



FOR FREE TRADE

[1906]

(Cohen A17) (Woods A9)

The 1906 General Election was the first in which Churchill fought as a Liberal. He campaigned for Manchester North-West on a single issue, Free Trade, an institution dear to the hearts of the Manchester cotton manufacturers. Although the constituency had long been Tory, Free Trade had opened an opportunity for the Liberals who, unlike the Conservatives, were firmly committed to it. The Tories had split on the issue after their scion, Joseph Chamberlain, introduced his scheme of "Fair Trade," which applied protective tariffs on goods from nations outside the British Empire. This was, of course, anathema to the manufacturing community of Manchester—and to Churchill, who had been brought up in Lord Randolph's house as a firm ally of Cobden and Bright, the Anti-Corn Law movement, and the knocking-down of tariffs in general. In that last great Liberal landslide, Churchill and his party were swept into office with 377 seats. Churchill had to fight the seat again in 1908 when he was appointed to the Cabinet (as was then the custom). This time he narrowly lost. Opponents passed out "Churchill Memory Cards" but they were premature; he was quickly offered and won

Dundee, a seat he would hold for the next fifteen years through the worst upheavals and disasters of his career.

-Richard M. Langworth

From the Reviews

“Churchill objected to Protection as a policy that favored industry and monopoly at the expense of the small manufacturer, the consumer, and the shipping industry. It would cripple British exports, reduce the consumer market at home, raise prices, cause hardship to the poor, restrict enterprise, nurture vested interests, corrupt politicians, make the Empire odious to workers, worsen foreign relations and thereby raise defense spending. Its opposite, Free Trade, is the best foreign policy: it encourages international relations, interdependence and peace. He carried on the fight, as he saw it, against ‘corruption at home, aggression to cover it up abroad,’ against party tyranny, hollow patriotism, financial exploitation of the public interest by the private sector and the financial combines.

“All this sounds like radical rhetoric, and though it is used on behalf of the free play of forces in the capitalist economy, Churchill is not oblivious to the ‘sad conditions’ of the poor. He sets Free Trade as only a ‘negative process,’ a catalyst of progress but not progress itself. To defend Free Trade, an as-yet imperfect Britain must get at deep-seated ills by producing ‘a positive and practical policy of social reform.’ She had to think more ‘about the native toiler at the bottom of the mine and less about the fluctuations of the share market,’ to ‘consider the condition of a slum in an English city’ to be as important as a ‘jungle in Somaliland.’

“How right Churchill is in these speeches is a question best left to economists and is in any case dependent on the political philosophy of the reader. What should be noted is, once again, the masterly rhetoric, the excitement that these speeches on a dead issue can still generate. ‘Dead issue?’ The particular context is of interest only to historians, but the principles at stake are still around, albeit in reverse political order...In another land and a later time, *For Free Trade* is not without its relevance.”

—Manfred Weidhorn in the Preface to the American Edition, 1977

Comments

Next to *Mr. Brodrick's Army*, this is the rarest Churchill title. In his Publisher's Note to the First American Edition, Dalton Newfield suggests that hardly more than a dozen copies of this volume exist.

Note: It is speculated that *For Free Trade* was a vanity press project done up at Churchill's expense by Humphreys, who was responsible for other such works, accounting for its scarcity. (see Glenn Horowitz in "Woods Corner," *Finest Hour* #70, First Quarter 1991.)

Appraisal

Copies have lately changed hands for five-figure prices.

-EDITIONS-

[FOR FREE TRADE]
First Edition: Cohen A17.1 / ICS A9a

Publisher: Arthur L. Humphreys, London 1906

Bound in red card wrappers with title, author's name, publisher, date and price printed black and centered on front face; verso of front face and rear wrapper blank. 8vo, 136 pages numbered (i)-(xvi) and 1-119 (1). Published at 1 shilling (25c). No variations reported. Notably, the back wrapper advertises *Mr. Brodrick's Army* (1903), which could not have sold too well even considering the small press run. Contrary to Woods, the typeface is 14-point, not 12-point Bodoni.

[FOR FREE TRADE]
American Edition: Cohen A17.2 / ICS A9b

Publisher: The Churchilliana Company, Sacramento 1977

Hardbound, stamped gilt with title, author's name and publisher's logo on both cover and spine. Preceding the actual facsimile are front matter, illustration (WSC addressing the Commons in 1906), a preface by Manfred Weidhorn and a publisher's note by Dalton Newfield. This edition is reproduced photographically from a First Edition. The original text is sandwiched between replica red wrappers, black printed on front face. Endpapers take the form of Churchill's entry in *Who Was Who 1961-1970*. Published in a half-brown cloth and half-cream buckram "collector's binding" at \$22.50 and a full brown cloth "library binding" at \$18.50. An outstanding service to the student, scholar, bibliophile and collector which continues to honor the memory of its late publisher. Not in Woods.

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