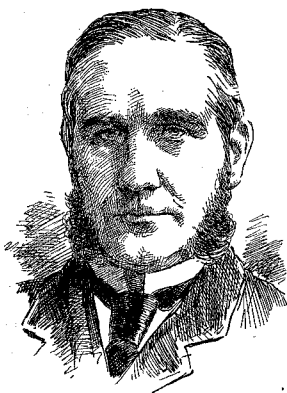


## The New Spirit in English Liberalism

By Edward Porritt



Henry Fowler

emphasized a well-known fact when he said that "while it takes from one hand it rejects from another."

Since the present Government came into office, the House of Lords has lived up to Lord Rosebery's description; and in the session of 1893-94 it accomplished more in the way of rejecting and amending measures passed by the House of Commons than it had done in the decade which intervened since it threatened to wreck the last measure of Parliamentary reform. The Upper Chamber has exercised a tremendous check on the legislative achievements of the Liberal majority in the present House of Commons; but it has been absolutely powerless to stay the forward policy in the administration of the State Departments. From the important fact that the House of Lords is dissociated from the raising and spending of revenue, it has practically no control over the Departments. It can, of course, criticise a policy, but it cannot interfere with it; and in regard to nearly all the State Departments the Gladstone and Rosebery Administrations now tower above their Unionist predecessor, and, indeed, above any Government, Liberal or Conservative, which has preceded them. The Administration which was formed in 1892 inaugurated a new era in English politics. At the Foreign Office, the India Office, and the Colonial Office, matters have proceeded much as they did during the Salisbury Administration; but in the other State Departments newer men and newer methods are being tried, and in all of them the difference between present-day Liberalism and Conservatism, even the new Conservatism of the Unionist alliance, is everywhere obvious.

Not only did new men come to the front in 1892, but many of these new men were drawn from a class which hitherto has had no large share in the responsibilities and dignities of Downing Street. For nearly half a century after the middle classes were enfranchised in 1832 they voted with the Whigs and the Liberals, and gave them the majorities which kept them in office during the greater part of that time. But it was not until the seventies that representatives of the middle classes were given responsible places in Liberal Governments. Up to this time—until Mr. Gladstone's first Administration, that lasting from 1868 to 1874—the high positions of state in Liberal Administrations were monopolized by the heads of the great territorial Whig families, and the minor positions in the Ministry went, as a matter of course, exclusively to the cadets of these historic houses. When the split on the Irish question occurred in 1885, nearly all the Whig families, headed by the present Duke of Devonshire, sided with the Unionists. Their defection made room for new men in the Gladstone Cabinet of 1885-86, and when the 1892 Administration was formed, still a few more places were found for new men, and the men who were new in 1885 again took office, and this time found their way into the Cabinet.

All these new men were well placed; nearly all of them were put into those State Departments which are most

Any day may see a dissolution of the English Parliament; and whenever the election takes place, the claims of the Liberals upon the democracy will be founded as much upon the departmental administration of the Government as upon the legislative measures which it has carried, or has endeavored to carry, through Parliament. Six years ago Lord Rosebery described the Chamber of which he is now the foremost member as "a delicate and dainty feeder in the matter of legislation," and

closely in touch with the people. This was so with Mr. Fowler at the Local Government Board, Mr. Arthur Acland at the Education Department, Mr. Asquith at the Home Office, and with Mr. Mundella and Mr. Burt at the Board of Trade. All the Home Departments have been actuated by the newer Liberalism; but it has been most active and most apparent in the four Departments which have been named.

Mr. Fowler, who has now gone to the India Office, was an excellent choice for the Local Government Board, and he went to that Department at an opportune time. Mr. Ritchie, his predecessor, was one of the most practical and broad minded members of the Salisbury Administration. He is of the middle class; and he and his Department, perhaps more than any other Cabinet Minister or any other State Department, were affected by the broadening influences which the Liberal-Unionists wrought on the Salisbury Administration. Besides the fact that Mr. Fowler is a capable administrator, he is one of less than half a dozen men now in the front rank of English politicians who began their public career in the municipalities. In the short 1885-86 Administration Mr. Fowler was Financial Secretary to the Treasury. This is one of the most important of the political secretaryships. Mr. Fowler's share in carrying the Local Government Act of 1888 through committee was second only to that of Mr. Ritchie, its author; and his

Parliamentary career during these six years made it evident that when the Liberals were returned to office either the Chancellorship of the Exchequer or the Presidency of the Local Government Board would fall to Mr. Fowler.



H. H. Asquith

In 1892 Sir William Harcourt was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fowler went to the Local Government Board. He is a Radical of the school of equal rights and equal opportunities, and he lost no time in bringing

some of his Radical principles into play at the Local Government Board. Almost the first order he issued was one abolishing the property qualification which for sixty years had prevented any but the well-to-do from having a share in the local administration of the Poor Laws. His next order was one empowering local Poor-Law Boards to appoint women as members of workhouse visiting committees. The Poor Law is one of the departments of local politics in which since 1876 women have been taking an increasingly active interest. Electoral law technicalities had hitherto kept many women off these boards. These technicalities could be swept away entirely only by an Act of Parliament, but Mr. Fowler's order did away with many of the restrictions, and made it much more easy for women who are not wealthy to enter upon a department of public work for which they are peculiarly well adapted.

In addition to these changes, Mr. Fowler has effected numerous and far-reaching reforms in municipal and Poor-Law affairs by the Parish Councils Act which he carried through Parliament in the recent winter session. This great measure took up local government in the rural districts at the point



A. H. D. Acland

at which it was left by the Local Government Act of 1888, and carried it forward to such a point that the squire and the Church of England parson have lost completely the control they formerly had over local government in the country districts, and now for the first time in every local election, all over England, the vote of one man is worth as much as that of his neighbor.

Mr. Fowler is the one member of the Cabinet who has so far scored largely in the House of Commons and in the administration of his Department. In the House of Commons the Parish Councils Act stands to his credit. As concerns the Department of which, until the formation of the Rosebery Cabinet, he was the head, he can claim credit for numerous Radical reforms in the administrative machinery of the Poor Laws, and in other municipal affairs.

The appointment of Mr. Asquith to the Home Office was the greatest surprise in connection with the formation of the Gladstone Administration. Nothing like it had happened since Mr. Morley stepped at a bound from the Radical benches to a place on the Treasury bench, and to the onerous position of Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the Home Rule Cabinet of 1885. Mr. Asquith is not yet forty-five years of age, and when he entered on his Parliamentary career he was without any of the influential connections which, until a few years ago, were absolutely necessary to securing a foothold in official political life, no matter whether a man had thrown in his lot with the Liberals or with the Conservatives. Unlike Mr. Morley, Mr. Asquith did not go from the Radical benches to the Treasury bench. He was never identified with the advanced Radical group. He went into Parliament in 1885 as the representative of a Scotch constituency, taking with him a reputation as a debater from the Union at Oxford, and also some reputation as a practitioner at the bar. When the Liberals were in opposition, Ireland gave him his opportunities in the House of Commons; the Parnell Commission, in 1889, gave him his great chance in the law courts; and, away from Westminster and the law courts, he owed much to his connection with the Eighty Club. This is an organization of the younger men of the Liberal party, mostly men from the universities, which came into existence in 1880 to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Gladstone's sweeping victory at the general election in that year.

Mr. Asquith made the most of this series of great opportunities. In the House of Commons and in the country he spoke but seldom; but from his earliest speeches in the House it was realized that the Liberals could count a new debater of almost first rank as of their number; and as their debating strength had been greatly lessened by the secession of the Marquis of Hartington, Sir Henry James, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Finley, it was settled long before the last general election that a Liberal success at the polls must bring with it a place on the Treasury bench for Mr. Asquith.

So far, from every point of view, Mr. Asquith has justified Mr. Gladstone's choice. The position he holds is by no means an easy one, and when Mr. Asquith went to the Home Office there were two or three vexed questions awaiting settlement—questions which were more likely to be embarrassing to the Home Secretary of a Liberal Cabinet than to a Conservative holding the office. These were: the control of the London police; the Radical demand that public meetings should be allowed in Trafalgar Square; the disturbing problem of employers' liability; and the dynamite convicts. With regard to the control of the police, that question is where it was, although the London County Council is now pressing it upon the Government, and demanding that the municipality of London, like that of all other English cities, shall have full control

of the civic forces. The vexed question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square has been settled by a compromise in which the gain is largely on the side of the Radicals. But Mr. Asquith will admit of no compromise with regard to the dynamiters. Notwithstanding the extreme pressure which has been brought to bear from the Irish benches, he refuses to regard these miscreants as political prisoners, and they are still at Dartmoor.

As to the Employers' Liability Bill, Mr. Asquith has fought it through the House of Commons in the face of an opposition more stubborn than has been presented to any English measure during the last twenty years. It was returned from the Lords with a clause permitting contracting out, and in a shape which the Government refused to accept. The bill has accordingly been abandoned; but so far as proceedings in the Commons went, there was a distinct triumph for Mr. Asquith. The Home Office, since Mr. Asquith went there, has largely shared in the interest of the Government in behalf of labor. The Factory and Mines Inspectors' Department has been overhauled and enlarged, and all employers are now being made to understand that the existing stringent factory and sanitary laws are to be enforced.

It is perhaps not strictly correct to class Mr. Arthur Acland as a new man, drawn from the new class. He is not of the class to which Mr. Fowler, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Mundella belong. He is of a family whose name had been familiar to the House of Commons long before Mr. Acland and his elder brother were of its membership. He belongs to a family of long standing in the West of England, and entered Parliament in 1885 with the prestige which attaches to the representative of a territorial family, and with the additional advantage of being the son of a lifelong friend of Mr. Gladstone's. There is, however, nothing of the Mayfair Radical about Mr. Acland, and he entered the House, not as the representative of a borough or county division in which his family has any great influence, but as the member for an essentially working-class and mining division of Yorkshire. His appointment as Vice-President of the Council for Education has been an immense gain to national education.

Heretofore the Education Department had been very

largely controlled by the permanent officials. Permanent officials are usually conservative; and not even their friends will claim that these officials at the Education Department have been as loyal as they might have been to the unsectarian school board system established by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1870. A number of new departures, all in the popular direction, have marked Mr. Acland's tenure of office. Among the more prominent of these is the introduction of



Thomas Burt

a plan for teaching the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in the State-aided evening schools.

At the Board of Trade, Mr. Mundella and Mr. Thomas Burt have made a number of reforms which will stand out in the history of labor and of labor politics in England. The organization of the Labor Department and the establishment of the "Labor Gazette" are among these reforms. The throwing open of the marine boards at the ports to representatives of sailors is another reform; while as regards legislation Mr. Mundella's first years at the Board of Trade have been marked by the Act of Parliament under which the courts are empowered to impose heavy penalties on railway companies whose managers persist in overworking men in any way engaged in handling trains. This was the first measure passed in England directly restricting the hours of labor of men. In the last session of Parliament Mr. Mundella was unsuccessful in an endeavor to establish conciliation boards for the settlement



of strikes. He has, however, again submitted his bill to Parliament in the present session, and the chances are good for its becoming law. Mr. Burt, who began life as a miner, has represented the miners of Northumberland in the House of Commons since 1874, and was the first trade-unionist and labor member elected to the body. Mr. Mundella has been in Parliament for twenty-five years, and in official life for a somewhat longer period than Mr. Fowler or Mr. Asquith. In his early days he was connected with the Chartist movement.



## The First Protestant Church in America

By Albion M. Dyer

Antiquarians have been searching for many years for the location of a horse-mill built on Manhattan Island by the Dutch founders of New Netherlands in 1626. Interest attaches to this building for the reason that under its roof was organized the first evangelical church on the American Continent. Here, in August, 1628, for the first time in the New World, the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was celebrated before a Protestant congregation. Incidentally the building may be marked as the original grist-mill of New Amsterdam. The early Fathers thought so much of the flour industry that they pictured the four arms of a wind-mill on the city's seal. Nothing in the records has yet been found that gives proof of its situation. Conveyancers of property were either less particular in their descriptions than those of the present day, or some of the earlier deeds transferring the horse-mill have been lost. A discovery made recently by the writer may result, however, in fixing its site. In a courtyard hidden by a wall of ancient warehouses in the oldest part of the city have been found sixteen burr-millstones of Belgian origin, and bearing all the marks of antiquity. On investigation it was found that these stones were placed there in the earliest years of the Colony.

Reference to the erection of a horse-mill was made by the earliest Dutch narrator of the settlement of New Netherlands. This reference has been quoted frequently by modern writers: "Francois Molemaecher is busy [1626] building a horse-mill over which shall be constructed a spacious room sufficient to accommodate a large congregation, and then a tower is to be erected where the bells brought from Porto Rico will be hung." Two comforters-of-the-sick, Sebastiaen Jansz Crol and Jan Huyck, mentioned by the same narrator, were present in the Colony at this time; they, "whilst awaiting a clergyman, read to the Commonality there on Sunday's from texts of Scripture with the creed." Crol was sent to Albany as the representative of Governor Minuit, and the presumption is that Huyck remained here exercising the functions marked out for him by the Classis of Amsterdam.

The clergyman came in July, 1628—Jonas Michaelius, the first Dutch minister in the long line of succession now represented by Dr. Talbot W. Chambers and his associates, Dr. Coe and Dr. Burrell. He found a congregation of fifty Calvinists awaiting him—Dutch, Walloons, and French. These organized into a church, receiving the letters of such as held them, and admitting others, whose letters were lost, on the reports of their neighbors. He preached in the Dutch language, and served communion according to the rules adopted by the Synod of Dort. Some of the Huguenots not being able to understand him, he gave a special service for their benefit in the French language and in the French forms. Two elders were chosen—namely, the Director-General of the Colony, Peter Minuit, and the Colony's storekeeper, Jan Huyghen—to assist the dominie in the government of the church. Soon after these events the dominie's wife died from the effects of exposure and privations on the voyage across the sea. Of this church and the pastor, the records, so far as they have been discovered, have absolutely no further mention. Five years later the record begins again

with the arrival of another minister and the erection of a new church. Knowledge of the Dutch character and of their devotion to their religion is warrant for the presumption that the congregation passed without a break from the horse-mill of 1626 to the church building of 1633.

The horse-mill probably stood east of Broad Street, between two roadways corresponding to what are now known as Stone and Beaver Streets. Access to the mill was gained by a wagon-track or pathway across lots. This wagon-track ran east from Broad Street, midway between the two roads. At the mill the pathway ceased, and customers turned round to return to Broad Street, as there was nothing beyond east of the mill to require the use of a road. In time, this wagon-track received the Dutch title of Sleyck Strege, or Muddy Lane. The English, in their time, gave it the name Mill Street. For a long time this street remained without an outlet beyond the mill. Traffic increased, and a short alley was cut through from the extremity of Mill Street to Stone Street. The alley remains to-day unchanged. Mill Street, however, must be traced through the center of the modern South William Street. The horse-mill stood on the north side of Mill Street, a little west of the extremity of this alley. Nos. 20-22 South William Street would be its approximate location.

It is in the rear of these numbers that the millstones are now lying. A horse-mill in this vicinity was transferred by deed in 1667. In a list of city property taxed in 1677 it is also mentioned, with its owner. The Portuguese Jewish Congregation of Shearith Israel occupied a synagogue adjoining the mill property as early as 1690. When the old mill disappeared may never be known, but in the years that followed, the Jewish congregation extended the borders of its property so as to include its site. Grandfathers and great-grandfathers of present officers of the congregation indulged in boyish pranks over these old, abandoned millstones, as a relief from the tedious succession of Sabbath-day services in the synagogue.

When the congregation moved away from Mill Street in 1833 to its Crosby Street synagogue, the millstones were forgotten. Still they remained while tall warehouses closed around them in Beaver, Broad, and South William Streets. Soon every foot of space in lower New York became valuable, and the merchants found use for the rear courtyards. So the old millstones were rolled over and laid down as pavement. Here they have remained for fifty years, still firmly bound by iron hoops, but worn smooth by constant use and frequent rains.

The second building occupied by the Dutch congregation was a colonial church erected in 1633—a frame building with a gambrel roof and without spire or belfry to mark it. This building stood on the Strand, due east of the south-east corner of the Fort. It commanded a full view of the East River and the bay. The water-line has long since been advanced, so that what was once the Strand is now Pearl Street, and there is nothing to show that the tide once lapped the southern line of this busy thoroughfare. The church plot, as originally laid out, was the fourth east of Whitehall, twenty-nine feet wide and extending through to Bridge Street. The line of Whitehall Street has been changed since that day, so that it is difficult to mark the corners of the lot. A visitor to that section of the city may, however, readily find a narrow alley, three feet wide, running south from Bridge Street, just east of Whitehall, and terminating in the center of the block. If the warehouses that now cover this locality could be removed for a distance of fifty feet east of this alley, the exact site of the "Oude Kerk," as it was called, would be exposed to view. Its numbers on modern Pearl Street would be, probably, 33 and 35. It may be interesting to know that one of these numbers—33 Pearl Street—is assigned by one historian as the birthplace of John Howard Payne.



One must look downwards as well as upwards in human life. Though many have passed you in the race, there are many you have left behind.—*Sydney Smith.*