



LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

[1909]

(Cohen A27) (Woods A15)

That a young, radical Churchill was once held the scourge of the British Establishment and a traitor to his class is largely forgotten by those who think of him only in the modern or at least the World War II context. Yet by 1909, when this third book of his speeches was published, Churchill was an ardent reformer, the bane of Torydom, Lloyd George's chief lieutenant and ally among the Young Turks of the Liberal Party in their assault on the privileges of the House of Lords, their championing of the earliest forms of welfare legislation, and their campaign for Home Rule in Ireland.

"My father was a Manchester Liberal," said Alistair Cooke, recalling this period for The Churchill Centre in 1988. "He had been a young man during what he always said were Winston's great years, from 1904 to 1910, during the memorable Liberal Parliament, when the two great radicals, Lloyd George and Churchill, embarked on the reform of British society. This strange alliance—the poor country boy and the aristocrat—abolished sweatshops and gave the miners an eight hour day. They set up the labour exchanges that led to unemployment insurance. In fact, what Roosevelt later called the 'New Deal' was really started in Germany by Bismarck, where Lloyd George sent a colleague to study Bismarck's system. To Americans it is Franklin Roosevelt, inventor of memorable phrases, who has gone down as the man who invented the New Deal." But FDR was years behind Bismarck, Lloyd George and Churchill.

In *Liberalism and the Social Problem* we part company with the light-hearted, contemplative mood of *My African Journey* and turn to more serious business. There was also one other important watershed in the period between these two books: on 12 September 1908, Churchill married Clementine Hozier, and *Liberalism and the Social Problem* is dedicated "To My Wife." The dedication was politically as well as romantically apt, since Clementine was a lifelong Liberal, who never quite trusted the Conservatives, even after Churchill had returned to them as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1924. It was she who urged her husband not to accept the Tory Leadership after Neville Chamberlain's fatal illness in late 1940, and she again who urged Winston to give up politics in 1945 and remain the national figure he had become. Though his wife's advice was often very important and heeded, in these instances Churchill ignored her.

The Foreword is by Henry William Massingham (1860-1924), who espoused many of Churchill's positions on handling the Boers in South Africa and was editor of *The Nation* from 1907 through 1923.

-Richard M. Langworth

From the Reviews

"This grandson of a duke having fulfilled a longstanding wish by crossing the floor to become a "'radical' or modern Liberal, questions of tariffs and economics then blossomed into the larger social issue which preoccupied Churchill for four crowded years. *Liberalism and the Social Problem* addresses itself to three important topics of the time: the speeches of 1906-08 deal mainly with the settlement in South Africa and the vindication of free trade; those of 1908-09 project various social reforms and attack the Conservatives, the rich vested interests, and the land speculators; the last group of speeches defends Lloyd George's radical 'People's Budget' of 1909 and assails the House of Lords in the constitutional crisis between the two houses which the budget caused...

"If [*Mr. Brodrick's Army* and *For Free Trade*] contain interesting, lucid, clearly structured, sometimes brilliant orations on somewhat dated topics, *Liberalism* is a broad-ranging survey of modern social problems; the issues it discusses are still being fought out today. Its imagery, fervor, rhetoric, variety, compassion, and wit and its careful delineation of the course between the Scylla of Tory reaction and Charybdis of socialism make it a classic exposition of the pragmatic political basis for the Liberal or progressive Conservative outlook...."

-Manfred Weidhorn
in

Sword and Pen: A Survey of the Writings of Sir Winston Churchill, Albuquerque:
University of New Mexico Press, 1974

Comments

Of interest is the title page, where the author's name, WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL, represents the last use of the full SPENCER (now unhyphenated) in first editions of Churchill's works.

Appraisal

Liberalism and the Social Problem ranks among the most important Churchill speech volumes. Unfortunately, the first edition is exceedingly rare and, while most Churchill firsts have come down in price over the last five years, scarcity is maintaining *Liberalism* prices at a high level. As to jacketed copies, the only complete one known to exist was bought in London in 1985 for £100, resold in 1990 for \$3500, and is today worth at least six times that much.

-EDITIONS-

[LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM]
First Edition: Cohen A27.1.a / ICS A15a

Publisher: Hodder & Stoughton, London 1909

Burgundy cloth. The top board bears the gilt signature "Winston S. Churchill." The spine bears the title, byline ("THE RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL M.P.") and publisher's name. 8vo, 438 pages numbered (i)-xxiv and (1)-414. Introduction by Hugh Massingham. The verso of the half-title contains a boxed advert for *My African Journey*. Endpapers are white. Published at 3 shillings sixpence.

Quantities and Impressions

Woods states that a single impression of 5000 copies was published on 26 December 1909. However, he fails to mention a second impression which followed in 1910 (see below). Woods is also inaccurate in describing a misdated speech on page 277 as "May 3, 1903"—on every copy we have seen, this speech is dated (also incorrectly) "May 4, 1909." The actual date of this speech was May 3, 1909, and the "correction" made in the second impression was, as noted below, also incorrect.

Dust Jackets and Variants

Printed grey on thin white paper, the rarely seen dust jacket bears a Russell & Sons boxed photo of the author (same as on *The People's Rights*, less snugly cropped), title and byline on the cover and the title, author's name, publisher and "3/6 net" on the spine. All type is dropped out white. The flaps and back face are blank.

There are no variations although Ronald Cohen reports a publisher's "Advance Copy" so designated in blind on the top board.

[LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM]
Second Impression: Cohen A27.1.b / ICS A15b,

Publisher: Hodder & Stoughton, London 1909

Unmentioned by Woods, this is identical in appearance to the First Edition, with the following exceptions: 1) The title page contains the words "SECOND EDITION" about 1 1/4" below the author's name but retains the MCMIX date, even though it seems unlikely that this impression could have been off the press in 1909. 2) The date of the speech on page 277 has been corrected to read "May 4, 1903." Unfortunately, they had it wrong again—the correct date was 3 May 1909. Nevertheless, this and the title page make identification of the second impression easy. Despite its title page proclamation, this volume is recognized by Ronald Cohen as a second printing, not a second edition, since it involves no resetting of plates.

The Second Impression is quite a bit less common than the First, although when it is offered, prices are more modest, averaging about half or less than First Editions in comparable condition.

**[LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM]
First American Issue: Cohen A27.2 / ICS A15c**

Publisher: Hodder & Stoughton, New York 1910

Burgundy cloth without the gilt cover signature; the spine author's name is a plain "WINSTON S. CHURCHILL." Woods (page 44) states that this issue was published at \$1.50 on 5 February 1910 by "Doubleday, Doran." The publisher's name is an error, since Doubleday and Doran were not partners until almost two decades later and the book is plainly published by Hodder & Stoughton's American office. Though Hodder & Stoughton were minor shareholders in the George Doran company (his imprint appeared on the third state of the American *My African Journey*), Doran had no involvement with *Liberalism and the Social Problem*, nor did he publish any other Churchill titles, although his connection with Hodder & Stoughton lasted sixteen years. The American Issue apparently uses sheets from, or was pressed from, plates of the English First Edition, since page 277 contains the original date error (see above) and American issues carry that same advert for *My African Journey* (priced at 5 shillings) as the English.

Appraisal:

Thanks to America's drier climate this volume tends to hold up better than its English counterparts; one rarely encounters spotted pages or boards. The most common fault is rub marks at the corners of spine extremities. Though much scarcer than the English First, the American Issue commands a lower price because it is not a true First Edition. This volume is prized by collectors who like to have the First Editions from each of Churchill's "motherlands."

[LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM]
Second American Issue: Cohen A27.3 / ICS A15d

Publisher: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., New York 1973

Unnoted by Woods, this modern offprint from the Second English Issue bears the same distinguishing characteristics of the latter but is about 1" taller and 1/2" wider, and differently bound: rust brown cloth blocked black on the spine, or grey cloth blocked gilt for a second impression or remainder binding published in 1985. In each case the title (on two lines) and author's name (WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL) read horizontally down the spine; the house logo and publisher's imprint appear vertically at the spine bottom. There were no dust jackets.

While in print, Haskell House issues were budget alternatives to the early editions, but scarcity has forced their prices up sharply lately.

[LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM]
Combined Issue from the "Collected Works"

Collectors should be aware of this product of leftover sheets from Volume VII of the Library of Imperial History's 1974-75. This work is entitled (cover and title page): MR | BRODRICK'S | ARMY AND OTHER EARLY SPEECHES | FOR FREE TRADE | LIBERALISM AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM | THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS | INDIA. The spine reads, somewhat misleadingly, FIVE EARLY SPEECHES with the author's name WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Later bindings may read simply EARLY SPEECHES. The text of all five works is entirely reset and the pages (516 plus introductory matter) are numbered consecutively.

TERMINOLOGY

This guide follows John Carter's *ABC for Book Collectors* commonly used terms:

Edition: "All copies of a book printed at any time or times from one setting-up of type without substantial change, including copies printed from stereotype, electrotype [we must now add 'computer scanning'] or similar plates made from that setting of type."

Impression: "The whole number of copies of that edition printed at *one* time, i.e., without the type or plates being removed from the press." A particular conundrum was posed by the discovery that the stated third impression of the Colonial *Malakand Field Force* (pressed November 1898) carried the same extensive textual corrections of the Silver Library Edition (pressed at the same time—indeed both these books used the same sheets). How then to classify the third Colonial? It is clearly not a new impression. Our solution was to make it part of a new entry, not cited by Woods, the "Second Edition," along with the Silver Library Edition.

State: "When alterations, corrections, additions or excisions are effected in a book during the process of manufacture, so that copies exhibiting variations go on sale on publication day indiscriminately, these variant copies are conveniently classified as belonging to different states of the edition." Example: the two states of the first English *My Early Life*.

Issue: "An exception [to the above] is the regular use of issue for variant title pages, usually in respect of the publisher's imprint...[also] when similar variations can be clearly shown to have originated in some action taken after the book was published, two [or more] *issues* are distinguished." Example: the two issues of *The People's Rights*, one with an index and appendix, the other with two appendices and no index.

We occasionally sidestep Carter's strict definitions for clarity. With *Savrola*, for example, Woods states that the first English "edition" was produced from a set of electroplates made up in Boston, a duplicate set to the First American Edition. The English "edition" might therefore be called an "issue," but we do not do so because no one else does, including Woods, and because this book is quite distinct in appearance.

Offprints: Carter defines this as "a separate printing of a section of a larger publication," which is not exactly how modern publishers use it. To us an offprint is a reprint, sometimes reduced but sometimes same-size, of *all* the pages of an earlier printing (for example the five Canadian offprints of American war speech volumes from *The Unrelenting Struggle through Victory*. In earlier years offprinting was accomplished by using plates from the original (like the Canadian issue of *My African Journey*) or by reproducing the type on negatives (like the Australian issue of *Secret Session Speeches*) In the latter case, the offprint usually exhibits heavy looking type, not as finely printed as the original. Offprints are not usually considered separate editions, but a contretemps arises with modern reprints of long out-of-print works made by photo-reproduction.

Proof copies: From *The World Crisis* on, proof copies bound in paper wrappers are occasionally encountered. This is a task best left to the bibliographer, except to say that in general they tend to lack illustrations, maps and plans that appear in the published volumes. Although not widely collected, proofs do usually command high prices when they are offered for sale.

Dust Jackets = Dust Wrappers: We generally use the term "dust jacket" to refer to what English bibliophiles usually call a "dust wrapper." The two terms are interchangeable, though words that describe the *parts* of the dust jacket, aside from "spine," are common to both countries. These are as follows: *Flap:* The parts of the jacket that fold in around the edge of the boards, front and rear. *Face:* The front or back panel of the jacket that you see with the book lying flat in front of you.

SIZE

Books vary—especially old books—and one finds variations between identical editions. Except where distinct size differences help identify various editions or impressions of the same title, one from another, this guide describes books by the traditional cataloguer's terms:

Folio (Fo.): Very large format, now commonly known as "coffee table" size; among Churchill folio works is the Time-Life two-volume *Second World War*, measuring 14 x 12 inches (365 x 305mm) which deserves this description.

Quarto (4to): Normally lying between folio and octavo in size, though varying considerably in this respect. A telephone directory is quarto; but so is *The Island Race*, A138(c), which measures 12 1/4 x 9 3/4 inches (310 x 248mm), although Woods calls it "octavo" and says it measures 12 x 9 1/2! Other quarto volumes are the Danish and Norwegian translations of *The Great War*, which measure 8 1/2 x 11 1/2."

Octavo (8vo): The commonest size of book since the early 17th century. A large (demy) octavo is about the size of *Frontiers and Wars*, A142/1, which measures 9 1/2 x 6 3/8 inches (232 x 162mm). A small (crown) octavo is about the size of the English *Young Winston's Wars*, A143(a), which measures 8 3/4 x 5 5/8 inches (222 x 143mm), although Woods calls it "16mo" and says it measures 8 1/2 x 5 1/2! (You see the problem...)

Duodecimo (12mo, commonly called "twelvemo"): A bit smaller than 8vo but taller than 16mo: the size of a conventional paperback, say 6 7/8 x 4 1/4 inches (175 x 107mm).

Sextodecimo (16mo, usually pronounced "sixteenmo"): The smallest size of book covered herein, shorter but perhaps wider than a paperback, for example the 1915 edition of *Savrola*, which measures 6 5/8 x 4 1/2 inches (168 x 114mm).

My only other reference to size will be when an obvious difference can be ascertained between related editions or issues: I thought it useful to mention, for example, that the first edition *Malakand* bulks about 1 1/2 inches, while the first Colonial issue bulks only about 1 1/4 inches; or that there's about a half inch difference between the first impression Macmillan *Aftermath* and the later impressions. Even here, the key word is "about," since old books swell or shrink depending on storage conditions, and many were not uniform to begin with.

FOREIGN TRANSLATIONS

Collectors of editions in foreign languages are enjoying a little-known but rewarding branch of Churchill bibliophilia, not the least for the sometimes magnificent bindings of these works (leading examples: the Monaco edition of *Savrola*, Scandinavian editions of *The Great War* and the Belgian French edition of *The Second World War*). Foreign translations also often differ importantly from the English editions, depending on what Churchill wished to emphasize or de-emphasize. For example, Sir Martin Gilbert's official biography records that the Dutch, through Churchill's foreign language impresario Emery Reves, were offended by no mention in *The Grand Alliance* of the activities of Dutch submarines in the Allied cause. Churchill replied that he would make no alteration in his English text but had no objection to an amplifying footnote on this subject in the Dutch edition, which was duly entered. (*Winston S. Churchill*, Vol. VIII, "Never Despair," London: Heinemann 1988 page 549). While we have not gone into great descriptive detail, we have indicated the broad reach of Churchill's foreign translations.

MAJOR WORKS CITED

Three works are commonly referred to in this guide:

Woods is shorthand for *A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill, KG, OM, CH* by the late Frederick Woods, the Second Revised Edition, second issue (Godalming, Surrey: St. Paul's Bibliographies 1975). The late Mr. Woods recognized that his work badly needed updating, and was beginning work on the update before his untimely death in 1994.

Frederick Woods, the pioneer bibliographer of Sir Winston, published his first edition in 1963, astonishing not only bibliophiles but also the Churchill family with the number of items he uncovered. Dissatisfaction with the completeness and accuracy of his work was inevitable as time passed, and Fred, to whom many of us passed our corrections and suggestions, characteristically recognized this. He was hoping to rectify the situation before his death. He can truly be said to have inspired everyone who has researched or seriously collected the works of Churchill.

Cohen is the new Ronald Cohen Bibliography, published by Continuum, a product of more than twenty-five years' labour by the author, aided and abetted by scores of bibliophiles and, through the pages of *Finest Hour*, journal of The Churchill Centre.

Both Frederick Woods, before he died, and Ronald Cohen kindly gave permission to quote their bibliographic numbers here as a cross reference.

ICS refers to a publication of the International Churchill Societies, *Churchill Bibliographic Data*, Part 1 ("Works by Churchill"). Pending release of the update, which he did not succeed in publishing, Mr. Woods also permitted the International Churchill Society to publish an "Amplified list" based on his numbers, but with more detailed sub-designations to pinpoint the various editions and issues. For example, *The World Crisis* has assigned three "Woods" numbers: A31(a) through A31(c). The ICS "Amplified Woods list" runs from A31a through A31k (in order to distinguish certain deservedly distinct editions and issues. Except for deleting the parentheses, in no case did ICS alter any basic Woods numbers. For example, even *Blenheim*, which undeservedly holds Woods number A40(c)—it is only an excerpt, and probably should not be among the "A" titles at all—is retained by ICS. Thus, "ICS" numbers are merely an extension of Woods numbers.

END