



THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

[1910]

(Cohen A29) (Woods A16)

The People's Rights is part of a trilogy encompassing Winston Churchill and David Lloyd George's campaign for their Liberal Party agenda in the general election of 1910; the other two volumes being Lloyd George's *The People's Insurance* and *The People's Budget*. One wonders if the gentlemen who then ran Hodder & Stoughton, their publishers, were, like Churchill, considered "traitors to their class" and ostracized from all the proper clubs and watering holes. Hodder & Stoughton which had earlier published a cheap edition of *Savrola*, dished out vast quantities of *The People's Rights/Budget/Insurance*, peddling paperback versions for a mere shilling (25¢). In the event, the books did not do Liberalism's "Terrible Twins" much good. Though Churchill and Lloyd George were each handily reelected, their party lost its thumping majority, and was never able to dominate affairs as it had between 1904 and 1910.

"If you were an English Liberal," pointed out Alistair Cooke in a 1988 speech to The Churchill Centre, "1904 through 1910 were very stirring years. Here on the one hand you had the crackling, sarcastic, brilliant Lloyd George; and on the other the witty, devastating Churchill, following each other like a great vaudeville team up and down the country. Churchill at one point even spent a week on the road begging—pleading—for the abolition of the House of Lords: 'This second chamber as it is, one-sided, hereditary, unpurged, unrepresentative, irresponsible, absentee.' (It is still there, though shorn of all power.)"

-Richard M. Langworth

From the Reviews

"Less than a week after publication of *Liberalism and the Social Problem*, Prime Minister Asquith dissolved Parliament following rejection of the Liberal Government's budget by the Conservative-dominated House of Lords. Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, immediately hit the campaign trail with a series of stirring speeches, given during the period 3-11 December 1909. *The People's Rights* is a distillation of these nine days of speeches. Quite unlike his other writings, it follows a textbook or outline form: six chapters, broken down into short paragraphs, headlined in bold face by a statement or rhetorical question. Although this format is effective, it was probably used for speed: a letter to Churchill by the chairman of Hodder & Stoughton, written 16 December, indicates that the printers had already received the text and had suggested deletions of repetitious matter!

"The book opens with Churchill's famous criticism of the House of Lords and continues with a plea for a balanced budget. (His arguments are not unfamiliar.) The cases for Free Trade, a graduated income tax, luxury tax and surtaxes on unearned income, also familiar topics today, are also deftly argued. Churchill shows a paternalistic but genuine concern for improving the lot of the working classes, but remains clear that this must be accomplished under Parliamentary systems (excluding the House of Lords). Socialism is mentioned only once, and abruptly dismissed; trade unions and labour are not mentioned at all. Clearly he felt that a government-operated system of 'labour exchanges' along with the Liberal programmes being advocated, would adequately improve the lot of the masses without more radical reforms.

"The result of the political campaign was a two-seat majority for the Liberals, whose budget was passed by the House (with the help of Labour and the Irish Nationalists) in April 1910. The Lords, who had been threatened with the promotion of enough Liberal peers to carry the budget, assented. The Parliament Act, reducing the power of the Lords, and the National Insurance Act, were passed a year later. Despite these victories the seeds of discontent had been sown. The long descent of the Liberal Party coupled with the rise of the Labour Party had begun. *The People's Rights* remains as evidence of Churchill's contribution in this great turning point in British history."

-John P. Nixon, Jr. in *Finest Hour* #56, Summer 1987

COMMENTS

The People's Rights is the third rarest Churchill book after *Mr. Brodrick's Army* and *For Free Trade*. The extreme scarcity is owed to the fact that this was in essence a political pamphlet, dealing with issues that were mostly soon passé, and most copies were discarded. Indeed most lists of Churchill's works in his later books omit any mention of *The People's Rights*.

Of all Churchill first editions, this is the one most in need of deacidification. Both hardbound and wrapper copies were printed on cheap, pulpy, acidic paper which is fast deteriorating, and the pages are somewhat browned even on the best of copies. The worst are becoming brittle and are starting to crack and dissolve.

Appraisal

As a result of this combined scarcity and fragility, prices are formidable. Brilliant hardbound copies (which are not unknown) have sold recently for five figure prices, while near-fine wrapper copies are very desirable.

-EDITIONS-

[THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS]
First Edition, First State: Cohen A29.1.a / ICS A16aa

Publisher: Hodder & Stoughton, London 1910

Hardbound: Burgundy cloth blocked gilt with title and author's name on front cover and spine, and publisher's imprint on spine bottom. Softbound: Yellow-orange paper printed black and green with halftone photo of the author on the cover and the same imprints on the spine plus the price ("1/- NET"). Inside front wrapper bears a boxed advert for other political works by Dr. T. J. Macnamara and Churchill. Both versions 16mo, 160 pages numbered (i-viii) and 1-152. Pages 149-52 contain an index.

Quantities and Impressions

Woods states that 5000 copies were published "on the week ending 14 January 1910, price 1s" (presumably the price refers to the wrapper copy). There were no subsequent impressions although there was a second state (see below) which may increase the actual quantity produced.

Dust Jackets and Variants

No dust jackets to the hardbound version have been observed. Ronald Cohen conjectures that its jacket was simply unprinted glassine.

Several variants of the wrapper copy are known in which Hodder & Stoughton's imprint at the bottom of the front wrap is reduced to small type and the space gained occupied by the imprints of various newspapers, including but not necessarily limited to *The Daily News* (London and Manchester), *The Yorkshire Observer* and *The Liverpool Post and Mercury*. *The Daily News* and *The Yorkshire Observer*, at least, carry their names in their distinct title script. The latter is called *The Yorkshire Observer* EDITION, but this word is absent on *The Daily News* version.

Comments

Woods' description of the hardbound copy ("cherry-red cloth, flecked with pink") is erroneous; he must have inspected a worn or faded copy, which can appear this way. Woods is also incorrect in his description of page [viii], which actually acknowledges *The Liverpool Post and Mercury* and *The Bolton Journal*

and *Guardian*, as well as *The Manchester Guardian*, for granting permission to print extracts. The Bolton paper may also be one of those to place its imprint on certain wrapper copies (see variants above).

The two Lloyd George companion works, *The People's Budget* and *The People's Insurance*, were bound of the same material; softbound versions of *The People's Budget* were printed red and black on the same orange-yellow paper. We have not examined a softbound *People's Insurance*.

[THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS]
First Edition, Second State: Cohen A29.1.b / ICS A16ab

Publisher: Hodder & Stoughton, London 1910

In this second state (mentioned by Woods, page 45), the index on pages 149-52 is replaced with a second Appendix ("Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance"). This state has never been observed hardbound. Among wrapper copies there is little to choose between the two, and no difference in value, for all 1910 copies are so rare that collectors lacking *The People's Rights* rarely hesitate when they find, and can afford, a copy. Those who can afford two own one of each: a better investment than mutual funds.

[THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS]
Second Edition: Cohen A29.2 / ICS A16ba

Publisher: Jonathan Cape, London 1970

The answer to the needs of most collectors who are shocked by the prices of First Editions, this handsomely produced hardbound edition includes both appendices and the original index, plus a new and good introduction by Cameron Hazlehurst, a research fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford. Entirely reset, it contains 192 pages bound in brown cloth blocked gilt on spine, and a handsome dust jacket printed sepia, red and orange, based on the original wrappers. It is now fairly uncommon.

[THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS]
Second Edition, American Issue: Cohen A29.3 / ICS A16bb

Publisher: Taplinger Publishing Co. Inc., New York 1971

The only edition ever to appear outside England, this is identical to the Cape Edition save for the Taplinger imprints on jacket, spine and title page. It was published on 3 March 1971 at \$6.50, according to a reviewer copy slip. It sells for about the same prices as the Cape Edition.

[THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS]
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 "Collected Works," bound in burgundy cloth blocked gilt on cover and spine aftermarket sellers. 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 deservingly 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