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INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM:

A Study in Politics.

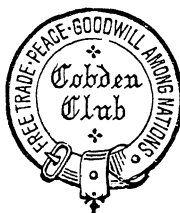
BY

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"War and Tariffs—these are the two great enemies of mankind
JOHN BRIGHT.

"Because right is right, to follow the right is wisdom, in the
scorn of consequence."—TENNYSON.



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1892.

TO

SIR HENRY PARKES, G.C.M.G., ETC. ETC.

AN HONOURED CHIEF AND FRIEND.

PREFACE.

DURING the years 1880-82, a few Oxford graduates and undergraduates, who had been brought together by the influence of the late Arnold Toynbee, used to meet once a month during term time, alternately in Oxford and London, for the purpose of discussing in detail, and with complete frankness, some specified political or social question.*

One of the subjects frequently referred to at these meetings was the attitude of the working classes towards Free Trade ; and it was agreed that some member of the Society should prepare a paper, under Toynbee's supervision, on the best means of fixing popular attention on the relation of political economy to fiscal questions.

The execution of this idea was allotted to the present writer, and an outline of a pamphlet was prepared and submitted to Toynbee for criticism in 1882. Toynbee in that year was engaged upon the London lectures which led to his last illness, and was, consequently, unable to carry out his plan of a conjoint work. He did, however, discuss very fully with the writer, in several conversations, the scheme of the intended work, and suggested many modifications of that which had

* The members of this Society, which had no name, were Arnold Toynbee ; Alfred Milner, New College, Editor of Toynbee's posthumous work, "The Industrial Revolution" ; P. L. Gell, Balliol College ; F. C. Montague, Balliol College ; E. T. Cook, New College ; D. G. Ritchie, Jesus College ; J. A. Hamilton, Balliol College ; J. D. Rogers, Balliol College ; Hon. W. Bruce, Balliol College ; and B. R. Wise, Queen's College. Mr. Ritchie's essay on "Darwinism and Politics," in Swan Sonnenschein & Co.'s "Social Science Series," and Mr. Montague's book on "The Limits of Individual Liberty" (Kegan Paul & Co., 1884), both originated in these meetings.

been originally proposed. The result was that, in 1883, the manuscript of a pamphlet of about fifty pages, of which the spirit was Toynbee's, although the words were not, was submitted to the Cobden Club for publication. By a series of mischances, this manuscript, of which no copy had been kept, was lost, and the loss was not made known to the writer until after the lapse of twelve months, when it was too late to recall even the form of the argument which Toynbee had suggested. The original idea was not, however, left unexecuted. In 1885, the writer embodied something of Toynbee's opinions in a pamphlet published in Sydney under the title of "Free Trade and Wages," which is now out of print.

The present work was first intended as a new edition of this pamphlet ; but as it proceeded, and the stress of controversy with Protectionists compelled attention to other aspects of the fiscal question, it gradually assumed a new and distinct form, until there is now left in it nothing of Toynbee, save some traces of his influence, and the pious feeling which acknowledges that, as the inception of the work was due to him, so its execution should be taken as a tribute to his memory. The writer's best hope is that those who knew Toynbee, and those who trace no small portion of their better selves to the influence of his luminous enthusiasm, may not think the tribute altogether unworthy.

One word more upon the scope and method of the work. Written, as it has been, at intervals during the rare and busy leisure of an active professional and public life, it cannot lay claim to either literary or scientific completeness. Its merit, if any, lies in the directly practical character of its arguments and illustrations. For seven years the writer has been engaged by the side of Sir Henry Parkes in the forefront of an active political controversy with the Protectionists of his native