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His Majesty King George VI

CITIZENS ALL

BRITISH DEMOCRACY AT WORK

Maurice W. Thomas

15 2805

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Introduction

If you walk over Westminster Bridge in a northerly direction, across the Thames with its fussy, chugging barges, you will see on your left a vast, sprawling building extending almost a quarter of a mile along the bank of the river. In the great tower at the eastern end is Big Ben, whose chimes you can hear every night over the wireless, and if you take your stroll during the hours of darkness you may see the lantern over the huge clock illuminated—a sign to the people of London that Parliament is busily at work. For here, on the site of the former royal palace of Westminster, close to the splendid banqueting hall built by William Rufus, and only a few yards from the ancient Abbey, are the Houses of Parliament, where the laws of Great Britain are made.

Glance to your right, and you will see the broad avenue of Whitehall, in the centre of which is the Cenotaph, the nation's memorial to those who were killed in the first World War. Those imposing buildings lining both sides of the street are the great government departments—the Admiralty, with the anchor flag flying day and night, the War Office, the Treasury, the Home Office, the Foreign Office, the India and Colonial Offices, and many others.

You are standing at the very heart of the Empire, for this is the home of the central government. The laws that are made in the Houses of Parliament control the lives of every man, woman, and child in Britain, and of many millions of people in the Empire beyond the seas. These laws have to be obeyed whether you live in a great town or in a tiny village, whether your home is by the sea in Cornwall, in the hills of Wales, or in the moorlands of Scotland, since Parliament is the supreme law-maker for the whole kingdom. The laws that it enacts are put into operation by servants of the state, civil servants they are called, who work in the government departments, and their powers, too, extend throughout the country. These men and women, acting under the authority of Parliament, guide and control our education, they collect the money that the taxpayer has to find for the running of the country, they are responsible for the Navy, for the Army, and for the Air Force, they provide the postal and telegraph services, they govern our Colonies, and watch over

our relations with the great self-governing Dominions and with foreign countries.

These are weighty matters, and they concern us all, since we are all British citizens. But we have other ties and interests, too, for we are also citizens of London, Birmingham, Manchester or Leeds, of Cardiff or Swansea, Edinburgh or Glasgow or Belfast, or perhaps of some smaller town or village. The affairs of our own particular locality may not seem of very great moment to the country as a whole, but they *are* important to us. What sort of schools are we to have, and what sort of homes? Are the public health services to be efficient or out of date? Is our town or village clean, well-tended, and a pleasant place to live in? How is it to be developed? Are there sufficient opportunities for healthy recreation—parks and swimming baths, libraries and museums? What are all these services going to cost? Is the ratepayer's money to be spent wastefully, is everything to be done as cheaply as possible, or is there to be a happy mean? These are questions that cannot possibly be decided by Parliament, for that great central authority has already as much as it can do arranging the affairs of the nation. Then whose business is it?

Turn your back for a moment on Westminster and Whitehall, the home of the central government, and retrace your steps over Westminster Bridge. There on the south bank of the Thames stands another vast building, with its broad sweeping front facing the river. This is County Hall, the headquarters of the London County Council, and the home of the local government for the thickly crowded area that comprises the county of London. Its nerve-centre is the great debating chamber, where those who are chosen to represent the citizens of London decide how the various services for which they are responsible shall be carried on. They are concerned with purely local matters, schools and colleges, hospitals, parks and open spaces, drainage and sanitation, to mention but a few.

Spread through other parts of the building are hundreds of rooms where a great body of men and women, organizing experts, inspectors, doctors, nurses, scientists, typists, and clerks are at work, carrying out the instructions of the council, and making sure that London's many needs are met.

The London County Council, and similar councils both great and small all over the country, are able to deal with all these matters because Parliament has given them the power to do so. The central government wisely decides that local affairs shall be handled by local people, since these



The Citizen's Job

Reproduced from PUNCH, *6 March 1946. Courtesy of the Proprietors of* PUNCH

know best the needs of their own particular area. But they cannot do as they please ; the powers that have been given to them are limited powers, and if they attempt to do something that Parliament has not allowed they will soon be called to account. They can act only for their own locality, and although they are allowed to make laws, little laws or by-laws as they are called, they must be very careful not to go beyond the limits that Parliament has laid down for them.

There are then, in this country, two forms of government, to which you and I and all other citizens are subject—central government which deals with the country as a whole, and local government which is concerned only with an individual district. Let us discuss local government first, not because it is the more important but because it is nearer home.

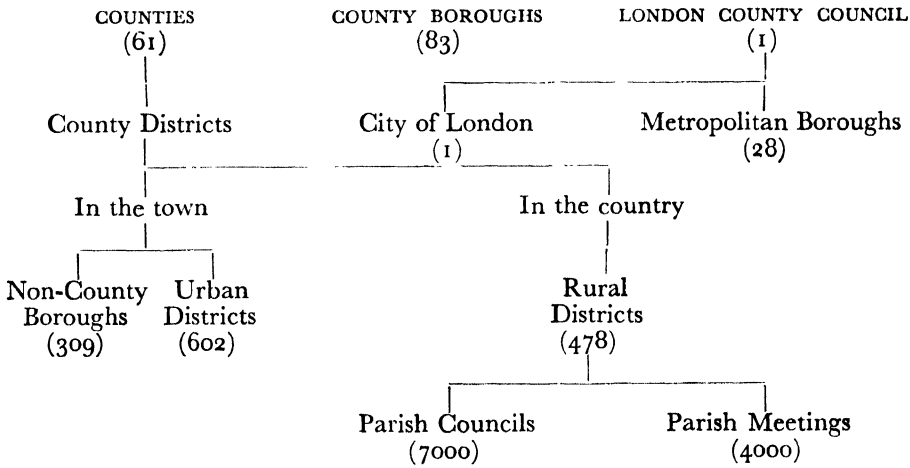
PART ONE—LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1 Local Authorities

THE work of central government is performed by one supreme authority, Parliament, but the duties of local government are undertaken by many different authorities, some of them great and wealthy, with very extensive powers, some of them small, with little money to spend and few tasks to perform.

The Local Government Family

Before we proceed any further, let us meet the different members of this large family and see how they are related to one another. Here is the family tree :



One member of this family, the London County Council, stands apart, as you see. Governing an area of 117 square miles, it has been granted special powers in its relationship with the twenty-eight boroughs and the "square mile" of the City of London of which it is composed. This arrangement was necessary not only because London is the capital of the Empire and a great port, but because the problems that it has to face,

dealing as it does with a population of some nine million people, are different from those existing in other parts of the country.

In the rest of England and Wales the most extensive areas for local government purposes are the counties, each of which is divided into smaller units called county districts. When these districts are towns they may be either boroughs or urban districts ; in country areas small towns and villages are grouped together into rural districts. These rural districts are further divided into parishes, now the humblest of all the members of the family, though their history goes back to the very earliest times.

Boroughs are of two types. County boroughs are towns that are quite independent of the county in which they are situated. They enjoy wide privileges, even possessing certain powers that are not possessed by the counties. Their less important sisters, the non-county boroughs, are towns that are important enough to be governed by a Mayor and Corporation, but not sufficiently important to be independent of the county.

The Councils

Whether they are great or small, rich or poor, all these authorities are alike in one respect. Their members are chosen by the citizens of the locality, who have the right to elect whom they please to represent them on the council. To-day nobody can claim the privilege of sitting on the council because he holds a certain office, or because he owns a particular piece of land. But it was not always so : in former times the affairs of many towns lay in the hands of a small group of men who were responsible to themselves alone, and who managed local affairs and spent public money as they pleased. This scandal was swept away by Parliament in 1835, when it passed the Municipal Corporations Act, and nowadays all councillors are freely chosen by those whose interests it is their duty to serve.

2 Counties and Boroughs

The County

Formation

Before 1888 the government of the counties was largely in the hands of the county magistrates, who conducted their business when they met

together, four times each year, at Quarter Sessions. Since the magistrates, who were appointed for life, were not in any sense representatives of the ratepayers, when Parliament passed the Local Government Act in 1888 it took away most of their powers and transferred them to County Councils, which were to be chosen by the ratepayers.

Numbers

As a rule the local government county, or administrative county as it is usually called, coincides with the geographical county ; the Middlesex County Council, for instance, governs the whole of Middlesex, and the Cornwall County Council governs the whole of Cornwall. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule. In some counties the magistrates had decided to form themselves into groups, each of which was responsible for a particular region in the county. This arrangement was not disturbed by the Act of 1888, and so to-day Yorkshire is divided into three administrative counties—the North, East, and West Ridings. Similarly Lincolnshire comprises the three divisions of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey, and Suffolk and Sussex are each divided into two portions, East and West. Parts of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire have independent existence as the Isle of Ely and the Soke of Peterborough, and London and the Isle of Wight too are administrative counties. So although there are only fifty-two geographical counties in England and Wales, there are sixty-two administrative counties.

Choosing the Council

Every three years those who have the right to vote are called upon to elect a number of men and women to represent them on the County Council. The whole county is divided into small areas called electoral divisions, in each of which the voters choose a representative. As a rule the voting takes place on 8th March, but the council may change this date if it wishes, so long as it arranges for the election to be held during the first eight days of March. When the results of the voting are made known, the newly elected councillors hold their first meeting on some convenient day between 16th and 22nd March.

Since every member of the council is elected for three years only, it follows that all must give up their seats when election year comes round, and although there is nothing to prevent a former councillor from being

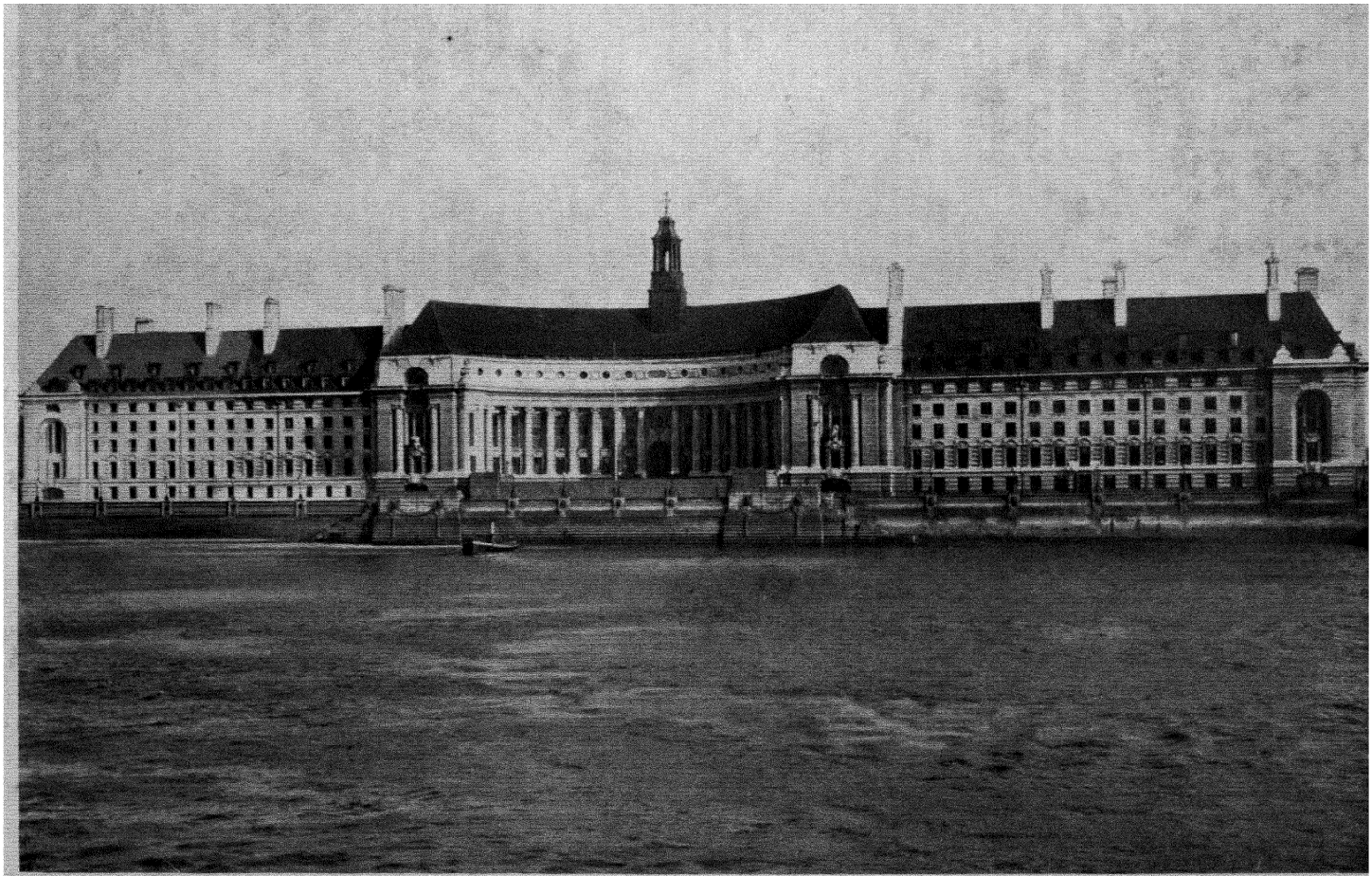
re-elected, there are often new-comers in the chamber at the preliminary meeting of the new council.

CHAIRMAN The first task is to choose a chairman to preside over their debates. Sometimes there is a keen struggle among the various parties, all of whom are anxious to have one of their own supporters in the chair, and, as you might expect, the largest of the parties represented usually secures the candidate of its choice. The chairman is a very important person. He controls the debates, of course, and, in consultation with the clerk, arranges the business of the council at its quarterly meetings (you will remember that the magistrates used to meet once a quarter, and the council follows their custom). He is also consulted on frequent occasions by the officers of the council who need his guidance and advice on the many problems arising from day to day. The chairman who, strangely enough, need not be a member of the council, is elected for one year in the first instance, and during his period of office he acts as a Justice of the Peace for the County.

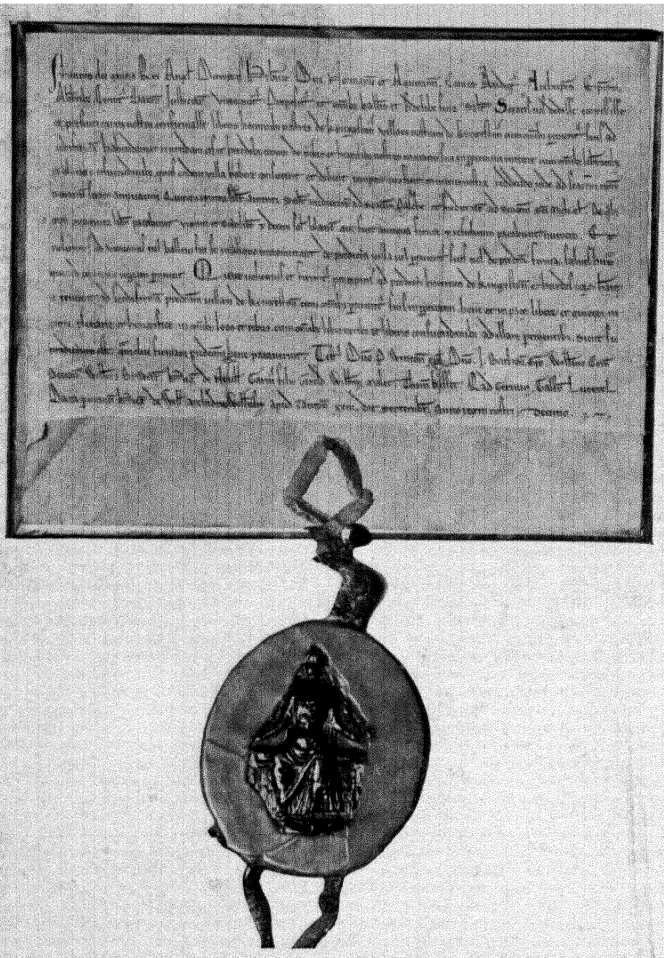
ALDERMEN The councillors are also responsible, every three years, for choosing the aldermen. One alderman is elected for every three councillors, and once appointed he (or she) holds office for six years. Since half the aldermen retire every three years, the effect is that when the new council begins its duties, there are always a number of aldermen who are left over, as it were, from the old council. This practice has sometimes been criticized on the ground that the aldermen are not elected by the ratepayers but by the councillors (as a matter of fact there is nothing to prevent the councillors choosing a person who is not even a member of the council). Those who favour the system, however, point out that it is an advantage to have on the council people who serve for six years instead of three. They act as a steadying influence, because they know along what lines the former council worked, and they help to secure continuity of policy and tradition.

County Officials

LORD LIEUTENANT The Lord Lieutenant, who acts as the representative of the King within the county, is usually an influential landowner and the chief magistrate. He is the chairman of the association that is



County Hall : the home of London's government



Borough Charter granted by King John to Kingston-upon-Thames



A Mayor receives a new Charter from the Lord-Lieutenant

responsible for the territorial army, and very often he has charge of the county records. He usually appoints Deputy Lieutenants, and the men thus honoured may put the letters D.L. after their names.

HIGH SHERIFF Every year, on 2nd November, the day after All Souls' Day, a parchment roll is placed before the King. On this roll are written the names of those men in each county who are considered suitable candidates for the office of High Sheriff. The King takes a long bodkin, and indicates those upon whom his choice has fallen by pricking the parchment opposite their names. Those who become High Sheriffs for the coming year, as a result of this ancient ceremony, have important duties to perform. They welcome the judges of the High Court when they hold the Assizes, they publish royal proclamations, they summon jurors, and they are responsible for seeing that sentences of death are carried out.

THE CLERK The clerk of the County Council is the chief official conducting the affairs of the county, and he advises the council, especially on matters of law. He also acts as Clerk of the Peace, in which capacity he is responsible to the county magistrates for the business done at Quarter Sessions.

The Borough

History

In olden times many towns, anxious to free themselves from the power of some great lord, secured from the King certain privileges, usually in return for a money payment. These privileges were set out in a parchment document called a Charter, conferring upon the town a number of rights that it would not enjoy in the ordinary course of events. Bristol, for instance, was allowed to collect the market tolls and rents in return for a yearly payment of two hundred and forty-five pounds ; Newcastle paid a hundred pounds for a similar privilege ; London obtained the right to have its own citizens tried in its own courts, and Winchester, Stourbridge, and Oxford secured the valuable privilege of holding fairs and markets.

As time went on the government of these boroughs (a town that possessed a Charter ranked as a borough) often fell into the hands of a small number of men who did not consider the well-being of the citizens (or burgesses) in the slightest degree, and in 1835 Parliament passed the

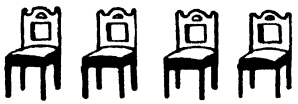
COUNTY COUNCIL

ELECTION IN MARCH



CHAIRMAN
(1 YEAR)

Elected by Council each year



ALDERMEN
(6 YEARS)

Elected by Council half every third year



COUNCILLORS
(3 YEARS)

Elected by rate-payers every third year

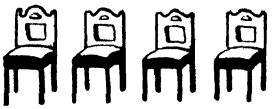
BOROUGH COUNCIL

ELECTION IN NOVEMBER



MAYOR
(1 YEAR)

Elected by Council each year



ALDERMEN
(6 YEARS)

Elected by Council half every third year



COUNCILLORS
(3 YEARS)

Elected by rate-payers one third every year

law that placed the power of choosing those who were to govern the borough in the hands of the ratepayers.

Choosing the Borough Council

COUNCILLORS At the present day, those who are entitled to vote are called upon early in November each year to elect men and women to serve on the Borough Council. The councillors thus chosen serve for three years, and one-third of them retire annually. The town is divided into wards, each of which is represented by three, six, or nine councillors, so that every year the voters who live in the ward choose one, two, or three representatives as the case may be.

ALDERMEN On 9th November the Borough Council elects the aldermen, who must be chosen from the councillors or from persons qualified to be councillors even though they may not have been elected as such. Like county aldermen, the aldermen of the Borough hold office for six years, half of them retiring every third year. One alderman is elected for every three councillors, and if the newly appointed alderman is already a councillor, as is usually the case, the voters in the ward that he represents choose another councillor to take his place.

MAYOR On the same day, 9th November, the councillors and those aldermen who are not due to retire, elect the new Mayor. When the result of the election has been announced the successful candidate, having made the formal declaration of acceptance, leaves the Council Chamber, dons the fur-edged scarlet robe and the cocked hat constituting the uniform of his important office, and on his return is invested with his chain of office by the retiring Mayor. In front of his seat is placed the Borough Mace, the symbol of his authority, and for the remainder of the year for which he serves the Mace will always be carried before him when he goes about his official business clad in his robes.

It is the duty of the Mayor to preside over the meetings of the Council, and he also acts as a Justice of the Peace for the borough during the following two years. As chief citizen he welcomes distinguished visitors, and he takes a prominent part in the life of the town. In certain boroughs the King has granted to the chief citizen the right to be known as Lord Mayor, though this more honourable title does not confer any greater powers.

County and Non-County Boroughs

Prior to the year 1888 certain towns had obtained from the King the right to govern themselves, free from the interference of the officers of the county in which they were situated. When the county councils were established these towns were not deprived of their privileges, but were allowed to continue to manage their own affairs. Such towns, called county boroughs, possess practically all the powers of a county council in addition to those powers that are enjoyed by non-county boroughs. As a rule county boroughs are great cities like Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, but certain smaller towns as well, such as York and Canterbury, are county boroughs.

It sometimes happens that an urban or rural district desires to become a borough in order that it may enjoy greater independence and the added dignity of a Mayor and Corporation. In such a case the council presents a petition to the King, praying him to grant a Charter of Incorporation. The King asks the Privy Council to consider the matter, and the Ministry of Health sends an inspector to hold an inquiry. If the reports are favourable a Charter is granted, and a new borough comes into existence.

Sometimes a non-county borough grows so much in population that it desires to enjoy the full independence possessed by a county borough. If the council can show that the town contains more than 100,000 inhabitants it is entitled to ask Parliament to pass an Act converting it into a county borough. Since it costs a lot of money to get such an Act through Parliament, no council would embark upon this venture without very full consideration, and the ratepayers would have to be convinced that the expenditure was worth while. They would have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages very carefully. Thus though they would become free from county council control, and could manage their affairs as they liked, yet they would have to meet the cost of such services as education and police, the expense of which was formerly shared by the county as a whole.

The non-county boroughs vary in size enormously, from the tiny town of Montgomery, with its 900 inhabitants, to the great Middlesex boroughs of Tottenham and Willesden, which are, in fact, larger than many county boroughs. But whether they are large or small, these boroughs enjoy similar privileges, though their powers are little greater than those of their humbler neighbours, the urban districts.

3 Urban Districts, Rural Districts, and Parishes

History

A hundred years ago Parliament began to realize that the population of this country was increasing with startling rapidity, and that in consequence many new problems were arising. Public health, education, the relief of the poor, the upkeep of roads—all these matters, and many others, too, were clamouring for attention. It was not easy to find people who could attend to all this business, for apart from the boroughs and the counties there were no local authorities who could undertake the responsibilities that were involved.

The difficulty was solved, after a fashion, by setting up all over the country a number of Boards—Sanitary Boards to look after drainage, sanitation, and other matters concerning the health of the people, Education Boards to provide schools, Highway Boards to maintain the roads, and Boards of Poor Law Guardians to relieve the poor. At first this system was all very well, but it became extremely complicated, since separate elections had to be held to choose men to be members of the various Boards, and each Board had to impose rates on the local inhabitants to get the money it needed to carry on its work.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century things became so chaotic that Parliament took measures to reform the whole system, and in 1894 the Local Government Act transferred most of the powers exercised by the Boards in each locality to District Councils. In country districts these newly formed councils were called Rural District Councils, and in towns they were known as Urban District Councils. All such councils were to be elected by the ratepayers, and were given the power to raise money by levying rates. In this way the old system of separate elections for the Boards, each of which imposed its own rates, was abolished.

An urban district council has a good deal more power than a rural district council—for one thing it is not so much under the thumb of the county council (as we shall see later). If a rural district wishes to enlarge its authority and become an urban district it can apply to the Minister of Health, who, if he thinks that a good case has been made out, may make an Order authorizing the change.

Choosing the Councils

Elections for rural and urban district councils take place in March, and the councillors selected hold office for three years from 15th April. As a rule one-third retire each year, but the county council can arrange, if a particular district wishes, for the whole body of councillors to retire together every three years.

At the annual meeting, in April, the councillors elect a chairman for the ensuing twelve months. The chairman, who need not be a member of the council, acts as Justice of the Peace for the county during his term of office. District councils differ from their big sisters, the borough and county councils, in that they do not have aldermen.

The Parish

History

The parish is the most ancient of all local government areas, for its history extends over some thirteen centuries. From early times it had been the custom for the inhabitants of each parish to meet together in the church vestry to arrange their business, and when the statesmen in Queen Elizabeth's reign were trying to think of a scheme to help the poor, they decided to hand over the job to the parish, which thus became responsible for finding the money to support those who could not maintain themselves.

As time went on, however, the "vestries" came to take less interest in the conduct of local affairs, and finally most of their powers were transferred to the county. In 1894 Parliament resolved to restore some of their original authority, and the Parish Councils Act was passed to revive certain of their former powers. The attempt proved only partially successful, and it is a matter for regret that in many parts of the country this ancient unit of local government arouses but little interest in the minds of those who are responsible for electing the councillors.

The Parish Meeting

In urban districts the parish has no local government powers at all, but in rural districts parishes with less than 300 inhabitants hold a parish meeting, at which all those who may vote at local government elections

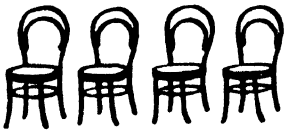
URBAN & RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS

ELECTION IN APRIL



CHAIRMAN
(1 YEAR)

Elected by Council
each year



COUNCILLORS
(3 YEARS)

Elected by Rate-payers
one third every year

PARISH

Over 300 inhabitants
PARISH COUNCIL

ELECTION IN APRIL



CHAIRMAN
(1 YEAR)

Elected by Council



COUNCILLORS

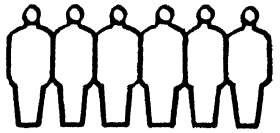
Elected by
Parish Meeting
every third year

Under 300 inhabitants
PARISH MEETING

MARCH



CHAIRMAN
(1 YEAR)



LOCAL GOVERNMENT
ELECTORS

are entitled to be present. The annual meeting takes place in March, and in order that those who work some distance away may be able to attend, it must not be held before 6 p.m. The meeting elects a chairman, but it has little other business to conduct. It may provide allotments, appoint school managers, and complain to the county council if it thinks the rural district council is not doing its duty in a satisfactory manner.

The Parish Council

If there are more than 300 inhabitants in the parish, a parish council must be elected at the annual parish meeting, and from five to fifteen members are chosen to hold office for three years. The council has a variety of tasks to perform—it looks after the village green, arranges for the cleaning out of ponds and ditches, provides water, repairs footpaths, and, like the parish meeting, writes a letter of complaint to the county council if it considers that the rural district council is not sufficiently energetic.

4 The Council at Work

The Source of Power

Local authorities enjoy very great powers within the areas they control. They can make by-laws, they can demand money, in the form of rates, from those who occupy houses or land, and they are responsible, as we shall see, for many important public services. By what right do the councils exercise these powers? The answer is that Parliament has bestowed this right upon them. The central government, realizing that it could not possibly undertake all the duties that must be carried out in each locality, hands over the task to councils that are elected by the local ratepayers. But it does not give the councils a free hand to do as they please. They can do only what Parliament allows them to do, and the great Local Government Act that was passed in 1933 defines their powers very clearly.

Parliament does not merely give authority to the local councils, but takes steps to see that they perform their duties efficiently. The control is

exercised through the great government departments, and if you study the diagram on page 14 you will see that the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Home Office, and the Board of Trade are among the departments that supervise local government.

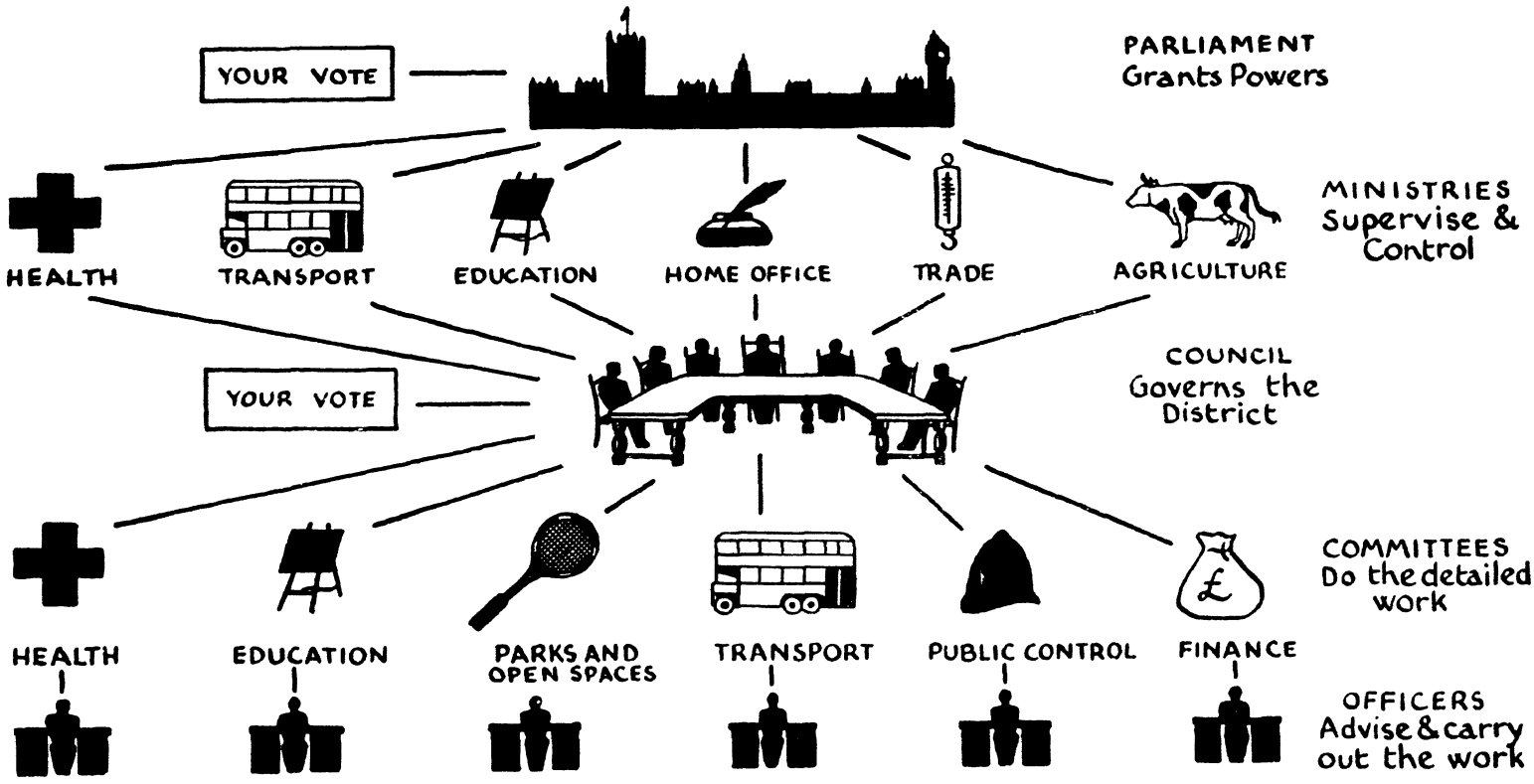
What would happen if a council took the bit between its teeth and refused to do its work as Parliament wished? In an extreme case the council might be turned out, its work being taken over by the Government; in a less extreme case Parliament might reduce the money grants that would normally be paid into the council's coffers. But such drastic measures are seldom, if ever, necessary, and a friendly remonstrance or a word of advice is usually sufficient to put matters right. In any case councils are allowed wide discretion in the conduct of their affairs, and so long as they keep within the law they have little reason to expect interference.

How the Work is Done

Local councils always do their work through committees. There is such a vast mass of detail needing attention that it would be quite impossible for the whole council to devote sufficient time to it, so at its annual meeting the council sets up committees (or small groups of members) to each of which a certain piece of work is allotted. The finance committee deals with money matters, the education committee has charge of the schools, and other committees control public health, the libraries, the parks and open spaces, and the police.

Each committee is advised in the conduct of its affairs by a paid official, who has expert knowledge of the work. The chief official, usually a solicitor, is called the Clerk of the Council, and it is his duty to supervise the work of all departments, and to help the council in legal matters. The Medical Officer of Health is responsible for the health of the district, the Education Officer is responsible for the education service, the Engineer looks after the planning of the town and the building developments, while the Treasurer holds the purse strings. Each of these officers is assisted by a staff to help him carry out the instructions of the council. This staff includes clerks and typists, builders and plumbers, scavengers and dustmen, inspectors, doctors and nurses, and a large authority employs many hundreds of people to do its work.

THE CHAIN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Power flows from Parliament to the Council, thence to Committees and to the officials who carry out their instructions.

When the various committees meet, each under its own chairman, they discuss all the details of the service for which they are responsible. Sometimes the committee is divided in its views, and then there is a keen debate. Finally a vote is taken, and the decision that the committee takes is recorded on the minutes. As a rule this decision is reported at the next meeting of the council, when any member, whether he sits on the committee or not, may challenge the action that has been taken. If necessary the whole council will debate the matter afresh and make the final decision. Sometimes the council delegates certain of its powers to a committee, *e.g.* the public health or housing committee, and in such cases the council cannot alter the decision made by that committee.

By-laws

If local authorities are to carry out their duties properly they must be allowed to make rules. These rules will necessarily deal with such matters as the public use of the parks, swimming baths, and libraries ; they will regulate the building of houses, shops, and factories ; and they will also specify the conditions under which children may be employed. But it is one thing to make rules, and quite a different matter to see that they are obeyed. What can the council do if people break the rules ?

Now Parliament makes rules too, rules applying to the whole country. We call them laws, and if a man breaks the law he can be punished by fine or imprisonment. There is no other body that can make laws in this country, but Parliament can and does give local authorities power to make their own rules or by-laws. These by-laws do not apply to the whole country, of course, but only to that particular part of it which the local authority controls. They resemble laws, however, in that people who disobey them can be brought before a court of law and fined. Thus the authority of the council is upheld, and the state will see that the by-laws, if they have been properly made in accordance with the conditions imposed by Parliament, are respected and obeyed. The by-laws must always be approved by the Minister of Health, who has issued a set of model by-laws for the guidance of local authorities.

5 Choosing the Council

The Voters

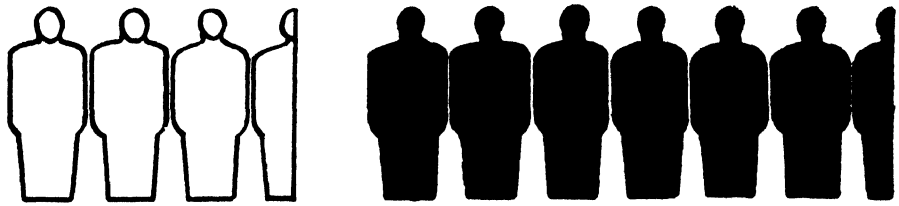
In the early years of the nineteenth century, before county councils and district councils were set up, local government, such as it was, rested largely in the hands of the magistrates. These men, who held their appointment for life, were usually well-to-do landed gentry, who governed the countryside in accordance with the tradition to which they belonged. The boroughs were often under the control of a very small body of freemen (in 1855 only 6,000 of the 200,000 inhabitants of Liverpool had a vote), whose careless and extravagant handling of the borough funds was an open scandal. Sometimes they used the ratepayers' money to bribe voters at Parliamentary elections, sometimes they wasted it in providing elaborate banquets and feasts for themselves and their friends, and there was even one place, viz. Berwick-upon-Tweed, where they used to borrow money in the name of the borough and divide it amongst themselves.

This lax system was swept away by a series of Acts of Parliament, until to-day all people, men and women, rich and poor, great and humble alike, have an equal share in choosing those who are to be responsible for governing the district in which they live. Until quite recently only those people having a stake in the district had the right to vote for members of the council. The council spending money, sometimes quite a great sum, and the money coming from the ratepayers, only those who contributed directly to the rates as owners or tenants of property were allowed to vote. In 1945, however, Parliament decided that, subject to certain conditions, every man and woman over twenty-one years of age should be allowed to vote at local government elections, just as they do at Parliamentary elections.

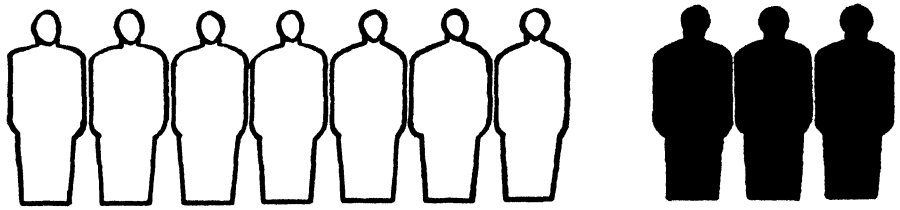
In each area a list is made of those who satisfy the conditions laid down by Parliament. This list, or register as it is called, is brought up to date each year, and comes into force on 15th October. If your name is on the register you may vote at the next election. If it is not you cannot vote, even if you have the necessary qualifications. This may seem somewhat unfair, since your name may have been omitted by accident, but before it

ELECTORS AND VOTERS

FOR THE LOCAL COUNCIL



FOR PARLIAMENT



Each figure represents 10 electors. All have the right to choose their representatives.
The black figures do not trouble to record their votes. The white ones, like good citizens, do.

comes into force the register is open for your inspection, and if your name is not there the official in charge will insert it if you can show him that you are entitled to vote. If you do not take the trouble to examine the register, you can scarcely complain about not being allowed to vote when the time comes.

You are entitled to have your name entered on the register of the district in which you were living on 30th June. There is no need for you to pay rates or to own property—mere residence on the qualifying date is enough.

If you occupy business premises (a shop or an office, for instance) in another district, you may vote in that district too, provided you have applied for your name to be entered on the special Business Premises register.

Men and women serving in the armed forces are not debarred from voting simply because they were away from home on 30th June. They may apply to have their names included in the Service Register, and they are then able to name a relative or friend to vote for them in the district in which they usually live. This is called voting by proxy.

Parliament does not allow you to vote at a local election if you are an alien (that is, a foreigner who has not become a British citizen by taking out papers of naturalization), if you have been found guilty of a serious criminal offence, or if you have been convicted of bribery at a previous election. Lunatics, too, are debarred.

If you live in a parish you can vote three times, once for the parish council, once for the rural district council, and once for the county council ; if you live in a rural district, urban district, or non-county borough you have two votes, one for the district or borough election, and one for the county council election ; but if you live in a county borough you vote once only.

The Candidates

For whom may the voters, or electors as they are sometimes called, cast their votes ? It is not enough that men and women who offer themselves for election to the local council shall be of full age, and free from the legal disqualifications that we have just mentioned ; they must have some real

claim to represent the people of the district by satisfying one of the following conditions :

1 they must own property within the district,
2 they must be entitled to vote as local government electors.

You will notice that a man or woman may be chosen to serve on the council of a district even though he or she may not be able to vote in that particular district. A person who owns property in the area, for instance, may serve as a councillor even if he lives elsewhere.

The Election

The actual business of choosing councillors is rather formal, for great care has to be taken to see that everything is fair and above board. There must be no suspicion of bribery or compulsion, and absolute secrecy in the voting is vitally important.

In charge of all the arrangements is the Returning Officer. When county councillors are being elected this official is appointed by the county council ; in district councils the clerk of the council undertakes the work ; and in boroughs the task is entrusted to the mayor, though when the borough is divided into separate districts called " wards " for the purposes of the election, the aldermen act as returning officers (the town clerk, however, actually doing the work).

The first step is to give public notice of the date of the election. A day is then fixed on which the men and women who intend to offer themselves as candidates must come forward and produce evidence that they have some support from those who are going to vote. They do this by handing in nomination papers signed by a proposer and seconder and at least eight other persons (except in rural districts and parishes where only a proposer and seconder are needed), all of whom are local government electors who support the candidate in question.

Candidates are usually backed by one of the three great political parties, Conservative, Liberal, or Labour, but in some areas by the local Moderate or Progressive parties, who have their own ideas as to how the affairs of the district should be conducted. Each candidate will do what he can to secure the greatest number of votes, and by holding public meetings,

and by issuing posters and handbills, he will tell the electors the policy he will follow should he be chosen to represent them.

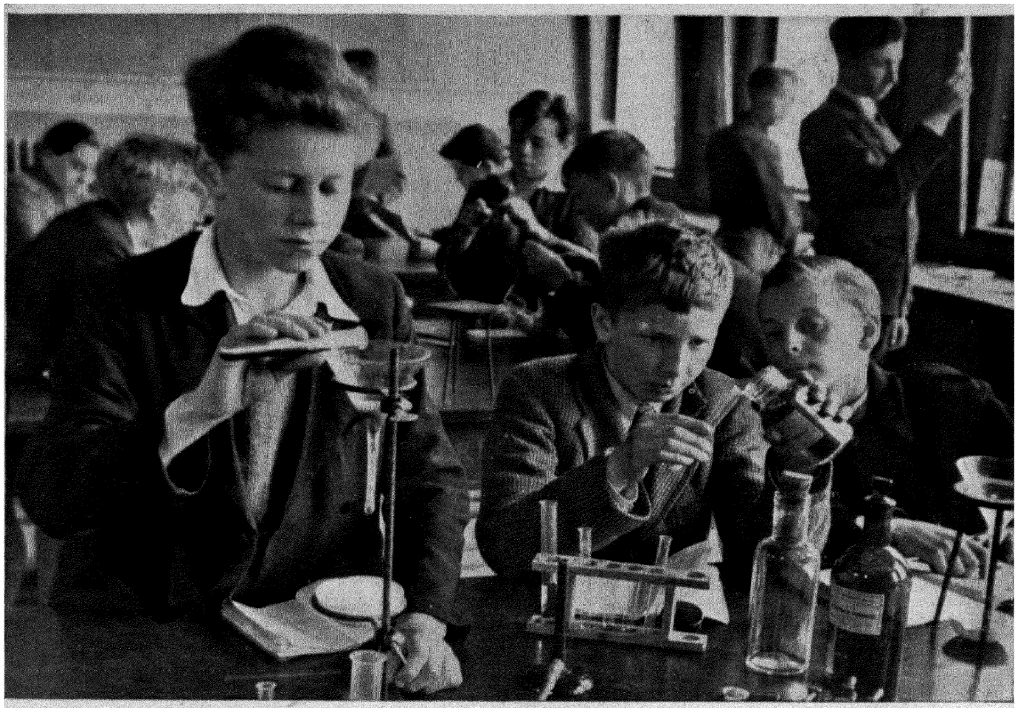
When polling day, the day of the election, comes, polling booths are set up at convenient places, often in schools, and here the electors come to record their votes, which they do by placing a cross on the ballot paper against the name of the person or persons of their choice (for the elector has the right to vote for as many candidates as there are vacancies in his particular ward). The ballot paper is then put into a sealed box, and at the end of the day the boxes are taken to the Returning Officer, under whose direction the votes are counted. The persons securing the greatest number of votes are then declared to be elected, and in due course take their seats as members of the council. Sometimes there is an uncontested election, since there is obviously no need to hold a poll unless there are more candidates than there are vacancies. Their task is no easy one, for they have to devote much time and care to their work. Unlike members of Parliament they receive no payment for their services, and sometimes they are called upon to make considerable financial sacrifices, especially when council and committee meetings are held during ordinary working hours. They must expect to be criticized freely (often by those members of the public who did not take the trouble to record their votes !), but they have the consolation of knowing that they are undertaking public service of the very greatest importance.

6 Duties of the Council

The electors have cast their votes (why do so few exercise the right that Parliament has given them ?), the Returning Officer has announced the names of the successful candidates, and the newly elected council has held its first meeting, chosen its chairman or mayor as the case may be, and settled down to the work that lies ahead. And what important work it is—nothing less than to provide for the health, happiness, and general well-being of the whole body of inhabitants. Every single decision made by the council, since it will influence in some way the life of the community of which you are a member, will affect you personally to a greater or lesser degree.



A County Borough Council: the Mayor is wearing his robes and chain of office. On either side sit the Aldermen in their fur-edged gowns; the Councillors, wearing plain gowns, sit below



Secondary Modern School : practical work is an important part of the training



Technical College : young men and women continue their education

Let us try to gain a bird's-eye view of the duties that have to be performed by local authorities. If you examine the diagram on page 22 you will see that the activities and conditions of your daily life are closely linked up with a variety of services, each of which helps, in some measure, to provide for your happiness, comfort, and convenience. These services are carried out by public servants—by *your* servants, whom the council employs on your behalf. What they shall do, and how they shall do it, depends on the council that gives them their orders, and that really means it depends on you and your fellow-citizens, since you choose the council, and it is your responsibility to vote for the men and women who will do things as you want them done.

Council Services To-day

Health

In the diagram there are indicated eight separate services that are essential to any group of people living together. All are important, but some are more necessary than others. Which would you place first on the list? Most people would probably agree that the health service should come first, for unless conditions are such that men and women, boys and girls can live their lives protected from the ravages of disease, there can be little happiness for anybody. The town must be kept sweet and clean; waste matter and refuse, the happy hunting-ground of the germs and microbes that make people ill, must be removed and rendered harmless; ambulances and hospitals must be provided for those who need them; and, very important this, people must be trained in healthy ways of life.

Education

What next? Young people must be prepared for the great task of becoming wise and useful citizens. They must be taught to cultivate good habits, and made fit to earn a living. In other words they must be educated, and so the local authority provides schools and colleges, and employs in addition to the teachers a large staff of skilled men and women, doctors and dentists, nurses and welfare workers, whose job it is to see that every boy and girl gets a decent start in life. Provision is also made for adult education, and polytechnics and evening institutes arrange technical classes for those who wish to continue their education after the day's work is done.

THE WORK OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT



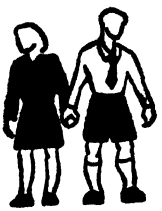
PROTECTION



HEALTH

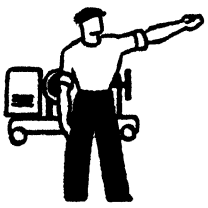


TRADING





EDUCATION



ROADS



RECREATION



PUBLIC ASSISTANCE



HOMES

Local government serves us in a variety of ways. These are its chief functions.

Recreation

But all work and no play—you know the old tag. All people need opportunities for rest, refreshment, and recreation. They want to play games, to swim, or, if they are very young, just to run about with their friends and make a noise. The council looks after this too. It gives you parks, sports grounds, and swimming baths, and for those who are not quite so active perhaps, libraries, museums, and art galleries.

Homes

And what about the homes in which people live? They must be comfortable and convenient, properly built and equipped, and kept in good repair. Houses must be provided for those who need them, and jerry builders must be controlled so that they may not take advantage of other people's needs. The council looks after all this, and, as is right and proper, the ratepayers pay for it.

Public Assistance

Some people, unfortunately, need more than this. They may have fallen on evil days, and be unable any longer to fend for themselves. They may be old and ill, and incapable of earning enough money to support themselves. Or they may be fit and young, but they just cannot find a job. The community cannot ignore them. They are part of it, and it is a duty, and indeed a privilege, to do all that is possible for them. Though private charity may help, it is not enough, and so the job is handed over to the council, and the officials of the Public Assistance Committee carry out the details of the work. But in due time this task will be transferred from the local authority to the State.

Roads

In a thickly populated country like the United Kingdom, people would be badly handicapped without a good system of roads. The great trunk (*i.e.* through, or long distance) roads, of course, are maintained by the government, but other thoroughfares are the responsibility of the local authorities—a reminder of the old days when the inhabitants of each parish were charged with the duty of looking after the roads and bridges in their own area.

Protection

All these great services would be of little value and people would soon become a mere disorganized rabble if quiet, law-abiding citizens were not protected from those few selfish people who refuse to play the game according to the rules. In every type of society there are certain individuals who prey upon others and who, disregarding the laws that are made for the benefit of all, put their own interests first. These people must be hunted down and punished, or, if necessary, put away where they can do no more harm. And so another important task falls to the local authorities. They must maintain an efficient force of police to see that the laws of the country are observed, and they must also employ a body of inspectors to ensure that the public gets a fair deal. These inspectors have difficult work to do—they must see that when you buy a pound of butter or a ton of coal, you get full weight, they must make sure that the food you buy in the shop is pure and wholesome, and they must control the sale of drugs. Day by day, week in and week out, the citizen needs protection, and he looks to the council to provide it.

Trading

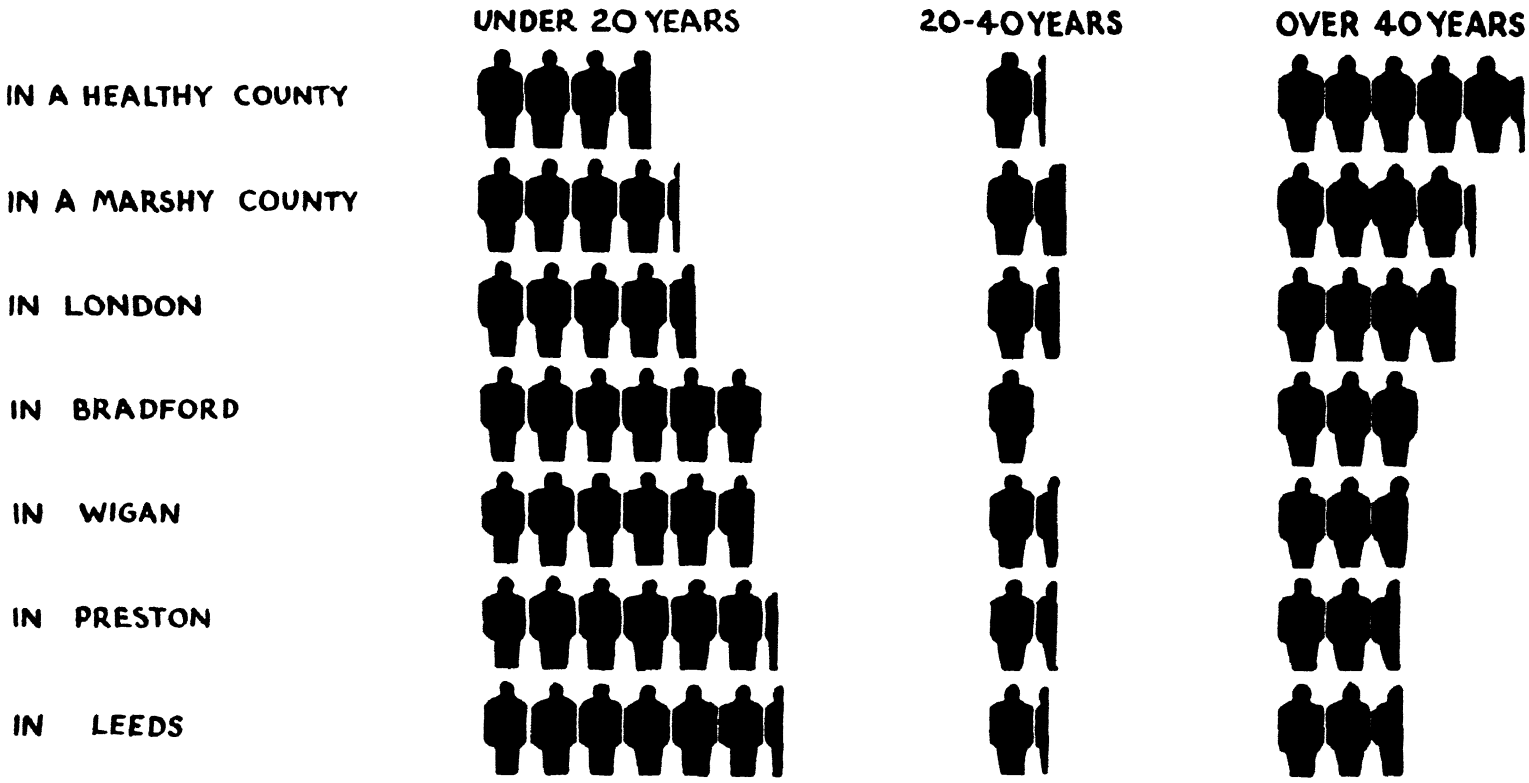
Many councils have not been content merely to provide these essential services ; they have set up as traders, often in a big way of business. They sell water, and gas and electricity too, and many of them provide the public with the means of transport—trams and motor buses. What heavy responsibility all this entails ! How important it is to make sure that the right councillors are elected, men and women who can bring to their task energy, vision, and devotion to public service ! And how important that you should play your part in selecting them !

7 Public Health

The "Good Old Days"

Look at the diagram on page 25. It tells a terrible story, for it shows the dreadful ravages of disease in this country a century ago. The introduction of machinery into the cotton and woollen industries had

AGE AT DEATH 1833



This diagram shows the state of affairs before the public health services were instituted. In the northern manufacturing towns more than half the population died before reaching the age of 20; in healthy districts things were not quite so bad

caused huge numbers of workers to come crowding in to the new towns that were springing up so rapidly in the north. These towns were not properly planned, houses were rushed up in the shadow of the factory chimneys, and no provision was made for sanitation and cleansing. In Manchester, when an inspection of the 687 streets of the city was made early in the nineteenth century, it was found that 248 were not paved, 112 were so narrow and ill-ventilated as to be a danger to health, and in 352 streets there were heaps of refuse and pools of stagnant water. One house in every three had no lavatory accommodation at all, many people lived underground in dark, damp cellars, and the overcrowding was shocking. You can imagine the result of all this. Outbreaks of cholera, typhus, dysentry, and smallpox occurred with sickening regularity, tuberculosis each year carried thousands to an early grave, and the majority of men and women died before they reached the age of 40. In 1844 it was calculated that in Manchester the expectation of life of the professional classes and gentry was 38 years ; of shopkeepers, 20 years ; of factory workers and labourers, 17 years. Of every 1,000 babies born to working-class mothers, 570 died before they reached the age of 5. In country districts things were not quite so bad, but here too epidemic disease was common, and people came to regard it as part of the natural order of things.

Early Reforms

The discoveries of medical science went a long way to combat this wasteful loss of life, but even the cleverest doctors would have been able to do little unless the conditions under which people lived had first been vastly improved. It was Edwin Chadwick (1800-90) who realized that this improvement could never take place until proper sanitation was provided in every town, and until people had learnt the importance of personal cleanliness. He struggled hard to introduce reforms, but like many other pioneers he had to face bitter opposition. " We prefer to take our chance of cholera and the rest than to be bullied into health," said a writer in *The Times*. " England wants to be clean, but not to be cleaned by Chadwick. It was a perpetual Saturday night, and Master John Bull was scrubbed and rubbed and small-tooth-combed till the tears ran into his eyes and his teeth chattered, and his fists clenched themselves with worry

THE BATTLE FOR HEALTH

What have the Local Authorities done?

CONQUEST OF DISEASE

CAUSE OF DEATH	1871 – 1880	1891 – 1900	1942
SCARLET FEVER	± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ±	± ± ±	┘
DIPHTHERIA	± ± ± ± ± ± ±	± ± ± ±	±
TYPHOID	± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ±	± ± ± ± ± ± ± ±	
SMALLPOX	± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ± ±	┘	

HEALTHY MEN AND WOMEN

HEALTHY MOTHER

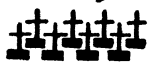
Visits to Clinic

1930 

1934 

1938 

Maternal Mortality

1880 

1910 

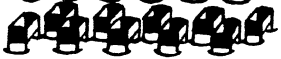
1942 

HEALTHY BABY

Welfare Centres

1920 

1930 

1942 

Infant Mortality

1880 

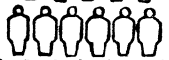
1910 

1942 

HEALTHY CHILD

Fit Bodies

1921 

1930 

1938 

Good Teeth

1910 

1925 

1935 

RESULT – LONGER LIFE

1871 

1901 

1946 

and pain." But Chadwick's efforts were not all made in vain, and people soon came to realize the truth of his contentions. Liverpool led the way in 1847 by appointing a Medical Officer of Health to be responsible for the public health of the town, and to-day over 1,200 doctors, specially qualified for this important work, are engaged by local authorities all over the country.

Modern Health Services

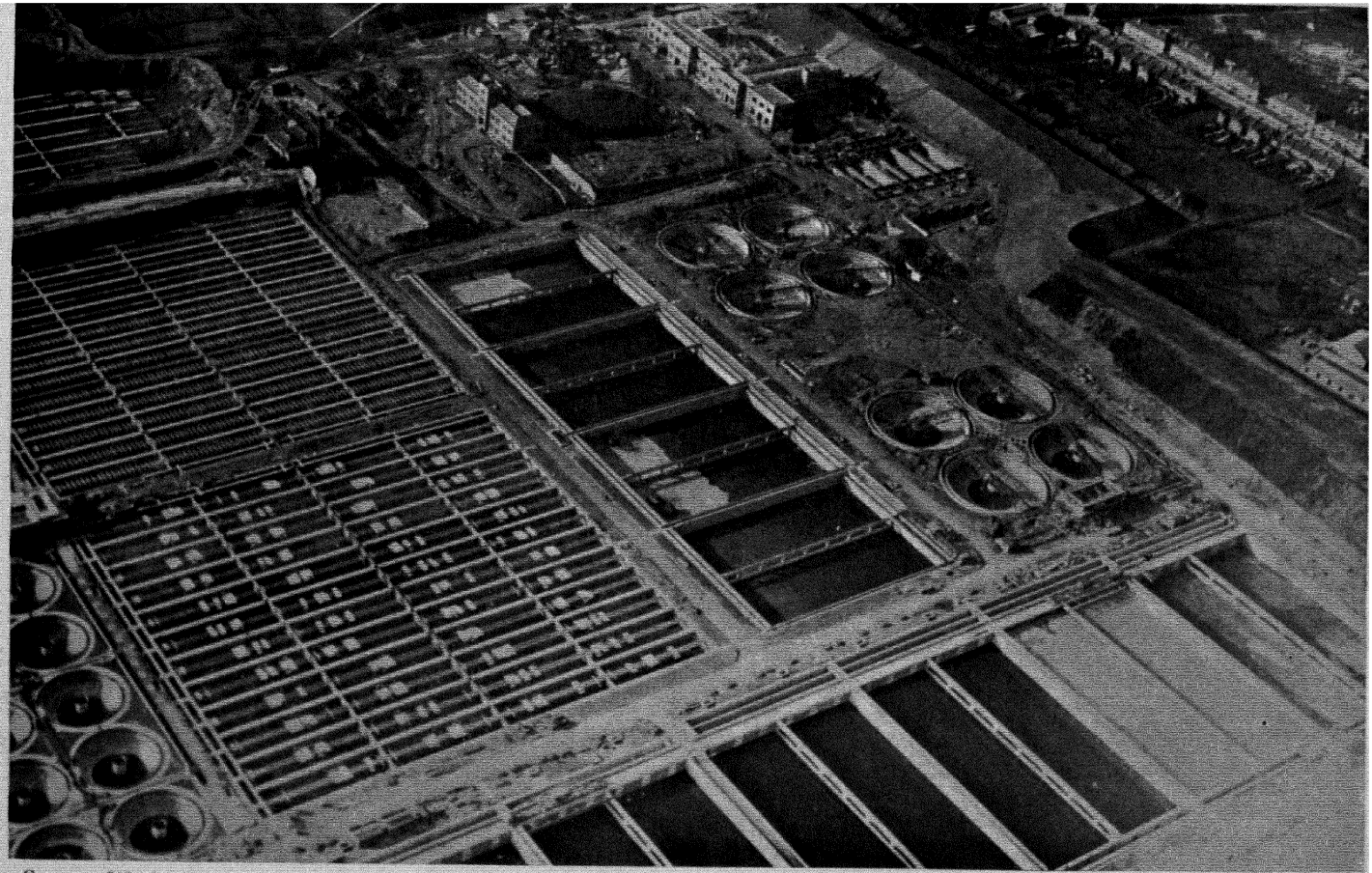
Sanitation

What have they accomplished? The diagram on page 27 supplies the answer, or at least part of the answer, since no figures can illustrate the whole of their work. Consider that terrible killer, typhoid, a disease caused by impure water and bad sanitation. Look at the toll it took a little over half a century ago. It has disappeared now. Why is this? Because there is now a proper drainage system. We cannot see the drains and sewers. They are buried in the ground, and perhaps that is the reason we do not think about them, or talk about them. But many of us would not be alive if they were not there. These sewers take away the deadly waste matter from our houses, shops, schools, and factories. Sometimes they discharge it into the sea; more frequently they take it to a "sewage farm," where it is treated in such a way as to make it harmless. London has expended over 16 million pounds on its sewers (it has over 400 miles of them), but as you may imagine, the money has been well spent.

Refuse

The dustman's job is a very important one. Harmful bacteria would soon breed if our dustbins were not emptied regularly, and shops and factories would find it very difficult to dispose of trade refuse if the council did not come to their help.

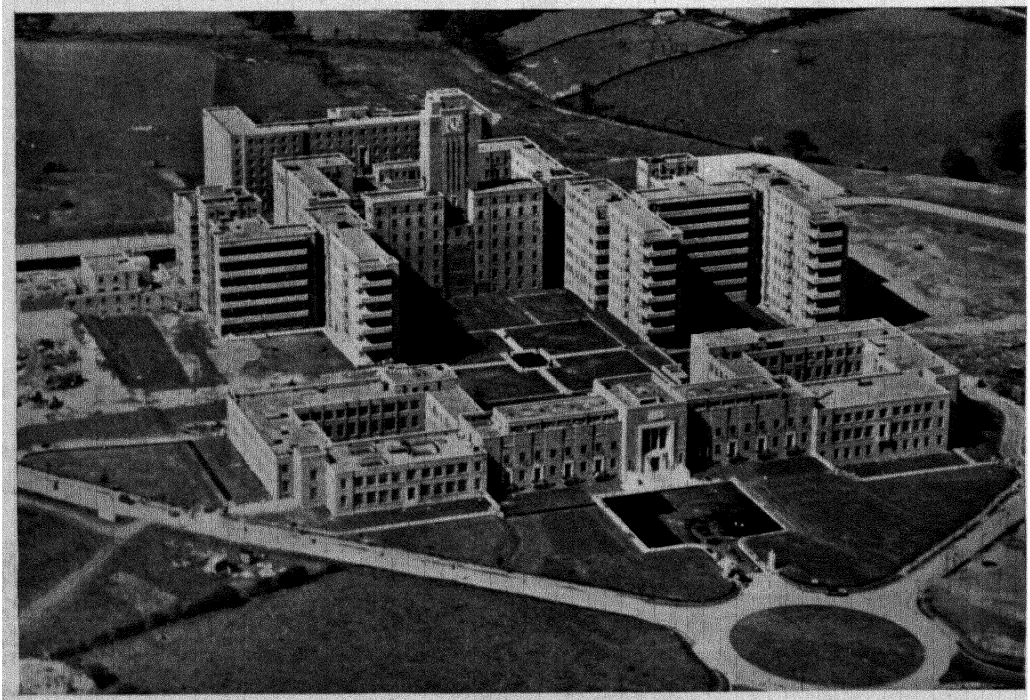
If you could follow the dustcart to the end of its journey you would probably see a very interesting spectacle. Many go-ahead councils have realized that much of this so-called waste material is really very valuable, and they do what they can to salvage it. The contents of the dustbins are carefully sorted, and bones, waste-paper, and scrap-metal are placed on one side to be sold. When everything of value has been taken out, the remainder is fed into huge furnaces, called incinerators or destructors, and the burnt material is used as clinker to repair the roads. In some towns



Sewage Works : here the dangerous waste-matter from houses, schools, and factories is purified and made harmless. This is the Mogden Works belonging to the West Middlesex Drainage Board



Public Health Committee : the detailed work of the Council is done in Committee. Decisions are recorded by the Clerk in the minute book



A Modern Hospital : many local authorities provide hospitals. This is the Birmingham General Hospital

kitchen waste is collected separately, and after being boiled and purified it is sold as poultry food or pig food, and very glad the farmers are to get it. The ratepayers benefit too, since the profits lighten their bills.

Of course, it costs a lot of money to set up the plant necessary to do this work, and smaller areas who cannot afford such heavy expenditure have to cart the rubbish to a piece of waste ground and tip it there, taking care to cover the site each day with a layer of earth so that the place may be kept sweet and healthy. So successful is this method of controlled tipping that even large authorities sometimes adopt it. In Bradford, for instance, the scheme has worked particularly well.

Infectious Diseases

Scarlet fever is not caused by dirt and impurity, but it is highly infectious and spreads rapidly, especially amongst young children. Those who are suffering from it must be kept apart from their fellows until all danger is past, and so local authorities provide isolation hospitals where patients suffering from this, and from similar diseases too, may be tended and nursed. Every doctor meeting with a case of infectious disease must at once inform the Medical Officer of Health. This is very important, because it enables the local authority to take steps to prevent the disease spreading. The house in which the illness occurs has to be thoroughly disinfected, and in order that the germs may be killed the patient's clothing and personal belongings are taken away and put in large ovens to be " stoved." To-day, as a result of all these measures, infectious illnesses are well under control, and the number of deaths has greatly diminished in consequence.

Immunization

Smallpox, as you see, has practically disappeared, and diphtheria, which in the olden days was responsible for the deaths of so many young children, is being gradually stamped out. Doctors tell us that both these diseases can be prevented, and that a comparatively painless injection will render us immune from attack.

In former times smallpox was rife throughout the country. Every year thousands of people died of it, and those surviving often carried to the end of their days the scars that it left. Parliament, determining to put an end to this scourge, in 1867 passed an Act compelling parents to have their children vaccinated within six months of birth. Local authorities now

arrange for doctors to perform this slight operation free of charge, and every district has its public vaccinator. The result you can see for yourself if you study the diagram. Since some parents disapprove of vaccination, it is provided that if within four months of the child's birth they make a solemn statement of their objection, they may obtain exemption from the requirements of the law.

Diphtheria is still responsible for many deaths each year, and local authorities do all they can to persuade mothers and fathers to have their children immunized. You have probably seen the posters they display on the hoardings. Parliament not having yet made immunization compulsory, the authorities can only try by persuasion to induce parents to take this precaution. Incidentally the exhibiting of posters gives an example of another important duty carried out by local authorities, namely, that of educating the public in matters of health.

Hospital Services

Although local authorities are chiefly concerned to *prevent* disease, they make full provision for people who are ill. General hospitals are available for patients suffering from non-infectious diseases, and for those who have met with accidents ; tuberculosis is treated in specially equipped sanatoria, mental hospitals care for the insane, and in many towns there are maternity hospitals where mothers can go to have their babies. A fleet of ambulances is maintained for use in emergencies, and urgent calls are answered at all hours of the day and night.

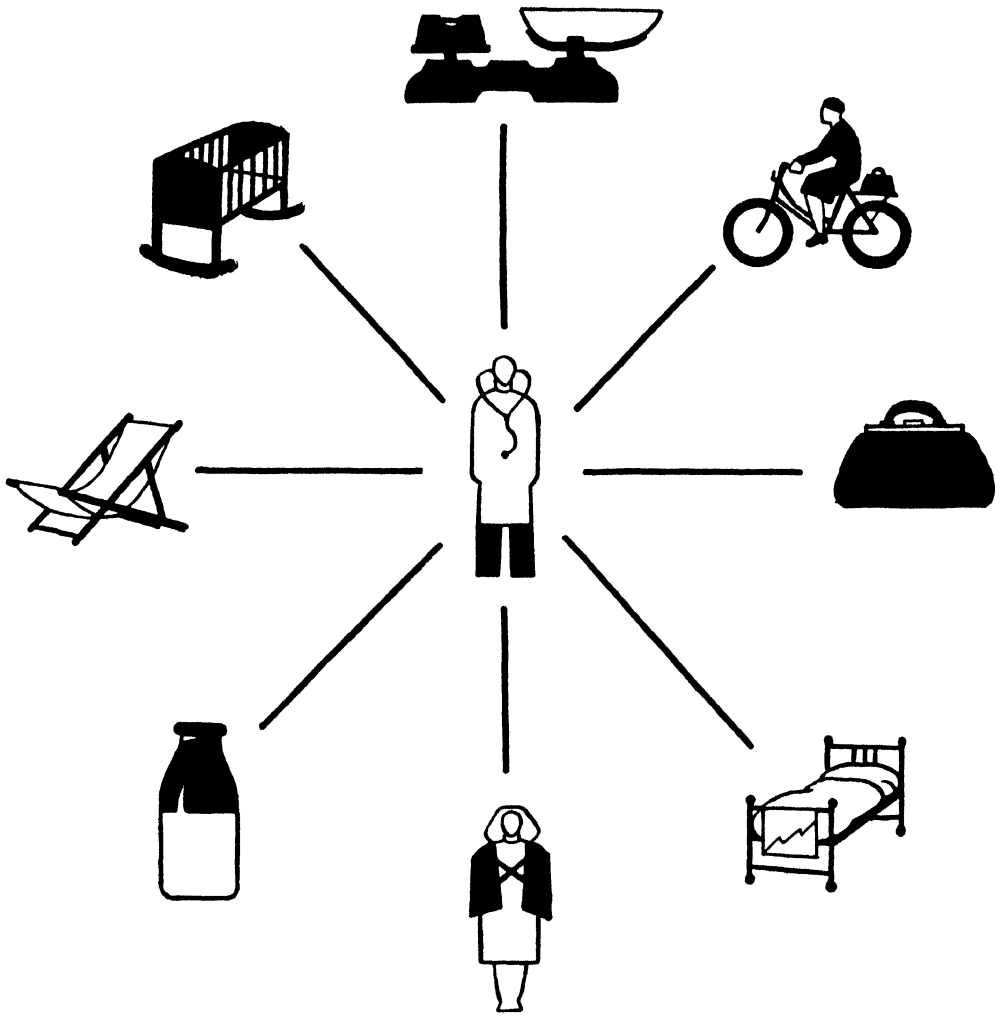
The cost of these hospitals is met largely by the ratepayers, but patients or their relatives are asked to pay according to their means for the treatment they receive. As a rule the council has a fixed scale of charges, which vary according to income, and the almoner attached to each hospital decides how much each patient shall be asked to pay.

Maternity and Child Welfare

In recent years we have come to realize how important it is that babies should have all the care and attention that can be given them, and to-day, through its Maternity and Child Welfare service, the local authority begins to care for the child even before it is born.

As soon as she knows she is going to have a baby the mother-to-be is encouraged to visit the clinic, where she receives skilled advice about her

MATERNITY & CHILD WELFARE



This diagram illustrates the most important of the services provided by the Maternity and Child Welfare Committees of the local Councils. The value of the work has been increasingly recognised in recent years, and the further developments that are now being planned will, it is expected, reduce still further the figures of maternal and infant mortality.

own health, and about the preparations she should make for the coming of her child. If necessary health visitors call at her home, and when the time comes for her baby to be born she can go to the maternity hospital, or if she has decided to remain at home the council will arrange for a midwife to help her.

After the baby is born a nurse will visit her, and when she is well enough to get up, she will be able to take her child to the clinic. Here it will be weighed regularly, its progress and general development will be carefully watched, and milk and other suitable foods will be provided, often either free of charge or at a reduced cost. The mother will be given all the advice she wants, and she knows that in case of difficulty she always has friends at the clinic who will help her.

If she needs a period of rest she may be sent for a time to a convalescent home, and if she is well enough to resume work she can take her baby each day to a crèche or day nursery, where it will be fed and cared for until she calls for it at night. All these services are available until the child reaches the age of five, when it will begin to attend school.

8 Education and Recreation

The Education Act of 1944 has made many important changes in our educational system, and if we are to understand the new arrangements, we must turn for a moment to the history of education in this country.

History

In 1870 Parliament decided to make better provision for elementary education, and in every district a School Board, elected by the ratepayers, was made responsible for seeing that there were sufficient schools for the children. Those who attended these Board Schools, as they were called, were usually required to pay a few pence each week towards the cost of their education—the balance coming from the rates. In 1891 another Act was passed, giving parents the right to demand free elementary education, though it was not until 1918 that the payment of fees in elementary schools was finally abolished.

The Education Act of 1902 did away with the School Boards, and transferred their powers to local education authorities. County councils and county borough councils were given the power to provide secondary schools for boys and girls up to the age of nineteen, and were allowed to charge fees to the pupils who attended these schools. At the same time they were required to provide elementary schools for children between the ages of five and fourteen. Certain local authorities, boroughs with a population of more than 10,000, and urban districts with a population of over 20,000 (Part III Authorities they were called, because their powers were laid down in Part III of the Act) were allowed to provide elementary schools only.

The New System

This system caused a certain amount of confusion, because it frequently happened that whereas the elementary schools in a borough or urban district were controlled by the local council, secondary and technical schools in the same district were controlled by the county council. A more serious weakness lay in the fact that some of the smaller Part III authorities were not able to make really efficient provision for the elementary schools in their area. In 1944 Parliament decided that if the educational system of the country was to take its rightful place among the great social services, the powers of the Part III authorities must be handed over to the county councils, who would be able to survey the needs of the county as a whole, and make their arrangements accordingly. The result is that now the only authorities responsible for education are the councils of counties and county boroughs, though the counties are obliged to delegate certain responsibilities to the old Part III authorities.

Education To-day

New Opportunities

The interests of the children were, of course, the chief concern of the new Act. Previously many boys and girls who might have profited from continued education had had to begin work at the age of fourteen because their parents could not afford to keep them at school any longer or to pay the secondary school fees. It is now laid down that every child shall receive that type of education for which he is best suited. The former division into

THE STAGES OF EDUCATION

NURSERY SCHOOL 2-5



Children are not obliged to attend these Schools.

INFANT SCHOOL 5-7



Boys and Girls of 5 must begin to attend School.

PRIMARY SCHOOL 7-11



How are we to decide the type of School to which this young man (and his sister) shall go?

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

£NO FEES



MODERN 11-15

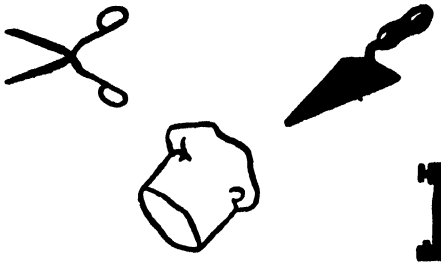


TECHNICAL 11-16



GRAMMAR 11-18

FURTHER EDUCATION



elementary and secondary schools has disappeared ; the old junior schools catering for children between the ages of five and eleven are now called primary schools, and when a boy or girl reaches the age of eleven he or she goes on to a secondary school. Those who are likely to profit from the type of education provided by what were formerly known as secondary schools now proceed to grammar schools ; those who wish to learn a trade or craft go to the technical schools ; while the secondary modern schools provide for others. No fees are now payable in secondary schools, and as soon as circumstances permit the leaving age in all types of schools will be raised to fifteen, and later to sixteen.

Nursery Schools

The new Act says that all authorities must provide nursery schools for very young children. In certain areas these schools had already been built, and they did extremely valuable work in training little people from two to five to live and play together happily, in healthy surroundings and under expert guidance. At this early age children develop habits that will affect their lives for many years to come, and if they are trained along the right lines during these impressionable years they will probably grow up to be better citizens.

Further Education

Local authorities will, in due course, set up county colleges for boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Employers will be obliged to release them from work for definite periods in order that they may continue their education, and so the change from full-time school to full-time work will be gradual and easy.

Technical education for older boys and girls will also be developed very considerably. In some areas, London, for instance, there are technical schools that train young men and women for almost any skilled calling. Boys can learn to be mechanics, engineers, builders, chefs, or tailors, and girls can get instruction in dressmaking, millinery, typing, housecraft, hairdressing, and in many other subjects. It is obvious that if we are to maintain a proper level of achievement in comparison with other countries, our technical schools must be increased in number and improved in quality, and the Government therefore proposes to carry out this reform as soon as it possibly can.

Special Services

In the old days a school thought it was doing its job if it taught the pupils the three Rs—Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. We all know that to-day teachers take a much wider view, and feel that it is their duty to care for the general well-being of the children in their charge. A great change has come to pass during the last few years, and there is now a wide range of special services available to all those who need them. Some of the work is done by teachers, some by the Medical Officer of Health and his staff, and some by a special team of experts who work under the direction of the Education Officer, the official whose duty it is to help and advise the Education Committee, and to see that their plans are carried out.

Medical care is one of the most important of these services, since often if discovered in good time physical defects can be put right. All education authorities are obliged to provide free medical treatment, and dental treatment, too, for bad teeth are responsible for more ill-health than some people realize. In most towns the Education Committee provides a minor ailments clinic where accidents and the less serious illnesses are treated; a dental clinic, where all forms of dental treatment are available; and a sunlight clinic where sickly boys and girls soon become brown and healthy even in the depth of winter. Then, too, specialists attend regularly to give advice about defective eyesight and to deal with diseases of the ear, nose, and throat. Very often as well there is a speech therapist, whose job it is to correct stammering and similar defects.

But these elaborate services would be of little use if children were not properly fed, and so milk is provided in school each day, and substantial hot dinners (breakfasts too, sometimes) are made available. The parents are never asked to pay more than the bare cost of the food, and in case of need the meals are provided free of charge. In August 1946 the government began to provide free milk for all pupils desiring it, and as soon as the necessary equipment is ready, free dinners too will be available as part of the great system of social security.

As it is also important that children should be well clothed and shod, education authorities now have the power to give boots and clothes to the children of really poor parents.

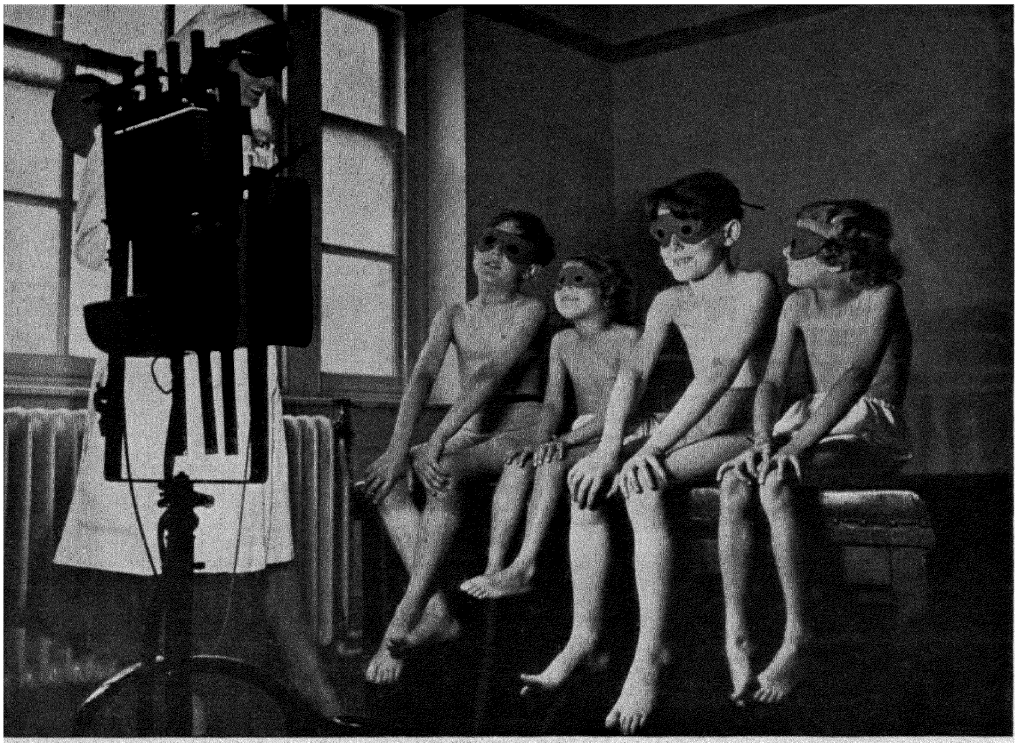
Particular attention is paid to those who are physically handicapped by blindness, lameness, or deafness, and to those who are mentally deficient.



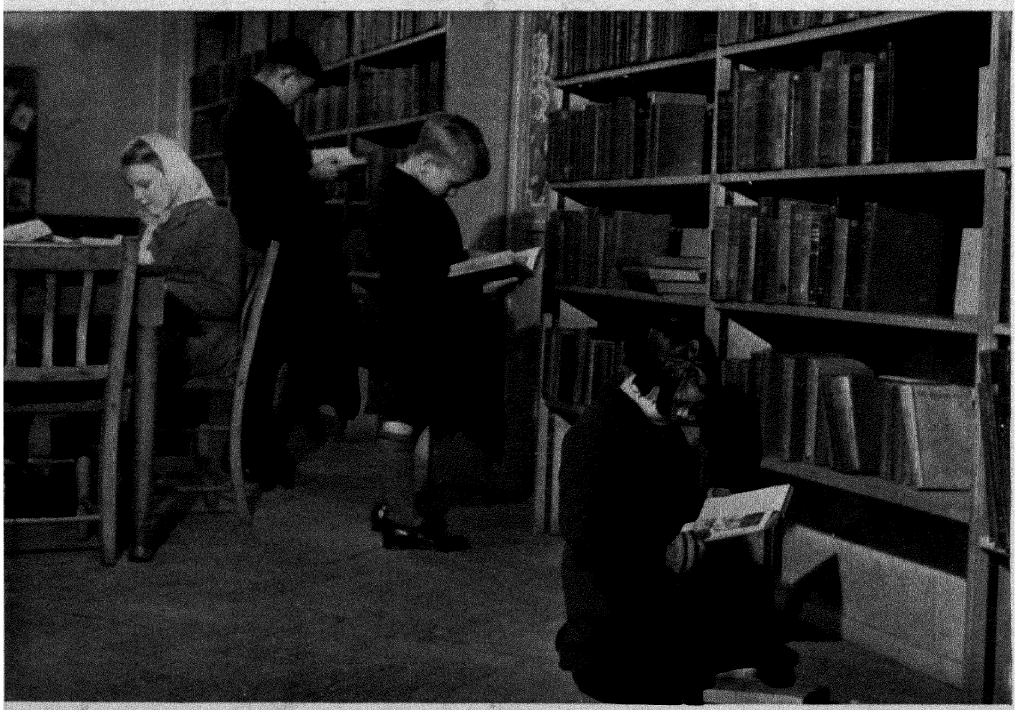
(*left*) Special Services: dental treatment is now provided free for all children

(*below*) Child Welfare Clinic: mothers bring their babies for examination and treatment



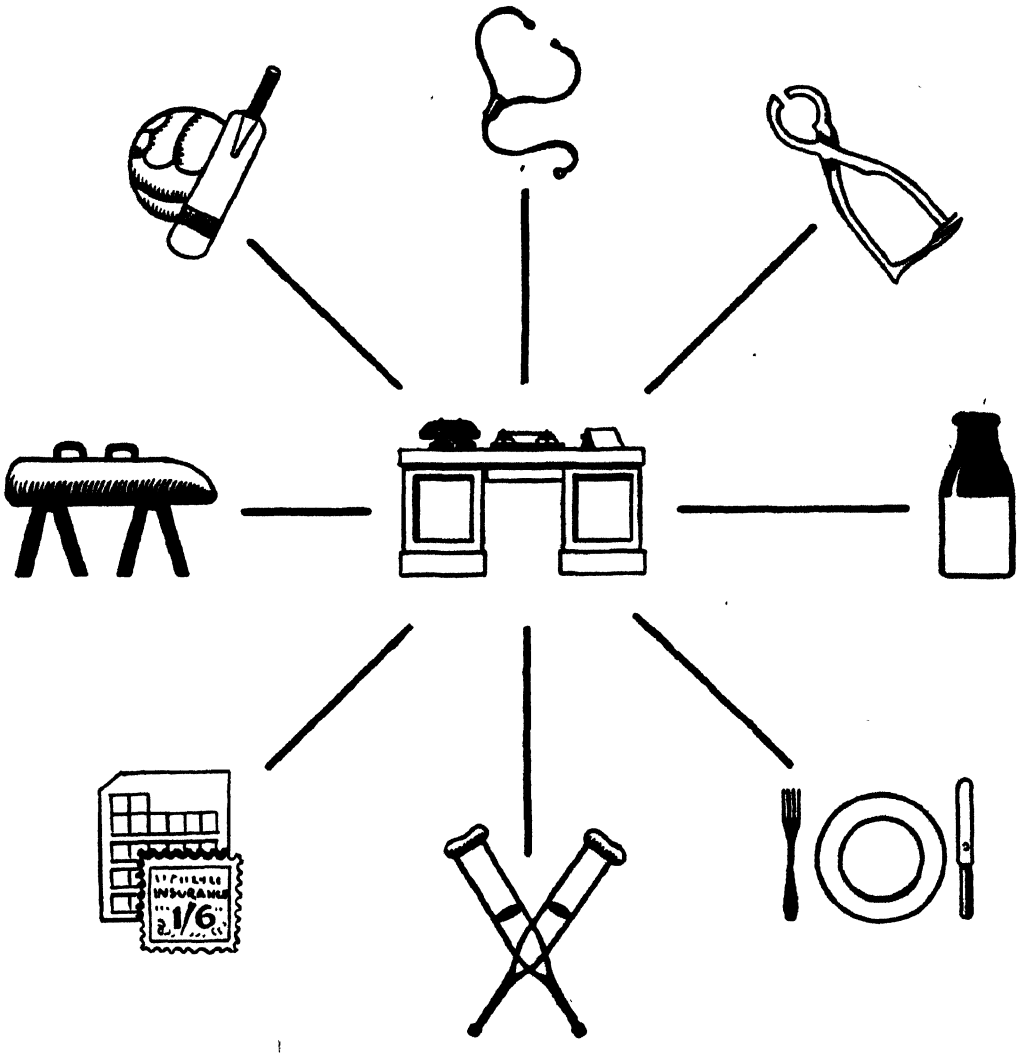


A Sunlight Clinic : artificial sunshine makes for health of body



Recreation for the Mind : in the public library

EDUCATION
Special Services



These are some of the special services provided by the Education Committee. They can be identified by reference to the text.

Special schools help these children to overcome their difficulties, so that they may grow up to be happy and useful citizens.

In busy towns young children can visit the play centres, where under proper guidance they may enjoy their leisure safe from the dangers and temptations of the streets. Education authorities are also encouraged to provide playing fields, swimming baths and gymnasia, so that young people, particularly those whose work prevents them from getting enough physical exercise and fresh air, may keep themselves fit.

When the time comes for a child to leave school it is very important that he should get the sort of job for which he is best fitted. If left to themselves many boys and girls would probably step off on the wrong foot, and store up for themselves much unhappiness. To avoid such wastefulness, education authorities, in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour, have set up Juvenile Employment Bureaux, which not only advise young people about the type of work for which they are suited, but find jobs for them as well.

The education service thus spreads its net very widely, and spares no effort to see that every boy and girl gets a good start in life. That is one of the reasons that it costs rather a lot of money.

Recreation

We expect our councils to do more than provide schools and colleges for young people. Everybody needs opportunities for healthy recreation, not only of body but of mind. This is available in full measure if we care to take advantage of what is offered us.

Libraries

It was nearly a hundred years ago that the first steps were taken to provide a public library service. In 1850 the Public Libraries Act empowered boroughs with a population of over ten thousand to build a library if two-thirds of the ratepayers consented, but they were not allowed to spend a greater sum of money than would be raised by a rate of a halfpenny in the pound. This money was to be spent on buildings only, not on books, but despite this difficulty a number of towns (Norwich was the first) provided libraries for their inhabitants. Five years later the sum

that local authorities were able to spend was doubled, but it was not until 1919 that they were allowed to spend as much as they liked.

All towns of any size now have their libraries, many of them housed in magnificent buildings, where readers can browse at leisure and choose from the shelves the books they wish to read. Sometimes there is a special section set apart for boys and girls ; there are reading-rooms containing newspapers and periodicals ; and often there is a reference library where students may consult the books they need for their work.

A good library is expensive, indeed too expensive for small towns and villages, which had no provision made for them until 1919. In that year county councils were given power to set up libraries, and to-day even hamlets in the depths of the country can receive, at regular intervals, parcels of books from the central county library.

As standards of education improve, so do greater numbers of people realize the joy and profit that good books can provide, and there can be no doubt that as our educational services develop, so the need for bigger and better libraries will become evident.

Art Galleries and Museums

Many of the larger towns are fortunate in being able to afford art galleries and museums as well as libraries. Here the public can see examples of great painting and sculpture, and those who are interested can study the various collections—birds, fishes, animals, rocks, furniture, dress, antiques, and many others. Very often these collections are of great local interest, enabling the citizens to learn how their town has developed and how its industries have grown.

Orchestras

A few councils make provision for music-lovers, too, and municipal orchestras, either paid or voluntary, give concerts attracting big audiences. There are also choral societies aided by the council ; and indeed were it not for the help that the local authority gives, many people would be deprived of the opportunity of directly hearing really good music at all.

The Open Air

Those who prefer to take their recreation out of doors are not forgotten. Parks and open spaces are set apart for public use, where all sorts of games

can be played—cricket and football, tennis and hockey, bowls and golf. There is no need to join a private club, since the municipal football pitch, bowling green, and golf course are there for people to use as they wish. They can swim in the baths, sun-bathe at the Lido, walk quietly among the flower-beds, or sit and listen to the band that the council has engaged to play for them.

All these pleasant things are provided for people because they are citizens, and because the council is anxious for them to live a full and satisfying life, as good citizens should.

9 Public Assistance

The Parish

The duty of providing relief for poor people was one of the earliest to be laid on local authorities. It had its origin in the great Act that was passed in 1601, towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whereby every parish was made responsible for raising sufficient money to educate and apprentice its orphan children, and to feed and clothe the sick, the aged, and those who were unable to fend for themselves. In each parish the Justices of the Peace appointed " Overseers of the Poor," whose duty it was to raise the necessary funds by imposing a poor rate, that is, by taxing the inhabitants of the parish.

The Union

When during the early years of the nineteenth century many people became alarmed at the increase in the amount of the poor rate, Parliament took action to reform the whole system by passing the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834. This Act provided that groups of parishes should be joined together into unions, each union looking after the poor people of the whole district. The money required in the union was to be raised by a Board of Guardians elected by the ratepayers, each having from one to twelve votes, according to the value of his property. The Guardians were

also responsible for building workhouses for men and women paupers, and schools, called " barrack schools," for boys and girls.

In some of these workhouses and schools the poor people were properly looked after and satisfactorily treated, but in others there was much cruelty and suffering, as shown, for instance, in certain scenes in Dickens's novel *Oliver Twist.* Everything was done as cheaply as possible, not only to keep the rates down but to discourage people from asking for assistance, and very often the inmates of these institutions were barely kept alive, since the average cost of maintaining a poor person was only 1s. 6d. a week. One writer gave a recipe for a soup that he specially recommended for workhouses: " Take of water 8 gallons, and mixing with it 5 lb. of barley meal, boil it to a thick jelly. Season it with salt, pepper, and vinegar, and four red herrings, pounded in a mortar. Instead of bread, add to it 5 lb. of Indian corn ; and stirring it together with a ladle, serve it up immediately. One helping costs less than one-third of a penny."

The Modern Way

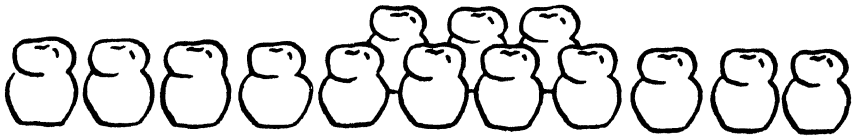
Although many of the cruel and unhappy parts of this system disappeared as the years went by, the unions and the Boards of Guardians remained until 1930. In that year the Poor Law was again reformed, as a result of the Local Government Act of 1929, and a new and better scheme came into being. The Boards of Guardians were dismissed, and their powers handed over to county councils and county borough councils. These councils had to set up Public Assistance Committees, which are the bodies providing for poor persons to-day.

Consider the case of Mrs. Brown. Her husband has died unexpectedly, leaving her with two young children and an old mother. What is she to do? She cannot go to work, and the community cannot let her little family starve. She finds out the address (for example, by inquiring at a post office) of a local officer of the Public Assistance Committee (a relieving officer he is called), and she goes to him with her troubles. She is received kindly, and he listens to what she has to say. In case of need he supplies her at once with food and clothing, and then, having made a note of her circumstances, he reports her case, in some areas to the local guardians' committee, which the Public Assistance Committee has set up in each

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?

EDUCATION 

HEALTH 

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE 

PROTECTION 

ROADS 

HOMES 

RECREATION 

OFFICE WORK 

These figures show the proportionate cost of the various services rendered by local authorities. They represent a typical district. In your town the position may be very different.

district, and in others to an official known as an adjudicating officer. The guardians' committee or the adjudicating officer, as the case may be, then considers what can be done to help. Mrs. Brown may be given each week a sum of money sufficient for her needs, enough to pay her rent and to buy food and clothing. Or she may be given a voucher enabling her to get what she wants from the local tradesmen. This is called out-door relief, and though it will enable her to carry on without worrying, it will not keep her in luxury. After all, the ratepayers are now supporting her, and she cannot expect to get more than she would if she were working.

It may be that some members of Mrs. Brown's family need not out-door relief, but what is called institutional relief. She may not be strong enough to look after two growing children, and if this is so the Public Assistance Committee will look after them for her. They may be sent to a foster-mother who will see that they are well cared for, or if they are in poor health they may go to a convalescent home. Mrs. Brown's mother may be happier in a home for old people or in a cottage home. Wherever she goes she will have decent treatment ; she will certainly not be treated as she would have been in a workhouse a hundred years ago, for we have done with all that for good.

The Public Assistance Committee also has to make arrangements for the welfare of tramps, those men and women who cannot settle down as ordinary wage-earning citizens but who prefer to roam the country, doing odd jobs now and again. Shelter is provided for them in the casual wards, where they can get food, a bath, and a night's rest in return for a few hours' work before they set out on their travels again. As a rule several counties and county boroughs join together to provide these casual wards, and it is usual to set up a Joint Vagrancy Committee to look after them.

10 Homes and Roads

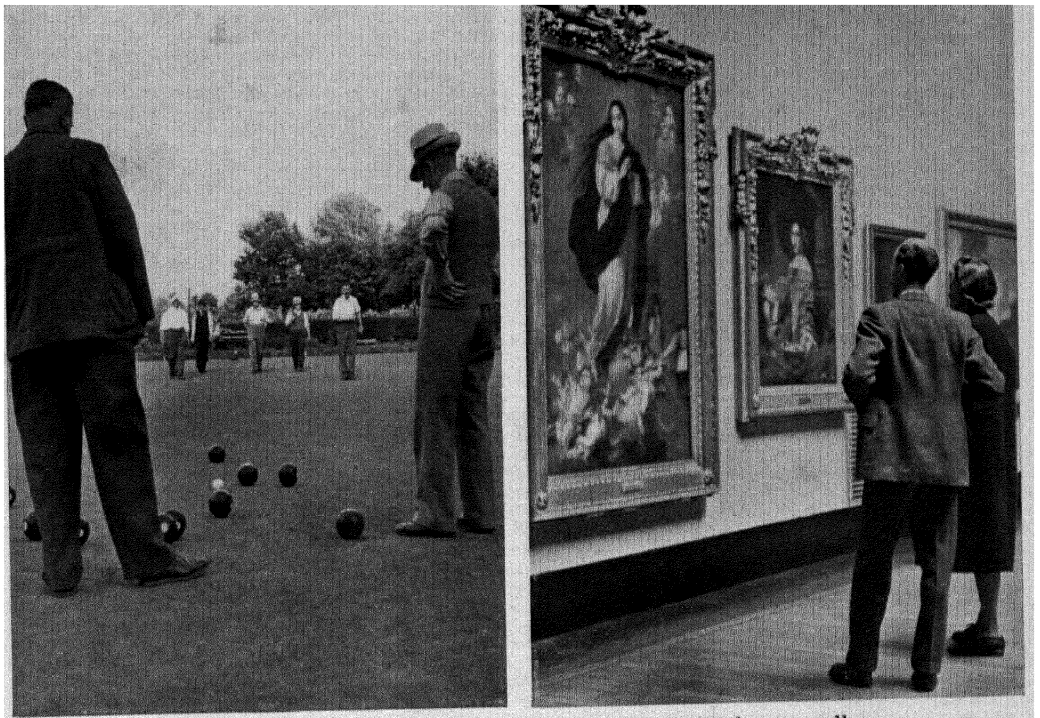
At the beginning of the nineteenth century a great change was sweeping over the country, for clever brains and nimble fingers had invented machines that made it possible for a single worker to manufacture in one day goods that would previously have taken many days to make by hand. As these new machines were used chiefly in the cotton and woollen indus-

tries, great manufacturing towns began to spring up in the midlands and in the north. Huge factories were built for the machines, and new houses had to be provided for the workers who came flocking to the towns to earn their living. Unfortunately nobody had the right in those days to say where the factories should be placed or how the houses should be built. It was easy to make a fortune by erecting poor, mean dwellings under the walls of the factory, and complaints were soon made about the conditions of the slums. " In the suburbs of Manchester," said a writer in 1837, " the streets are unpaved, with a dunghill or a pond in the middle ; the houses are built back to back, without ventilation or drainage ; and whole families occupy each a corner of a cellar or of a garret. A good Building Act might give health not only to the factories but to the whole population." Since there were practically no means of controlling the activities of builders the cities continued to grow in this haphazard and unsatisfactory manner, and it has been left to us to deal with the terrible muddle that our ancestors made.

Town and Country Planning

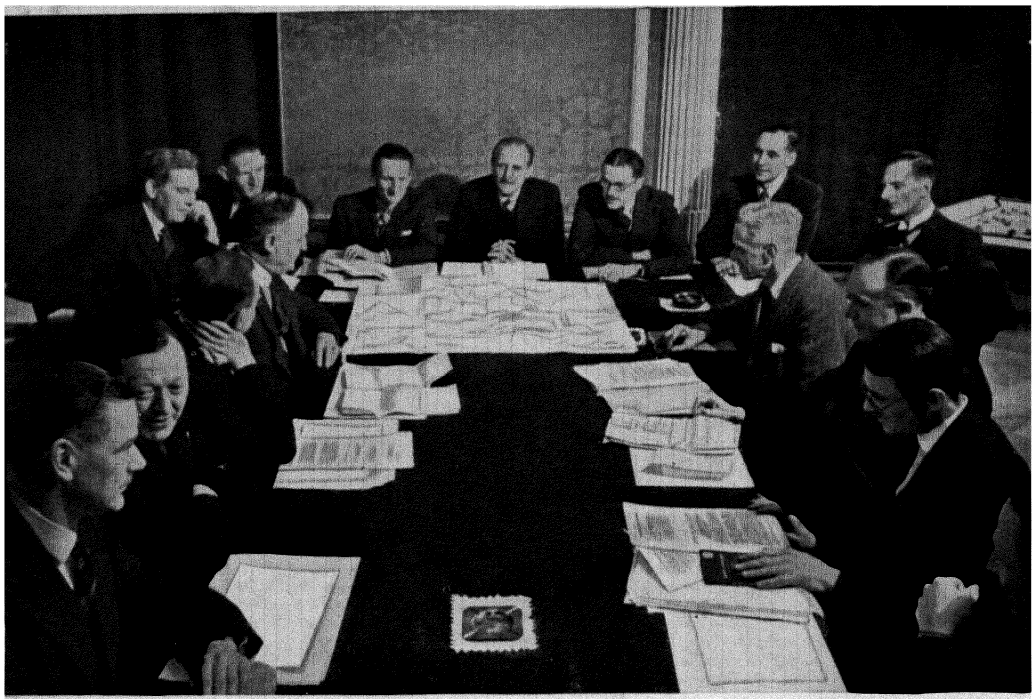
If any district, whether village, market town, or great city, is to remain fit for people to live in, there must be planning, and local authorities now have the power to say how the area for which they are responsible shall be developed. The council decides where works and factories shall be built, what open spaces and playing fields shall be provided, and where the shopping centres, schools, and residential districts shall be placed. The location of roads, too, has to be considered, and this is especially important when the council of a large town decides to divide the area up into smaller units, each with its own shops, churches, schools, cinemas, and libraries, and with all the factories kept together in a quarter set aside for them. In many counties thickly populated areas are surrounded by a " green belt," so that people may have easy access to open spaces.

When the scheme has been provisionally settled a government inspector holds an inquiry, considers any objections that have been raised and possibly modifies the scheme, and finally recommends the plan for approval. After approval the council is able to proceed with the scheme, which no private person will be allowed to thwart by refusing the use of his land or putting up a building in the wrong place. It may often be



Recreation : (*left*) on the bowling-green ; (*right*) in the art gallery
(*below*) in the park





Town and Country Planning : experts make plans for the Britain of to-morrow



From Slum to Home : the Quarry Hill estate at Leeds. Slum-dwellings are pulled down and fine modern flats take their place

many years before the results of all this calculated work will be seen and enjoyed, but at least the job is being tackled in an orderly way. If you visit Port Sunlight, Bournville, Welwyn, or the great Wythenshawe Estate where Manchester has developed an area of some 3,500 acres on the most modern lines, you will see what can be done when the problem is approached intelligently.

Housing

By no means every city can wait for its town-planning scheme to bear fruit. In many of our big towns the houses in which some people have to live are so wretched and unhealthy that something has to be done quickly. Local authorities, through their Housing Committees, are empowered to pull down houses that are unfit for human habitation (slum clearance), and they can build new houses, or blocks of flats, for the people whose homes have been condemned. The Housing Committee can also compel the landlord to repair his houses, if they are able to be made reasonably fit to live in. A good water supply and proper sanitary arrangements must be provided, and the housewife must have a place to store her food. The Medical Officer of Health is usually responsible for reporting on all these matters, and the inspectors who work under him are kept very busy seeing that proper standards of housing are maintained, and that people are not living in overcrowded conditions.

Roads

Until fairly recent times the inhabitants of each parish were responsible for keeping in good condition the roads that ran through their boundaries, but when the traffic between the towns increased, and when those great engineers Macadam and Telford introduced new methods of construction, this system was no longer found satisfactory, and private companies called Turnpike Trusts were formed. Each was responsible for repairing a portion of the road, and those who used it were compelled to pay a toll. In some ways this was a sound plan, for it is only fair that those who use a road should pay for it. But the expenses were heavy, and it was calculated that a stage-coach had to pay £7 a year for every mile of road it travelled.

When the railways took much of the traffic from the roads the turnpike system began to break down, and finally, in 1888, the newly formed county councils were made responsible for all main roads. The district councils were still obliged to look after the other less important roads in their own area, though the county council could help them to pay the cost. In 1936 the government decided that the great trunk roads were so important and so costly that they ought to be paid for by the State, and these highways are now the concern of the Ministry of Transport, though the county councils actually do the work for the Ministry.

In recent years many splendid roads have been built, as a result of which the traffic problem has been greatly eased. Sometimes, however, long lines of houses have been built along these roads, this " ribbon development " seriously reducing the roads' usefulness, since motor vehicles must travel more slowly in built-up areas. The difficulties caused by such building at length became so serious that in 1935 an Act of Parliament was passed giving local councils the power to refuse to allow buildings to be erected within 220 feet of a road.

11 Protection

If you were to ask a dozen different people why it is that we go about our daily business so safely and securely, you would probably get a dozen different answers. Some might say that it is because we are a civilized, law-abiding people ; that since we are a democracy we have the right to manage our own affairs ; or that we have a strong army to keep order. How many would give the right answer, and say that we owe everything, or nearly everything, to our local councils who day by day, and during the night as well, are constantly on the watch to shield us from danger and harm ?

Our Safeguards

The Policeman

The police, of course, are the people on whom we chiefly rely to protect us. The army, it is true, is always in the background, ready to help if necessary, but it is rarely called upon. The police manage very well by

PROTECTION







POLICE

PUBLIC CONTROL

CONTROL OF NUISANCES

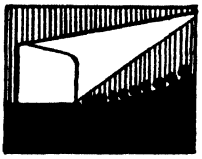
FIRE AND AMBULANCE



INSPECTION OF WEIGHTS & MEASURES



DESTRUCTION OF VERMIN



ENTERTAINMENT LICENCES



INSPECTION OF HOMES



INSPECTION OF FOOD



DETECTION OF NUISANCES

The protective services rendered by the Council are unobtrusive, yet vital to our safety and well-being

themselves, and we should be glad that they do, for they are controlled by the local authorities, not by the central government. Some countries have a national police force, and their experience has not always been very happy. In this country we prefer a local force, for we are not too ready to hand over local responsibilities to Whitehall.

The police as we know them to-day have been in existence for little more than a century, coming into being only in 1829, when Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police. The " Bobbies " or " Peelers," in their smart blue uniforms and tall hats, were so efficient that many criminals left London for the country. Since here the parish constables, who were often feeble old men, were no match for them, in 1835 the councils of boroughs were given authority to start police forces. Four years later counties were given similar powers, and in 1856 they were compelled to provide police if they had not already done so.

At the present time the police force in a county borough is controlled by the Watch Committee, and in a county by the Standing Joint Committee, consisting partly of magistrates and partly of county councillors. A few non-county boroughs (forty-seven in all) have their own police forces. The Metropolitan Police Force is an exceptional body, coming directly under the Home Secretary.

The modern policeman has many important duties to perform. His chief task is to prevent crime, but when a crime has been committed to arrest the guilty person and bring him to justice. The city policeman has powerful forces to help him—a fleet of fast cars equipped with wireless is constantly patrolling the streets, ready in a moment to answer a sudden call ; trained scientists are busy in laboratories piecing together clues and making the lot of the evil-doer ever more difficult ; plain clothes detectives pursue their inquiries ; and Scotland Yard is always there, with its immense mass of records and its skilled investigators.

What else does the policeman do for you besides checking crime ? That would take much space to record. He controls traffic, helps you to cross the busy road, takes charge of lost dogs and straying horses (and of straying children too, sometimes). He gives first-aid to the injured, keeps a wary eye on a noisy crowd, looks into theatres and public houses to see that the regulations are being observed, and as he quietly patrols his beat at night he tries the doors of shops and empty houses to see that all is well. In short, he keeps the King's peace, and ours too.

The Fireman

The policeman is not the only protector provided for the public by the local authority. In our crowded towns the danger from fire may be even more serious than the menace of the criminal, and efficient fire-fighting services must be kept constantly on the alert. If you walk through the streets of London you may sometimes see fixed to the wall of an old building a small metal plate bearing the name of a fire insurance company. This is a reminder of the days when the only fire-brigades were those belonging to the insurance companies, who kept firemen and watermen to protect the premises they insured.

To-day all boroughs and urban districts, and some rural districts as well, have their own fire-brigades, complete with engines, escapes, turntables, and foam apparatus for dealing with burning oil. Day and night the stations are manned, and as soon as the alarm is given (in many towns street alarms are installed) the doors fly open, the firemen jump on to the engine, fastening up their jackets as they do so, and with clanging bells the tender dashes away to save a building, or perhaps a human life. During the war all fire-brigades came under the control of the State, and the local brigades were amalgamated into the National Fire Service, which did splendid work in the blitzed cities.

Weights and Measures

The local council has not finished its work when it has provided policemen and fire-brigades. There are many other ways in which it protects you. Every county council and county borough council employs inspectors in its Weights and Measures department, and it is the duty of these officials to test the weighing and measuring appliances that are used by tradesmen, to see that the public get full measure. The Board of Trade keeps a complete and accurate set of the standard British weights and measures, and it is by these that the inspectors' instruments are standardized. Shops receive unexpected visits to see that their scales are accurate, the coalman is stopped in the street so that his deliveries of coal and coke may be checked, petrol pumps and gas meters are tested, and the tumblers used in public-houses are examined and stamped as a guarantee that they are the right size.

Entertainment Control

When we go to the cinema or theatre the council keeps guard over our safety. Every place of entertainment has to be licensed, and a licence is

only granted if the council of the county or county borough is satisfied that proper steps have been taken to safeguard the audiences. Strict precautions must be taken against the danger of fire, proper exits must be provided, there must be adequate lavatory accommodation, and a sufficient number of attendants must always be on duty.

Food Protection

The council does all it can to make sure that the food we buy is good and wholesome, and that we get what we ask for. Inspectors are employed to visit shops and markets ; they examine the food that is exposed for sale, and sometimes make test purchases—a pint of milk, half a pound of butter or perhaps a cream bun. If the food is not fit to eat they condemn it, and the seller may be prosecuted. If the inspector thinks that the milk has been watered, that the butter is not pure, or that the cream bun contains only artificial cream he may send the sample to the public analyst for examination, and should his suspicions prove correct the seller may be summoned.

Control of Nuisance

We need protection too against nuisances, and once again the watchful eyes of the council's inspectors protect us from conditions that may be harmful or unpleasant. Factory chimneys must not be allowed to pollute the air with their smoke ; offensive trades (especially those of the blood drier, bone boiler, glue maker, gut scraper, rag and bone dealer and tripe boiler !) must be controlled ; ditches must be kept clean, and so must cow-sheds and slaughter-houses. Lodging-houses and slum dwellings are inspected, specially trained men and women are employed to kill rats and other vermin, and, of course, the streets are swept and watered.

Miscellaneous

Nor is this all that the council does for the public. It sees that the laws governing the sale of fireworks, explosives, and poisons are obeyed ; it grants licences to employment agencies, and is thus able to ensure that they are properly conducted ; it inspects nursing homes ; and it tests the water in swimming baths and reservoirs to see that it contains no harmful matter.

This is a big programme. It needs constant care and watchfulness, such as only a local authority, with its intimate knowledge of local conditions

and problems, can exercise. When you remember, too, what the council does to check the spread of disease you will agree that we owe our safety and security very largely to those who serve us as our local government representatives.

12 Trading

When a man has provided himself with shelter, food, and clothing he still has needs that must be satisfied. He must have a good supply of pure water, he must have heat and light, and he must have transport. Who is to provide these services, the utility services as they are sometimes called ? One thing is obvious from the start, and that is that we cannot have a number of suppliers competing with one another. Water, gas, and electricity come to our homes through underground mains, pipes, and cables, and we cannot allow more than one set of people to dig up our roads. We can only have one lot of trams running along our streets, and if anybody that liked to do so was able to run a bus service there would soon be confusion.

Each of the utility services, therefore, must be provided by one, and only one, body ; and that body may be either a private company or a local council. Because these particular services are so important in the life of any town, many councils have decided to do the work themselves ; in other words they have become traders, and on a large scale. In due time the State will take over some of these services, for the gas and electricity industries are soon to be nationalized.

Utility Services

Water

Most of us take our water supply for granted. We turn on the tap, and there it is. Only when the pipes are frozen in winter do we realize how much we depend on it, not only for drinking and washing, but for cooking and sanitation as well. It was many centuries ago that local authorities began to supply water through pipes, and the pioneers were the towns of Bath, Plymouth, Hull, and Southampton. In the course of time, Oxford, Leeds, Berwick-on-Tweed, and Bristol followed their example, but in many districts there was either no supply at all for the public or else the supply was in the hands of private companies.

This was so in Coventry where, in the early days of the nineteenth century, of the 7,000 houses only 400 had water laid on; in Birmingham where only one-fifth of the houses, and in Newcastle only one-twelfth were supplied. Those householders who were not fortunate enough to share in the public supply had to buy their water, often at a ridiculously high price; indeed in Chester and Bolton the poorer people had to beg for it. Sometimes water was drawn from rivers and ponds, and when it was impure disease broke out.

In 1848 the Public Health Act making it possible for local Boards of Health to provide a water supply in the areas for which they were responsible, more and more took advantage of this power, until by the close of the century about two-thirds of the towns in England and Wales enjoyed water provided by the council. To-day huge sums of money are spent in providing water for our great cities, water that often has to be brought many miles from the gathering ground. Manchester brings its supply from Thirlmere and Haweswater in the Lake District, Birmingham from the Welsh lakes, and Leicester from the River Derwent sixty miles away. More than four-fifths of the people are now provided for by local councils, and it is only in country districts that the supply is sometimes insufficient. Though it has been suggested that these areas should be served by a great National Water Grid, this would be so expensive that it will probably be necessary to find some other solution.

Gas

It was in 1806, when lamps were installed in King Street, Manchester, that gas was first used for lighting the streets. On 28th January 1807, Pall Mall, in London, was similarly lighted, but only after much opposition, since many people dreaded the risk of explosion. They could not understand why the pipes did not heat up, but once they became accustomed to the new idea they grew enthusiastic, and wanted to have gas installed in their homes. In the next few years a number of private companies obtained the right to supply gas to particular cities and towns (Liverpool, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Brighton had their supplies in 1818), and in 1824 Manchester was allowed to provide a municipal service. Other towns followed Manchester's example, in some instances buying out the private companies already in existence. At the present time many great cities, including Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, and



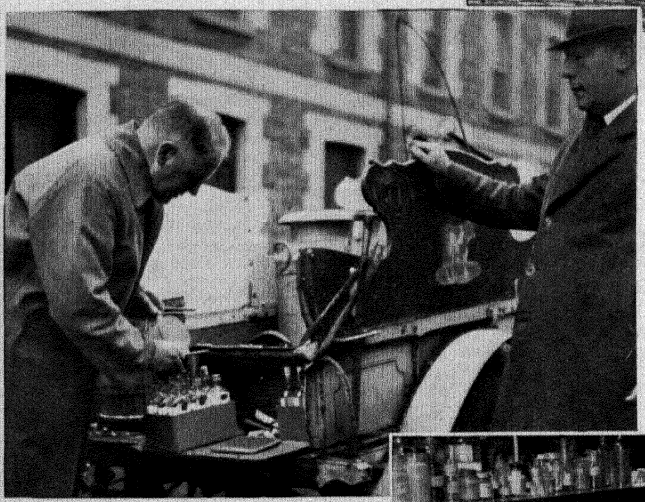
Protection : the policeman helps to enforce the laws that Parliament makes for the whole community



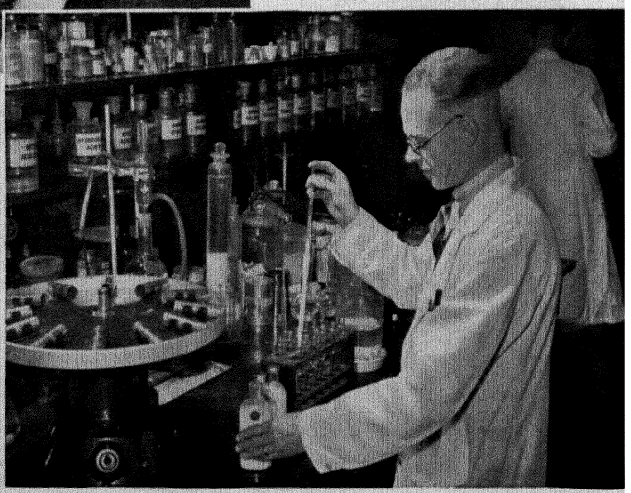
Protection from fire : the fire-brigade at work on its task of saving lives, goods and property



Weights and Measures Testing-van: public authorities protect us against false weights and inaccurate scales



Food Protection: the Council's food inspector takes a sample of milk to be tested in the laboratory



Tests being carried out at a typical milk-analysis laboratory

Glasgow, own their own gas works, the profits that they make being devoted partly to lowering the charges and improving the service, and partly to reducing the rates.

Electricity

It was not until about the year 1880 that the invention of the carbon filament lamp made it possible for electricity to be used for lighting purposes. Local authorities soon realizing the importance of this new source of power, many of them secured from Parliament the right to provide electricity, before private companies had a chance to start operations. The result is that to-day more than two-thirds of the electricity sold in this country is provided by the local authorities, who run their plants for the benefit of consumers and ratepayers alike.

Transport

Before the invention of the internal combustion engine the only form of public transport in the towns was the tramway system, which was introduced about 1800. The vehicles, which were either drawn by horses or driven by steam, belonged to private companies. Parliament usually provided that the local authorities should have the right to take over the system, if they wished, after a certain number of years ; and later, when trams came to be driven by electricity, a great many town councils took advantage of this provision.

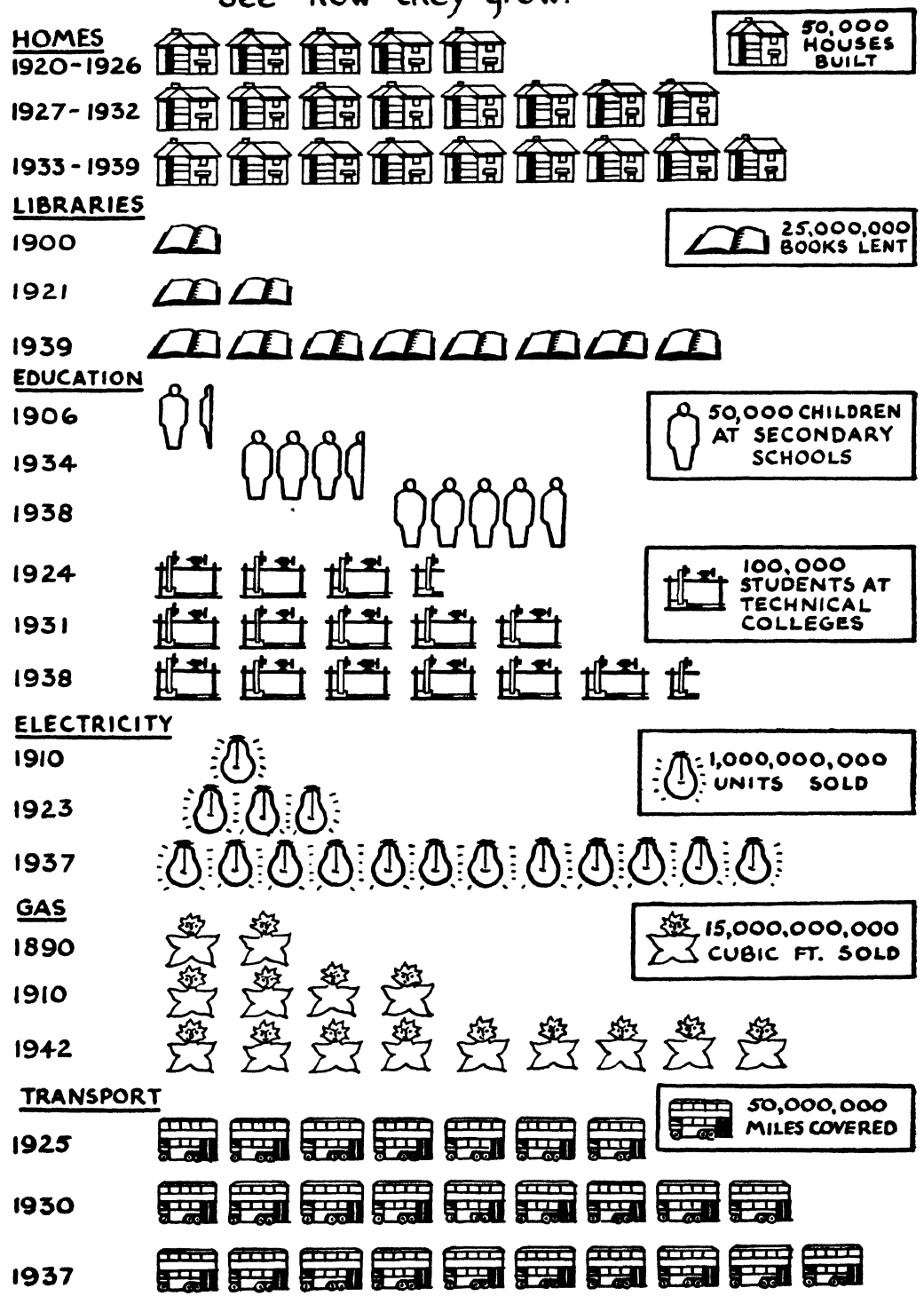
Since those days towns have grown enormously, and many citizens now have to live a long way from their place of work. Since they must be carried to and fro in large numbers, the provision of a quick and cheap transport service has become an obligation of the council. Motor buses now help to ease the problem, and in many places trams are being replaced by swift and comfortable trolley buses. The profits from this particular form of municipal trading are often very considerable, the ratepayer gaining in consequence.

Miscellaneous

There are many other ways in which a council can carry on a trading business. Some towns control fairs and markets, harbours and piers, quays and docks. Birmingham runs a municipal bank, and Hull its own telephone exchange. There are municipal cemeteries, baths, wash-houses,

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

See how they grow.



laundries and slaughter-houses, concert-halls, and, of course, restaurants and cafés. In all these directions, and in many others too, your representatives on the council try to make life pleasanter and easier for you, and to provide for your many needs.

13 Division of Powers

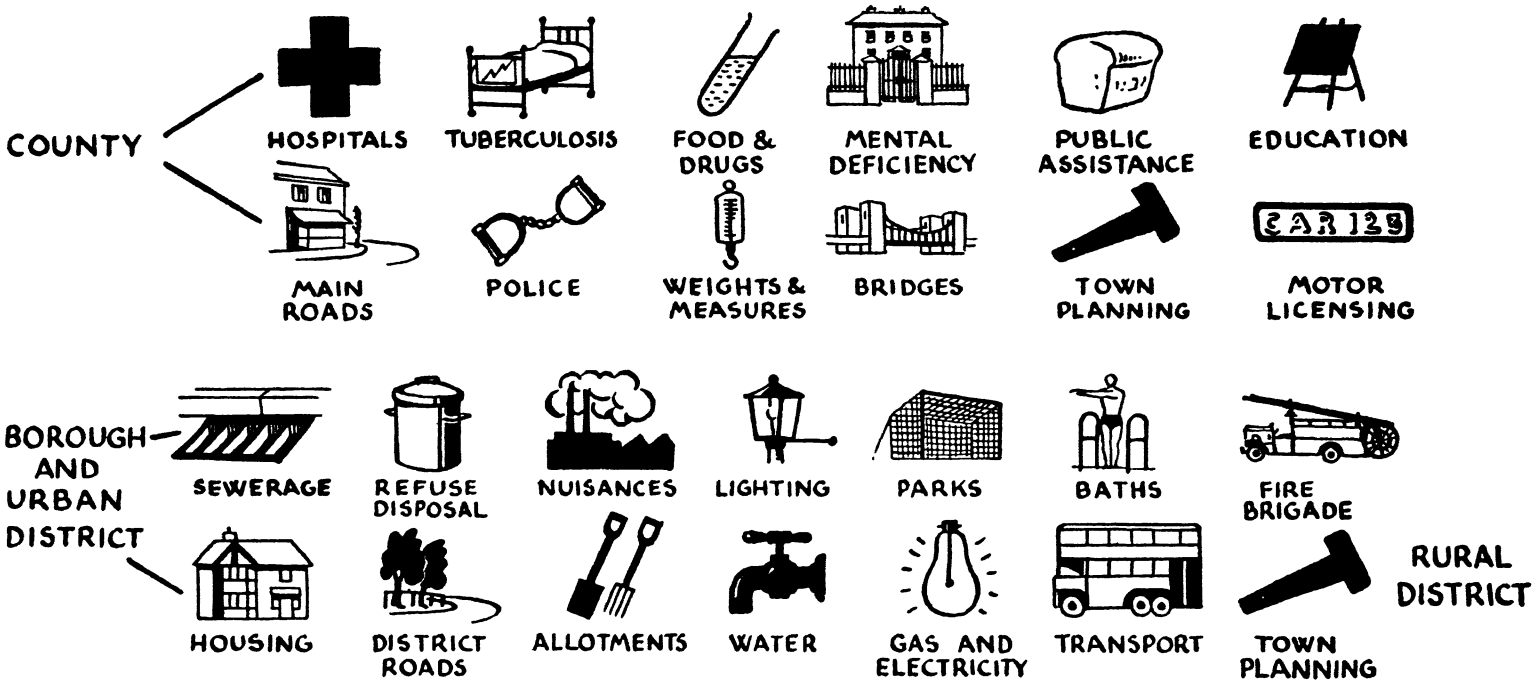
It is clear that those men and women chosen to represent you on the local councils have very important work to do, whether they are members of a parish council, of a county council, or of a borough or district council. It is also clear that their responsibilities are not the same in every case, since different sorts of councils do different sorts of work. Can one make a list of the powers that each type of council possesses, and so get the whole picture in order—these powers for the counties, these for the county boroughs, these for the urban districts, and so on ?

It would certainly be helpful if one could arrange it all in nice orderly lists, but it just happens that in this country affairs are not managed like that. The whole point is that the question is one of *local* government, and that what suits one area does not suit another. There is no rigid uniformity. Within certain limits each district can work out its own scheme in consultation with its neighbours both great and small, and although at first sight the final result may seem rather confusing, it has one great advantage—it works in practice. Bearing this in mind, you may make out something like the following as the picture.

County boroughs come first, not because they are the largest or the wealthiest authorities, but because they stand on their own legs. They do not form part of a larger authority, and they do not contain within themselves smaller authorities. As they are independent and alone, they enjoy the complete range of powers, controlling all local government services in their area—public health and education, highways and police, public assistance, trading, and the rest.

Counties come next, but since a county is built up of rural districts, urban districts, and non-county boroughs, all of which share the work, the powers have to be divided, and this is where the difficulty arises. The main functions are always the same, but the allocation of them to the various authorities differs. A county is usually a very extensive area, and

HOW THE COUNCILS DIVIDE THE WORK



This diagram shows one way in which the work of local government can be divided between the different authorities. In your area it may be very different. That's the beauty of the British way of doing things - we don't have a rigid plan. We often arrange things on the spot.

as a rule it has a good deal of money to spend. Now so important and so costly are certain public services that only a great authority like a county can manage them successfully. True, they are local services, but if they are to be run efficiently they must be planned on a broad basis—they must have elbow room. Thus education, police, public assistance, the treatment of tuberculosis, the inspection of weights and measures, and the care of main roads and bridges are first and foremost county matters, even though the county may sometimes do its work through the local councils.

At the other end of the scale are those services that, because they are local in the fullest sense of the word, are better organized by a smaller authority. The provision of houses, the collection of refuse, the lighting of the streets, the upkeep of district roads, the inspection of nuisances, the provision of baths, of water and gas, and of parks—these things are obviously the concern of the district rather than of the county.

Then there are many services that are best shared, the county and the district joining in partnership, and deciding in each case how the work shall be divided. It is usual, for instance, to share some of the functions of public health work : hospitals and ambulances, maternity and child welfare, and the treatment of infectious diseases. Housing, town-planning, the provision of libraries and of allotments are other examples of local government services that are divided between the two sets of authorities.

Generally speaking, non-county boroughs and urban districts exercise the same powers, but rural districts have fewer responsibilities, and parish councils fewer still. The diagram will give you some idea how the whole scheme works, but remember that there is nothing hard and fast, and in different areas different arrangements may be made.

In the long run it is Parliament that decides how the duties and responsibilities shall be distributed. In recent years a tendency to take power from the districts and to give it to the counties has sometimes caused a certain amount of ill-feeling, as naturally enough each authority, whether great or small, likes to govern its own district as independently as possible. Doubtless there is much to be said for concentrating power in the hands of a few great authorities rather than having it scattered over a number of smaller ones, yet more must not be lost on the swings than is gained on the roundabouts. If local government is to be alert and vigorous there must be local pride, and that can only spring from a sense of local responsibility. The question is, where shall the line be drawn ?

14 The Local Budget

Where does the Money come from?

It costs a lot of money, of course, to provide all these services, but you must not for one moment imagine that the whole of the money comes from the rates ; the council has many other sources of income, as you will see if you study the diagram on the opposite page. These sources will be considered one by one.

Government Grants

The government pays many millions each year to the local authorities to help them carry out their duties. This is really only fair, since as Parliament insists that they shall undertake certain responsibilities they have no choice in the matter. The actual amount paid to each area is worked out in accordance with a very complicated formula, but the general effect is to pay the larger grants to the poorer authorities. A rich county like Middlesex, for instance, receives very little from the government, but some of the poorer Welsh counties, and districts where there is much unemployment, get very substantial assistance.

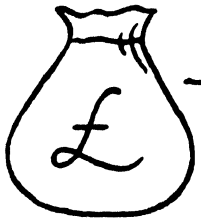
Loans

A council sometimes finds it necessary to spend a large sum of money in a very short time, when, for instance, it decides to build a new school or hospital. Were the ratepayers to be called upon to make the whole outlay at once, they would find it very difficult to procure the money, so the council borrows the money, and repays principal and interest over a number of years, thus spreading the burden.

Trading Profits

In many towns the various municipal undertakings, transport, gas, electricity, and water, provide handsome profits, which help to reduce the rates, sometimes quite considerably. In this respect seaside resorts are fortunate, since they are able to make charges for the hiring out of deck chairs and bathing tents, and they often rent portions of the beach to stallholders.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?



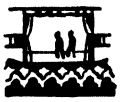
RATES



HOUSES



SHOPS & OFFICES



THEATRES & HOTELS



GAS & WATER COMPANIES

PAY FULL RATES



FACTORIES



MINES



DOCKS



RAILWAYS

PAY ¼ RATES



GOVERNMENT GRANTS



TRADING PROFITS



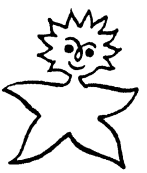
TRANSPORT



WATER



ELECTRICITY



GAS



LOANS





RENTS

COUNCIL HOUSES





VARIOUS

LICENCES



FINES



HOSPITAL CHARGES



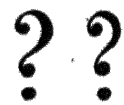
SCHOOL MEALS



FEES

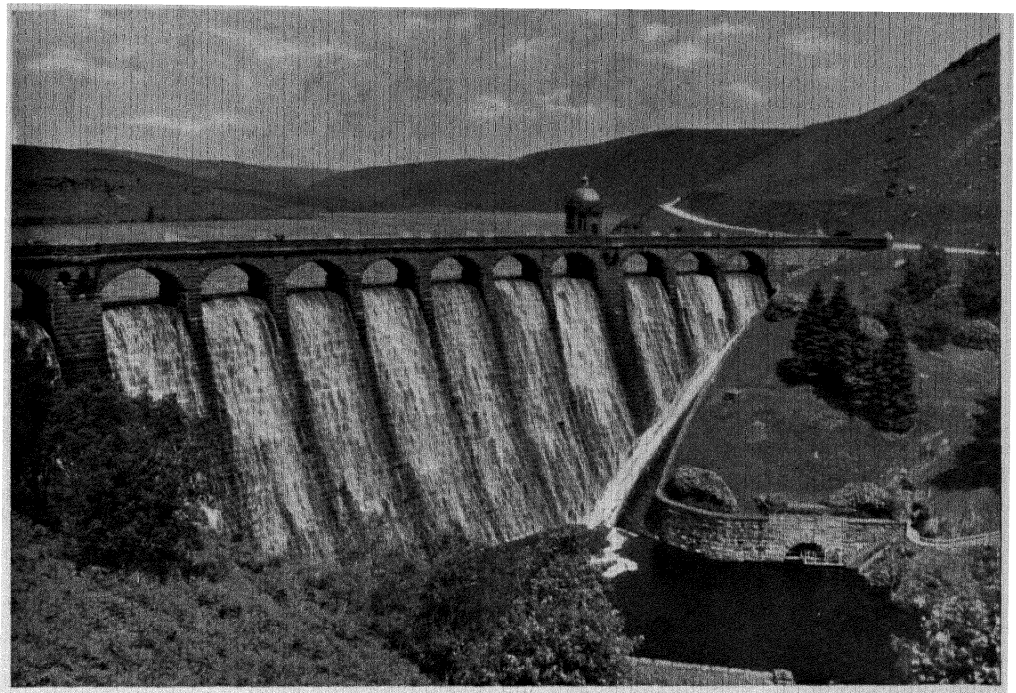
THE STATE HELPS THE COUNCILS

Payment made to Local Authorities by the Central Government

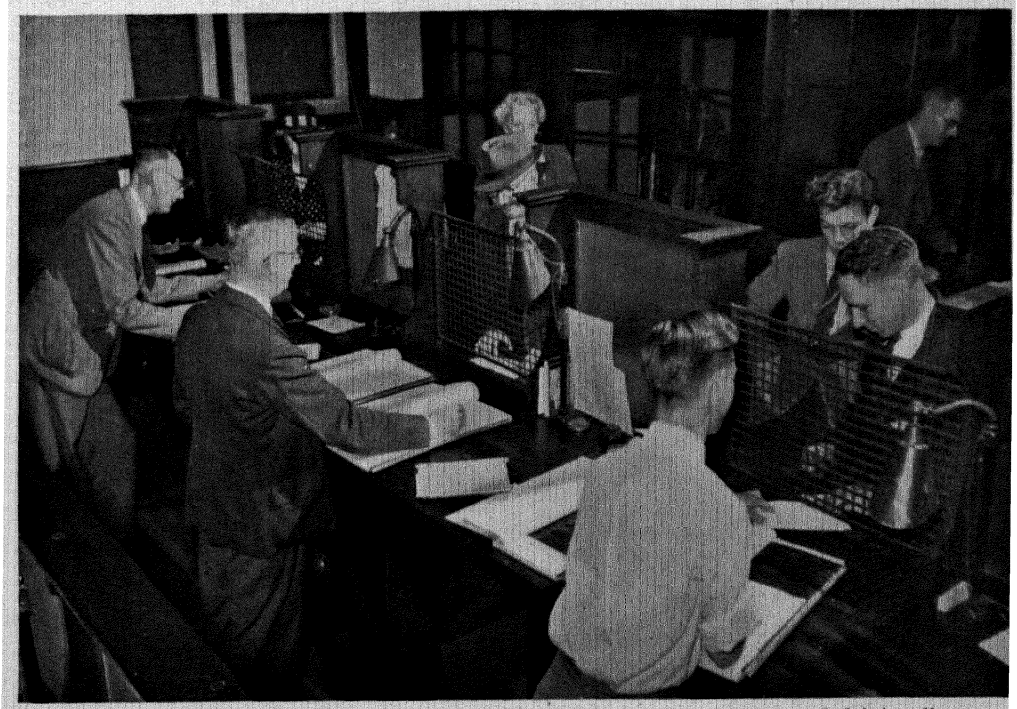
		£000,000
GENERAL GRANT		53
EDUCATION		97
HEALTH		1
HOUSING		18
POLICE		15
ROADS		9
VARIOUS		4

GRAND TOTAL £197,000,000

This money is paid by the Government. In other words it comes from the tax-payer to help the rate-payer. But rate-payers pay taxes as well as rates.



Water-supply : the great Craig Goch reservoir in the Wye Valley, which provides part of Birmingham's water-supply



Paying the Rates : the officers of the Local Authority also issue motor and driving licences



The Houses of Parliament : the royal palace of Westminster, where Lords and Commons meet

At Doncaster the racecourse provides a considerable income ; Worcester has a municipal dairy ; Brighton, Bournemouth, Eastbourne, and Hastings have restaurants ; and Bath benefits considerably from its mineral baths. Municipal trading is not always a source of profit, but it is interesting to observe that the rates in Bournemouth are usually about 8s. 6d. in the pound, whereas in some industrial areas the rates are over 20s. in the pound. Indeed in Merthyr Tydfil the rates during the years 1940–1942 were actually 30s. 6d.

Rents

The rents that are charged for council houses are paid into the account of the local authority, though they must be paid into a separate account. Any surplus must be used, not to reduce the rates, but to carry out repairs and improvements. The receipts from market dues are also a useful source of income.

Miscellaneous

You will be able to think of various other payments that go into the council's coffers—the fourpence you pay when you go for a swim at the Lido or in the Public Baths, the sixpence for a game of tennis, bowls, or clock-golf in the park, and the penny or twopenny fine that you incur if you keep your library book too long. Payments for hospital treatment, for school dinners, and for the hire of ambulances all add to the council's income. The money that you pay for a dog licence or gun licence goes to the county or county borough council, and so do most of the fines that are imposed in the magistrates' courts.

Rates

But after all you are probably more interested in the rates. People often grumble at the amount they are called upon to pay, but if they worked out the cost per head of the various items they would probably be very surprised to see the value they get for their money. What would you think if you had a bill like the one on the next page ?—your dustbins cleared for a penny a week, the use of the libraries for a farthing, the hospital service for twopence, and education, the most expensive of all, for less than a shilling. Surely these are good value !

MR JOHN CITIZEN

TO *Westwood Borough Council*

PURVEYORS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, RECREATION, PROTECTION, ETC.

Week ending — *Prompt settlement will oblige*

			s	d
Dec.	28	To services rendered		
		Education		$10\frac{3}{4}$
		Libraries		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Hospital and Sanatorium		2
		Maternity and Child Welfare		$\frac{1}{2}$
		Sewerage and Sewage Disposal		$1\frac{1}{4}$
		Collection and Disposal of Refuse		1
		Baths and Wash Houses		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Parks and Open Spaces		$\frac{1}{2}$
		Welfare of the Blind		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Relief of the Poor		$3\frac{1}{2}$
		Mental Hospitals and Mental Deficiency		$1\frac{1}{4}$
		Housing and Town Planning		$2\frac{3}{4}$
		Roads and Bridges		$4\frac{3}{4}$
		Street Lighting		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Fire Brigade		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Police		$3\frac{1}{4}$
		Administration of Justice		$\frac{1}{4}$
		Miscellaneous		$\frac{1}{2}$
		Office Work		2
			2	$11\frac{1}{2}$

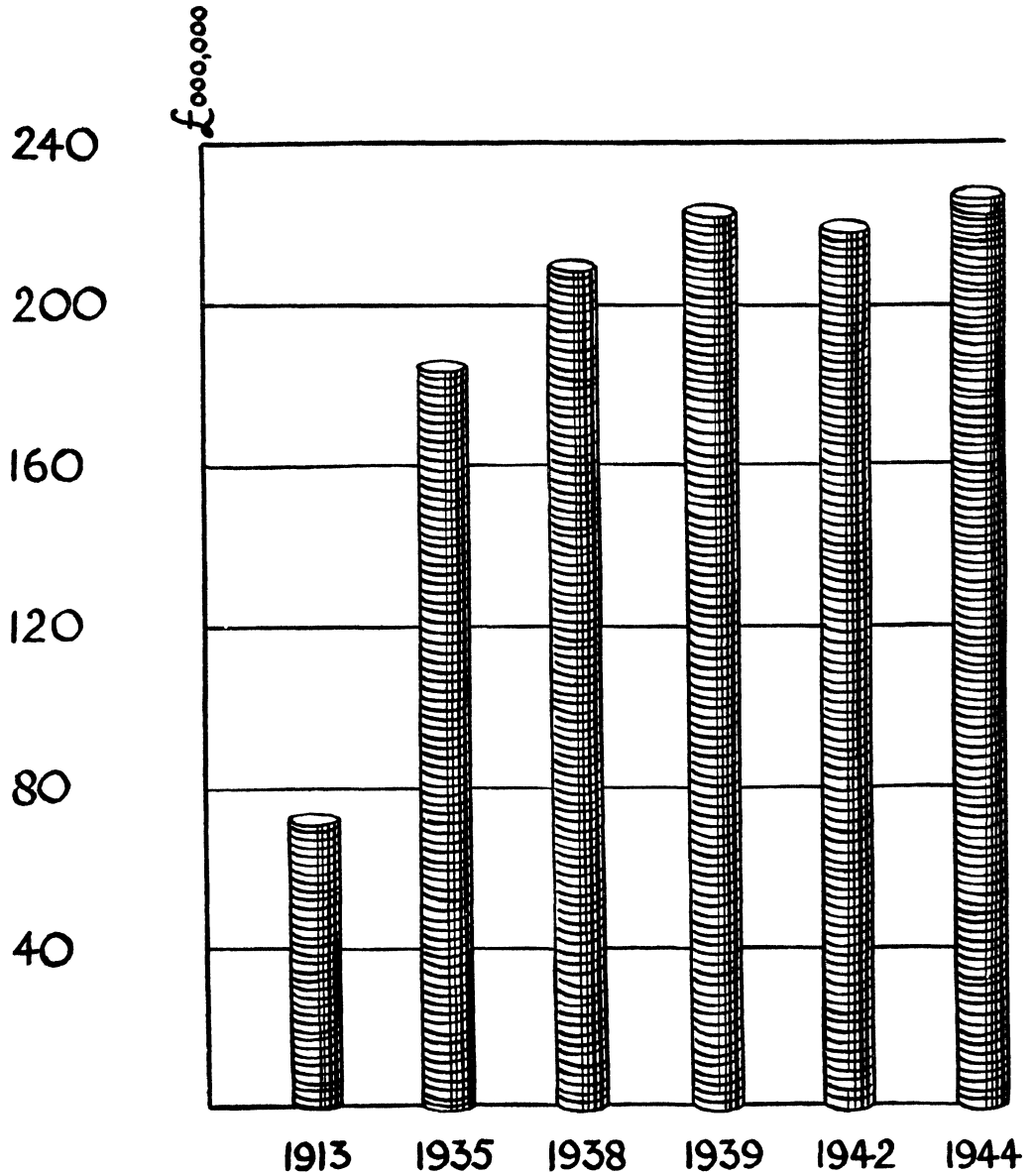
HOW ARE THEY FIXED? How does the council decide what each person shall pay? The idea is that everybody shall contribute according to his means, and since the type of house in which a man lives is usually a pretty fair indication of his financial position, the rates are based, or *assessed*, on the rent for which the house would be expected to let. This amount is called the rateable value, and it is fixed by an official of the council, called the rating valuer, whose estimate is confirmed by an Assessment Committee.

If the occupier of the house does not agree with the assessment he can appear before the Committee and state his case. They will hear what he has to say, and what the council has to say, and decide accordingly.

WHO PAYS? Householders are not the only people who pay rates. The occupiers of shops, offices, and factories have to pay too, as do the occupiers of hotels and public-houses, cinemas and theatres, factories and warehouses. Sometimes the payment of rates becomes a heavy burden, and Parliament has decided that certain types of property shall pay only a portion of the rates that would normally be due. Factories, collieries, quarries, docks, and railways, for instance, pay on only a quarter of their full rateable value, and churches and chapels pay nothing. Agricultural land, too, is de-rated, though the farmer has to pay in full for the house in which he lives.

RATE IN THE POUND Every half-year the council sends to each ratepayer a demand note, calling upon him to pay a rate of so much in the pound. What does this mean? Let us suppose that your rate is 15s. 10d. in the pound, and that the rateable value of the property in your town is £240,000. A rate of a penny in the pound would produce 240,000 pence, that is £1,000. Now each year the council has to estimate how much money it will need during the ensuing twelve months. The various committees, having decided how much they want to spend, report their claims to the Finance Committee. This committee, advised by the Treasurer of the Council, goes carefully through the estimates, and recommends the council to fix the rate at a certain figure. In your town (the rateable value of which, remember, is £240,000) the estimates must have amounted to £190,000, and so the council fixed the rate at 190 pence (15s. 10d.) in the pound. Thus if your house is assessed at £30 you pay £23, 15s. a year, that is, thirty times 15s. 10d.

THE COUNCILS' BILL
COLLECTED FROM THE RATEPAYER



New duties entrusted to local councils are likely to increase the bill in future years.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OTHER AUTHORITIES As a rule a county borough, which as you know is an independent authority, keeps all its rates. But the councils of boroughs, urban districts, and rural districts have to pay large sums to the county council. For, strange as it may seem, the county council, which spends very great amounts each year, does not itself collect rates. Instead it makes what is called a *precept*, that is, it tells each of the smaller authorities in its district how much that authority must contribute to the county expenses, and the smaller councils bear this in mind when they are fixing their own rates. In the same way, where a police force serves a large area, as does the Metropolitan Police, there is a precept for the police authorities.

CHECKING THE BILLS Councils spend enormous sums each year, and it is very important that this expenditure should be properly checked. Very careful accounts are kept, and these are open to inspection by any ratepayer who likes to take the trouble to examine them. But there is a much closer check than this. The Ministry of Health appoints officials, called District Auditors, whose job it is to go through all the account books of the council to make sure that the money they have received has been rightly spent. If the District Auditor is not satisfied with any particular item of expenditure he can order those members of the council who authorized it to pay it back out of their own pockets. This power to *surcharge* is seldom used, but the fact that it exists makes those who are responsible for spending public money very careful not to exceed their powers.

In boroughs the accounts (except those concerned with housing and education) may be examined by three auditors, of whom two are elected by the local government electors and one by the mayor. Very frequently, however, boroughs decide to have their books examined by a professional auditor, or by the District Auditor himself.

PART TWO—CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

15 The Work of Central Government

WHENEVER a number of people join together in a society, whether it be a club, a church, or a nation, it becomes necessary to draw up a set of rules by which their various activities may be controlled. The rules that are made for a nation are called laws, and these laws, which are really commands that everybody must obey, are issued and enforced by the State.

The Three Aspects

Making the Law

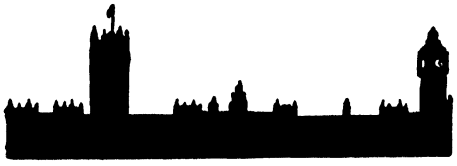
In a democratic country like Great Britain the citizens are allowed to say how they think the country should be governed, and what laws they consider ought to be passed. This they do by voting for members of Parliament, who have the power to pass any law they please. For Parliament is the law-maker—the only law-maker, and the all-powerful law-maker. It is sometimes called the *Legislature* (the Latin word *lex* means law), and the results of its work are to be seen in the legislation it enacts.

You would probably be surprised to know how many Acts of Parliament (or *statutes*, as they are sometimes called) are passed each year ; it takes two large, closely-printed books to contain them, and they deal with all sorts of matters. Some laws are passed compelling you to pay to the State a portion of your hard-earned income, others deal with education, pensions, local government, working conditions in mines and factories, national service, and a host of other topics.

Enforcing the Law

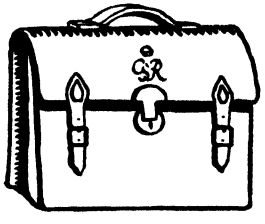
If Parliament makes the law, who enforces it ? Whose job is it to see that the commands of Parliament are carried out ? Who collects the taxes, who controls the schools, pays the pensions, supervises the work of the local authorities, inspects the mines and factories, and who sends you a printed

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT



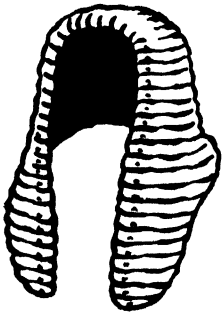
Parliament
MAKES law



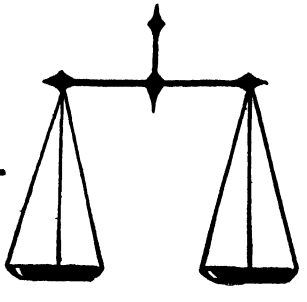


Executive
ENFORCES law





Judicature
APPLIES law



Legislature controls Executive, but the Judicature is independent of both. The judges must be free from all interference.

note calling upon you to report for national service? All this is the work of another great section of the central government: the government departments in Whitehall and elsewhere. Each of these departments is controlled by one of the King's Ministers, who is assisted by a staff of civil servants, and who is responsible to Parliament for what he does. We sometimes find it convenient when discussing the work of the central government to group all these departments together and call them the *Executive*, the body that executes or enforces the law.

Applying the Law

There is still another section of the central government to consider, and then we shall have a complete picture of this very intricate machine. Parliament issues commands, the Executive enforces those commands, but it is also necessary to apply the law to any particular set of circumstances that may arise. Take an example. On 30th July 1937 Parliament made a law decreeing that no boy should be employed in a coal mine at any time during a period of seven consecutive hours between ten o'clock at night and six o'clock the following morning. That was the command issued by the Legislature. One night, when he was visiting a mine, a government inspector found a boy underground at five minutes past eleven. As a servant of the Executive it was the inspector's business to enforce the law that Parliament had passed, and he therefore reported the matter to the police. In due course the manager of the mine was summoned to appear before a court of law to answer the charge that had been made against him. The duty of the court was to apply the law to the circumstances of this particular case, and to decide if an offence had been committed. The manager said that the inspector had made a mistake about the time, that it was five minutes *to* eleven when he saw the boy, not five minutes past; that the boy was out of the mine by eleven o'clock and was not at work again until after six; and that in any case he was not being employed at the time, for he had finished work and was waiting for his father. The court then considered very carefully what had been said on both sides; it decided that the manager's account was inaccurate, and it imposed a fine upon him. Thus the law was applied.

This particular case was dealt with by the magistrates, but more serious cases would be heard by the King's judges, who very often have not only to apply the law but also to interpret it, that is, to declare what it means,

since the words that are used in Acts of Parliament are occasionally rather vague. The judges are sometimes called the *Judicature*, and, as we shall see, the Judicature is quite independent of both the Legislature and the Executive.

16 How Parliament Grew

First Stage

In very early times, a thousand and more years ago, laws were made by the King, who, as the head of the State, acted as the father of his people and told them what they must do and what they must not do. Our early English kings were usually wise and far-seeing men, who made it a custom before they enacted a law to consult the most important of their subjects, the bishops and earls and other great personages who were usually in attendance in the royal household. The King could please himself whom he consulted, and nobody had a *right* to be present at a meeting of the Wise Men (or *Witenagemot*).

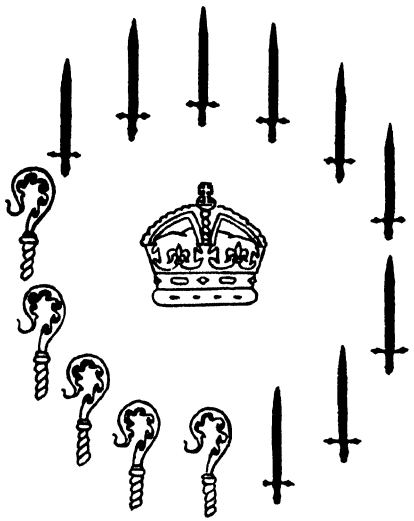
Second Stage

When the Normans conquered England in 1066 the kings continued this practice, and before they passed a law they talked the matter over with the great landowners, who, because they held their lands from the King, were obliged to attend the King's Court whether they liked it or not (and some of them did not like it at all, especially if they were busy waging a war of their own in a distant part of the kingdom). Whenever the King decided to hold a solemn meeting (a *Great Council* it was called, at which he wore his crown and appeared in great splendour) to discuss the affairs of the nation and make any laws that were called for, he sent a special summons or writ to each of his great tenants, commanding him to be present to give his advice and counsel.

When a lord died, the heir who had succeeded to his estates received the summons in the same way, and the result was that the Great Council became composed, for the most part, of men who attended it by hereditary right, not because they represented anybody or anything. The Council was not entirely hereditary, however, for among the King's great tenants were bishops, and they too received a summons to attend.

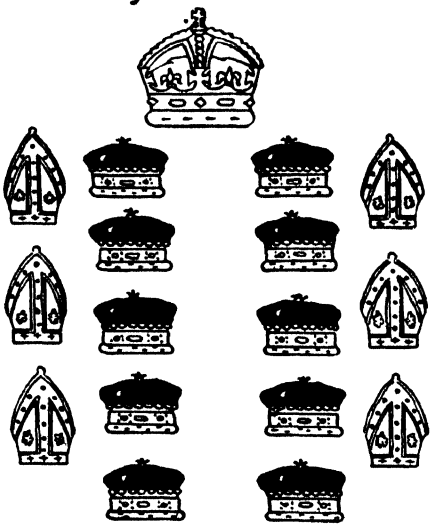
HOW PARLIAMENT GREW

1000 YEARS AGO
King meets wise men



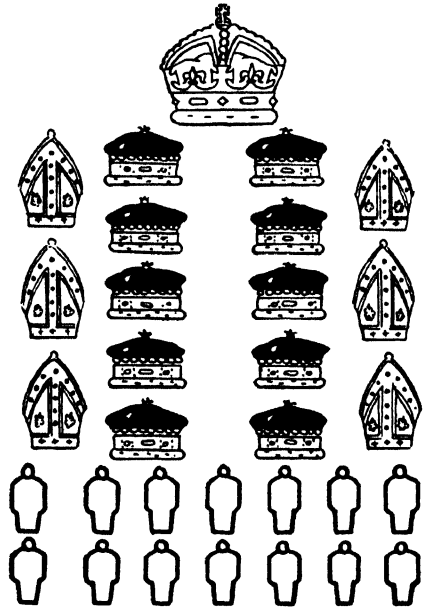
WITENAGEMOT
(Chosen by King)

850 YEARS AGO
King in Council



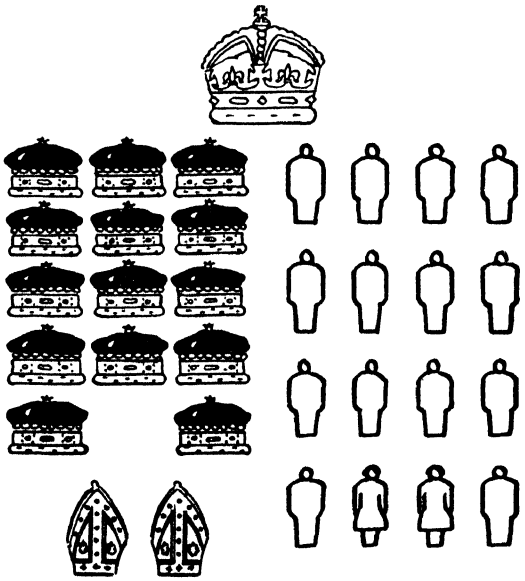
GREAT COUNCIL
(Hereditary land holders)

650 YEARS AGO
King in Parlement



GREAT COUNCIL (Hereditary)
joined by COMMONS (elected)

TODAY
King in Parliament



LORDS
(Hereditary)

COMMONS
(elected)

Third Stage

During the thirteenth century the kings of England, who were always in need of money, tried to think of various ways to fill the royal treasure chest. Since if each county (or *shire*) could be persuaded to make a contribution many of the difficulties would disappear, orders were given that the shires should choose representatives whose duty it would be to attend before the Great Council in order to inform the King how much money he might expect from them.

In 1295 Edward I went a step further and summoned representatives not only from the shires but from the cities and boroughs as well. Thus there came into being the famous Model Parliament, where the elected representatives of the various localities—the Commons they were called (not because they represented the common people but because they spoke for the *communes* or localities)—joined the hereditary Great Council in a talk or *parlement* (from the French word *parler*, to speak) with the King.

Many changes have occurred, of course, during the past six centuries, but Parliament, in the main, is still what it was then, a meeting of the elected Commons, the hereditary Lords, and the King.

Business of Parliament

What topics were discussed at these meetings? As you might expect, the King had plenty to say. He had armies to feed, clothe, and equip, his household to keep up, his servants to pay, and his judges to provide with salaries; and he wanted money also for himself. Though usually willing to make the necessary grants, the Commons, before they did so, often took the opportunity to make a few pointed remarks. They did not like some of the King's plans for ruling the country, they did not like the way his servants carried out his commands, and they told him so. If he was wise, he listened to them quietly. But more was to come. When they had grievances they demanded that their wrongs should be righted, and refused to promise any money until the King had undertaken to do so. He agreed to their suggestions, hinted that the time had now come to get down to business, and having secured their assent to the various taxes he proposed, sent them home rejoicing.

Very often, however, their satisfaction was short-lived, for having got what he wanted, the King was in no hurry to carry out his promises. Frequently, it is true, he would enact laws as he had agreed, but sometimes by changing the wording of the various clauses he would give the Commons something very different from what they had demanded. It did not take them long to find the answer to this. Deciding that the best thing to do was to agree among themselves on the exact words desirable in each new law, they took to debating the matter together until they had finally arrived at an exact statement of what they all wanted.

Then they drew up a document (they called it a *Bill*) and presented it to the King, making it clear that the terms of the law they were asking him to enact were not to be altered, though if he wished he could reject the proposal as a whole. If he agreed to enact the law, the King would declare his assent by writing on the bill, in the Norman-French language that was then in common use among educated people, the words "The King agrees." If, on the other hand, he refused his assent, he was too polite to say so in so many words, but instead he would write on the bill "The King will think about it."

Parliament To-day

This, briefly, is how Parliament grew ; this is how its business came to be settled. At first the Commons occupied only a very humble position, but as the years went by the *Lower House*, as it is sometimes called, became more and more powerful, until now its position is unchallenged. To-day, the members of Parliament who come swiftly to Westminster from all parts of the country by train or motor car or aeroplane perform the same duties as those members of olden times who, often unwillingly and always at great inconvenience, made their way slowly by horseback to the King's Court. They discuss grievances, they criticize the Government, they grant money for the business of the State, and they present bills to the King for his royal assent. The hereditary Great Council has become the House of Lords, their powers now much reduced but their work still important, and the King, the centre of the whole vast system, is still there, an essential part of Parliament.

17 Where the Laws are Made

The Palace of Westminster

In the autumn of 1834 Parliament decided that the time had come to undertake a thorough cleaning, and orders were given that the great piles of lumber that had accumulated over a long period of years should be destroyed. Among the rubbish were vast numbers of tally-sticks, thin strips of wood, two or three feet long, that had been used centuries before to record the amounts of money paid into the royal treasury. An over-zealous workman, anxious to finish his job quickly, flung these tally-sticks into the furnace of the House of Lords to such good purpose that the flues became over-heated, a fire broke out, and in a remarkably short time most of the ancient building was destroyed. Thus disappeared the Royal Palace of Westminster, where the kings of England used to live, and where Lords and Commons had met for three centuries, ever since Henry VIII had set apart the Chapel of St Stephen's, in the heart of the palace, as a place where the Commons could conduct their business.

Parliament's Home To-day

A new building was soon erected on the same site, but the Houses of Parliament that you now see are still regarded as a royal palace. Much of the building, including the Chamber of the Commons, was destroyed by German bombs on 10th May 1941, but had you wandered before the war through the corridors and lobbies, past the committee-rooms, staircases, and cloakrooms, you would eventually have reached a rectangular chamber with tiers of green leather benches, facing each other like the stalls in a church choir. It was the debating chamber of the House of Commons, now in ruins, but soon to be rebuilt.

It will be some years before the new building is completed, and in the meantime the Commons are housed in the chamber of the Lords. From your seat in the gallery, you can see the Speaker's chair, now plain and unimpressive, for the beautifully carved chair, 13 feet in height, which had been in use for nearly a century, was destroyed in the bombing. The solemn person sitting there, clad in black silk gown and full-bottomed wig, is the Speaker himself, the Chairman of the House, and the jealous

guardian of its rights and privileges. At the table in front of him sit the three clerks, also wearing wig and gown, and on the rack before the table lies the great silver-gilt Mace, symbol of the authority of the Commons. Those men on the front bench to the right of the Speaker are the King's Ministers, those on the left are the leaders of His Majesty's Opposition. The black dispatch boxes on each side of the table indicate the seats respectively of the Prime Minister and of the Leader of the Opposition. Inside the boxes are copies of the Old and New Testaments, and of the oath members must take when they are elected.

Some Ancient Customs

Do you see those narrow strips of carpet on the floor between the front benches? To-day they serve no purpose, but in former times they prevented many a scuffle, since, as a member was not allowed to place his foot over the edge of the carpet, any would-be combatants were kept apart. Even to-day, so zealously does the House preserve its old customs, a member who steps over the carpet is quickly called to order by his fellows.

The House never forgets its long and sometimes stormy history. Those members who bow in the direction of the Speaker as they take their places are not paying him a compliment, as you might suppose; they bow because in former days, when the Commons used to meet in the royal chapel of St. Stephen's, it was customary for members as they entered to bow towards the site of the altar.

The galleries are full of spectators, and press reporters are taking down in shorthand every word that is uttered, but the House pretends not to see them, for nobody has the right to be present when the Commons are engaged upon their business. Should the members wish to talk in private or *secret session*, one of them will rise in his place and draw attention to the fact that non-members are present by exclaiming, " Mr. Speaker, I spy strangers." The galleries will then be cleared, and the House will continue its business alone.

Many other ancient forms and ceremonies persist, each one the reminder of a long and honourable history. A member who wants the electric light switched on will use the old request, " Mr. Speaker, I call for candles."

When the day's work is finished there rings through the building the cry " Who goes home? ", though members no longer need to make their

way home in company, as a safeguard against the robbers who used to haunt the byways of the neighbourhood.

When the messenger arrives from the House of Lords asking the Commons to attend in the other Chamber the door is slammed in his face and he has to knock for admission. The House is remembering the bad old days when the King tried to interfere with its debates, and it thus asserts its right to bar the entry of anybody who is not a member.

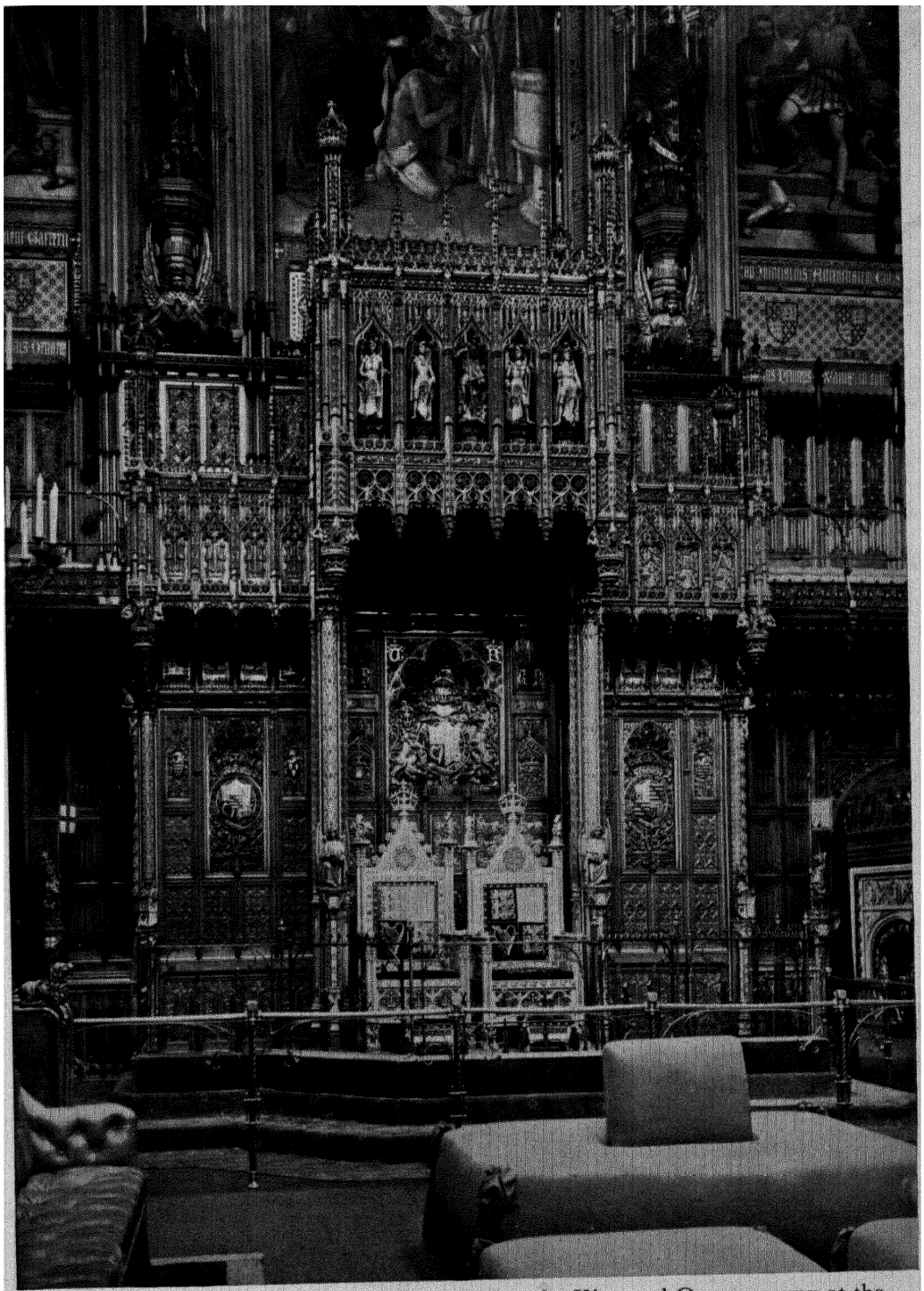
Should it become necessary to elect a new Speaker, the candidate thus honoured has to be dragged by the arms to his chair. His pretended unwillingness is a reminder that in the past it was sometimes dangerous to be Speaker, since it was one of his duties to approach the King as the mouthpiece of the Commons, and kings sometimes showed in no uncertain fashion their displeasure at what was said.

Newly elected members may sometimes scoff at these old customs and traditions, but they soon come to realize that they play an important part in the life of the House, for they form a link with a great and historic past.

The House of Lords

Not far from the Chamber of the Commons, at the other end of a long corridor, is found the House of Lords, similar in design to the House of Commons but furnished with red leather benches. You notice at once the absence of the Speaker's chair. In its place is a small plain seat, without arms, covered in scarlet cloth. This is the woolsack (it is still stuffed with wool as it was in the old days, when the Lords remembered that the woollen industry was the chief source of England's wealth) and here sits the Lord Chancellor, who presides over the debates of the Lords. Behind the woolsack, and separated from the rest of the chamber by a narrow rail, are the two golden thrones that are occupied by the King and Queen when they come in solemn state to open Parliament. In former times the monarch donned his robes of State in the King's robing-room, from which he walked in procession through the Royal Gallery to the House of Lords. To-day, however, the robing-room is used as the debating chamber of the Lords, who have temporarily given up their own chamber to the Commons.

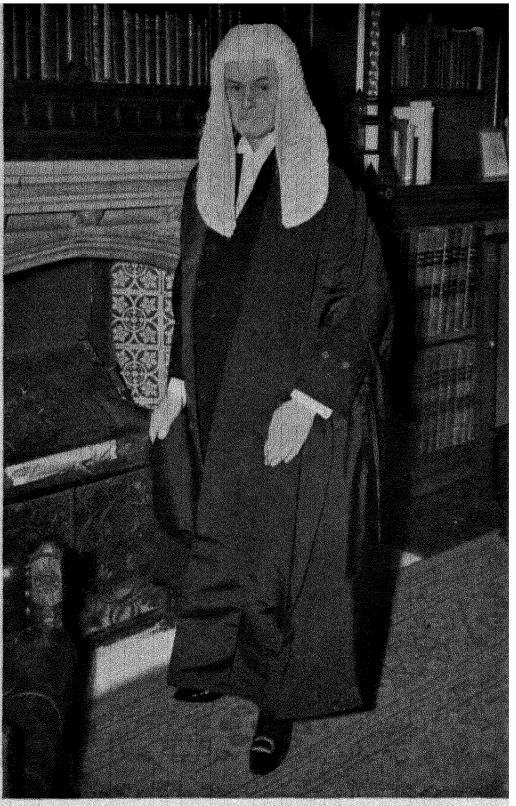
This, then, is the home of the Legislature, the mighty assembly whose daily work affects us all so intimately. How do they carry out the great tasks entrusted to them? How does the governmental machine work?



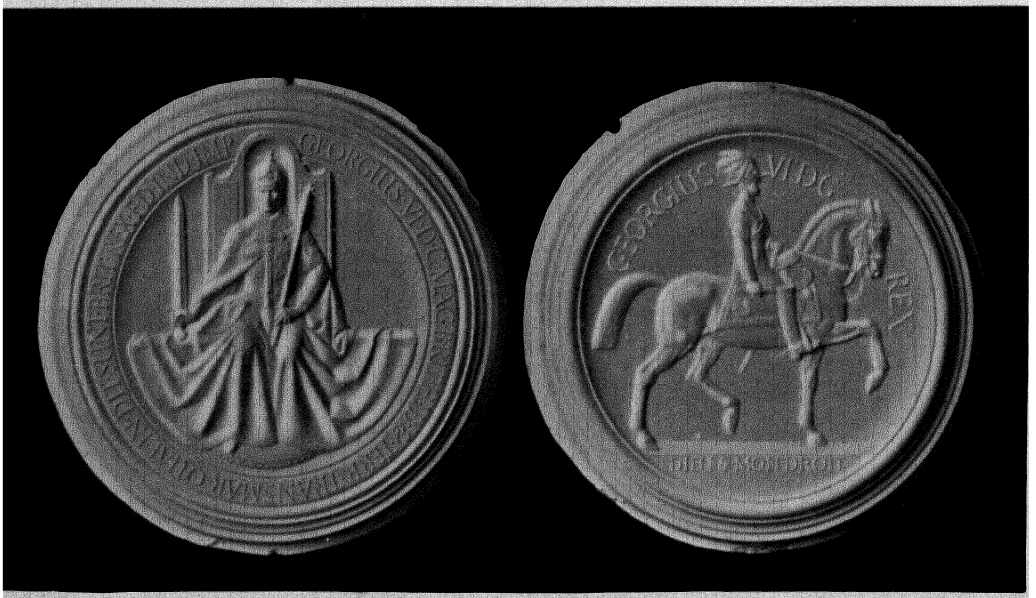
The Royal Thrones : these are the thrones that the King and Queen occupy at the opening of Parliament. The woolsack is in the foreground



The Lord Chancellor



The Speaker of the House of Commons



The Great Seal of England : this silver seal is used for making the wax impression that must be attached to important State documents

18 The Party System

Representation

Democratic countries believe that the government should be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the people, that those who have to obey the laws ought to be able to say what laws they want passed. In Britain we secure this by allowing men and women to vote for people to represent them in the House of Commons, and since, in the long run, the House of Commons can pass any law it pleases, it follows that the will of the nation can be carried into effect.

Government by Majority

Now different people have different ideas about how the country should be governed, and obviously you cannot please everyone. Somebody will be dissatisfied whatever you do, and so the fairest way is to let the majority decide. In practice we find that most people favour the ideas of one or other of the three great political parties, and so are either Conservative, Labour, or Liberal. Each of the three parties has its own policy, that is to say, it wants the country to be governed in its own particular way. As a rule a candidate who asks the voters (or *electors*) to send him to Parliament as their representative supports the policy of one of the three parties, and he promises that if he is returned to Parliament he will help that party to pass the laws it wants.

When the members of the House of Commons are discussing what laws shall be made, there are always some who support a particular proposal, and some who are opposed to it. As you would expect, the majority decides. It follows, therefore, that the party that is supported by the majority of members can get its own way, and that it can carry out its policy by passing the laws it desires. In other words, this is the party that governs the country.

Forming the Government

Now governing the country means not only making the laws, it means enforcing them as well, and so the party that has the majority must control the various government departments whose duty it is to carry out the orders

of Parliament. This it does by placing in charge of each department one of its own supporters, usually a prominent member of the party, who will see that his department is run in accordance with the wishes of the party. These heads of departments (who may be members of the House of Commons or of the House of Lords) are the Ministers, and under the guidance of the chief, or Prime Minister, they are responsible for deciding how the affairs of the country shall be conducted. They constitute the Government—Conservative, Labour, or Liberal as the case may be.

A Strong Government

Let us see how this scheme works in practice. Suppose that when a new Parliament meets there are 400 Conservative members, 200 Labour, and 40 Liberal. As the Conservatives are in the majority, the King will send for the leader of the party and ask him to form a Government. The Conservative leader will then appoint the chief members of his party to the various government departments : Brown will take charge of the War Office, Smith of the Foreign Office, Robinson of the Home Office, and Jones will go to the Ministry of Education. The leader himself will become Prime Minister. So the Government is formed, and very soon it begins to make proposals for the new laws it wants to pass.

It will not have much difficulty in persuading the House of Commons to agree to its schemes, for if every Labour and Liberal member voted against it, the Government would still have the support of the majority of the House. It has in fact a majority (we call it a *working majority*) of 160 (400—240=160). So long as it keeps a majority the Government will be able to remain in office and carry out its policy. But should it lose the confidence of the House, should it, for instance, govern the country in such a way that even the Conservative members felt compelled to vote against its proposals, then it would have to resign, and a new Government would be appointed.

A Weak Government

A Government with a majority of 160 would be in a powerful position, and would not be defeated unless it did something very foolish. But suppose it has a small majority ; suppose there are 340 Conservative members, 200 Labour, and 100 Liberal. Its working majority is now only 40. It

THE PARTY SYSTEM

STRONG GOVERNMENT





CONSERVATIVES 400 LABOUR 200 LIBERALS 40

Conservatives can out-vote Labour & Liberals

WEAK GOVERNMENT





CONSERVATIVES 340 LABOUR 200 LIBERALS 100

Conservatives have a clear majority of 40 only. They must go very carefully, or Labour & Liberals may out-vote them.

MINORITY GOVERNMENT





CONSERVATIVES 280 LABOUR 240 LIBERALS 120

No party has a clear majority over the other two, Labour may form Government, with Liberals' support, but Liberals can secure their defeat whenever they like.

can carry on for the time being, but it will not be very strong. It will have to go to work carefully so as not to cause any split in its own ranks, and it will have to make certain that sufficient supporters are always in the House ready to vote for the Government when the need arises. No party ever has *all* its members present, some may be ill and some engaged on urgent business elsewhere, and the Government will live in constant dread that at any moment the other parties may out-vote it. If the question on which an adverse vote is taken is a trivial one, the Government will probably do nothing, but if some matter of importance is concerned it will resign. A general election will then be held, and the country will be able to make its wishes known when it elects members for the new Parliament.

A Minority Government

Sometimes it happens that no one party has a majority over the other two. What would happen, for instance, if there were 280 Conservative members, 240 Labour, and 120 Liberal? In these circumstances no party might be willing to form a Government on its own, but it might happen that the Liberals were prepared to make a bargain with the Labour members, and give a promise to support them. Liberal and Labour members together would then be able to out-vote the Conservative party, but the Labour Government would be very weak, since the Liberals might withdraw their support at any time and expose the Government to be defeated and compelled to resign.

A Government does not always wait for defeat before it resigns. The Prime Minister may know that he is losing the confidence of the country if his majority declines to any considerable extent, or if his party loses many seats at by-elections (which are held to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation). He may then decide to *appeal to the country* by asking the King to dissolve or dismiss Parliament, thus making a general election necessary.

Coalition Government

In times of national danger or difficulty the parties may agree to forget their differences and to unite in carrying out a common policy. The ministers will then be chosen from all parties, and the Government is called a *Coalition* Government.

Weaknesses of Party System

This, then, is the party system. On the whole it works well, but it has certain disadvantages, the chief of which is that minorities are not always properly represented. It is quite possible for a member to be returned for a constituency when more people have voted for the rival candidates than for him. If 50,000 electors vote for the Liberal candidate, 40,000 for the Labour, and 45,000 for the Conservative, the Liberal will be returned, although the majority of the voters have opposed him. Since it is thus quite possible for the majority of the members to be returned by a minority of the voters, this can hardly be called truly representative government.

Some people complain, too, that members are not free to vote in the House as they think best. The whips, whose job it is to see that every member votes as his party wants him to vote, whether he agrees or not, have very great power, and if a member does not obey their instructions he may be turned out of the party, and will not receive party support at the next election.

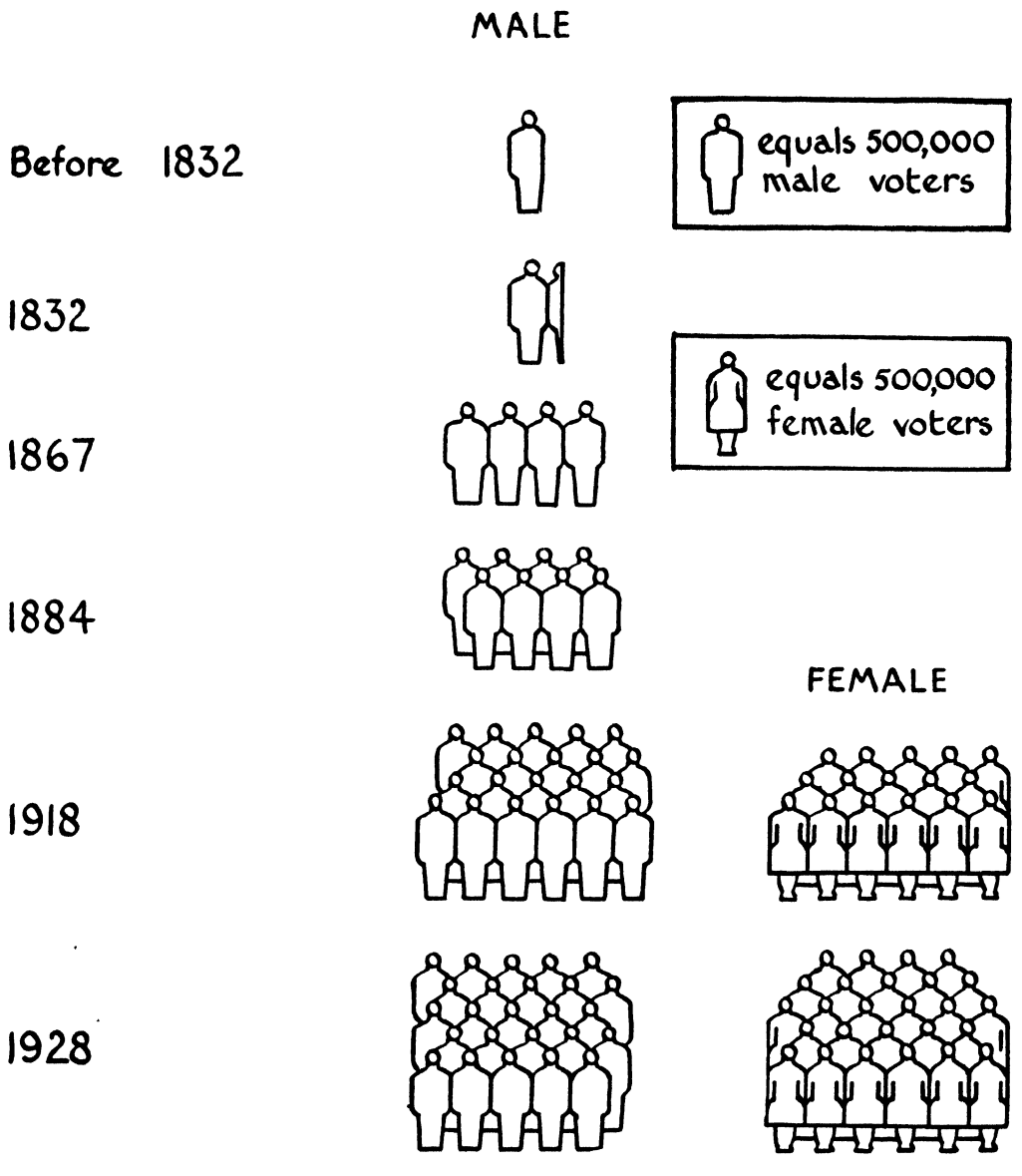
19 The Franchise

The Old System

At the present time the country is governed in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the citizens, but this was not always the case, as you will see if you study the diagram. Little more than a century ago the right to vote (the *franchise,* as we call it) was confined to a very small section of the population. In the counties a man had to own land worth forty shillings a year (a very much greater sum then than now) before he could vote at a Parliamentary election, and in the cities and boroughs all sorts of queer qualifications were sometimes required. At Droitwich each voter had to be the owner of a small quantity of salt-water rising out of a pit ; at Downton in Wiltshire a piece of land in the middle of a water course conferred the franchise ; in some towns you could vote if you possessed even the meanest cottage, so long as the chimney was in good repair ; in certain boroughs you had to be a *pot-walloper,* that is, you had to prove that you could boil a pot on your own hearth. The notorious

THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE

How it Grew



Practically all adult men and women can now vote at Parliamentary elections. Since 1945 the local government franchise has been similarly extended.

borough of Old Sarum sent two members to Parliament, but there were only seven electors, who were the owners of the ploughed fields to which the right of voting was attached.

Gradual Reform

In 1832 Parliament began the great work of reform that was to take nearly a hundred years to complete. The old system which had left the power in the hands of a small body of wealthy men was swept away, and the franchise was extended to middle-class landowners. In 1867 the vote was given to those working men who lived in the towns, and in 1884 rural workers too were included. In 1918 women over thirty years of age, and nearly all men over the age of twenty-one, were given the vote ; and finally, in 1928, the franchise was extended to practically all adult men and women.

The Franchise To-day

You can now vote for a member of Parliament if your name appears on the register of electors. This register is the same as that used for local government elections, and the qualifications you require for inclusion in it are the same. University graduates have an additional vote (the Universities are allowed to send twelve members to Parliament), but they cannot vote more than twice at the same election.

Those who are disqualified by law from voting in local government elections (*e.g.* criminals, lunatics, aliens, etc.) are also debarred from voting at Parliamentary elections, and so too are members of the House of Lords.

20 The Election

When Parliament finishes its work for the day it is *adjourned* ; when it breaks up for the holidays it is *prorogued* ; when its life comes to an end it is *dissolved*, and then every member of the House of Commons gives up his seat and a *general election* is held. A general election gives the nation a new opportunity of saying how it wants to be governed : it is really a great struggle for power among the chief political parties, Conservative, Labour, and Liberal, each of which has its own plans for ruling the country.

Elections in the Old Days

There is always much excitement in the country when a general election is being held, but in former times there was often disorder and rioting as well. Candidates were expected to explain their views at an open-air meeting or *hustings*, and then each elector announced in public the name of the candidate for whom he gave his vote. This system naturally caused public disturbance, and the fact that everybody knew how a particular individual had voted made it impossible for the election to be conducted fairly. Votes were bought and sold quite openly, and great landowners could often ensure that the candidates they favoured would be elected, since if any of their tenants refused to vote as they were told, unpleasant consequences might follow.

The Election To-day

To-day all this is changed. The voting is carried out in secret, bribery is forbidden, and in the polling booth, where the votes are recorded, all is quiet and orderly.

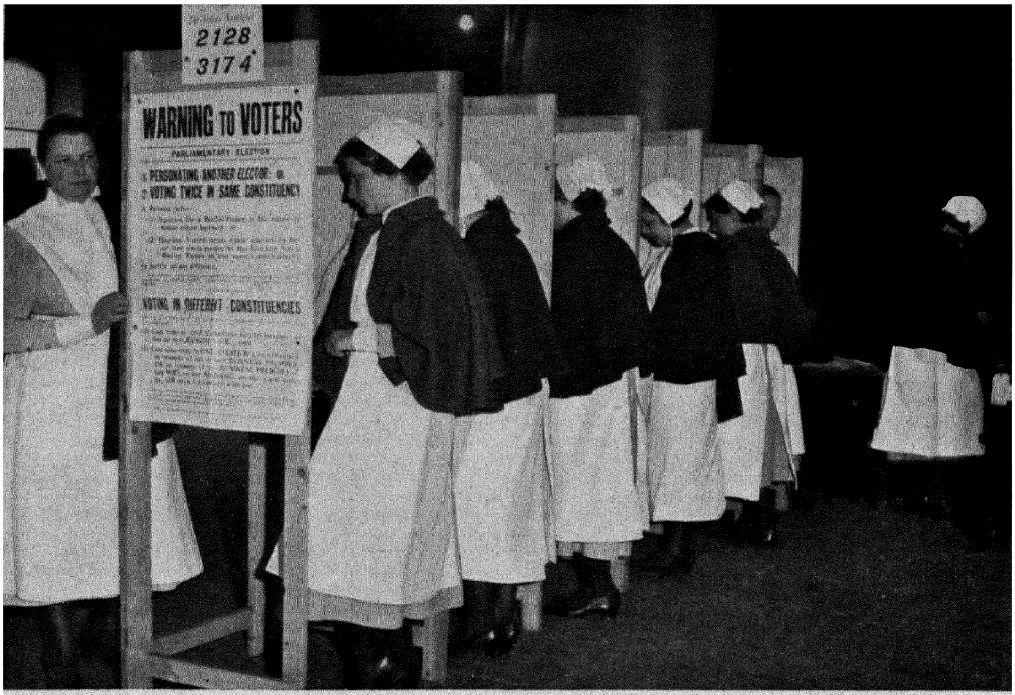
The Parliamentary election is conducted in much the same fashion as a local government election. On nomination day the candidates appear before the Returning Officer of the constituency, and present their nomination forms, signed by eight persons whose names appear on the electoral register. They then pay over the sum of £150 in notes or cash (cheques are not accepted) as a guarantee of good faith. If they secure one-eighth of the total number of votes polled this money will be returned to them ; if less, it will be forfeited. This scheme is designed to discourage candidates who might otherwise come forward knowing quite well that they had no chance of being returned.

The Candidates

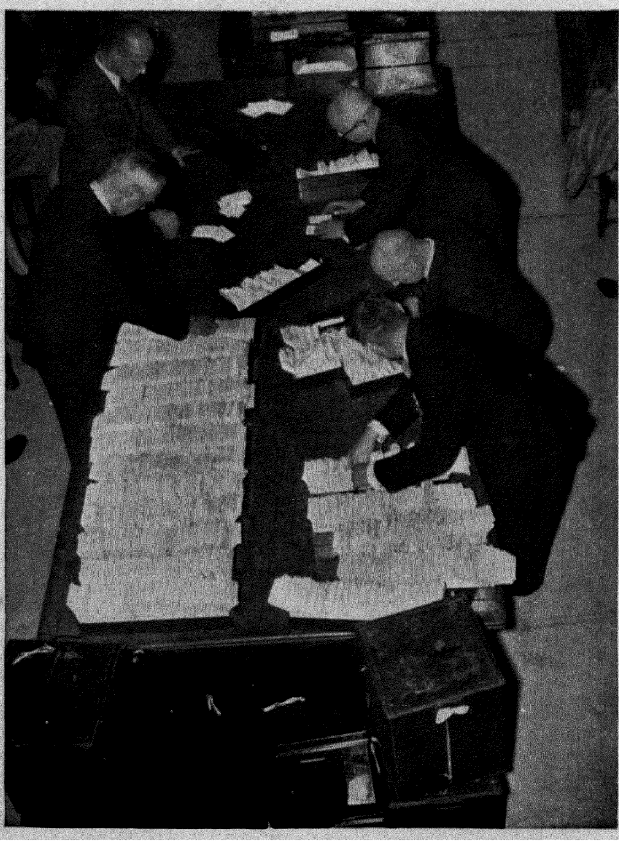
The only people over the age of twenty-one who are not allowed to offer themselves as candidates for election to Parliament are members of the House of Lords, clergymen of the Church of England, and those who are disqualified by law because they are aliens, lunatics, criminals, or bankrupts. For all practical purposes, therefore, we may say that any man or woman can become a candidate at a Parliamentary election in



An Election of bygone days : the hustings at Covent Garden in 1806



(*above*) Marking the Ballot-paper : the separate cubicles ensure secrecy in voting



(*below*) Counting the Votes : the emptied ballot-boxes are stacked in the foreground

any constituency (since there is no need for a man to live in the district for which he stands).

But although anybody can present himself as a candidate if he can find eight voters to sign his nomination papers, and if he can produce the deposit of £150, in practice he will have little chance of being elected unless he has the support of one of the political parties. How does he obtain this support? The first step is to get into touch with the local branch of the party, and ask them to consider him as a candidate. In due course he will be invited to appear before the committee, who will give him an opportunity of explaining his views. The claims of other would-be candidates are considered at the same time, and finally the committee make their choice. The ordeal is not yet over, however, for the local branch must formally adopt him as their candidate. Once more he must state the policy he will follow if elected, once more he must answer the questions put to him, and if all goes well he is at last chosen as the official candidate, Conservative, Labour, or Liberal as the case may be.

The fight now starts in earnest. He first appoints an agent whose job it is to run the campaign for him, and attend to the business side of it. Pamphlets are sent to all voters explaining the policy the candidate favours, posters are stuck on the hoardings, loud-speaker vans are sent round the streets, canvassers call at houses, and public meetings are held. The candidate can do what he likes to persuade people to vote for him, but whatever he does he must not attempt to bribe them. He can kiss the baby, if he thinks that that will win the mother's vote, but he must not buy it a rattle; he can shake hands in the local inn, but he must not offer drinks. And he must be careful not to spend money too lavishly in advertising and hiring halls, for the law says he can spend only 5d. for each voter in a town constituency, and 6d. if his constituency is in the country.

When polling day arrives voting booths are set up, usually in schools or halls, and the electors come along to record their votes. The polling clerk, having checked each person's name from the register, gives him a ballot paper on which are printed, in alphabetical order, the names, occupations, and addresses of the candidates. The voter puts a cross against the name of the person for whom he wishes to vote (if he writes anything else on his ballot paper it will be cancelled), folds his paper in two, and inserts it in a slot in the top of a sealed metal box provided for the purpose. The greatest

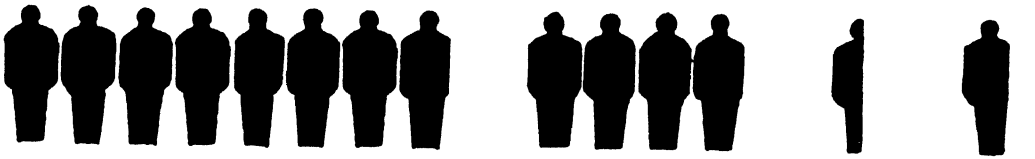
THE NATION CHOOSES

June 1945 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT





July 1945 GENERAL ELECTION



RESULT?

COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, JULY 26

The Right Hon. Winston Spencer-Churchill had an audience of The King this evening and tendered his resignation as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury and Minister of Defence, which His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept.

The King subsequently received in audience the Right Hon. C. R. Attlee, and requested him to form a new Administration. The Right Hon. C. R. Attlee accepted His Majesty's offer and kissed hands upon his appointment as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT

care is taken to ensure that nobody knows how an elector has voted : you will see in the picture the little private cubicles where the ballot papers are marked.

At the end of the day the boxes are collected and conveyed to some central place, often the Town Hall, where, under the eyes of the Returning Officer and of the candidates, they are opened, their contents are turned out on to a table, and the clerks get busy sorting and counting the votes. Each candidate's votes are tied up in bundles of a hundred, and when the counting is complete the Returning Officer declares the name of the successful candidate, who in due course will take his seat at Westminster.

As one of His Majesty's faithful Commons the new M.P. will receive a salary of £1000 a year (less income tax, of course), and he will also be entitled to free first-class travel between London and his constituency. This payment is not so generous as it sounds, since a member of Parliament has heavy expenses to meet. His postage account will be considerable, he will most probably need some secretarial assistance, and unless he is fortunate enough to live in London he will have hotel bills to pay.

21 Lords and Commons

The House of Lords

Members

When Parliament is dissolved the members of the Upper House (there are over 800 of them) are not directly affected, as they will all have a place in the new Parliament. They are not representatives who have to be elected, but peers who have an hereditary right to be summoned by the King. Some days before Parliament is due to assemble they receive a writ, just as their ancestors did centuries ago, summoning them to the City of Westminster " with the Prelates, Great Men and Peers " to give their advice on the affairs of the State.

Twenty-four bishops receive this summons together with the archbishops of Canterbury and York. These are the Lords Spiritual. The Lords Temporal are the Princes of the Blood Royal, the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. The peers of Scotland, in a solemn meeting at

Holyrood Palace, elect sixteen of their number to sit in the House of Lords during the lifetime of the new Parliament, and the Irish peers are similarly entitled to choose twenty-eight representatives. Since the founding of Eire, however, vacancies among the representative Irish peers have not been filled, and they now number only eleven.

The Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are also summoned. They are experienced lawyers who assist the House in its legal business, and who hold for life the rank of baron.

Lord Chancellor

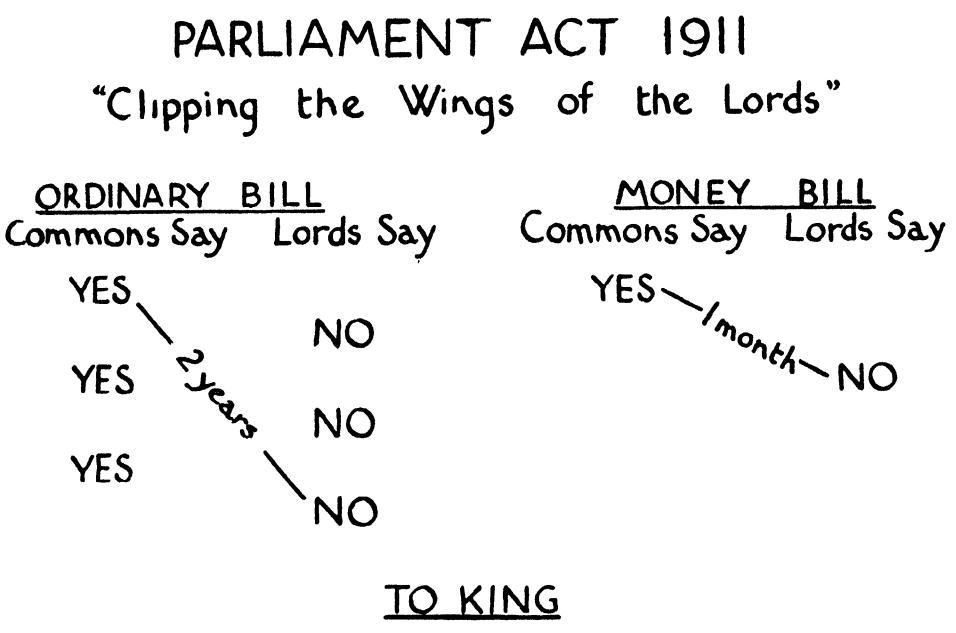
The Chairman of the House of Lords is the Lord Chancellor, the legal adviser of the Government, the chief of the King's judges, and the keeper of the Great Seal, which has to be affixed to important state documents. The symbol of his office is a black rod with a golden lion on the top, which is carried by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, who also acts as the Lords' messenger when they communicate with the House of Commons.

Duties

The Lords share with the Commons the great duty of making the law, though their powers are not so great as those of the Lower House. Nearly all important bills originate in the House of Commons, and if they deal with taxation or other financial matters (*money bills*) they *must* begin there. At one time the Lords could refuse their assent to the proposals of the Commons, and thus prevent their being passed into law, but to-day it would not make any difference if they did, since the Parliament Act of 1911 provided that any bills that have passed the Commons can, after a certain interval has elapsed, even if the Lords refuse to pass them, go straight to the King for the royal assent. This does not mean, however, that the Lords have been deprived of their law-making power. They often suggest valuable changes in the bills that the Commons send to them, and even if the Commons do not agree to the amendments suggested, they are compelled to think the matter over again.

The Lords also perform a very important duty when they discuss matters of public interest, for many of them are men of wide experience and expert knowledge. They criticize the policy of the Government and call upon the Ministers of the Crown to explain and justify what they have done.

Although, so far as the making of the law is concerned, the House of



Lords enjoys less power than the House of Commons, it occupies a unique position because, unlike the Commons, it *applies* the law. It is, in fact, the supreme court of justice in this country, and we shall see later how it came to possess this right.

The House of Commons

Members

The House of Commons consists of 640 men and women, every one of whom has been chosen by the voters to represent them in Parliament. Of these 640 members, 517 represent English constituencies, 74 come from Scotland, 36 from Wales, and 13 from Northern Ireland. Since practically every grown-up person in the country has the right to vote, it follows that the members of the House of Commons can speak for the whole nation. They keep in close touch with you, they know what you want, and they do their best to see that you get it. You can talk to the member who represents you, and you can write to him. You tell him when

you think Parliament is doing the wrong thing, or when you think it is not doing the right thing quickly enough.

Once elected to Parliament a member cannot be turned out. He may never attend the debates, he may do things that the constituents who voted for him heartily dislike, but nobody can get rid of him. As a matter of fact he cannot resign. If he wants to give up his seat he asks to be appointed to a post that makes it necessary for him, if he is to continue as M.P., to be re-elected. So when you read in the paper that a member has applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, you know that he is adopting a roundabout method of resigning from Parliament, since a man who becomes Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds cannot remain an M.P. without re-election. The member in question, therefore, having been appointed does not stand for Parliament again, and somebody else is chosen in his place.

Duties

The chief duty of the House of Commons is to help to make the law, but it does much more than this. It keeps a very watchful eye on the Ministers and on the work of the government departments. Any member may put a question to a Minister (a special period is set aside four days a week for this purpose) and he can demand an answer. Foreigners sometimes think it strange that valuable time should be spent on what may seem trivial matters—why Mrs. Smith's pension has been reduced, or why Private Jones has not been allowed leave lately—but this right of questioning Ministers is one of the great safeguards of our freedom. The Ministers know that they may be called upon at any time to answer for what has been done by their departments, and they are very careful to take no action that they are unable to justify.

Since you and I are the people who have to provide the money required to run the country, it is only right that our representatives in Parliament should decide how the money shall be obtained from us and how it shall be spent. So the Commons control taxation, and they keep their hands on the purse-strings of the nation. Not a penny can be spent without their approval.

Life of Parliament

Parliament has a life of not more than five years. This was settled by the Parliament Act (1911), but if circumstances arise (as they may, for instance, in time of war) that make it desirable not to hold a general election,

Parliament can pass a law extending its life for a further period. This may seem strange, to say the least of it, but you must remember that Parliament is the all-powerful law-maker. It can enact any law it likes, and there is nothing to prevent it, if it so wishes, from passing an Act to prolong its own existence.

But in the ordinary way it will not exist for more than five years. It may, of course, last a much shorter time. As we have seen, a great deal depends on the strength of the different parties.

22 Making the Law

You will remember that in the early days of our history the members of the House of Commons used to discuss among themselves the details of the various laws that they wanted the King to enact. When they had settled the exact terms they wrote them down in the form of a *Bill*, and after the agreement of the House of Lords had been secured the bill was presented to the King, who might accept it as it stood or reject it, according to his pleasure. To-day it is much the same, though the King would never think of rejecting a measure that had been approved by Lords and Commons. The proposed law is discussed by the Commons, it is discussed by the Lords, and it then goes to the King for his assent. Let us see what happens to a bill on its passage through the House of Commons.

Stages in the Passage of a Bill

First Reading

The first step in the making of a new law is taken when the member who is responsible for the bill introduces it to the House. At this stage there is no debate, for the first reading is a pure formality, and the bill is then printed and distributed to the members.

Second Reading

When the members have had time to find out what it is all about the bill is read for the second time. The proposals are fully explained, the general idea is discussed, and if the majority of those present approve they vote in favour of the bill, although they have not yet considered it in detail.

Committee Stage

By agreeing to the second reading the House has indicated that it favours the main principles of the bill. It must now get to work to discuss the details of the various clauses, and this is done in Committee. If the new measure is one of great importance, or if it imposes taxes, the Committee will consist of the whole House and the discussion will take place in the debating chamber. From your seat in the gallery you will see the Speaker leave his chair, and as he does so the Sergeant-at-Arms, a stately figure girt with a sword, and wearing knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and silver-buckled shoes, will move down the aisle to the table, and remove the Mace from the top rack to a lower rack. The House of Commons is no longer sitting, it is " in Committee," under the chairmanship of the Deputy Speaker, who takes his seat at the clerk's table. Discussion is now more informal, and the bill is carefully considered, clause by clause and line by line. Changes in the wording are proposed, debated, and finally accepted or rejected. The new law is being slowly but surely hammered into shape by the representatives of the people.

Many bills are not considered by a committee of the whole House, but by a committee consisting of some sixty or eighty members drawn from the various political parties. They do their work in one of the committee rooms upstairs, not in the debating chamber, though they follow the same procedure.

Report Stage

When the Committee has completed its task it submits the result of its labours to the House in full session. The Speaker is back in his chair, the Mace is in the upper rack, and the House considers the bill in its amended form. Again there is a debate, further changes may be made, until at last the Commons are satisfied.

Third Reading

A short interval elapses and there is time for second thoughts. Once again the bill is discussed, but it is almost sure to be safe now. Final touches are added and at last the proposals of the House of Commons are ready to be sent to " the other House " for their consideration. (The Commons, remembering their past struggles with the Lords, affect to ignore their existence. They refer to " the other House " or " the other place," but never to " the House of Lords.")



The House of Commons : the debating-chamber before its destruction by bombs, 10–11 May 1941



The King's Robing-room fitted up as the temporary House of Lords
(after the bombing in 1941)



The Chamber of the Lords adapted for temporary use by the Commons

A LAW IS MADE
From Bill to Act

A

BILL

TO

Reform the law relating to education in England and Wales. A.D. 1943.

COMMONS

FIRST READING — SECOND READING — COMMITTEE — REPORT — THIRD READING

Introduction — Principles — Details — Second Thoughts — Final Polish

LORDS

FIRST READING — SECOND READING — COMMITTEE — REPORT — THIRD READING

ROYAL ASSENT

7 & 8 GEO. 6. *Education Act*, 1944 CH. 31.



CHAPTER 31.

An Act to reform the law relating to education in England and Wales. [3rd August 1944.]

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

In the House of Lords the process is repeated : first reading, second reading, committee stage, report stage, and third reading. At last the bill goes to the King and receives the royal assent. " Be it enacted," so run the ancient words still, " by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows." Do you see how this takes you back through the centuries ? The King still enacts the law, as he has always done. The Lords and the Commons still give their advice and consent, as their ancestors did. A new law is passed. A new command is issued. You and I and all other citizens will be affected, for better or for worse, by what has been done in the royal palace of Westminster by the High Court of Parliament.

23 Enforcing the Law

The Executive at Work

The Legislature has completed its task, but this is really only the beginning. Somebody must now see that Parliament's command is obeyed. In former times this often caused much difficulty, and people frequently ignored a law because there existed no proper means by which it could be enforced. Factory Acts, for instance, laid down the conditions under which boys and girls could be employed in cotton mills, but it was not until Parliament appointed inspectors to visit the factories that it became possible to compel the mill-owners to obey the law. To-day we have learnt our lesson, and we have set up a vast and complex machine that puts the law into operation in every corner of the land. We call this machine the Executive, and if you take a stroll along Whitehall, from Westminster to Trafalgar Square, you will see some of the great offices where the work of government is carried out.

These offices house the various government departments, each of which is controlled by a man or woman who is a member of the political party that has a majority in the House of Commons. These Ministers, as they are called, are always members either of the House of Commons or of the House of Lords, and it is their job to decide all matters of policy, that is, to say

how the business of their particular department shall be conducted. Since they are able to rely on a number of trained experts to carry out their wishes, they do not need to have a very detailed knowledge of this business. These experts are the *civil servants*, who work under the guidance of a very important official called the Permanent Under-Secretary.

Let us take an example. The Education Act passed by Parliament in 1944 was a law that made many changes in the educational system of the country. The government department responsible for enforcing this law is the Ministry of Education. The Minister in charge of this department tells the Permanent Under-Secretary and the other chief officials how they are to carry out the terms of the Act, and then leaves them to work out the details. They draw up a number of rules and regulations, which deal with all kinds of educational matters—the length of the holidays, the size of classes, the qualifications of teachers, the arrangements for meals and milk, medical inspection and clinics, to mention merely a few. These rules must be carried out by the local authorities (the county councils and county borough councils in this case), and inspectors are appointed to help and advise the authorities, and to visit the schools to see that they are being run efficiently.

So it is with every Ministry. Parliament passes the law, says what it wants done, gives the department concerned power to draw up the detailed scheme, and then leaves the civil servants to get on with it, but always, remember, under the control of the Minister, who is responsible to Parliament for what is done. This is very important, as we shall see in the next chapter.

That, then, is our way of doing things, and on the whole it is a good way, although we grumble about it sometimes. People complain of the increase in the number of civil servants, of their slowness in coming to decisions, and of the complicated rules that they make. Occasionally the criticism is well-deserved, but bear in mind that the job of governing a great country is no easy one. The more laws we pass (and our representatives are the people who pass them) the more civil servants we need to enforce them. Bear in mind, too, that a government department cannot always decide in a few minutes a question that may seem simple to you, for once it has made a decision it must stick to it, and thousands of people may be affected. As to complicated regulations, we shall have more to say about them later.

The Government Departments

Practically every side of the nation's life is the concern of one or more of the government departments, and although it would be impossible in this small book to give a full account of all that they do, we can at least take a hurried glance at the more important of their duties.

Finance

The financial affairs of the country are in the hands of the Treasury, which controls the spending of all the nation's money. Its position is a very strong one, for the other government departments having to secure its approval before they can obtain the money they need to carry on their work, to this extent the Treasury controls them. The officials of the Treasury always watch very carefully the interests of the taxpayer, and they try to keep public expenditure as low as possible.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the Minister who is responsible for the Treasury, and he it is who tells Parliament how much money is needed each year, and how that money should be obtained.

Fighting Services

The Admiralty, the War Office, and the Air Ministry look after the fighting services, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretary of State for Air are the Ministers who are responsible to Parliament for the efficiency of the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force respectively. They decide all questions of training, equipment, and recruiting, and in time of war they take charge of military operations.

Relations with other countries

The Government is always deeply concerned about Britain's relations with other countries, not only because national prosperity depends largely on trading with those countries, but because, if peace is to be preserved, Britain must keep in very close touch with them. The Foreign Office, under the Foreign Secretary, is concerned with foreign countries; the Dominions Office, under the Dominions Secretary, with the self-governing Dominions, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Eire, and Newfoundland; and the Colonial Office, under the Colonial Secretary,

with the Colonies. Perhaps the most difficult task of all is that of the Secretary of State for India and for Burma, who has many serious problems to face in those great countries.

Public Welfare

The social services, as they are sometimes called, have increased enormously in recent years, for we have now come to realize that the nation has a direct interest in the welfare of each individual citizen. The Ministry of Education is perhaps the most important of the departments that are concerned with the well-being of the nation, since it is charged with the duty of supervising the training of the country's citizens during the vital periods of childhood and youth. It is responsible for the many different types of schools that are paid for out of public funds, it inspects private schools to make sure that they are being conducted efficiently, it arranges for the training of teachers, and it tells the local authorities what provision they must make for medical and other special services.

The Home Office is responsible for arranging the administration of justice and for the supervision of prisons, Borstal institutions, and approved schools. The Secretary of State for Home Affairs advises the king when to exercise the prerogative of mercy in reprieving a man who has been sentenced to death, and he exercises a general control, through the Inspectors of Constabulary, over all police forces other than the Metropolitan Police, for which he is directly responsible.

The Ministry of Pensions was set up in 1916 to take charge of the payment of pensions to those who had been disabled during the war of 1914–18, and to their dependants. To-day, through its many local offices in all parts of the country, it is responsible for meeting the needs of all those who have suffered in the service of their country.

The organization of the vast scheme of National Insurance is the work of yet another ministry, and still another, the Ministry of Health, deals with a wide range of matters touching local government, the public health, food and sanitary services, and the registration of births and deaths.

Public Services

The Post Office, in charge of the Postmaster-General, is the greatest of the public service departments, having many thousands of offices, ranging from the fine modern buildings in the great cities to the small counter in the

shop of the village grocer. It is, in a sense, the maid-of-all-work, and it serves us all, in one way or another, every day of our lives. It collects and delivers our letters, parcels, and post-cards; it provides the telephone and telegraph services (the postman and the telegraph boy are civil servants, equally with the Director-General who controls the whole affair); it pays pensions, sells National Savings stamps and certificates, dog and wireless licences, and acts as a Savings Bank. The taxpayer may sometimes grumble at the Post Office if he is kept waiting at the counter, but he should really regard it with special affection, since unlike most of the other government departments it does not spend his money, but actually helps to reduce taxation by the profit it makes every year.

The Ministry of Transport is responsible for another important set of public services. It has power to deal with roads and railways, canals, harbours, docks and piers, bridges and tramways, and indeed with almost any matter concerning transport, upon which our prosperity and convenience so largely depend.

Just as the local authorities are charged with the duty of planning building developments in their own areas, so the task of planning for the country as a whole is the concern of a special department of the central government, the newly formed Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Here the schemes of each locality are considered and approved, it being possible only in this way to secure orderly progress.

Two departments were created to deal with urgent problems arising from the war conditions of 1939–45. The Ministry of Food was responsible for seeing that the nation was properly nourished, and the Ministry of Supply controlled the raw materials that were needed to make the weapons of war. The return of peace made the position easier, but these departments will be kept in being until, in happier and more prosperous days, their services will no longer be needed.

Industry and Commerce

The greatness and prosperity of the country depend to a great extent on manufactures and trade, and there are at least five Government departments concerned to safeguard and regulate the national commerce. The Board of Trade has many jobs to do: it watches anxiously over our markets in foreign countries and in the overseas empire, it deals with shipping, with trade marks and patents, with commercial companies and with weights

and measures, and it does all it can to foster and develop British commercial life.

The Ministry of Labour is chiefly concerned with the men and women, the boys and girls who are engaged in trade and industry. Through its employment exchanges it helps people to find work, it tries to settle industrial disputes, and, assisted by the Factory Inspectors, it takes steps to see that working conditions in mills and factories are safe and healthy.

The Ministry of Fuel and Power is responsible for coal, petrol, and other sources of energy, and now that the coal industry has been nationalized its powers and duties have greatly increased. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries deals with the farming and fishing industries, and the Ministry of Civil Aviation develops the latest form of transport, the air lines.

What a vast amount of work there is to be done ! How different from the old days when the government interfered in people's private lives as little as possible. Why has this great change taken place ? There are many causes, but the chief cause is that people have come to realize the nation as being a great family, in which what concerns one concerns all. To obtain the greatest happiness for the greatest number we must each give up a little more of the freedom to do as we please, and we must allow the government to exercise a greater control. Yet not *too* much. We must be very careful of that, and so it comes about that in a modern State the wise citizen must continually be asking himself, " How much power ought I to hand over to the government, and how much independence ought I to keep for myself ? "

24 The Cabinet and the Privy Council

The King and his Ministers

In the very early days of our history, many centuries ago, the King not only enacted the law, he enforced it as well. *He* was the ruler of the country, *he* was the Executive. True, he was assisted by a small body of men whom he could trust to carry out his wishes, but they had to do as he told them, and there was no need for him to listen to their advice if he did not want to.

In fact there was no need for him to listen to anybody's advice. He could even ignore the wishes of Parliament if he had sufficient money to govern the country without the grants they made him. But in those times, when he had to pay everything out of his own pocket, including the cost of the armed forces and the salaries of his judges and secretaries, it was seldom that the King *had* sufficient money, and Parliament was usually able to get its own way by refusing to make grants unless he governed the country in accordance with their wishes.

As time went on the work of government became increasingly complicated and difficult, and the King began to rely more and more upon his trained officials. These men were gradually formed into a council, the King's private or Privy Council, and in the reign of Charles II the more important members came together to discuss matters of government in an inner or *cabinet council*, as it was called. They were still the servants or ministers of the King, but since they kept in their possession the seals that had to be attached to all documents of State, without which the government of the country could not be carried on, Parliament soon realized how important it was to control their work. The best way to do this was to arrange for these ministers to be actually members of Parliament, sitting either in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons.

Since these men were responsible for carrying out the laws that Parliament passed, it was obviously desirable that they should be men whom Parliament could trust. In other words, they ought to be the leading members of the most powerful political party—the party that could get its own way because it had a majority in the House of Commons.

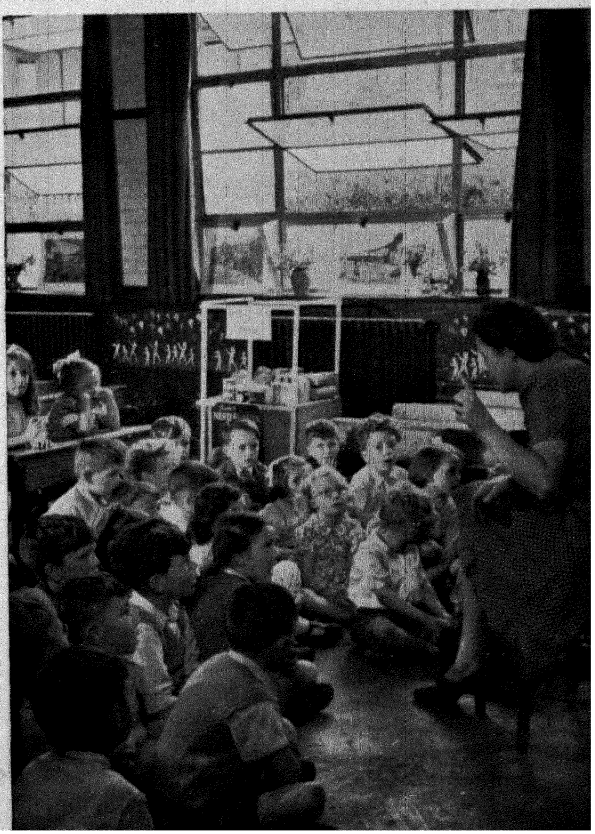
The Cabinet to-day

That is exactly the position of the Cabinet to-day. The leader of the party that has a majority in the Commons becomes the chief or Prime Minister, and the most important members of his party are appointed heads of the various government departments. They are still the King's Ministers, and when they are called to attend a Cabinet meeting the summons still uses the old form of words, "A meeting of His Majesty's Servants will be held at 10 Downing Street."

It took a very long time for this system of government to develop, but think for a moment how simple and how safe it is. The law-making body,



(*above*) The Minister of Education (1945) at her desk : through the Local Authorities she controls schools of many types throughout the country



(*below*) Infants School : these young people are among those for whose education and welfare the Minister is responsible

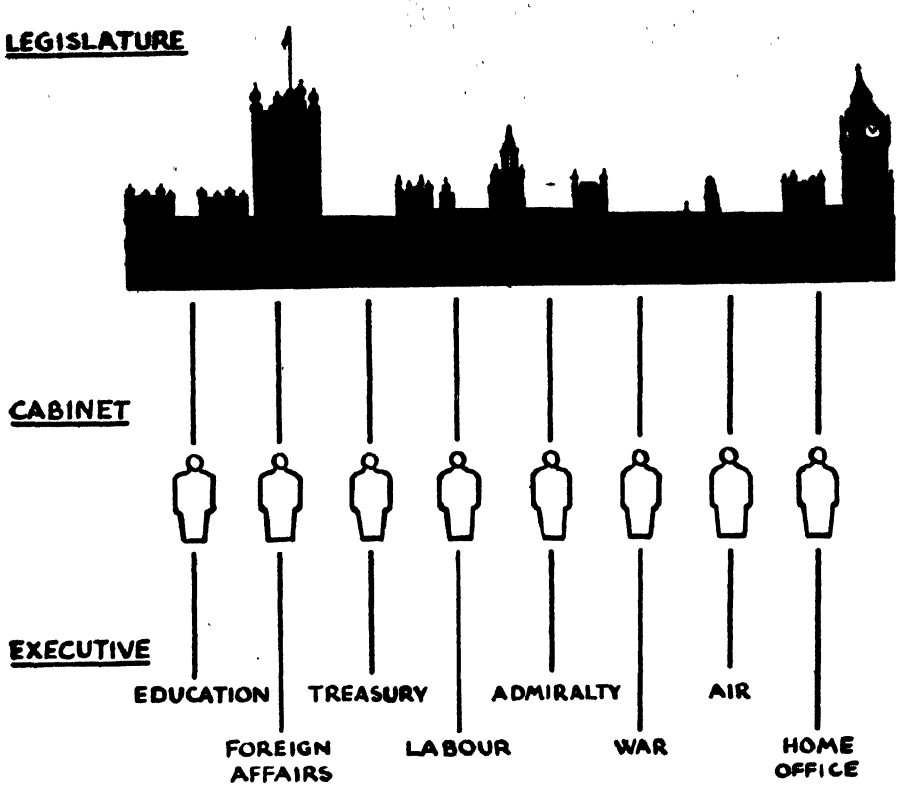


The Admiralty : the anchor flag flies from the staff. The wireless masts help to maintain constant contact with the Navy



Whitehall : the home of the chief Government Departments

THE CABINET



You will see from this diagram how the Cabinet links the Legislature with the Executive. Each cabinet minister is a member of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords. Each is also responsible for one of the great government departments. The Cabinet decides what shall be done, Parliament approves, and the government department concerned gets on with the job. The Prime Minister decides how many cabinet ministers there shall be. In time of peace there are usually about 16

Parliament, and the law-enforcing body, the Executive, must always work together smoothly and harmoniously. There is no danger that Parliament may order one thing, and the Government do another. If Parliament decides that certain taxes must be paid, the government department concerned collects those taxes, and no others. If Parliament says that young men must be called up when they are 18, the Ministry of Labour calls them up at that age, not when they are 17½ or 18½. Why? Because the heads of the government departments that enforce the laws are also, at the same time, the most important members of Parliament, which makes the laws. Executive and Legislature are thus linked together, and the link is the Cabinet.

The Cabinet can govern as it likes, but only on one condition. It must keep the trust and confidence of the House of Commons. If it loses that confidence, if the Government is defeated in the House, it must resign and make way for somebody else. If the Ministers did not resign, Parliament could soon compel them to do so by refusing to grant the money necessary to carry on the government, just as in former times Parliament refused to grant money to the King if he disregarded their wishes.

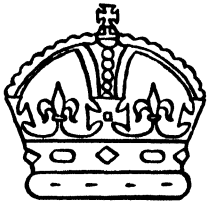
How it works

The small group of men who sit round the table in the Cabinet Room at 10 Downing Street, the home of the Prime Minister, wield immense power. When they meet together they take decisions that affect us all, for they decide how the country shall be governed. The actual members of the Cabinet are the heads of the most important departments, and those of their colleagues who hold Cabinet rank without being full members are consulted whenever their own departments are concerned. In this way the whole work of government is examined and discussed, and the laws that Parliament is to be asked to pass are framed.

Controlling the Government

Although it is true that Ministers can do what they like so long as the House supports them, they must always be prepared to answer for what they do. Certain times are set apart for members to ask questions about what the Government is doing, and the Minister whose department is concerned must justify his actions and reply to any criticism that may be made. In this way Parliament is able to review the work of the Government

KEEPING THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER



All is done in the King's name

BUT

The King can do no wrong

SO



MINISTERS ARE RESPONSIBLE

TO PARLIAMENT

?

Questioned by members

BEFORE THE LAW



Punishable for wrongful acts

TO PUBLIC OPINION



Criticised by the Press

Ministerial responsibility is one of the secrets of our freedom. The country is governed by the Crown, but Ministers are answerable for what they do.

from day to day, and to make sure that it is carrying out the wishes of the majority.

The Ministers, as a rule, are able to decide what the law shall be, but they are not above the law. Once Parliament has issued its command everybody must obey it, and the King's Ministers, like other men and women, could be brought to justice if they ignored the law. They are liable for what they do in their departments, because the orders that they issue must either be signed or have the Minister's seal impressed upon them, and in this way their responsibility for any wrongful act can easily be fixed.

This is really very important, for it is one of the great safeguards of our liberty. The Government is still the King's Government, as it was in the olden days. Everything is done in the King's name, and since it is a rule of our land that the King can do no wrong, it might be difficult to get justice done if a government department acted wrongfully. But the King's Ministers are *personally* liable for what they do. They cannot plead that their wrongful acts should go unpunished because they are the acts of the King. *They* have given the order, *they* have signed or sealed it, and *they* must answer for the consequences.

The Cabinet is answerable for what it does, not only to Parliament and to the law but also to the Press. Newspapers criticize the Ministers freely, advise them how to conduct their business, and tell them what they should do and what they should not do. Since the newspapers reflect the opinions of the people as a whole the Government cannot always afford to ignore what they say.

The Privy Council

The private or *Privy Council* of the King, within which that small inner circle of Ministers later known as the Cabinet developed, still exists, but its powers are now much less than they used to be. It has more than three hundred members (they are entitled to call themselves Right Honourable), but as a rule only four or six are present when business has to be done. At the meetings of the Privy Council sheriffs are chosen, the bishops do their homage to the King, and the Ministers are given their official seals when they are appointed. In suitable cases the Privy Council recommends that a charter should be granted to a town, and it is through the Council that the King issues his proclamations.

25 Applying the Law

The Judges

However clearly the law may be stated there will always arise difficult cases, and then somebody must decide exactly how the law applies to them. Men will always differ about their rights under the law, and somebody must then judge between them. Crimes are frequently committed, murders, burglaries, and assaults, and somebody must try those who are accused, and punish them if they are found guilty. Who is this "somebody"? In early times it was the King, whose duty it was not only to enforce the law that he had enacted, but to apply it as well, and to deal out justice to his subjects. This he did as he moved about the country with his clerks, secretaries, and other officials, but as time went on he ceased to perform this important work himself, for the questions that had to be decided were often very complicated, and trained lawyers were needed to settle them. These men were found among the King's officials, who acted in the King's name in the King's court. They were the *judges*.

The King is still the fountain of justice in this country. The judges, the successors of the royal officials of bygone days, do justice in his name and in his courts. They are appointed by the King on the advice of the Lord Chancellor; their salaries are safeguarded; and since it is vital that they should be able to do their work without fear and without favour, they cannot be dismissed unless both the House of Commons and the House of Lords unite in asking the King to remove them.

The Magistrates

The judges, however, are not the only people who apply the law. They, of course, are trained and highly skilled lawyers, but there are many men and women who are not lawyers and who yet have important duties to perform. These are the *magistrates*, His Majesty's Justices of the Peace as they are sometimes called, who sit in the police courts. They are appointed by the Lord Chancellor on the advice of the Lord Lieutenant in each county.

The Courts

Petty Sessions

The magistrates sit in Courts of Petty Sessions, and here they have many things to do. Whenever a man is accused of having committed a crime he is brought before one of these courts, the evidence against him is carefully considered, he is allowed to speak in his own defence, and if he so desires, to call witnesses to support his case. If the magistrates think the charge has not been proved, the case is dismissed ; but if they consider the man is guilty, they punish him either by imposing a fine or by sending him to prison.

When the charge is a serious one, the magistrates do not deal with the case there and then, for their powers are very limited. Instead, they listen to the evidence, and if they think that the prisoner *may* be guilty they order him to take his trial at a more important court, either the Court of Quarter Sessions or the Assizes.

Juvenile Courts

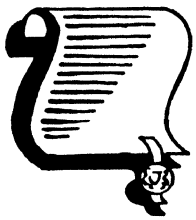
When young people under seventeen years of age are charged with criminal offences they are not dealt with in the ordinary magistrates' court but in a special juvenile court. Here the atmosphere is much more homely and less formal, for the law deals gently with youthful offenders, and sets out to help them rather than to punish them. Instead of a dock for the prisoner and a bench for the magistrates, there is a table and a row of chairs. In many of these courts there is a carpet on the floor, and a fire burns cosily in the grate. These arrangements are not made because the law does not take a serious view of offences committed by young people, but because it wants to shield them from contact with the grown-up offender, and to encourage them to speak freely of their troubles and difficulties.

Quarter Sessions

Every three months the magistrates of the county meet together at Quarter Sessions to try the more serious cases. They choose their own Chairman who presides over the court, and, with the assistance of their clerk, they decide all questions of law. Questions of fact are decided by the jury, who, when they have heard the evidence on both sides, declare the

THE HIGH JUSTICE AND THE LOW







CIVIL CASES	CRIMINAL CASES
Citizen v Citizen	King v Citizen
THE LOW JUSTICE	
County Court	Petty Sessions Quarter Sessions
THE HIGH JUSTICE	
Assizes	Assizes
High Court of Justice King's Bench Probate, Divorce & Admiralty Chancery	
Court of Appeal	Court of Criminal Appeal

HOUSE OF LORDS

prisoner "Guilty" or "Not guilty." Some boroughs have their own separate Courts of Quarter Sessions, and in these courts a Recorder presides. The Recorder is always a barrister, who is appointed by the King on the advice of the Home Secretary, and he is paid for his services.

The Assizes

Centuries ago the King decided that the best way to bring the royal justice to every part of the country was to send his judges round to the great towns in each county to hear the cases that had arisen in the neighbourhood. This was how the Courts of Assize began, and to-day the judges of the High Court still travel round the country at least twice a year to hold their courts. They try all the very serious cases, such as treason, murder, bribery, etc., which are too grave to be dealt with by the Courts of Quarter Sessions. In London these cases are heard at the Central Criminal Court, the Old Bailey as it is sometimes called, which has so much work to do that it has to sit at least twelve times a year.

Court of Criminal Appeal

In former times a prisoner who had been found guilty by a jury was not allowed to have his case tried again if he was dissatisfied with their verdict. Since this sometimes caused great injustice, in 1907 a new Court was set up, the Court of Criminal Appeal. To-day, if an accused person thinks that the jury has given a wrong verdict, or that a question of law has been incorrectly decided, he may, in certain circumstances, appeal to this Court, that is, he may ask them to hear his case again.

County Courts

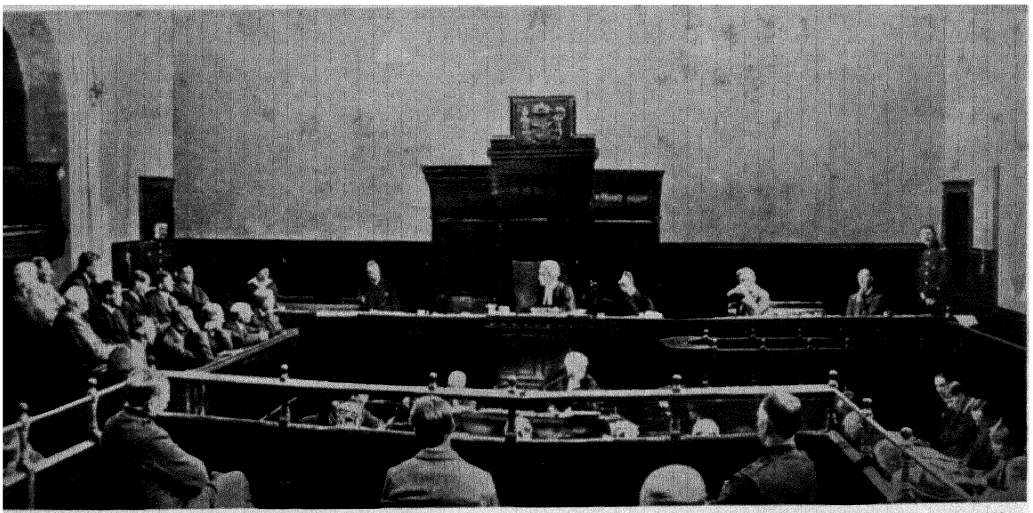
So far we have mentioned only cases in which a man is accused of a crime, murder or treason, burglary or theft, or of such minor offences as driving his motor car too fast, or riding his bicycle at night without lights. But there are other cases that we must consider, too, cases where there is no question of any crime having been committed, but where a man asks the court to do justice between himself and another. There may be a dispute about rent, about the payment of a bill, about a contract or bargain that two individuals have made with each other, or a person may claim damages for some wrongful act that has been done to him. These are called civil cases, and the great majority of them are heard in the County



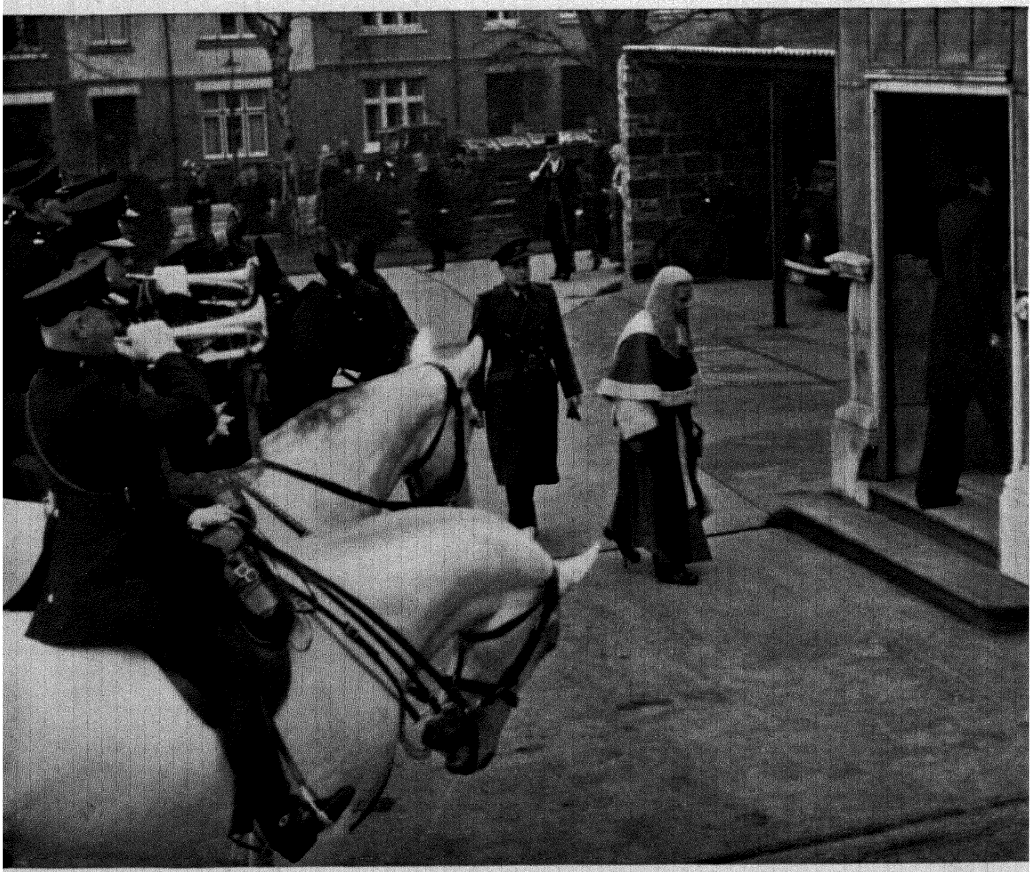
A Juvenile Court : the atmosphere is informal. Young people must be helped, guided and encouraged, not frightened



The Magistrates' Court : the clerk in front advises the Justices on points of law



The Jury : the Judge addresses the jury during a murder trial. Later the jurymen will retire to consider their verdict



The Assizes : a fanfare of trumpets greets the Judge as he enters the Court. He comes in the King's name to administer justice

Courts. There are some five hundred of these courts up and down the country, and they do very important work because they make it possible for a poor man to get justice quickly and cheaply.

The High Court

The County Courts are allowed to deal only with the less important matters. Serious cases, involving large sums of money, must be heard either at the Assizes or at the High Court of Justice in London, where the King's Judges sit. There are three branches or *divisions* of the High Court : the Chancery Division, where the Lord Chancellor presides, which settles cases chiefly concerning land ; the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, which deals with matters of wills, divorce, and shipping ; and the King's Bench Division under the Lord Chief Justice, where other important cases are heard.

The Court of Appeal

Just as the Court of Criminal Appeal hears the appeals of those who think they have not had justice done to them in criminal cases, so the Court of Appeal hears cases brought to them by those who are not satisfied with the judgment of the High Court. The judges who sit here are the Lord Justices of Appeal and the Master of the Rolls.

The House of Lords

In olden times, when the King sat in council with his barons, his bishops, and his officials, he was always ready to hear those who came to him and said that they had not received justice in the lower courts, for, as we have said, he was the fountain from which all justice flowed. When Parliament came into being the Commons were quite content to leave this work to the Lords, and so to-day the House of Lords is still the highest court in the land, for it will hear appeals from the judgments given in the Court of Appeal, and, in exceptional cases, in the Court of Criminal Appeal as well.

How does it all Work?

The business of applying the law, as you will have gathered, is by no means easy or simple. Very often it is not cheap either, and complaints are sometimes made that a poor man may find it difficult to get justice. This

is partly because the law itself is sometimes far from clear, and a man who takes his case to court has to employ lawyers to argue the matter for him. In the first place he will have to consult a solicitor, who will do all the preliminary work, and if the case is to be heard in one of the higher courts, a barrister or counsel will have to be engaged to plead before the judges. There will be court fees and other expenses too, and it frequently happens that a man is out of pocket even though he may win his case.

Is there a remedy for this state of affairs? Remember that the British system of justice is the fairest and best in the world, and it might be dangerous to make it cheap, if making it cheap meant making it poorer. Some people think that the State ought to pay more of the cost, but that, too, might cause difficulty.

26 The Crown

Personal Rule

In the dawn of our history the King was in a real sense the father of his people. He enacted the laws by which they were ruled, he was responsible for the work of government, and he dealt out justice. Even in these early days, however, it was generally agreed that in carrying out these great duties it was right and proper that he should consult his subjects, or at least the most important of his subjects. As civilization developed, and as the task of governing became ever more and more difficult and complicated, so it became necessary for him to rely to a greater degree on men who could take over the burden from him, the officials who actually did the work themselves, though they did it in his name and in accordance with his instructions.

Parliamentary Rule

When Parliament began to develop, and to realize the power it possessed by reason of its ability to grant money, it became clear that the King's authority was going to be limited and controlled. The Stuart kings did not like this, and they fought hard to keep their rights, or what

THE POWERS OF THE KING



LAW



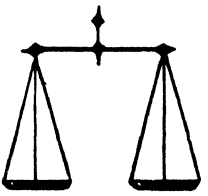
With assent of Parliament

GOVERNMENT



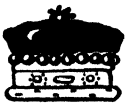
by Ministers

JUSTICE



through Judges

HONOUR



On advice of Government

LINK OF EMPIRE

HEAD OF CHURCH

On advice of Prime Minister
- Dissolves Parliament
- Summons Parliament
- Appoints Ministers of Crown
- Chooses Bishops

With consent of Parliament
- Declares War
- Makes Peace
- Signs Treaties

On advice of Lord Chancellor — Appoints Judges

On advice of Privy Council — Grants Charters

On advice of Home Secretary — Grants pardons and reprieves

MUST BE CONSULTED
CAN OFFER ADVICE

they claimed were their rights. They thought they were entitled to govern the country as they pleased. Parliament said no, the King must govern as Parliament pleased. The result was a long and bitter struggle, which Parliament won, and in 1689 the Stuarts were turned off the throne. The new line of kings accepted the terms that were offered them. They agreed that Parliament should decide how the country was to be governed, and gave up any claim to rule personally.

Important changes occurred, of course, during the years that followed, but the main idea is still the same : the King reigns, Parliament governs. The King, however, is no mere figurehead. He is still the fountain of law, of government, of justice, and of honour. Everything is still done in his name, but it is not done *by* him. It is done by people who are responsible to Parliament for their actions, and that means that in the long run they are responsible to you and me, and to all the other citizens of the country.

The King's Government

Look at the diagram. You will see that the King is the centre of the whole scheme of Government, but that he never acts alone. He enacts the law, but with the assent of Parliament ; he enforces the law, but only through Ministers who are responsible to Parliament ; he applies the law, but it is the judges who deliver the judgments ; he bestows honours on deserving subjects, but on the advice of the Prime Minister. As Head of the Church of England he chooses the Bishops, he appoints his Ministers, he summons Parliament and dissolves it, but in all these matters he acts only in accordance with the Prime Minister's advice. He appoints judges on the advice of the Lord Chancellor, he grants charters on the advice of the Privy Council, he grants pardons and reprieves on the advice of the Home Secretary. He declares war, makes peace and concludes treaties, but only with the consent of Parliament.

The ships of the Navy, the weapons of the Army, and the aircraft of the Royal Air Force belong to him ; the officers of the armed forces hold his authority or *commission*, but he has no independent, personal control. That is exercised by his Ministers. His Inspectors visit schools, mines, and factories, but they take their orders from the Ministers in whose departments they work.

THE KING'S GOVERNMENT



ROYAL NAVY



H.M ARMY



ROYAL AIR FORCE



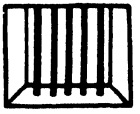
ROYAL MARINES



ROYAL MINT



ROYAL MAIL



H.M. PRISONS



ROYAL ARSENALS



H.M. DOCKYARDS

GVIR

HIS MAJESTY'S INSPECTORS



SCHOOLS



FACTORIES



MINES



TAXES



CONSTABULARY

The King's government spreads its net over the whole country, but the Ministers are responsible for what is done They remain in power only so long as they keep the confidence of the electors.

The King's Importance

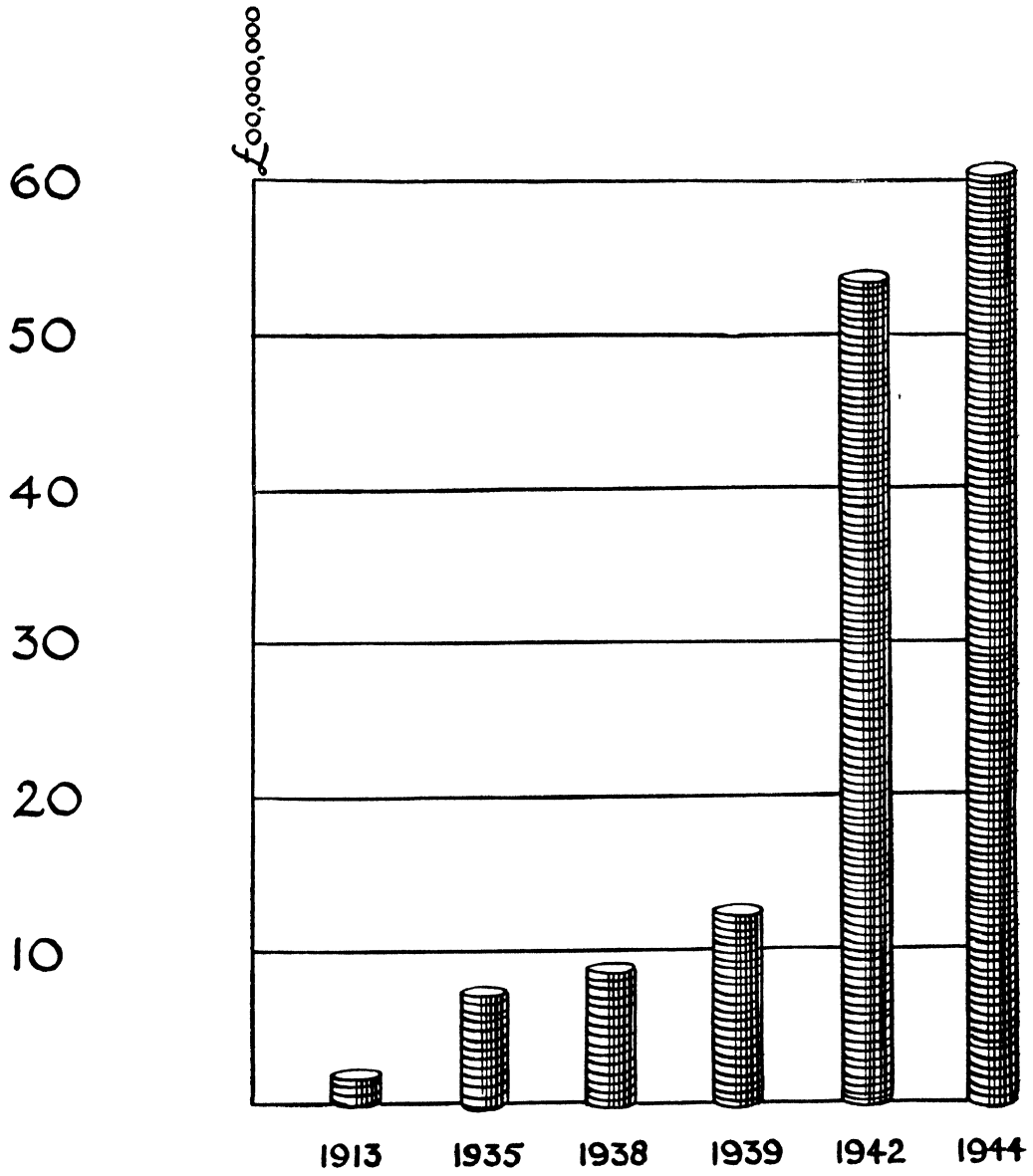
Is there nothing left? Can the King do *anything* as a man, an individual, and not as the head of the State? If you think for a moment you will realize that he represents in his own person the dignity and the power of a great people, standing as he does in direct succession to a long line of kings and queens whose story can be traced back through a thousand years. He is the focus of our national pride and feeling, and we look to him to speak and act for us in the great crises of our history. But he does more than this. Great matters of State are constantly placed before him, and his Ministers never fail to consult him, for he has a long and a wide experience of all that concerns the government of the country. Prime Ministers come and go, but the King remains, tied to no party, and standing apart from the strife and tumult of politics. It would be strange, in these circumstances, if his advice were not freely sought.

One thing more. The great Dominions now govern themselves, since they are independent of the control that used to be exercised over them by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. One visible link alone now binds them to the mother country: the King, to whom they owe allegiance.

27 The Nation's Money

Considering the enormous range of services that the government has to provide, it is not surprising that the State spends vast sums of money each year. Where does all this money come from, how is it collected, and how is it expended? The answer to the first question is obvious. The money comes from *us*. We are the people who have to foot the bill. We call the tune, and so it is our privilege to pay the piper. We pay him in all sorts of ways, and the payments that we make are called taxes. Some taxes are known as direct taxes, and we have to pay them whether we like to or not. Thus everybody whose income exceeds a certain figure has to pay income tax, and when a man dies a tax has usually to be paid on the property he leaves. Other taxes are indirect, and these need not be paid —on certain conditions. We should find it very difficult to manage with-

THE NATION'S BILL
COLLECTED FROM THE TAXPAYER



The nation's bill was getting heavier each year even before the war. The more we do, the more it costs. Compare this with the diagram illustrating the Councils' bill.

out paying them, however, since that would mean doing without such things as sugar, tea, beer and spirits, tobacco, matches, and visits to the cinema, the theatre, or the football match, on which things the taxes are imposed. The amount of the tax, in these cases, is added to the price we should otherwise pay—in other words we pay indirectly.

How are Taxes collected?

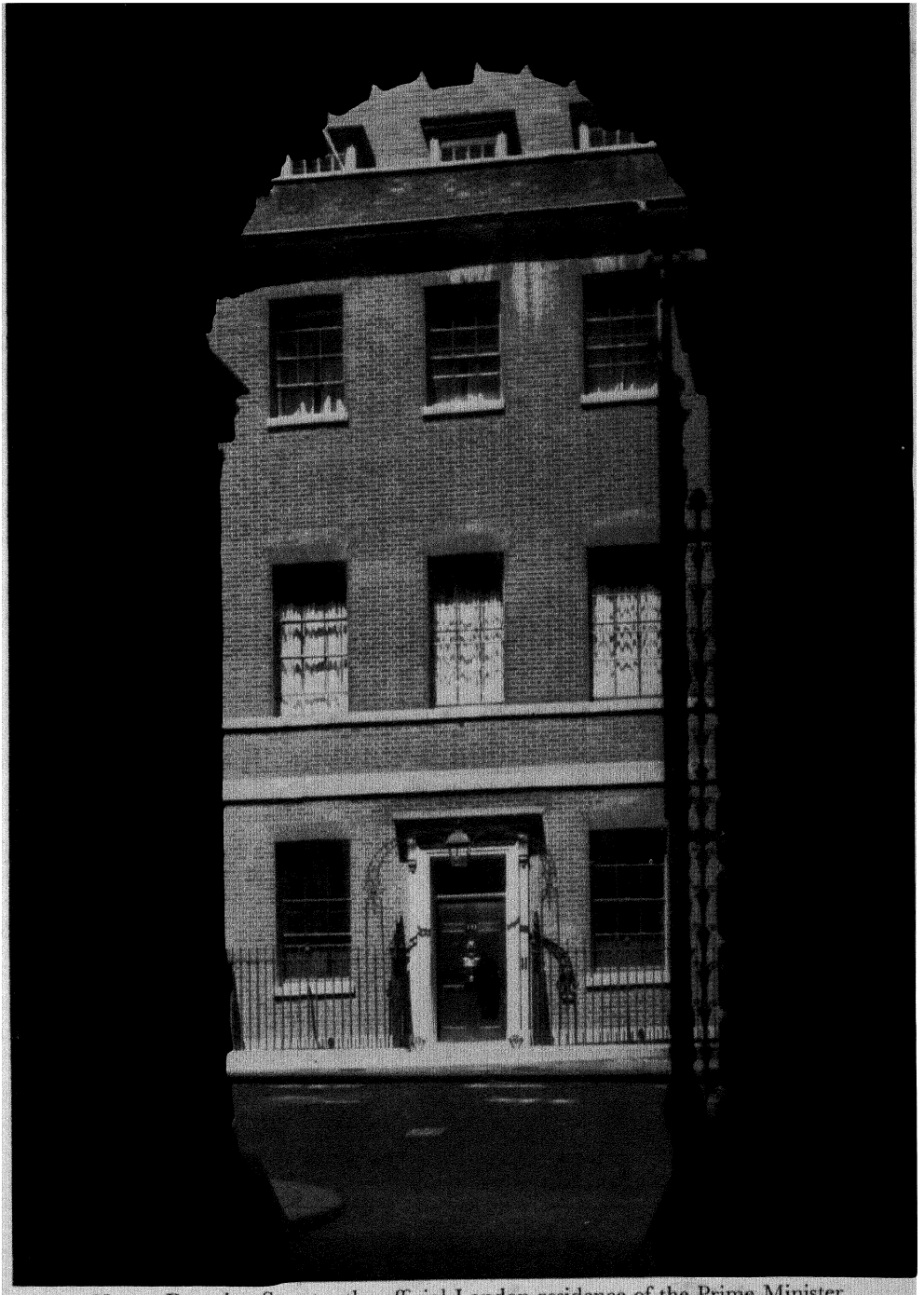
Taxes are collected by order of Parliament, and no tax can be imposed unless Parliament has passed a law to that effect. Realizing very early in its history that the only way to make sure that the country was governed in accordance with its wishes was to keep in its own hands the power of granting money to the King, it took good care to retain that power. It realized, too, that since the greater part of the money so provided came from the ordinary people, it was the House of Commons, not the House of Lords, that ought to be able to propose taxation.

To-day it is still the House of Commons which decides what taxes shall be imposed, and though the law that orders the taxes to be paid has to be enacted like any other law, the House of Lords is not allowed much voice in the discussion, the Parliament Act of 1911 having provided that if the Lords do not pass the bill in the course of one month it can go straight to the King for his assent.

The money produced by the taxes is still paid to the King, as it always was, but with one important difference. In early times the money went into the King's own pocket, and he himself had to pay the whole cost of running the country. Nowadays, however, the money is paid into the account of the government at the Bank of England, since the King, when he comes to the throne, gives up all claim to the income received by his ancestors (including the income from the royal estates) in return for a fixed annual sum known as the *Civil List*, and amounting to £410,000.

How much do we need?

In the autumn of each year the various government departments send to the Treasury particulars of the money they estimate they will need during the succeeding financial year from 1st April to 31st March. The



No. 10 Downing Street : the official London residence of the Prime Minister



The Hub of the Empire : the Cabinet-room at 10 Downing Street

officials of the Treasury go through these estimates very carefully, cutting them down if necessary, and then send them to the Cabinet for final approval.

At this stage the House of Commons comes into the picture. They have to discuss and approve the Estimates, and, having decided what money shall be supplied, they then have to consider ways and means by which the necessary amount may be forthcoming. This work is done in what are called Committees of the whole House, that is, Committees that every member may attend, under the chairmanship not of the Speaker but of the Deputy Speaker. These Committees are the Committee of Supply and the Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee of Supply studies the Estimates of each of the government departments in turn, and just as in former times the Commons took the opportunity of criticizing the actions of the King when he asked them for money, so to-day members criticize the work of each department when its estimates are being considered. Thus do ancient customs live on, and so are ancient safeguards preserved, for the Commons hold the purse-strings, and because this is so they can control the actions of the Government.

Where shall we get it?

When the Estimates have been finally approved the Committee of Ways and Means must get to work to decide how the money shall be obtained. In the spring the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to the House and presents to the Committee his *Budget* (from the old French word *bougette*, meaning a small leather bag, the bag in which he carries his papers). He explains how the nation's income was spent during the previous year, and tells the Committee how much will be needed during the coming year and what taxes he suggests should be imposed to raise this money. His proposals are debated, set down in the form of a bill, which in due course, when it has gone through the usual stages, becomes law as the *Finance Act*.

How the Money is spent

Our representatives in the House of Commons having thus decided what taxes we must pay, every week millions of pounds are transferred from our pockets into the nation's treasure-chest. Every penny that is

TAXATION

ESTIMATES

Government Departments — PRESENT



Treasury — EXAMINES



Cabinet — APPROVES

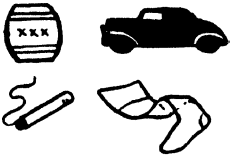


COMMITTEES

Supply — DECIDES HOW MUCH



Ways & Means — DECIDES WHERE FROM



PARLIAMENT — PASSES — FINANCE ACT

TAX PAYER



FINDS THE MONEY

BANK OF ENGLAND

PAYMASTER GENERAL

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS



ADMIRALTY



WAR OFFICE



AIR MINISTRY



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



MINISTRY OF HEALTH

ETC

received is paid into the Bank of England, where the Government keeps an account known as the Consolidated Fund. The only person who can draw money from this account is a great official called the Comptroller and Auditor-General, who, like the judges, is quite independent both of Parliament and of the Government. When a department needs money, the Treasury sends a little note to this official asking for the necessary amount, and if he is satisfied that the money is required for purposes approved by Parliament, he orders the Bank of England to have the money sent to the Paymaster-General, who, in turn, hands it to the department concerned.

Checking the Bills

But this is not the end of the story. Since as taxpayers we have the right to know that our money has been properly spent, each year the Comptroller and Auditor-General examines the accounts of every department to make quite sure that the money has been used as Parliament said it should be used. After he has made a report to the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons, this Committee informs the House that all is in order—or not, as the case may be. As a rule, of course, everything is all right, but sometimes certain departments are severely criticized because of the way they have spent their money, and then steps are taken to see that such things do not occur again.

PART THREE—THE EMPIRE AND BEYOND

28 The British Commonwealth of Nations

As British citizens we have, all of us, a threefold responsibility. We are members of a local community—of the village or town in which we live. We are also members of a national community, for we are citizens of Great Britain. But our responsibilities do not end here. Scattered over the whole surface of the globe there are many other communities of men and women, some great and powerful, some small and weak. Although they differ from one another in language, in colour, in civilization, and in religion, they have one thing in common—they all owe allegiance and loyalty to the King, to *our* King. Together they and we form the British Commonwealth of Nations, and they look to us, according to their individual needs and circumstances, for help and guidance.

This vast Empire or Commonwealth extending over about a quarter of the earth's surface, comprises over five hundred million human beings, rather more than a quarter of the population of the whole world. Some of the countries concerned were conquered in war, some were given to us by foreign states, some asked for our protection, but the majority were taken over many years ago by our seafaring ancestors, who settled sometimes as colonists, sometimes as traders, in new and distant lands.

What is the relationship between the Mother Country and the many members of this great family? How do we treat them? What is our attitude towards them? We can best answer these questions by asking another. How does a wise and prudent father regard his growing family? He does not treat them all alike. If he did, he would be neither wise nor prudent. He plans his treatment according to their needs. The sons and daughters who have grown up into men and women he looks upon as equals, asking of them only affection and loyalty. To those who are approaching manhood and womanhood he allows as much independence

and freedom as they can usefully and profitably enjoy. The very young children do not expect to be able to do everything for themselves ; they must accept a greater measure of guidance and control, knowing that their freedom will not be denied them in due time, when they are ready for it. However much or however little the independence allowed to each individual, the father always remembers this, that whatever he does must be for the child's benefit rather than for his own. It is only thus that real progress can be made in training those who are growing up to use their freedom wisely when the time comes.

So it is with this vast family of nations and peoples. Some of them enjoy complete independence, united with us only by the common ties of kinship and loyalty to the King. These are the great self-governing Dominions, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Eire, and Newfoundland, though the position of the last-named Dominion is anomalous, as we shall see. Others have advanced a long way on the road to independence, and Ceylon is almost ready to govern itself without our assistance. The younger members of the family, the Crown Colonies, are not yet sufficiently developed to manage their own affairs completely, and the degree of control that we impose upon them varies according to the circumstances of each. Special arrangements are made for those countries that have asked for our protection, the Protectorates as they are called, and we have also heavy responsibilities in the Mandated Territories, the lands that we govern under the mandate or authority originally granted by the League of Nations.

It is our constant aim to keep two points in mind. Wherever we rule, we must rule for the benefit of the native inhabitants, and not for our own. However we govern, we must see to it that the people concerned are given every opportunity of managing their own affairs. This is our job as citizens, for it is our representatives in Parliament who decide what shall be done. The British Commonwealth of Nations is the greatest single power in the world to-day, and those who share in this mighty partnership have a heavy task and a splendid opportunity.

29 The Dominions

What are their Powers?

Those members of the Commonwealth which have developed to such an extent that they are able to govern themselves without interference from the British Parliament are called *Dominions.* They are six in number, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Eire, and Newfoundland, and each of them has the sort of government that is best suited to its own circumstances. Generally speaking, the Dominions work in close harmony with the Mother Country, not because they are obliged to do so, but because they recognize the ties that bind us together. If they wish to go their own way there is nothing to prevent them, for they have complete control over their own internal affairs, and they can make what arrangements they like with foreign countries, subject only to the honourable understanding that they will first of all inform one another of any matter that may affect their respective interests. During the war they entered the fight on our side, with one exception : Eire preferred to remain neutral, and although this greatly hampered our efforts, we did nothing to compel her to change her decision. But thousands of Irishmen from Eire enlisted in the British armed forces and fought valiantly, many sacrificing their lives for the cause of freedom.

How are they Governed?

Each Dominion has its own particular form of government, and although the British system is the model on which they are all based, there are important differences about which we ought to know.

New Zealand

In New Zealand the Head of the State is the Governor-General, who acts as the King's representative. Parliament consists like ours of two houses : an upper house known as the Legislative Council, the members of which are nominated by the Governor-General, and a lower house (like our House of Commons) called the House of Representatives. The members of this House are chosen by the people, and the party that

has a majority forms a government under a Prime Minister, just as in this country.

Union of South Africa

The Governor-General represents the King in this Dominion too, and Parliament consists of two houses—the upper house, called the Senate, and the lower house or House of Assembly. Since the Union was formed from four independent colonies, viz. the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, there are also four local assemblies known as Provincial Councils. These are elected by the voters, and they deal chiefly with matters of primary education and local government.

The members of the House of Assembly are elected by the people, but the forty members of the Senate are nominated or chosen. The Governor-General chooses eight of them, and each of the Provincial Councils, together with the members of the House of Assembly who represent the province, chooses another eight. Since 1936 there have been four additional senators, representing and elected by the coloured natives.

Parliament can pass any law it likes for the Dominion, and the Prime Minister and Cabinet are responsible to it, just as they are in Great Britain.

Eire

The form of government in Eire, or the Irish Free State as it was formerly called, was settled in 1937. The Head of the State is the President, elected by the people for seven years. The upper house or Senate is selected in a very complicated fashion—11 members are chosen by the Prime Minister, 6 by the Universities, and the remaining 43 are elected by the voters from lists of candidates who have some special claim to represent the various sides of the national life. The lower house, the Dail, is elected by the voters in the ordinary way, except that Eire has a system of proportional representation, and constituencies of three members at least. In addition there is a Council of State, which must be consulted in certain matters, but which has only advisory powers. The President of Eire has power to appoint up to seven members, and certain other members, for example the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice, and the chairman of the Senate and Dail, are *ex officio* members.

Eire stands apart from the other Dominions in that it is an independent republic. It does not work in such close harmony with this country, and

it only uses the King for such external matters as the conclusion of treaties and the appointment of diplomatic agents.

Newfoundland

In 1933, on account of serious financial difficulties, the Parliament of Newfoundland invited the British Government to take over control of the administration in order to put the financial position of the country on a sound footing. A Royal Commission was appointed and as a result of its investigations and recommendations the constitution of Newfoundland was suspended in February 1934, since when the administration of the Dominion has been conducted by the Governor (representing the King) and a Commission of six members appointed and controlled by the British Government, three being local men, the other three coming from the United Kingdom. Laws are passed by the Governor with the Commission, and the powers of the Newfoundland Parliament are suspended. In December 1945, however, the British Prime Minister announced the decision of the British Government to provide means for the people of Newfoundland to elect a National Convention of Newfoundland. For this Convention, he said, all adults would be entitled to vote, and candidates for election would be required to be residents in the districts they sought to represent. The Convention would be presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, and would be given the services of an expert adviser on constitutional forms and procedure and also a full statement of the island's financial and economic position. The proposals of the Convention for the future government of Newfoundland would be submitted to a national referendum, when it would be for the Newfoundlanders themselves to decide whether they wished to assume again the obligations of Dominion status and, if not, what they wished their future form of government to be. They would be enabled to come to a free and informed decision.

Federal Governments

In this country we have long been accustomed to the idea of a single government for the whole land. We know only one legislature, one executive, and one judicature, and it would seem very strange to us if there were two sets of people making the law, two sets enforcing it, and two sets applying it. In some countries, however, that is exactly what happens, and this is the reason.

Suppose there are a number of neighbouring countries or colonies, each independent of the others, and each one with its own scheme of government —its own parliament, its own ministry, and its own judges. Suppose too, that these separate states have very much in common, that they speak the same language, that they have similar views about how they should be governed, and that their general interests are very much alike. They may well get together and say, " Why should we continue to go our own separate ways ? Individually we are not very strong, but if we were to pool our resources we could form ourselves into one powerful state, and everyone would benefit." This idea appeals to them all, but there is a difficulty. If they join together in forming a single new state, since they will have to hand over their powers to that state, they themselves will cease to be independent. They do not mind surrendering some of their powers, but they object very strongly to giving up all. So what they do is to join together in a union, a *federal union* as we call it. They draw up a written agreement and decide to let the joint or federal government do certain things, things that concern the new state as a whole. Other matters of local interest they keep for themselves.

In a federation, then, we find a central government, with its parliament, its ministers, and its judges ruling the whole union ; while each state or province also has its own parliament, its own ministers, and its own judges for local affairs. You might think that such a system would be bound to cause confusion, for the central or federal government may easily interfere in some matter that concerns only the state or provincial government, and vice versa. Steps have to be taken to guard against this, and the written agreement or constitution sets out exactly what powers are to be handed over to the federal government, and what powers the individual states are to keep for themselves. Even so disputes sometimes arise. The federal government may pass a law dealing with some question that the states think is their concern, or a state government may make a law that the federal government considers is *its* affair. When this happens the judges are called in to decide. They hear each side, they see what the written constitution says about it, and then they give their decision. If they think that the parliament concerned was acting within its rights they say so ; if not, they declare the law invalid.

Here you see an important difference between federal government and the sort of government we have in this country. The British Parliament

can pass any law it likes, and neither the judges nor anyone else can say that a law is invalid because Parliament had no right to pass it. Under the federal scheme, on the other hand, each parliament can make only such laws as the written agreement allows it to make, and the judges are able to declare invalid any law that the parliament concerned had not the power to enact.

The United States of America are banded together in a federal union, and so are the cantons or provinces of Switzerland. Within the British Empire there are two great federations, the nine provinces of Canada and the six states of Australia.

Canada

In 1867 the four provinces, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec, were joined in a federal union, to which Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, and Saskatchewan were later admitted. The constitution provided that certain matters should be exclusively assigned to the provinces, including the right to impose local taxation, to manage the lands belonging to the province, to maintain prisons, hospitals, and asylums, and to make laws concerning marriage and other matters of purely local application. All the powers not actually assigned to the provinces belong to the federal government.

In Canada as a whole the King is represented by a Governor-General, who is appointed by the King on the advice of the Canadian government, and in each province by Lieutenant-Governors, appointed by the central or federal government. The federal Parliament consists of an upper house or Senate containing 96 life members nominated or chosen by the Governor-General on the advice of the Canadian Prime Minister, and a lower house, called the House of Commons, the 245 members of which are elected by the voters in the provinces.

The Parliaments of eight of the provinces have only one house, whose members are chosen by the electors. The exception is the province of Quebec, which has, in addition, a nominated upper house.

Commonwealth of Australia

In 1901 the six colonies, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia, united in a federation, the Commonwealth of Australia. In dividing the powers among the

state governments and the federal government they did not follow the Canadian plan. Instead, certain powers were granted to the federal government (*e.g.* the right to deal with foreign affairs, national trade and commerce, coinage, weights and measures, national defence, shipping, postal services, and lighthouses and beacons) and all other powers were kept by the states.

The Governor-General is appointed by and represents the King, who makes the appointment on the advice of the Australian government. The upper house or Senate of the federal Parliament has thirty-six members, six being chosen by the voters in each of the six states. In the lower house or House of Representatives the members are elected by the voters in the states, the number of members assigned to each state being in proportion to its population.

In South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia each Parliament has two houses, both of which are elected by the people. Queensland has one house only, elected by the voters, whereas in New South Wales the lower house is elected, and the members of the upper house are chosen by the two houses together.

30 Colonies and Protectorates

The Colonies

How are they governed?

The Colonies, unlike the Dominions, are not independent of the Mother Country, and even though they may possess elected Parliaments, as some of them do, they are still controlled to a large extent by the Colonial Office. The Governor, who is the head of the executive in each Colony, is appointed by the British government, and he rules in accordance with the instructions he receives from Whitehall. Any law made by a colonial legislature must be approved by him, and even if he has given his assent the law may afterwards be disallowed by the British government. All matters of finance are controlled by Great Britain, and so are the relations of the Colony with foreign countries. The British government is responsible for the peace and safety of the Colonies (very often keeping troops in them, and sometimes

establishing naval and air bases), and takes particular care to see that the native population gets a fair deal. It also makes provision for health and education services, and does all it can to encourage the inhabitants to learn how to govern themselves and to manage their own affairs.

Types of Colonies

The amount of independence enjoyed by the different Colonies varies with their ability to govern themselves :

1 The Colonies with the greatest measure of freedom are Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon, both of which are almost ready for full independence. Here there exist forms of government very similar to those in Britain, for the Governor as a rule is guided by the advice of Ministers who are responsible to the legislature, a single house elected by the voters. Before very long both these Colonies are likely to be granted greater independence.

In the case of Ceylon the British government in 1943 pledged itself to grant Ceylon, after the war had ended, " full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration." In 1945 the British government sent to Ceylon a Commission headed by Lord Soulbury to report on the constitutional problem, and at the end of the same year the Commission recommended self-government for Ceylon on the British model, as a step to full Dominion status. It also recommended the retention of universal suffrage ; and the establishment of a Senate of 30 members, and a House of Representatives of 95 elected members, plus 6 nominated by the Governor-General. In place of the present Board of Ministers it stated there should be a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to the legislature. Only powers over defence, external affairs, currency bills, and legislation likely to involve oppression or serious injustice to any racial or religious community should be reserved to the Crown. In May 1946 these recommendations were adopted, and Ceylon now enjoys a measure of self-government that will enable it in due course to obtain the full status of a self-governing Dominion.

2 There are three Colonies, Bermuda, Bahamas, and Barbados, that have a Parliament consisting of two houses : an upper house, called the Legislative Council, the members of which are nominated, and an elected lower house, or Assembly. The executive, working under the direction of the Governor, is not responsible, however, to the legislature, as it is in

Great Britain and in the Dominions, and the Governor can refuse his assent to any laws that are passed.

3 The majority of the Colonies have a legislature consisting of only one house, composed of official members (*i.e.* persons holding high offices) ; members nominated by the Governor ; and members elected by the people. Though the Governor can always ensure that this house shall pass any law that the British government considers necessary, the wishes of the elected members are, as far as possible, respected. Colonies of this type comprise Malta, Kenya, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Mauritius, British Guiana, British Honduras, and the West Indies (Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Antigua, Montserrat and St. Christopher-Nevis), Trinidad and Tobago, and the Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia), the Straits Settlements, Fiji, and Sierra Leone.

A new constitution for the Gold Coast came into operation on 29th March 1946, and under it the Gold Coast became the first British colony in Africa to be granted an unofficial majority for African members of its legislature. In place of the former fourteen unofficial members, there will in future be eighteen elected members, with twelve official and nominated members.

4 In Colonies where there are only a small number of Europeans all the members of the legislature are nominated, either by the Governor or by the British government, which is thus able to control all the affairs of the island. This is the plan in the Gambia, Seychelles, Hong Kong, and the Falkland Islands.

5 Last of all come those Colonies where there is no legislature at all, and where the Governor alone makes the laws. Gibraltar, Cyprus, Aden, St. Helena and the Virgin Islands are Colonies of this type. In November 1945 the Secretary of State for the Colonies agreed to the establishment in Gibraltar of a legislative council with the limitation that owing to Gibraltar's peculiar needs as a fortress there must be an official majority over the nominated and/or elected members. The establishment of this new Council gives elected Gibraltarians some say in their own government for the first time.

Protectorates

In some parts of the world it has been necessary for Britain to take control of countries that do not really belong to her, as a rule either to prevent other nations from taking them over, or to protect the native

inhabitants. In these *Protectorates*, as they are called, Britain sees that the people are properly governed, preserves them from aggression, and regulates their relations with foreign countries.

Some of them are ruled like the Colonies in the name of the King, and similarly they may have legislatures. In Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Uganda, for instance, the legislature is partly elected, but in Somaliland the Governor alone makes the laws. Others are attached to colonies for purposes of government. For instance, the legislature of Sierra Leone represents both the colony and the protectorate. The native chiefs are usually allowed a certain amount of authority, but they are guided and controlled by British officials, who try, as far as possible, to preserve local customs and laws.

In certain Protectorates the native rulers continue to govern the country in name, but they remain to a greater or less degree under British authority. In Zanzibar, for example, though the Sultan still occupies the throne, the actual government is carried on by the British Resident. Special mention must be made of the loyal little kingdom of Tonga in the Pacific, which has a native parliament, and enjoys considerable independence.

Mandated Territories

After the war of 1914–18 the League of Nations decided that the former colonial possessions of Germany and Turkey should be entrusted to certain of the Allied Powers to be ruled by them under the *mandate* or authority of the League. Provision was to be made for the development and good government of the territory, and an annual report was to be made to the League.

It was agreed that in Palestine a national home for the Jews should be set up, but the bitter quarrels between the Jews and the Arab inhabitants have so far made it impossible to realize this purpose. Tanganyika is governed under a mandate, and so are parts of Togoland and the Cameroons. Some mandated territories, too, were allotted to the Dominions—New Guinea to the Commonwealth of Australia, Western Samoa to New Zealand, and South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa.

31 India and Burma

India

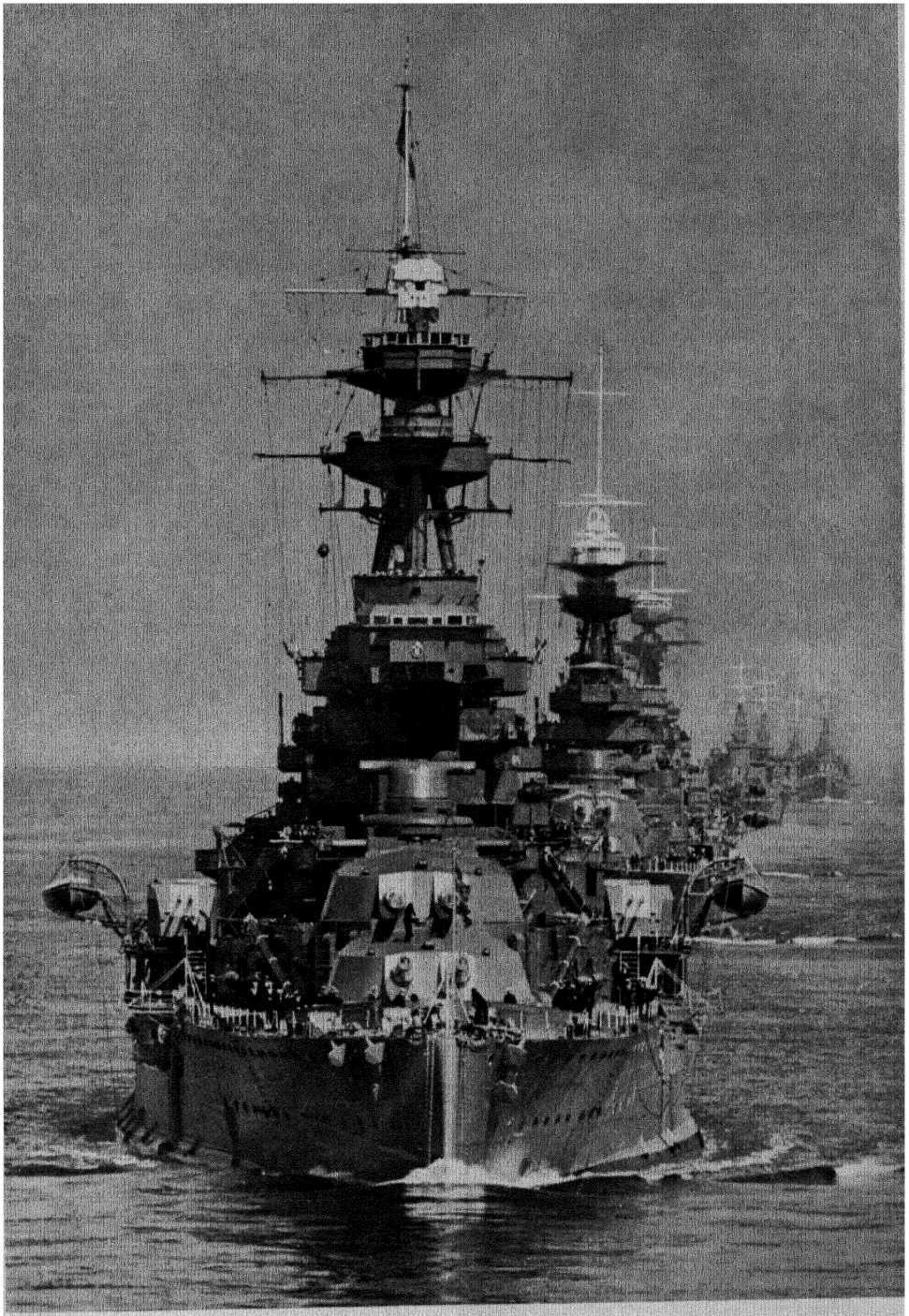
The problem of finding a suitable form of government for India is one of the most difficult Britain has to solve. That great land, in size almost half that of Europe, is inhabited by over 350 million people, the majority of whom are poor, uneducated peasants living in small villages. They speak different languages, they worship different gods, and they do not agree among themselves how they should be governed. In recent years many of them have been demanding the right to rule themselves without interference from this country, and we are doing our best to give them full control of their own affairs.

In 1935 an Act of Parliament was passed intended gradually to raise India to the position of a self-governing Dominion like Canada or Australia, and thus to enable her, in time, to manage her own affairs. The constituent States and Provinces were to be joined in a Federal Union. So far, however, it has not been possible to achieve this.

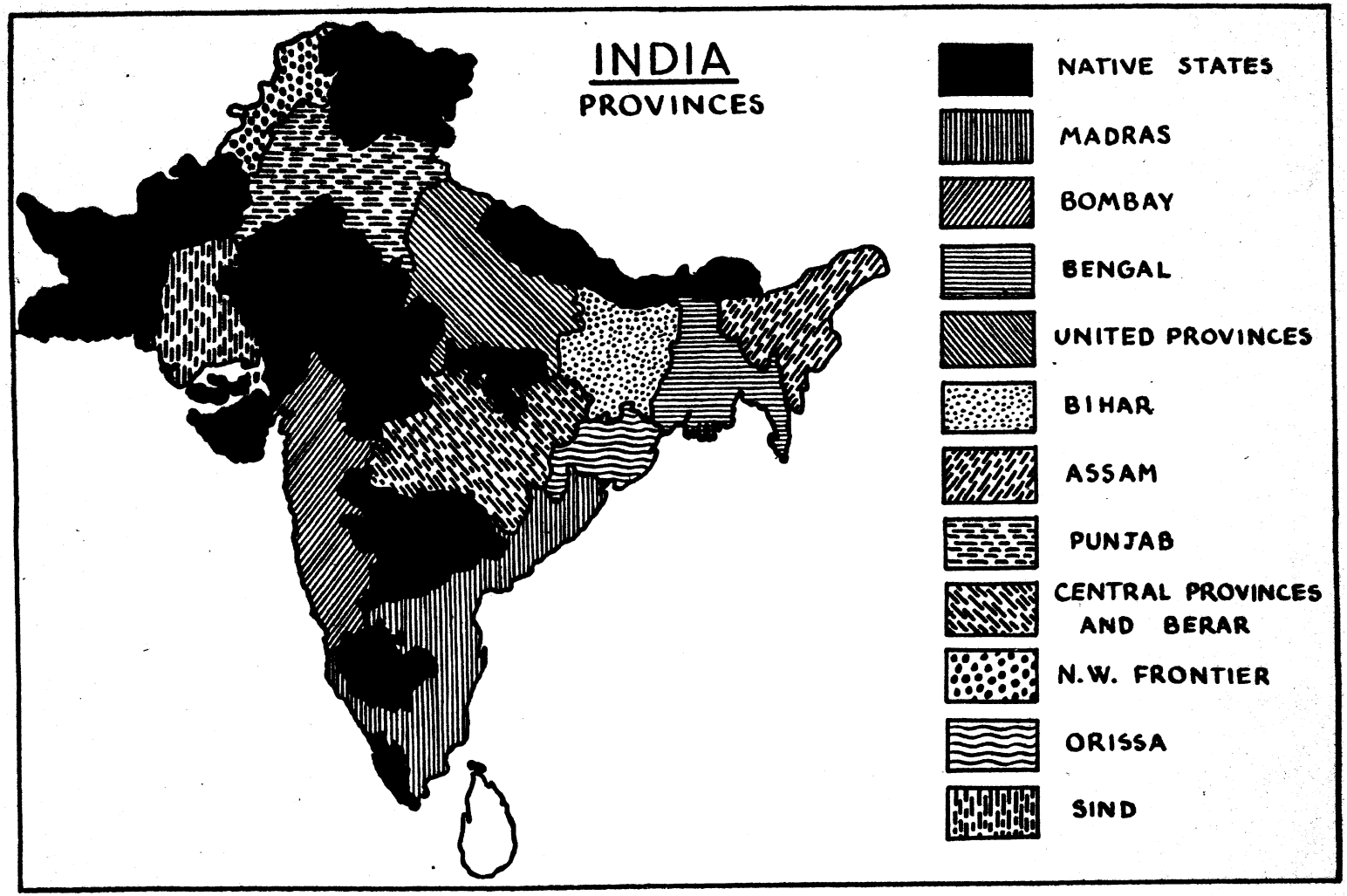
There are to-day eleven Provinces, Governors' Provinces they are called, together forming British India. The rest of the country is split up into more than five hundred and sixty States known as Indian States, which are governed by native princes.

Provinces

The Act of 1935 gave to the Provinces much greater powers than they had formerly enjoyed, and enabled them to take a real share in governing themselves. In each Province there is a Governor who rules with the help of a Council of Ministers, chosen by him but responsible for their acts to the Legislature. Certain of the Provinces—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and Assam—have legislatures consisting of an upper house, the Legislative Council, and a lower house, the Legislative Assembly. The others—the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, and Sind—have one house only, the Legislative Assembly. The right to vote is enjoyed by men and women over twenty-one years of age who possess a certain amount of property, and there are some 30 million electors altogether.



The Royal Navy : the battleships that guard our shores


INDIA
PROVINCES
NATIVE STATES
MADRAS
BOMBAY
BENGAL
UNITED PROVINCES
BIHAR
ASSAM
PUNJAB
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR
N.W. FRONTIER
ORISSA
SIND

1946 three members of the British Cabinet went out to India to try to solve the problem on the spot.

They proposed that immediate arrangements should be made whereby the Indians themselves may decide the future constitution of their own country, and that a temporary Government should be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until the new constitution can be brought into being.

Whether or not the new independent India decides to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, she will have the good wishes of the British people for a happy and prosperous future as one of the great nations of the world.

Burma

Prior to 1937 Burma was merely a Province of India. Now, however, it is a separate State with its own system of government. The lower house or House of Representatives is elected, while the upper house, the Senate, has 36 members of whom half are elected by the House of Representatives and half are nominated by the Governor.

The Governor rules with the advice of Ministers responsible to the House of Representatives, but he has control of certain matters, *e.g.* defence and foreign relations, and in all matters concerning peace and good order he can, if he so desires, disregard the wishes of his Ministers. Thus in Burma, Britain is gradually introducing her own democratic plan of government, though she is compelled to preserve certain safeguards. In both Burma and India the head of the government (the Viceroy in India and the Governor in Burma) has the last word in affairs of the greatest importance, and since these officials take their orders from the Secretary of State for India and Burma, it is clear that in the long run control still remains with the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

32 Beyond the Empire

This great family of nations, united in common loyalty to the King-Emperor, has an important part to play in the affairs of the whole world, but it cannot play more than a limited part. There are other mighty

peoples among whom it must live, and the events of the last thirty years have taught us that no single country can go its own way regardless of what its neighbours are doing. Our fortunes are bound up with those of every other nation, and since we can only enjoy prosperity and happiness when the world is at peace we must share in the great task of building and preserving that peace.

The League of Nations

When the first world war ended in the autumn of 1918 the statesmen of the victorious nations resolved that never again must such horror be loosed upon the world. Nearly nine million soldiers had been killed, more than twenty million had been wounded, while famine and disease had brought untold misery and suffering in their train. War must be outlawed; the nations must come together and set up an international body empowered to deal with any disputes that might arise, and thus prevent war from breaking out again. And so the League of Nations was born.

The rules that were to govern the League were set out in the Covenant, which provided that any self-governing state, including the former enemy states, could be admitted to membership. Each of these countries was to send representatives to an Assembly that would meet every year at Geneva to discuss matters affecting the peace of the world. Any disputes that might arise between the members were to be referred to the League, and if a nation were to go to war, steps were to be taken to cut it off from all the other members of the League.

A permanent Court of International Justice was set up at the Hague to decide any dispute that might be referred to it, and the International Labour Organization was established to inquire into the many problems of industry and trade that might affect the relations of one country with another.

At first the League had some success, and in its early years it was able to settle a number of minor disputes. But it was not really powerful enough for the tremendous task it had to face. The United States of America refused to join the common cause, for the first fourteen years Russia remained outside, and the result was that other nations felt that they must act cautiously when difficulties arose.

In 1931 Japan attacked China, and although both countries were members of the League, the other nations did not interfere, and Japan was allowed to seize Manchuria. Four years later Italy invaded and conquered Abyssinia. This time the League tried to tackle the problem by keeping supplies of oil and arms from Italy and by refusing to lend her money or to buy her exports. But such measures were not enough, and finally Italy was allowed to keep what she had won.

Germany soon followed her example. Austria was seized in 1938, then came the turn of Czechoslovakia, and finally, in September 1939, Poland was invaded, and the second world war had begun.

United Nations' Organization

Britain and France went to war, and within a few days Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, and India joined in the struggle. Other countries fell before the German invader, Denmark and Norway, Belgium, Holland, and little Luxembourg. In 1941 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America were drawn into the conflict, and before the fighting ceased some fifty nations had united in a common front against the aggressors.

For some time our great war leaders had been thinking how they could set up an organization to do what the League of Nations had so tragically failed to do—to secure the future peace of the world. In October 1943 the statesmen of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China, meeting together in Moscow, signed a declaration pledging themselves to join with the other United Nations in building up an international organization to maintain peace and security. In the autumn of 1944 another meeting was held at Dumbarton Oaks, in America, and here the outlines of a plan were considered. Further discussions took place at Yalta in the Crimea in February 1945, and it was finally decided to call a conference of all the United Nations at San Francisco on 25th April 1945.

At this great conference the Charter of the United Nations Organization was considered, and on 26th June it was finally approved. The new organization was to have a two-fold duty—it was to take such steps as were necessary to preserve the peace of the world, and it was to do all it could to promote social progress and better standards of life for everybody.

General Assembly

The Charter provides that the members of the United Nations are to meet in a General Assembly to discuss all matters concerning the peace and security of the world. They make recommendations on social, educational, and economic problems, and consider reports from the various Councils.

Security Council

The most important of these Councils is the Security Council, which consists of eleven members. Five of them are permanent members, China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The other six members, representing the smaller powers, are chosen by the General Assembly for a period of two years.

The main purpose of the Security Council is to preserve the peace of the world, and to this end it can call upon countries to settle their disputes privately by peaceful means. If this is not possible, the dispute must be referred to the Council, which will then take steps to deal with the matter. It may decide to isolate the offending country from the rest of the world by stopping its trade, or by interrupting rail, sea, air, and postal communication. If this is not enough it may use force to keep the peace, and for this purpose all the members of the United Nations must place at the disposal of the Council such armed forces as are necessary. Sometimes swift action may be called for, and every member must therefore have an air force available at all times for use as the Council directs in cases of emergency.

Economic and Social Council

The General Assembly also chooses eighteen of its members to form an Economic and Social Council. Each member is elected for a period of three years, so that six vacancies have to be filled annually.

The Charter provides that the United Nations shall promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of social progress throughout the world. They are pledged to secure respect for human rights and freedom without regard to race, sex, language, or religion.

To achieve these great ends, upon which the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all men so largely depend, is the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council. They perform their task by studying all matters relating to education, health, trade, and social and working conditions, and by making reports and recommendations to the General Assembly.

Trusteeship Council

The United Nations recognize that in those countries that are not yet in a position to govern themselves, the interests of the inhabitants must be the first consideration, and they agree to do all in their power to advance the well-being of the native populations and to help them to attain self-government.

For this purpose a trusteeship system has been set up, by means of which mandated territories, and countries taken from the enemy, may, by agreement, be governed in accordance with the ideals of the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council, consisting of members who are responsible for such territories and members who have no such responsibility, in equal numbers, has the duty of supervising the government of these countries, and it must make a report to the General Assembly each year.

International Court of Justice

In order that the disputes that arise between nations may be settled in accordance with the rules of law, an International Court of Justice, consisting of fifteen distinguished lawyers, has been set up at the Hague. Here, all matters relating to treaties, agreements, and the rights and duties of the countries concerned can be considered and decided. The members of the United Nations promise to abide by the decisions of the Court, and if any country refuses to do so, the matter may be referred to the Security Council, which will take whatever steps it considers necessary.

Secretariat

The officials who are responsible for the business side of the United Nations Organization form the Secretariat, which is under the control of the Secretary-General. This important official is appointed by the General Assembly on the advice of the Security Council.

It was in the early days of 1946 that the United Nations Organization held its first meeting, when some two thousand representatives from fifty-one nations attended the conference at the Central Hall, Westminster. The Councils were elected, the Secretary-General was appointed, and much preliminary work was successfully performed. Only the future can reveal whether this last attempt to set up machinery to keep the world at peace will achieve its purpose. It is true that the United Nations have powers that the League of Nations did not possess, in particular the power to use

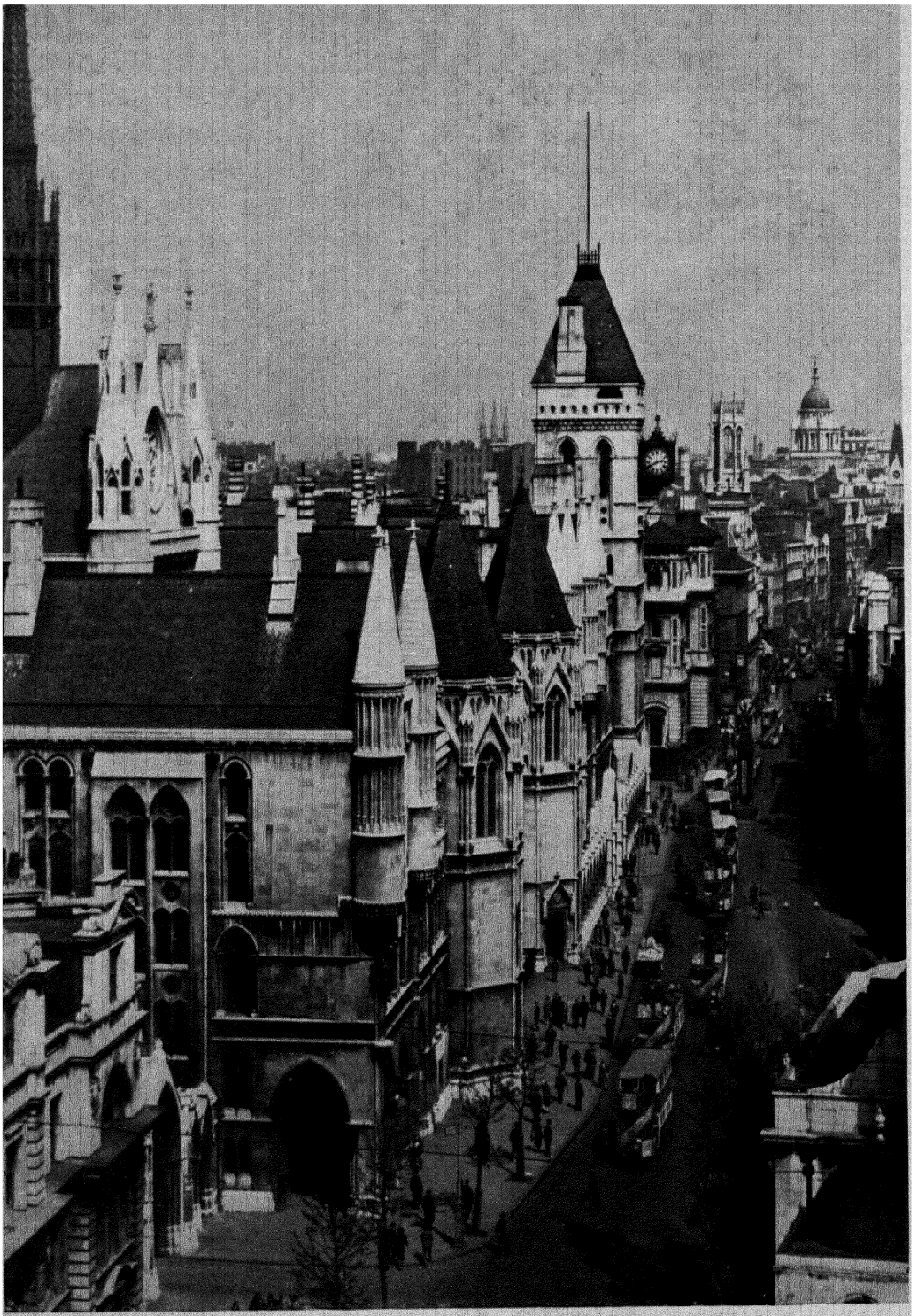
force quickly and effectively against quarrelsome nations. But in the long run no machinery of man's devising can compel great nations to live on good terms with their neighbours if they are determined not to do so. All men must realize that, in the words of a great Russian statesman, " peace is one and indivisible," and that once war breaks out every country in the world must, sooner or later, be drawn into the conflict. For many generations the British Empire has borne witness that peoples of different races, religions, and customs can live happily together if they have the will to do so, and if we can teach the world this lesson we shall indeed have played our part.



United Nations Organization : a meeting of the Economic and Social Council



Public Meeting and Free Speech : crowds gather to hear the speakers, but neither crowd nor speaker must break the law



The Law Courts : the High Court of Justice in the Strand, London

PART FOUR—THE CITIZEN AND THE LAW

33 Liberty and Law

Freedom

In this country we have long prided ourselves on our enjoyment of political freedom. This freedom has been the envy of the world, but how many of us have paused to consider just what freedom means? Freedom from what? From control? A moment's thought will make it clear that *that* is not what we mean by freedom. Indeed, if our actions were not controlled and regulated we should cease to be a civilized people, and the law of the jungle would prevail. If we are to live together peacefully and safely each one of us must give up some portion of his right to do as he likes. I am prepared to surrender a bit of my full liberty if you surrender a bit of yours. I am content to be forbidden to take the goods that belong to you, but you must not take what belongs to me. I will ride my cycle on the left-hand side of the road, but I expect you to do the same. So we all submit to control in order that life may go on. The more civilized we become, the greater our dependence on one another, the wider is the extent of the regulation that we have to accept.

The Rule of Law

When we talk of our freedom, then, we do not mean freedom to do as we like. What we *do* mean is that in this country we are free from wrongful interference. Not from *all* interference, for the State interferes very effectively with those who break the rules that it has made, but from interference that is not justified by the law of the land. This is another way of saying that we live under the rule of law, that we are all subject in the same way to the same law, and that if we suffer a wrong the law will provide a remedy, no matter who inflicts the wrong.

There is nothing surprising about this, we may say. Of course not,

because we have been accustomed to such a state of affairs all our lifetime and so were our ancestors for many generations before us. But let us not forget what used to happen in certain other countries before the war. Did we not read of men and women being arrested by the secret police, thrown into concentration camps without trial, tortured and sometimes killed because the opinions they held were disliked by the party that had seized power in the land? These people suffered a wrong indeed, a grievous wrong, but the law provided no remedy. The police and their masters were above the law, and there was nothing the ordinary citizen could do about it. He just had to submit to the tyranny, and he had only himself to thank, for he had given up his right to have a share in making the law. He had allowed a dictator to take the place of Parliament, and once a dictator has got the power in his own hands he is responsible to nobody, since nobody can call him to account.

That is not the British way. We prefer to keep the power in our own hands. We ourselves decide by what laws we shall be governed, for we choose the people who make them. If we disapprove what our representatives do, we can turn them out, and give the job to somebody we can trust. We do not mind being controlled, but we want to decide *how* we shall be controlled.

Equality before the Law

Once the law has been made it applies to everybody. Rich and poor, great and humble alike are subject to its provisions. Nobody can claim to be above the law. Nobody can claim the privilege of being subject to a particular set of laws because he occupies an official position. The Ministers of the King, the civil servants, the police, and the members of the armed forces must obey the ordinary laws like other citizens, and if they do anything that the law does not allow they will be tried in the ordinary courts, just as you or I would be tried. If a private citizen thinks that he has been wrongfully treated he can bring the person concerned before the court and have his case heard by an impartial judge, secure in the knowledge that justice will be done. Could there be any greater safeguard against tyranny and dictatorship?

The Cost of Justice

If a man is accused of a crime the law presumes that he is innocent until he has been proved guilty. But sometimes it costs a great deal of money to

prove one's innocence, for the solicitor who prepares the case and the barrister who argues it have to be paid. In order that a poor man may not be at a disadvantage provision is made for him, in suitable circumstances, to have legal aid free of cost, and even in civil cases, where private individuals ask the court to decide the rights and wrongs of a dispute that has arisen between them, such assistance may be available. But a man's income has to be very small indeed before he can take advantage of this help, and there is sometimes a real danger that a person of moderate means may be denied justice because he cannot afford to fight his case.

Administrative Law

There is another danger, too, against which there is need to guard. Parliament has so much to do that it cannot possibly consider, in any great detail, most of the laws it enacts. Very often it passes an Act in general terms, and gives a government department power to fill in the gaps by making rules or orders, which themselves have the force of law. During the war many thousands of such regulations were made by the various departments, and it was sometimes difficult for the ordinary citizen to know just where he stood. Though it is obviously necessary for Parliament to work in this way, we ought to realise exactly what it involves. It is Parliament's job to make the law ; it is the Executive's job to enforce it. One of the great safeguards of British liberty has always been that the Executive is subordinate to, and responsible to, the Legislature. Will the safeguard still exist if the Executive takes over the work of the Legislature, *i.e.* if the government departments which enforce the law are also allowed to make it ?

Many people are uneasy about this danger, nor are they entirely reassured when they are told that Parliament still keeps control because it has the power to cancel any rule or order of which it does not approve. This, of course, is perfectly true, but Members of Parliament are busy men and women, and they do not always keep track of the regulations that are being made. The Fire Services Act that was passed in 1941, for instance, gave the Home Secretary power to make regulations concerning the National Fire Service, and provided that any regulations he made were to be laid before Parliament for its approval. Though twenty-three sets of regulations,

all having the force of law, were made between August 1941 and June 1944, it was then discovered that through an oversight none of them had been submitted to Parliament, as the Act required !

The Need for Control

This is only an illustration of the difficulties that may arise when Parliament hands over its power to the Executive. We ought, therefore, to be on our guard. The system itself is necessary, and it is not dangerous so long as Parliament remains vigilant. But we must see that the Executive is kept under control. Our representatives make the laws that govern us, and we should be careful to see that this great power is not handed over to people whom we have not chosen to represent us.

34 The Four Freedoms

What exactly is this freedom that we enjoy under the rule of law? What are these rights to which we cling so jealously ? Although we are so accustomed to them that at first sight they are not obvious, the inhabitants of countries not sharing our liberty would not find it difficult to point them out. They are freedom of religion, freedom of person, freedom of meeting together in public, and freedom of speech.

Freedom of Religion

Every man is entitled to worship as he pleases, and although the official religion of the country is Christianity, people are perfectly free to follow other faiths if they choose. At one time there were severe laws against Roman Catholics, and even when these had been repealed those who were not members of the Church of England suffered certain disadvantages—they could not sit in Parliament, for instance, and they were not admitted to the universities. All this has now been changed, and to-day a man can hold any belief he likes, or no belief at all, without being penalized.

Any form of religious service can be held, and nothing hinders a man from trying to persuade others to adopt the faith in which he believes. But he must respect other people's rights. He must not do anything that is

likely to cause a disturbance of the peace, nor in his efforts to convert other people to his views must he say or do anything that is likely to shock their conscience.

Freedom of Person

No man can be deprived of his liberty without just cause, for the right to personal freedom is the right that we cherish above all others. The law guards it with the utmost jealousy, and is careful to provide remedies for those who have been wrongfully imprisoned.

Criminals, of course, can be kept in prison when a court of law has found them guilty of an offence and has sentenced them to imprisonment for a definite period. A man who is suspected of having committed a crime may be arrested, but he must be brought before the magistrates at the earliest possible moment, so that he may have an opportunity of proving his innocence if he can.

What remedy does the law provide for anybody who has been wrongfully deprived of his liberty? What would happen if a policeman clapped handcuffs on an innocent passer-by and marched him through the streets to a police station; or if he kept a man in the cells for several days without bringing him before the magistrates? As soon as he regained his liberty the man in question could bring an action against the policeman, who, if he had acted without reasonable cause, would either be punished in a criminal court or sentenced to pay damages in a civil court. The case would be heard in an ordinary court, and the ordinary rules of law would apply, for the policeman is subject to the same rules as any other citizen. It does not matter how important the wrongdoer may be, he can claim no special privilege. If the Home Secretary himself ordered a man to be detained illegally he could be called before the court and punished like anyone else, nor would the judges hesitate to take such action, since they are completely independent, and it is their duty to safeguard the rights of the common man.

This, you may say, is all very well if the individual who has been wrongfully imprisoned is freed, but what would he do if he were kept in prison, so that he could not bring an action and get the wrongdoer punished? What is there, for instance, to prevent the Home Secretary from putting a powerful political opponent in gaol and keeping him there indefinitely? Our ancestors thought of an answer to this centuries ago, and we still use

the remedy they invented. This is what would happen. The relatives or friends of the prisoner would apply, through a lawyer, to the judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court (or, if the law courts were on holiday, to the judge who sits in his chambers every day to deal with urgent business) and ask for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This is an order that is sent to the governor of the gaol calling upon him to bring the prisoner before the court (the Latin words *habeas corpus* mean " you must have the body," *i.e.* " produce the person "). The immediate result would be that the detained man would be brought before the judges, who would then inquire into the reason for his imprisonment. If, after hearing what he had to say, they decided that he had been deprived of his liberty without due cause, they would release him, and he would leave the court a free man.

It may occasionally happen that private individuals conspire together to keep somebody out of the way. A child may be removed from its parents and wrongfully detained in a home, or a sane man may be locked up in a lunatic asylum. The same remedy is available, and the writ of *habeas corpus* will enable the court to have the person concerned brought before it to decide whether the detention is justified or not.

In time of crisis, of course, it is sometimes necessary to detain suspected persons without bringing them to trial, and Parliament then gives the authorities wider powers than they normally possess. But as soon as the danger is past those powers are taken away again, and the rights that had to be temporarily surrendered for the sake of the national safety are restored.

Freedom of Meeting

In every country the government has to keep a watchful eye when great crowds of people collect together, especially if they meet to discuss political affairs. A crowd is easily moved to anger and violence, and what starts as a peaceable gathering may soon become a law-defying mob, even threatening the safety of the kingdom. Since in Great Britain vast throngs of people may often be seen listening to a speaker in public halls or open spaces, one might well think that some law exists providing the right to hold public meetings. In fact there is no such law. The crowd as a whole enjoys the right to gather together because each separate member is entitled to remain on that spot if he wishes. I have the right to stand still in a public open space if I wish. So have you, and so have a hundred or a

thousand others, and there is no reason why we should not all exercise our rights at the same time. The right of public meeting is nothing more than this.

What a sane, sensible arrangement it is ! It prevents crowds gathering together in public streets and disturbing the peace of the neighbourhood, for although we have the right to pass along the thoroughfares we are not entitled to stand still in them and block the flow of traffic. If we do, a policeman will come up and say " Move along, please," and we shall disregard him at our peril.

It also enables the authorities to maintain order, for although I can claim the right to stand in a certain place if I choose, I must not behave in a disorderly fashion or cause a public disturbance. Neither must you. Neither must the other people who meet with us. So if a crowd becomes disorderly it can be broken up, and no member of it will be able to complain that his rights are being interfered with.

If a crowd begins to use violence in carrying out some common plan it places itself outside the protection of the law altogether. It becomes a riot, and then it is the duty of a magistrate to read a short warning (" reading the Riot Act " it is popularly but incorrectly called), after which any degree of force may be used to disperse the rioters. When the magistrates meet together in Quarter Sessions they still appoint certain of their number " to accompany the troops in case of riots within the County," for, after the warning has been read, if all other means fail, soldiers may be called upon to scatter the crowd.

Freedom of Speech

In this country we can say what we like, we can write what we like, and we can print what we like, so long as we do not break the law in doing so. We can criticize the government in books, newspapers, and speeches, we can attack our politicians, we can try to persuade others to think as we do on any political, social, or religious question, and, so long as we do not break the law, nobody can say " That is a forbidden topic. You must not discuss that." In short, there is no censorship ; we do not need to get anybody's approval before we speak or write or print.

That is the freedom we enjoy, but we must not abuse it. If we do, the law will have something to say, for other people have rights too, and we

must see that when we exercise our right to say what we like, we do not interfere with somebody else's rights.

Every citizen, for instance, has the right to have his good name and reputation protected, and no man is allowed to use language, either spoken or written, that will expose another to hatred, ridicule, or contempt. If a man's reputation has been injured by spoken words he can get damages for *slander*, if it has been injured by written words he can sue the writer for *libel*, and the court may award him a sum of money as damages. If the written words are likely to cause a breach of the peace the author may be found guilty of a crime, *criminal libel*, and he may then be fined or even sent to prison.

Questions of religion may be freely discussed, but the law does not allow us to use words that shock or insult the consciences of ordinary decent people. Political matters, too, may be the subject of speech or writing, but it is illegal to try to persuade others to change the government by unlawful means, or to say things that may bring the person of the King or the government of the country into hatred or contempt.

Proper and reasonable discussion, then, is fully protected by law. We can criticize our government and our rulers, we can criticize authors, artists, and actors, plays and films. We can speak as harshly as we like, but we do so at our own risk. If we go too far, and break the law, we shall be punished.

35 The Four Duties

For the public behaviour of a State depends upon the private behaviour of its citizens. Indeed the State is its citizens. Public injustice is private wrongdoing writ large. . . . There can, in a word, be no better Britain until there are better Britons.—LORD ELTON

Citizens of this country enjoy rights, precious rights, that they value above everything else. But they have duties as well, since rights and duties go together : the one cannot be had without the other. The State protects these rights, and it is therefore entitled to expect all citizens to discharge their duties conscientiously and ungrudgingly. Some of these duties are concerned with the maintenance of law and order, some with the administration of justice, some with the protection of the country, and some with the daily life of the citizens.

1 Law and Order

Since the very earliest days of our history it has been recognized that every citizen must play his part in preventing crime, in bringing wrong-doers to justice, and in preserving the public peace. This being particularly important when there was no proper police force to keep law and order, it was formerly held that the inhabitants of each district were responsible for the good behaviour of their neighbours. They were required to track down those who were suspected of having broken the law, and to bring them before the King's judges when they visited the county on the assizes.

Though to-day this work is usually left to the policeman, the responsibility is not his alone. We must still play our part, and do what we can to help if the need arises. It is our duty to assist in keeping the peace, and we are entitled to arrest anybody whom we see breaking it. If a constable calls on us to help him, we must come to his aid, and if we see a man committing a serious crime we must arrest him if we can. It may be necessary to use force, and the law allows us to do just what is necessary in the circumstances.

When a case is being tried in a court of law witnesses have to give evidence and say what they know of the facts. It is only in this way that justice can be done, and since, as citizens, we are all concerned to see that the law is properly carried out, it is necessary for us to tell the court whatever we can if we have any information bearing on the case. Our evidence will be given on oath ; that is to say, we shall have to take a solemn vow to tell the truth and to keep nothing back. If people who can help the court in this way are not willing to come forward, they can be compelled to appear and give their evidence.

2 Jury Service

It is an ancient rule of law that if a man is accused of a crime he must be tried by a jury of his fellow-countrymen. The members of the jury are called upon by the sheriff to do this important work, and a person who does not obey the sheriff's order can be punished. When the members of the jury have taken an oath to do justice in the cases that will come before them they listen carefully to what both sides have to say. The judge sums

up the evidence, explains to them any points of law arising, and then leaves them to decide their verdict—to decide whether the prisoner is guilty or not. Naturally they are guided by what the judge says, but it is *their* duty, and theirs alone, to decide the prisoner's guilt or innocence. The judge may not agree with them, but he must accept their verdict.

Juries are sometimes employed, too, in civil cases, cases in which no crime has been committed, but in which the parties concerned ask the court to decide the dispute that has arisen between them. Here again the judge explains the law, while the jury decides upon the facts and delivers a verdict according to the evidence that has been given.

The right to be tried by a jury is one that we cherish very dearly, for it is the best guarantee that justice will be done. Sometimes it may not be convenient to give up the time that jury service demands, but it is a great privilege to help in carrying out the law, and the responsibility is one that should be willingly undertaken by all good citizens.

3 National Service

We can only live together enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship so long as the State is powerful enough to protect us. We need protection from those people inside the State who do not keep the rules, and although the policeman is chiefly responsible for dealing with criminals it is everybody's duty to help to preserve the peace. Our country has sometimes to meet another danger, however, a danger that comes not from within but from outside, when foreign nations make war upon us. When this happens it is our duty to place ourselves at the disposal of the State, and to do all that we can to help in the struggle, either by fighting or by working.

This duty has existed from the earliest times, and even before the Norman Conquest those who were capable of bearing arms were expected to play their part in defending the country. In later times our battles were usually fought by the professional soldiers who formed the regular army, though the navy found it necessary to get recruits by sending out press-gangs who compelled men to serve in the King's ships. To-day war is a much grimmer business, and everybody who can help the country in any way is called upon to do so. Men and women alike are required to serve in the armed forces, and Parliament gives the Minister of Labour power to

order people to take up work of national importance in the factories, on the land, or even in shops and offices. Such service is the highest and proudest duty of citizenship, for upon its successful performance depends the very existence of the nation.

4 Citizenship

This is not all, however. We can be compelled to assist the State to fight its enemies both inside and outside the country, and we can be compelled to undertake other duties of citizenship, whether to obey the law or to pay the taxes, but there are some matters in which we are left free to act as we wish. Here is the real test of our citizenship. We have the right to govern ourselves. Do we exercise this right to the full? Are we prepared to do what we can to learn about the problems of our town, our country, and our Commonwealth and Empire? Do we read about the proceedings in Parliament and in our local council, so that we can play our part intelligently? Do we take a lively interest in those matters that concern us so closely, or are we content to let others shoulder our responsibilities? Do we trouble to vote in local and parliamentary elections? Do we take full advantage of all that is offered to us in the school, in the clinic, in the library? If not, we are shirking our duty, and we are not exercising our full rights as citizens.

These rights have not been won without many bitter struggles, struggles that were waged by our ancestors through the centuries. We have entered into the fruits of their labours, and it is our task to prove ourselves worthy of the sacrifices they made. If we mean to preserve this great heritage we, too, must be prepared to make sacrifices. We must enter fully into the life of the community of which we form a part, sharing the responsibilities that are common to us all, and helping, each according to his ability, to shape the destinies of town, of country, and of Empire. The price of carelessness, indifference, or ignorance may be a high one—nothing less than the loss of our democratic way of life. Our highest duty, therefore, is simply this, to prove ourselves worthy of our great traditions, and to use the rights and privileges of citizenship as they should be used, sensibly, intelligently, and courageously.

Books for Further Reading

Local Government

The A B C of Local Government	C. Kent Wright (Evans)
A City Council from Within	E. D. Simon (Longmans)
The Common Weal	H. A. L. Fisher (Clarendon Press)
The Councillor	A. N. C. Shelley (Nelson)
English Education	J. W. Adamson (Cambridge University Press)
The English Policeman	A. Soames (Allen & Unwin)
Fifty Years of Public Health	Sir A. Newsholme (Allen & Unwin)
A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales	H.M. Stationery Office
Health and Social Evolution	Sir G. Newman (Allen & Unwin)
Health at the Gateway	E. W. Hope (Cambridge University Press)
The Home I Want	R. Reiss (Hodder & Stoughton)
How to Abolish the Slums	Sir E. Simon (Longmans)
How York Governs Itself	J. B. Morrell and A. G. Watson (Allen and Unwin)
Local Government in Modern England	J. P. R. Maud (Thornton Butterworth)
The Local Government Officer	L. Hill (Allen and Unwin)
London and its Government	P. A. Harris (Dent)
London, the Unique City	S. E. Rasmussen (Cape)
Middlesex	C. W. Radcliffe (Evans)
Mind Your Own Business	R. B. Suthers (Allen & Unwin)
Municipal Trading	J. H. Warren (Labour Publishing Co.)
Outlines of Local Government	J. J. Clarke (Pitman)
Parish Councillor's Guide	R. C. Maxwell (Shaw)
Practical Housing	J. S. Nettlefold (Garden City Press)
The Principles of Citizenship	Sir H. Jones (Macmillan)
The Ratepayer's Money	A. Collins (Allen & Unwin)
The Responsible Citizen	S. H. Cair (Nelson)
Town and Country Planning	P. Abercrombie (Thornton Butterworth)
Town and Countryside	T. Sharp (Oxford University Press)
Town and Country To-morrow	G. Boumphrey (Nelson)
Town Planning and Town Development	S. D. Adshead (Methuen)

Central Government

The British Civil Service	H. Finer (Allen & Unwin)
Central Government	H. D. Traill (Macmillan)
Elements of English Law	W. M. Geldart (Thornton Butterworth)
The Elements of Politics	H. Sidgwick (Macmillan)
The English Constitution	W. Bagehot (Oxford University Press)
The English Heritage	M. W. Thomas (Nelson)
English Law	A. H. Ruegg (Allen & Unwin)
English Law and Its Background	C. H. S. Fifoot (Bell)
English Political Institutions	Sir J. A. R. Marriott (Oxford University Press)
Everybody's Guide to Parliament	W. J. Brown (Allen & Unwin)
A History of the British Constitution	J. H. B. Masterman (Macmillan)
The Home Office	Sir E. Troup (Putnam)

How England is Governed	C. F. G. Masterman (Selwyn & Blount)
How We are Governed	Sir J. A. R. Marriott (Oxford University Press)
The Justice at Work	A. Lieck (Butterworth)
Parliament, 1295–1929	Sir C. P. Ilbert (Thornton Butterworth)
Parliament: What It Is and How It Works	H. Morrison and W. S. Abbott (Pitman)
The Post Office	Sir J. E. Murray (Putnam)
A Primer of Taxation	E. A. Lever (King)
Principles and Methods of Taxation	G. Armitage-Smith (Murray)
State Finance	R. J. Mitchell (Pitman)
The Treasury	Sir T. L. Heath (Putnam)

Imperial Government

The British Commonwealth of Nations	A. B. Keith (British Council)
The British Empire	B. Williams (Thornton Butterworth)
The Expansion of England	Sir J. R. Seeley (Macmillan)
The Government of the British Empire	E. Jenks (Murray)
Peoples and Problems of India	Sir T. W. Holderness (Thornton Butterworth)

The Citizen and the Law

Citizenship	Sir W. H. Hadow (Clarendon Press)
Constructive Citizenship	L. P. Jacks (Hodder & Stoughton)
Law and Orders	C. K. Allen (Stevens)
Law of the Constitution	A. V. Dicey (Macmillan)
The New Despotism	Lord Hewart (Benn)

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