said he was not concerned with the loss or profit of the Works Department, though he should show that the loss was not so great as was generally supposed. The first County Council determined to have good work and to pay fair wages, and as the contractors fought shy of the new labor conditions, the Council had to do the work themselves. After sketching the birth of the Works Department, Mr. Crooks said the contractors had only themselves to thank that there was to-day such a body as the Works Department. The old Metropolitan Board of Works was a happy hunting ground for contractors, but the County Council put a stop to all that. It was then said that after some experience the contractors would send in honest tenders, thus admitting that hitherto they had not done so. The Moderates alleged that there had been a loss of £20,000 on the Works Department, but he contended that it was impossible yet to determine whether there was an actual deficit or not. The department never got credit for the extra quality of the work done, and the saving on better work could not be estimated for ten or fifteen years. On jobbing work alone there had been a profit of £15,000, and within the last two or three years £5,000 had been paid off the capital account, so that would exactly balance the alleged loss.

London's Needs.

Since the Moderates had had control of matters the contractor had been gradually restored to favor. Apart from finance altogether, Mr. Crooks maintained that London had a right to the very best workmanship that could be put in wherever labor was employed. (Cheers.) If the Moderates were returned to power at the next election, the Works Department was doomed: if the ratepayers required good and efficient work they must support the Progressives. The present Council had practically sold the tramways for half their real value, and had thrown away the birthright of the people. The tram men had been sold back into slavery, and were obliged to work seven days a week in order to live decently. It was disgraceful that in the richest city in the world such a retrograde policy was possible. If the working classes desired to get the full benefit out of technical education,

they must have all the Government money allocated for the purpose, and they must take much more interest in the whole scheme. Scholarships were not altogether an unmixed blessing, and more reforms were necessary before the children got the best advantage out of the opportunities afforded. If the workmen wished to keep what they had, they must wake up, or the polytechnics and higher grade schools would get more and more of this money, and there would be less for distribution amongst the very poor. (Cheers.)—Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald presided, and at the close of the address questions were invited.

Daily Chronicle
 29 Jan '98

Meeting at Cliffords Linn on
Friday 11 Feb 1898. -

1. R.B. Matthews was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. E.E. Metivier ~~of~~ raised the question of Sidney Webb's report on R.C. Phillimore at Joh, & the matter was once more discussed. -

~~H. J. McKillop then read his paper on~~

4. H.W. Macrosty on beh alf of the Exec. proposed that Tract 81. Municipal Water be printed & issued. after a brief discussion this was agreed to.

5. J. McKillop then read his paper on

Feb. 11. "Socialism and Race." By J. McKILLOP
(late of Singapore).

SYLLABUS.—Socialistic principles in Municipal, National, Imperial Government. How far applicable to latter. Special consideration of their bearing on government of inferior and subject races: whether as an integral part of the Empire, e.g., Indian peoples, or as immigrants, e.g., Chinese.

and a debate followed in which

Sydney Oliver, Charles Charrington,
Bernard Shaw & the Chairman
took part. -

C. F. Bailey

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday 25 Feb. 1898.

1. ~~Mr.~~ Dr. C. F. Bailey was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. Edward R. Pease then read his paper on

Feb. 25. "Municipalization of the Drink Traffic."
By EDWARD R. PEASE.

SYLLABUS.—Local option objectionable because of (1) its failure in towns; (2) its probable inoperativeness; (3) its character as class legislation. Other projects. Success of high licence and the Gothenburg system. General municipalization impracticable. Proposals: a general Bill enacting minimum and maximum of licences, with high licence, and, for towns, creating elected board to provide supply by municipalization or otherwise.

and after questions a discussion followed
in which J. W. Martin, R. E. Dell,
H. Brazel, A. J. Marriott, G. B. Shaw
& E. F. Worthington took part
J. W. Martin

Meeting at Cliffords Inn March 11. 1898.

1. J. H. Matthews was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. H. W. Macrosty read his paper on

Mar. 11. "Industrial Arbitration."
By H. W. MACROSTY.
 SYLLABUS.—Conciliation in England. Trade Unions; Trade Boards; District Boards; Conciliation Act. Arbitration in Germany, France and America. The New Zealand Act and its working. Failure of Permissive Measures. Principles of Arbitration. Legal Standards. Sketch of an Act.

and a debate followed in which Miss Norton, J. W. Martin, Bernard Shaw & A. Brazell took part.

Charles Cherrington
 24th March 1898.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn 25th March 98.

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman.
2. On the motion of the ~~Executive~~ Secretary Hugh Limebeer (Messrs Limebeer Thomson & Trilling) was elected auditor.
3. On the motion of the Secretary R. A. Peddie & S. D. Shallard were elected Secretaries for the Executive Section.
4. On the motion of H. W. Macrobert on behalf of the Executive Com^{ee}, it was unanimously agreed, after a short debate, that the proposed Tract on ^{Wages} The Compensation Act be printed & issued.
5. S. G. Hobson then ~~made~~ ^{gave} his lecture on

March 25. "Socialism and Foreign Trade."

By S. G. HOBSON.

SYLLABUS.—(1) The futility of Protection; the limitations of Free Trade; the Socialist position in regard to these. (2) The Elements of International Exchange: (a) what we want; (b) what we offer. (3) Present methods of International Exchange: (a) The gradual breakdown of present system of export and import: (b) possible developments; (c) the Socialist argument. (4) Collective Trading: (a) theory and practice; (b) Governmental machinery; (c) the immediate sphere of Government action in relation to exchange.

(40)

and a debate followed in which
A. W. Barmeld, J. W. Martin, R. A. Peddie,
H. W. Macrosty, G. B. Shaw + F. C. Matthews
took part. —

Charles Charrington
22nd April 1898.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday ~~at~~ 22 April 1898. -

1. Charles Charrington was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. The Secretary reported the result of the Executive Election. -
4. The resolutions on opposite page were then considered:
Preamble. Agreed nem con.
No 1 & 2. " " " , with verbal amendment to 1.
No 3. (Taken next) was discussed at length & referred back to the Exec. for further consideration in view of the discussion, & the arguments in favour of more compensation. - [see next page]
No 3, after amendment to omit "minimum" had been defeated by a considerable majority, was adopted.
No 4 was adopted. No 5. Amendment was rejected by substantial majority, & resolution adopted. -
Nos. 6 & 7 were agreed to. -

Fabian Society.

41

A BUSINESS MEETING for Members only will be held on FRIDAY, 22ND APRIL, at 8 p.m., at CLIFFORD'S INN, next 187 Fleet Street, E.C.

In view of the difficulty of preparing a satisfactory scheme for the Municipalization of the Drink Traffic, the Executive Committee has decided to ascertain the opinions of the Society before submitting the proposed Tract to them. The following resolutions will, therefore, be moved on behalf of the Executive Committee:—

That a Tract on the Municipalization of the Drink Traffic be issued by the Society on the following lines:—

- cannot be entertained.*
- (1.) That Local Veto ~~must be abandoned~~ because it is likely to be inoperative and productive of indirect evils, besides doing nothing to remove the private interest in excessive sales of drink and the political power of the trade.
 - (2.) That Municipal Management of the retail trade is the best remedy for admitted evils, and that power also should be given for municipal brewing and distilling.
 - (3.) That a General Law is wanted providing a maximum and a minimum of licences in each district according to population.
 - (4.) That the Value of Licences should be transferred to the public purse by means of a rate equal to the net annual value, or by a high licence according to scale.
 - (5.) That it is undesirable to create a new elective authority for licensing or municipal trading.
 - (6.) That the London County Council, the Town and Urban District Councils, be empowered to become the licensing authority for their respective areas, and themselves to undertake municipal retail or wholesale trade, or to adopt the Gothenburg System.
 - (7.) That the Local Government Board have power to permit Parish Councils to engage in retail drink traffic, subject to the Justices' Licences.
 - (8.) That Compensation be dealt with on the basis of notice for a term of years and compassionate allowances to persons suffering hardship by being thrown out of employment.

Carried

Refer back

Amendments will be moved, including one to alter the words "undesirable" and "or," in clause 5, to "desirable" and "and"; and a thorough discussion is expected. It is hoped that there will be a large attendance of members. *lost. —*

29.iii.98

S. D. Shallard

EDW. R. PEASE,

General Secretary.

Added to Order of Meeting 29 April 98. -

On resolution & amendment was moved
by F. W. Hayes to delete the words after
"Basis of", & substitute for them
"full market value to be paid for
all vested interests". This was recorded,
& after discussion, withdrawn. -

(42)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on 29th April 1898.

1. S. D. Shallard was voted to the chair. -
2. The minutes of the last meeting were read. - after debate the Secretary undertook to add words recording the fate of amendment to resolution 8 moved by F. W. Hayes. - The statement in the minutes that Resolution 8 was referred back to Sec. with a view to increasing the amount of compensation was queried, but after discussion, it was agreed that the minutes with the addition named, be signed as correct.
3. J. W. Martin then read his paper on

April 29. "The Social Teaching of Thomas Hardy."
By J. W. MARTIN.

SYLLABUS.—Scope of Hardy's work; Wessex character; Position of Country Mechanics and Traders; Hardships and Brutality of Life on the Soil; Hardy's Cynicism; French influence; Development of Pessimism; Causes of Pessimism. (a) Women not Rational Creatures, (b) Antagonism of Sex Instincts to Progress, (c) No hope of amelioration by human agency, (d) "President of the Immortals" a mocking, malevolent power.

& a debate followed in which Robert Steele, Howard Swan, J. M. Robertson, & Chas Charrington took part
J. H. Macdonald

Added by
on res
by F.W
"Basis of
"full
all re
& after

7658
C39
TELEGRAMS
LIKEWISE LONDON

7

35, CHEYNE COURT,
CHELSEA, S.W.

30th April 98.

My dear Pease,

Exactly what took
place with regard to the
"compensation" section of
your paper the other night
as I remember it. —

Hayes moved his
amendment about "marked value"
certainly, ^{as it must be discussed "before"}
~~seconded by Belmont~~ a debate
followed which ended with
your reading from your lecture
some particulars ^{as to}
what had been done in other
countries with respect to
diminishing the number of pieces
without any compensation. Then
I pointed out as obvious that

Added by
On resol
by F. W.
"Basis of"
"full n
all re
& after

no compensation formed
part of the basis of the
society. Then Hayes ^{withdrew} ~~revised~~
his amendment and proposed
another substituting "equitable
terms" for "market value".

Quarroy pointed out that
this meant nothing at all.
I asked Hayes if he pressed
his amendment and he replied
that he did after Quarroy's
remarks. I asked for a second
there was none. (I saw did not
second this amendment - he
must have dreamt it.)

Then some one - I forget who -
moved that the first part -
of ~~just~~ compensation section
should be struck out altogether.
This was seconded - by Pennington

7th April 1898.

I think - but - it was certainly 41
 seconded. On which I have
 feared a vote might follow
 which was no doubt somewhat
 impetuous - rose hastily and
 proposed that the section
 should be referred back to the
 Executive ^{General} ^{new} ^{com.} ^{com.} ^{com.} ^{com.}
 rose and endeavored to get
 the sense of the meeting
 as to how the executive
 were instructed to deal with
 the question. The matter dropt.

I still contend that
 the compensation section was
 referred back to the executive
 rather more on the ground of
 less compensation ~~than~~ ~~was~~
 referred ~~than~~ ~~on~~
 the ground of more compensation.

read. - after
 add words
 resolution
 statement in
 referred
 using the
 tried, but
 the minutes
 as correct.

2, Howard Swan,
 part
accord

9th April 1898.

Of course if I had pressed ^{more} ^{strongly} ^{probably} ^{would} ^{have}
my motion the ~~secretary~~ ^{secretary} would
have supported their secretary,
and my action would have
looked like censure on you
which was the last thing I
had in my mind.

I think that the
minute should have read
that the section was referred
back to the executive to
reconsider the question of
compensation - without saying
any thing about more or less.

Probably you will now agree
with this.

I hope when you tract
is brought before the society
that this question of compensation
in relation to ^{the} ^{work} ^{done} ^{will} ^{be} ^{well} ^{threshed} ^{out}.
We are very far from

knowing our own minds about it.
Yours sincerely
Charles Cherrington.

is. -
e read. - after
add words
to resolution
statement in
referred
aring the
ried, but
the minutes
as correct.

Howard Swan,
ac Dowd

Annual Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 13th May 1898. —

1. J.R. Macdonald was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed. —
3. The draft annual report was ~~so~~ considered paragraph by paragraph. The only amendments proposed, (excepting the deletion of the reference to the Newcastle F.S.) failed to find seconders, and the Report was unanimously adopted, together with the accounts for the year. — The Secretary, in the course of the discussion gave an account of the operations of the Hutchinson Trustees during the past year. —
4. Arising out of the discussion of the accounts it was moved by J. Andrews & agreed that the Executive be instructed

whenever possible to ~~from~~ ^{ask} ~~from~~ ask the travelling & hotel expenses of lecturers sent into the country from the local organisations benefitting by the services of the lecturers. -

5. Amendment to Rules. Miss Morten in accordance with notice moved amendment to reduce the number of the Executive Com^{tee} to 5. Robert Steele seconded, G. Standring, E.R. Pease, & others opposed. After considerable debate the motion was rejected by 32 (at least) to 10. -

6 Tract 83. State Arbitration & the Living Wage, & Tract 84 The Economics of Direct Employment were proposed by H.W. Macrosty on behalf of the Exec. - after short debates both were approved. -

May 13. Annual Meeting, open to Members only.

AGENDA.

- (1) Draft Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for discussion and adoption.
- (2) Amendment to Rules. Motion by Honnor Morten: Rule 3, line 3 (Number of the Executive Committee).—That the word "fifteen" be deleted, in place thereof the word "five" be inserted.
- (3) Motions by the Executive Committee: That a Tract (proof of which is sent herewith) on Compulsory State Arbitration in Labor Disputes, be approved.
- (4) That a Tract on Economics of Direct Employment be approved. This is a reprint of parts of The Economic Heresies of the L.C.C., a paper read to the British Association, by Sidney Webb, in 1894. It is entirely non-contentious. Copies of proof can be supplied to any Member.

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J. F. Oakes

27.V.98

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
27th May 1898.

1. J. F. Gakeshott was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were read by Sydney Olivier in the absence of the Secy, & were confirmed.
3. Hubert Bland gave his lecture on

May 27th. "Frederick Nietzsche: a Child in a China Shop."
By HUBERT BLAND.

SYLLABUS.—The retreat of the anti-Socialists upon science and philosophy—Darwin as Champion—"The Descent of Man"—Nietzsche, his position in Europe—the gap in Evolution—the physiological test—"The Transvaluation of all Values"—the duty of becoming hard—his attack on Richard Wagner—his onslaught upon Christianity—the religion of slaves—the malady of sympathy—war—the folly of being conscientious—his scorn of democracy—his views of women—and of certain eminent persons—the positive side of his teaching—the ethics of the jungle and the Higher Man—the Ass-Festival—where Nietzsche is useful.

~~and a discussion~~ question
which was followed by questions &
a discussion. —

J. W. Martin

~~Minutes~~ Meeting ~~at~~ at Cliffords Lane (47)
on 10th June 1898.

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The Secy explained that he could not read the minutes because the book had not been in his possession since last meeting.
3. He announced that the sales of Tract 82 had been very satisfactory, 16000 having been distributed in 6 weeks. -
4. He further announced that the Executive Com^{ee} had decided to call a Com^{ee} in order to assist the Political Prisoners now being tried in Milan.
5. Sydney Olivier Ken gave his lecture on

June 10. "Emile Zola as Artist and as Doctrinaire."

By SYDNEY OLIVIER, C.M.G.

SYLLABUS.—The Inevitable Preliminary Controversy. The Zola Bogey. Reprobation of his Subjects and his Methods. Why the Lecturer began to read Zola: why he went on, and why, but for the purpose of this occasion, he had ceased to read him. The Rougon-Macquart Series. The Trilogy. Zola's Art. Zola's Doctrine. Limitations of both: throwing back the tremendous force of the man into practical revolt against institutions.

which was followed by questions, and a discussion in which J.W. Martin, T.J. Cobden Sanderson & the Chairman took part. —

6. A proposal was made to send a message of sympathy to M. Zola ~~in~~ in connection with the Dreyfus affair. — after debate a vote of urgency was moved, but was not carried, & the proposal therefore fell to the ground. —

J.W. Martin.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday (40)
24th June 1898.

1. J. W. Martin was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. Harry Snell then gave his lecture
on

June 24. "Malthus after a Century of Criticism."
By HARRY SNELL.

SYLLABUS.—Social Conditions in 1798. The Principle of Population. The subsequent Criticism. The Law of Diminishing Returns; its precise importance in the Malthusian case. The Support derived from Darwinism. Its Limitations. National Welfare and a Stationary Population. Socialism and the Birth Rate. The Real Population Problem. Socialist Proposals and the Outlook.

A debate followed in which
Dr. Duzdale, A. J. Murrill,
J. M. Robertson, Mr. Bloch,
Dr. Alice Vickery, Hubert Bland,
Mr. Paul Robin (late president
of the French Malthusian League)
& J. R. Macdonald took part.
Charles Chompton
14th Oct 98.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 14th Oct. 98. -

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. The Sec. announced that that day sales of Tracts had amounted to 4400, which was a record, & that the total sales of the Compensation Tract amounted to 106500. -
4. Prop of Tract 86, Municipal Drunk Traffic was then considered. ~~After~~ a long debate, followed, in ~~which~~ the course of which many amendments were adopted or rejected, & ~~finally~~ on its conclusion the meeting terminated. -

Robert Kland

(99)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday Oct 28th 1898

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. Mr. Wm Ashton Ellis then read his lecture on

OCTOBER 28. "Richard Wagner's Social Philosophy."

By WM. ASHTON ELLIS.

SYLLABUS.—The man, the artist, the writer. Early impressions (July Revolution, 1830); 1848 and its Dresden sequel in 1849; how far was Richard Wagner a practical revolutionary? The artist as reformer; "Siegfried's Death," "Jesus of Nazareth," "The Mastersingers." Paper read at a political club in 1848, and contributions to a political journal in 1849; "Art and the Revolution," "State and Religion," "Religion and Art." "Parsifal," and the close of a great life.

A debate followed in which Charles Charrington, S. Olivier, L. A. Toke, F. W. Heydon, Mr. Ashton Johnson & Russell Scott took part. —

Frederick Whelan

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Nov. 11th 1898.

- (1) Frederick Wexler was elected chairman
- (2) The minutes were confirmed
- (3) Sydney Olivier read his paper on

Nov. 11. "George Meredith's Writings: A Side-view
on Tendency."

By SYDNEY OLIVIER.

SYLLABUS.—Preliminary Exhortation. The Fabian Basis and Aims: what view do they prescribe for the Novelist? Attempt to focus Socialist doctrine in Mr. Meredith's novels. Refractory and unedifying result. The Lecturer's personal view. Confession and explanation of prejudice. Distinction between the Author and the Society: why former has no Basis: why his limits and conventions are different. Mr. Meredith as Force. Democratic and Aristocratic forms of force. Mr. Meredith's transitions.

A debate followed in which
Charles Charrington, H. D. Pearsall,
R. G. Dell, Hubert Bland, H. S. Salt,
F. S. Green, ^{F. Wether} & others took part.

Salut
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Meeting at Cliffords Inn 25 Nov. 98. (50)

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman.
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. R. A. Peddie moved urgency to discuss the L.C.C. & Sunday Concerts. The motion was seconded & adopted with one dissentient
4. H. W. Macrosty moved resolution afterwards worded as below. It was seconded, & carried again with only one dissentient :-
Resolution.

"That this meeting of the Fabian Society condemns the
"action of the County Council and especially of the
"Progressive majority in practically prohibiting Sunday
"Concerts at the Queen's Hall."

5. Prof. W. a. S. Hewins then gave his lecture on

over

Nov. 25. "Imperial Policy in relation to the Social Question."

By Prof. W. A. S. HEWINS

(Director of the London School of Economics).

SYLLABUS.—The historical relation between "national policy" and social questions. The principles of the Mercantile System. National consolidation and social legislation. The influence of the doctrine of *laissez faire*. The divorce of domestic from foreign policy, and of industrial from commercial questions. The neglect of the theory of international trade in social economics. "Imperial Policy" defined. Probable influence of the conception on (i) economic theory, (ii) concrete problems. Rejection of the view that "Imperial Policy" will prove unfavorable to the consideration of social problems.

and a debate followed in which
H. W. Macrot, Chas. Charrington,
Hubert Bland, R. A. Peattie, C. A. Pease
T. Wright & others took part.

Charles Charrington
9th Dec. 1898.

Meeting on Dec. 9th 1898 at Cliffords Inn. (51)

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. John M. Robertson then gave his lecture on

Dec. 9. "Dostoievsky."

By JOHN M. ROBERTSON.

SYLLABUS.—Dostoievsky's bias. Abnormal gift of sympathy with suffering. Equally abnormal power of presentation. Early life and experience. The mystery of his political offence. His complete subordination of doctrine to art. His indictment of society all the more decisive. Comparison of Dostoievsky with Tourguenief and Tolstoi. His unequalled intensity of perception a pathological symptom. His physiological history. Final surrender of judgment to temperament. The spirit of non-resistance pathological. Artistic achievement none the less immortal. Dostoievsky one of the great artists of all literature.

and a debate followed in which
H. W. Macrosty, Fenton McPherson
Mr. Haden Guest, & Hubert Bland
took part. —

H. W. Macrosty.
—

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Jan 13 1899

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. Mr G. H. Ferris Ken gave a lecture entitled

Jan. 13. "Tolstoy and Socialism." By G. H. PERRIS.

SYLLABUS.—Tolstoy as result: Russia, aristocracy, war, scepticism, the Russian mind. As cause: his art; his "conversion"; his ethical-anarchist propaganda. Moral: the insufficiency of a materialist Socialism, a militarist Socialism, an industrial Socialism, a national Socialism, a Fabian Socialism.

which was followed by a debate
in which Messrs Standring,
Bland, Muggerridge Heydon,
Haden Guest, Green (F.E.) Charrington,
McPherson, Ratcliffe, & others
took part.

S. J. Hobson

(2)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
27 Jan 7 1899. —

1. S. S. Hobson was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. Sidney Webb gave an address on

Jan. 27. "Some Impressions of Australasia."

By SIDNEY WEBB.

SYLLABUS.—General contrast between the Australasian Colonies and the United States. The "Fabianism" of New Zealand. The Queensland "Socialism in our time" and its results. The Labor Parties of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia. Federation and its difficulties.

and after numerous questions, a speech was made by Keaton W. P. Reeves & the meeting concluded. —

H. Myer-Burne

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
24th Feb. 1899. —

1. H Morgan Brown was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy reported on the Record order for 20000 Tracts & drew attention to the Child-Labour Bill of March 12th the Jarvis &c. Dinner, & the S.D.F. Peace Demⁿ. —
4. # John G. Matthews then read his paper on

Feb. 24. "Municipalization and the Port of London."

By J. E. MATTHEWS.

SYLLABUS. — Introductory. Legal Quays Monopoly 1582 to 1803. Parliamentary Reports, 1790 to 1803. Neglect of Port by City Corporation. West India Docks, 1803. London Docks, 1806. Present Condition. Docks, River Wharves and Moorings. Coal Derrick Monopoly. Cattle Wharf Monopoly. Want of a Port Authority. Superabundance of Port Authorities. London an expensive Port. London a Cheap Port. Correctness of both Statements. Riverside and Dock Labor. State of Tideway. Dredging, Buoyage, etc. Commission appointed, 1894. Report, 1896. State of the Port's Trade. Other Ports, comparative Volume and Percentage. Conclusion: One Port Authority, strongly Municipal.

A debate followed in which J. Mc Killop, Fenton MacPherson, Chas. Charrington & C. R. Allen Jr. took part.

Sydney Oliver
Chair. 3 Nov 99

Members Meeting at Lower Essex Hall
on Friday March 3rd 1899. —

(53)

1. Sydney Oliver was elected chairman.
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. On the motion of the Secy on behalf of the Exec. it was agreed that a Welsh Translation of Tract 78, Socialism & the Teaching of Christ, by Dr. Clifford, be issued as a Tract —
4. On the motion of the Secy Messrs Linscheer Thompson & Trining were appointed auditors.
5. Frederick Whelen on behalf of the Executive introduced the subject of the London Cooks Bill, & proposed the annexed resolutions.
An amendment to
The first resolution, beginning with an expression of approval of the Bill was after debate carried by a large majority. — a rider to add "objection to the cooption of aldermen" was

carried. Other amendments were made. A resolution to adjourn the discussion was defeated; and ultimately the resolutions as amended were adopted. —

Amid the mass of criticisms upon the new London Bill very few are worth so much attention as those embodied in a string of resolutions just passed by the Fabian Society. They will have all the more weight with both sides because the Society frankly welcomes the Bill and declares its belief that notwithstanding many and great faults, it can be made, if not into a very good measure, at least into one that should be, in the main, healthy and progressive. The tone of the resolutions is friendly, and the temper in which the society discussed and adopted them was admirable for its sweet reasonableness. "We want the Bill," said the expert in London Government who led the discussion. All the same, it cannot be overlooked that the detailed criticisms which the resolutions contain are rather sharply contrasted with the Society's anxiety to bless the Bill in general. They mean, in effect, that if the Bill is to be purged of its faults and strengthened on its good side, a particularly drastic process of amendment, or rather reconstruction, will be necessary. Many of the objections have necessarily been forestalled by other progressive critics of the Bill, such, for example, as the fact that it does nothing for Unification, that its financial provisions are particularly weak, that the basis of the new boroughs—population and ratable value, instead of area—is a mistake, and so on. Where the Fabian criticism parts company with the general trend of progressive opinion is in its acceptance of the Boundary Commission. Clearly the Society is of opinion that London will be better divided up by a Commission, than by means of a schedule in the Bill. But, apart from that extremely knotty point, the bulk of the objections and amendments made by the Fabian Society are valuable and pertinent. Such, for example, is its condemnation of the system of election by thirds annually, the addition of co-opted members to all committees indiscriminately—a most mischievous provision—the transfer of powers at the uncontrolled discretion of the Privy Council, the grant of powers to promote and oppose Bills and to alienate land. Further, the Fabians support the prin-

J. F. Oakerhott
10 March 1899

ciple of concentrating all local work on one effective local authority. That, as all Progressives agree, is one of the first essentials. But it is one of the things that the Bill does not do. On the whole, these resolutions strike us as admirably sensible and practical. All active citizens would do well to weigh them carefully, and press them upon London Members and on all persons whose influence can be made to tell in the campaign.

We publish to-day a rough sketch-map of the new divisions of London proposed by the Government Bill. These are marked by thick lines. Lighter lines surround the districts which are left to the Boundary Commission. We print also the full text of the resolutions of the Fabian Society, the most thoughtful and thorough-going criticisms on the Bill we have yet read.

RESOLUTION 1—

GENERAL.

The Fabian Society welcomes the fact that the need for reform in London government has at last secured the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers. The Society approves the consolidation and strengthening of the local governing bodies, especially the abolition of indirectly elected district boards and the limitation of the number of elected representatives. It condemns, however, the absence from the Bill of any attempt to secure the unification of London government and affirms its adherence to the principle laid down in the Report of the Unification Commissioners "that the government of London must be entrusted to one body exercising certain functions throughout all the areas covered by the name, and to a number of local bodies exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London."

RESOLUTION 2—

AREAS.

The Fabian Society approves the appointment of a Boundary Commission. It maintains, however, that in the formation of the new boroughs by the Commissioners, existing boundaries should be the main consideration rather than population and rateable value as proposed in the Bill, and further that in the delimitation of new local areas, uniformity for all governmental purposes and for the preparation of the register of electors should be regarded as a matter of first importance.

RESOLUTION 3—

AMENDMENTS WANTED.

The Fabian Society condemns the system of election by one-third annually instead of a complete triennial election, the addition of co-opted members to all committees indiscriminately, the co-option of aldermen, the provisions for the future transfer of powers from the L. C. C. to the boroughs, especially of the Building Act powers, at the uncontrolled discretion of the Privy Council, the grant of powers to promote and oppose bills and to alienate land. The Fabian Society considers that the L. C. C. should retain its present powers of sanctioning loans, permitting the closing of roads for repairs, and of administering the Building Act, 1894 (except as to the "agreed powers"), and generally of making bye-laws and acting in default of a borough council. Further the eligibility of women for the councils should be made clear. To avoid clashing with other elections the Borough Councils should be elected in May, the first election to be held in May, 1900.

RESOLUTION 4—

RATING.

Regarding London as a municipality, not as a congeries of vestries, the Fabian Society considers the unification of finance as a matter of primary importance. The Borough Councils should prepare annual budgets for submission to the central authority, *i.e.*, the L. C. C., which should have power to disallow items, subject to an appeal to the Local Government Board. The approved sums should then be raised by an equal rate over the County of London, at least as regards all common services such as paving, lighting, scavenging, &c., while the disallowed items should be left to a local rate. The assessment committees appointed by each Borough Council for the whole borough should work under rules drawn up by the L. C. C. and approved by the Local Government Board, and the duties of overseers should be conferred on the Councils. In any case, even if a complete measure be not adopted, since the present Bill will increase local expenditure, it should be accompanied by provisions for further equalisation.

RESOLUTION 5—

POOR LAW.

The Fabian Society supports the principle of concentrating all local work on one effective local authority and is of opinion that the powers in connection with the Poor Law now exercised through Boards of Guardians should be transferred to the new councils and be administered by means of statutory committees composed of members of the councils with additional co-opted members, on the analogy of the Technical Education Board of the L. C. C.

RESOLUTION 6—

ASYLUMS BOARD.

The Fabian Society considers that in the interests of good government and economy the Metropolitan Asylums Board should be abolished and its functions transferred to a statutory committee of the L. C. C.

RESOLUTION 7—

UNIFICATION.

The Fabian Society is of opinion that the introduction of the Bill should be taken as an opportunity for harmonising the position of the City of London with the rest of the metropolis by including in the measure the provisions for amalgamation recommended by the Unification Commission.

THE LONDON BILL.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY'S
RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at a specially summoned meeting of the Fabian Society on March 3rd, 1899:—

GENERAL.

Resolution 1.

The Fabian Society welcomes the fact that the need for reform in London government has at last secured the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers. The Society approves the consolidation and strengthening of the local governing bodies, especially the abolition of indirectly elected District Boards, and the limitation of the number of elected representatives. It condemns, however, the absence from the Bill of any attempt to secure the unification of London government, and affirms its adherence to the principle laid down in the Report of the Unification Commissioners "that the government of London must be entrusted to one body exercising certain functions throughout all the areas covered by the name, and to a number of local bodies exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London.

AREAS.

Resolution 2.

The Fabian Society approves the appointment of a Boundary Commission. It maintains, however, that in the formation of the new boroughs by the Commissioners, existing boundaries should be the main consideration rather than population and ratable value as proposed in the Bill, and further that in the delimitation of new local areas uniformity for all governmental purposes and for the preparation of the register of electors should be regarded as a matter of first importance.

AMENDMENTS WANTED.

Resolution 3.

The Fabian Society condemns the system of election by one-third annually instead of a complete triennial election; the addition of co-opted members to all committees indiscriminately; the co-optation of Aldermen; the provision for the future transfer of powers from the L.C.C. to the boroughs, especially of the Building Act powers at the uncontrolled discretion of the Privy Council; the grant of powers to promote and oppose Bills and to alienate land. The Fabian Society considers that the L.C.C. should retain its present powers of sanctioning loans; permitting the closing of roads for repairs; and of administering the Building Act, 1894 (except as to the "agreed powers"); and generally of making bye-laws and acting in default of a Borough Council. Further, the eligibility of women for the Borough Councils should be made clear. To avoid clashing with other elections, the Borough Councils should be elected in May, the first election to be held in May, 1900.

RATING.

Resolution 4.

Regarding London as a municipality, not as a congeries of Vestries, the Fabian Society considers the unification of finance as a matter of primary importance. The Borough Councils should prepare annual budgets for submission to the central authority, i.e., the L.C.C., which should have power to disallow items, subject to an appeal to the Local Government Board. The approved sums should then be raised by an equal rate over the County of London, at least as regards all common services, such as paving, lighting, scavenging, etc., while the disallowed items should be left to a local rate. The assessment committees appointed by each Borough Council for the whole borough should work under rules drawn up by the L.C.C., and approved by the Local Government Board, and the duties of overseers should be conferred on the Councils. In any case, even if a complete measure be not adopted, since the present Bill will increase local expenditure, it should be accompanied by provisions for further equalisation.

POOR LAW.

Resolution 5.

The Fabian Society supports the principle of concentrating all local work on one effective local authority, and is of opinion that the powers in connection with the Poor-Law now exercised through Boards of Guardians should be transferred to the new councils and be administered by means of statutory committees, composed of members of the councils, with additional co-opted members, on the analogy of the Technical Educational Board of the L.C.C.

ASYLUMS BOARD.

Resolution 6.

The Fabian Society considers that in the interests of good government and economy the Metropolitan Asylums Board should be abolished, and its functions transferred to a Statutory Committee of the L.C.C.

UNIFICATION.

Resolution 7.

The Fabian Society is of opinion that the introduction of the Bill should be taken as an opportunity for harmonising the position of the City of London with the rest of the Metropolis, by including in the measure the provisions for amalgamation recommended by the Unification Commission.

TRADE DISCOVERY IN BOLTON

(55)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on 10th March 1899.

1. J. F. Oakeshott was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. Mr. Herbert Paul then gave his address on

Why Vote Liberal

and a debate followed in which

Hilbert Blund, S. G. Hobson, H. W. Macrae,
A. F. Marnock, Pete Curran & S. Olivier
took part.

Mar. 10. "Why Vote Liberal?" By H. W. PAUL.

SYLLABUS.—Because Liberals oppose (1) Wasteful Expenditure on Foreign Policy, which extends without strengthening the Empire; (2) Endowment of a class or a sect at the expense of the community. And they advocate (3) Religious Equality, as, for instance, Disestablishment and Unsectarian Education; (4) Direct Taxation, thrown upon those best able to bear it; (5) Manhood Suffrage, and the practical removal of all pecuniary qualifications for Parliament; (6) Relief of Rates by rating property now exempted; (7) Transfer of control of the Licensing System from irresponsible magistrates to the people; (8) Making receipt of rent for dwellings unfit for human habitation a crime; (9) Providing the industrious poor with a decent maintenance in their old age.

a.m. Davies

WHY VOTE LIBERAL ?

A "Daniel" Among the Lions.

[SPECIAL TO "THE ECHO."]

Mr. Herbert Paul, late M.P. for S. Edinburgh, gave the Fabian Society last night a number of reasons why they should vote Liberal. They were very old reasons—antique, one member of the society called them. Mr. Paul declared himself emphatically against the Imperialist section of the Liberal Party. The foreign policy he supports is that of Cobden, Gladstone, and Bright; the policy of consolidation not expansion, of peace on any honourable terms, and not of war at the moment when it is most convenient to ourselves. He utterly dissents from the pathetic fallacy that trade follows the flag, and from the maxim that territory is everything. Then Mr. Paul went over the chief things in the programme of the Liberal party as he understands it—opposition to wasteful expenditure, religious equality, direct taxation, manhood suffrage, licensing reform, the House of Lords, provision for the aged poor and so on.

The Fabians were not impressed. They liked Mr. Paul, apparently, though his excessively leisureed, academic manner is trying to an audience accustomed to speakers who condense their language and sharpen their points. "Do I sleep; do I dream?" they seemed to say, as the lecturer drew out of his stores things so very old that, as he was cheerfully told, they had actually ceased to be shibboleths.

Mr. Paul was early-Victorian, they said; young in years, may be, but wonderfully ancient in ideas. The Fabians laughed good-humouredly at his list of promised reforms. They patted him encouragingly on the head. And, we deeply regret to add, they declined to vote Liberal, if the thing set forth last night be Liberalism. Happily, it was not.

(96)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
March 24th 1899. —

1. A. M. Davies was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. On the motion of the Sec-y, R. A. Peddie,
& C. R. Allen Jr. were elected Scrutineers
for the forthcoming Executive Election.
4. H. W. Macrosty then read his
paper on

Mar. 24. "George Gissing." By H. W. MACROSTY.

SYLLABUS.—At last, a sociologist! Imaginative biography.
Apprentice time. Money the basis of Society. The
nether world. The middle classes. Commercial classes.
Money and literature. The ideal man of culture.
Remedies and politics. Woman and education. Wo-
man and industry. Pessimism. Imperialism.

A debate followed in which
Hubert Bland, G. G. Desmond,
A. G. Murrill, F. S. Green, J. E. Matthews,
Charles Charrington & R. W. Anderson
took part.

John Mac

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 14 April 99. —

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy reminded members of the importance of voting at the Exec. Election. —
4. Mr Harold Hodge ~~was~~ gave his lecture on

April 14. "Why Vote Tory?" By HAROLD HODGE
(Editor of the SATURDAY REVIEW).

SYLLABUS.—Because Toryism is based on two fundamental facts of human nature—the religious instinct and the national instinct: it accordingly takes the State and not the Individual as the unit of action: it develops on biological lines: its operation is a growth and not a mechanical process.

A debate followed in which
R. S. Bell, Charles Charrington, A. J. Marriott,
Hubert Bland Hayden Guest, Frederick
Wheler & R. W. Anderson took part.

J. M^{rs}. Green
28. iv. 99.

(59)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on 28 April 1899.

1. J. Fred. Green was elected Chairman

2. The minutes were confirmed

3. The Sec. announced the result of the Exec. election & invited members to purchase tickets for the May Day Gala on May 1st, & the L.N.P. Gala on May 2nd -

4. J.R. Macdonald then read his paper on

April 28. "Björnstjerne Björnson, the Radical."

By J. R. MACDONALD.

SYLLABUS.—Norwegian nationalism and literature. The raw material of Björnson. The evolution of his literary conceptions; his characteristic work from *Symjöne Solbakken* to *In God's Way*. His Radicalism: 1. Political; 2. Ethical; 3. Sociological (a) education and heredity, (b) the position of women.

and a short debate followed in which Mr Braekstad & F. E. Green took part. —

Charles Charrington
12th May 1899.

Annual Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 12th May 1899. —

1. Charles Charrington was elected
Chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting
were confirmed.
3. The Annual Report was considered
& discussed paragraph by
paragraph. No amendments
were moved, & the report was
adopted nem. con.
4. Moved by H. W. Macrosty on behalf
of the Exec. & adopted nem
con
5. Moved by A. M. Davies, & duly seconded

That the article in the *Contemporary Review*, by H. W. Macrosty, entitled 'The Growth of Monopoly in British Industry,' be printed and issued as a Tract with his name." (This Tract is entirely uncontroversial, and it is not intended to send proofs to members.)

macro

(a) "That the Fabian Society considers that legislative and municipal interference with Sunday work should take the form of the establishing of a minimum of weekly leisure for employed persons, and not that of the prohibition of work on a particular day."

Amendment to substitute in line 2 the words "continuous seven day" for "Sunday" was adopted, & the resolution thus amended was carried with one dissentient. -

b. A. M. Davies then moved the second resolution, viz: -

(b) "That in the absence of any efficient guarantee that the production of a seven-day newspaper will not involve a seven days working week for some or all of the newspaper staff, and in the absence of any public demand for Sunday newspapers of similar character to those published on other days, the Society protests against seven-day newspapers as an objectionable innovation."

an amendment not to interfere with Sunday papers having been defeated a resolution to proceed to the next business was carried, & the motion was thereby shelved.

7. F. Wheeler, for J. F. Oakeshott, reported on certain alterations in statistics about to be made in the revised edition of Tract 5 Facts for Socialists.

J. W. Martin
May 26/99

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on May 26th 1899. -

1. J. W. Martin was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of last meeting were confirmed.
3. Sidney Webb then opened the Education discussion, & moved "that Resolutions 1-6, marked -A be generally approved. Graham Wallas followed, & moved an amendment-resolution which subsequently was by consent deferred. -
After further debate & reply of Webb, W. B. Hodgson & S. G. Hobson moved & recorded an amendment to omit resolutions 4, 5, & 6. - Amendment lost, 8 votes for & a majority against. - Sidney Webb's resolution was then adopted, only 4 voting against it. -
4. Resolution of Graham Wallas to refer

Back the resolutions to the Executive in order that they be remodeled so as to carry out more fully the principle set out in clause 3 was then put & lost by a large majority, only 7 voting for it.

5. Resolution to adjourn debate on Resolutions 7 to 16. "B" was then proposed. Bland opposed, but the adjournment was carried by a large majority. -

For resolutions see next page. -

Sydney Oliver
Chair, 23 June 99

Fabian Society.

A MEMBERS' MEETING (to which strangers will only be admitted by special invitation) will be held at Clifford's Inn, next 187 Fleet Street, on Friday, at 8 p.m.,

May 26. A Discussion on "The Education Muddle and the Way Out."

The present clashing of Educational Authorities; the spheres of the School Board and County Council respectively in London and the County Boroughs; the claim of the Non-County Boroughs to Educational autonomy; the special difficulties of the Rural School Boards. What should be the Educational Authorities for (a) London; (b) the County Boroughs; (c) the Non-County Boroughs and populous Urban Districts; and (d) the smaller Urban Centres and the Rural Districts?

Graham Wallas, M.L.S.B., Sidney Webb, L.C.C., and others conversant with the subject have promised to take part.

The following draft resolutions have been prepared by the Executive Committee, in order that members may have all the points clearly before them, and may be enabled more easily to follow the discussion. They will be put to the meeting if time permit.

A.—General Principles.

1.—That the present educational machinery is both defective and inadequate, and ought to be promptly reformed, especially as regards (a) concentration of central control; (b) secondary education; (c) the supervision and management of primary education in the rural districts; and (d) the want of co-ordination and overlapping in the towns between School Boards and Town Councils (in London, the County Council).

2.—That all educational institutions in any way assisted out of public funds should be made subject, not only to the control of Parliament, but also to the inspection of a single government department, to be charged with responsibility for every kind and grade of the education of the nation; and (with the exception of the universities and other institutions of national character unaided by any local authority) also to the supervision of an elected local authority.

3.—That it is desirable that all the branches of each public service in any locality should be under the control of a single, responsible, public body; and that it is therefore advisable that both the primary and the secondary grades of education, whether in literary, scientific, commercial or technological subjects, should be under one and the same local authority.

4.—That the practical drawbacks of electing a separate body ("*ad hoc*") for each public service, outweigh any advantages of such an arrangement; and that this applies no less to education than to other public functions.

5.—That the best form of local government is that which concentrates in a single elected body for each locality all the public business entrusted to that locality; and which provides for the administration of the various services by separate committees.

6.—That it is undesirable to increase the number of separate public authorities; and that, whilst it is important not unnecessarily to interfere with existing bodies, any reform should proceed on the lines of concentration and simplification.

B.—Immediately Practicable Proposals

(i.e. HEADS OF THE BILL WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO INTRODUCE NEXT SESSION.)

7.—That the Board of Education should have, subject to the authority of Parliament, powers of inspection, criticism, and audit of all education of every kind and grade, which is maintained or aided out of monies provided by Parliament, or from endowments or trust funds derived from persons deceased; and that the Board should therefore take cognizance, not only of such primary and secondary education as it controls, but also of universities and university colleges, non-local schools, and other endowed educational institutions, army and navy schools, training colleges, poor-law schools, and industrial and reformatory schools and school-ships.

8.—That, so far as regards education in the standards of the Education Code, or under the Evening Continuation Code, no change should be made in the position, powers, or duties of existing School Boards in London, the County Boroughs, and other Boroughs or Urban Districts exceeding 10,000 in population. Provided, however, that any School Board in such Non-County Boroughs or Urban Districts may elect to be dissolved, and to make its district subject, as regards primary education, to the County Council and the uniform County Rate.

9.—Where a School Board has in its schools day pupils above the standards, or evening pupils not working under the Evening Continuation Code, it should continue to administer such schools, but should do so subject to any regulations for the co-ordination of such Higher Grade or other non-primary instruction that may be made by the County Council, subject to appeal by the School Board to the Board of Education.

10.—That all School Boards in districts having a population less than 10,000, and those in more populous Non-County Boroughs or Urban Districts which so elect, should be dissolved, and their property, powers, and obligations transferred to the County Council.

11.—That, in London and the County Boroughs, the authority for education of all kinds above the primary grade should be the County Council acting through a statutory committee, composed of a majority of councillors, and the remainder co-opted members, among whom must be women, and representatives nominated by the School Board and of any other local educational interest.

12.—That in counties other than London and the County Boroughs, the County Council, acting through a similar statutory committee, should be the authority for education of all grades, as well as all kinds, except in respect of primary education in such Boroughs and Urban Districts exceeding 10,000 in population as have and elect to retain separate School Boards.

13.—That the County Councils should, in respect to education, possess the following powers:—

- (a) To inspect, aid, and supply education of all kinds above the primary grade;
- (b) To grant additional aid to primary schools not belonging to a School Board, under the conditions hereinafter specified;
- (c) To undertake such other powers and duties with regard to education as may be devolved upon them from time to time by the Board of Education;
- (d) To expend out of the County Rate, in addition to the "Beer and Whiskey Money," a sum not exceeding threepence in the pound on their educational work.

The above powers to be exercised, and the rate for the necessary expenditure levied, uniformly throughout the whole county; and, in addition, where no School Board exists,

- (e) All the powers of a School Board: special County Rate to be levied for the necessary expenditure uniformly throughout the whole of the county other than the districts for which School Boards exist.

14.—That, in order to increase the efficiency and public control over "voluntary" public elementary schools, the County Council should be empowered, if it thinks fit, to offer to such schools a grant of a sum not exceeding 5s. per scholar per annum, to be expended on the improvement of the teaching staff, or in such other way for increasing the educational efficiency of the school as the County Council may direct, on condition that the owners and managers thereof consent:—

- (a) To allow the County Council to inspect the schools, frame regulations for their administration, and audit their accounts;
- (b) To make all future appointments and dismissals of teachers subject to the confirmation of the County Council;
- (c) To constitute a committee of managers, to be approved by the County Council, which shall invariably include two members to be annually nominated by the Parish, Urban District, Borough or Metropolitan Borough Council as the case may be; meet at least once in every term, appoint its own chairman and clerk, and have brought before it all school business (including the appointment, suspension, or dismissal of teachers, the school log, and the school accounts); be responsible for the whole management of the school; and transmit copies of its minutes annually to the County Council.

Provided that the managers of any "voluntary" school may appeal to the Board of Education in any case of grievance against the County Council.

15.—Where a School Board has been dissolved, the Parish or Urban District Council should be the committee of managers for the schools formerly belonging to such Board, and should exercise such powers, subject to such regulations and conditions as may from time to time be decided on by the County Council.

16.—For the purposes of education other than of primary grade, the County Council should divide the County into suitable Local Districts, and appoint a Local Committee for each district, with such powers (including the administration of any educational institutions within such district, and the dispensing of any grant), and subject to such regulations as it may think fit.

Provided that the Council of any Non-County Borough or Urban District having a population exceeding 10,000 may apply to be constituted a Local District, with or without the addition of adjacent areas, and the County Council shall, if the proposed Local District is suitable, appoint the Council of the Non-County Borough or Urban District, or a committee thereof, with or without additional members, to be the Local Committee for that district: Provided also that the Council of any Non-County Borough or Urban District may, if aggrieved at the way in which any Local District or Local Committee has been formed, appeal to the Board of Education on the subject.

EDW. R. PEASE,

General Secretary.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on June 23rd 1899. —

1. Sydney Olivier was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of last meeting were confirmed.
3. A vote of Urgency having been adopted nem. con. the Secy on behalf of the Exec. moved that the Exec. be authorised to publish a 4 pp. leaflet describing Old Age Pensions in New Zealand. This was agreed to nem con. —
4. Dr. G. F. McCleary then gave his lecture
on

June 23. "Municipalities and Milk."

By G. F. McCLEARY.

SYLLABUS.—Importance of milk as an article of food. Physique largely dependent on food consumed in infancy. Cows' milk increasingly necessary. How milk is adulterated. Milk as an agent for spreading zymotic diseases, especially tuberculosis: tubercular cows 25 per cent. The Remedy:—Municipal control (a) by increased powers of inspection; (b) direct ownership by municipalities and County Councils, as already at Nottingham, Birmingham, &c.

A debate followed in which ~~Mr~~ Guest, Anderson, Macrosty, Shallard, Miss Foster

Miss Nicholson, & L. L. Dodd took part.

5. A further vote of urgency moved by the Secy was agreed to nem. con., & his further motion that the Exec. be authorised to print a leaflet of 4 pages on the series of the lecture was approved without opposition.

J. D. Shallard
21 Sept. 99

Members Meeting at 276 Strand
on Thursday 21st Sep. 1899. —

- (1) S. D. Shallard was elected chairman
- (2) The Minutes of the last meeting were con-
firmed.
- (3) Proof Tract on Irish Railways was discussed
It was ordered to be cut down to 16 pp.,
and was approved. —
- (4) ~~⊗~~ Proof of part of a Tract on Irish Local
Government was submitted. It was
decided that it must be expanded
to 16 pp. & its publication was approved.

N.W. Macaulay

Members' Tract Meeting.

It has been decided to observe the letter and ignore the spirit of the Society's constitution in the following exceptional circumstances:—

For the purposes of the Irish Campaign, which begins in October, it has been decided to issue a Tract on the Nationalization of Irish Railways. This has been prepared by a specialist with unusual promptitude, and is now ready for printing.

The first regular meeting of the Society will not take place till October 13th, and if the Tract were delayed till then, it would, when actually published, be too late by half for its particular purpose.

To avoid this, three courses are open:—

(1) To hold a regular members' meeting at Clifford's Inn in September, which would probably cost about half-a-crown a head for the members attending.

(2) To break the rules, issue the Tract, and ask for a vote of indemnity.

(3) To hold a formal meeting at the office, by which the letter of the rules is observed, and at which any objection to the proposal can be duly made and considered.

The last course has been chosen. A members' meeting will therefore be held on **Thursday, September 21st, at 276 Strand, at 4 p.m.**

AGENDA:—

To consider a Tract on Irish Railway Nationalization.

It need scarcely be said that the Tract is essentially non-contentious. As to details, the Executive will be only too glad to consider any criticisms offered by those who know anything about the subject. Copies of the proof will be sent to any members applying for them. In the improbable event of any serious opposition being made to the issue of the Tract, the discussion of it will be adjourned.

The purpose of the Executive in adopting this exceptional course is simply to carry on the work of the Society efficiently and expeditiously, and there is no desire whatever to deprive members of their right to discuss at full length the publications of the Society.

It is possible that Local Government Tracts on Ireland may also be ready, and, in this case, provided that they are non-contentious, they may also be considered at this meeting.

Meeting of Members interested in Groups
was held at the Office 276 Strand
on 6 Oct. - 1899. -

Present Macrosty (in chair) Wheeler, Pease,
R. W. Anderson, Charrington, J. R. Macdonald, Mrs Macdonald,
Miss Grove, H. S. Pearce, Miss J. Clarke
Miss Mayhew, Miss Matthews, Errington
Scour. Cook, Mrs Greville, W. B. Hodgson, Wray.

1 After General discussion, and explanation
by F. Wheeler of the Exec. Proposals
the following arrangement was provisionally
approved

Hampstead & Harrow.	Sec. Pearce
St. Pancras (Division)	" Miss Mayhew
Islington (")	" Miss Clarke
Central to include rest of old Central & Wotton } & Haggerston & Bell Busk }	Sec. to be selected at Group Mtg at Matthews Rooms. -
Chiswick &c.	F. Bolas
Croydon	
Hackney Divisions only.	Errington

Hammersmith + Fulham

See Spooner (63)

Northern as before

Kensington

" Miss Duff

Chelsea, Westminster

+ St Georges

" Mrs Grove

Paddington + Marylebone

" Miss Hargrave

or Mrs Henderson to be asked.

East London = Old

Poplar Group less Romford

to select their Secy

2. It was agreed to consult Lowman as to South London, Wheeler as to a Kingston Group, H.B. Matthews as to Essex Group. Also that Ealing be worked up. -

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 13th October 1899 at 8 pm.

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected Chairman.
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. Charles Charrington on behalf of the Exec. proposed a leaflet on Municipal Pawnshops. Various amendments were agreed to & the motion was adopted nem con.
4. Geo. Staudring on behalf of the Exec. proposed a leaflet on Municipal Slaughterhouses. a long debate ensued, & a motion to refer the tract back was made & withdrawn. Amendments were agreed to introducing references to the Greener slaughterer, Kosher Inspection, & to replace the word abattoir by Slaughterhouse. ~~on this resolution~~
The motion to adopt the Tract was then carried nem con. —
5. H. W. Macrosty on behalf of the Exec. proposed a Tract on the London Municipal Boroughs. — After debate this was agreed to nem con.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday Oct 27th 1899. —

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The minutes of last Meeting were confirmed
3. Prof. Hewins then gave his lecture on

October 27th ... "Foreign Trade and Foreign Politics."
By Prof. W. A. S. HEWINS
(Director of the London School of Economics).

SYLLABUS.—The actual historical relations between trade and politics, and the *laissez faire* view of what they are or ought to be. Trade as a means of national consolidation. Its influence on foreign diplomacy. Commercial wars. The reaction from the *laissez faire* view. The Neo-Mercantilism of List, and modern British Imperialism. Economic analysis of tendencies of pure competition. The results of trade competition, and their influence on public policy. Illustrations from the modern history of England, the United States, and Germany. Different views of the "functions of the State" in relation to trade. A forecast.

and after many questions a debate
followed in which Sydney Oliver
H.W. Marshall & others took part.

Hubert Bland

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday, Nov^r 10th 1899. -

1. Hubert Bland was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Secy proposed on behalf of the Exec. that the ~~adjourned~~ debate on the Education Resolutions adjourned from 26th May last be forthwith concluded. This was agreed to, nem Con.
4. On the proposal by H.W. Macarty ^{on behalf of the Exec} that the Draft Tract on Education be considered Graham Wallis moved That the Tract be referred back to the Exec. to recast. - This was recorded, & discussed. On a division it was lost by 22 votes to 9. -
5. The discussion on the tract was then proceeded with. Amendments were moved deleting ~~at~~ various passages, ~~but~~ some of which were accepted & others on division lost. -

It was however agreed to recast practically every paragraph considered, & in one case a motion to delete a quotation was carried. —

6. Ultimately it was moved by J. Cash that the tract be referred to a Special Committee to be nominated by the Executive, on the understanding that this Committee would amend the tract on the lines adopted by the meeting, & report that it would be again submitted to the Society. —

This resolution was agreed to with only one dissentient. —

Robert - E. Dell.

(66)

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
24th November 1899. —

1. ~~The~~ Robt. E. Bell was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. The Secretary announced a Members Meeting on Dec. 15th to consider the Housing Question. —
4. Frederick Whelen gave his lecture on

November 24. "England and South Africa."
By FREDERICK WHELEN.

SYLLABUS.—The Colonies, the Republics, and the Protectorates. The Native Races, English and Dutch. The Roots of the War. The Negotiations and the Ultimatum. After the War: The Method of Reconstruction.

& a debate followed in which
Dr. Clarke M.P., Hayden Guest,
Graham Waller, Sydney Oliver, W. Roper,
J.R. Macdonald, & Victor Fisher took part.
Stewart & Hull

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday 8th December 1899.

1. The Rev. Stewart D. Headlam was elected
Chairman.
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. S. G. Hobson moved the following resolution:

"That, in view of the character and tendencies of political and economic ideas which have principally conducted to the present South African war;

"In view, namely, of their antagonism to industrial Democracy at home and of the prejudice which their extension threatens to a settlement, acceptable to Socialists, of the Transvaal economic situation and of pending commercial problems in other foreign countries and British possessions;

"This Society deems it essential to the furtherance of its own special aims that its attitude in regard to the war should be clearly asserted and that its methods of future attack upon capitalist commercialism should be widened in the light of this incident.

"That as it was not the franchise quarrel that really made the war, but on the one hand the aim of establishing British supremacy from the Cape to the Zambesi, on the other the set purpose of the Republics at all costs to maintain their independence, this Society is not called upon to criticize either the Outlanders' political claims or the Boers' policy in regard thereto.

"That the phase of Imperialist passion that has overrun this country of recent years, and is the chief cause of the war, has distracted the attention of the nation from domestic progress; has debased the conscience and lowered the democratic spirit of the English people; has effected a sinister co-operation between professional financiers and the military power; and threatens to involve us in political responsibilities which mean the establishment of militarism as the predominant element in our public life and the paramountcy of the interests that withstand the advance of Socialism.

"The Fabian Society therefore formally dissociates itself from the Imperialism of Capitalism and vain-glorious Nationalism, and pledges itself to support the expansion of the Empire only in so far as that may be compatible with the expansion of that higher social organization which this Society was founded to promote."

(2)

H. This was seconded + then G Bernard Shaw moved:-
as an amendment :-

AMENDMENT BY G. BERNARD SHAW.

"That in view of the character claimed for the South African war by the Government as a disinterested struggle to secure democratic institutions for the Outlanders of the Transvaal, the Fabian Society ventures to remind the public :-

"1. That the time has gone by for regarding the acquisition of a parliamentary vote alone as worth a war. If it were, about a third of the adult male population of these islands, and all the adult women, would be justified in resorting to armed revolution.

"2. That Democratic Institutions in the modern sense imply :-

"(a) the recognition of public rights in the natural resources of the country, and the effective safeguarding of these rights against aggression from the private corporations and individual speculators to whom concessions may be granted for commercial purposes.

"(b) the protection of wageworkers by legislation making due precautions for their health and safety compulsory.

"3. That the country is therefore entitled to expect that in the event of the war being carried to a successful issue, the Government will take steps to :-

"(a) secure public rights in the valuable mines of the Rand by either placing them in public hands, or else exacting in royalties their full economic rent to be expended on public works for the development of the country, after recoupment of a reasonable share of the expenses of the war ;

"(b) insist on a stringent Mines Regulation Act for the protection of miners.

"4. That failing the above Imperial precautions, the only effect of victory will be to deprive the Transvaal of its present institutions under the Boer Republic, and make it the prey of the commercial speculators of all

nations and races whose avowed object is to make private fortunes out of the mines without regard to the public welfare. Such a result would expose the British Government to the charge of being the dupes of these speculators, and of having spent the nation's blood and treasure, and outraged humanity by a cruel war, to serve the most sordid interests under the cloak of a lofty and public-spirited Imperialism.

"5. And finally, since the spokesmen and newspapers of both our political parties, without a single exception, declared before the war that the constitutional grievances of the Outlanders must be remedied in any case, every member of these parties, whether he approves of the war or believes that it might have been avoided by

more skilful diplomacy, is bound to insist that the advance in liberty and good government for which we are professedly fighting shall not be lost sight of in the hubbub of party recrimination, theatrical patriotism, and financial agitation.

"The Fabian Society pledges itself to do its utmost to recall public opinion to the realities of the situation as set forth above, and to press them on both political parties as matters which demand and admit of complete unanimity among disinterested and politically conscientious Englishmen."

5. This was seconded & the Chairman declined either to rule it out of order or to accept the closure.
6. A debate followed in which the following supported the resolution: - Sydney Oliver, Charles Charrington, H. T. Muggidge, R. W. Anderson, Victor Fisher, ^{F. L. S. &} S. G. Hobson, whilst the amendment was generally supported by R. G. Dell, H. Bland, Frederick Wielden, Herbert A. Day, H. W. Macrosty, Hayden Guest, + G. F. Cakeshot.
of show of hands
7. On a division, 27 voted for Shaw's amendment, + 58 against.
8. R. G. Dell then moved the "Previous"

(68) hands was

Question". This was seconded, & a show of hands taken; as the chairman with the assistance of tellers was unable to decide on the numbers for & against he ordered the meeting to divide, & hereafter declared that the previous question was carried by 59 votes to 50. —

Somer Webb

The Fabian Society cannot make up its mind about the war. ... surprising, as a peremptory decision has hitherto been a Fabian characteristic. The previous question was voted last night in the face of a resolution which approved the expansion of the Empire when compatible with the expansion of Fabian principles, and an amendment which accepted the war and called for the confiscation of private property in the Rand mines. It is difficult to see any distinction between Mr. Houson's resolution and Mr. Bernard Shaw's amendment, and perhaps the majority adopted the previous question in sheer bewilderment. Perhaps the fascinating theory that gold mines should belong to everybody will be pounced upon by the Continental Press as evidence that England is making a war of "grab." At any rate, when peace is restored a branch of the Fabian Society ought to enrich Johannesburg.

Fabians and the War.

The Fabian Society met last night to discuss the war. The meeting was a private one, and none but members were able to be present, and there was an understanding that there should be no reports of the speeches published. The meeting was called to discuss a notice of motion by Mr. S. G. Hobson, which, after setting forth that the war was caused by the phase of Imperialist passion which has over-run this country during recent years, and which had distracted the attention of the nation from domestic progress and had debased the conscience and lowered the democratic spirit of the English people, pledged the Fabian Society to support the expansion of the Empire only in so far as that may be compatible with the expansion of that higher social organisation which the society was founded to promote.

Mr. Bernard Shaw moved an amendment to this resolution, which accepted the war and its causes as an accomplished fact, and called upon the Government, at the close of the war, to secure the public rights in the valuable mines of the Rand, and to protect the miners by a stringent Mines Regulation Act. Mr. Shaw further desired to press upon both political parties that it is necessary that the advance in liberty and good government for which they were fighting should not be lost sight of in the hubbub of party recrimination, theatrical patriotism, and financial agitation. Mr. Shaw's amendment was rejected by a small majority, and then a member moved the previous question on Mr. Hobson's resolution, which was carried by 59 votes to 50. The society therefore came to no decision.

Daily Chronicle →
9/12/99

(10)

Members Meeting at Essex Hall, (Council
Chambre) on Dec. 15th 1899. —

1. Sidney Webb was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. The Chairman then introduced the discussion of ~~four~~ five papers on the Housing Problem which were already in type, viz:—
 - (1) The Existing Situation of W. R. C. Phillimore
 - (2) The Powers of local Authorities of Wm Thompson, Ex Alderman of Richmond
 - (3) Consideration of Practical Difficulties as regards Building of H. C. Lander
 - (4) General Principles of F. Lawson Dodd
 - (5) A Bibliography. —
- (H) A debate followed in which Sydney Olivier, C. M. Knowles, F. D. Parrall, J. Colbrook, Bernard Shaw, F. Whelen, J. McNeil, J. G. Edwards, H. R. Aldridge & G. Slater took part, & the Chairman concluded the meeting, after replies by Messrs Thompson & H. W. Macrobert.

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday Jan 12th 1900. —

1. H. W. Macrosy was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
2. Sydney Olivier's paper on the Psychology of Race was read by F. Lawson Dodd

January 12. "The Psychology of Race."

By SYDNEY OLIVIER.

As the lecturer will have left England, his paper will be read by F. LAWSON DODD.

SYLLABUS.—What is Race? The Autochthonous Race. The Historical People or Nation. Physiological Basis of psychical range. The Mingling of Race: as equals, as conquerors and subjects. The persistence of the racial psychical range: its effects in the attitude of subject to conqueror, of woman to man, etc. Fusion by natural common growth. Fusion by reversion to common elementary barbarism. Special scope of special peoples. Illusions of the "Island Race."

A discussion followed in which
S. R. Ratchliffe H. W. Macrosy
Hubert Bland, A. M. Davies
G. B. Shaw & F. L. Dodd took part.
Robt. Abel Edlin

26 - 1 - 1900

Members Meeting at Cliffords Lane (71)
26th January 1900. —

1. R. A. Peddie was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. The Secy announced that F. Lawson Dodd had been elected to the Exec. unopposed.
4. Edw. R. Pease then moved:—

That the Fabian Society regards as a practical proposal deserving cordial support the scheme adopted by the House of Commons Select Committee on the Aged Deserving Poor for pensions of 5s. to 7s. weekly, payable through the Post Office, under the control of a Statutory Committee of the Guardians, to men and women over sixty-five years of age, who for the previous twenty years have not been sentenced for serious crime, or received habitual poor relief (other than medical relief) provided that the applicant has not an income of more than 10s. a week, and has in the past shown reasonable providence, especially by joining a benefit society, the cost of the pensions to be borne by the union, supplemented by a contribution of one half the estimated cost on the basis of population from imperial sources.

The Fabian Society, therefore, without committing itself to approval of every detail in the Report, expresses the earnest hope that the Government will bring in a bill on the lines suggested by Mr. Chaplin and his Committee.

5. It was seconded ^{by G. Andrews} + George Turner moved as an amendment

That the Fabian Society, recognizing that provision for old age should be a national obligation, and that one of the causes for the demand for State pensions in old age is the stigma attached in public estimation to the receipt of Poor Law relief, objects to any scheme of pensions that proposes (1) to make the Guardians, directly or indirectly, the administrative authority; (2) to throw so excessive

a proportion of the cost as one half upon local taxation; (3) to institute any tests, such as the Select Committee suggest, as qualifications to receive the pension.

The Fabian Society, therefore, urges the Government to introduce a bill drawn upon broader and more generous lines than those suggested by the Select Committee.

6 A discussion followed in which
~~J. Brewster~~ G. B. Shaw, W. Crooks
J. Bullock & Charles Charrington
took part.

7. Geo. Standring moved that the debate
be adjourned with a special
instruction to the Executive Comtee
to fix a day for its resumption.
This was put to the meeting &
adopted by a large majority. -

J. Fredth Green
Chk. 9.11.00.

(72)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
ofth February 1900. —

1. J. F. Green was elected chairman
2. The minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. The Secy announced that the voting on the Transvaal War up to date was 176 no & 164 yes. —
4. He further announced that J. R. Macdonald had been adopted as candidate for the L.C.C. at Woolwich by the Trades & Labour Council & he hoped to be accepted by the Progressives. Members were asked to give help. —
5. S. G. Hobson read his paper on

"England and the Far East." By S. G. HOBSON.

SYLLABUS.—The difficulty of definition—an instinctive definition. The play of forces in the Far East. Russia in Asia. Great Britain's position. Germany and France as factors in the situation. The present condition of China. The immediate problem—possible future developments. The Socialist in Chinese Commerce. The Future of China. British Policy in regard thereto.

and a debate followed in which
H. W. Macrosty, J. E. Matthews
Haden Guest, Mr. Hoatson,
Chas. Charrington, E. B. Shaw
Frederick Wullen & Herbert Bland
took part. —

Herbert Bland

(73)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
23rd Feb. 7 1900. —

1. Hubert Bland was elected chairman
 2. The minutes were confirmed
 3. The Secretary reported the result of the Transvaal War & Imperialism vote, viz: 217 * for a Resolution, 259 against, Majority against 42. — He also drew attention to the Housing Conference on March 1st & to the L.C.C. Contest at Woolwich where J.H. Macdonald was a Progressive & Labour Candidate.
 4. Bernard Shaw then gave his lecture on Imperialism, & a debate followed in which S. G. Hobson, H. T. Mugggeridge, C. Charrington, Leslie Toke, H. D. Pearsall & A. J. Marriott took part.
S. G. Hobson.
- over

75

SANE IMPERIALISM.

As Defined by Mr. G. Bernard Shaw.

There was a crowded meeting of the Fabian Society at Clifford's Inn Hall last night to hear Mr. Bernard Shaw on "Imperialism." Mr. Shaw—who for one brief hour almost forgot to be paradoxical—made one jest in earnest, claiming for the Fabian Society, and the stream of tendency which it represents, the invention of Imperialism in its best sense. Then there was Imperial Federation, towards which the attitude of most people had undergone a complete change. For instance, the acceptance at all of the policy of Majuba Hill in 1881 was only possible because the present strong feeling of Imperial Federation had not yet arisen in the breast of any party. The attitude of Conservatives of those days was still fairly expressed in Disraeli's famous declaration about millstones. Now there was a great change in all men's views; not in the old bluster which is old and perpetual, but in Imperialism, which is new.

Whence this change? It is due to the advent of Socialism, the sane—that is, Fabian—variety of which has "knocked on the head" by eternal ridicule the old doctrines—of the old doctrinaires Liberals and of the modern Little Englander—of free trade in Labour, of peasant proprietorship, and of the little peoples with their arcadian, not to say Beotian States. This is not the work of the mere Jingo among us, who were, and are, quite intellectually incapable of anything beyond the music-hall song which has given them a derisive nickname; but of those who, discarding the fallacies of individualism, and taking no shares in the "Rights of Man" flotation, have come to see clearly that the most governed State over the largest area is preferable to a number of warring units with undisciplined ideals.

With regard to Imperial Expansion, you cannot stop it if you would. In every empire there is a centrifugal force driving the more unruly members of society beyond the outer circumference of the State's borders. These men set up Abatias across the border, which, in the interests of good government, must be suppressed. Hence the borders of powerful and responsible States expand till they meet. The world is to the big and powerful States by necessity; and the little ones must come within their borders or be crushed out of existence—not by deep designs of malignant rulers or grasping nations, but by the inexorable march of natural events. There is one point about which the British must be on their guard, and that is their too frequent assumption that Nature, which ordains the expansion of great empires, is Anglo-Saxon.

For the rest the lecturer pointed out, with regard to South Africa, that the sane Imperialist

who dread the reign of Capitalism, let them consider that it is better if Capitalism come that it should in South Africa be under the control of the British Empire rather than of Dutch farmers. For those who look for peace let them reflect that a great federated empire, however alike its origin, puts an end to future wars within its own borders, and by possible alliance with similar great empires hastens the realisation of that peace they desire.

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Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday March 9th—

1. S. G. Holson was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. Bernard Shaw on behalf of the Exec. moved that "Women as Councillors" be issued as a Tract. This was agreed to nem. con. - without debate.
4. J. Bruce Glasier then lectured on

"Ireland as a Social Problem."

By J. BRUCE GLASIER.

SYLLABUS.—A nation not a race. The national sentiment: its persistence and modifications. Typical Scenes. Counter effects of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule crusade and the present war. Irish National Government Department as a possible alternative to a separate Parliament. The Church.

Ireland depleted of capital. Plight of industry. Irishmen not farmers. Curious incidents. Change in standard of living. United Irish League.

Local Government Act. Alacrity and aptitude of the people in using it. Interesting developments. Defects.

Ireland as a field for collectivist enterprise. Danger of Tammanyism. Prospects of a Political Socialist Movement. The Fabian lectures.

Motion by the Executive Committee: "That the Leaflet on 'Women as Councillors' (proof enclosed) be issued as one of the Municipal Series."

A debate followed in which Anderson, Wheeler, Macroft, McNeil, Shaw, Matthews, & Mr. Keating took part.
Charles Channington
22nd March 1900

Meeting at Cliffords Inn 23rd March 1900.

1. Charles Charrington was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. On the motion of the Secy it was agreed that "R. A. Paddie & S. D. Shallard be the scrutineers", but after discussion, on the motion of S. B. Shaw the following rider was agreed to "but in the event of Shallard being unable to act, the Secy be hereby empowered to appoint another member in his place." -
3. A vote of urgency having been adopted, it was agreed verb. con. that the papers prepared for the Housing Conference be issued as a tract with the names of the authors, under the title "The House Famine & how to relieve it".
4. Prof. A. F. Murison then gave his lecture on India

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& a discussion followed in which
Messrs Russell, Digby, Pily & others took part.

FABIAN SOCIETY.

THE next meeting will be at **Clifford's Inn**, next 187 FLEET-STREET, at **8 p.m.**,
on **Friday, March 23rd**:

"INDIA" By Professor A. F. MURISON.

"In India we have got together a splendid system of government. . . I do not think that history has ever known so fair, so just, so equitable, so peaceful, so successful a government as the government by Great Britain of the Empire of India."—SIR HENRY FOWLER.

"I believe we have not done our duty to the people of this land."—LORD MAYO.

"The poorest and most wretched country on the face of the earth."—MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

SYLLABUS.—The Imperial Connexion.—The Native States "in subordinate union"—British India, "the Brightest Gem"—The Benevolent "Trustee"—Spontaneous and solemn Imperial Promises. External Relations.—The North-West Frontier—The Russian Menace—"The Grand Game," and other games—Is the Game worth the Candle?—British Indians in British Colonies.

Internal Administration.—The Pax Britannica—The Official Hierarchy—The final responsibility—"The slow, but in the course of time effective, association with those to whom we come in the character of strangers and conquerors, in the task of working out for themselves a larger and a better political and social ideal" (Mr. Asquith)—Financial Affairs—Industry and Commerce—Public Works (Railways and Canals)—The Significance of Famines—Justice and Police (Union of Judicial and Executive Functions—The Natus—the Chupra and Rangoon cases)—Education—Press and Platform—Sedition and Loyalty.

Looking Forward.—Official Optimism—Front Bench Alliance—Native Aspirations—The Indian National Congress—"Consolidation or Disintegration?"—The Interest of the British Public—The Responsibility of the British Press—The Hope of the Future.

MOTION BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

"That the Papers read at the Housing Conference, with Bibliography, be issued as a Tract, with the authors' names."

Your attendance is requested.

3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., 20th March, 1900.

EDW. R. PEASE, *General Secretary.*

H. D. Naoroji

Meeting at Cliffords Inn 27 April 1900.

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman.
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy as requested gave the result of the Executive Election.
4. Motion of the Exec., moved by R. W. Anderson:
That a tract entitled "Socialism for Millionaires" by Geo. Bernard Shaw—
be issued with his name.
This was agreed to nem con.
5. Charles Charrington then lectured on:—

"Communal Recreation."

By CHARLES CHARRINGTON.

SYLLABUS.—Industry and Recreation. Before the Industrial Revolution—and afterwards. Unintelligent Labor and Pastime for the Idle. The Wickedness of Amusement. The Philanthropist and Private Enterprise. The Non-Productive Hours. The Consumers' Point of View. Recreation, like Housing, mainly a Land Question. Parks and Open Spaces. Sports. Winter Gardens. Transit. The "Public" House. Music and Drama. Processions. The Decorative Arts. Conclusions.

A debate followed in which Mrs. Charrington, Headlin
Shaw, S. G. Hobson, Davis, Mrs. Wood & Pease took part
Robt. McEldrie

11.5.19

FABIANS AND THE WAR.

The Fabian Society has been divided in opinion over the present war. Some weeks ago a meeting of the members was held, at which the policy of the war was discussed, but no decision was arrived at. After that, a requisition was sent in by Mr. S. G. Hobson and others that the society should take a vote of the members as to the advisability of issuing a pronouncement on the war by the society as a whole. This was done, but Mr. Hobson's proposal was defeated, and some twenty members resigned. The annual election for the executive of the society has been turned into a trial of strength by both parties. Mr. Hobson and his friends ran eight candidates on the "Stop-the-war" ticket, whilst Mr. Bernard Shaw led the opposition, and captained an eleven, who took the view that the war was inevitable and must be fought out to the end by the British Empire.

The poll closed last night, but owing to the large number of votes polled, the numbers cannot be ascertained until to-day.

FABIAN EXECUTIVE ELECTION.

Victory of the Imperialists.

The result of the election of the new executive of the Fabian Society was made known on Saturday night. When the votes were counted it was found that the Imperialists had carried ten out of their eleven men, leaving only five seats to the anti-Imperialists. There were nineteen candidates for fifteen seats, and the voting was as follows:—Mr. E. R. Pease (I), 402; Mr. Sidney Webb (I), 389; Mr. J. Bernard Shaw (I), 333; Mr. Charles Charrington (A.I.), 336; Mr. F. Whelen (I), 323; Mr. George Standing (I), 321; Mrs. Bernard Shaw (I), 319; Dr. Mary O'Brien (I), 314; Mr. H. W. Macarthy (I), 314; Mr. J. F. Oakshott (I), 311; Mr. S. G. Hobson (A.I.), 295; Mr. Hubert Bland (I), 292; Mr. Wherry Anderson (A.I.), 291; Mr. Lawson Dodd (A.I.), 268; Mrs. M. A. Macpherson (A.I.), 237. Not elected:—Mr. R. E. Dell (I), 234; Mr. J. E. Matthews, L.C.C. (A.I.), 233; Mr. H. T. Muggerridge (A.I.), 192; and Mr. Edward Norton (A.I.), 175.

If further proof were needed of the pervasiveness of the Imperialistic idea it would be found in the result of the election of the new executive of the Fabian Society, a body which—to put the case very mildly—is quite free from any taint of Jingoism. The election was fought on the question of South African policy, and the Imperialists returned ten out of their eleven candidates, leaving only five seats to their opponents, labelled anti-Imperialists. Mr. E. R. Pease, Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. Hubert Bland are among those who are Britons first, and Socialists afterwards. But the most surprising recruit to Imperialism is Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, to whom hitherto patriotism has been as distasteful as flesh-food, dress-clothes, and Shakespeare. Indeed, as an Irishman, Mr. Shaw has asserted that he has no right to patriotic feeling "either towards the country he has forsaken or towards the country which has ruined her." He is a valuable light-weight in any contest, and we are glad to find that he throws his weight into the right scale of the balance.

FABIAN WAR TACTICS.

BERNARD SHAW DEFEATS THE "STOP-THE-WAR" PARTY.

This afternoon the Fabian Society, who have been sharply divided in opinion about the war, will ascertain exactly the strength of the two camps by means of a contest for the election of the executive council.

In December the society discussed the war without arriving at a decision, and on a proposal to take a vote failing to find acceptance there were resignations to the number of about fifteen. The list included such well-known people as Mr. Walter Crane, the artist, Mr. Pete Curran, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Macdonald.

Captained by Bernard Shaw.

Mr. Edward Pease, the secretary, discussed with a "Star" representative the position to-day.

"Mr. S. G. Hobson and his friends are standing to the number of eight for 15 seats, and some of them are quite unknown. Mr. Bernard Shaw is leading the other side, upon which there are 11 candidates, some of whom would be re-elected in any case. He takes the view that the war was inevitable, and most of the better-known members of the society are with him."

Strictly Constitutional.

"Do you know how the poll is going?" "Not exactly. There were 503 voting papers, of which some are uncounted, but as far as we have gone there is no doubt that Mr. Shaw's view is the one that prevails."

"Does feeling run high among the members?" "Unquestionably, it is very strong, indeed, on both sides."

Asked for a personal opinion as to the wisdom of the vote, Mr. Pease said:—

"It was the constitutional course to take, and I see no objection, therefore, to taking it."

Hobson's Choice.

Mr. Hobson has issued a letter claiming in support for the "Stop the War" eight on the ground that the time has come to strengthen the more advanced section of the society, and to have a majority of the executive pledged opponents of an aggressive national policy.

Shaw's.

To this Mr. Shaw replied deprecating an election on ordinary party lines, but pointing out to his supporters that if these tactics were adopted the scientific answer was to vote for his party only.

"On the outbreak of the war," says G.B.S., "it was assumed by some very active and earnest members of the society that there could be only one opinion on the subject among Socialists. . . . The result (of the vote) showed that we were right; there was a wide division of opinion on the subject, the balance of votes being in our favor."

Two to One.

The "Star" representative asked how far the Fabians had followed the strict party ticket in their vote, and learned that about a third had done so, many more taking almost the exact lists.

"And what are the proportions of the numbers, Mr. Pease?"

"About two to one in our favor."

EARL RUSSELL'S HOME.

...ing as a soldier in South Africa.

THE FABIAN EXECUTIVE.

The results of the ballot for the Fabian Society's Executive show a decided victory, for the party which had declared against the committal of the Society to a definitely anti-Imperialist attitude. The anti-Imperialist section holds five seats out of sixteen. The poll is headed by E. R. Pease, Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, and Charles Charrington.

Colony

Manchester Guardian
(R.W.A.)

The controversy within the Fabian Society on its attitude towards the war has not been correctly described in the press. The election of the new executive practically resulted in a drawn battle between the two sections. Previously, about twenty members, including Mr. Walter Crane, had resigned on the refusal of the Society to pronounce on the war. For the new executive Mr. Bernard Shaw ran a ticket of eleven. The party responsible for this ticket could not be described as "Imperialist." It consisted of men who were opposed to the war but thought that the Society could do no good by making a pronouncement just now; of members who feared a permanent split in the Society as the consequence of the action; and of a small body who support the war as just and necessary. Against this the anti-war party ran a ticket of eight, consisting of three anti-war members of the old executive, two others replacing retired members also opposed to the war, and three new candidates. The result has been that the balance of parties is the same as it was before the election—ten pro-war and non-committal members and five pronounced anti-war members. The eleventh candidate of Mr. Shaw, who was strongly in favour of the war, was rejected.

Herald.

For weeks and months past we have, in common with many others, been trying to convince those whom we are glad to number among our friends upon most questions, that the future policy of this country must be a policy of sound Imperialism, as understood by the system of British colonisation, but we are afraid that our pleadings have often been in vain, and that many of the anti-Imperialists are anti-Imperialists still. There is hope for them even yet. The Fabian Society, from which we should have imagined the Imperialist doctrine banned by common consent, has just elected its execu-

tive, not, as most people would have imagined, on any social or democratic issue, but on the issue of South African Policy, and to the surprise of Fabians and anti-Fabians alike, of eleven Imperialist candidates put forward, ten were returned, including Mr. George Bernard Shaw, and the anti-Imperialists were only able to secure five seats. And thus it is that Mr. Kruger has succeeded in staggering humanity! When Socialism in a tall hat is found taking with such proverbial zeal to this very old British doctrine, we may yet live to hear some rank old Tory exclaiming that some good can come out of Nazareth.

Annual Meeting at Cliffords (71)
Sun 11th May 1900. -

1. R. A. Peddie was elected chairman.
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. The Annual Report & accounts were considered paragraph by paragraph. Various points were discussed, but no amendment was moved, & the report as printed was unanimously adopted.
4. Metropolitan Boro' Councils Questions.
These were discussed at length, & various amendments were adopted, carried or rejected. Over the question of adding "Baths" to workmen's houses, two counts resulted in his, but the chairman put the question a third time, & ^{on} the tellers report, he declared the amendment lost by 27 votes to 30 against. - The resolution moved by H. W. Macroft, that the

part as amended be adopted, ~~was agreed~~
agreed to nem con. -

5. Old age Pensions. The debate adjourned
on Jan 26th was then taken, &
the Chairman called on G. Standing to
resume the discussion. In his absence
it was moved & unanimously agreed
that the order for adjournment be
discharged. -

6. F. E. Green moved a vote of reagency
which was agreed to. -

7. He then withdrew his resolution
as given below, in favour of the
amendment proposed by the Executive.
This was agreed to almost without discussion
& the meeting adjourned. -

Resolution by F. E. Green: "That in view of the approach of a General Election the
Executive prepare for issue a statement of the Society's policy as a Socialist body." -
Amendment by Executive: "That on the approach of the next General Election the
Executive prepare for submission to the Society and publication a constructive criticism
from the Socialist standpoint of the actions and programmes of the various political
parties in their connection with social and economic questions." -

withdrawn
agreed to.

Sg. Hobson
25/5/1900

~~Minutes~~ Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
May 25th 1900. —

1. S. G. Hobson was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last Meeting were confirmed
3. R. W. Anderson moved for the Executive that the Speech of W. C. Steadman M.P. on the 2nd Reading of the Govt. Housing Bill be printed as a tract with his name. —
This ~~note~~^{resolution}, after an unanimous vote of urgency, was agreed to without opposition.
4. Mr Gilbert Murray then gave his lecture on

"The Exploitation of Inferior Races in Ancient and Modern Times" By Mr. GILBERT MURRAY
(late Professor of Greek at Glasgow University).

SYLLABUS.—Division of Labor between Races, higher and lower. Treatment of problem in the Ancient World. What is a Slave? Economical causes of the demand for destitute aliens in Athens. In Rome. Ancient criticisms and protests. Modern analogies. In whose country shall the inferior work? Imported aliens; aliens worked in their own country. Indentures. Tropical agriculture, &c.; fighting. Tests of inferiority; "Bossatura." Conclusions.

which was followed by a debate in which
Mr Menzies, Bernard Shaw, Edw. R. Pease,
& others took Part Hammond

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
June 22nd —

- (1) F. Lawson Dodd was elected chairman
- (2) The minutes were confirmed
- (3) Mr. Emile Garcke ~~was~~ delivered his lecture on

"Municipal Trading in its Relation to Private Enterprise."

By **EMILE GARCKE, M.I.E.E.**

SYLLABUS.—Municipal Enterprise: its present position; its classification; its advantages; its difficulties; its dangers: its effect on private enterprise; the necessity for its limitation; the difficulties of its practical limitation; a solution offered. The audit and publication of municipal accounts; the attitude of Local Authorities towards private enterprise; the use of the veto by Local Authorities; the question of leases; the terms of purchase of undertakings by Local Authorities.

A debate followed in which
W. B. Hodgson, Sidney Webb
Mr. Dixon, & Prof. Bickerton (of
New Zealand) & G. Bernard Shaw
took part. —

Robt. Alteddie

25/9/1900

Members Meeting (called by special circular)
on Tuesday September 25th 1900. — (8)

1. R.A. Peddie was elected chairman
2. The minutes were read & confirmed.
3. The Secretary called attention to the revised edition of Questions for ~~Members~~ Candidates for Parliament, gave a list of Fabian Candidates, & specially asked members in London to assist W.C. Steadman in Stepney. —
4. The chairman then read the standing orders proposed by the Exec. for the meeting, limiting speeches on motions to 5 minutes, & arranging to take amendments at 9. pm. — These were agreed to.
5. Bernard Shaw then introduced the Manifesto proposed by the Executive, which was discussed paragraph by paragraph. Many amendments were agreed to

on ~~his~~ the motion of the introducer. Others were discussed & on a division in most cases negatived. -

- (6). It was resolved to continue this discussion till the ~~whole~~ ^{parts} of the Manifesto dealing with Foreign & Military affairs were completed.
- (7) A motion to omit the paragraphs on Army Reform was discussed, & on a division was defeated.
- (8) When the portion above referred to had been discussed, E. B. Shaw moved that the Manifesto as amended be approved.
- (9) A. J. Throgood moved as an amendment:-
That this meeting whilst appreciating the efforts made by the Executive to arrive at a greatest-common measure declaration on the attitude of the Society to political & economic questions, is of opinion that the proposed manifesto lacks force & initiative

in its proposals, for the furtherance of Socialist ideas, & that this meeting of the Society cannot consent to the publication in its name of a document calculated to bring Fabian Socialism into ridicule & contempt". - J. Andrews recorded, H. T. Muggidge supported, & Sidney Webb opposed. - After other speeches the amendment was defeated by a large majority, only 13 hands being held up for it.

10. F. L. Dodd then moved as a further amendment:-

"That the Fabian Society requests the Executive Committee to divide the Manifesto into the following parts:-

(1) Dealing with foreign policy, Imperial policy, South Africa, Army Reform, Conscription, the Chinese Question, and subjects connected with these.

(2) Dealing with Home Policy, A Minimum Wage, Housing, Municipal Trading, the Drink Question, and subjects connected with these.

That the first part be either postponed until the Society can duly consider its criticisms and recommendations in detail, or be handed back to its Authors for them, if they wish, to publish independently of the Society, and that the second part be issued as an election manifesto.

A. J. Throgood ~~supported~~ seconded, J. E. Matthews
supported, & J. H. Buckingham opposed.
On a division 18 voted for & a large
majority against the ~~motion~~ amendment

11. The original motion was then put
& was carried by a large majority
with 14 dissentients. —

Charles Cherrington
12th Oct - 1900

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday 12 Oct. 1900. -

(83)

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. The Secretary drew attention to the ~~London~~ Metropolitan Bow's Councils Elections & read out a list of candidates He also referred to the Election of Keir Hardie for Merthyr Tydfil
4. ~~H. W. Macroft~~ R. W. Anderson proposed & H. W. Macroft seconded a vote of congratulation to Keir Hardie on his electoral victory, which was unanimously adopted with cheers. -
(see 5 next page)
5. The three leaflets on the agenda paper were then proceeded with. Municipal Bakeries was introduced by H. W. Macroft, "How Trade Unions benefit the Workers" by E. R. Peace & Municipal Hospitals by H. W. Macroft.

(6) (cont'd) Various amendments were discussed & adopted or otherwise, & in each case the resolution that the Tract as amended be issued was carried nem. con.

(5) R. W. Anderson, delegate representing the Society at the International Socialist Congress at Paris gave a long & interesting report of what took place there. —

of J. Shallard
Ch.
26/10/22

Meeting at Cliffords Inn

26 Oct. 1900. —

(89)

1. S. D. Shallard was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy gave a list of the Fabians who were Candidates for the Metropolitan Bow Councils & asked members to support & assist them. —
4. Rev. D. W. P. Bliss then lectured on

"Socialist Ideals and Parties in the United States." By the Rev. W. D. P. BLISS.

SYLLABUS.—The United States eighteenth century philosophical basis. The nineteenth century superstructure. The result : government administration weak and corrupt; private combinations supreme and corruptive. Individualism's *cul de sac*. Government by Injunction. The Constitution's dead-hand. A world-monopoly menace. The popular revolt. Futile idealism and dawning ideas. The Populists—1,800,000 voters—a captured party. The coming Election, with sketches of Bryan, Debbs, &c., based on personal acquaintance. The twentieth century Socialist synthesis.

A debate followed in which Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, & others took part

John E. Mackenzie
9/11/00

~~Monday~~ Meeting at Clifford Inn
on Friday Nov. 9th. 1900. —

1. J. E. Matthews was elected chairman
2. The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed
3. The Secy announced that Bernard Shaw, T. R. Pratt, H. D. Pearsall, Rev. A. W. Morris, W. Crooks L.C.C. & C. H. Drinkley had been elected to the Bow Council. He also asked help in the Bow Council By. Elections & for the Fabian School Board Candidates.
4. Mr. C. Thieme then gave his lecture on

Nov. 9. Lecture on Dutch Socialism.

Mr. C. THIEME.

SYLLABUS.—Bird's-eye view of the social and political development of the Netherlands until the French Revolution. Labor Movement until the Constitution of 1848. 1848-1862; Organization of Labor. 1862: "The International." 1872-1878: "The General Netherlands Workmen's Union" and "Katheder Socialism" in Holland. 1878: "The Social Democratic League." 1878-1891: F. Domela Nieuwenhuys and Social Democracy. After 1891: Parliamentary Social Democrats. Present conditions: legislation, schemes, and dreams.

A debate followed in which Mr. Van der Veer, Bernard Shaw & others took part.

H. W. Macintosh

Meeting at Cliffords Linn
on Friday Nov 23rd 1900. -

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. In the absence of Mrs Kufferath, Graham
Willas M. P. B. gave an address on
The issues of the School Board Election
& after question a debate followed
in which Rev. S. D. Headlam & other
took part.

Robt. Alex Peddie

7. 12. 1900

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
7 Dec. 1900. —

1. R. A. Peddie was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes of last meeting were confirmed
3. Sidney Webb on behalf of the Executive moved that the proposed Tract on "Five years Fruits of the Parish Council Act" be printed & issued. He described the tract & gave indications of its contents. — The resolution was carried unanimously. —
4. Sidney Webb then ~~for~~ introduced the new Tract on "The Education Muddle & the way out", & the meeting proceeded to discuss it paragraph by paragraph. Amendments on various points were proposed principally by the Rev. S. D. Headlam, & were in many cases agreed to. —

(16)

5. at the conclusion of the discussion of details,
Mr. Headlam moved

"That the tract be sent back to the Exec.
for them to draft a scheme of which the
whole of the Educational work of the country
would be transferred to the hands of
bodies specially elected for that purpose."
After a short discussion this resolution
was rejected, only two voting for it, &
the publication of the tract as amended
was agreed to nem. con. -

J. G. Hobson
11/1/97

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn
on Friday Jan 11th 1901. -

1. S. B. Hobson was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. Mr. Ebenezer Howard then gave
his lecture on

Jan. 11th. "The Garden City Project."

Lecture by Mr. EBENEZER HOWARD
(Author of "To-morrow.")

SYLLABUS.—A new city, on a new site, with common ownership land. The line of least resistance. A basis on which many reformers may meet. The practicability of establishing one—of many. Advantage of creative over expropriative methods. Elasticity of proposals. Competition of new system with old. Bearing on Housing and other problems.

After many questions, a debate followed in which W. B. Hodgson, Bernard Shaw, J. McNeill, Edw. R. Peace & others took part.

Charles Channing Cox
25th Jan. 1901

(87)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
25th March 1901. —

1. Charles Charrington was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy drew attention to the newly published tract No 105, "Five Years Fruits of the Parish Councils act".
4. Sidney Webb L.C.C. lectured on

"The Issues of the London County Council Election."

By SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C.

SYLLABUS.—The work in hand—Housing; New Streets; Tramways; Tunnels; Bridges; Technical Education; Main Drainage; Asylums; Inebriates' Homes, etc.
Proposed Extensions; Docks; Markets; Steamboats, etc.
Parties and Policies. Finance.
Some Lessons of Twelve Years,

† a debate followed in which
Graham Wallas, Dr. Guest, Esq. Shaw,
Mr. Colebrook, Stewart Headlam, &
J Andrews took part.

Robt. Alex. Peddie

8.2.01

Members Meeting at Clifford's Inn
8th Feb. 7 1901. -

1. R. A. Paddie was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed
3. The Sec'y reminded members of the L.C.C. Election & asked them to give help to our candidates.
4. The Sec'y on behalf of the Executive moved that the leaflet on Municipal Insurance be approved. after it had been discussed paragraph by paragraph, & amended in some details, the resolution was adopted nem con.
5. The leaflet Municipal Steamboats was also proposed by the Sec'y & in the same way, ~~it~~ was discussed, amended in detail, & adopted nem con. -

(80)

b. H. W. Macrosty then read a paper on
Grants in aid, & hereafter in accordance
with notice, Gilbert Slater moved

"That the Executive
be instructed to memorialize the L.C.C., praying the
Council to petition that the Agricultural Rating Act,
1896, if renewed, be extended so that the Treasury
relieve the owners of working-class dwellings which
are certified by the local sanitary authority to be up
to a specified standard of building and sanitation, of
half the rates on such dwellings."

This resolution was seconded, & then a
discussion followed in which H. W. Macrosty
& the Rev. S. D. Headlam strongly opposed
whilst G. B. Shaw, G. Crosser, & E. R. Pease
also spoke. The Previous Question was
moved by G. B. Shaw, & ultimately it
was adopted nem con. —

Theodore Wright Feb 22/97

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
22nd February 1901. —

1. Theodore Wright was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Secy appealed to members to support & assist the Progressive & Fabian candidates & especially J. F. Matthews who was much in want of assistance.
4. Mr Geo. Wardle then gave his lecture on

"The Reform of the Railway Service." By GEO. WARDLE (Editor of the *Railway Review*).

SYLLABUS.—Railways quasi-public institutions. A hybrid system. Reforms must be justified on the ground of public utility. The railway servant an end in himself. Present conditions of the railway service as to wages, hours, terms of employment, discipline, safety, pensions, and privileges. Comparison with other employment and with other countries. Origin of the evils: over-capitalization; quasi-militarism; want of organization; political intrigue. Reforms needed: Organization; Education; Judicial Tribunals; Arbitration or Conciliation Boards; Nationalization.

& a debate followed in which H. W. Macrae,
A. J. Pearsall, & G. B. Shaw took part

J. K. Rutcliffe.

8/3/1901

(84)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on March 8th or --

1. S. R. K. Ratcliffe was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. The Sec. announced that Mr Arthur Sherwell was unable to be present owing to the dangerous illness of his mother, & that Sidney Webb had consented to take his place.
4. Sidney Webb then moved:—

“That the municipal management of the Drink Traffic in any city must
“be initiated by means of a municipal monopoly, in preference to
“municipal competition with privately-held licences; but that the
“profits of any such monopoly, except in so far as they are used
“strictly for recreative purposes, should be allocated to the Im-
“perial and not to the local exchequer.”

5. Edw. R. Pease moved as an amendment:—

That the introduction of municipal Drink Traffic by a local monopoly is impracticable in any large town, owing to the enormous extent of the property and interests involved;

that the alternative method, municipal competition, must therefore be adopted: and that the profits of the traffic may with advantage be left at the disposal of the local authority for recreative and other purposes

a debate followed in which W. Sanders, H. N. Macerost & Councilor Davis of West Ham supported on the whole the resolution, notified to Chas. Clearington, H. S. Penwell, & J. S. Matthews supported the amendment. R. W. Anderson & F. Colborne also spoke & neither spoke replied.

It was agreed that no division should be taken. -
Strongly necessary

38 March
SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.
25/3/61
Its Progress and its Future.
The position of Social Democracy in Germany formed the subject of a lecture delivered last night at a meeting of the Fabian Society at Clifford's Inn by Mr. W. Sanders, who has just returned after a prolonged study of social questions in that country. In illustration of the present strength of the party he pointed out that at the last election to the Reichstag, out of 7,752,700 voters, 2,107,100 voted for the Social Democrats, and returned fifty-seven members; and a juster system would have returned 112, which would have made it the most powerful section in the House. Even the 101 members of the Centre party were only returned by 1,455,000 voters. The lecturer also spoke of the progress Social Democracy had made in the local parliaments and municipalities. Mr. Sanders thought that when it became the strongest party in the Reichstag it would have got rid of its Utopian encumbrances, and would concentrate its attention on the problems of the present rather than upon some vague ideal in the future. There was every reason to believe that it would develop into the one great reform party in opposition to the Conservative elements in Germany, which were rapidly being driven into one party.
The feature of the discussion which followed the asking of questions was an argumentative duel between Mr. George Bernard Shaw and Mr. Herbert Burrows. Mr. Shaw thought the most significant change was that which had come over the movement since the middle of the past century, when the party was led by middle-class men in revolt against their own order. He did not believe the mass of the German Social Democratic party were now under the Marxist influence at all. Mr. Herbert Burrows strenuously opposed the views of Mr. Shaw, and maintained that the party held to the fundamental basis of all Socialism—that the ultimate aim, to which everything else was subordinated, was the collective ownership of the means of production.

(90)

Meeting at Cliffords Inn March 22nd 1901.

- (1) The Minutes were confirmed
- (2) H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
- (3) Mrs Macpherson & S. R. Ratchiffe were elected scrutineers for the Exec. Election.
- (4) W^m Sanders then gave his lecture on

"Social-Democracy in Germany." ... By WILLIAM SANDERS

(who has just returned to England after a prolonged study of social questions in Germany).

SYLLABUS.—The Party. Its organization; strength; methods; press, &c., &c.

The Party's Basis and Program; "Scientific" Socialism; Opportunism; the "Umsturz" theory; Internationalism.

The Party's attitude towards Trade Unionism and Co-operation; towards other political parties. Problems in front.

+ a discussion followed in which Mr. Van de Veer, G. B. Shaw, Herbert Burrows, Chas. Charrington, & H. W. Macrosty took part. —

J. Matthews
24/4/01

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on
Friday 26th April 1901.

1. J. E. Matthews was elected chairman
2. The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.
3. S. D. Shallard, (in the absence of the Secretary), announced the result of the Executive Election, & called the attention of Members to the issue of No. 1 of the new Fabian Series, published by Grant Richards, viz: Trusts & the State of H. W. Macrobert: also to the new Reformers Year-book, which is on sale at the tables.
4. The Rev. S. D. Headlam then gave his lecture on,

"Evening Continuation Schools."

By the Rev. STEWART D. HEADLAM.

SYLLABUS.

The character of Evening Continuation Schools. Their relation to Primary, Secondary, and Technical Schools.—Their growth in London while managed by the elected representatives of the public. The danger of the charitable, non-elected, unpaid "expert."—The subjects which are popular, and the value of them.—The advantages and disadvantages of the abolition of fees. Self-supporting schools impossible: the alternative, Rates or Charity. Should rich people be excluded from the common schools?—Overlapping essential.—Specimen schools described.—The immediate danger.—Why the School Board should be empowered to continue this work.

A debate followed in which Miss Zimmerman, S. B. Hobson, F. W. Galton, R. S. Ted,
S. D. Shallard & S. K. Ratcliffe took part.
S. B. Hobson

Meeting for members only at Cliffords
Dinn on Friday Mar 10th 1901. (91)

- S. G. Hobson was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed.
 3. The Rev. Percy Alden gave his lecture on

"The Difficulties of a Labor Majority."

By Councillor PERCY ALDEN.

The Lecturer will deal with the subject as illustrated by recent events at West Ham.

A debate followed in which
H. W. Macrosty, W^m Sanders, Bernard
Shaw, H. T. Mugggeridge, Dr. Haden Guest
& the Chairman took part

Robt. Alce Reddie

24.5.1901

AGENDA FOR THE ANNUAL MEETING,

for Members only, to be held at Clifford's Inn, next 187 Fleet-street, on Friday, May 24th, at 8 p.m.

PROPOSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:—

I.—ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS for year ending March 31st, 1901, for discussion. (Proof sent with the May NEWS.)

II.—RESOLUTION ON THE EDUCATION BILL, 1901:—

1. The Fabian Society expresses its satisfaction that the Government has, through the speeches of the Duke of Devonshire and Sir John Gorst, declared in favor of the principle that in each locality there should be one educational authority for all kinds and grades of education.
2. The council of every county and county borough, acting through an education committee, should be the education authority for the county or county borough. Two-thirds of the members of an education committee should be members of the council, and the committee should be appointed with the other council committees every year instead of for three years as provided in the Bill of 1896.
3. The complete unification of educational machinery in each county and county borough should be undertaken next year.
4. No measure dealing with primary education will be satisfactory unless it empowers the local authorities not only to maintain and improve the present board schools, but also to raise the efficiency of those existing public elementary schools which are not under school boards, by bringing them under the control of local committees of a public character, and by making grants to improve their teaching staff; and, further, unless the present partial incidence of the school board rate in counties is corrected.
5. Any statutory limitation of expenditure on education is reactionary. While the central authority should have power to insist on a national minimum of efficiency, it should in no way limit the endeavors of a local authority to meet the needs of its district above that minimum. The application of the whole of the "whisky money" to education should be made compulsory.
6. The Fabian Society suggests that the best way of meeting the "Cockerton difficulty" is to confer on school boards power to continue their extra-legal work, but only until next year, when a comprehensive measure dealing with primary education should be passed.
7. The Fabian Society considers that the Government should at once systematically unify and organize on an intelligent plan its central authority for education of all kinds and grades, without which it can neither give the local authorities proper criticism and guidance, nor effectually enforce upon stupid or recalcitrant local bodies that national minimum of education which is imperatively needed for the well-being of the people.

III.—RESOLUTION ON THE COAL QUESTION.

The Fabian Society regards the general attention attracted to the coal question by the recent famine and the new export tax as affording a favorable opportunity for dealing with the problem. It submits:

1. That, in view of the importance of the deposits of Welsh steam coal as a national asset, the wasteful production of it by private owners, the excessive profits which they exact in times of scarcity, and the importance of securing for public purposes a supply of such coal free from the risk of stoppage by disputes between the owners and the miners, the Government, following the example of Prussia and other nations, should at the first convenient opportunity purchase mines for the use of the public services.
2. Further, that local authorities should be empowered to purchase or open coal mines for the supply of their own services, and of consumers within their areas.
3. And that ultimately steps should be taken to transfer the whole of the coal of the country to public ownership.

BY ORDER,

EDWARD R. PEASE,

Secretary.

Annual Meeting at Cliffords in as per
agenda paper. -

(92)

1. R.A. Paddie was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. The annual Report & Accounts were discussed briefly & adopted without amendment.
4. The Education Resolutions: No 4 was moved
by H.W. Macrobert. The Rev. S. D. Headlam
moved an amendment
"That in the opinion of the Fabian Society
the Education Bill neither provides nor
prepares the way for providing a satisfactory
solution of the Education Question." - ~~That~~
Theodore Wright seconded, H. S. Pearsall
& Wm. Mallet supported whilst Sidney Webb
Bernard Shaw & R.G. Dell opposed. After
further debate the amendment was defeated
by 23 to 12 & the resolution ^{with verbal amendments} adopted
by with three dissentients. -

5. On Clause 2 an amendment to omit the words "acting through an education Com^{ee}" was defeated, five only voting for it.
6. Clause 2 was adopted with amendments, & the remainder of the resolutions with verbal alterations were after debate adopted.
7. A new Clause (No 7 in revised version) was adopted on the motion of A. M. Davies.
8. The resolutions on the Coal Question were moved by B. G. Hobson & agreed to.

G. Bernard Shaw

14/6/01.

THE EDUCATION BILL AND THE COAL QUESTION.

RESOLUTIONS adopted at the Annual Meeting, held on 24th May, 1901.

RESOLUTION ON THE EDUCATION BILL, 1901.

The Fabian Society, while expressing its satisfaction that the Government has, through the declarations of the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Arthur Balfour and Sir John Gorst, pledged itself to the principle that in each locality there should be one educational authority for all kinds and grades of education, offers the following comments on the measure:—

1. *Clause 1.* The council of every county and county borough, acting through an education committee, should be the education authority for the county or county borough. At least two-thirds of the members of an education committee should be members of the council, and the committee should be appointed with the other council committees every year instead of for three years as provided in the Bill of 1896. In London, and possibly in a few large county boroughs, the school boards must for the present retain their powers.
2. *Clauses 2 & 3.* Any statutory limitation of expenditure on education is reactionary. While the central authority should have power to insist on a national minimum of efficiency, it should in no way limit the endeavors of a local authority to meet the needs of its district above that minimum. The application of the whole of the "whisky money" to education should be made compulsory.
3. *Clauses 8 & 9.* The best way of meeting the "Cockerton difficulty" is to confer on school boards power to continue their extra-legal work, until such time after the passing of a comprehensive Education Act as is necessary for the new authority to be ready to carry on the work.
4. The complete unification of educational machinery in each county and county borough should be undertaken next year.
5. No measure dealing with primary education will be satisfactory unless it empowers the local authorities not only to maintain and improve the present board schools, but also to raise the efficiency of those existing public elementary schools which are not under school boards, by bringing them under the management and control of local committees of a public character, and by making grants to improve their teaching staff; and, further, unless the present partial incidence of the school board rate in counties is corrected.
6. The Government should at once systematically unify and organize on an intelligent plan its central authority for education of all kinds and grades, without which it can neither give the local authorities proper criticism and guidance, nor effectually enforce upon stupid or recalcitrant local bodies that national standard of education which is imperatively needed for the well-being of the people.
7. The transfer to county and county borough councils of full local educational powers at once increases the necessity of and affords a suitable opportunity for making women eligible for election to those bodies.

RESOLUTION ON THE COAL QUESTION.

The Fabian Society regards the general attention attracted to the coal question by the recent famine and the new export tax as affording a favorable opportunity for dealing with the problem. It submits:

1. That, in view of the importance of the deposits of Welsh steam coal as a national asset, the wasteful production of it by private owners, the excessive profits which they exact in times of scarcity, and the importance of securing for public purposes a supply of such coal free from the risk of stoppage by disputes between the owners and the miners, the Government, following the example of Prussia and other nations, should at the first convenient opportunity purchase mines for the use of the public services;
2. Further, that local authorities should be empowered to purchase or open coal mines for the supply of their own services, and of consumers within their areas;
3. And that ultimately steps should be taken to transfer the whole of the coal of the country to public ownership.

Meeting at Cliffords Inn
14th June 1901.

1. Bernard Shaw was elected Chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. Hubert Bland lectured on

"The Work of Rudyard Kipling." By HUBERT BLAND.

Politics and Art in the Eighties—the Gladstone dominion—the Romanticists, the Socialists and the Emancipated Woman—the need of a new writer—the appearance of Kipling—the first sensation—"Departmental Duties" and their small promise—"Barrack Room Ballads," their "rudeness and vulgarity"—the essentials of poetry and romance—Tolstoy's rebuke—Wordsworth's prophecy of Kipling—Romance on the "local"—the first class passengers—The Stories—the short story as art-form—Kipling's characters—their qualities and deficiencies—the presentation of the "moment"—the limits of Kipling's vision—The moral aspects of his work—his ideals—his Eastern birth—the schoolboy and the everlasting need of him—his Imperialism—the new phase—the realization of Greater Britain—the native born—Kipling's religion—the building of the Empire and Kipling's views on the jerry-builders—the final claims.

A debate followed in which W. Platt, Rd. Whiteing, W. Sanders, S. K. Ratcliffe, Chas Charrington, S. G. Hobson, Howard Swan, Mrs Bland, J. E. Matthews, the Chairman & others took part.
Henry W. Macrosty

(47)

Meeting at Cliffords Lane on Friday
28th June 1901. —

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
2. The minutes were confirmed.
3. Prof. Romesh Dutt then lectured
on

"The Causes and Remedies of Indian Famines."
By Prof. ROMESH DUTT.

Indian problems extremely simple if rightly studied—Economic laws the same in India as elsewhere—Agriculture, Manufactures and a sound Finance the sources of national wealth everywhere—In India these sources of wealth narrowed under British rule: (1) Agriculture discouraged by an uncertain and varying Land Tax—Land improvements and savings discouraged by ever-increasing State-demand at recurring land settlements—(2) Manufactures directly discouraged by the East India Company for benefit of British manufacturers—by heavy import duties formerly imposed in England on Indian goods—by an unjust excise duty still imposed on produce of the Indian loom (3) Financial arrangement unsound and uncontrolled by the people—Nearly one-half the net revenues sent out of India without direct return—Virtually all high appointments reserved for Englishmen; Indians being like Uitlanders in their own country—Conclusion: growing impoverishment of the people and frequent famines—ten famines within last forty years causing deaths of fifteen millions.

A debate followed in which
H. D. Pearsall, Hubert Bland,
Capⁿ St. John, & others took part.
H. W. Macrosty

Meeting of Cliffords Inn on Friday
11th October 1901. —

1. H. W. Macrosty was elected chairman
 2. The Secy announced a members meeting to hear & consider publication of a lecture on a policy of National Efficiency to be given by Sidney Webb on Nov. 8th
 3. The Secy announced that the Executive had decided not to proceed with the motion proposing the publication of a Horsing Tract by Raymond Unwin, in view of the proposal for a lecture by him on the subject.
4. Robert E. Dell then gave an address on

"The Catholic Factor in Politics."

By ROBERT E. DELL.

SYLLABUS.—Ignorance of the English public about Catholic affairs: e.g., the French Associations Bill—The lessons of history—Political policy of the Vatican—Its effect on Catholics in the Empire—The *Osservatore Romano* and an English Catholic party—Canada—Cardinal Vaughan and the late Queen—A recent speech of Cardinal Moran—The Accession Declaration—The Irish University question in N.-E. Lanark—State "recognition" of religion—Stupidity of the Liberal doctrine—Necessity of English representation at the Vatican.

(75)

A debate followed in which
J. Andrews, Prof Parsons of Boston,
Bernard Shaw, Haden Guest, &
H. T. Muggersidge took part.

Graham Wales -

Sat. Chronicle 12/10/01.

Mr. Robert Dell, who spoke on "The Catholic Factor in Politics" at a meeting of the Fabian Society held in Clifford's Inn last night, drew a rather alarming picture of the possible effect of Vatican policy on Catholics in the Empire in the near future. Mr. Dell's attitude and personality seemed to take his audience by surprise. They at first

found it hard to make up their minds whether such a good Fabian and so very outspoken a young man could also be a very good Catholic. At least, that was the impression conveyed when question time came round; for Mr. Dell had to make a confession of orthodoxy in response to a gentleman who had bracketed his name with that of the late Dr. Mivart; while Mr. Bernard Shaw thought that Mr. Dell's only method would be to start a new church. There were other disconcerting suggestions made to Mr. Dell by his Fabian friends; but he dealt with his questioners with an adroitness that bespoke a bygone apprenticeship on the platform of the English Church Union.

Mr. Dell has abandoned religious for secular journalism, but his interest in ecclesiastical politics remains, and his reply to Father Gerard's "Monthly Review" article in the current number of that periodical, has just brought a counter-reply from the Jesuit ex-Provincial in the pages of the "Tablet." The other Roman Catholic organ, the "Weekly Register," which was once the property of Cardinal Manning, was under Mr. Dell's editorship for a brief but glorious tenure.

which was from Dut...

Meeting at Cliffords Inn on Friday
October 25th 1901. —

1. Graham Wallas was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed.
3. William Archer then opened the series of lectures on
The Social Teaching of the Modern Drama
with a paper entitled

"The English Drama of the last Twenty-five Years."

By WILLIAM ARCHER.

SYLLABUS.—Last quarter of nineteenth century, a period of rapid development in drama of France, Germany and England. Black outlook in England during the seventies. Prevalence of adaptations. First stirrings of reaction against French influence—(a) in comedy, (b) in melodrama, (c) in operetta. Rise of Mr. Pinero, Mr. Jones, Mr. Oscar Wilde. Economic influences: Reconciliation of Society and the stage; substitution of touring companies for stock companies. Decline of the "well-made play" in France. The Théâtre Libre. Influence of Ibsen on European drama. The New Drama in Germany. English drama of the 'nineties. "Mrs. Tanqueray" and after. The movement in America.

and a discussion followed in which Messrs Charrington, Shaw, Ratchford, Whitehouse, and the chairman took part.

J. M. Arthur
21/10/01

Members Meeting at Cliffords Inn (16)
on Friday Nov. 8th

1. J. E. Matthews was elected chairman
2. The Minutes were confirmed
3. Sidney Webb read a proposed tract on

"Twentieth Century Politics: A Policy of National Efficiency."

By SIDNEY WEBB.

SYLLABUS.—New century, new politics. The Collapse of Liberalism. Reason for this, change in English thought. "Thinking in Communities." The Incapacity of the Conservatives. Need for a new grouping of the mass of non-political citizens. The Policy of National Efficiency as regards the work of the Home Office, Local Government Board, and Board of Education.

- 4) The Secy moved on behalf of the Exec. that the lecture ^{be} printed as a Tract with the author's name.
- 5) After a debate in which Chas. Charrington, Rev. S. D. Headlam, H. T. Mugggeridge, Miss Armstrong, G. B. Shaw, R. W. Anderson & the Chairman took part, the lecturer replied, & the motion was adopted with practical unanimity. — Charles Charrington
22 Nov. 1901

