

# **TORY DEMOCRACY**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649288175

Tory democracy by J. M. Kennedy

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**J. M. KENNEDY**

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J. M. KENNEDY

AUTHOR OF "THE QUINTESSENCE OF NIETZSCHE,"  
"RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES OF THE EAST," ETC.

"We had to prepare the mind of the country, and to educate—if it be not arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party. It is a large party, and requires its attention to be called to questions of this kind with some pressure."—DISRAELI, *Speech at the Edinburgh Corn Exchange, October 29, 1867.*



LONDON  
STEPHEN SWIFT & CO., LTD.  
10 JOHN STREET, ADELPHI  
1911

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## PREFACE

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THIS is a book for Tories. It is incidentally a criticism of Liberalism, Socialism, and Radicalism, and of the sentimentality which usually accompanies these isms. But I have aimed at making it more than anything else an accurate exposition of what the real policy of Conservatism is, and what it should be. The speeches of Conservative leaders in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, the writings of the leader writers in most of the Conservative papers, make it quite clear that the party as a whole is muddled in regard to the essentials of its philosophical basis. It does not know the meaning of representative government. It does not know where its real strength lies; it does not sufficiently distinguish between the influence of land and the influence of capital. It does not see that its supporters are to be found among the working classes rather than among the middle classes. It does not attach sufficient importance

to new ideas or new political principles. It has no positive policy. It is an amiable, good-natured, wealthy, dull, stupid party.

I have endeavoured to show, with the aid of the influential supporters mentioned in the notes and elsewhere, what the importance of ideas really is. I have actually shown what representative government means as compared with government by delegates. And I have particularly laid stress upon a Tory policy of social reform, and shown what initial steps must be taken before such a reform is brought about.

Shall I hear complaints because, being a Conservative, I have ventured to criticise the Conservative Caucus and the Conservative leaders generally? It is possible; but it must be admitted that the Conservative leaders deserve severe criticism, with the exception, in some instances, of Mr Balfour. A party which was blind to the effects of the Insurance Bill, for example, and the causes underlying the recent strikes, is almost beyond redemption. The Conservative leaders, whatever their private opinions may be, can only be judged on the merits of their published utterances or writings, and these are not, as a rule, such as to inspire confidence in the knowledge they possess of the problems now confronting English statesmen. This book is an



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attempt to put forward some of these problems precisely, and to give a few hints towards their ultimate solution.

I hope I may have done some little service to the Conservative party in pointing out that there is a fundamental, and not merely a superficial, distinction between Conservatism and Liberalism. Contrary to what appears to be the general Conservative belief, there can be no party policy without a philosophic basis of some sort; and the philosophic bases of Liberalism and Conservatism differ entirely. The distinction between classicism and romanticism in literature is no greater than the difference between Liberalism and Conservatism in politics—the distinction, indeed, arises from the same causes and leads to the same results.

Another matter on which I have thought it worth while to lay some emphasis is the new anti-socialist movement in continental thought: not merely Nietzsche's criticisms on Democracy and Socialism from the standpoint of a higher morality; but the general philosophic movement against the totally erroneous principle of the equality of man. This, of course, necessarily involves the censure of some favourite Liberal doctrines: internationalisation, the equality of races, and so on.

In short, so far as politics is at present concerned, there would appear to be very little difference between the programme of the Liberals and the programme of the Conservatives. The main differences are in regard to questions like the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Home Rule for Ireland, and education. But, compared with the grave economic and sociological problems necessarily engendered by the new movement in labour circles, these questions are trifling. Economic reform is everything. For the economic riddles of our time the Liberal offers a solution which, in my opinion, tends to degrade the workman and to pave the way for a violent series of labour explosions later on. Up to the present, these Liberal proposals have met with the approval, in principle, of the Conservatives. Tariff Reform alone will not solve the question; it can only help to solve it partially. I offer a much bolder, but, I believe, eminently practicable solution. A new school of economics is arising—not Liberal, not Socialistic, but a Tory democratic school—and it is for the Conservative party to take advantage of it.

J. M. KENNEDY.

LONDON, *Sept.* 1911.

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