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## Leo pp. XIII.

TO ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD, IN THE GRACE AND COMMUNION OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE,

*Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction:*

That imperishable work of a merciful God, the Church, though she looks essentially, and from the very nature of her being, to the salvation of souls and the winning for them of happiness in heaven, nevertheless she also secures even in the mere order of perishable things advantages so many and so great that she could not do more even if she had been founded primarily and specially to secure prosperity in this life which is spent upon earth.

In truth wherever the Church has set her foot she has at once changed the aspect of affairs, coloured the manners of the people as with new virtues so also with a refinement unknown before: and all nations who have received her have been distinguished for their gentleness, their justice, and the glory of their deeds. But it is an old and time-worn accusation that the Church is incompatible with the welfare of the commonwealth, and incapable of contributing to those things, whether useful or ornamental, which every well constituted State rightly and naturally desires. We know that on this ground, in the very beginnings of the Church, Christians, from the same perversity of view, were persecuted and constantly held up to hatred and contempt, so that they were styled the enemies of the Empire. And at that time it was generally popular to attribute to Christianity the responsibility for the evils with which the State was stricken, when in reality God, the avenger of crimes, was requiring a just punishment from the guilty. The wickedness of this calumny, not without cause, armed the genius and sharpened the pen of Augustine, who, especially in his *Civitate Det*, set forth so clearly the efficacy of Christian wisdom and the way in which it is bound up with the well-being of States, that he seems not only to have pleaded the cause of the Christians of his own time, but to have triumphantly refuted these false charges for ever.

But this unhappy inclination to charges and false accusations was not laid to rest, and many have thought well to seek a system of civil life apart from the doctrines which the Church approves. And now in these last times "*The new Law*" as they call it, has begun to prevail, which they describe as the outcome of a world now fully developed, and born of a growing liberty. But although many hazardous schemes have been propounded by many, it is clear that never has any better method been found for establishing and ruling the State than that which is the natural result of the teaching of the Gospel. We deem it therefore of the greatest moment, and especially suitable to Our apostolic office, to compare the new opinions concerning the State with Christian doctrine, by which method We trust that, truth being thus presented, the causes of error and doubt will be removed, so that every man may easily discern those supreme commandments of conduct which he ought to follow and obey.

It is not a very difficult matter to set forth what form and appearance the State would have if Christian philosophy governed the commonwealth. Man has a natural instinct for civil society, for since he cannot attain in solitude the necessary means of civilised life, it is a Divine provision that he comes into existence adapted for taking part in that union and assembling of men, both in the Family and in the State, which alone can supply adequate facilities for the perfecting of life. But since no society can hold together unless some person is over all, impelling individuals by effectual and similar motives to pursue the common end, it results that an authority to rule is indispensable to a civilised community, which authority, no less than society itself, is based upon nature, and therefore has God Himself for its author.

And thence it follows that by its very nature there can be no public power except from God alone. For God alone is the most true and supreme Lord of the world to Whom all things whatsoever must necessarily be subservient and obey, so that whoever possesses the right of governing, can receive it from no other source than

from that Supreme Governor of all, God. "*There is no power except from God*" (Rom. xiii., 1). But the right of ruling is not necessarily conjoined with any special form of commonwealth, but may rightly assume this or that form, provided that it really promotes utility and the common good. But whatever be the kind of commonwealth, rulers ought to keep in view God, the Supreme Governor of the world, and to set Him before themselves as an example and a law in the administration of the State. For as God, in things which are and which are seen, has produced secondary causes, wherein the Divine nature and course of action can be perceived, and which conduce to that end to which the universe is directed, so He has willed that in civil society there should be a governing power, and that they who hold it should bear a certain resemblance to the power and providence of God over the human race. The rule of the government, therefore, should be just, and not that of a master but rather that of a father, because the power of God over men is most just and allied with a father's good-ness. Moreover, it is to be carried on with a view to the advantage of the citizens, because they who are over others are over them for this cause alone, that they may see to the interests of the State. And in no way is it to be allowed that the civil authority should be subservient merely to the advantage of one or of a few, since it was established for the common good of all. But if they who are over the State should lapse into unjust rule; if they should err through arrogance or pride; if their measures should be injurious to the people, let them know that hereafter an account must be rendered to God, and that with a strictness proportioned to the sacredness of their office or the eminence of their dignity, "*The mighty shall be mightily tormented*" (Wisd. vi., 7).

Thus truly the majesty of rule will be attended with an honourable and willing regard on the part of the citizens; for when once they are assured that they who rule are strong only with the authority given by God, they will feel that it is their just and proper duty to be obedient to their rulers, and pay to them respect and fidelity with somewhat of the same affection as that of children to their parents. "*Let every soul be subject to higher powers*" (Rom. xiii., 1).

For to contemn lawful authority, in whatever person it is vested, is as unlawful as it is to resist the Divine will; and whoever resists that, rushes voluntarily to his destruction. "*He who resists the power, resists the ordinance of God; and they who resist purchase to themselves damnation*" (Rom. xiii., 2). Wherefore to cast away obedience, and by popular violence to incite to sedition, is treason, not only against man, but against God.

It is clear that a State constituted on this basis is altogether bound to satisfy, by the public profession of religion, the very many and great duties which bring it into relation with God. Nature, and reason which commands every man individually to serve God holily and religiously, because we belong to Him and coming from Him must return to Him, binds by the same law the civil community. For men living together in society are no less under the power of God than are individuals; and society owes as much gratitude as individuals do to God, Who is its author, its preserver, and the beneficent source of the innumerable blessings which it has received. And therefore as it is not lawful for anybody to neglect his duties towards God, and as it is the first duty to embrace Religion in mind and in conduct—and that not the one that each may prefer, but that which God has enjoined, which He has proved to be the only true one by certain and indubitable evidence—in the same manner States cannot, without crime, act as though God did not exist, or cast off the care of religion as alien to them or useless, or out of several kinds of religion adopt indifferently which they please; but they are absolutely bound, in the worship of the Deity, to adopt that use and manner in which God Himself has shown that He wills to be adored. Therefore among rulers the name of God must be holy, and it must be reckoned among the first of their duties to favour religion, protect it, and cover it with the authority of the laws, and not to institute or decree anything which is incompatible with its security. They owe this also to the citizens over whom they rule. For all of us men are born and brought up for a certain supreme and final good in heaven, beyond this frail and short life, and to this end every aim is to be referred. And because upon it depends the full and perfect happiness of men, therefore, to attain this end which has been mentioned, is of as much interest as is conceivable to every individual man. Civil society, therefore, which came into existence only for the common good, must, in its defence of the State's well-being, so consult the good of its citizens as not only to offer no hindrance but to afford every possible assistance to them in the winning and gaining of that chief good which they naturally desire, and for which nothing can be taken in exchange. The chief assistance is, that attention should be paid to the holy and inviolate preservation of religion, by the duties of which man is united to God.

Now which is the true religion may be easily discovered by any one who will view the matter with a careful and unbiassed judgment; for there are proofs of great number and splendour, as, for example, the truth of prophecy, the abundance of miracles, the extremely rapid spread of the faith, even in the midst of its enemies and in spite of the greatest hindrances, the testimony of the martyrs, and the like, from which it is evident that that is the only true religion which Jesus Christ instituted Himself and then entrusted to His Church to defend and to spread.

For the only-begotten Son of God set up a society on earth which is called the Church, and to it He transferred that most glorious and divine office, which He had received from His Father, to be perpetuated for ever. "*As the Father hath sent Me, even so I send you*" (John xx., 21). "*Behold I am with you all days even to*

*the consummation of the world*" (Matt, xxviii., 20). Therefore as Jesus Christ came into the world *"that men might have life and have it more abundantly"* (John x., 10), so also the Church has for its aim and end the eternal salvation of souls: and for this cause it is so constituted as to embrace the whole human race without any limit or circumscription either of time or place. *"Preach ye the Gospel to every creature"* (Mark xvi., 15). Over this immense multitude of men God Himself has set rulers with power to govern them; and He has willed that one should be head of them all, and the chief and unerring teacher of truth, and to him He has given the keys of the kingdom of heaven. *"To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven"* (Matt, xvi., 19). *"Feed My lambs, feed My sheep"* (John xxi., 16, 17). *"I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail"* (Luke xxii., 32). This society, though it be composed of men just as civil society is, yet because of the end that it has in view, and the means by which it tends to it, is supernatural and spiritual; and, therefore, is distinguished from civil society and differs from it; and—a fact of the highest moment—is a society perfect in its kind and in its rights, possessing in and by itself, by the will and beneficence of its Founder, all the appliances that are necessary for its preservation and action. Just as the end at which the Church aims is by far the noblest of ends, so its power is the most exalted of all powers, and cannot be held to be either inferior to the civil power or in any way subject to it. In truth Jesus Christ gave His Apostles unfettered commissions over all sacred things, with the power of establishing laws properly so-called, and the double right of judging and punishing which follows from it: *"All power has been given to Me in heaven and on earth; going therefore teach all nations . . . . teaching them to keep whatsoever I have commanded you"* (Matt, xxviii., 18, 19, 20). And in another place He says: *"If he will not hear, tell it to the Church"* (Matt, xviii., 17); and again: *"Ready to punish all disobedience"* (2 Cor. x., 6); and once more: *"I shall act with more severity, according to the powers which our Lord has given me unto edification and not unto destruction"* (2 Cor. xiii., 10). So then it is not the State but the Church that ought to be men's guide to heaven; and it is to her that God has assigned the office of watching and legislating for all that concerns religion, of teaching all nations; of extending, as far as may be, the borders of Christianity; and, in a word, of administering its affairs without let or hindrance according to her own judgment. Now this authority, which pertains absolutely to the Church herself, and is part of her manifest rights, and which has long been opposed by a philosophy subservient to princes, she has never ceased to claim for herself and to exercise publicly; the Apostles themselves being the first of all to maintain it, when, being forbidden by the rulers of the Synagogue to preach the Gospel, they boldly answered, *"We must obey God rather than men"* (Acts v., 29). This same authority the holy Fathers of the Church have been careful to maintain by weighty reasonings as occasions have arisen; and the Roman Pontiffs have never ceased to defend it with inflexible constancy. Nay, more, princes and civil governors themselves have approved it in theory and in fact; for in the making of compacts, in the transaction of business, in sending and receiving embassies, and in the interchange of other offices, it has been their custom to act with the Church as with a supreme and legitimate power. And we may be sure that it is not without the singular providence of God that this power of the Church was defended by the civil power as the best defence of its own liberty.

God, then, has divided the charge of the human race between two powers, viz., the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human things. Each is supreme in its own kind: each has certain limits within which it is restricted, and those limits defined by the nature and proximate cause of each: so that there is, as we may say, a world marked off as a field for the proper action of each. But forasmuch as each has dominion over the same subjects, since it might come to pass that one and the same thing, though in different ways, still one and the same, might pertain to the right and the tribunal of both, therefore God, Who foreseeeth all things, and Who has established both powers, must needs have arranged the course of each in right relation to one another, and in due order, *"For the powers that are are ordained by God"* (Rom. xiii., I). And if this were not so, causes of rivalries and dangerous disputes would be constantly arising; and man would often have to stop in anxiety and doubt, like a traveller with two roads before him, not knowing what he ought to do, with two powers commanding contrary things, whose authority, however, he cannot refuse without neglect of duty. But it would be most repugnant so to think of the wisdom and goodness of God, Who, even in physical things, though they are of a far lower order, has yet so attempered and combined together the forces and causes of nature in an orderly manner and with a sort of wonderful harmony, that none of them is a hindrance to the rest, and all of them most fitly and aptly combine for the great end of the universe. So then there must needs be a certain orderly connection between these two powers, which may not unfairly be compared to the union with which soul and body are united in man. What the nature of that union is, and what its extent, cannot otherwise be determined than, as We have said, by having regard to the nature of each power, and by taking account of the relative excellence and nobility of their ends; for one of them has for its proximate and chief aim the care of the goods of this world, the other the attainment of the goods of heaven that are eternal. Whatsoever, therefore, in human affairs is in any manner sacred; whatsoever pertains to the salvation of souls or the worship of God, whether it be so in its own nature, or on the other hand is held to be so for the sake of the end to which it is referred, all this is in the power and subject to the free disposition of the Church; but all other things which are

embraced in the civil and political order are rightly subject to the civil authority, since Jesus Christ has commanded that what is Caesar's is to be paid to Caesar, and what is God's to God. Sometimes, however, circumstances arise when another method of concord is available for peace and liberty; we mean when princes and the Roman Pontiff come to an understanding concerning any particular matter. In such circumstances the Church gives singular proof of her maternal goodwill, and is accustomed to exhibit the highest possible degree of generosity and indulgence.

Such then, as we have indicated in brief, is the Christian order of civil society; no rash or merely fanciful fiction, but deduced from principles of the highest truth and moment, which are confirmed by the natural reason itself.

Now such a constitution of the State contains nothing that can be thought either unworthy of the majesty of princes or unbecoming; and so far is it from lessening the imperial rights that it rather adds stability and grandeur to them. For, if it be more deeply considered, such a constitution has a great perfection which all others lack, and from it various excellent fruits would accrue if each party would only keep its own place and discharge with integrity that office and work to which it was appointed. For in truth in this constitution of the State, which we have above described, divine and human affairs are properly divided; the rights of citizens are completely defended by divine, natural, and human law; and the limitations of the several offices are at once wisely laid down, and the keeping of them most opportunely secured. All men know that in their doubtful and laborious journey to the everlasting city they have at hand guides to teach them how to set forth helpers whom they may safely follow to show them how to reach their journey's end; and at the same time they know that they have others whose business it is to take care of their security and their fortunes, to obtain for them, or to secure to them, all those other goods which are essential to the life of a community. Domestic society obtains that firmness and solidity which it requires in the sanctity of marriage, one and indissoluble; the rights and duties of husband and wife are ordered with wise justice and equity; the due honour is secured to the woman; the authority of the man is conformed to the example of the authority of God; the authority of the father is tempered as becomes the dignity of the wife and offspring, and the best possible provision is made for the guardianship, the true good, and the education of the children.

In the domain of political and civil affairs the laws aim at the common good, and are not guided by the deceptive wishes and judgments of the multitude, but by truth and justice. The authority of the rulers puts on a certain garb of sanctity greater than what pertains to man, and it is restrained from declining from justice, and passing over just limits in the exercise of power. The obedience of citizens is accompanied by honour and dignity because it is not the servitude of men to men, but obedience to the will of God exercising His sovereignty by means of men. And this being recognised and admitted, it is understood that it is a matter of justice to respect the majesty of rulers, to obey public authority constantly and faithfully, to do nothing seditiously, and to keep the civil order of the State intact. In the same way mutual charity and kindness and liberality become public duties. The man who is at once a citizen and a Christian is no longer the victim of contending parties and incompatible obligations; and, finally, those very abundant good things with which the Christian religion of its own accord fills up even the mortal life of men, are all acquired for the community and civil society, so that it appears to be said with the fullest truth: "The state of the commonwealth depends on the religion with which God is worshipped, and between the one and the other there is a close relation and connection." (*Sacr. Imp. ad Cyrillum Alexandr. et Episcopos metrop.*—*Crf. Labbeum Collect Cone.*, T. iii.) Admirably, according to his wont, did Augustine in many places dilate on the power of those good things, but especially when he addresses the Catholic Church in these words: "Thou trainest and teachest children in childlike wise, the young with vigour, the old with gentleness, according as is not only the age of the body, but also of the mind of each. Women thou subjectest to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience, not for the satisfaction of lust, but for the propagation of offspring and the formation of the family. Thou settest husbands over their spouses, not that they may trifle with the weaker sex, but in accordance with the laws of true affection. Thou subjectest sons to their parents in a kind of free servitude, and settest parents over their sons in a benignant rule. . . . Thou joinest together, not merely in society, but in a kind of fraternity, citizens with citizens, peoples with peoples, and in fact the whole race of men by a remembrance of their parentage. Thou teachest kings to look for the interests of their peoples. Thou admonishest peoples to submit themselves to their kings. With all care thou teachest to whom honour is due, to whom affection, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom consolation, to whom admonition, to whom exhortation, to whom discipline, to whom reproach, to whom punishment, showing how all things are not due to all, yet charity is, and wrong to none." (*De Moribus Eccl. Cath.*, cap. xxx., n. 63). And in another place, speaking in blame of certain political pseudo-philosophers, he observes: "Let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is hurtful to the State produce an army of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ has commanded them to be, such governors of provinces, such husbands, such wives, such parents, such sons, such masters, such slaves, such kings, such judges, and such payers and collectors of taxes due, as the Christian doctrine would have them. And then let them dare to say that such a

state of things is hurtful to the State. Nay, they could not hesitate to confess that this doctrine, if it be obeyed, is a great safety to the State" (*Epist. cxxxviii.*, al. 5, *ad Marcellinum*, cap. ii., 15).

There was once a time when the philosophy of the Gospel governed States; when the power and divine virtue of Christian wisdom had penetrated into the laws, institutions, and manners of peoples—indeed into all the ranks and relations of the State; when the religion instituted by Jesus Christ, firmly established in that degree of dignity which was befitting, flourished everywhere, in the favour of rulers and under the due protection of magistrates; when the priesthood and the government were happily united by concord and a friendly interchange of offices. And the State composed in that fashion produced, in the opinion of all, more excellent fruits, the memory of which still flourishes, and will flourish, attested by innumerable monuments which can neither be destroyed nor obscured by any art of the adversary. If Christian Europe subdued barbarous peoples, and transferred them from a savage to a civilised state, from superstition to the truth; if she victoriously repelled the invasions of the Mohammedans; if civilisation retained the chief power, and accustomed herself to afford others a leader and mistress in everything that adorns humanity; if she has granted to the peoples true and manifold liberty; if she has most wisely established many institutions for the solace of wretchedness, beyond controversy is it very greatly due to religion, under whose auspices such great undertakings were commenced, and with whose aid they were perfected? No doubt the same excellent state of things would have continued, if the agreement of the two powers had continued, and greater things might rightfully have been expected, if men had obeyed the authority, the teaching office, and the counsels of the Church with more fidelity and perseverance. For that is to be regarded as a perpetual law which Ivo of Chartres wrote to Pope Paschal II.: "When kingship and priesthood are agreed, the world is well ruled, the Church flourishes and bears fruit. But when they are at variance, not only do little things not grow, but even great things fall into miserable ruin and decay" (*Ep. ccxxxviii.*)

But that dreadful and deplorable zeal for revolution which was aroused in the sixteenth century, after throwing the Christian religion into confusion, by a certain natural course proceeded to philosophy, and from philosophy pervaded all ranks of the community. From this spring, as it were, came those more recent propositions of unbridled liberty which were first thought out and then openly proclaimed in the terrible disturbances in the present century as the principles and foundations of the new law, which was unknown before, and is out of harmony, not only with Christian, but, in more than one respect, with natural law. Of those principles this is the chief: that as all men are understood to be alike in birth and nature, so they are in reality equal throughout the whole course of their lives: that each is so completely his own master as not to be subject in any way to the authority of another; that he is free to think what he likes on every subject, and to do what he pleases; and that the right of ruling over others exists in no one. In a society founded upon these principles, the ruling power is only the will of the people, which as it is under its own power alone, so it is alone its own proper sovereign, but chooses to whom it may entrust itself, only in such a way that it transfers, not so much the right, as the function of government, and that to be exercised in its name. God is passed over in silence, as if either there were no God, or as if He cared nothing for human society, or as if men, whether as individuals or in society, owed nothing to God, or as if there could be any government whose whole cause and power and authority did not reside in God Himself. In this way, as it is clear, a State is nothing else but a mob which is mistress and directress of itself. And since the people is said to contain in itself the fountain of all rights and of all power, it will follow that the State deems itself bound by no kind of duty towards God; that no religion should be publicly professed; nor ought there to be any inquiry which of many is alone true; nor ought one to be preferred to the rest; nor ought one to be specially favoured, but to each alike equal rights ought to be assigned, provided only that the social order incurs no injury from them. It is a part of this theory that all questions concerning religion are to be referred to private judgment; that every one is allowed to follow which he prefers, or none at all, if he approves of none. Hence these consequences naturally arise; the judgment of every man's conscience is above law; opinions are as free as possible concerning worshipping or not worshipping God; and there is unbounded licence of thinking and publishing the results of thought.

These foundations of the State being admitted, which at this time are in such general favour, it easily appears into how unfavourable a position the Church is driven. For when the conduct of affairs is in accordance with the doctrines of this kind, to the Catholic name is assigned an equal position with, or even an inferior position to, that of alien societies in the State; no regard is paid to ecclesiastical laws; and the Church, which by the command and mandate of Jesus Christ ought to teach all nations, finds itself forbidden in any way to interfere in the instruction of the people. Concerning those things which are of mixed jurisdiction, the rulers of the civil power lay down the law at their own pleasure, and in this manner haughtily set aside the most sacred laws of the Church. Wherefore they bring under their own jurisdiction the marriages of Christians, deciding even concerning the marriage bond, concerning the unity, and the stability of marriage. They take possession of the goods of the clergy because they deny that the Church can hold property. To sum up, they so deal with the Church, that having stripped her in their own opinion both of the nature and the rights of a perfect society, they

clearly hold her to be like other associations which the State contains, and on that account, if she possesses any legitimate means of acting, she is said to possess it by the concession and gift of the rulers of the State. But if in any State the Church retains her own right with the approval of the civil laws themselves, and any agreement has been publicly made between the two powers, they begin by crying out that the interests of the Church must be severed from those of the State, and they do this with the intent that it may be possible to act against their pledged faith with impunity, and have the disposal of everything without anything to stand in their way. But when the Church cannot bear that patiently, nor indeed is able to desert its greatest and most sacred duties, and, above all, requires that faith be wholly and entirely observed with it, contests often arise between the sacred and the civil power, of which the result is commonly that the one which is the weaker in human resources yields to the stronger. So it is the custom and the wish in constitutions of this kind, which are now admired by many, either to expel the Church altogether, or to keep it bound and restricted as to its rule. Public acts in a great measure are framed with this design. Laws, the administration of states, the teaching of youth unaccompanied by religion, the spoliation and destruction of religious orders, the overturning of the civil principality of the Roman Pontiffs, all have regard to this end; to emasculate Christian institutes, to narrow the liberty of the Catholic Church, and to diminish her other rights.

Natural reason itself convinces us that such opinions about the ruling of a State are very widely removed from the truth. Nature herself bears witness that all power of whatever kind ultimately emanates from God as its greatest and most august fountain. Popular rule, however, which is said to be naturally in the multitude, without any regard to God, though it may excellently avail to supply fire and attractiveness to many forms of covetousness, yet rests on no probable reason, nor can have sufficient strength to ensure public security and the quiet permanence of order. Verily, things under the auspices of these doctrines have come to such a pass that many sanction this as a law in civil jurisprudence, that sedition may be raised lawfully. For the idea prevails that princes are really nothing but delegates to carry out the popular will; from which it follows of necessity that all things are equally liable to change at the people's will, and a certain fear of public disturbance is for ever hanging over our heads.

But to think with regard to religion that there is no difference between unlike and contrary forms, clearly will have this issue—an unwillingness to test any one form in theory and practice. This, if it differs from atheism in name, is in fact the same thing. Men who really believe in the existence of God, if they are to be consistent and not supremely ridiculous, will of necessity understand that different methods of divine worship involving dissimilarity and conflict, even on the most important points, cannot be all equally probable, equally good, and equally accepted by God. And thus that faculty of thinking whatever you like and expressing whatever you like to think in writing, without any thought of moderation, is not of its own nature a good in which human society can rightly rejoice, but on the contrary a fount and origin of many ills.

Liberty, as being a virtue perfecting man, must have for its sphere the good and the true; but the true and the good cannot be changed at the pleasure of man, but remains ever the same, and is not less unchangeable than nature herself. If the mind assent to false opinions, if the will choose for itself evil, and apply itself thereto, neither attains its perfection, but both fall from their natural dignity, and both lapse by degrees into corruption. Whatever things, therefore, are contrary to virtue and truth, these it is not right to place in the light before the eyes of men, far less to defend by the favour and protection of the laws. A well spent life is the only path to that heaven whither we all direct our steps; and on this account the State departs from the law and the ruling of nature if it allows licence of opinion and of evil doing to run riot to such a degree as to lead minds astray with impunity from the truth, and hearts from the practice of virtue.

But to exclude the Church which God Himself has constituted from the business of life, from the laws, from the teaching of youth, from domestic society, is a great and pernicious error. A State cannot be well regulated when religion is taken away; and by this time more perhaps is known than need be of that philosophy of life and morals which men call civil—what its nature is, and what its results are. The Church of Christ is the true teacher of virtue and guardian of morals; it is she who keeps in safety the principles of duty, and by proposing most efficacious reasons for an honest life, bids us not only fly from wicked deeds, but rule the motions of the mind which are contrary to reason even though no act should follow. To wish the Church in the discharge of her offices to be subject to the civil power is great rashness, great injustice. If this were done order would be disturbed, since things natural would thus be put before those which are above nature; a multitude of benefits, with which, if there were nothing to hinder her, the Church would enrich the life of the community, either disappears or at all events is considerably diminished, and besides, a way is opened to enmities and conflicts—and how great the evils are that they have brought on both governments (the ecclesiastical and the civil), the course of history has too frequently shown,

Such doctrines, which are not approved by human reason, and are of the greatest gravity as regards civil discipline, the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors—well understanding what the apostolic office required of them—by no means suffered to go without condemnation. Thus Gregory XVI., by Encyclical Letter beginning

*Mirari vos*, of August 15th, 1832, inveighed with weighty words against those doctrines which were already being preached, namely, that in divine worship no preference should be made; and that it was left to individuals to judge of religion according to their personal preferences, that each man's conscience was to himself his sole sufficient guide, and that it was lawful to promulgate whatsoever each man might think, and to make a revolution in the State. Concerning the reasons for the separation of Church and State, the same Pontiff speaks thus: "Nor can we hope happier results either for religion or government from the wishes of those who are eagerly desirous that the Church should be separated from the State, and the mutual good understanding of the sovereign secular power and the sacerdotal authority be broken up. It is evident that these lovers of most shameless liberty dread that concord which has always been fortunate and wholesome, both for sacred and civil interests." To the like effect Pius IX., as opportunity offered, noted many false opinions which had begun to be of great strength, and afterwards ordered them to be collected together in order that in so great a conflux of errors Catholics might have something which they might follow without stumbling.

From these decisions of the Popes it is clearly to be understood that the origin of public power is to be sought from God Himself and not from the multitude; that free play for sedition is repugnant to reason; that it is a crime for private individuals and a crime for States to make no account of the duties of religion, or to treat different kinds of religion in the same way; that the uncontrolled power of thinking and publicly proclaiming one's thoughts has no place amongst the rights of citizens, and cannot in any way be reckoned among those things which are worthy of favour or defence. Similarly it ought to be understood that the Church is a society, no less than the State itself, perfect in kind and right, and that those who exercise sovereignty ought not to act so as to compel the Church to be their slave or subject, or suffer her to have less than liberty to transact her own affairs, or detract aught from the other rights which have been conferred upon her by Jesus Christ; that in matters, however, of mixed jurisdiction, it is in the highest degree in accordance with nature and also with the counsels of God—not that one power should secede from the other, still less come into conflict, but that that harmony and concord should be preserved which is most akin to the proximate cause and end of both societies.

These, then, are the things taught by the Catholic Church concerning the constitution and government of States. Concerning these sayings and decrees, if a man will only judge dispassionately, no form of Government is, *per se*, condemned so long as it has nothing repugnant to Catholic doctrine, and is able, if wisely and justly administered, to preserve the State in the best condition. Nor is it, *per se*, to be condemned whether the people have a greater or less share in the government; for at certain times and with the guarantee of certain laws, such participation may appertain, not only to the usefulness, but even to the duty of the citizens. Moreover, there is no just cause why any one should condemn the Church as being too restricted in gentleness, or inimical to that liberty which is natural and legitimate. In truth, though the Church judges it not lawful that the various kinds of divine worship should have the same right as the true religion, still it does not therefore condemn those governors of States, who, for the sake of acquiring some great good, or preventing some great ill, patiently bear with manners and customs so that each kind of religion has its place in the State. Indeed the Church is wont diligently to take heed that no one be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic Faith, for as Augustine wisely observes: "*Credere non potest homo nisi volens*," no one can believe if he is not willing." (*Tract xxvi.*, in *Joan.*, n. 2).

For a similar reason the Church cannot approve of that liberty which generates a contempt of the most sacred laws of God and puts away the obedience due to legitimate power. For this is licence rather than liberty, and is most correctly called by Augustine "*libertas perditionis*" "the liberty of perdition," (*Ep. cv.*, ad *Donatistas*. ii., n. 9); by the Apostle Peter, "*a cloak for malice*" (1 Peter ii., 16), indeed, since it is contrary to reason, it is a true servitude, for "*Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin*" (John viii., 34). On the other hand, that is the genuine and desirable liberty which, if it be considered in relation to the individual, suffers not men to be the slaves of errors and evil desires, the worst of masters; and in relation to the State, presides wisely over the citizens, greatly facilitates the increase of public advantages, and defends the public interest from alien rule. This blameless liberty, worthy of man, the Church approves above all, and has never ceased striving and contending to keep sound and whole among the people.

In very truth whatever things in the State chiefly avail for the common safety; whatever have been usefully instituted against the licence of princes who have not their people's good at heart; whatever forbid the intervention of the supreme authority in municipal or domestic affairs; whatever avail to preserve the dignity of man and his personal rights, or to maintain the equality of rights in individual citizens, of all these things the monuments of former ages declare the Catholic Church to have been either the author, the promoter, or the perpetual guardian. Ever therefore consistent with herself, if on the one hand she rejects immoderate liberty, which both in the case of individuals and peoples results in licence or in servitude; on the other she willingly and with pleasure embraces those happier circumstances which the age brings if they truly contain the prosperity of this life, which is, as it were, a stage in the journey to that other which is to endure everlastingly.

Therefore when men say that the Church views with disfavour all modern state-craft, and repudiates

without distinction all modern progress, it is an empty and contemptible calumny. She does indeed repudiate the madness of opinion; she reprobates the wicked plans of sedition, and especially that habit of mind in which the beginnings of a voluntary departing from God are visible; but since every true thing must necessarily proceed from God, whatever of truth is by search attained, the Church acknowledges as a certain token of the divine mind. And since there is no truth in the world which can take away belief in the doctrines divinely handed down and many things which confirm it, and since every finding of truth may impel man to the knowledge or praise of God Himself, therefore whatever may happen to extend the range of knowledge, the Church will always willingly and joyfully accept ? and she will, as is her wont in the case of other studies, steadily encourage and promote those also which are concerned with the investigation of nature. If the mind finds anything new in them, the Church offers no opposition; she fights, no: against the search after more things for the grace and convenience of life—nay, a very foe to inertness and sloth, she earnestly wishes that the talents of men should, by being cultivated and exercised, bear still richer fruits; she offers inducements to every sort of art and craft, and directing by her own innate worth all the pursuits of these things to virtue and salvation, she strives to save man's own intelligence and industry from turning him away from God and the good things of heaven.

But these things, although full of reasonableness and fore-sight, are not so well approved of in these clays, when States not only refuse to defer to the laws of Christian wisdom, but seem even to wish to depart each day farther from them. Nevertheless, because truth brought to light is wont of its own accord to spread widely, and by degrees to pervade the minds of men, We, therefore, moved by the consciousness of Our exalted and most Sacred Office, that is Our Apostolic Commission to all nations, speak the truth freely as We ought to speak: not that We have no perception of the spirit of the times, or that We think the honest and useful improvements of our age are to be repudiated, but because We would wish the highways of public affairs to be safer from attacks, and their foundations more stable, and that without detriment to the true freedom of the peoples; for amongst men the mother and best guardian of liberty is truth: "*The truth shall make you free*" (John viii., 32).

Therefore at so critical a juncture of events, Catholic men, if, as it behoves them, they will listen to Us, will easily see what are their own and each other's duties in matters of *opinion* as well as of *action*. And as regards opinion, it is necessary both to hold all things whatsoever the Roman Pontiffs have delivered, or shall hereafter deliver, with firm grasp and clear apprehension, and also as often as occasion demands openly to profess the same. And, to give an instance, concerning those things which are called recently-acquired *liberties*, it is proper to stand by the judgment of the Apostolic See, and for every one to hold what she holds. Take care lest any man be deceived by the honest outward appearance of these things; and think of the beginnings from which they are sprung; and by what desires they are sustained and fed in divers places, it is now sufficiently known by experience what they produce in the State; for in many a place they have borne fruit, over which wise and good men justly grieve. If there were in any place a State, either actual or hypothetical, that wantonly and tyrannically waged war upon the Christian name, and if such a modern kind of State as We are speaking of were compared with it, it is possible that this might be considered more tolerable; yet the principles upon which it rests are absolutely such that, of themselves, they ought to be approved by no man.

Now the field of human conduct may lie either in private and domestic or in public affairs. In private life the first duty is to conform one's life and manners to the precepts of the Gospel, and not to refuse if Christian virtue requires of us to bear something more difficult than usual. More over, individuals are bound to love the Church as their common mother; to keep her laws obediently; to give her the service of due honour, and wish her rights respected, and endeavour to have her fostered and beloved with like piety by those over whom they may exercise authority. It is also of great importance to the public welfare diligently and wisely to give attention to education and culture; to bestow careful attention upon them, and to take effectual care that public provision be made for the training of youth in religion and morality, as Christians are bound to provide; for upon these things depend very much the welfare of every State.

And further, to speak generally, it is useful and honourable for the attention of Catholic men to pass beyond this narrower field, and to embrace every branch of public administration. Generally, we say, because these Our precepts reach unto all the nations. But it may happen in some particular place, for the most urgent and just reasons, that it is by no means expedient to engage in public affairs, or to take an active part in political functions. But generally, as We have said, to wish to take no part in public affairs would be wrong in proportion as it contributed neither thought nor work to the common weal; and the more so on this account, because Catholic men are bound by the admonitions of the doctrine which they profess, to do what has to be done with integrity and with faith. If, on the contrary, they are idle, those whose opinions assuredly do not give any great hope of safety, will easily get possession of the reins of government. This would be attended with danger to the Christian name, because they who are badly disposed towards the Church would become most powerful; and those least powerful who are well disposed. Wherefore it is evident there is just cause for Catholics to undertake the conduct of public affairs; for they do not assume these responsibilities in order to approve of what



is not lawful in the methods of government at this time; but in order that they may turn these very methods, as far as may be, to the unmixed and true public good, holding this purpose in their minds, to infuse into all the veins of the commonwealth the most healthy sap and blood as it were—the wisdom and virtue of the Catholic religion. Such was the course adopted in the first ages of the Church. For the ways and aspirations of the heathen were as widely divergent as possible from the ways and aspirations of the Gospel; yet Christians were to be seen incorrupt in the midst of superstition, and always true to themselves, entering with spirit every walk in life which was open to them. Models of fidelity to their princes, obedient, where lawful, to the sovereign power, they exhibited the wonderful splendour of holiness everywhere; they sought the good of their neighbour, and to call others to the wisdom of Christ; bravely prepared to renounce public life, and even to die, if it was impossible for them to retain their offices, or magistracies, or commands with unsullied virtue. And thus Christian customs soon found their way, not only into private houses, but into the camp, the senate, and even the imperial palace, "We are of yesterday and we have filled all that you have, cities, great tenements, military stations, municipalities, councils, the very camps, the rank and file of the army, the officerships, the palace, the senate, the forum" (*Tertullian, Apol.*, n. 37), so that the Christian faith, as soon as it was lawful to profess the Gospel publicly, was manifest at once in a great part of the Empire, no longer as a babe crying in its cradle, but grown up to robust manhood.

Now in these times it is desirable to renew these examples of our forefathers. Catholics indeed, as many as are worthy of the name, must before all things be, and be willing to be seen to be, most loving sons of the Church; whatsoever is inconsistent with this good report, they must without hesitation reject; they must use popular institutions as far as honestly can be to the advantage of truth and justice; they must take care that liberty of action shall not transgress the bounds ordained by the law of nature and of God; and so work that the whole of public life shall be transformed into what We have called a Christian image and likeness. The means to these ends can scarcely be laid down upon one uniform plan, since they must suit places and times very different from each other. Nevertheless, in the first place, let concord of wills be preserved and unity of aim be maintained. And each will be best attained if all consider the admonitions of the Apostolic See a law of conduct, and obey the Bishops whom "*the Spirit of God has placed to rule the Church of God*" (Acts xx., 28).

The defence of the Catholic name indeed, of necessity demands that in the profession of doctrines which are handed down by the Church the opinion of all shall be one, and their constancy perfect, and under this head care must be taken that no one connives in any degree at false opinions or resists with less vigour than truth requires. Concerning those things which are matters of opinion, it will be lawful to hold different views with moderation and with a desire of investigating the truth, without injurious suspicions and mutual incriminations. For which purpose, lest unity of spirit be broken by temerity of accusation, let all understand that integrity of the Catholic profession can by no means be reconciled with any opinions approaching *naturalism* or *rationalism*, whose sum total is the uprooting of Christian institutions altogether, and the establishment of the supremacy of man upon the dethronement of God. Likewise it is unlawful to follow one line of duty in private and another in public, so that the authority of the Church shall be observed in private, and spurned in public. For this would be to join together things honest and disgraceful, and to make a man play a game of fence with himself, when on the contrary he ought always to be consistent, and never in any the least thing or any rank of life decline from Christian virtue.

But if it be a question of principles merely political, concerning the best form of government, of civil regulations of one kind or another, concerning these things of course there is room for disagreement without harm. Those whose piety therefore is known on other accounts, and whose minds are ready to accept the decrees of the Apostolic See, justice will not allow to be reproached because they differ on these subjects; and much greater is the injury if they are charged with having violated the Catholic faith, or being of doubtful orthodoxy—a thing we have had to deplore more than once. And let all hold this precept absolutely who are went to commit their thoughts to writing, especially journalists and writers for the press. In this contention for the highest things no room should be left for intestine conflicts or the greed of parties, but let all, uniting together, seek the common object of all, the preservation of religion and the commonwealth. If therefore there have been dissensions let them be obliterated in willing forgetfulness; if there has been anything rash, anything injurious, to whomsoever this fault belongs let reparation be made by mutual charity, and especially by obedience to the Apostolic See. In this way Catholics will obtain two things that are most excellent: one that they will make themselves helps to the Church in preserving and propagating Christian knowledge; the other that they will benefit civil society; whose safety is gravely compromised by evil doctrines and inordinate cupidity.

These then, Venerable Brethren, are the teachings that We have have had to transmit to all nations of the Catholic world concerning the Christian Constitution of States and the duties of individual citizens.

But it behoves Us to implore with most earnest prayers the protection of heaven, and to beseech Almighty God, Whose alone it is to enlighten the minds of men and move their wills, Himself to bring these our longings

and efforts for His glory and for man's salvation to the issue that We hope for. As a pledge of the Divine favours, and in witness of Our paternal benevolence to you, Venerable Brethren, to the Clergy, and to all the people committed to your faith and vigilance, We lovingly bestow in the Lord the Apostolic Benediction.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the first day of November, in the year of Our Lord MDCCCLXXXV., of Our Pontificate the Eighth.

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THE CROWN COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The Crown Colonies of Great Britain.

*An Inquiry into Their Political Economy Fiscal Systems, and Trade.*

By C. S. Salmon.

Cobden Club crest Cassell & Company, Limited *London, Paris, New York & Melbourne.*

## Contents.

## The Crown Colonies of Great Britain.

## Introduction.

IT is right that the Crown colonies should be investigated from the statistical point of view, and should yield information that will be of use for trade purposes. What are the imports ? What are the exports ? How much revenue is raised ? How stand the public debts ? At what rate are railways being pushed forward ? Does the population rapidly increase ? Let us know whether it is profitable to invest in the land ? And so on. Yet it is well to pause sometimes and to inquire also about the people: are they really happy and progressive in those things which make life worthy, pleasant, or even endurable to the poor; and do matters look as if a happy and estimable future lay before all or any of them ? In dealing with Crown colonies people at home are apt to take a very narrow and material view indeed, deliberately or unconsciously. And yet these colonies, even the smaller ones, are countries often as large and as full of people as many a place in Europe which holds a niche of its own in the world's history, and whose movements are watched and recorded by the public press of the world. These latter countries, however small they may be, are important as the homes of a people who are, or have been, factors in the political and social questions of the day. Of imports there may be none beyond those necessary for the civilised wants of a frugal race, and the exports may be equally unnoticeable, because the people are of more importance than the productions they have to dispose of. With the Crown colonies it is different; they are apt to be written and spoken of as if their productions, actual or potential, were of more importance than the inhabitants; and yet it is a fact that imports and exports, and revenue and debts, and population, may all show an increase, and the condition of the people may not be advanced, or may even have retrograded amidst all this

show.

With the above reservations, the value of colonies has never been underrated by the people of the United Kingdom; no party ever existed in this country, in recent times, which had not the highest opinion, at all events, of their practical worth and of their commercial necessity. The people of Great Britain and Ireland have made immense sacrifices in the past to obtain and protect the colonies of the empire; for upwards of a century their acquisition and consolidation has been one of the objects of every popular administration, and their life has become a part of the social and industrial life of the people of the United Kingdom. Yet there are those who seem to think it quite a new and recent movement for the people of these islands to be interested in colonial questions. It may be so with certain classes of the community, whose natural sympathies and habits would have had little in common with the first struggling communities of settlers in what are now the free colonies. But since then these colonies have grown to be rich and powerful, and the fruits of labour, industry, and intelligence are abundant, and hence a sympathy among the highest classes in the land has arisen, which before lay somewhat dormant. The bulk of the people, however, are connected with the great colonies by ties of a nearer and more enduring nature, and without show and ostentation, and unknown even to their own rulers, they have always looked on them as a part of the United Kingdom, and as the inalienable inheritance of their race.

The Crown colonies are distinguished at once from the free parliamentary colonies inhabited by European races, in that they are apt to be handed over by the consent of all parties in power, and also by the public opinion of the country, to the guidance and even control of those classes and interests which have immediate dealings with them; and hence the people who inhabit them, outside of these classes, receive less sympathy and consideration from the people of the United Kingdom than they are entitled to. They have, undoubtedly, all been given systems of administration they would perhaps have in vain looked for from any other nation in a kind of liberality of government and, in particular instances, even in some power of self-development. Yet something more is needed, if not to insure prosperity and comfort to the people, at least not to hinder its establishment, its endurance, or its advance. By the side of those forms of government which secure the impartiality of criminal and civil law, and those systems of administration which make its enforcement equal for all, there are certain laws and systems which affect the material welfare of society, and which are more powerful in their operations than any other agencies established among men. The methods of taxation, and the systems regulating and affecting trade, and the laws dealing with the acquisition and the working of land and other property, may be equal for all who come within their scope and operation, and, nevertheless, they may all be so adjusted as to militate against the most elementary principles of right upon which the welfare of a community must be founded in order to thrive. They may work so as to favour monopolies. Burdens, also, may fall on certain classes whilst others are exempted. In fact, the system of government may be a just one, politically and legally, and the most suitable and the best procurable, theoretically, under the circumstances of the colony, and the administration of the existing laws may be admirable and impartial, and yet many evils may accumulate because the economic systems in operation contain within themselves elements of evil which are bound to bear evil fruit.

All this is so obvious to those acquainted with these colonies that it gives rise to a conviction in many minds that the only people fit to judge of internal affairs in any country whatever are the people who inhabit it. On the other hand, the mixed communities of races, with opposite views and often hostile interests, which inhabit some of the Crown colonies, make the full application of such views impracticable at present, or extremely difficult. It remains only for absolute justice to be dealt out to all classes equally, irrespective of race and interest.

There is a tendency among all men to form exclusive societies, but the least civilised people are the most exclusive in their views, and they desire to have but little intercourse with other races. Some Englishmen have objected to the extended views of those of their fellow-countrymen who deem the interests of other races and countries are allied to their own—men whose general opinions have made them almost as much citizens of the world at large as of their own particular land—because they feared such views tended to disarm or deaden that feeling of patriotism which is essential to the preservation of the position of their own country. But it is obvious that a great commercial and colonial country must have these cosmopolitan and less exclusive views, or its success and continuance as a centre of enterprise will not be possible. The greater success of England as a colonial and commercial power over other nations has been due to the greater respect she has, on the whole, always shown for rights she deems fundamental, and due to all mankind; and especially for the rights and welfare of those weaker races which circumstances have placed under her power and control. The greatest force in the world is man, and the more that is learned respecting him, the more it is seen that the several varieties have much in common, and that the differences so well known and so often deplored are not due to anything more than dissimilar physical and moral surroundings working throughout the ages. To deal successfully with the tropical jungles of Crown colonies, and to cultivate their heated plains, the races accustomed to the climate and inured to the toil are required, and where these fail nothing can be done. To get due value from these

countries, and to develop their wealth in a solid form, the men inhabiting them must be encouraged to bear a willing hand by reaping the just reward of labour; sufficient inducements must be given them to struggle upwards to a higher standard. Stagnation or a falling away can be generally traced to a state of things which disorganises local industry. The reward of labour must leave some fair margin beyond the scanty necessities of a mere existence, or, in tropical countries at all events, it will be found the inhabitants will abandon regular work and relapse into those primitive conditions from which it is the duty of civilised and orderly Government to make efforts to reclaim them. As far back as 1824 the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on labourers' wages said:—"He, whose subsistence is secure without work, and who cannot obtain more than a mere sufficiency by the hardest work, will naturally be an idle and careless labourer." The past economic history of many of the Crown colonies may be summarised as constant endeavours to struggle against these facts and natural laws in favour of the planting and absentee interests, efforts fruitful of calamities to the colonies and to their inhabitants.

With respect to the public opinion of the Crown colonies, it is undeniably a power which in recent times is making itself more and more felt. The press in many of them has organs conducted with ability, and in some of them with singular power and conspicuous fairness; the proprietors and editors are not confined to any one race, and no one could proclaim from internal evidence the nationality of a writer. But the wants and rights of the majority of the people are not always represented in the columns of the public press in the Crown colonies, and this makes it the more necessary for the people and Parliament of the United Kingdom to pay some attention to what is passing, for they are undoubtedly responsible for the laws and systems upheld in these dependencies.

The tariff questions especially are very important, for it can be proved that the methods pursued—which date from the time of protectionist and anti-free trade policy—have been adverse to the best interests of the United Kingdom, and have hampered the development of her trade with the colonies; while, at the same time, they have been injurious to the welfare, the comfort, and the happiness of the colonists themselves. So many anti-free trade centres of commerce dispersed all over the world under the British flag have, beyond all doubt, had a most injurious effect, and have obstructed and hindered the propagation of free trade principles among the nations. Even in those colonies now possessing responsible governments the restrictive tariffs which British merchants and manufacturers so much complain of are no worse than some of those set up in certain Crown colonies to their disadvantage, and, in fact, such tariffs are often, to some extent, the legacy the Parliamentary colonies received over from the periods when they were under the direct administration of the Crown.

In a paper, which received much attention not only from every colonist, but from every person interested in colonial questions, contributed to the "Nineteenth Century Review"

February, 1885.

by the Right Honourable W. E. Forster, M.P., it is said:—"I do not think we can expect newly formed communities to raise their revenue solely by direct taxation, but the abolition of all custom or excise, except upon intoxicating liquors and tobacco, and the general equalisation of these taxes, would make an Imperial Zollverein possible." The necessities of none of the Crown colonies require more than what is succinctly laid down here. Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers, M.P., in his work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," also says (Vol. I., page 212):—"It is always difficult to raise a revenue from direct taxation in a country where industry is mainly agricultural;" but, of course, the Professor—who says elsewhere, "to tax what a man must spend is to destroy industry"—means a moderate tax, and on commodities such as Mr. Forster mentions. Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu is an admirer of the colonial capacities of Englishmen; he says that a customs charge—never imposed for protectionist purposes, and never exceeding 5 percent.*ad valorem*—and land revenues, are the only proper colonial taxes except those on spirits and tobacco, articles which should be charged more heavily. He goes on to say that these are the only taxes universally applied (as he describes them) in the British colonies with no ill result, and giving sufficient revenues. Most Englishmen who know the colonies will admit this statement gives a fair outline of the system that might be followed, but is not Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu had probably in view, when he wrote the above, a proposition made about that time to put into practice the system he eulogises.

The population of the twelve groups of Crown colonies (Gibraltar, Malta, Ceylon, Mauritius, Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, Fiji, Falkland Islands, the West Indian Islands and Mainland, Bermuda, St. Helena, and Western Coast of Africa), at the close of 1883, amounted to about 6,504,200. The revenues raised in 1883 amounted to £6,577,226. The public debts for the whole equalled £6,000,000. The Straits Settlements—especially Singapore—Hong Kong, Gibraltar, and Malta, are ports of call and entrepôts, whose returns (when given) of total imports and exports have more reference to the trade of neighbouring and distant foreign countries with Great Britain and other nations than to the trade done within such colonies themselves. Excluding these four colonies, therefore, the total imports of the other eight groups of colonies, in 1883, amounted to £18,823,278, and their total exports were £19,430,504 (colonial returns). Of the imports the sum of £5,822,800 (Board of Trade returns) represents the value of the produce and manufactures of the United

Kingdom, or about 31 per cent. The exports from these colonies to the United Kingdom direct were valued (Board of Trade returns) at £8,608,212, or about 45¼ per cent, of the whole. The total trade of these colonies for the year 1883 amounted to £38,253,782 (colonial returns), of which £14,431,012 (Board of Trade returns) was with the United Kingdom, or nearly 38 per cent, of the whole.

There are no returns whatever to be had respecting imports and exports at the ports of Hong Kong and Gibraltar. The Straits Settlements and Malta between them have £41,558,644 imports, and £46,736,029 exports, for the year 1883. The figures for Hong Kong and Gibraltar would probably be as much as this. As a matter of fact, such returns from these ports often only repeat one another; the same vessel, with the identical cargo on board, will sometimes enter at all of them on a single voyage, and, after coaling and discharging some cargo, clear outwards, and proceed with the remainder. The Board of Trade returns for the year 1883 show exports from the United Kingdom of British goods, for Gibraltar and Malta direct, amounting to £1,712,653, and imports therefrom to the value of £190,789. The great free trade ports of the East—the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong—took British merchandise valued by Board of Trade returns at, £5,515,478, and sent produce valued at £5,815,002 to the United Kingdom.

It will be seen that the trade of the Crown colonies is large, but, except with the great free trade Eastern ports, it is not by a long way as large as it might be. The system of tariffs—as in the West Indies, Ceylon, Mauritius, Fiji, and Malta—and the general policy pursued with regard to the natives—as in Western Africa—have much hindered material progress, and these colonies do not compare as favourably as they ought to with the colonies of foreign powers, where the policy pursued is not pretended to be entirely—if at all—in the interest of the inhabitants. Indeed, the position of the people in many of these Crown colonies is unsatisfactory, for reasons that will be shown farther on, when the colonies are separately dealt with. The taxation per head paid by the people of a colony is no more a criterion by which to form any judgment respecting it than the exports alone can be taken as a basis on which to build up a theory of the people's wealth, prosperity, and happiness. A man can better afford to save 10s. in Australasia than a Cingalese can afford to save 4d. The West India colonies export at the rate of £6 12s. per inhabitant (nearly the same rate as for the United Kingdom), and pay Government taxes at the rate of 26s. 6d. only; and yet the bulk of the people, as regards housing, food, and the common necessities of a civilised life, are worse off than the serfs of the Middle Ages. Can they be compared for an instant with the great colony of the Cape of Good Hope, whose people export only at the rate of 70s. 5d. per head, and yet pay taxes at the rate of 87s. 1d. per head? or with the savage but vigorous natives of their own Africa? At the same time, it is a sound criterion to take the exports of a colony, if the wealth raised and exported be really raised and owned by the people. The twenty and a half millions sterling of exports from Canada in 1883 were undoubtedly, nearly all of them, the property of the Canadians themselves, and almost the whole proceeds of profits went to enrich the inhabitants. In the West Indies and other tropical colonies the people, owing to various reasons, have not the capital necessary to accomplish that work which people in more happily formed societies are expected to do for themselves. Extraneous aid from foreign capitalists is sometimes sought by, and sometimes forced on, the people of tropical countries, to assist them to cultivate their lands. Nothing is more certain than that this capital, in whatever form it comes, can permanently develop the wealth of the several colonies, because, as Professor Leone Levi says ("History of British Commerce," p. 149), "there is one unalterable law as regards wages: they depend on capital. However fertile the soil, however favourable the position of the country, however great the extent of territory, unless there be sufficient capital in hand to maintain labour, nothing can be done." But this capital can only do good permanently on condition the other elements employed in the work also receive a fair share of the profits. The wages of labour, in every instance, can be left to be settled between the employer and the employed; and where there are no inhabitants in an annexed territory, it is legitimate enough to seek for people in other countries. But the Government does not stop at this; and if there is labour to be had on the spot, but the labourer sulks at the terms offered by planters and capitalists, starveling coolies from India are sent to replace it, and the wages of labour in that colony are forced down to the lowest limits that admit of a bare existence. Taxation, also, forced from its natural channels by the exigencies of a system which has allowed predominance to absentees and their agents, has fallen almost entirely on the struggling labourers. In course of time a system, symmetrical in all its parts, has arisen on this basis. It is correct in its law and perfect in its constitutionalism; but it wants one thing—a people able to live contentedly and thrive by the sweat of its brow. Systems are worthless that do not create such men. Capital accumulates among the people in such places with extreme difficulty, because there is no margin left for the reward of thrift.

The keeping of order and the protection of private rights constitute the main work of Government, but the people have other wants with which a Government should have no concern, and when it does enter the lists monopolies and abuses grow up and abound, unless strict watch be kept; the Government after a time loses control over the instruments it has set up, and opposite results come about from those avowedly intended. The Crown colonies are full of such instances. The introduction of coolie labour into colonies where it may have

been supposed to be wanted was doubtless at the beginning a well-intentioned act; the abuses that have since arisen might have been foreseen, but were not. Englishmen should not be behind foreigners in appreciating what is just. This is what Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu says on the subject:—"Cette immigration, au point de vue social, quand elle porte sur les Chinois ou sur les Indiens, a les plus déplorable résultats; ces hommes appartenant, non pas à des sociétés primitives dont les membres sont prêts à se fondre par un instinct naturel dans les sociétés plus avancées, mais à des sociétés vieilles et décrépites, conservant avec ténacité leurs habitudes et leurs mœurs." They keep also their language and their religion; having few females among them, the deplorable results to the places they are sent to are well known and are repugnant to every social sentiment. Again he says:—" Au point de vue économique, les conséquences ne sont pas moins fatales. C'est la facilité de l'immigration, qui, en partie, a été la cause de l'abandon définitif des habitations par les noirs; les planteurs n'ont plus songé à les retenir par de bons traitements et des égards" . . . "le second inconvénient économique de l'immigration, c'est qu'elle détourne les colons des améliorations nécessaires qui, en utilisant mieux le nombre de bras existants, et en perfectionnant les procédés, multiplieraient considérablement les quantités produites et le revenu net."

There have been rumours that a new coolie colony was to be created in Northern Queensland by the introduction of that form of servile labour. It is to be hoped free Australia will keep such a thing from its shores. With reference to labour in tropical Crown colonies generally, it is needful to draw public attention to the large employment of woman labour in that most trying of all labour—working in a cane field. This class of labour is very cheap, but it is disastrous to the community. In his work, "The State in Relation to Labour," the late Mr. Stanley Jevons said (p. 70), on the employment of mothers:—"The great evil which arises from such employment is the separation of the mother from her young children; in the case of infants who ought to be suckled the result is usually disastrous . . . a large proportion succumb, and those who by any fortunate accident of more vigorous constitution, or slightly better treatment, survive, are too often ruined physically and mentally, and grow up into a stunted and sickly generation." He shows how the German Social Science Association and the statistics of the United States Agricultural Bureaus fully support these views. After long fasting on the part of mother and infant, when at last the latter obtains the breast, the mother's body is heated and exhausted, and the worst results follow for the infant. In all the West India colonies especially, but particularly so in some of them, the enormous proportions of this evil are quite startling.

A good deal has yet to be done to perfect cultivation in many colonies, especially with regard to sugar. Immense advances have been made in Europe in recent years in the cultivation and preparation of beet sugar, and the severe competition that has arisen in the sugar markets has been due more to this than to the bounties. The fall in the price of sugar will not be entirely without compensation; it has caused it to enter into many industries, from which, in the future, it will be inseparable. From time to time, it is to be feared, blights will do more damage to colonial produce than competition; the coffee growers of Ceylon found this to be the case. An acre of land may yield a ton of beetroot sugar in three years. An acre of virgin soil gives ton of cane sugar; most of the British sugar colonies give over ton an acre. They should do better than the beet growers even with their bounties. If all the projects on foot to grow sugar in tropical colonies were to succeed, there would be some difficulty in disposing of the supply. The British sugar colonies would be thriving now if their economical and fiscal systems were not deplorably unsound. It wanted the fall in the price of sugar to demonstrate beyond question this unsoundness, and it is quite certain nothing can place these colonies on the road to prosperity and stability but a commercial and economical system entirely different from that under which they now have to struggle. Free trade in land and in commerce and the tariffs of Mr. Forster quoted above, are the chief remedies wanted.

The colonies take a good deal of merchandise from foreign countries, as much in proportion to their general trade as the United Kingdom does; they have many wants foreign countries alone can supply. Those who urge a customs union between the colonies and the United Kingdom, on the basis of either party taking the produce of another, with differential tariffs against foreigners, will have many interests to deal with and to consider that are hostile to such proposals. There are some things the colonies produce for which they find advantageous markets abroad, and they are rather anxious to increase this commerce than to diminish it. Those colonies which produce wine will want the people of the United Kingdom to continue to drink it, because it does not sell so readily abroad, but for their part they will take for their own use much of the vintages of the Rhine and Bordeaux, and pay for it, if they can, in their own productions. As in the past, so in the future, those people will do the most trade who give the best and cheapest articles that may be wanted, and success will eventually depend on skill, energy, enterprise, and the highest intelligence. The parliamentary colonies are mostly (for the present) so elated over protection, which they appear rich enough to be able to bear, that any arrangement with the United Kingdom, tending to remove her free trade policy, will probably be pleasing to them, especially if it raises the price of any of their produce in British markets; if it does not do this they will not care for it, but they will not object to it, it will really matter so very little to them. It is pretty certain they will make no convention

which will in any way damage their trade prospects with other countries. The great colonies are in the position to gain, whatever policy Great Britain, or indeed any other country, may follow.

Every one knows how the value of land has fallen in England; in France the fall has been 40 per cent, in some places, and a man is deemed lucky who makes per cent, out of it in that country from corn growing. Neither free trade England, by conventions with Canada and Australasia, nor protectionist France, by high duties, can cause this economical result to be reversed. If the value of land falls in the old countries, it rises in the new ones; it is only cause and effect. In the tropical colonies also, competition is intense, and, as a virgin soil accessible to labour can produce some crops 30 per cent, cheaper than the wearied soil of older colonies, the latter, like England and France, have to turn their hands to producing those other crops which the circumstances of the markets make profitable.

If any fair trade or reciprocal treaty tariffs are proposed to be imposed in the United Kingdom, it is only right it should be known at once that it will not be in the interests of the colonies that it will be done, but solely in the interests of those at home who desire protection, and whose private interests never allowed them to be really convinced that free trade was beneficial to the United Kingdom.

## Chapter I.

### The West Indies.

IN Professor Leone Levi's work ("History of British Commerce"), on comparing the returns for the year 1850 with those for 1877, the following results are given. The total general trade of the West India Islands had increased in value during that interval by 177 per cent., but their trade with the United Kingdom had diminished in value by 9 per cent.; in the former year the United Kingdom did 68 per cent, of the trade and only 34 per cent, of it in the latter year. The total trade of British Guiana had increased during the 28 years by 227 per cent, and the trade of the United Kingdom with the colony had increased by 55 per cent, during the same period; but the percentage of this colony's trade with the United Kingdom had fallen from 78 per cent, of the whole in 1850 to 37 per cent, of the whole in 1877.

Taking all the West India colonies, the total exports for the six years ending 1871 were about 45 millions sterling, of which the United Kingdom received 31¼ millions. For the six years ending 1877 there were over 49½ millions exports, of which the United Kingdom received under 34½ millions. For the six years ending 1883 the exports exceeded 55½ millions, of which the United Kingdom received 34¼ millions.

The imports into the West India colonies for the six years ending 1871 were about 38 millions sterling, of which the United Kingdom sent 17½ millions. For the six years ending 1877 they were about 45 millions, of which the United Kingdom sent a little over 20½ millions. For the six years ending 1883 they were nearly 51¼ millions, of which the United Kingdom sent under 21 millions.

It thus appears that between the years 1871 and 1877 the exports of these colonies had increased by 41½ millions sterling, of which the United Kingdom received 3? millions; and between the latter year and 1883 there had been a further increase in the value of exports to the amount of 6 millions sterling, of which the United Kingdom received none. In imports the increase had been 7 millions between the years 1871 and 1877, of which the United Kingdom sent 3 millions; and between the latter year and 1883 there had been a further increase in imports to the extent of 6¼ millions sterling, but the United Kingdom sent only about ? million of this increase.

During the 12 years ending 1883, about £6,632,210 in bullion and specie (included in above figures), was imported into the Island of Trinidad, and of this all but £1,383,258 was re-exported.

Much of the balance was probably taken away by the coolies leaving Trinidad, and would not figure in any returns; a good deal of the imported coin will have passed through the hands of the people as wages paid and spent, before re-exportation.

The imports of bullion and specie into the other West India colonies for the above period are inconsiderable.

The average value of the exports from the West India colonies to the United Kingdom has not varied to any considerable extent during the last 18 years, although the quantity has been greater. For the 10 years ending 1875 it averaged £5,340,000 a year, the average for the 5 years ending 1880 was about £5,917,000 a year, and for the 3 years ending 1883 £5,068,719 a year. The fall in the price of sugar partly accounts for the falling off in the value of produce imported into the United Kingdom from these colonies during late years.

The imports from the United Kingdom into the West India colonies (including bullion and specie, and

foreign and colonial produce and manufactures) averaged £3,135,000 a year for the ten years ending 1875, £3,445,000 a year for the five years ending 1880, and £3,786,000 a year for the three years ending 1883.

The above import values of goods and specie include freight and some charges.

In the above shipments from the United Kingdom, an average of about £325,000 a year, for the whole period, will be for colonial and foreign produce and manufactures, the balance being British goods and specie.

According to Board of Trade returns, the imports into the United Kingdom from the West India possessions averaged £5,935,000 a year for the three years 1881-83, and the exports thereto from the United Kingdom for the same period averaged £3,500,000 a year. This is about 17 per cent, more for West India imports than is given by the colonial returns, and 81/6 per cent, less for exports to the West Indies than is shown by the colonial returns. On both sides the imports are more highly valued than at the ports whence they were sent. It will be seen farther on that the differences between the colonial and Board of Trade returns in the West Indies are only about a quarter of the differences that are shown to exist in some other colonies.

In the five years ending 1877 the United States sent 47 millions dollars of goods to the British West India colonies, and in the five years ending 1882 exactly another 47 millions of dollars' worth (a total for the ten years of £19,584,000 at 4s. 2d. a dollar) mostly in flour and other provisions. In the five years ending 1877 the United States received 33 millions dollars' in produce from the British West India colonies, and in the five years ending 1882 the amount was 39½ millions of dollars worth (a total of £15,104,000 for the ten years). During the ten years ending 1882 the United States sent to these colonies 21½ millions dollars (about, £4,479,000) more merchandise than they took in produce and other commodities. This balance was probably paid in cash or bills. In some places, as at Barbados, Americans sell their provisions for cash, and they pay cash for the produce they purchase; but for convenience of comparison it will be necessary, in colonial dealings with other countries, as well as with Great Britain, to give comparative statements, in order to demonstrate the position they hold towards one another as consumers of each other's produce and merchandise; for in the end trade depends on these results, whatever may have been the medium employed in the exchange of commodities.

During the same ten years these colonies exported £57,300,000 to the United Kingdom, and took 34½ millions in merchandise and specie; they consequently exported to the United Kingdom £22,800,000 more in produce and other commodities than they took in merchandise and in money; so that these colonies took £14,916,000 more from the United Kingdom than from the United States, and exported £42,200,000 more to the United Kingdom than to the United States in the ten years (1873-82). The total trade with the United States for the ten years was £34,688,000, and with the United Kingdom £91,800,000.

During the same ten years (1873-82) the British West Indies imported from Cuba and the Spanish West India possessions about £796,000 in merchandise, and the Spanish possessions took in return only £145,000, so that some other means of paying the balance of £65,000 a year must have been provided by the British colonies.

From British North America, the four chief colonies—Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guiana—during the four years ending 1881, took £1,350,000 in merchandise (chiefly provisions), and sent only £1,115,000 in produce and other forms of payment. In the two years 1882-83 they took £801,000, and sent £1,176,000. British North America has, therefore, been importing more produce, recently, from the British West Indies. Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad imported to the value of £1,300,000 from India in the three years 1881-83, and as there were only £1,344 exports in return, the amount due was probably paid through London. These are the three colonies that chiefly import Indian coolies.

Trinidad does a large trade with Venezuela, importing in the ten years 1874-83, £5,099,000, and exporting £2,629,000. It would appear that some Venezuela exports find their way to European markets *via* Trinidad. This is also the only West India colony that deals considerably with France. It sent £2,076,000 of produce to that country in the five years 1879-83, receiving in return only £695,000. The balance (£1,381,000) being probably paid in cash, in bills, and through London. The produce sent to France was mostly cocoa.

The British West India colonies do a certain trade amongst themselves, but only to a limited extent; some ports in Barbados and other places are used as depots, whence American and other stores are distributed among minor colonies.

On the whole it may be seen that the West India colonies, in their dealings with other countries (except France), usually take from them considerably more than they export to them, and that in their dealings with the United Kingdom it is the reverse; they give her more than they take. The British markets evidently continue to be the best for the sale of produce, and London being the centre of commercial transactions to most countries, accounts between foreign countries and other colonies are best settled there.

The value of apparel, cotton, linen, and woollen goods, the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom, imported into the West India colonies in the five years 1879-83, amounted to £6,205,000, the total of United Kingdom produce and manufactures of all kinds being £15,181,000 in the five years.

It is as well to draw attention to the fact that the foreign West India colonies, that is to say, the Danish, Dutch, French and Spanish West Indies, and Haiti and San Domingo (total population of all about 3,500,000)



import between them, from the United Kingdom, merchandise of the yearly value, taking an average of five years, 1879-83, of nearly £3,750,000, all of which, with the exception of about £600,000 a year in rice, for the possessions of Spain—principally from India and Burmah—were nearly exclusively British goods. This is over £368,000 a year more than the British West Indies took during the same period. The total average yearly exports to England from these foreign West Indies, for the same period, was £2,189,000. They took, in the five years, £18,722,000 in merchandise from the United Kingdom, and sent exports valued at £10,945,000. It thus appears that these countries take from the United Kingdom about £1,555,000 a year more in imports than they send her in exports. It has been seen that the United Kingdom trade with the British West Indies lies quite the other way. During the same period of five years they took only £16,909,000 imports (including specie and foreign and colonial produce and manufactures) from the United Kingdom, sending her £31,860,000 of their exports.

The total tonnage entered and cleared from all the ports of the British West Indies in the four years, 1880—83, was 12,006,047 tons for steamers, and 7,838,915 tons for sailing vessels, 15,115,795 of the whole tonnage being British. Most steamers call at every port of importance on a voyage, and many sailing vessels call at more than one port.

The following are the chief tariffs on articles imported into the West Indies. The highest are paid by the people of Jamaica. They pay 8s. for every 196 lb. of flour, or one halfpenny per lb. duty! It is not to be wondered at that the labouring population consume of this luxury only about four ounces a week per head. Most of the other West Indian colonies charge about one farthing per lb. duty, and consume a trifle more of the article. Flour foods are perishable commodities in tropical climates; they soon deteriorate in value, and are easily crowded with weevils. Money, also, commands a much higher interest in these places than in the United Kingdom (the *lowest* rate charged for *good* paper is 6 per cent, at the chief ports). A tradesman, who has to pay the duties on flour always in cash, while the flour itself is often paid for in produce or in bills, will expect a return equal to double the amount advanced, in order to cover a possible loss by waste and deterioration. A flour duty (especially a high one) is the worst form of tax that could be imposed in the tropics; it increases the amount of the risk of the importer to such an extent that he has to charge much more in proportion for the article than is represented by the extra cost to him, and it helps to induce him to import only such quantities as he is certain to find a ready market for. The average duty on wheaten flour in the West Indies is equal to about 26 per cent, on its first cost (flour at 16s. a barrel of 196 lb., at port of shipment or on board) at present prices of low grade flour. For the reason given above this will make it cost 39 per cent, more to the purchaser than would be the case if it were free of duty. In Jamaica, where the duty on flour is about 50 per cent, on its first cost, the effects will proportionately be more severe, and the difference to the retail purchaser will be formidable indeed. The ordinary labourer cannot afford flour food as a usual diet, if at all, on these conditions. The average cost of a pound of bread made of a low-grade flour, and more or less adulterated with the flour of manioc and other inferior and lower-priced substances, is 3d. in the West Indies. The duty on flour is only 10 per cent, *ad valorem* at Honduras, and about 22 percent. (3s. 6d. a barrel of 196 lb.) at Trinidad.

Corn meal is moderately used, and by the labouring population only. In Jamaica it pays a quarter the amount of duty charged on flour entering that colony; in the other colonies it pays about half the duty flour pays, the average is 16 per cent, on first cost. In Barbados and British Guiana the duties are less—about 7 per cent, to 8 per cent, on first cost. Flour is permitted to enter the little island of Montserrat free.

Rice is more generally consumed in the coolie colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana, but it is also moderately used in the other colonies. The low-priced Rangoon qualities are usually imported. Jamaica duty figures highest at 3s. per 100 lb., equal to about 41 per cent, on first cost, at 8s. per cwt. on board. Trinidad charges about 27 per cent., and British Guiana about 13 per cent.; Barbados charges only per cent.; the other colonies charge from 10 per cent, to 20 per cent, duty on first cost (on board).

The duties on biscuits, grain, peas, beans, and farinaceous substances not specially referred to, are all somewhat in the same proportion to value as those above given. These are all staple articles of food, and, it is not too much to say, the more they are employed by the people, the better for all classes. A superior diet, for which a man will have to labour regularly, will improve his physical powers and increase his self-respect, and add stability to industry. It will be seen, however, that some of the tariffs are almost, if not quite, prohibitory, and others are so high as to be unjust. For those who study Blue Books, it may be well to mention that the returns they embody are often on these subjects incorrect and delusive. An article in one colony will be valued at 24s., and at another colony not fifty miles distant the same class of article will be valued, at the same time, at 38s.; at one place a thing will be valued at 5s., and thirty miles off they will place it at 12s. Some of these figures must be incorrect. The articles so valued are often imported by the same vessel and shipped from the same port at the same time. In dealing with prices, the cost on board or at the port of shipment should be taken, which, of course, is liable to vary, and does vary, but it varies equally for all. The prices in local markets of limited extent may vary largely on the spot, for local reasons, within a few months or weeks, and it would be

misleading to endeavour to follow them. Besides, the prices may be put down from the two or three parcels of a high class imported for special use, and not from the average quality with which the public get supplied. It is probable, also, that in some instances not only freight and charges are added, but even prospective profits. This would naturally cause a specific duty to look less. In dealing with *ad valorem* duties the merchant will be certain to be strict, and not to overvalue his goods to the customs authorities. *Ad valorem* duties are charged on the prices of articles at port of shipment, or nearly so. Goods paying specific duties should be valued similarly.

Fish, dry-and wet-salted, is an article of diet a good deal too much employed, perhaps, by the people, for the quality is often of the worst. Here the Blue Books are evidently misleading, for the invoice prices of the same article vary sometimes 100 per cent, in ports almost within sight of one another. It is remarkable, also, that where the duties are highest there the prices are put very high, and when the duties are comparatively low the prices are less in proportion. Now this cannot be the case in business; the greater duty will enhance the price after, not before, its payment. In Barbados these duties are comparatively low, in the other colonies they are far too high, notably in Jamaica, where the customs charges are 3s. 6d. per 100 lb. of dry fish, equal to 18½ per cent., and is 2d. to 2S. 3d. per 100 lb. wet fish, equal to 20 per cent, to 30 per cent, *ad valorem*. The other colonies vary from 1s. to 2S. for same weight. Trinidad allows these articles to enter free.

Salt meat is charged 8s., 10s., 12s. 6d. up to 15s. on a barrel of 200 lb. The first cost Value will vary between 40s. and 60s., according to the nature and quality. The duty on this article therefore varies from 13 per cent, to 37½ per cent. *ad valorem*, according to the port it enters at. Trinidad charges no duty on salt meat.

The duties charged on articles of secondary importance for food are usually so high that they must have the effect of restricting their importation and lessening the revenue that might be derived from them; these duties, on the whole, are sometimes higher even than those imposed by the deliberately restrictive tariffs of the neighbouring colonies of foreign powers, and are equal to those imposed by protectionist countries, who desire the articles to be shut out from their markets. Jamaica charges 2d. per lb. on cheese, butter, bacon, sausages, and hams. These articles are mainly imported from the United States, and the duty will average from 18 per cent, or 20 per cent, on butter and ham, to 40 per cent, on cheese and sausages, and 33 per cent, on bacon, on the first cost. The effect of such a heavy charge will fall on the consumer, who will have to pay about double this duty by the time the article leaves the retailer's hands. The charges in the other West India colonies on these articles average about half those of Jamaica.

There are duties on lard, soap, candles, salt, and other household articles too many to enumerate; but the amount imposed is sufficient to seriously enhance the cost of all of them to the people. There is a duty on coffee, which is probably protective, as the people may often grow their own supplies. The duty on raw sugar varies from 100 per cent, or more on its present value in some colonies through almost every stage of duty; but on the whole it acts, as probably it was intended to act, as a prohibition to importation. The case of refined sugar is different; this is a British manufacture, and the sugar-growing colonies, who are anxious that the United Kingdom should buy their raw sugar, put a prohibitive duty on its return in a refined condition. The average duty is from ¾d. to 1½d. per lb., which will have the effect of restricting the supply, and more than doubling the cost to the consumer. Sugar imported into the Bahamas for preserving and packing fruits is exempted from duty. The duty on tea is comparatively moderate in the West Indies, except in Jamaica, Bahamas, and Honduras, where they charge 1s. per lb.; but it is an article not extensively used by the people.

Rum and gin are the only spirituous liquors much employed by the people. The duties on these vary in every colony. It may be said to be tolerably high in some of them, considering the intrinsic value of the article, in many it is evidently too low. It is 10s. a gallon at Jamaica, 8s. 4d. at British Guiana, 6s. to 8s. at Trinidad, 3s. to 6s. at Barbados, 3s. to 7s. at the Windward Islands, and from 1s. 6d. to 5s. in the Leeward Islands, 3s. to 9s. at Bahamas, and 9s. at Honduras. If these duties are imposed on any determined principle, the variations in amount of duty charged will show that they have not been made clear. The duties on beer average from 6d. to 1s. per doz. quarts, and in wood from 2d. to 1s. the gallon. The duty on wines differ in each colony. Some charge 15 per cent., others 20 per cent., others 25 per cent, *ad valorem*, and others 1s. to 6s., or 2S. to 8s., or 4s. to 8s. per dozen bottles specific duty, according to quality and strength; the duty on wine in the wood varies from 15 per cent, to 25 per cent, *ad valorem*, and from 1s., 2s. 6d., or 4s. per gallon specific duty.

Tobacco may be regarded as a necessary, at least the people so regard it. The amount of duty charged varies much, and it is difficult to find a sufficient reason for this; unmanufactured tobacco pays 6d. per lb. at Jamaica and Barbados, it pays is. 0½d. to 1s. 5½d. at British Guiana, and 9d. at Trinidad. At Honduras, St. Christopher, and Nevis, it is 2½d. per lb., 1½d. at Bahamas, and 3d. to 1s. elsewhere. 3d. per lb. would not be an unfair duty; it would be equal to about 40 per cent, on the first cost value on board. The unmanufactured leaf is the form of tobacco used by the people, and a duty of from 80 to 140 per cent, on its value seems too much; manufactured tobacco pays at Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, and the Windward Islands about 35 per cent, on its value; at British Guiana 50 per cent., and in the Leeward Islands from about 14 per cent to 20 per cent. The duty on cigars is about 40 per cent, on their value at Jamaica, it sometimes rises to 30 per cent, in other colonies, it is

sometimes only 20 per cent, or less. In some of these colonies the people can grow their own tobacco, and the duty on the unmanufactured article will be protective, as an excise would be impracticable. Perhaps the majority of the tariffs were so intended. A lesser, and uniform, duty on common leaf tobacco would probably be more remunerative than the present tariffs.

The duties on articles of ordinary merchandise, yarns, woven fabrics, leather goods, haberdashery, millinery, earthenware, glass and iron ware, are sometimes as high as, and approximate closely to, similar tariffs in those foreign ports where they are imposed expressly for protection purposes. There are considerable variations, for apparently no reasons, between the tariffs of the several colonies, which must be very bewildering to merchants and shippers. The Bahama Islands demand 20 per cent., St. Lucia 10 per cent, and 20 per cent., Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada 10 per cent., Tobago, Montserrat and Virgin Islands per cent., Antigua 6 per cent., British Guiana 5 per cent., St. Kitts and Nevis 8 per cent, and 10 per cent., Barbados and Trinidad ask only 4 per cent., which is about the duty that ought to prevail.

Some of the islands have special additions to all customs' duties, for the purpose of meeting special losses from hurricanes, bad crops, or depression in trade; Dominica makes a surcharge of 20 per cent., Jamaica one of 10 per cent., and Antigua 12½ per cent.

There is no charge on coal entering Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas, or St. Lucia, but all the other colonies make a charge; at St. Vincent it is 10 per cent., Grenada and Virgin Island 7½ per cent., St. Kitts and Nevis 8 per cent, on cost price. Barbados demands 2s. 6d., Antigua 2s. 1d., Dominica 4s. 2d., Montserrat 2s., and British Guiana 1s. 6d. per ton. Salt is allowed to enter Barbados and British Guiana free; there is a protective tariff at the Bahamas of 20 per cent., and at Turk's Island of 10 per cent, *ad valorem*; in the other colonies the duty at entry varies between 5 per cent, and 10 per cent, *ad valorem*. The duties on mineral and other oils are unusually heavy, but vary much. St. Christopher and Nevis charge only 8 per cent., Barbados demands 2½d. a gallon or about 35 per cent, on petroleum, and 4 per cent, only on other oils. Jamaica charges 9d. a gallon, the Bahamas and British Guiana 7½d. a gallon (about 100 per cent.), Trinidad charges 6d. a gallon on cocoanut oil, and 1s. a gallon on other oils, which will be 150 per cent, on petroleum. The evenings are not long in the tropics, but the duty on this article of universal use by the people should not be so enormous in proportion to its value.

It is to be observed that—except at Barbados, where the duty is 4 per cent., and Grenada, which charges 5 per cent.—machinery, and some metals and metal work, and all articles employed by planters in cultivation and in the manufacture of sugar, rum, and other produce, are free of duty; also all manures. Of course, it is said these exemptions are for the purpose of encouraging planting enterprise. It is good that it should be encouraged, but the poor man pays on everything, whether imported for his trade or not. It is satisfactory to have to note that fresh meat, poultry, turtle, fresh fish, green fruit, and vegetables are usually free of duty.

On the whole, it will be seen that taxation is so adjusted that it falls almost entirely on the labouring population, and the system of tariffs are not only altogether opposed to free trade principles in the abstract, but must act injuriously on the welfare of the population under any theory of taxation.

The West India colonies, with the exception of Barbados, British Guiana, and Honduras, levy export duties. In Jamaica it is 5s. 9d. on a hogshead of sugar, 4s. 6d. on a puncheon of rum, 6s. on a tierce of coffee, and 1s. a ton on dye woods. Trinidad charges 6s. on a hogshead of sugar, and 4s. 4d. on 100 gallons of rum; molasses, cocoa, coffee, petroleum, and asphalt are also taxed on exportation. Antigua charges 5s. on a hogshead of sugar. St. Christopher and Nevis make export charges on sugar, rum, molasses, arrowroot, cotton, and charcoal. St. Vincent charges sugar, rum, molasses, arrowroot, cotton, and cocoa. Grenada, in addition to the above, adds spices. Dominica and Montserrat tax everything they export. The Bahamas tax guano and cave-earth 2s. a ton, and 1½ per cent, *ad valorem* on everything exported that has not already paid an import duty. The Virgin Islands tax the cattle and provisions they export to the neighbouring port of St. Thomas, and 71 per cent on wrecked goods.

Export duties are almost universally condemned as a system for providing revenue, even when the exporting countries can claim a monopoly of the article exported. There may be local circumstances, nevertheless, which would make such a form of tax one of the least objectionable in some colonics. Where the only alternatives are duties on imports (places where no other form of tax can be levied) it may be desirable to apply both.

In the West India colonies there are taxes on dogs, horses, cattle, mules, vehicles. It is usual to require licences for many things besides the selling of spirits, tobacco, and stamps; but every colony has a system and tariff of its own on all these matters. Antigua demands 10s. a year for permission to sell bread. Dominica thinks the butcher and blacksmith the right men to pay, and charges them 20s. each. St. Lucia demands 60s. a year from the petroleum dealer, and Grenada 50s. a year from the retailer of charcoal. Boatmen, porters, hawkers, and others are usually licensed by the year by paying certain sums.

There is a poll-tax at St. Lucia, Tobago and Grenada, Dominica, Montserrat, and Virgin Islands, where

each male inhabitant up to a certain age is to give so many days' work in each year or pay a stated fine. This is a tax usually in connection with the repair of roads. Roads are of equal use to everybody, and it is of the first necessity that they should be kept up. Some other form of assessment would be fairer to all, and more legitimate. The present tax is unequal; the man who earns 20s. a day pays the same fine as the man who earns 6d. There are taxes on houses and lands, but the latter tax is extremely light. Cane pays 2 dollars an acre in British Guiana, and when empoldered, but not under cane, 2 cents an acre; in the other colonies it varies from 6d. to 1s. 6d. an acre for cane, and 1½d. to 6d. an acre for other land. But in some colonies there is no land-tax of any kind. With respect to houses the taxation varies greatly, but is nowhere heavy.

The Jamaica tax on stock, 1s. a head, seems to act injuriously on the rearing of cattle, for which some parts of the island are suitable, and the import duty of 10s. each on horses and cattle would be better suppressed. There seems no reason why the rearer of cattle should be specially taxed more than the raisers of any other form of produce.

A tax may be bad, but its removal may nevertheless be impracticable all at once. A principle demonstrably right when once departed from cannot always be restored without some straining. If the principles of free trade had been really kept in view by the authorities responsible for the tariffs in Crown colonies, say for the last ten or fifteen years, and if they had really wished to see the system that had been adopted by the people of the United Kingdom adopted also in the colonies under Crown government, as far as circumstances made it practicable, there would be little now left to complain of, because it is certain the present system would have been gradually re-modelled. On the contrary, it is evident that high, and even restrictive, and, therefore, impolitic, tariffs on imports have tended to increase, and the policy of free trade has not been supported in the colonies in places where it easily might have been followed with advantage to themselves and to the trade of the United Kingdom.

In the present condition of these colonies it is easy to put the finger on taxes whose removal would be a vast benefit. It is not so easy to suggest others to replace those removed. But it can be demonstrated that the revenue, as a whole, is unnecessarily large. In every country the revenue must be somewhat in proportion to that amount which the people can afford to pay. If the present taxes are demonstrably too heavy, and are draining the vitality of the people, they should be reduced. The expenses of administration must be made to fit in with the necessities of the position.

Those who advocate protective duties in the United Kingdom, because of their almost universal application on the continent of Europe, overlook the intense misery, low position, inadequate wages, and dangerous discontent of the populations who have to labour and suffer and submit to the tremendous tariffs of France, Italy, Germany, and Russia. It is easy also to point to Canada, to the United States, and to the Australian colonies, where free trade does not exist, for it matters very little at present to the people who inhabit these countries what freaks are played with their enormous natural resources. The absurdity of comparisons of this nature are best shown by figures. Were the United Kingdom to pay Government taxes at the same rate per head as the people of Australasia, the revenue to be raised would be about 240 millions sterling a year. Notwithstanding this taxation—voluntarily imposed and but slightly felt, which would crush the life out of any European state in two or three years—when these Australian governments want to borrow money every one is desirous to lend, and the loans reach a premium which the most powerful monarchies in Europe (so sadly in want of money) could never hope to obtain for their best guaranteed stock. None of the Crown colonies are any way near the pre-eminent position of actual and prospective wealth attained by these rich and really powerful communities; for, in fact, the people of most Crown colonies are less able to bear burdens than the poorest and most backward nations in Europe. It is curious to note how little accumulated wealth exists in any of these Crown colonies. The trumpery sums paraded in the savings' banks are almost all the accumulated savings possessed by the industrious classes, in the face of comparatively enormous exports extending over years. But the fact is that the trade and wealth of a country must be measured by what it receives and retains as well as by what it gives. If the people had some money over after buying food, almost always heavily taxed, they would spend more in British and other manufactures, in household furniture and other commodities. The larger amount of wages distributed of late years in some of these Crown colonies, among a larger number of labourers for raising a larger quantity of produce, has most of it gone to buy enormously taxed food. There was little surplus over for a larger purchase of British or any other goods.

High duties on imports, in order that all other forms of taxation may be avoided, and the introduction of a low class labour to compete with native labour where such exists, and beat it down to their conditions, may suit planters and absentees and those who look to the raising of produce for export as the end and aim of all colonial policy, but it does not and cannot advantage the colony as a whole, and it is, at the same time, undoubtedly detrimental to the interests of British manufacturers and British working men, the best and most natural markets for whose goods are thereby restricted. A free trade policy would lessen the cost of food and, by leaving a balance over after the primary necessities of life had been supplied, lead to a larger consumption of, and

consequently to a larger demand for, British merchandise. The United Kingdom cannot expect to do a larger or more profitable trade with a pauper community. The tropical Crown colonies will never manufacture certain goods; the better off the people become the more they will take of such goods from the United Kingdom.

The consequences of this fiscal system of high tariffs in the West India colonies has resulted in a demand for what may be called their commercial annexation to the United States. The United States show no unwillingness to annex all the trade and commerce of these colonies, but is adverse to assuming the responsibilities and probable annoyances of a political union. The upshot of the question is that the British Government has been requested to make a treaty with the United States by which their merchandise may enter the West Indies free, but British and other merchandise to continue to be taxed, and for this favour West India produce is to enter United States ports on the same terms as the produce of countries with which similar compacts have been made. The West India colonies have been so badly treated by all parties, and their condition, in consequence, has been often so desperate, that no reasonable man can feel surprised at a demand which under ordinary circumstances and conditions would seem preposterous. It is to be hoped the recent rise in the value of sugar will give breathing-time, and another chance to the responsible authorities to place matters on a sound footing, without it being necessary to have recourse to such desperate means.

It is clear that the remedy in the condition of the West India colonies expected to be brought about by this treaty with the United States would, under any circumstances, be only temporary, and would certainly before very long prove entirely delusive. Reasons for this view are not wanting. The sugar produced within the States themselves is every year increasing in quantity very considerably, and, ultimately, will not only suffice for the wants of the States but there may be a surplus for exportation. The United States have entered already into conventions with most of the sugar-producing countries in Central America, and, before long, they will have concluded similar arrangements with Haiti and San Domingo, and the Spanish West Indies, and others. Under these circumstances British West India sugar will certainly find a worse market at New York than at London, the best market of the world. But meanwhile an irrevocable arrangement will have been made with the United States which will place British goods for ever at a disadvantage in the oldest colonies of the United Kingdom, colonies for which, in days now seemingly forgotten, she fought hard and spent treasure in millions.

A recent United States Consular Report from Jamaica recommends this reciprocity treaty between the United States and the West Indies. The consul was dissatisfied with the course of trade, for although the island took from the United States, in 1883, imports valued at £423,412, only about, £10,000 consisted of dry goods and clothing, the remainder being food stuffs; while, during the same year, out of a total of imports amounting to £941,758 from the United Kingdom, £490,000 was the value of dry goods and clothing. A reciprocity treaty would, the consul thinks, reverse the course of trade. It is not quite so certain that it would do so to the complete satisfaction of the consul unless, indeed, the West Indies put a high duty on British imports and permitted free access to United States merchandise. This is, indeed, what was one time aimed at, if not proposed, for the only and declared object of the United States was to shut out United Kingdom dry goods in favour of their own; they would have little or nothing to gain otherwise by the treaty. Had the treaty been concluded on the lines ultimately agreed upon by the United States and supported by the West India committee—the mouthpiece of the absentee interest—the United Kingdom would have been, to a considerable extent, at all events, placed at a disadvantage as regards her general commercial policy, and markets worth some three millions a year for her goods would have been weakened. The West India committee of London is apparently not interested in the production of British manufactures, but their own clients will be the chief sufferers hereafter should the necessities of the position make a treaty necessary, giving the United States a preference over foreign countries and even over Great Britain herself in her own colonies.

There is a danger, not apparently foreseen by those who will mostly suffer from it, in endeavouring to force trade from its natural channels and outlets by conventions such as those proposed between the United States and the West Indies. The West Indies receive from certain other foreign countries about £1,000,000 a year in the aggregate above the amount they export to these countries direct, and this has to be paid for. The paths of commerce are devious and complicated, and the best and most profitable methods, when nothing interferes, are sure to be found and developed; at present, the United Kingdom is the large receptacle of produce, and the balances due to other countries are easily paid through her. Even the United States take from the West Indies nearly £500,000 a year less than they send. If the West Indies receive no more British goods, can the London market continue to absorb their produce? Will the course of trade that sets in with the United States be such as to enable the valuable foreign commerce of these colonies, which is not balanced by remittances of produce to them, to be carried on as effectively as it is now? Will the United States be able to absorb the five or six millions sterling of produce now annually shipped to the United Kingdom for home consumption and distribution, if they send no equivalent in return, or only the equivalent the United Kingdom now sends?

No reference to the West India colonies would be satisfactory to the great interests involved without dwelling somewhat on the land laws. It is satisfactory to note the advance of opinion on this question; these

laws have now been unequivocally condemned by every competent authority, and even those most interested in their maintenance are ashamed any longer to stand by them in the face of the universal condemnation. Unfortunately, it is, nevertheless, urgently necessary to keep the question before the public, for every one knows how long an acknowledged abuse may exist in a dependency without any serious efforts being made for its final removal. The consignee's lien may have no longer its acknowledged champions, but there are yet powerful interests not above profiting by the injustice allowed by the law, and these interests will hinder, by methods known to interested partisans, the promised reform. The "consignee's lien," in these days, when the only hope for the West Indies and their inhabitants is in commercial freedom, is particularly iniquitous, unjust, and impolitic; due to it, property has no stability, industry in land has no certain rights, and enterprise and capital have no secure outlet in these colonies. A decision of the High Court of Justice, at Barbados, a year or two back, defeated the attempt to introduce priority for the consignee's lien into that island.

The theory has for a long time been abandoned with respect to the West Indies that they should be ruled and governed for the benefit of an absentee planting interest, but in practice they are nearly as much so now as in any previous period. Politically, the people may have all that can be desired; education, also, has made sound beginnings, and the administration in all its parts and details is honourable and impartial; the ordinary civil and criminal laws are equal for all classes and colours, and they are administered with an impartiality and intelligence found nowhere outside of British rule. Yet the people are poor and degraded because the industries by which they live are weighed down and overborne by special systems which, to say the least, are opposed to every fundamental principle of right and justice known to Englishmen. So certain is it that the economical systems in force in any country are those which have most effect on a people's welfare. When a country is ruled by the most highly educated and intelligent classes, it is a grand thing to see the general welfare alone cared for and ably administered; but it is a sorry and degrading sight to see these privileges misused for personal ends. The inhabitants of the West Indies, by whose efforts alone the absentee merchants can claim to be wealthy, are unjustly over-burdened by a policy by which the interests of the merchants alone profit. In the West Indies, with a few exceptions, the economical systems and mortgage laws are framed entirely in the interests of this class, and so sweepingly and specially, that the natural owners and cultivators of the land have been ousted from it, ruined, and discouraged. This absentee class, through its agents, has by the very use and enjoyment of these special privileges, extending over many years, accumulated enormous power in the various islands, and it can now use this power and influence, and the power and influence its position and wealth gives it at home, to hinder the enactment of those just measures the position of these colonies so urgently need. The "Consignee's Lien," the badge of the commercial servitude of the "West Indies, replaced that other servitude of slavery, and therefore the freedom that was given to the inhabitants by the righteousness of the British people was much of it surreptitiously snatched from them by a cunningly devised law, which left them the forms of independence, but took from them the fruits of their toil. How much of the sugar now shipped to London would find other markets if the nominal owners had power to dispose of it can never be known, for London is a good market for every one. No law could be devised by the ingenuity of man which could so effectually hand over the agricultural interests of a whole people to a single monopoly as the "Consignee's Lien."

The late Royal Commission made proposals of a rose-water character, which, if adopted, would only consolidate for a further period the stern evils under which the West India people labour. How can it benefit a poor, ill-fed labourer that food should be made unprocurable by him owing to a 20 per cent, tax on its value instead of being unprocurable at a 35 per cent. tax? Can it benefit him to any extent worth naming if a governor gets £1,000 a year less pay, or a colonial secretary has henceforth to do work some one else is now doing? And these paltry savings are only to result, as was recommended, in a further inroad of coolies for the benefit of absentee planters, and destroy and lower still more completely the value of his labour, and take from him the last chances of providing for his starving children. Are the English people really aware of the condition of the West Indies? Is it not true that among all those islands noted for the value of their exported produce not one could exist without imported food? And how is it there is a growing desire among the people, even of those islands renowned of old for their loyalty, to be severed from the British Empire, and to take refuge and shelter under the flag of the United States, if things are as they should be? Is it not the unendurable ills they are made to bear that forces them? And now that the evil is accomplished, and the ruin can no longer be altogether averted, what is proposed even in England? A convention with the United States. What is this convention to be? Anything that can really benefit the people should be done even at a national loss. Every country in the end, the same as every individual, will have to pay the penalty of injustice and wrong; and if the people of the United Kingdom lose much or all of the trade of these islands, they will then be able to appreciate the advantages of having abandoned the concerns of a whole people to be dealt with by a selfish monopoly. There is another remedy, not to the evil—for much ruin, misery, starvation, disease, and death will ensue whatever be done—but to ward off further and yet greater evils, perhaps insurrection and bloodshed, for it must not be expected the people will starve quietly—and that remedy is to sweep away unconditionally all these food

duties, and to reduce the cost of administration. A fewer number of high judicial and other officials, and a lesser number of governors, should suffice in these days of steam and telegraphs.

It is almost unnecessary to advocate any further the rights of the labouring population of these dependencies of the Crown to have their labour utilised in the cultivation of the land they have to live in. The importation of coolies has recently developed pressing dangers which will tend more to put a stop to the traffic than the plainest statements of rights and duties. It is almost certain that those colonies which have already more than enough people for all the labour that can possibly be wanted in them will not be flooded with contracted for pauper coolie labour from India, on the untrue ground that the native-born labourer is idle, incompetent, and unreliable. If men are really free, they have a right to have some voice in the question of their wages. The importation of foreign workmen into England when the building trades were on strike was not popular with people of any class; not even with those who deemed that the workmen were wrong in their demands.

The population of the West India colonies, at the close of 1883, was about 1,537,250. In the coolie colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana, the males outnumbered the females by 22 per cent., in the remaining colonies the females exceeded the males by 18 per cent. Taking all the colonies, each inhabitant paid 13s. 7d. customs duties, chiefly on food stuffs, in 1883. The labouring classes pay as much of these taxes as any one else, if not more. A man and wife and three children would pay 67s. 11d. in customs charges in the year, even on the insufficient diet they could procure. If a family do not eat the flour and other food actually taxed, but only the roots procurable in the market, they pay the taxes nevertheless, because the prices of these articles accommodate themselves to the prices of the flour and other taxed foods and rice, there not being over a tenth enough of such root crops for the people's consumption anywhere, sometimes not one-twentieth.

Wages will be as follows, on an average, for an able-bodied man:—200 days at 20 cents, (10d.), 50 days at 28 cents, (1s. 2d.), 50 days at 32 cents, (1s. 4d.), total for 300 days in the year, £14 11s. 8d. Let it be assumed the man has a wife and three children; the woman, by the custom of the country, will work at field labour, and will earn a third as much as the man, or £4 17s. 2½d; the three children, on an average, and before they work on their own account, will earn half as much as the woman, or £2 8s. 7d. Total for the family £21 17s. 5½d. in the year. This would be a strictly fortunate and hard-working family; it assumes no one will be sick, or incapable of work, and that they will all be able to find remunerative work for 300 days in the year. Taking the whole of the West India colonies, the taxation per head in 1883 was a little over £1 6s. 6d. For the family of five this will be £6 12s. 6d., or over 30 per cent, of their total possible earnings; in Great Britain the proportion is 11.88 (but if the average earnings of agricultural labourers only were considered, it would, perhaps, be more); in the United States it is 9.21; in Brazil and South America it is 19.25; in all Europe it is 15.3 percent. The family, after paying these taxes, will have £15 4s. 11½d. to live on for the year. The following details are founded on the latest information from reliable sources. Provisions may be purchased at the prices quoted below in the largest ports, where they are cheapest:—Sweet potatoes, 60 to 100 lb. for 4s. 2d.; yams, 50 to 60 lb. for 4s. 2d.; eddoes, 40 lb. for 4s. 2d.; rice (inferior quality), 3 pints for 5d.; corn meal 2½ lb. for 5d.; wheaten flour (low grade), 2 lb. for 5d.; butter, 1 lb. for 2s.; salt pork and beef, 1 lb. for 9d.; mutton (very rare), 1 lb. for 1s.; beef (poor quality), 1 lb., 6d.; fish, 1 lb., 3d. to 6d. Food has been scarce recently, and is likely to become more so; the above prices will be much increased (30 to 50 per cent.) in country districts and minor ports, and in some places all of the above provisions will not be obtainable at any price. This industrious and comparatively well-to-do family of five, after paying taxes, will have 10d. per day to live on. Deductions will have to be made for clothing, 5s. per head a year, 25s.; house (and taxes for same, not included in Government taxes), 30s. per year; 5s. a year for cooking materials, furniture, and fuel. This will leave about 8d. a day for food for the five persons. Let them buy and eat the lowest-priced articles procurable, and they must pass a life of semi-starvation, and without common decencies, and this for people who have to work hard every working day in the year, and are all able to do so.

## Chapter II.

### Ceylon.

CEYLON has historically an important and picturesque past. Its present position is one of interest, but it has lost much of its picturesque element. For reasons whose validness, if at any time demonstrable, have never been made evident, the island has been subjected to a fiscal and economical policy which has not led to that prosperity which should ever distinguish British rule. It would not be difficult to prove how a different fiscal

and economical policy would have led to more satisfactory results, and have brought more happiness and more prosperity to the old races who inhabit the island. The position is such that it is doubted whether 1,500 years ago the island was not better off than it is now after some centuries of European dominion, of which about ninety years have been British. It is satisfactory, however, to know that, notwithstanding the policy so long 'followed in the island and which is so opposed to everything that is deemed essential to prosperity by all parties in Great Britain, the colony can yet compare advantageously with the adjacent colonies of other nations. Such complimentary comparisons are often made, and, in consequence, it is to be feared that too low a standard is apt to be accepted by legislators and by governors for their platform. A British Crown colony should compare with no other place; it should stand alone as an example of a sound, enlightened, and generous policy practically exemplified.

When the forced labour—which probably built the tanks, and certainly kept them in repair—and the milder forms of slavery that existed in the island were abolished at the close of the year 1844, no other methods were adopted to keep up the tanks and supply the necessary irrigation for cultivators. Vast districts fell out of cultivation, and had to be abandoned by the population. It is true that before emancipation many of the irrigation works were neglected by the administration, and fell into decay. Some people doubted the wisdom of the abolition of forced labour on account of these results, but it is manifest that this just and statesmanlike act—which was imposed on the local administration by public opinion at home—should have been followed up by the necessary measures to keep established public works in repair. Any form of forced labour is well known to be at least as expensive to the community as paid labour, and, in fact, it is generally more expensive under modern conditions of society and law, and always unjust and irksome. The measure of emancipation was not in entire accordance with the views of the Government officials in the island, and these gentlemen, and their successors, have often pointed out how unwise were the British public to interfere with the gentle, paternal despotism that operated in their Eastern dominions. Forced labour, redeemable by fine, was kept on for the making and repairing of roads, because powerful interests were brought to bear. But the policy of this forced labour is also essentially bad and unwise. In recent times the fatal system of neglecting the tanks has been reversed, and large numbers have been repaired and put to work at considerable cost; between 1869-73, 3,000,000 rupees are stated to have been spent on them, the people finding the money; but a great deal yet remains to be done before the effects of past neglect can be obliterated. The abandonment of the tanks by the British Administration not only ruined thousands of proprietors and families, and caused large cultivated districts to relapse into jungle, but actually cut off the water supply for the consumption of the people, who were forced, in consequence, to drink from polluted sources, and died in vast numbers of the diseases thereby caused.

Forced labour has been recently revived, in some parts, for tank-repairing and the establishment and maintenance of irrigation works; owners of paddy land and villagers being compelled to give a certain number of days labour in each year, in proportion to their holding or interest, or pay a commutation fee. The system has kept tanks in repair, and has resulted in important local irrigation works, that were much needed, being carried through. The Government evidently also gets considerable advantages from these works, in the increase of its revenue from the taxes on grain; it, in fact, reaps the advantage of the tenants' improvements, albeit they have been obtained by compulsory labour. Besides the tanks, there are the necessary methods for the distribution of the water to be made and maintained, and it seems certain obsolete customs have been revived by local ordinances which practically result in a system of forced labour; the villagers being compelled to labour in the irrigation works for a number of days each year, sometimes receiving the average wages of the time and place, sometimes cultivators work without remuneration. Although the village communities (elected by universal suffrage) have been entrusted with some jurisdiction in these matters, it is almost certain the most powerful and influential among the villagers will find means to act unfairly to, if not to oppress, the poorer labourers. Such despotic systems of coercive labour always work that way, wherever they are in operation and however well they may be supervised. It seems the Government charges no water rates when the earthworks have been constructed by the enforced, unpaid, labour of the village cultivators, and it then also supplies, at its own cost (from the public taxes), the necessary masonry and ironwork connected with such works.

It is to be remarked, in connection with this subject, that the making of, and the repairs to, these village tanks and the attendant irrigation works, have vastly benefited the occupiers of the neighbouring lands, and the Government has reaped a large and more certain revenue. On the other hand, in those parts where such systems have not yet been enforced (or rather where village irrigation work has not yet been taken in hand), the land is often in a bad condition, and the revenue, of course, suffers in proportion; the paddy crops being uncertain, or there being none.

The argument that has naturally followed is that the system of enforced labour is suited to the island, and should be pursued and kept up, at all events for beneficial schemes of recognised public utility. Now an argument of this nature would be valid in any country on similar grounds. It is said the people are paid in those



cases where it is proper they should be. But why should paid labour be forced unless the remuneration be inadequate? Why are not the railways also constructed by the forced labour of those who want them and who benefit by them, if it be the system suitable to the island, and for the construction of important works? What are wanted in Ceylon, as in all tropical colonies, are good communications and serviceable irrigation works, and as these cannot be made at Ceylon, more than anywhere else, without costing their full value in labour and in material to some one, why not have them constructed, even as other public works are, by contract, and payable, as other public works are, by taxation or by loan? Why pursue a method degrading to the people, and certain to impede, for years to come, any of that real advance which depends more on an independent self-reliance, and a consciousness of freedom of action and absence of restraint than on anything else? This revival and copying of Oriental despotic systems, even though they should be always applied with benevolent intelligence, is unworthy of a British administration, and is decidedly unsafe, however well it may be guided, and however ably it may be conducted; and, in fact, by such actions the local administrations are opposing the determination arrived at by the Parliament and Government of the United Kingdom nearly fifty years ago. The whole island paid for the railways that opened the hill country to British planters and capitalists, but the work required for irrigation purposes by the people themselves in their villages must be accomplished, it appears, by the unwilling, because enforced, labour of the local inhabitants, and be paid for on different principles. The Government profits more largely from these works than from any others. Much has been said about the advantages of these village communities, by which the country people are permitted to manage some of their own concerns, but in this respect they are only taxing machines. The administration itself must not employ forced labour or similar methods repugnant to the people of the United Kingdom, but it appears to think it may depute the power of doing so to others. Local bodies with real power may be much wanted in all the Crown colonies, but certainly not local bodies with mediaeval powers of coercion only.

It is the opinion of many high authorities that these irrigation works, undertaken and carried through by the village councils, which the administration sets to work, guides, and instructs, have been of great use. It is a misfortune that it should have been deemed requisite to have had recourse to such methods. It is impossible to justify enforced labour, especially in countries where it is so necessary to plant other notions among the people, and the use of such labour makes less favourable the contrast of British rule and authority with the despotic and unjust, as well as impolitic, systems known to be employed in Java, Sumatra, and other neighbouring places. It makes it really impossible for Englishmen to denounce oppression anywhere.

The opinion is not universally held that the cultivation of paddy is a paying concern in Ceylon, and many good judges hold that it would be better to raise other crops and get the whole of the rice from Burmah or India, where it can be grown much cheaper. Irrigation by tanks is useful and necessary for many other kinds of produce besides rice. The natural irrigation by river overflow in the great rice countries not only conveys moisture but manure. Sir C. P. Layard (a great Ceylon authority) deems rice cultivation in Ceylon the least profitable of pursuits for a native. To unprejudiced lookers-on it will appear as if the administration would not have interested itself so much in the matter were it not for the revenues derivable from grain. Irrigation will be wanted whatever may be the cultivation of the future. It is to be hoped a man's ordinary freedom of action will be allowed him in Ceylon, even should he reside where a village council holds sway.

The Government railways have been made from Colombo to the coffee and mountain districts; the money was raised by debenture loans, repayable by sinking funds. This is an outlay that was primarily almost entirely made in the interest of planters, but it will be of use to the island, although not of such immediate and permanent value as the restoration of the tanks and the spread of irrigation works on which the main agricultural interest of the people must always depend. In course of time railways will probably be extended over the whole island, and not into coffee and planting districts only. There were 178 miles of railway completed, and more under construction, at the close of 1883. There were also about 1,100 miles of telegraph-wires in use. As in all mountainous countries, subjected to a heavy and fitful rainfall, roads are difficult to be kept in effective repair, and this is no doubt one of the causes of that other special forced labour or road tax being continued. It will also be a reason why railways, in such countries, are generally a practical and economical necessity, and pay for their construction fairly well, nearly as well as the tanks.

The population in 1881 was about 2,764,000, the males being in excess by about 180,000; the 160,000 to 200,000 Tamils (Malabars or coolies), who come over from the coast of Coromandel and Southern India every year for several weeks or months to labour for the estates and on the public works, have comparatively few women among them, the more resident coolie labourers the same. The island races are divided into Cingalese, who number about three-fifths of the whole population, Tamils (Malabars) one-fifth, and Moors (Indo Arabs) nearly one-fifth. The remaining races, mixed and pure, comprise together only about 1 per cent, of the whole, and include the Europeans, the Burghers and Eurasians (descendants of Portuguese and Dutch settlers and mixed races) Veddahs, Parsees, Javanese, Afghans, and others.

In Ceylon the Government is the landlord. There are about 2,600,000 acres of land under different forms

and degrees of cultivation. The amount of land privately held has been variously estimated; there is the Government estimate and there are other estimates from private sources which conflict. Some of the total estimated acreage of the island (15,909,000 acres) will be unavailable and unremunerative for cultivation purposes; deduction will also have to be made for foreshore, water, roads, and railways, but all of these are rendered remunerative for fiscal purposes by the revenue officials; further large deductions will have to be made from the possible cultivated area for forest reserves and other purposes not necessarily unremunerative to the administration. It is evident there is room for a large increase of the various industries connected with land. Of the cultivated land, some is privately held, having been purchased, but some is held on terms of yearly payment to the administration. The land held by planters has been sold to them; land has also been reputedly sold to native cultivators, but the sale is often an apparent one only, for almost all cultivators of grain and paddy have to pay a tithe of their produce, yearly, which practically amounts to a rent charge, from which raisers of other forms of produce are exempted. It has been shown that paddy cultivators are also compelled to make and keep up village tanks and irrigation systems. The land at present unalienated may be said to belong to the Government of Ceylon, in trust for the people of the island; much of it, indeed, consists of jungle and waste occupied and cultivated by the inhabitants in times more or less remote, before cultivation, villages, communities, and towns depreciated and fell away, and the misfortunes that ever attend on war and conquest overtook the Cingalese. The forest lands are said to amount to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions of acres.

The 2,600,000 acres in cultivation (including natural pasturage) in the year 1883-4 comprised about 736,000 acres for different grain and rice, 293,000 acres for coffee, 950,000 acres for palms and natural pasturage, 260,000 acres for cocoa-nuts, 36,000 acres for cinnamon, 40,000 acres for cinchona, about 20,000 acres for tea plants, and 42,000 acres for cotton; 38,000 acres for cardamoms, vanilla, cacao, ginger, spices, and cultivated grass; 185,000 acres for different kinds of fruit and cane (the people make a considerable quantity of jaggery sugar for their own use from certain of their palm trees, and obtain sago from others). It is to be observed that these estimates are open to some variation in detail. A large capital is invested in the higher class of cultivation, commonly called the "planting industry," and more is being continually added. Certain products, such as coffee, sometimes fall off, and others, such as tea, have more ground given to them; but the above figures will give a fair idea of the position for the year 1883-4.

The chief produce raised for exportation is plantation coffee. In 1884 the amount was  $13\frac{1}{2}$  millions rupees, of which Great Britain took about £1,082,000. [In 1880 the value of this article exported came to £3,124,000—a small proportion is native grown. In 1881 the value was £2,000,000, and, £1,685,000 in 1882.] In the same year, 1884, cinchona, valued at about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  millions rupees was raised, and nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions rupees in tea. Cacao (a recent introduction) gave 323,000 rupees. The cinnamon cultivation is almost entirely in the hands of the natives, the average yearly export for ten years (1874-83) was nearly £75,000. The areca palm nut is largely consumed in the island; there was an average export of about £93,000 annually during the ten years 1874-83. The produce of the cocoa-nut tree is chiefly exported in the form of oil, and the amount varies considerably every year; for ten years (1874-83) it averaged nearly £248,000 a year, and the local consumption of nuts and oil will be equal to many times the export. The fibre of the cocoa-nut is utilised in various ways. Plumbago is an important item of export on which the Government charges a royalty of  $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cwt. The average yearly export for seven years (1874-80) was £123,000, and for the three years 1881-83 £244,000; the quantity exported in the ten years was 1,710,000 cwt, bringing £39,187 duty. The total produce of the island exported in 1884 is estimated to have been less in value than that of the previous year by 1,882,889 rupees. Ceylon re-exports some imports, but this trade also fell off in 1884 from previous years; it fell off nearly 950,000 rupees in 1884, compared with 1883. The imports of bullion and specie into Ceylon for the fifteen years 1869-83 amounted to about £11,600,000, largely from India, of which only about £1,341,000 appears as being re-exported. Some of this large balance probably remained in the island (the savings banks have about £200,000), but the greater part certainly has not remained, and much of it was doubtless taken home by the returning Tamil labourers and others leaving the island, and would not figure in any returns.

The total imports into Ceylon for the fifteen years 1869-83 were about  $75\frac{1}{4}$  millions sterling, and the total exports 64 millions, a difference of  $11\frac{1}{4}$  millions; but  $10\frac{1}{2}$  millions of this is accounted for in the specie returns above. For the two years 1882-83 the total imports were about £8,900,000, and the total exports £6,740,000. In 1884 the imports were 51,322,142 rupees (£4,811,450), of which 7,837,792 rupees (£734,793) was specie, and the exports were 33,720,134 rupees (£3,161,262), of which only 211,845 rupees (£19,860) was specie. In 1883 the imports of specie were 5,190,669 rupees (£486,625).

In the 8 years, 1869-76, the imports from Australasia amounted to £1,506,000, and the exports to Australasia to £406,000. In the 7 years, 1877-83, the imports from Australasia were only £313,000, and the exports thereto were £504,000; during the first period Australasia sent £1,100,000 more than she received, and in the latter period she received £90,000 more than she sent, with a diminished trade. On the other hand, in the 12 years ending 1883, the United States received £1,983,000, but there are only about £4,000 imports from that

country during this period. In the 10 years 1874-83, Austria took nearly £3,000,000, but exported to Ceylon very little in return; in the 5 years 1879-83, the proportions were 18 to 1. During the 10 years ending 1883, France and her possessions sent £2,400,000, and took £1,700,000 in return. There was a balance due to them (£700,000) which was probably paid in bills. There was but a slight trade with Hong Kong, Mauritius, and Suez, and about £30,000 to £40,000 a year imports from the Maldive Islands.

The trade with the United Kingdom shows exports amounting to £28,821,000 for the 10 years, 1866-75; an average of £2,882,000 a year, and £17,331,000 for the 5 years, 1875-80; an average of £3,466,000. The value of imports from the United Kingdom (including bullion and specie, when given, and foreign and colonial produce and manufactures) for the 10 years, 1866-75, was about £14,070,000, an average of £1,407,000 a year; for the 5 years, 1876-80, it was £7,167,000, an average of £1,433,000 a year. During the 15 years, 1866-80, Ceylon sent to the United Kingdom £46,152,000, and took £21,237,000 (including specie).

In the 3 years, 1881-83, the exports to the United Kingdom amounted to £5,924,000 (Ceylon valuation), an average of £1,974,000 a year; and the imports from the United Kingdom were £3,676,000, an average of £1,225,000 a year (including bullion, specie, and foreign and colonial produce shipped from Great Britain).

The imports of manufactured cotton and twist averaged £855,200 a year for the 10 years, 1867-76, and £572,400 for the 5 following years, 1877-81. For the 3 years, 1882-84, the average was £490,000 (at 1s. 10½d. a rupee) of which about £247,000 a year was in cotton yarn and piece goods from the United Kingdom. The imports of haberdashery and millinery for the 10 years above mentioned averaged £73,300 a year, and for the 5 years following £89,000 a year, and for 1882-83 £73,000 a year (of which under £19,000 a year was from the United Kingdom). The imports of coal and coke averaged £172,000 a year for the 10 years, 1867-76, and £187,000 for the 5 years, 1877-81. In the 3 years, 1882-84, 556,645 tons were imported (in 1883, the United Kingdom sent 55 per cent.). The imports of cutlery and hardware from all countries averaged £36,000 a year for the 18 years ending 1883, but has been declining of late.

Ceylon, during the 18 years ending 1883, has imported from the United Kingdom £24,913,000, nearly no per cent, less in value than she sent to it (£52,056,000). During the same period of 18 years her total imports (including bullion and specie) amounted in value to about 89 millions sterling, and her total exports to about 74¾ millions. The United Kingdom, therefore, sent something over 27½ per cent, of total imports and took about 69½ per cent of total exports, during that period.

The Board of Trade returns, for the whole 18 years, show the exports to Ceylon from the United Kingdom to be about £7,750,000 (or 45? per cent.) less than the colonial valuations, and the imports from Ceylon to be about £10,000,000 (or 19¼ percent.) more than the colonial valuations for the same period.

In the year 1882-3 Ceylon imported from India rough and clean rice, grain, wheat, pulse and seeds, weighing 3,278,330 cwt., and in 1883-4 she imported 3,241,190 cwt. In the former year she also imported from India 2,729,034 lb. flour, and 2,938,296 lb. in the latter year. In the 2 years she took from India 8,120,737 lb. salt fish. The imports from India for the 18 years 1866-83 were valued at 55½ millions sterling, being 62 per cent, of total imports. The exports to India for the same period were valued at Ceylon at less than 12 millions sterling.

Next to rice and grains, the most important imports from India consist of cotton goods. In the 9 years ending 1884 their export value was estimated in India at £1,326,251, an average of £147,361 a year. India also sends over £8,000 a year in gunny-bags to pack produce for export. An item of import into Ceylon one would not expect to find is about £17,000 a year from India in vegetables and fruit, fresh fruit and fresh vegetables (some of which are re-exported). Ceylon takes nearly £25,000 a year in sugar from India, and £20,000 a year in special woods.

In the 3 years 1881-3 the duties of customs paid in Ceylon on grain, dried fish, curry stuffs, and sugar alone, all articles chiefly imported from India, were £769,413 (at 1s. 10½d. the rupee).

The total value of grain and paddy imported into Ceylon in the 17 years 1867-83 was over £2,300,000, and of cleaned rice nearly 295 millions sterling; during the same period the imported salt and dried fish was valued at over 1½ million, and curry stuffs were valued at about £880,000. Live stock, cattle, &c., were valued at £1,085,000, and poonac (to feed cattle and poultry and for other purposes) at £1,020,000. Most of these imports were from India and Burmah, and amounted to £36,285,000. In the 3 years 1882-4, the value of the above articles imported, amounted to 44 per cent, of the total imports of the colony. The quantity of rice alone was 16,764,400 bushels, valued at £5,110,000, being 37¼ per cent, of total imports during those years. The import duties levied on this rice at 29 cents a bushel was £455,782 (at is. 10¼d. the rupee), about 9 per cent, on its declared value. During the same 3 years paddy and other grain was imported into Ceylon, the duty on which at 29 cents a bushel for grain, and 13 cents a bushel on paddy, came to about £45,000.

In the same period the tax levied on grain grown in the island itself was about £276,000. This makes a total grain tax of £776,782 in 3 years, or the same proportion as if the United Kingdom paid about £3,400,000 each year on corn imported and grown at home. For a rich country like England this would be thought serious, but

Ceylon is a poor country, where the wages of common manual labour are only a fraction of the like wages in England, and the tax is levied almost entirely on rice, the food of the poor. But these are not the only charges; home-grown grain has further burdens to bear. The Government tax (or rent) on lands under grain or paddy cultivation varies; it is sometimes more than one-tenth on paddy lands, but the tenants may redeem the annual extra charge, when more than the tenth, by effecting a commutation of it on the basis of a twenty years' assessment, and paying this amount in four instalments. From lands under fine grain, and not adapted for paddy cultivation, a tenth of the yearly produce only is exacted; Kandyan territories are exempted. The excise tax on grain has this much to be said in its favour, that it causes the Administration to be directly interested in the production of rice and grain, and consequently in the maintenance and spread of irrigation works. But the Administration could perform this essential duty for the people and obtain the necessary revenue more equitably. It is for statesmen and administrators to devise the best methods, and to abolish those which are bad. The taxes have no doubt fallen on uncomplaining shoulders. In fact, the cultivators of grain and paddy may not themselves object to the tax; it raises the cost of an article they produce, but which it should be the interest of every one else to make cheaper. No sound reasons can be advanced for continuing to impose a tax of this nature on a special industry when so many other sources from which revenue could be obtained are comparatively untouched. It is as well, also, to candidly acknowledge that taxes of this class-character lower the prestige of British administration; it is so evident that the same standard is not applied to the people who have a voice in these matters, and those who are administered patriarchially by an intelligent and benevolent despotism.

The Administration is composed of a Governor, an Executive Council of five officials, and a Legislative Council of nine officials and six non-officials, the latter being all nominees of the Governor.

If all cultivated lands were to be taxed alike, instead of those only under a particular produce raised exclusively by natives, and the most useful and essential one of all, and the least remunerative to cultivate, the Administration would come in contact with classes of cultivators of a very different type from the docile and submissive Cingalese. But no British Administration need fear doing right. A tax when spread over a larger area could be much lower in proportion for all. There is a point also of some moment to be thought of in these questions, and that is, who consumes, or would consume if they could, the most British merchandise, the absentee planter or the people? After nearly a century of British rule, Ceylon takes yearly less of British produce and manufactures; the people are too poor to pay for more. The great prosperity so often talked of was simply the raising of produce for export, which planters sent to London because it happened to be the best market for its sale, and will probably continue to be so more and more. If the industrial and economical history of the Crown colonies proves anything, it is that this form of progress, when forced beyond its natural growth, is not of much permanent use to a colony or to its inhabitants, and it confers but little benefit on British industries. Except the planters, who are mostly absentees, the only people who profit at all are the merchants who deal in the produce, and the carriers of it. The money spent in wages gets distributed no doubt among the people, but these wages are terribly low, and it is seen the people have to spend most of them in buying Indian rice and paying the heavy taxes levied on it, and on their home-grown grain. Mr. John Fergusson, a most distinguished authority, in his work, "Ceylon in 1883," says:—"We have no reserve fund of past profits to fall back upon. . . . Money has been sent here to fell our forests and plant them with coffee, and it has been returned in the shape of copious harvests to the home capitalist, leaving us in some cases the bare hill-sides from whence these rich harvests were drawn." The speculation was undoubtedly a good one; Mr. Fergusson calculates (in 1883) that 18,000,000 cwt. of coffee were raised on 320,000 acres of plantations since 1849, the cost was 42s. per cwt., and it sold at 60s. per cwt., a profit of £17,000,000 in the aggregate. He laments lands now lying waste that for years enriched the owners. He might have added, the absentee owners who paid no taxes.

As Mr. R. Giffen stated at the Statistical Society's meeting, on the 21st February, 1882, "It is quite conceivable that a country may be very prosperous without foreign trade at all, or with very little foreign trade, or that for special reasons the foreign trade of the least prosperous country, as a whole, may be making greater progress than the foreign trade of a more progressing country. The progress of the foreign trade of different countries is thus no index at all as to their relative progress materially." Another important authority, Mr. Bourne, said: "Russia exports £50,000,000 of corn a year, but her people are worse fed, housed, and clothed than perhaps any other nation in Europe." The conclusion that must be arrived at is, that the raising of produce for export is a considerable factor in the progress of a colony, if the people inhabiting the colony are those who profit by the industry; but it is not necessarily the most important one when they do not do so; and no administration will be doing its duty if it confers on an absentee planters' industry special facilities at the expense of the general population.

It is not easy to describe the system so as to bring it home to Englishmen, and make it understood by them, this system of looking at a colony chiefly as a produce exporter; it has been so often praised, and taken as a standard of the highest administrative ability. But supposing at their own Norman conquest the conquerors, instead of becoming Englishmen, had remained strangers, and had likewise brought over foreign serfs for a

term of years from the Continent to cultivate the land, but not permanently to dwell on it, and had paid these serfs out of the proceeds of cultivation just enough for them to live on while they remained, and then exported the whole of the crops so raised to the Continent, and pocketed the value, the English people (the Saxon serfs) having nothing to do in the matter, and having no concern in the industry that was exhausting the best selected soil of their country. They must also imagine the Saxon serfs had to get the food they could not raise on the plots of land they were allowed to occupy from abroad, and pay high duties on its entry, paying a like duty on the grain they raised for themselves. It is said, of course, the people in the colonies prefer this system, because they will not work themselves, and, in fact, do not wish to do so. The Tamils in Ceylon, and the coolies in the West Indies, may be thought by some to be as the Irish coming across to assist in the English harvest, but the conditions are not by any means the same. The results of the system speak for it, and prove it to be one by which no country can permanently advance in wealth, and no home of a people can ever be made happy and prosperous. The cultivation of a country is never on a secure basis except it be in the hands of the permanent inhabitants, and indissolubly bound up with their family life, their interests, and their hopes. It must not depend only, or even chiefly, for its support and its existence on foreign capital and foreign enterprise. This foreign capital and this enterprise may fail, or they may seek other lands, or, having made the profits sought after, they may retire on the fruits. But a people cannot retire from business; with them the struggle must be eternal and ever to be renewed; the richest and the poorest, the oldest and the newest countries have to struggle and to work; the moment they cease to do this they die.

It is to be remarked that the duty on rice in the husk is 13 cents, and on cleaned rice it is 29 cents a bushel; as it takes rather over 2 bushels of rice in the husk to make 1 bushel of clean rice, this makes the duty on rice in the husk about the same. The export duty from India is the same on rice in the husk as on clean rice (3 annas a maund, about 61/8d. per cwt.), the consequence is that the importation of rice in the husk into Ceylon is very limited indeed, because, on the whole, it thus pays a higher duty (including Indian and Ceylon duties) than clean rice. In tropical countries rice in the husk will keep a long while, and may be stored up; but cleaned rice is perishable, and rapidly deteriorates. It is obvious that the system pursued, even were duties on grain an unobjectionable form of taxation, is the worst possible; it makes it difficult for the people to take due advantage of a cheap and abundant harvest and low prices to store up grain, and constrains them to live, as it were, from hand to mouth on a perishable and deteriorating commodity. It is well known that people often prefer to purchase the article that is ready for immediate use, even if the quality be somewhat inferior to that which might be had by more trouble; but on the score of cheapness and health, it must often be better could the people obtain sound rice in the husk, which they can clean themselves by manual labour, to rice cleaned in India and full of dust and weevils. In order to equalise the price of rice in the husk and clean rice to the people of Ceylon, the former, at all events, should enter the island free. It takes much labour to unhusk a bushel of rice.

The salt-tax is not much felt by the bulk of the population, but it is said to act injuriously on the health of the people who inhabit remote places; it undoubtedly hinders agricultural improvement in well-known directions.

The revenue for the seven years, 1867-73 (at 2s. the rupee), was £7,464,831; for the seven years, 1874-80, it was £9,792,138; for the three years, 1881-83, it was £3,585,434 (at 1s. 10½d. the rupee). For the first seven years the duties of customs amounted to 25 per cent, of the revenue, for the subsequent seven years they amounted to over 20 per cent, of it, and for the three years, 1881-83, they were about 22 per cent, of it. Besides the ordinary revenues, there are local revenues for local purposes, amounting to about £200,000 a year. Municipal bodies are elected in Ceylon by a high and therefore limited franchise.

There is an item of revenue which exists in this colony (and, indeed, in too many other of the Crown colonies) which compels every male between the ages of 18 and 55 to give six days' work a year on the roads, or pay 1 rupee 50 cents (2 rupees in Colombo). If, as with a conscription, every man physically capable were compelled to work the six days, the law would be absurd, but it would be just in the abstract. At present it amounts to an unjust tax; the revenue from it in 1883 was 704,294 rupees, in 1878 it came to 928,793 rupees. [Indian coolies employed as agricultural labourers are exempted, also those seeking employment as such; this is an exemption entirely in favour of the planters, who are the only employers of this foreign labour.] This Ceylon law is generally regarded as a remnant of the "Raja-caria," the forced labour of bygone days. But the fact is that colonial officials, when they proceed from one colony to another, are apt to take with them their old established views with regard to systems they find operating in some backward settlement they have been administering, and many colonies thus get inoculated with views that have been condemned by every politician and statesman in Europe. This tax of 1½ rupee is paid equally by the labourer, who only uses the road by walking on it barefooted as a passenger, and the proprietor who uses it to have brought to his door in waggons and carts every commodity of a well-to-do household. [Of course he pays also for his waggons and carts.] The local price of good able-bodied labour averages 35 cents of a rupee a day, but it is doubtful whether a man between 45 and 55 years of age could earn more than two-thirds of this amount; the 1½ rupee represents 4½ days' work to the

average good labourer, and to the middle class man an hour's work. The revenue for general purposes of government amounts to about 8s. 6¼d. per head of population; compared with Mauritius this is very low, not quite 4½ rupees per head (the rupee at 1s. 10½d.), against 24¼ rupees at Mauritius. But it represents over 13 days' labour to every able-bodied working man in Ceylon (at 35 cents a day), and the same for his wife and each child (because the average of taxation is based on the entire population); together with road labour, and after allowing for certain deductions for family earnings, the taxes the Cingalee adult has to pay represent two months' labour of 26 days each to the working man a year (who has a wife and three children), at the Ceylon rate of wages—35 cents a day = 9 rupees 10 cents a month of 26 days; this at 1s. 10½d. a rupee = 17s. 0¾d. For a family of five = 1 per day each (30 days to one month).

There is no objection to the amount paid in taxation in Ceylon, if it be raised by safe and sound methods, and wisely expended. Wages, it is seen, are very low, and there is no reason why they should not continue to be so. But in order to increase the quantity and efficiency of this cheap labour it will be necessary to make the food of the people abundant and low-priced. Ricardo laid it down that the natural price of labour was regulated by the cost of food. Exceptions have been taken to this statement; perhaps it should include all other primary wants as well as food. It will always, however, be largely true as regards unskilled labour everywhere.

Hut the *natural* price of labour does not and could not possibly exist in any country where the inhabitants have to compete with coolie or any other form of servile labour, as a part of the social system.

Sir E. Watkin, M.P., in a letter to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Irish Industries, dated 25th June, 1885, said:—"When the labourer passes from the stage of underfeeding to that of good nutrition he can do more work, and he always does it." The fiscal systems actually in operation in Ceylon, with regard to food, make it difficult, if not impossible, for the labourer, at present wages, to subsist adequately. There is an excise duty of at least a tenth on the production of most grain raised in the island itself. This is an old form of taxation which may not have been specially injurious in the olden time when the people lived and worked under entirely different conditions to those of the present day. In those days, also, the tanks and irrigation works brought richness to every field; there were no other ways for raising revenue, and commerce, agriculture, and industry were carried on by different, and defunct, methods, and the island produced more than was wanted for a population, at the lowest estimate, five times more numerous than that of the present day. But Ceylon does not and cannot now raise enough grain for half its people. It therefore seeks rice in India and Burmah. There is a tax levied on the export of this article from India at the rate of 61/8d. the bushel; it is taxed again on entering Ceylon at 6½d. the bushel. It is well known that many people in the island are driven to find unwholesome substitutes for the food thus partly placed out of their reach by fiscal arrangements.

The Government expects to be recouped for the expenditure on irrigation works, irrespective of the tax of 1/10 th and upwards charged on most corn and grain grown in the island. A local Ordinance, passed in 1873, enables cultivators to convert the repayment by 10 annual instalments [for the outlay on works on irrigated lands], into a fixed charge in perpetuity of one rupee an acre. When land is not irrigated there is often a limited crop, and sometimes no crop at all. The Administration gains by the certainty of abundant harvests and the attendant prosperity. The Government, by this one rupee an acre, is repaid, more or less, for all outlay on repairing tanks and other irrigation works. It has been seen that the Administration takes, besides, about a tenth or upwards of nearly all the grain and rice crops raised by the capital, enterprise, and labour of the native cultivators. In the 16 years 1868-83 this tenth land revenue amounted to 15,395,000 rupees, while during the same period all other land revenues only amounted to 1,512,000 rupees.

Import duties are as follows: on rice, wheat corn and Indian corn, and other grain, 29 cents of a rupee (about 6½d. a bushel), on paddy (rice in the husk), 13 cents of a rupee. Wheat flour, 1 rupee per cwt. Dried fish, 50 cents per cwt. Ghee, 2 rupees 50 cents per cwt. Bacon, butter, ham, and cheese, 3 rupees per cwt. Salted beef and pork, 1 rupee 25 cents per cwt. Tea, 25 cents per lb. Jaggery, or palm sugar, 50 cents; brown or muscovado sugar, 1 rupee 25 cents; and refined sugar, 2 rupees 50 cents per cwt. Salt, 2 rupees 13 cents per cwt. Cocoa-nut poonac, 25 cents per cwt. Pickles, sauces, confectionery, cocoas, 6½ per cent, *ad valorem*. Spirits under proof, 7s. 6d. per gallon, and in proportion to strength. Ale in wood, 3d. per gallon, and 7½d. per dozen. Wine in wood, 11½d. per gallon, and 1s. 5d. to 2s. per dozen. Tobacco, 2½d. per lb., unmanufactured; and 55/8d. manufactured; is. 10½d. per lb. snuffs and cigars. The following articles pay 6½ per cent, *ad valorem* duty: candles, petroleum, pitch, vinegar, carriages, perfumery, stationery (except paper and envelopes, which are free), chemicals, soap, earthenware, glass and leather goods, clocks and watches, linseed and vegetable oils, hats and caps, gold and silver ware, starch, house furniture, linen, hempen and jute goods. Silks and woollens pay per cent., and cottons, 5 per cent, *ad valorem*. Pig iron pays 4s. 8¼d. per ton; bars and rods, 7 s. 6d. per ton; angle and Swedish, 9s. 4½d. per ton; corrugated, 13s. 1½d. per ton; galvanised roofing, 28s. 1½d. per ton; nails and rivets, 23s. 7½d. per ton; blister and cast steel, 18s. and 23s. 5½d. per ton. Lead, 11½d. per cwt. Zinc, in slabs, 11¼d. per cwt; perforated zinc, 5s. 7½d. per cwt. Brass and copper, 5s. 7½d. per cwt. Tin, 11¼d. and 1s. 4¾d. per cwt. Guns and rifles, 7s. 03/8d. to 14s. 0¾d. each; pistols, 4s. 25/8d. to 8s. 5¼d. each. Gunpowder,

55/8d. a lb.; shot, is. 41/8d. a cwt. Saltpetre refuse, not used in manure, 11¼d. a cwt Cement, 3¾d. per cwt.

The exemptions are instructive: all machinery, railway iron, iron hooping and tanks, millwork, steam engines, bricks and tiles used in machinery buildings, manures, acids, fuller's earth, saltpetre refuse used in manure, mineral oils and grease, turpentine, rosin, coal and patent fuel, fire-clay, printing materials, mill and grinding stones, roofing slates, coil-yarn, rope, fibre, etc., horses, pianos, pictures, and gunny bags (to pack produce for export). A new industry has been introduced into Ceylon in recent years by the planters, because coffee was failing; this is the growth of tea. Tea is packed in lead, therefore tea-lead is now also exempted from duty. These exemptions have nothing to be said against them, but they embody the chief materials imported by planters' for their business, and it contains few articles the people make any use of. The free village communities had evidently no hand in the framing of this list.

The spirit distilled in Ceylon, called "arrack," is manufactured by distillers who pay an annual licence of thirty rupees to Government. The number in 1883 was one hundred. The exclusive privilege of retailing this arrack is annually put up to auction in the several districts of the island. The renter is often the distiller also. The cost of the spirit, wholesale, is from seventy-five cents to one rupee a gallon, but the retailers are bound to sell it at a fixed rate, usually about three rupees to 3.50 rupees a gallon, sometimes more, as may be determined; taverns to sell arrack only pay no licence, but a general liquor shop has to pay 100 rupees. The Administration of the island is more than usually interested in the consumption of these spirituous liquors manufactured in it; it gains by the increased value of arrack farms (which show a steady rise). Combinations among arrack-renters have been known to endeavour to corner the Government and lower the selling price at auctions. In 1883 there were over 850 arrack-renters, about 140 liquor shopkeepers, and over 3,000 toddy-drawers in the island, besides distillers; but the Cingalees, from all accounts, are not an unsober race; some of the other races are not abstemious. Beer and porter only may be retailed on a ten rupees' licence, and the licence for selling intoxicants, not to be consumed on the premises, costs thirty rupees a year. The licence for liquors to be drunk on the premises costs 100 rupees a year. An hotel licence is 250 rupees.

The Ceylon system of licences is very searching, and comprises many industries, and the stamp duties are very elaborately set forth, and have been complained against for their irksomeness.

All servants must be registered, and sometimes the master, sometimes the servant, has to pay the charge, which is from a quarter rupee to half a rupee each time.

Timber may be cut in the Government forests (the Government owns all the forests) on paying a licence and 25 per cent, of the value of the timber. Jungle may be cut on payment of one-tenth, except in the northern province, where the charge is one-fifth of the estimated value. The quarries (in the western provinces) may be worked by payment of a royalty of 3 rupees 75 cents for every 1,000 stones, 06 cents a cartload of cabook soil, and 03 cents for sand. Dead chanks may be dug for on payment to Government of a fifth of their estimated value. The Government sells salt to the dealers at 2.36 cents per cwt.

The exclusive privilege of selling liquors distilled from palm-trees, and toddy generally, as well as the sale of arrack and rum, is farmed out in each province by Government

There are certain tolls (a long list) collected on roads and bridges as well as for canals and ferries, and these are also rented or farmed out by the Government. For the local taxes in towns there is an assessment rate of 5 per cent, on property within the limits.

Matters are not always as quiet in Ceylon as they might be in administrative eyes. It appears that in some quarters of the island police are specially stationed, at the cost of the inhabitants accused of misconduct. This is an extreme measure, and the power to apply it ought not to be among the ordinary functions of an irresponsible administration. The cost of the administration of justice for the criminal classes is nearly £90,000 a year. There are between 1,600 and 1,700 regular police, costing about £60,000 a year.

The export duties are 200 rupees for each elephant, plumbago 25 cents per cwt., coffee and tea 5 cents per cwt., and cinchona 10 cents per cwt. The export duty on plumbago is virtually a royalty.

Wages for able-bodied daily field labour vary from 25 cents, or a fraction over 5½d., to 50 cents, or 11½d.; 7½d. a day is deemed good wages. Domestic labour is paid for at about the same rate. Other labour is paid, from unskilled at 3½d. per day, to 1s. 10½d. a day for skilled. Labourers are also engaged for periods, receiving at the rate of about 14s. a month, more being paid for special duties or exceptional capacity. Bread is said to be 5½d. per lb., flour being purchasable at from 33s. 9d. to 67s. 6d. the barrel of 196 lb. Bread is evidently not greatly in demand, for a barrel of flour can make 270 lb. The food of the people is rice, which may be bought cleaned at from 3s. 8d. to 5s. 7½d. the bushel; and in the husk, at from 1s. 8½d. to 1s. 11½d. the bushel. Beef sells from 3½d. to 5½d. per lb., and mutton from 5½d. to 11d., and pork at 5½d. Meat is cheap, but the quality is inferior.

A labouring man requires one bushel of rice a month in Ceylon (a native of Africa will want half as much again, at least); a man, wife, and three children will want at least three bushels a month—a total of thirty-six bushels a year for the family, costing for the lowest qualities perhaps 144s. The road tax will be 2S. 9¾d. for

himself; the State taxes will be 8s. 6¼d. per head, or 42s. 7¼d. for the family; but as 19s. 6d. of this will have been included in the cost of the rice, the balance remaining to be paid will be only 23s. 1¼d. If a man be a good labourer, employed the whole year round, he will earn in 300 days, at 7½d. a day, 187s. 6d. After the above deductions, he will have 17s. 6¾d. left. But there will be some local tax, or forced labour, or bad weather, or illness, or all combined, to take something from his earnings, leaving him probably a balance of only 2s. or 3s., often nothing. He has yet to supply a home, clothing, and the various other essentials of the commonest existence. His wife and children will earn wages when competent to do so. In such cases the expenditure will also have to be greater for food necessaries. The greatest of mysteries in Eastern countries is how people manage to live. The official returns show that the population of Southern India earn less than 1d. a day per head; it used to be ½d. per day (their prosperity has recently doubled). Things are perhaps better in Ceylon, but life is dearer there also. It is of immense and paramount importance to look clearly into the minutest details of taxation and economic systems in such countries, for the ruin of a people is easily accomplished, their physical powers sapped, and their life-blood and vitality drained away from them for ever. The probability—the certainty, is that the people of Ceylon do not and cannot obtain or purchase enough food for a decent and healthy existence. The population do not live in these countries, they exist; and neither mental nor physical energy can ever be expected from them. It is melancholy to see travelled and instructed people speaking of these and similar races as being unfitted by Providence for those rights and duties which it is nevertheless certain the beneficent Creator intended all mankind equally to possess. A course of starvation extending over generations has had its depressing and demoralising results, and Nature is charged with giving birth to effeminate races when they are only a people suffering from the consequences of impolitic and oppressive economic systems. A food tax, however light, is the most unjust, as it is the most dangerous method by which revenue can be raised in such countries as Ceylon.

The mortgage laws are much complained of by parties interested in such matters, and they make out a strong case. It is only in accordance with the strictest common sense that while people are disputing about property before a court of law, it should not meanwhile become valueless by the abandonment of all cultivation. In tropical countries, unless cultivation be kept up, a property, within a very short time, becomes a mere jungle. It may be necessary to go to a court of law to have a claim determined, but some method should be at hand to keep the property from deterioration or, may be, ruin.

The shipping returns show (for 1884) 3,294 vessels inwards, measuring 1,758,445 tons; of these, 135 (steamers) measuring 217,490 tons, called at Colombo to coal, and 318 (steamers) measuring 432,731 tons, called at Galle. Of the above vessels 2,379, averaging 80½ tons each, were colonial coasters, and doing local trade with India and adjacent ports chiefly; 745 were British, and averaged nearly 1,730 tons each; 79 were French, averaging 1,955 tons each; 37 were Austrian, averaging nearly 1,724 tons each; and 10 were Italian, averaging 1,487 tons each. There was an increase of 76,082 tons in British shipping over the previous year, but there was a decrease of 20,058 tons in colonial shipping, and of 40,525 tons in foreign shipping. Most large steamers, British and foreign, on their way to and from China and the eastern ports, call at Ceylon, and this accounts for much of the above tonnage.

## Chapter III.

### Mauritius.

THE Island of Mauritius is much favoured by nature as regards soil, climate, and position. It is now essentially a sugar-growing colony, and its industrial existence practically depends on a profitable market being found for this commodity.

A lavish supply of capital, and a low-priced labour easily procurable, on conditions specially advantageous to planters, resulted in a forced production, and much of the resources of the island have been prematurely used up. A too great clearing of forest on an island of only about 700 square miles in extent, and far removed from any continent, has led to a lower rainfall, and much of the old land is no longer cultivable with profit, while a still greater quantity has perceptibly deteriorated. The newly cleared lands are wanted to take the place of abandoned or worn out districts which, if extreme caution be not used, are likely to increase in extent. The immense capital invested in this island is, some of it, in a precarious position, and it is important for all interests that the island should be placed on a more healthy and natural footing. Time and wise measures alone will bring this about.

The colony includes many smaller islands of value inhabited by mixed races. Some of these are fertile and



some are renowned for their picturesqueness and the variety and rarity of their natural vegetable productions, but they are too small in extent to count for much as raisers of produce, and are, consequently, little heard of. One or two of them possess qualities which last, and are of more value for a power aiming at empire than the mere capacity to grow sugar. The harbour of Mahé, in the Seychelles Islands, has considerable capacity and splendid anchorages, and could be made anything of; the soft coral reefs are easily sawn, and capacious wharfs could be made; there is abundance of excellent water; the climate is warm, but healthy; there are no hurricanes, and it could be rendered as impregnable as Malta.

Many excellent authorities prefer the position to that of Port Louis, Mauritius. The French, who are spending enormous sums in endeavouring to make harbours on the hurricane swept coast of Réunion, would give much for such a port, so situated.

Mauritius received a great blow by the opening of the Suez Canal, which diverted the valuable custom of a port of call, and for revictualling. The Canal had the same effect on its fortunes as a new line of railway would have had on a coaching inn in the olden days. The terrible fever epidemic of 1866 damaged its reputation as a sanatorium. Since these events it has become more than ever known as a sugar-growing colony, favoured by capitalists on account of the proximity of cheap coolie labour.

The population in 1883 was estimated to be about 361,000, of whom 246,600 were East Indians; about half of the latter are usually known by the denomination "coolie," which means a native of India hired by a planter to work at sugar-growing in some Crown colony for a term of years at a fixed tariff under the supervision of an official paid by the colony and nominated by the Colonial Office. A large number of these coolies elected to remain at Mauritius on the termination of their indentures, and continued to work on the estates as free labourers. The place suits them, on the whole, very well, and they thrive and some grow rich. They are a thrifty, painstaking, and frugal race; they are tenacious of all they get; all the lesser and a good deal of the higher commerce is falling into their hands; and much land is taken up by them directly as cultivators, and, indirectly, as mortgagees. Mauritius, unlike most other Crown colonies, had no aboriginal inhabitants. It was colonised by the French, whose language, customs, religion, and laws still predominate among the Creoles. Up to the time of emancipation the land was cultivated by slaves from Madagascar and Africa, and since that period by coolies from India, who now with their descendants form the bulk of the population.

In the following calculations (taken from the Parliamentary returns and Blue Books) rupees are converted into sterling, at as the rupee up to 1879; after that date the value has been usually calculated at 1s. 9d.

The exports from Mauritius have kept up well for the fifteen years ending 1883, without much variation in the value on the whole, but, as with the West Indian colonies, the quantity has, probably, been somewhat greater in recent years. The lower prices for sugar, the staple produce, have kept the exports from showing an increase.

The total exports for the five years, 1869-1873, were valued at £14,476,000 (2s. the rupee), an average of £2,895,000 a year. In the following six years, 1874-1879, they were valued at £20,051,000 (2s. the rupee), an average per year of £3,342,000. In the four years, 1880-1883, they came to 150,142,000 rupees, equal to £13,137,425 (at 1s. 9d. per rupee), an average of £3,284,000 a year.

The total imports for the five years, 1869-1873, were £11,101,000, an average of £2,220,000 a year. In the six years, 1874-1879, they were £14,037,000, an average of £2,340,000 a year. In the four years, 1880-1883, they were 102,145,000 rupees, equal to £8,937,687 (at 1s. 9d. per rupee), an average of £2,234,000 a year.

As with the exports, the imports into this colony have not increased in value during the last ten years. Of late years the rupee at Mauritius has been worth not over 1s. 8d. sterling. In the above period, 1869-1883, the total exports were valued at £47,665,000, and the total imports at £34,076,000, showing an excess of the former over the latter to the large amount of £13,589,000. This is an average of over £900,000 a year, or, taking the fifteen years, the exports have exceeded the imports by more than 50s. per head of population each year. The question that naturally arises will be, who receives the equivalent for this? The answer will be given farther on. The exports to the United Kingdom for the five years ending 1873 average £897,000 a year, or nearly 31 per cent, of the whole yearly exports; for the six years ending 1879, the average was £1,010,000 a year, or a little over 30 per cent.; and for the four years ending 1883 the average was £369,000 a year (at 1s. 9d. a rupee), or nearly 11¼ per cent, of the exports of the colony for that period.

The imports from the United Kingdom for the five years ending 1873 averaged £559,000 a year, a little over 25 per cent, of total imports; for the six years ending 1879 the average had fallen to £490,000 a year, about 21 per cent.; for the four years ending 1883 the average was £555,000 a year (at 1s. 9d. a rupee), about 25 per cent.

The Board of Trade returns give the value of exports from the United Kingdom to Mauritius at about £569,000 or 7½ per cent, less than the colonial returns, and the imports to the United Kingdom are valued at about £978,000, or 8½ per cent, more than the colonial returns, for the fifteen years ending 1883.

Mauritius sends comparatively little produce to England; her chief market is Australasia, to whose various

ports she sent upwards of 17½ millions sterling (at 2s. the rupee) of produce in the fifteen years ending 1883. She received in return, direct from Australasia, less than 2 millions sterling, much of it in salted beef and provisions. This accounts for more than 15½ millions of the 16 millions excess of exports over imports, referred to before. The produce shipped to Australasia was not paid for in exports to Mauritius, but by bills and other arrangements made by the owners, dealers, and shippers of the produce. During the eight years 1869-76 Mauritius exported to the Cape of Good Hope £540,000 in produce, and received £331,000 in return. In the seven years 1877-83 the shipment to the Cape largely increased, and amounted to £1,732,000, the return imports amounting only to £343,000 in the seven years. The shipments to the Cape exceeded the imports from it by £1,598,000 (rupee 2s.) in the fifteen years. The imports from France consist principally of wine, liquors, millinery, haberdashery and apparel. In the eleven years 1869-79 Mauritius imported from that country goods valued at £3,882,000 (2s. rupee), and exported to it only £1,400,000 in return. In the four years 1880-83 the imports from France were valued at £1,555,000, and the exports to France at £301,000 (at 1s. 9d. a rupee). The balance of this account, amounting for the whole period of fifteen years to £3,736,000, was probably settled in London. During the same period of fifteen years, merchandise, valued at about £1,629,000 (2s. a rupee), mostly guano and some mules, was imported from Peru, and the payments for this amount were probably also made in London, where are situated the chief offices of the various companies who do most of the business of the island. The Madagascar trade with Mauritius might have developed in importance if recent events had not disturbed it. The total imports (a good deal of them in live stock and straw bags for sugar) for the fifteen years have been valued at £1,505,000, and the exports to Madagascar at £1,511,000 (rupee 2s.), thus balancing one another. The United States have recently taken produce from Mauritius; in the four years 1880-83 the exports amounted to £553,000 (1s. 9d. the rupee), but there were only about £20,000 in imports direct from the United States for the same period. In the same four years Mauritius imported from Pondicherry to the value of £182,000, and exported direct in return only £58,000.

The trade with the adjoining French colony of Réunion, for the three years 1881-83, amounted only to about £50,000 imports and £120,000 exports. There is a movement of trade between Mauritius and the smaller islands of the colony valued at about £50,000 a year imports and £38,000 a year exports.

The Seychelles Islands, until recently, were sadly neglected, and indeed suffered serious injustice; there is even yet much to be desired in their treatment. They are practically entirely placed under the Mauritius Council, and as the supposed interests of Mauritius are in some instances deemed not to be identical with the interests of these islands as ports of call and for other purposes, the laws and regulations enacted or permitted with respect to them have not always been framed with that impartiality and strict fitness which should ever be the standard of British administration. In order to please the greater colony, where they lived and whose good report they naturally valued most, and whose interests and even prejudices they always warmly advocated and espoused, the Mauritius officials have ever thrown the weight of their opinion against these unfortunate islands, and were it not that the Secretary of State made it a rule that the Governors should occasionally visit them, so that they might see for themselves and redress some of their grievous wrongs, these islands to-day would be a discredit to the British Administration as they were some time back.

The imports of bullion and specie into Mauritius have decreased of late; in the 6 years ending 1875 they amounted to £1,639,000, of which £912,000 was re-exported; in the 7 years 1876-83 they were £1,732,000, the exports during the same period amounted to £940,000. It thus appears as if £1,619,000 remained in the islands; it is, indeed, estimated that 3,620,000 rupees are in the hands of the islanders, much of it being hoarded and concealed by Indians, and this would account for £316,750. The local banks would have a good deal, and much leaves the island without being declared at the custom house.

Mauritius imports food stuffs largely, mostly from India and Burmah. For the 17 years ending 1883, the average yearly value of rice, corn, and wheat imported into the island was over £645,000; £7,740,000 worth of rice alone was imported during that period. This is a large importation for a population numbering only 361,000 in 1883. The importance of the above imports of grain food may be estimated from the fact that during the same term of 17 years the average importation of cottons, haberdashery, and millinery combined averaged £220,000 a year, or only a little over a third in value of the former. The total imports into Mauritius from India (including bullion and specie) for the 10 years ending 1883, were valued at £9,071,000 sterling (2s. a rupee).

During the 17 years ending 1883, this colony imported on an average machinery and mill-work to the amount of £39,000 a year. In 1883, the quantity imported from the United Kingdom was valued at 510,000 rupees, and from Belgium and France at 522,000 rupees. Cutlery and hardware to the value of about £61,000 a year was imported during the same period, mostly from the United Kingdom. Out of £805,000 cotton goods imported in the 5 years, 1879-1883, the United Kingdom sent only £122,000.

The revenue raised during the 10 years, 1871-1880, was £7,238,796 (the rupee throughout estimated at 2s. sterling) of which £2,252,701, or about 31 per cent., was raised by custom duties. During the last 3 years the revenue raised by Government was 26,258,200 rupees, equal to about rupees 24.33/100 per head of population.

The average wages of the working classes in tropical agricultural colonies subject to the system of coolie labour, or practically depending on it for the production of its exportable produce, is necessarily low, because such labour is regulated by contract for a term of years, at a price for which independent labour, when procurable, usually refuses to work, or, which amounts to the same thing, at a price and on conditions which make independent labour unreliable. According to the *Mauritius Mercantile and Commercial Gazette*, 16th February, 1885, the wages of Indians—1st and 2nd class best labourers—have been reduced to 5 or 6 rupees a month, and rations reduced as low as possible, salaries of sirdars and all employes being similarly lowered.

The public taxes are levied on a system assumed to be in harmony with public opinion. It might be deemed unnecessary to inquire too minutely into the formation of this opinion, and into its authority; but experience of Crown colonies, and an examination of their tariffs, leads one to doubt on these matters. In every country, whether free or dependent, personal interest and personal claims are always the most aggressive, and every one is ready in the public interest to place burdens on other people's shoulders. In the Mauritius, as in the West Indies, the statement is made with apparent conviction as to its soundness, that the only way to get the idle man (the man who will not work for the planter on the conditions offered) to pay any taxes, is to levy a rate on imported food. And the industrious labourer with a family, who practically is the chief consumer of the article, has to suffer, in order that this statesmanlike and quasi fair play policy may be carried on. But the fact is the tax is not imposed or maintained for such reasons, nor would it be proper or possible that it should be so; if the tax on rice and grain be otherwise an impolitic tax it should be done away with, if it be sound in principle on other grounds, and levied fairly, let it remain; but let not the idle man be falsely deemed indirectly the means of shaping the fiscal policy of the colony. Then what is the public opinion that upholds these taxes? It is the opinion of the few who do not feel them; of the few who cannot trace their evil effects on the welfare of the many, and on the industry of the place; they are kept up in the interests of the few who fear their abolition will ultimately lead to a burden falling on their own shoulders. These are the reasons for the continuation of the system. The labourer pays duty on the clothes he wears, the same as the rich man, and no less; he pays as much on his spirits as the rich man on his imported wine and beer; and nearly as much on his leaf tobacco as the other on his manufactured tobacco and cigars; and he pays quite enough by this and other ways. A place, an island, far away by itself in the Indian Ocean, levying a tax upon an article of importation such as rice, on which its existence depends (if the supply were to fail to come for a single year the place would starve outright) seems impolitic, especially when the tax may very well be replaced by others more safe and more equitable.

The customs charges are 54 cents of a rupee on every 100 kilogrammes of grain, dholl, lentils, rice, and wheat; 60 cents the 100 kilos of maize; and 80 cents the 100 kilos of beans, barley, oats, peas, and wheat flour. In 1883 rice was imported valued at 3,177,279 rupees, the duty was 300,809 rupees, being 9½ per cent, on the declared value. The rice was nearly all from India, where another duty equal to 61/8d. per cwt., or about 8 per cent, on its value, on the spot, was charged on its export—a total of 17½ per cent, on its value. During the same year the imports of grain, oats, maize, barley, dholl, lentils, peas and wheat were valued 1,814,683 rupees. Most of these articles were also from India, but there were no charges made on them in that country. The duties of entry into Mauritius amounted to 170,816 rupees, over 9¼ per cent, on the declared value. Wheat flour is chiefly imported from Australasia, in casks, the quantity imported in 1883 was valued at 732,747 rupees, on which a duty amounting to 31,804 rupees, or 4½ per cent, only on its declared value was levied. Wheat flour is the food of the rich and the well to do; it therefore has to pay less than half the duty that is charged on rice and the other grain foods consumed by the working classes. Such is the public voice that regulates taxation in this island. The other duties levied are as follows:—4 rupees on every 100 kilogrammes of butter, cheese, coffee, refined sugar, bacon, ham, tongue, sausages, &c. This will be about 4s. 5½d. a cwt. The duties on beef, pork, biscuits, and ships' bread is 2 rupees the 100 kilogrammes or 2s. 2¾d. a cwt. The duty on fish dried and salted is 1 rupee the 100 kilos., or 1s. 13/8d. a cwt. To show how an apparently low specific duty can influence the cost of a low-priced article it will be only necessary to point out that in 1883 dried fish was imported, chiefly from the Cape of Good Hope, valued at 391,395 rupees, and the duty levied on it at Mauritius came to 24,310 rupees, or nearly 6¼ per cent, on its declared import value.

The duty on colonial spirits is 9 60/100 rupees the decalitre, sweetened spirits being charged 6 60/100 rupees extra (the duty paid on rum for home consumption in 1883 amounted to the large sum of 1,772,354 rupees). Ale is charged 7 rupees the hectolitre (about 7½d. a gallon), and 1 rupee the dozen bottles. The duty on wine (the quantity imported is considerable) is about 8¼d. a gallon in the wood and 2s. the dozen litres. Tea is charged only 1d. a pound. Unmanufactured tobacco is 1s. 5d. a pound, manufactured tobacco is. 9¼d. a pound, and cigars 1s. 11d. a pound. Cottons, silks, woollens, linens pay 6¾ per cent, *ad valorem*; also all iron, glass, and earthenware, leather, oils, candles, soap and salt. Paper, stationery and books enter free.

The other chief articles exempted from duty are machinery, manures, and coals; very good exemptions, but, nevertheless, class exemptions.

There is an export duty on sugar, the producer of the colony, of 4½d. a cwt. (30 cents per 100 kilos.), which

in 1883 realised 347,380 rupees. There was even a surcharge during the year on this duty, realising 81,055 rupees. The abolition of this duty was lately under consideration, and it has, perhaps, been done away with.

The local taxes are far-reaching; every business, profession, and trade imaginable has to pay a yearly licence. In 1883 the shops paid 604,604 rupees, common hawkers 53,845 rupees, fishermen 4,644 rupees, professions 25,281 rupees. There are game licences, of course, and licences for hotels and coffeehouses, and the like; and on carriages, horses, and so on.

The railways belong to Government, the yearly traffic receipts are from 1½ million to 1¾ million. The debenture debt on the 31st December, 1883, was £753,500.

Taking the general trade of the island, it has been seen that only about one-quarter of the imports, and 11¼ per cent, of the exports, are with the United Kingdom. There is a large intercolonial trade with India, Australia, and the Cape of Good Hope. The imported cottons are partly from the United Kingdom, but there is a large importation from India. France does most of the hosiery trade, the bulk of the haberdashery trade, and all the boot and shoe trade. The imports of earthenware, chinaware, glassware, and hardware are divided between Great Britain, France, and Germany; Great Britain doing the most.

In the year 1883, 513 vessels, measuring 301,508 tons, entered with cargo, and 64 vessels, measuring 28,904 tons, in ballast. Of these, 309 vessels, measuring 168,195 tons, were British, and 140 vessels, 119,549 tons, were French. It must be understood that the steam communication of Mauritius and Seychelles with Europe and India, *viâ* Aden, is carried on by the great French Company, the "Messageries Maritimes," subsidised by the French Government for the sake of the neighbouring French colony of Reunion; the steamers are monthly, and their termini are Mauritius and Aden.

In the eighteen years, 1866-1883, Mauritius exported about two million tons of sugar, being, during that period, about 31 per cent, of the total exports of the sugar-producing colonies of the United Kingdom (exclusive of India; but this country exports comparatively little of the £22,000,000 of sugar computed to be annually grown). British Guiana now produces about as much sugar as Mauritius. In the year 1883 the import of cane sugar from Mauritius into the United Kingdom was only about 2½ per cent, of the whole of that description of sugar imported, and 12½ percent, of the produce of the island for the year. Mauritius, like other British colonies, sends her produce to other markets when convenient for her to do so.

The inhabitants of inter-tropical lands, such as Mauritius, should be indeed rich; Nature does so much. In 1883 the exports nearly reached 105 rupees per head of population, the imports were nearly 74 rupees per head. But Mauritius is not nearly so rich a place as it should be. It is well off no doubt compared to a West India island. The laws, especially the land laws, enable land to be held and cultivated by the people. The succession laws are just. The mortgage laws secure to the lender, whoever he may be, the amount he advances; he runs the ordinary risks of depreciation, but no one can take away and pocket the advances he has made on the land as may be done, according to law in the West Indies, by the "Consignee." The coolie being the only labourer, the great injustice done to Jamaica and other West Indian islands by his introduction does not operate.

It is to be hoped the new constitution given, or about to be given, to the people of this island will prove not only a blessing to them, but to many; for according to the uses they make of the new powers given them will it be judged wise or the reverse to give the like to others. The chances are greater in Mauritius than in the West Indies that the separate interests of all classes and races will coalesce for the common good. The genuine friends of Crown colonists, and the real lovers of liberty and freedom everywhere, have been often adverse to granting full rights of self-government, because the franchise in such cases has so often been held and exercised by a certain class only, with the result of imposing an intolerable tyranny on the remainder of the population. If an elective body be not constituted so as to include all classes and all interests, better almost for those excluded to have none. It is often said that Eastern people prefer a despotic government; they have not had many chances of an alternative choice; but, perhaps, they would prefer it, on the whole, to an oligarchy; and, above all, to that meanest and most depressing of all tyrannies, an oligarchy of absentee planters. When politicians propose measures, the reasons they publicly give for them are those only which are intended to meet apprehended opposition, the objects really aimed at are often carefully hidden; but there is no doubt it is intended that Mauritius should enter the path of self-government. There were somewhat similar measures proposed by certain parties for some West Indian islands, but they were not identical in the objects aimed at. What the people in the Crown colonies really want is to be governed as little as possible, to be able to live on their own land without being too much worried and meddled with by regulations and laws, to impose their own taxes, to have good cheap food, and, above all, to enjoy their earnings themselves.

## Chapter IV.

# Fiji.

THERE was an opportunity lost at Fiji. The import tariffs established in that colony are elaborate and severe; they bear a strong likeness to those in some other Crown colonies, noted for their onerous customs duties, and in many points they can, unfortunately, be compared with the restrictive tariffs so much complained of in some of the neighbouring Australian colonies. There is one great exception in their favour; wheaten flour is permitted to enter free of duty. It is not very evident why this useful article should be so favoured (unless it be to encourage flour imports from Australia), while corn flour, maizena, oatmeal, and biscuits, should be charged 1d. per lb., and rice 10s. a ton. The latter articles should enter somewhat largely into the food of the people. It is well to encourage the consumption of every form of flour food; the higher the class of food commonly used, the more civilised, industrious, and self-respecting will be the people. Not only wheaten flour, but rice and corn flour, and, indeed, every description of flour and grain, should be free from duties of customs.

The following are the chief tariffs:—Biscuits, barley, corn flour, maizena, oatmeal, split peas, sugar, sago, jams and jellies, and candles, pay 1d. per lb.; malt and oats, 6d. a bushel; tea, coffee, chicory, cocoa, chocolate, and macaronis, 3d. per lb.; common soap ½d. per lb., or 22 per cent, on its cost; fancy soap, 15 per cent, *ad valorem*; bacon, cheese, dates, dried and preserved fruits, hams and cured pork, 2d. per lb; unmanufactured tobacco, 1s. per lb.; manufactured tobacco, 3s. per lb.; cigars and cigarettes, 5s. per lb.; ale, &c., 1s. a gallon in bottles, and 9d. a gallon in wood; wine, in wood, 2s. to 4s. a gallon, and in bottles, 4s. to 12s. a gallon; spirits, 12s. a gallon; opium, 15s. per lb.; salt and Scotch soda, 20s. a ton; butter, Indian and other corn, 5 per cent, *ad valorem*; potted meats, pickled and dried fish, drapery, earthenware, drugs, boots and shoes, glassware, furniture, carriages, clocks, ironmongery, nails, iron tanks, sauces, and oilman's stores 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. 15 per cent, is charged on perfumery, and 20 per cent, on jewellery and fire-arms. Iron in bars, &c., pays 20s. a ton, and galvanised iron 40s. a ton. Kerosene oil is charged 6d. a gallon; sporting powder 6d. per lb.; paper pays 3s. per cwt., and for stationery purposes 10 per cent, *ad valorem*. Wheaten flour, iron rails, preserved and salted meat (an Australian import) and machinery, are free.

There is an export duty of £5 per ton on sandal-wood, and 2½ per cent, on silver coin when over £10. The Western Australian export duty on sandal-wood is only 5s. a ton; if there was any business to be done at Fiji with this article, the difference would be serious. Perhaps this high export duty is intended to limit the export.

In 1881 the population numbered 124,788 (natives, immi-grants, and mixed races) and 2,307 Europeans. In the Island of Rotumah the population was 2,500. The area of the colony is something over 8,000 square miles.

The total imports for the six years 1875-80 were valued at £810,871, and for the three years 1881-3, £1,030,000. The total exports for the six years 1875 80 were £930,000, and for the three years 1881-3 £715,000

Like most British tropical Crown colonies, Fiji is anxious to enter the race to provide the already rather lavishly supplied sugar market. During the five years 1878-82 she exported 4,350 tons of sugar, she shipped about 5,000 tons in 1883, but it did not go to England.

Fiji takes few goods from the United Kingdom except machinery and iron-work. In the four years 1879 83 about 21½ per cent, of her imports were from Great Britain, and 73 per cent, of these consisted of metals, machinery, and mill-work. In the five years 1879-83 she sent 18½ per cent, of her exports to the United Kingdom, consisting chiefly of substances from which oil is to be expressed. Some of the declared exports of Fiji consist of cotton and copra imported from Samoa; these amounted to £27,000 in 1883. There is a considerable export of green fruit, valued at £15,500 in 1883. The main industry is the preparation and export of copra; this amounted to 6,203 tons in 1883, valued at £80,647. The trade of Fiji is almost entirely with Australasia. In 1883, 198 vessels entered these islands, having an average of 346 tons each; 159 were under British colours, with an average of 355 tons each.

The revenue for the four years 1878-81 was £297,000, of which £89,000 was raised by customs. The revenue for the two years 1882-83 was £218,000, of which £83,000 was raised by customs; in the last two years the customs revenue was 38 per cent of the whole, in the previous four years it was about 29¾ per cent, of the whole. The nature of the customs charges have been already referred to. The internal taxation, in one direction, is wide and exhaustive; every person who purposes to carry on any industry or trade has to pay a special tax for the permission to do so. A baker in a town has to pay £3, and in the country £1; a butcher in a town has to pay £10; a chemist, £20; joint stock company agents are charged £25. Even a hawker has to pay £2. Land surveyors are charged £5. A wholesale store pays £15 in a town, £10 in the country; and a retail store with a hawker's business in the country will have to pay £4. Publicans in a town are charged £45, and in the country £15. No one is exempted; a barber pays £2, a carpenter £5, a shoemaker, £2, a tailor £2, and so on, by the year. Marriage registrations, £1.

The public debt is £250,000.

This colony has not yet settled down into a fixed condition. There remain many weighty problems still to be settled, and it will be some time before they are all solved. The people are in a transition state, and, naturally, they must be governed in many matters by their old customs and laws until circumstances arise when alterations may become advisable and practicable. It is admitted by all competent authorities that the Administration has acted, so far, with foresight and discretion in dealing with the natives. It is difficult for civilised governments to deal justly with primitive communities, because they have not the courage to restrain their subjects from taking those unfair advantages which even the commonest and dullest of civilised men have over the shrewdest of savages. There are not wanting those who look on the extermination of savage races as a benefit. But experience, scientific research, and history all prove, every day more and more, that such conclusions are mistaken. Civilised people know something, but not much, about their own intelligence, and they know something of their own history, but they know nothing whatever about these people they condemn to extinction simply because they do not understand them. Savages are, in fact, easier to be taught than civilised men; it is easier for them to break with the past. As Principal Fairbairn said in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1884, "there is less of hope of a debased civilisation than of the rudest and frankest naturalism." It is to be hoped many races will survive in the world, were it only to avoid too much monotony. In his work, "Man before Metals," Mr. N. Joly says: "The instincts common to all humanity necessarily produce a similarity of results when men are subjected to the same needs, and placed in the same circumstances." The fundamental passions and morals of mankind are eternally the same; it is only manners that vary. The extinction of races in such places as Fiji only result in the after letting in of some well-known type of no particular interest, and perhaps of less real capacity. It is to be hoped Fiji will escape for some time yet from the condition Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu so well expresses by the term, "Glorification of exports:" "*Le régime artificiel avait fondé nos colonies sur la servitude, sur le monopole, sur le commerce extérieur; il en était résulté la glorification presque exclusive des produits d'exportation et principalement de la canne; un tel ordre de choses a fait son temps.*" It is to be feared, however, that the system is not yet quite exploded.

## Chapter V.

### Malta.

THE natives of this small island are noted in the many places where they are found for their industrial qualities; they are a frugal and hard-working people, painstaking in all they undertake and persevering in their objects. Education leaves something to be desired, otherwise, in a position so open to the world and so much visited, one would expect to see fewer prejudices and more of that industrial, economical, and commercial tact and knowledge which has made the fortune and reputation of many places less favoured by position in the Mediterranean and other seas. The Maltese, it is true, are renowned as successful petty traders, and have made a reputation in certain callings and industries they almost may claim as their own, but these qualities do not suffice, of themselves, to create a great commercial centre. When the vested interests of a powerful class are involved in any established system, it is of little use endeavouring to remodel or alter it, however mischievous it may be, unless other interests equally strong and powerful, if not more so, are on the spot to insist on a change. This is the reason, and the only one, why protection flourishes anywhere. What can be more difficult than the getting rid of an obnoxious tax when there is no public opinion of sufficient political potency on the spot to urge the administration into action? The high duties on grain in Malta have had more evil results for the people of the United Kingdom than many grave calamities. The people and the merchant mariners of adjacent countries may hear much of British policy, but they can see for themselves that in the British colony of Malta protection in its worst form is maintained, and it is not unreasonable for them to argue that when the British Foreign Office and British commercial agents urge the advantages of free trade they are not acting consistently; a suspicion would be aroused that the fiscal policy so much vaunted must have something against it, when the people who talk so loudly in its favour allow their Crown colonies to so heavily tax, as to almost exclude, the grain and flour of their neighbours. Neither has the tax in any measure benefited Malta; half the sad diseases in the island are known to be due to the low-class diet of the labouring population. It is said the people of the island oppose the free introduction of grain, not because they have too much for their own use—which is not the fact by a long way—but because such introduction would endanger the not too great profits now obtained by its cultivation. Yes! the growers of grain must be supported, even at the cost of the physical health of the people, and the children of the humble must remain ill-fed in order that certain proprietors may effect a satisfactory balance sheet. How would they like the English people to act on the same principle, and exclude the

107,000 cwt. of potatoes they sent to the United Kingdom in 1883? The proprietors of Malta would do better to grow those crops which require no bolstering, and not to have the starving poor to contribute their mites to their income. It is conceivable the military governors of Malta should not have been very zealous in this matter. The position of Malta is so unique and excellent that the trade of its chief port is even now considerable, and were it a free port, this might become so extended as to interfere with its position and *status* as a military stronghold.

In most Crown colonies the two opposing influences of free trade and protection are struggling for the upper hand, and the former has by no means always on its side the local Government authorities. On the whole, the Crown colonies have not, with some notable exceptions, been altogether unfortunate in the contest. The sympathies of the people of the United Kingdom in this matter happen to coincide with their material interests, but under any circumstances they would be on the side of the people of the colonies struggling against those who favour high tariffs, either for protectionist or for revenue purposes. But it has been seen how the interests of a class of local cultivators, the desire of others to shift the chief burden of taxation from their own shoulders on to those of the consuming public and the labouring classes, who have no voice in the matter, and the satisfaction of the colonial executives at having a form of taxation by which they avoid immediate contact with the contributors, all combine to keep up a system in the Crown colonies that has been condemned at home as unjust and impolitic.

The revenue for 10 years, 1874-83, amounted to £1,857,000, of which no less a sum than £1,066,000 was raised by duties of customs. In 1884, the revenue was £212,569, the share of duties of customs being £119,080. During the same year the population of all the islands was deemed to be 156,675 (153,812 Maltese, 1801 United Kingdom, 1062 foreign), the taxation per head will therefore be a little under 27s. 2d. Considering the nature of the population, the average earnings of labour, and, above all, the form in which the revenue is raised, most people will think it sufficient.

The Maltese tariff is 10s. per strike salm for wheat, 6s. for Indian corn, 4s. for barley, 3s. to 5s. for other grains. Manufactured grain pays 6s. per cantar; damaged grain, unfit for food, 2s. the salm; pulse and seeds pay 2s. 6d. per salm; olive oil pays 6d. per caffiso. Spirits are charged 22s. to 24s. 2d. the Maltese barrel, wine and ale also pay a duty. Tobacco and all other articles are free. There is a revenue from land (it came to nearly £15,000 in 1884), and there are other rents (worth over £23,000 in 1884). There are licences and dividends, and there was an imperial grant in 1884 of £10,000 for maintenance of Egyptian and other refugees.

Malta shows a very large total for imports and exports, but nearly all of the produce and merchandise included in them simply entered the harbour for a time, and then cleared out in the same bottom, to proceed to the destination intended. This traffic is almost entirely with steamers. Out of 3,278 British vessels which entered in 1884 only 14 were sailing vessels; out of 290 vessels under foreign (European) flags—not including Italy and Turkey—only 13 were sailing vessels. With Italy and Turkey it is different, the Italians had 978 sailing vessels to 133 steamers, and the Turkish flag 60 sailing vessels to 19 steamers. The imports for 1884 were valued at £13,343,789, but only merchandise valued at £634,744 was landed, the balance (£12,709,045) went on its way. Much of the merchandise landed at Malta is subsequently re-exported.

In the 5 years, 1879-83, the Board of Trade returns show importations into the United Kingdom from Malta and Gozo valued at £863,000, of which £324,000 was for potatoes and onions. The exports to Malta and Gozo of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom were valued at £4,522,000, of which about £2,000,000 was for wearing apparel and haberdashery, cottons, linens, and woollens. £1,180,000 for coal and fuel, and £277,000 for sugar refined in the United Kingdom; much of this was for sale to passing vessels and for re-export.

The imports of British beer and ale into Malta are considerable; in the 5 years these amounted to £211,000. Among articles of foreign and colonial produce and manufactures imported from the United Kingdom in the 5 years, the most prominent were coffee (£229,000), rice (100,000), sugar (£137,000), and tobacco (£133,000). Much of the provisions will be for the supply of the large garrison. The total exports to Malta from the United Kingdom of foreign and colonial produce and manufactures were valued at £932,000 for the 5 years 1879-83.

## Chapter VI.

### West Africa.

OF all the colonial possessions of the British Crown, the most disappointing have undoubtedly been the territories and protectorates in Western Africa. Time out of mind great expectations have been formed of them, expeditions after expeditions have been undertaken, numerous wars have been fought, and all of them have

been gloriously concluded, treaties have been made of the most satisfactory and binding character, the despatches of governors have shown the most splendid results of an astute and far-seeing diplomacy, territories have been annexed and settlements founded, and large sums have been spent by the British Government in various ways, and in the latter half of the year 1885, the actual position, on the whole, looks wonder-fully like what it was at any previous time during the last twenty or fifty years, or before. British administration in Western Africa has not been a success.

It must have been a failure; the elements necessary for the most temporary success have always been wanting. It is difficult at any time to rule a country against the wish of its inhabitants; but the West African system has been, as much as possible, to rule the country as if there were no inhabitants in it. They have been acknowledged to exist, it is true, in treaties, in wars, and in expeditions, and they must have been supposed to exist for taxing purposes; for few, if any other, reasons have been given for recent annexations, except the necessities of the custom houses, or the fear of other nations placing rival custom houses too near them.

British rule in Western Africa should be an unmixed benefit to the people, and of immense value to British commerce; but in order to accomplish this the presence of the people must be acknowledged, and their co-operation enlisted in the good work. It is possible that the various settlements within the strict limits of their legal boundaries may have been managed, on the whole, as well as circumstances admitted from the usual point of view of Crown colonies; but British power and political influence have never been confined to these limits in Western Africa, nor have they ever pretended to be so. When a long line of coast has been declared British territory by the usual methods employed on such occasions, and custom houses and revenue officials hold sway over it, all native rule is destroyed for a considerable distance inland. Now it so happens that in such cases a reign of murder, plunder, and general disorganisation ensues in these hapless lands, and no one is held responsible. The British administration adheres to its strict limits, or to its supposed limits, under shelter of its forts and fleets, and takes no heed of its solvent influence over native rule, which falls to pieces by mere proximity. It is curious to note how little heed is taken of the rights of other and contiguous people by local administrations; and it is not too much to say that almost all wars, disputes, heart-burnings, and troubles on the coast adjacent to the British settlements are entirely and solely due to this selfish and unpardonable oversight and deliberate injustice. The only system known in Africa for raising revenue is by duties of customs, either on exports or imports; and when a European power annexes a line of coast, it practically commands the revenue of the whole country supplied by that line of coast. To take possession of a mere fringe of coast, as Great Britain has often done, and to refuse all responsibilities of government beyond that fringe is manifestly an unjust proceeding, because the inland people are thereby equally taxed with those on the coast, and probably more so from having no facilities for smuggling, and the inland chiefs chafe under a taxation for which neither they nor their people receive any equivalent whatever. In the five years ending 1883, the revenue raised in the four British West African settlements (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Lagos) amounted to £1,253,000, of which £1,016,300 was raised by duties of customs.

If British dominion in Africa should ever be of any real good to the people, or of any lasting benefit to British commerce, it will only be by an entire reversal of the policy so long pursued. The various settlements should be looked upon only as stations or convenient outposts for opening up the interior portions of the vast continent to the advantages of commerce and industry, without which neither civilisation nor Christianity itself can make any headway in these lands. No attempt even should be made to govern the country anywhere except through the selected chiefs of the people, who are open to the best influences, and whom the people will implicitly obey. A noble career lies before any European people whose executive adopts this simple method of dealing with a great and much-wronged race. British dominion in various forms has been established in portions of this western coast for two centuries and upwards, and there is more than enough experience to prove that white men can never inhabit it except in small numbers and at perpetual risk of life. In fact the country must be ruled and governed by a native element, and Great Britain can easily assist and guide it by laws and regulations—the fruit of ages of experience—engrafted on to and merged with such existing native systems and methods the people may desire to keep to and to follow.

The actual British possessions, as such, have been of no value to the United Kingdom, and they have conferred no benefit on the African race; and it is much open to doubt whether, if they had never existed, civilisation and Christianity would not have made more way among the people. Such is the result of a narrow policy around which, on four isolated spots on the coast, have grown up four small communities of Crown colonists, having no sympathy or touch with the large populations and rich countries of the near interior, and they are unknown beyond.

As might be expected from what has been said above, the trade of these four settlements is inexpansive and irregular. They have all had their movements, usually short-lived, when trade blossomed and the frontiers were quiet, and then follow the dark hours of trouble, and loss and bloodshed and reprisals. It is a sorrowful history, ending to-day as it began over two centuries ago, monotonous in its gloom and sad in its disappointments; and



so it will continue, and the same tale will ever have to be told until the machine be lifted out of the rut in which it has so long stagnated. As Sir Thomas Brassey has well said in his work, "Foreign Work and English Wages," under head "Colonisation":—"We cannot create a trade with Africa or New Guinea without first raising those countries in the scale of nations. We must co-operate with the native populations in the development of their resources, we must help them to accumulate wealth, or they cannot purchase our goods."

The total exports of British West Africa for the seven years, 1867-73, were £9,274,000, an average of £1,325,000 a year; for the following seven years, 1874-80, they were £10,715,000, an average of £1,530,000 a year; for the three years, 1881-83, they were £4,543,000, an average of £1,514,000 a year. Taking similar periods, the imports for the seven years, 1864-73, were £7,245,000, an average of £1,035,000 a year; for the seven years, 1874-80, they were £9,563,000, an average of £1,366,000 a year; and for the three years, 1881-83, they were £4,192,000, an average of £1,397,000 a year. The total exports for the eighteen years were, £24,532,000; and the total imports, £21,000,000. It must be understood, of course, that most of the produce exported by way of the British ports is not obtained in the settlements, but in the adjacent countries. In the same way most of the imports go to pay for the produce thus obtained.

Most of the gold exported from West Africa is from the Gold Coast, but some finds its way from the interior to the other settlements. Since the introduction of the palm oil industry on the Gold Coast, the people occupy themselves more profitably in collecting the valuable berries from the vast palm oil tree forests, and preparing the oil and kernels for conveyance by human portage—by land—and by water to the coast towns, than by seeking for gold. The gold exported from the Gold Coast in 1883 was valued at £52,435, all of which, with the exception of £373, was sent to the United Kingdom. The exports of bullion and specie from British West Africa in the four years, 1880-83, were valued at £394,792; and the imports of bullion and specie for the same period were valued at £335,275, the latter mostly consisting of newly-coined silver from Great Britain.

A large quantity of rice is grown in the neighbourhood of the Sierra Leone possessions and southwards, the tribes or nations in those parts subsisting largely on this produce. This native-grown rice is of a very superior quality to any imported; it is not only cultivated on the plains adjoining the large rivers, which are flooded every year the same as the valley of the Nile, but on the slopes and hill-sides. Nevertheless, over 10,000 tons of cleaned rice were imported into Sierra Leone ports in the five years, 1879-83; nearly all this rice was from India and Burmah, *viâ* Great Britain. On the Gold Coast and the adjoining countries rice is practically unknown to the people. Here maize is the national diet, and is consumed in the form of a fermented paste; no rice, in consequence, is imported into this country, but the Americans do a considerable and growing trade in flour and biscuits. Those whose only opportunities have been to observe the people of the coast, and especially the people of the British settlements, whose physique has degenerated through the unwholesomeness of the positions even for Africans, and the imperfect sanitary arrangements and want of water, and also from a large consumption of the vilest imported liquors misnamed rum and gin, can have but a very inadequate opinion of the capacities of the African race. The British policy so long pursued has confined direct European trade and intercourse to the swampy fringe of coast, leaving the interior untouched. The African is destined to be one of the strongest races in the world, physically, as well as one of the most influential; he will be dominant in his own huge continent of Africa and have something to say in America. No one who has observed the African at home (not including Sierra Leone and the British coast towns, for reasons before given), and in the West Indies, but must be immediately struck at the enormous physical degeneracy of the race at the latter place: In Africa food is abundant in the shape of the best rice, corn, and oil seeds; and, besides, there are no duties on the entry of food. In the British West Indies the people have been pauperised, home-grown food is scarce, and is inferior in quality to the African descriptions, and a crushing duty is imposed on every description of imported food. Food duties are not only administratively impolitic and commercially unsound, but they are cruel to the people.

The imports of United Kingdom goods only, into British West Africa for the seven years 1867-73 averaged £668,000 a year; in the following seven years (1874-80) the yearly average was £934,000, in the three years 1881-83 the average was £764,000 a year. The increase of these imports during the last ten years has not been due to any greater trade with the United Kingdom; it is due to the fact that the trade with the Dutch settlements since their annexation to the British Gold Coast has been transferred from the heading "Trade with Foreign Countries and their Possessions" to "Trade with British Possessions."

The possessions of foreign powers in Western Africa during the five years 1879-83 imported from the United Kingdom merchandise of the average annual value of £312,000, of which £293,000 were exclusively British goods, the remainder consisting, mainly, of rice and other products from British India and colonies. Those territories which, until recently, might have been designated Native, or Independent Western Africa, but much of which have lately found new masters in Germany and Great Britain, imported merchandise from the United Kingdom of the average value of £1,080,000 a year for the five years 1879-83, of which £872,400 a year were exclusively British goods. The importation into West Africa of foreign merchandise *viâ* England is probably profitable to the British merchants engaged; it consisted in rice, £19,000 a year (probably chiefly from

India); £85,000 a year in tobacco, chiefly from the United States; arms, £12,000 a year, chiefly from Germany; beads, £15,000 a year, a good deal of which are from Venice; and spirits £25,000 a year, chiefly from Hamburg (a vile stuff, much of it distilled from wood and sawdust). Germany has made great efforts to produce, at a low cost, articles readily saleable in the markets of backward countries; red calicoes, Saxony prints, Hagan hard-ware, and gunpowder, are finding an increased market, and even "articles de Paris," which have a not inconsiderable sale in West Africa, are being supplanted by German goods. Were German manufacturers unfettered at home, and the incubus of protection removed from them, they would be the most formidable of competitors for the trade of the world in every branch of industry.

The settlements at the Gambia River charge only a duty of 2 per cent, *ad valorem* on ordinary merchandise, and food is free. The only objection is the large and unexplained charge of 1d. per lb. on all sugar. There is a duty charged of 20s. on every 336 lb. of kola nuts imported. This article is a most valuable produce, combining the qualities of tea, coffee, and tobacco, and it is the great support and stand-by of the weary traveller, and the porter, staggering under his load, and sweltering in the midday heat, on long and toilsome journeys. The extent of the trade may be judged from the fact that the annual importation is from £30,000 to £35,000 a year into Gambia (in 1883 it was  $x 5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, of total imports). The produce comes chiefly from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and the trade in this article is almost entirely in the hands of the natives outside the settlement, or, perhaps, the relative high export duty of 5s. the hundredweight would not be charged at that port. This article, the tea and coffee of many natives, is thus made to pay an export duty of £5 a ton at Sierra Leone, and 20s. a ton entrance duty at Gambia. The export trade of Gambia is chiefly with foreign countries; about 60 per cent, of the exports of 1883 went to France, and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, to England; the produce is mainly the ground nut, on which there is an export duty of 6s. 8d. a ton. A number of hides are brought from the interior, which are mostly purchased by Americans; there is an export duty on them of 2d. each. In 1883 about 45 per cent of the imports were British (£41 000 being British cottons and £10,000 in rice), the remainder were from the coast and foreign countries.

Proceeding south to Sierra Leone, the trade with the produce of palm-trees begins to assume large proportions. Out of about £22,000 of palm oil exported in 1883, Great Britain received £14,000, France received nearly all the remainder. The total exports of palm kernels were valued at over £81,000; France received the largest portion, £31,000, Great Britain came next with £27,000, and Germany took £22,000. All the gum copal, valued at nearly £15,000, went to the United Kingdom. France took nearly all the ground nuts. Of the ginger, 65 per cent, went to the United Kingdom, and nearly all the remainder to the United States. Over £30,000 of kola nuts were shipped to Gambia and Goree. Great Britain received about 38 per cent, of the produce of this settlement, but she sent about 70 per cent, of the imports (£233,000 being in cottons). The United States takes about 7 per cent, of the exports, and sends about 9 per cent, of the imports of this settlement.

Referring to the export duties, this settlement, besides the 5s. per cwt. on kola nuts, charges beny seed 2d. per cwt., ground nuts 3d. per cwt., gum copal 2s. per cwt., palm kernels 2d. per cwt., hides 2d. each, and palm oil 1d. the gallon; as hardly any of the above-mentioned articles exported are the produce of the settlements, and the exported kola nuts are not consumed within the British dominions to which they are exported, these taxes fall on outsiders, and the only question to be determined would be their effect on trade. The kola nut tree grows wild, but is susceptible to cultivation. The produce of the palm oil tree is a pure gift of nature, and the only expense attending it is the collection, preparation, and portorage; the price varies, and the value of palm oil is a good deal influenced by the market for tallow; in fact, the value of African palm oil is largely influenced by the price of Australian tallow. There is no want of competition among the traders on the coast to get it, and it seems as if any quantity would find a market. The palm oil is a chief food of the people, but in that case it is differently and more carefully prepared. It has many advantages, as a food, when fitly prepared, over other oils in common use in Europe, and it might be introduced with advantage. The quantity of palm oil imported into England in 1884 was about 35,200 tons, all of it the produce of West Africa; 39,000 tons of oil nuts were imported in the same year. Africa may well be called the "oilery" of the world.

Sierra Leone is for most articles a free port of entry, the only duty is on kerosene oil, 6d. a gallon, and light duties on beer, ale, spirits, wines, and tobacco (the duty of 6d. per pound weight on common leaf tobacco is much too high, this article is a currency all over that part of Africa, and represents food). Were it not for the policy pursued, already referred to, Freetown would become a great and important trading depot, and a really great centre for commercial transactions.

The trade of the British Gold Coast is more exclusively with the United Kingdom than that of any other of the British West African settlements. In 1883, out of a total of £382,583 imports, £295,176 were from the United Kingdom, and out of £363,868 exports the United Kingdom received £251,390, of which nearly £168,000 was the produce of the palm oil tree. Germany took about £21,000 in palm tree produce, and the United States nearly £56,000. The United States sent nearly £50,000 in white rum (potato spirit), Great Britain

sent £12,000 in gin, mostly of German origin. The cotton goods and haberdashery, &c., valued at about £135,000, were entirely British. The trade of this large settlement is most contemptible in amount, and could easily be £5,000,000 imports with a like value for exports; but the policy followed has made all trade with the interior practically impossible for the last 30 years or more. Until British authorities make up their minds to come to terms with the powerful inland races, who are among the most intelligent and energetic in Africa, our possessions on this part of the coast will be a real hindrance to any advance among the people. The terms demanded by the people of the interior are, on the whole, just and reasonable, and the coast tribes should be given the alternative of accepting them or being left to themselves. It is the policy of these coast tribes, with which the British Administration has identified itself so long, that has been the fertile cause of all wars and troubles in these parts, and they will certainly be the cause of many more yet to come unless a policy more in accordance with the position of things and the facts to be dealt with be introduced. The British Government can have no right to be in Africa anywhere unless it be there for the general benefit. No one doubts the benefit conferred in some directions, but on a very limited scale, by British administration: but unless something more be done these advantages can have no real influence on the bulk of the population of the interior.

The duties of customs at the Gold Coast and Lagos are light and simple, being 4 per cent, *ad valorem* on everything except ale, beer, wines, spirits and tobacco—which are specifically but lightly taxed. The duty of 6d. on unmanufactured tobacco is high; the common leaf tobacco in these countries is a chief currency for purposes of barter. What has been said before about the interior people being resentful of the duties levied by the British authorities on the goods in transit to them, applies also to this part of the coast. Some costly British wars have been undertaken here, the real object in dispute being a point on the coast. The natives were determined to have access to it for their trade, and the local British Administration, fearful for its custom houses and its *ad valorem* duties, in fact, for its revenues, were equally determined to keep them off. The British Administration triumphed, of course, but in beating off the natives, the cotton goods of England were to a large extent beaten off also, and excluded from the markets of the interior.

The export trade of Lagos is chiefly in the produce of the palm tree, of which in 1883, £465,000 was exported, out of a total of £594,000 for exports. Great Britain took £107,000 in palm oil and £125,000 in palm kernels; Germany took £128,000 in palm kernels and £47,500 in oil; France took £25,000 in kernels and £27,600 in oil. The United Kingdom sent about 56 per cent, of the imports and took about 44 per cent, of the exports in 1883; but the imports contained articles to the extent of about £20,000 from foreign countries, taken on board in Great Britain; this is one of the parts of Africa, getting fewer every year, where cowries (from Mozambique and Zanzibar), as a currency, are yet dealt in. Nearly all cotton goods are British, the quantity imported in 1883 was valued at over £222,000; nearly £75,000 of Geneva (spirit) was imported, partly from England and partly from Germany, but it was doubtless nearly all of the same German origin. Some of the import and export trade of the port of Lagos is only a coasting trade. Next to Great Britain Germany does the largest trade here; her direct imports in 1883 were £126,000, and her direct exports nearly £177,000.

Lagos, on account of its bar, is not a really good port, but it has water communication with rich countries and among energetic races anxious for trade. But the same system being pursued here, as elsewhere on the coast under the British flag, the adjoining people are often hostile and always suspicious, and the trade has insignificant proportions to what it might, and easily could, have been made to have.

There are no export duties at Lagos or the Gold Coast. The customs revenue for these two settlements for the five years 1879-83 came to £664,196, and most of this will have been paid by the interior people—the consumers residing outside British jurisdiction. In some senses it is satisfactory to be thus able to make other people pay for one's administration and government, and it is perhaps the only instance known where duties of customs have this result. Under the circumstances, the moderation in the duties levied should perhaps be commended. People in England, and especially the poor and over taxed people of continental Europe, know too well that all the customs charges at their ports come out of their own pockets.

The total tonnage of vessels entered at, and cleared from, the British, West African ports in the year 1883, was 1,335,398; of this 1,176,293 tons were for steamers, and 1,052,897 tons were under the British flag. As a matter of fact, each steamer calls at every port where there is any cargo to discharge or any produce to be shipped, and this makes the total tonnage to look large. The West African coast is well looked after for cargo, and the vessels belonging to the great companies are always willing to go out of their way to oblige customers, and ship produce from the beach. The contrast is enormous between these parts and the West Indies in this respect, and proves once more the advantage of free competition over heavy Government subsidies.

In Africa the people are fond of their individuality. The land everywhere belongs to the people; the notion of the few holding it and the bulk of the population being their labourers would be repugnant to them. They are what Europeans call savages, and they have slavery among them, but all free men are equal; they cannot understand a free man not being so. They have sound laws which respect what every man possesses; giving honour to position, wealth, and the fruits of industry. In all these countries there are arbitrary acts and cruel

despots, but the people prefer these fitful despotisms by their own race to what to them appears a regularly organised, if more humane one, by Europeans. What the people really prefer is to be governed as little as possible by outsiders. They are all very willing to trade, but are distrustful of the ulterior intentions of Europeans.

There is only one policy that could be followed successfully by the British in Western Africa everywhere. It would be a consistent policy. And while it would be in harmony with the greatest traditions of the English people, it would fall completely in with the views, the sentiments, the traditions, the customs, and the habits of the people of the African continent.

The system of native government in Western Africa is usually federal, that is to say, the people are ruled by big councils of native chiefs, where treaties, war and peace, and such matters are determined, and they have lesser councils determining local matters, and family councils settle family questions. Nothing is ever done without a palaver, according to its degree; for if any one acts by his own motion, and does a deed of wrong, or one opposed to the general sentiment, swift and terrible retribution follows. But no council or palaver can upset the proceedings and determinations of any previous council, unless all the contracting parties to the first consent also to the other. This is one of the greatest stumbling-blocks of the local British administrators, who, as a rule, are wholly ignorant of this fact, and they think the decision of every palaver they attend binding, whereas it is only so conditionally. The parties to the second palaver are often accused of being false, when in point of fact they are only true to their constitutional and traditional system; the decisions of the previous palaver not having been abrogated, they are forced to stand by it, even against their will.

The proposed policy is to take advantage of the machinery existing in the land, and honoured and obeyed by the people. Let these great councils that are called together for big palavers be erected into permanent bodies, having complete power over determined areas, such as they now influence, with adequate revenues (say one-tenth of what a direct British administration would cost). The revenues are there, and all the necessary machinery. The British can do this easily; and the certain success and good example of these councils will lead to others being rapidly established on a similar system, and then the interior of the continent will be opened up to commerce and civilisation. The leading missionaries and traders of repute could be joined to these councils, and if necessary a British official would assist the chiefs to lay down rules and regulations.

Nothing in all the history submitted on this subject is more misleading, untrue, and unjust than the reiterated statement that the chiefs and people of Western Africa are unfitted for peaceable self-government. It is not pretended they will reach for the present any Western European ideal, but they will not lag much behind some people who claim to be better. The people do not want war; the very facility with which their disputes are temporarily adjusted serves to show this disposition. This coast is far from having recovered from the dire effects of the slave trade. The chiefs are weak, and much of their power is taken from them by the very British administration which scolds them for their non-success. No native power is ever permitted to levy duties of customs, or other taxes, on the coast line at all events, but the coast of the country is nevertheless annexed in many places by the British authorities, who levy taxes and spend the proceeds for purposes unknown to the natives who pay them.

The present system depends for its very fitful, temporary and extremely limited success on the active personality of an Administrator, and when this utmost possible success is obtained, it is only at the point where the Administrator happens to be for the moment, and the effect does not outlast his departure or death. Then the history of British administration on the coast everywhere shows how rare it is to have an official with the physique and local experience necessary for even this limited work. It is well known also that this personal system, at its best, is full of abuses of the worst kind, politically; the Administrators, and those who influence them, get to have favourites, and even chiefs have their legitimate power, influence, and dignity interfered with, because they refuse to pay homage to their views. In consequence of all this, an apparently successful administrator is usually, and sharply, followed by even worse confusion and more protracted wars than were known before his advent. It is the history of all weak, despotic systems, having no basis in the country, or among the people sought to be governed or influenced.

A policy such as the one sketched above is what is wanted in those parts where Great Britain has annexed the coast; it can be consistent in its acts as in its policy, and will depend for success, in all its branches, on the people of the country and their legitimate chiefs. It will inaugurate a real permanent and progressive government for the people behind the British possessions where the present systems render all stable government and progress impracticable.

## Chapter VII.

# Straits Settlements.

THE Straits Settlements, including the adjoining territories under British protection, have not yet been developed to anything like their full capacity for planting purposes. The splendid facilities for trade offered by Singapore, and the profits of mining, have absorbed the energy of those who seek fortunes. All that part of the Malayan Peninsula which is not claimed by Siam is under the dominion of the British Crown by occupation, or as protected territories; both meaning the same thing in practice. In course of time the problems of government in communities such as these will present real difficulties which will no doubt be overcome by the wisdom of the British nation. The population of to-day will not be the population of the future; the movements and amalgamations of races in these parts are among the phenomena of the time; considerable wealth is accumulating in the hands of native merchants, Chinese and others, at the trading ports; education, and a superior civilisation, and social and family life of a higher level than the past, are being rapidly established, and they will bring inevitable changes in the general views and habits of the people. The government and laws will have to conform to all these circumstances in order to render British authority secure, by being founded on mutual interests, and the love and gratitude of the people.

The unchangeable East is changing by its daily and hourly contact with the aggressiveness of the West. Not by the aggressiveness of war, because this has the effect of making people rather cling than otherwise to those old customs and habits which alone conquest and annexation cannot take away from them. The aggressiveness that operates is that of public opinion, of literature, and of commerce; these bring the people into contact with Western thought and habits, and they will adopt them more and more when they see that the complete and definite conquest and annexation they feared are not among the consequences of doing so, but the contrary. It is thus that the leaven of Western civilisation will arouse the people from the slumber of ages. It cannot yet be seen how much of European civilisation and systems the people may elect to adopt, but no one will be able to say to them, this much you may adopt, and no more, and they will demand a preponderating voice in the management of their own concerns. The fear sometimes expressed of the neighbourhood of foreign settlements might be reasonable if Great Britain ever acted unworthily, but if she continues in the paths of justice she need never fear the permanent loss of her legitimate power and just influence among the people. At the same time it is necessary to provide against such places as Singapore being put to ransom, or damaged by an unscrupulous foe.

The population of the four Crown settlements (Singapore, Penang, Malacca, and Wellesley), in 1883, was computed at 3,500 Europeans, 174,000 Chinese, 170,000 Malays, and 41,000 East Indians. The Malays are not likely to increase much—Mohammedan races rarely do so—they are already out-numbered, and before many years are passed they will be only a fraction of the population. The protected territories are also but thinly peopled by Malays; there are a few other inhabitants in remote districts who appear to be the representatives of older races. But the whole peninsula is fated to be ultimately filled up by the Chinese; these people will not be mere labourers and factors for Europeans, they will be landholders, cultivators, and merchants, and if other industries hereafter develop these will also be largely in their hands.

The imports from the United Kingdom for the ten years 1868-77 averaged £2,497,000 a year, and for the six years 1878-83 they were £3,865,000 a year (including bullion and specie, and foreign and colonial produce). This will make the United Kingdom imports for the sixteen years £48,160,000. The exports to the United Kingdom for the same period were valued at £36,645,000. The Board of Trade returns differ from the colonial returns. This is the case with valuations of all colonial imports and exports; but the margin of difference between the two returns varies much. According to the former, the exports to the Straits Settlements, for the sixteen years, were of the value of £36,355,000, and the imports from the Straits Settlements of the value of £50,495,000. This makes the colonial valuation of United Kingdom merchandise and other exports 32½ per cent, higher than the Board of Trade estimates, and the Board of Trade returns give a greater valuation to Straits Settlements' shipments to the United Kingdom by 32 per cent.

The value of British and Irish produce and manufactures alone, exported to the Straits Settlements in the ten years, 1874-83, amounted to £22,502,000 (Board of Trade Returns, at 3s. 8d. = \$1). It has been seen the values of goods are differently estimated at the ports of shipment in the United Kingdom from what they usually are on arrival in the colonies; they have naturally, also, a different value at each place. Chief among British goods exported to the Straits Settlements are cottons, wearing apparel, haberdashery, and linens, and woollens; the value of these articles in five years, 1879-83, amounted to £8,207,000 (Board of Trade returns). British coal and fuel (1,312,177 tons) amounted to £689,000. Hardware, cutlery, machinery, metals, and telegraphic necessities were valued at £1,378,000. The principal articles imported into the United Kingdom from the Straits Settlements in the five years, 1879-1883, were caoutchouc and gutta-percha, £2,850,000; sago

and other farinaceous substances, £2,314,000; dye and tanning stuffs, gums, lacs, &c., £2,588,000; pepper and spices, £2,817,000; tin and ores, £4,826,000; and leather and hides, £1,063,000. Sugar amounted to only £916,000, and isinglass to £185,000.

The total imports into the Straits Settlements for the seven years, 1869-75, were valued at £79,361,000; and for the seven years, 1876-83, at £106,187,000. The total exports for the first seven years were valued at £74,184,000, and for the second seven years at £97,436,000. These figures are from colonial returns.

There is a large traffic with the eastern possessions of Holland; during the ten years ending 1883 they shipped to the British Settlements merchandise to the value of £24,210,000, and received through the Settlements to the value of £35,898,000. The direct trade of France, Holland, and Germany with the Settlements figures for £3,891,000 imports, and £6,628,000 exports, in the ten years. There is a large trade with Siam and China, amounting to 15¼ millions sterling imports, and 14½ millions exports, in the ten years, 1874-83. During the same years the imports from Hong-Kong amounted to £16,823,000, and the exports to Hong-Kong to £10,485,000. There was a considerable movement of imports and exports between the several ports of the Malayan Peninsula and Singapore—an inter-colonial and coasting trade of importance. The eastern possessions of France do an important trade; their imports into the Straits Settlements in the ten years, 1874-83, amounted to £3,677,000, and their exports to £6,763,000; much of this is probably a carrying trade by the French mail steamers (main line), which all touch at Singapore, and have branch lines communicating with French colonial ports. The imports from the eastern possessions of Spain amounted to £1,120,000, and the exports to the same amounted to £1,011,000, in the ten years. There were shipments to the United States averaging for the ten years over £800,000 a year, but no equivalent figures of imports; the total imports from America were only about £600,000 in the five years, 1879-83. The imports from India for the ten years ending 1883, were valued at £24,276,000 (colonial returns), and at £25,890,000 (Indian returns), and the exports to India at £8,355,000 (colonial returns). The Indian returns always include imports and exports for Government account. The trade of the Settlements with Independent Borneo and Sarawak for the ten years, 1874-83, averaged £138,000 a year imports, and £104,000 a year exports. The trade with Labuan averaged £62,020 a year imports, and £29,000 a year exports, during the same period. The chief trade of these Settlements is with the United Kingdom, Hong-Kong, the Dutch possessions, Siam, China, India, and between their own ports and the Malayan Peninsula.

In the five years, 1879-83, the Dutch East India possessions, besides the trade done *via* Singapore, imported from the United Kingdom merchandise, the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom, to the value of £9,344,000, of which £7,108,000 were cottons, linens, and woollens; they exported to the United Kingdom produce valued at £14,518,000, of which £14,002,000 was sugar. It will be seen above that these colonies of Holland, in the trade with Singapore, received £11,688,000 more in merchandise than they shipped to that port; much of this balance will be in payment of the balance due on the sugar, in the shape of British goods. The great free ports of Singapore and Hong-Kong give British merchants many facilities for trading in Eastern seas. During the five years, 1879-83, British goods, the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom, valued at £5,909,000, were sent to the Philippine Islands, of which £4,376,000 were cottons, linens, woollens, and apparel. Great Britain received £9,491,000 in produce, of which £5,700,000 was in sugar, and £3,332,000 in hemp. The trade of the United Kingdom with Siam, Cochin China, and Borneo is chiefly transacted through Singapore.

Labuan is a settlement that at one time promised much, from its possession of valuable coal deposits, its position and fine harbour. It acts as an intermediate station between Singapore and the large island of Borneo; some of the produce of the latter is prepared at Labuan for the Singapore market. When the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos was Secretary of State for the Colonies (1868), with Sir C. B. Adderley (since Lord Norton) as Parliamentary Under-Secretary, it was proposed to incorporate this island with the Straits Settlements; unfortunately for Labuan the recommendations then formulated were not carried through. Labuan has lately been annexed to the British North Borneo Company; not formally, it is true, but practically. It is to be hoped its inhabitants as well as those of North Borneo will never have cause to believe the British flag may be indirectly employed to cover any acts different in character and in principle from those which have made its chief renown among the oppressed.

There are other places in the world besides Singapore which would show similar results, in proportion to possible commerce, had they the same advantages of absolute free trade. But for the purpose of obtaining the little or great revenue necessary for local purposes of administration, imports and commerce are taxed, and the stream of wealth passes their ports and seeks other lands.

The revenue of this colony for purposes of government are raised chiefly by a monopoly of the preparation for use of rough opium from India, and the farming out of the privilege to sell opium preparations and spirits. There are spirit, opium, and toddy farmers, and licences for pawnbrokers, hotels, and such like. Land brings in a revenue from its sale and from rents and fees, but much of it, it appears, was alienated in fee simple before the

year 1871. In Singapore land is usually held direct from the Crown by lease or grant for a long term of years. In the country, pepper and gambier plantations have sometimes 10 years' leases. Quit rents for country land are now from 40 cents of a dollar per acre—readjustable every 30 years. The same system obtains at Penang and Malacca, but native customary tenure without written evidence of title is accepted. Unoccupied Crown lands may be had on lease for 999 years on payment of the quit rent and a premium. Permits are granted to hold land in anticipation of the survey, and much is so held in Province Wellesley. The actual conditions of tenure seem to vary much—according to what happened to be the policy at the time the agreements were made. It is said there are 18 different forms of title in the hands of the Singapore public, and 20 in the hands of the inhabitants of Penang. To interfere with past arrangements would be impolitic and dangerous. If the people are satisfied there can be no reasons to change or simplify existing methods. But in some countries such a condition of things would give plenty of work to the lawyers. There are stamp duties and the usual fees and fines of Court and the Post Office. Port dues are only 3 cents the registered ton. With these taxes and some few unimportant items a revenue for the purposes of government has been raised without pressure or difficulty. The revenue for the 3 years ending 1879 averaged about £373,000 a year, for the 3 years ending 1882 the average was £469,000 a year, in 1883 it was £559,000. A large proportion of this revenue is spent on public works. The rapid augmentation of a revenue that does not press on industry need not be regarded with suspicion, if it be spent advantageously.

In the year 1884 the craft that entered Singapore numbered 15,265, with 300,472 people for crews; 4,551 were British vessels, measuring 2,467,739 tons, and with 166,252 crews; 9,417 were native vessels, measuring 266,594 tons, with crews numbering 70,732; there were 1,291 foreign vessels with crews numbering 63,488.

The advantages of a free trade policy are too apparent at a place like Singapore to need dwelling on. People are apt to ascribe all the prosperity to the special position and natural advantages of the place. Of course these advantages do exist, but there are numerous other places, as a glance at a map will show, equally well placed and having similar advantages, but where a restrictive policy has made all progress impossible. Even vast numbers of small and frail native craft from distant islands, some two or three thousand miles away, through weary weeks and months of a toilsome navigation, laboriously seek Singapore, passing Dutch and other ports innumerable—places in other respects more suitable and nearer for them—whose restrictive systems repulse trade and make even these people prefer the more distant free port of Singapore, where they can trade and traffic as they please.

## Chapter VIII.

### Hong Kong.

HONG KONG is in many ways the ideal of what a port should be. It owes much to locality and to its capacity, but its preeminent position is due to its being a free port under the British flag. As in most places in the world where powerful interests have much at stake, abuses creep in, and some sections of the community got to be favoured, and others, equally entitled to respect and consideration, had to struggle against injustice and adverse conditions. Most, if not all, of these objections have been removed, and the local laws and regulations show no blot, or only a few, in this respect. Every nationality in the world claiming to do foreign trade with the East is represented here. Englishmen might well be proud to see what may be done under their flag when the great national principles of free trade are given full scope, and commerce, untrammelled by vexatious regulations, is allowed to grow and develop in its might.

The colony gives no returns of imports and exports, that being impracticable; but it is the chief centre, and, as it were, the focus of the trade of China and Japan with the West. The Board of Trade returns show that it imported from the United Kingdom, in the five years 1879-83, merchandise valued at £17,087,000, of which £16,264,000 were manufactured goods and produce of Great Britain and Ireland, £13,257,000 being apparel, cottons, linens, and woollens. The imports into the United Kingdom from Hong Kong consist of portions of the produce of China, Japan, and other Eastern countries, which it was found most convenient to send through that port, and also the above merchandise shipped to Hong Kong direct from the United Kingdom was only a portion of the goods intended for such countries, the remainder being shipped to them direct. Hong Kong received from Great Britain 365,000 tons of coal and fuel in five years, 1879-83; but she also obtains large supplies of these articles from other countries, some of which are nearer and more handy than England.

The revenue of the colony averaged about £244,000 a year for the five years 1879-83. The revenue for 1884 was \$1,171,099 (\$118,350 less than the previous year); at 4s. 2d. a dollar, this is £243,977. The

population in 1883 numbered 7,990 whites, 1,722 coloured, and 150,690 Chinese; total, 160,402. The taxation is, therefore, \$7.31 per head. For such a rich port this compares favourably with the taxation per head in the poor, ill-taxed agricultural settlements. The revenue is raised by rents on Crown lands put up to auction for terms of years; by rents on stone quarries, and market charges; by spirit licences, and licences to sell and prepare opium, and by market charges. There are the usual stamps, court fees, &c. There are taxes on houses for lighting and police purposes, and there are port charges.

Chinamen live cheaply almost anywhere; they probably can do so effectively in this great port. Predial labour is paid in kind, and ordinary labour is about 17 cents of a dollar a day. Skilled and mechanical labour is proportionately paid higher, but it is not dear.

In the year 1884 the number of vessels that entered Hong Kong harbour was 26,763, measuring 5,167,231 tons, and having 431,429 people as crews. Among these were 23,473 Chinese junks, of 1,687,594 tons, with 290,846 crews. There were 2,397 vessels under the British flag, measuring 2,685,194 tons, and having 106,364 crews. The next in importance are the Germans, with 474 vessels, 309,171 tons, 10,389 crews. The Americans come next with 146 vessels, 192,803 tons, and 5,797 men (the Americans have always fewer hands on their commercial—especially sailing—vessels than other people). The French have 104 vessels, 156,120 tons, and 20,346 men. Out of the total number of British vessels it seems that only 148 arrived direct from the United Kingdom. The movements of commerce are most complicated, but the study is deeply interesting, and of great moment for a commercial people. The rise of such ports as Hong Kong and Singapore are only possible on free trade principles. Although all the great powers of the world, as may be seen, are interested in these ports, and do much of their Eastern trade through them, every friend of freedom must be fearful to see them so insecure as to be open to a passing raid, and the heavy attendant losses, by any enterprising ironclad.

## Chapter IX.

# Falkland Islands, St. Helena, Gibraltar, Bermuda.

THE above Crown colonies have each a special interest and value. The Falkland Islands are a colony that will be of much importance hereafter to the Empire. In the present redundancy of available colonies for Europeans, the perplexed emigrant hardly knows which to select. There are so many that are more accessible, and present more attractive features, that it will be yet some time before these distant and breezy islands will be in request. A population of 1,600 souls to an area of 6,500 square miles is not much; but they manage to send to England produce of their own of an annual average value of £53 per head, of which £42 per head is in sheep and lambs' wool. Almost all the export trade is direct with the United Kingdom. The only customs' charges are 2s. per lb. on tobacco, and 4s. per lb. on cigars, 3d. a gallon on sale in wood, and 6d. a dozen in bottles, wine 2s. a gallon in wood, and 4s. a dozen in bottles, and spirits 10s. a gallon.

St. Helena has lately had to live a good deal on the memory of the past. The Suez Canal took from it its main importance. All the whale fishing in the Indian Ocean and south of it is in the hands of Americans, whose vessels are able to fit out and provision cheaply for a three or four years' stay; and these make St. Helena one of their stations to refit, and to stow and forward their oil. The days of St. Helena are, nevertheless, not gone forever. From its position it need fear no rivals. The western coast of Africa is developing rapidly, and, by-and-by, more powerful, larger, and faster vessels than are now dreamt of will again seek the route to the East, *viâ* the Cape. St. Helena will find itself again a much needed position. The only duties of customs charged here are, for ale in the wood 4½d. a gallon, and 1s. per dozen bottles, wine in the wood 2s. 6d. a gallon and 5s. per dozen bottles, leaf tobacco 6d. per lb., manufactured tobacco and cigars 1s. per lb.

Bermuda is chiefly noted as a naval and military port; it is sometimes regarded as geographically one of the West India Islands, but it has little in common with these groups, except that the population, to some extent, is composed of African races and their descendants. The revenue is about £30,000 a year, four-fifths of which is raised by custom-house charges. These charges are, nevertheless, not high. Ale pays 4½d. a gallon in wood and 1s. a dozen bottles, wine pays 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, all tobaccos pay 2d. per pound and cigars 10s. the 1,000, spirits 4s. gallon, coal and books are free, everything else pays 5 per cent, *ad valorem*. The average yearly imports into the island for the 10 years 1874-83 were valued in the colony at about £254,000, and the average yearly exports for the same period at about £80,000. Much of the imports will be for the use of the garrison. Only about £55,000 a year of the imports are in British goods, £11,000 a year being for ale and beer.



Gibraltar is classed as a Crown colony, but practically it is a British stronghold under a purely military administration. The population in 1881 (exclusive of military) was reckoned to be 18,381. The yearly revenue varies between £44,000 and £49,000 a year, of which about £10,000 is from duties of customs, the remainder being obtained by land rents, port dues and fees, &c. The exports to the United Kingdom are unimportant; but the imports of the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom are considerable, chiefly for sale to passing vessels and for garrison supplies. In the 5 years 1879-83 they amounted to £3,629,000, of which £1,580,000 was for wearing apparel, cottons, linens, and woollens, £245,000 for beer and ale, and £183,000 for refined sugar. The imports also included 1,817,000 tons of British coal, valued at £911,000. In 1883 vessels of all nations, measuring 9,504,093 tons entered and cleared, of which 7,602,423 tons were under British colours, and 9,256,703 tons of the whole were steamers.

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The Trade Depression: *Its Causes and its Remedies*.

By George W. Medley.

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## Contents.

## Preface.

THE following essay was written early in the present year. The appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the causes of the Trade Depression seems an opportune moment for its publication, and I therefore put it forth as a small contribution towards the discussion which is taking place.

According to the Memorandum of the Chairman, the inquiry into which the Commission is about to enter includes in its scope, not only the collection of evidence which shall deal minutely and exhaustively with the condition of trade and industry at home and abroad, but also an excursion over the whole field of Political Economy. It is hardly too much to say that an investigation carried out on the lines laid down, followed by a Report which shall deal adequately with the subject, would under any circumstances occupy several years, and that whatever may be the practical value of their labours, the Commission cannot reasonably look for a release from their task until the close of the century. Passing from this seriocomic business, however, I have to remark that our foreign trade figures for the first seven months this year show a falling off of £8,846,140, or 3.8 per cent, in our imports; and of £16,142,978, or 9.2 per cent, in our exports, as compared with the figures for 1884. The falling off in our exports is serious, and demands some notice. Mr. Mongredien, in his pamphlet, *Trade Depression, Recent and Present*, lately published by the Cobden Club, calls attention to the fact that the decrease in our exports this year is principally, if not entirely, due to the great falling off in our import of cereals last year. In 1884, when we had a good harvest, we imported 19½ millions worth of wheat, oats, and other cereals, less than we did in 1883, and he points out that, as an ordinary trade transaction, there cannot be an export without an import, the fall in our exports this year is the direct consequence of our lessened imports last year. This he shows to be no national loss. What our shipping and foreign trading interests lost, as regards this special cause, our agricultural and home trading interests gained. Confirmation of this view is to be found in what happened in 1879-80, when the converse of all this took place, the disastrous harvest of 1879 being followed in 1880 by a sudden rise in our foreign trade from 611¾ millions to 697½ millions.

Finally, we have to bear in mind that we are now suffering from the poverty and bad economic condition in which some of our customers, notably those whose fiscal system is that of Protection, find themselves; and that, until they by some means are enabled to better their condition, we cannot reasonably look for any expansion of our foreign trade irrespective of that which comes naturally from increase of population and wealth.  
*August, 1885.*

## The Trade Depression: Its Causes and Its Remedies.

## Chapter I.

# Introduction.

DEPRESSION in trade exists at the present moment in every civilised country, and as the space at my disposal does not permit an inquiry which shall embrace them all, I propose to confine my examination to Great Britain, as being the country whose interests are specially in view; referring only to other countries by way of enforcing and illustrating the lessons which the subject affords.

In trade and commerce depression may be likened to what in nature is the ebb tide, while expansion corresponds to the flow. They are inter-acting agents, and relative terms.

While expansion goes on the seeds of depression are being sown; and while depression exists the seeds of expansion are in like manner being sown. When trade is brisk and profitable a rush in takes place; mills are set up, furnaces blown in, mines opened, ships built, and labour is in great demand. For a time "all goes merry as a marriage bell," warnings are unheeded. Presently the reaction comes, depression sets in, and the reverse of these processes takes place; capital becomes profitless, labour unemployed, general suffering supervenes, until at length the wheel turns, and the upward movement once more commences.

## Chapter II.

### The Depression at Home.

Description—Economic Sketch, 1870-1884—Statistical Table:—Population, Exports Home Produce, Total Imports and Exports, Savings Banks, Crime, Pauperism—The Fall in Prices, its Causes—Comparison of Trade 1873 and 1884—Scarcity of Gold—The World's Indebtedness to Great Britain—Agriculture—Railway Traffic.

It is in one of these ebbs that we now find ourselves. Let us see in what respects it differs from, and in what it corresponds with, former depressions, and so ascertain its peculiar causes, and prescribe the proper remedies.

When we come to look for points of resemblance, the difficulty is to find them, while, on the other hand, the points of difference are important and numerous. Beyond the fact that depression exists there is scarcely any similarity. On other occasions this nation has suffered from protracted and expensive wars; from rash home enterprises, and speculative foreign loans ending in panic and disaster; from dearness and deficiency of food, arising either from legislation or from bad harvests.

Not one of these causes has been in force on the present occasion. For many years we have had no great war consuming and destroying our capital; our transactions, vast as they are, have been conducted, for the most part, on a cash basis, and not on credit, as formerly; there have been no great home enterprises such as were once entered into in the shape of railways; for a dozen years we have had no reckless foreign loans; the volume of our foreign trade keeps up at a high level; while, lastly, bread and other necessaries of life were never so plentiful and cheap.

See note, page 8.

Nevertheless, our agriculturists say they are half ruined; our manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners complain of vanishing profits; while many of our artisans and labourers are out of work and clamour for employment.

In order to produce results apparently so anomalous, it seems clear that some novel and active agencies must have been at work. We must inquire what these are. I propose, therefore, to take a rapid glance at the history of the last fifteen years, with particular regard to those facts which have an important economic bearing, and, by means of such statistical information as is available, I will endeavour to measure these facts, and show how they have combined to produce the results we see. The period in question, which commences with 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, comprises the expansion which followed the close of that war in 1871; the depression which began in 1874, and closed in 1878-79; the expansion which then commenced, and which continued till 1881-2; and the depression which has reigned ever since.

We shall thus have for comparison two periods of expansion and two of depression; and for reference, the accompanying table (page 4), which shows the progress of the nation during this time in the important particulars of Population, Exports of Home Produce, Total Imports and Exports, Marriage, Thrift, Crime, Pauperism.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the figures shown in the table, however interesting in themselves, lose much of their significance unless read by the light of the facts and circumstances which underlie them. The

table commences with 1870, in the summer of which year the Franco-Prussian war broke out. The war ceased in 1871, and the effect on trade was magical, our exports rising from 199½ millions in 1870, to 256 millions in 1872; and 255 millions in 1873.

The destruction of capital had to be made good. An indemnity of 5,000 millions of francs had to be paid by France to Germany. An era of peace seemed to set in. Confidence in all directions sprang up, and enterprise in consequence flourished. There was a mania for foreign loans, good, bad, and indifferent, France' heading the list of borrowers for 200 millions, Russia taking 27 millions, while such bankrupt and subsequently defaulting states as Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, and Turkey, came in for 20 millions among them. United States railroad bonds and shares were also imported in vast Year. Population United Kingdom. Exports, Home Produce. Imports and Exports. Marriages, Great Britain. Savings Banks Deposits, United Kingdom. Crime Convicts. United Kingdom. Pauperism, England and Wales, Paupers, 1st Jan. Total. Per Head. Total. Per Head. £ £ s. d. £ £ s. d. £ 1870 31,205,444 199,586,822 6 7 11 547,338,070 17 10 10 205,443 53,057,653 18,401 1,079,391 1871 31,513,442 223,066,162 7 1 7 614,590,180 19 10 1 214,078 55,844,667 16,387 1,081,926 1872 31,835,757 256,257,347 8 1 0 669,282,458 21 0 6 226,847 58,998,212 15,686 1,007,664 1873 32,124,598 255,164,603 7 18 10 682,292,137 21 4 9 232,345 61,667,884 15,741 890,372 1874 32,426,369 239,558,121 7 7 9 667,733,165 20 11 10 228,257 64,623,868 16,107 829,281 1875 32,749,167 223,465,963 6 16 6 655,551,900 20 0 4 227,133 67,574,874 15,643 815,587 1876 33,093,439 200,639,204 6 1 3 631,931,305 19 1 11 228,437 70,280,008 16,589 749,593 1877 33,446,930 198,893,065 5 18 11 646,765,702 19 6 9 220,142 72,979,443 16,251 728,350 1878 33,799,386 192,848,914 5 14 1 614,254,600 18 3 6 214,387 74,704,948 17,039 742,703 1879 34,155,126 191,531,758 5 12 2 611,775,239 17 18 3 205 544 75,809,994 16,823 800,426 1880 34,468,552 223,060,446 6 9 5 697,644,031 20 4 10 216,454 77,721,084 15,643 837,940 1881 34,929,679 234,022,678 6 14 0 694,105,264 19 17 5 223,238 80,334,612 15,883 803,126 1882 35,289,950 241,467,162 6 16 10 719,680,322 20 7 10 230,979 83,650,402 15,897 797,614 1883 35,611,816 239,799,473 6 14 8 732,328,649 20 11 3 232,669 86,755,931 15,001 799,296 1884 35,951,865 232,927,575 6 9 10 688,000,000 19 2 2 230,066 90,758,318 ? 774,310 amounts, and large investments were made in other parts of the world. The total of all this could not have been less than 400 millions sterling, and, assuming that we furnished only one quarter of it, we had to provide 100 millions in commodities.

Prices went up with a bound, manufacturers and traders went mad, so did the wage-earning classes; it was a time of general intoxication, bearing within it the seeds of the inevitable collapse. This came in the autumn of 1873, the special feature being the smash in the United States. During the succeeding five years we suffered from the conjoined influences of falling prices, foreign loan defaults, and bad harvests; our exports sinking in 1879 to 191½ millions, a lower figure than that of 1870.

There were circumstances, however, which were working to redress these evils. In the United States many of the railroads which were commenced in the time of inflation were completed, and by their means the vast and fertile regions of the far west were brought into play, and made to supply the needs of Europe. A new era of prosperity was opened for the States, who were enabled to pass easily through the process of the resumption of specie payments; to call in and pay off a large portion of their debt; and also greatly to extend their trade with the rest of the world. Matters soon changed, however, Europe was blessed with better crops, while, in 1881, the States had a bad harvest, and found themselves committed to excessive railroad construction. From that time until now the depression in the States has gone on from bad to worse, and they find themselves in a position from which it seems impossible to emerge, unless they adopt a fiscal policy utterly at variance with that under which their industries are at present conducted.

In addition to these various circumstances I have now to refer to a very potent factor which has been at work for a dozen years at least, I mean the fall in the prices of commodities. This has been a disturbing element, an object of perplexity, and a source of loss to almost every one engaged in commerce.

The fall in prices may be traced to three concurrent causes.

- The opening of new fields of production.
- The improvement and cheapening of processes.
- The scarcity of gold.

In agriculture we have had opened up since 1870 the wheat and corn fields of the West and North-west of America; and the wheat fields of India, and of Australasia.

In mining, rich veins of copper, tin, and lead, have been laid bare in Spain, California, and Australia.

In manufactures, there is hardly a process in which invention and economy have not been at work to effect a saving of material or of labour. To give only one instance, I may mention the Gilchrist-Thomas process, by which four men now make a bar of steel in the same time, and with less cost of material than it took ten men a few years ago.

As regards the scarcity of gold, it is only necessary to consider the facts to understand what is meant by the term, and how the result has been caused. From the time of the discoveries in California and Australia,

1848-52, the annual production which had been about thirteen millions, increased until it reached its highest point about 1856.

According to statistics collected by Mr. Burchard, Director of the United States Mint, as given in his last annual report:—

So that we have a rapidly decreasing supply. Let us now inquire into the demand.

This has been two-fold, firstly for currencies, secondly for the arts. For currency purposes there have been large demands on the stock for Germany, the United States, Holland, Italy, and other countries, which have absorbed something like 200 millions sterling; the process, in the case of Germany, being accompanied by the demonetisation of silver, the price of which has fallen from 60d. per ounce in 1872, to 49½d. in 1884.

The price has since fallen to 48½d. in anticipation, apparently, of the repeal of the Bland Silver Act of the United States, under which a minimum coinage of 2 million dollars a month has to be made.

As regards the arts, Mr. Burchard reports that from many inquiries he learned that at least three millions sterling is now annually used for this purpose in the United States, and the conclusion is that three-fourths of the whole annual supply are consumed in this manner.

In addition to these drains, moreover, it has to be noted that since 1870 India has been a steady importer of gold, and that in 1883, according to a Parliamentary return issued at the end of last year, she imported on balance no less than nine millions worth.

But, there is still another sign of the increasing scarcity to be mentioned, and that is, the fact that in 1884, Great Britain instead of receiving some five or six millions of gold from Australia, as she did annually a few years ago, actually had to remit to that quarter about one million sterling as part of some large loans made to the Colonies, who for the first time in their history called for payment partly in gold, instead of wholly in commodities. Now, inasmuch as the demand for gold during the last few years has far outrun the supply, it is impossible that this circumstance should not have had some influence in producing the fall in prices which has taken place. There are, however, three other factors which have had an influence on prices which have to be taken into account. Two of these have tended to retard the fall. They are increased banking facilities, and improved means of transmission, and communication by steam and electricity, all which have permitted economies in the use of the metal. The third, which has tended to accelerate the fall, is the increased production of commodities which has arisen out of the new fields opened up, and the improvement of manufacturing processes.

It is impossible to apportion with any accuracy the share which each of these factors has had in producing the effect we see, but the fall in prices has steadily progressed since 1873, and has been productive of wide-spread effects in every department of trade, and on every class of society.

Keeping all this in mind let us now turn to the table, and take note of the lessons which it affords.

In the first place, we see the rise of the trade figures which mark the inflation of 1871-3; and their decline from that date until 1879, under the influence of natural reaction, intensified by contracting currencies, and falling prices. We can see also that the prosperity of 1872-3 was to a great extent hollow and unreal, and that it is absurd to make the inflated prices of those years the normal standard of comparison. It was shown by Mr. Giffen in various reports to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, that in order to institute just comparisons, we must take into account, not only prices, but quantities. He pointed out in 1881, that the differences in the prices of 1873 and 1879 would, in order properly to compare the trade of these two years, necessitate an addition in the case of the latter year, for certain enumerated articles on the export side, of £60,694,000; and on the import side, of £63,844,000; which sums added to the total imports and exports for 1879, and supposing no change in the other articles, would raise the total of our foreign trade in 1879 to £737,000,000, which is 55 million above the figures reached in 1873.

Once more casting our eyes on the column of exports, we notice that the figures rise from 191½ million in 1879, to 241½ millions in 1882; 239¾ millions in 1883; and 233 millions in 1884.

Then, if we look at the figures of our total trade, we see that they have risen from 611¾ million in 1879, to 732¼ millions in 1883; the estimate for 1884 being 688 millions.

The actual figures of our total foreign trade for 1884 have just been published. Instead of being 688 millions, as estimated, they are 685,986,152, which slightly modifies the calculation in the text. These figures might be taken to signify at first sight a vast and sudden drop in our foreign trade, inasmuch as they are 46 million less than those of 1883, and 25 million less than the average of the four preceding years. Of this deficiency of 46 millions, however, 36½ millions were in our imports, and millions in our exports; while of the 36½ millions in the imports, 19½ millions arose from a decreased importation of wheat, oats, and other cereals. This fact is intimately bound up with the question of the world's indebtedness to Great Britain, to which reference is made in pages 10 and 22.

If, now, we adopt the process of Mr. Giffen and calculate the value of the quantities of 1884, according to the prices of we should find that the figures of the latter year would be largely exceeded. The total for 1884 is

estimated at 688 millions, but as this includes the re-export of certain of our imports, we must, in order to arrive at the actual figures of our sales and purchases, deduct their value from each side of the account, say 64 millions, which would leave 560 millions as the total of our sales and purchases. Then, assuming that the prices of 1873 are on the average 30 per cent, above those of 1884, 168 millions would fall to be added to the 688 millions, the actual estimated for 1884, and the comparison would stand thus:—

showing that, measured in money, on the basis of the prices of 1873 we did a larger business in 1884 by 10s. 9d per head of our population.

This will be made more apparent by an inspection of the following tables which give the quantities, the values, and the average prices, of some of the principal articles of import and export for the years in question:—

As to the comparative profitableness of these two years, I do not propose to enter thereon for two reasons, the first of which is, that they are years of extreme inflation and extreme depression; and the second is, that it would require a long calculation based on the variations in the price of every item on each side of the account, with a full knowledge and consideration of the difference in cost which improved processes bring out, and of the difference for which allowances would have to be made in the cost of raw materials imported, and re-exported in the shape of manufactures. It will be sufficient to remark that, as our imports are, to our exports, in the ratio of about three to two, anything like an equal fall in prices must be a great gain to us; and that a fall of 20 per cent, in the price of our imports would be an equal set-off against a fall of 30 per cent, in the price of our exports.

In this connection it is difficult to over-estimate the value to us of the relation in which we stand to the rest of the world, as the great creditor nation. It is a subject which has not received due attention. The world's indebtedness to Great Britain is probably, at a moderate computation, 1,500 millions, producing an annual income of something like 75 millions; our colonies and India standing for 600 millions. We thus have 75 millions per annum, payable in London in gold, that is, in a commodity which, unless fresh discoveries of the metal are made, must indefinitely increase in value, and thus, as time goes on, be a source of increasing wealth to the country which holds this unique and enviable position.

Resuming our examination of the table, we see that as regards population, there is a steady increase from 31,205,444 in 1870, to 35,951,865 in 1884.

Turning to the column relating to marriage, we find that for the first cycle of inflation and depression, the figures follow pretty closely the fluctuations in the trade columns, rising from 205,443 in 1870, to 232,345 in 1873, and falling to 205,544 in 1879; while, for the second cycle, commencing in 1879, there is a rise to 230,979 in 1882, and to 232,669 in 1883, and a fall to 230,066 in 1884, showing a check. It appears, moreover, that the number of marriages in 1883 was almost the same as in 1873, although in the meantime there had been an increase in the population of 3½ millions.

In the column relating to thrift we have to note a steady rise during the whole period of 15 years. Calculating the amounts lodged in the Savings Banks, per head of population, we find that in 1870 they were £1 14s.; in 1873, £1 18s. 5d.; in 1879, £2 4s 5½d.; and in 1883, £2 8s. 9d. I find, moreover, that at the end of January, 1885, the total sum lodged amounted to £91,414,634, as against £87,651,517 at the end of January, 1884, which would give something like £2 10s. 8d. per head.

As regards crime, the figures show a steady diminution. In 1870, with a population of 31 millions, there were 18,401 convictions, whereas in 1883, with a population of 36 millions, the convictions have dropped to 15,001. The decrease has been so marked as to attract the attention of judges like the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Mr. Justice Denman, who have commented in suitable terms on this favourable feature. The same remarks are applicable to the column in which the number of paupers is recorded, the figures for England and Wales being in 1870, 1,079,391, and in 1884, 774,310.

This completes our examination of the table, but in order to obtain a correct notion of our internal condition, it will be necessary briefly to consider two subjects of importance, viz., agriculture and railway traffic. We find agriculture suffering from the effects of inclement seasons, and from a severe fall in the price of wheat, brought about by the opening up of new fields of production, to which allusion has been made. The consequences have been far-reaching. During the last ten years, although one million additional acres in the United Kingdom have been brought into cultivation, there has been a decrease of 1,200,000 of corn crops, one million of them being wheat, while there has been an increase of 2½ millions of acres devoted to grass, and other crops. This change in cultivation has been accompanied by a decrease in the rural population of 275,000 persons, many of whom have migrated to the towns, and helped to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

With regard to railway traffics, as forming an index to the condition of our internal trade, and to the progress made during the last fifteen years, the following table speaks for itself:—

With regard to this table it will be useful to note that in 1883 the number of third class passengers was 581,233,476, which was 29¼ millions in excess of the number carried in 1882; and that these numbers are in addition to those of season ticket holders.

The figures for 1884 have not yet appeared in a collected form, but the total receipts may be set down at about £70,000,000, or per cent, less than those of 1883.

The figures have since been published. They are £70,522,643, or 076 per cent, less than those of 1883.

## Chapter III.

### The Depression Abroad.

France, Germany and Austria, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Holland, Switzerland, The United States.

HAVING completed our survey of British internal and external trade, let us now take a glance at the condition of things in other countries.

There is in many minds a hazy conviction that the depression from which we are suffering is, in some way, attributable to our fiscal system, the principles of which are in direct conflict with those adopted by most other civilised countries, the system which goes by the name of Free Trade, but which is one of Free Imports against Protective Tariffs.

If it can be shown that in countries where protection rules, trade depression exists in an equal or greater degree than here, it must be clear that the evils complained of do not owe their existence to our peculiar system, but to other causes, and this will at once get rid of much error and misconception, and materially aid us towards the end we have in view.

Let us look at the condition of things in such countries as France, Germany and Austria, Belgium, Italy, Russia, and the United States, which are Protectionist; and in Holland and Switzerland, which are Free Trading.

1. France.—Here we have a people possessing the most fertile soil in Europe, industrious, frugal, practically stationary in numbers, which nevertheless is suffering from depression in trade, in manufactures, and in agriculture; with annual deficits arising from expenditure at home for public works, in order to find employment for her citizens, and abroad for wars undertaken in order to found colonies for a people which will not emigrate, and to discover outlets for a trade which never follows, and with a national debt of 1,000 million sterling, the largest in the world, which is being swollen year by year.

If we look at her industries, we find every one, although protected, clamouring for increased duties. With regard to sugar, they have passed 26 bills in 50 years, and yet the growers of beetroot are in despair. The graziers are crying out for increased rates on the importation of foreign cattle; the timber merchants for heavy duties on the foreign article; while the corn-growers demand, and are getting, increased duties on foreign grain. How all this increase in the cost of living is to benefit the distressed millions is past ordinary comprehension, and must be left to time to disclose, especially when we bear in mind that three-fourths of one of these millions live in 219,270 houses without any windows whatever.

M. Nadaud, in the Chamber, May 1883,

From the reports of the Economic Investigation Committee we learn that at Lille and in the north the greatest distress prevailed throughout the cotton industries, and that its principal cause was the agricultural crisis. Farms were standing empty and no tenants were to be found. Landed property had decreased in value by two-thirds, and the agriculturist who used to be the great consumer had no money to buy anything. On the Public Relief Fund Register of Lille the names of 28,000 persons were stated to be inscribed, and it was affirmed that the distress would at once assume dangerous dimensions but for the fact that a considerable number of manufacturers were keeping open at a loss,

The *Standard*, 31st Dec., 1884.

We further read that at the conclusion of their inquiry the Committee received a deputation of workmen, who presented a petition, bearing some 2,400 signatures, praying the Chamber of Deputies to oppose the temporary free importation of cotton yarns from England.

The *Standard*, 1st Jan., 1885.

As to Paris, M. Tony Revillon, in the Chamber, in November last, drew a doleful picture of its state. Out of every 15 artisans only 10 had employment, and their average wages had fallen from 6f. to 5f. per day. Of 100,000 masons in Paris in 1882, 30,000 had left, and only one half of the remaining 70,000 had work. M. Mun, Legitimist, argued that the distress existed overall France. M. Spuller, Chairman of the Economic Committee of Inquiry, agreed with M. Revillon in apprehending an aggravation in 1885; and M. Waldeck Rousseau, Minister of the Interior, remarked that the distress had not so much increased as it had attracted greater attention.

The *Times*, 21st Nov., 1884.

We read also that the mining industries compare unfavourably with ours, and that even the shipbuilding trade, nurtured by the State, was as depressed as here, and was permanently in disfavour, excepting when English shipbuilders were too busy to take orders.

With regard to labour, it was the rule in French factories to work 72 hours per week, against 56½ in England. In one of the largest cotton factories visited by the Technical Commissioners, they ascertained that the machinery was running 14 hours a day, with ten minutes for oiling. In the worsted districts the usual hours per day were 12.

Swire Smith, lecture at Bradford, *Bradford Observer*, 23rd Dec., 1884.

According to the *Revue Industrielle*, a commissioner has lately been appointed by the *Société Industrielle de France*, with the object of inquiring into the feasibility of shortening the daily hours of labour in the textile and collateral industries. At present the hours throughout France are rarely, if ever, under 12 per day, while in Germany they are still longer, being 13 at Dusseldorf, 13 to 15 at Treves and Aix-la-Chapelle, and even 16 in Franconia, this, too, without deductions for Sundays and holidays. After mature consideration, however, the committee have come to the determination that it is impossible to recommend the reduction in the face of the great competition from England and Germany. Moreover, if the hours were shortened, the already moderate daily wage would have to be reduced, much against the workpeople's wish; and it is also considered that the latter would suffer considerably, both morally and pecuniarily, from the extra idle time, a great portion of which would be passed in the *débit de boisson*.

The *Times*, 21st Feb., 1885.

As to wages, English workers receive 58 per cent, higher wages,

J. S. Jeans, at Statistical Society, 16th Dec., 1884.

while as to leisure we should have to go back 40 years to parallel the present state of things in France.

Swire Smith, at Bradford, *supra*.

The condition of affairs is further shown by what took place in the Chamber on the 5th Feb., when M. Revillon made a motion for a credit of 25 millions of francs for the unemployed. This, he said, would allow a franc a day to 246,000 persons who had for the last two months been starving. In opposition, M. Waldeck Rousseau urged that the rural was as much entitled to help as the urban population; and we learn that the motion was negatived, but that M. Revillon's second resolution, calling on the Government to begin the year's public works, was agreed to without a division.

The *Times*. 6th Feb., 1885.

2. Germany and Austria.—Like the French, the Germans are under the protective system, yet poverty and discontent prevail, and the cry of both agriculturists and manufacturers is for more and more protection. It is difficult to measure the depression, in consequence of the meagreness of the statistics at command, and of the censorship which is exercised over the press, and which has been extended to the reports of the Chambers of Commerce. Enough leaks out from time to time, however, to show the economic state of the country. One of the most protected industries in Germany, as also in Austria, is that of sugar, and it is precisely this industry which, during the last twelve months, was overtaken by such signal disasters, involving ruin in all directions, and which is clamouring for a further extension of the insane bounty system; while the cotton and wool manufacturers are petitioning the Minister of Commerce to again raise the import duties on cotton and cloth, although the Government has already twice done so, once in 1878 and again in 1882.

*Economist*, 13th Sept., 1884.

We read that duties on imports are met by manufacturers by reductions of wages, and that out of a population of 45 millions in Germany, in 1882, the Prussian officials discovered that there were more than 7 million heads of families who must be exempted from direct taxation, because their earnings were less than £25 a year—9s. 7½d. per week.

With regard to the general rate of wages, we read that wages are 42 per cent, higher in England;

J. S. Jeans. 16th Dec., 1884.

while as to the hours of labour, according to the report of the commissioner appointed by the *Société Industrielle de France*, already quoted, they are 13 per day at Dusseldorf, 13 to 15 at Treves and

Swire Smith at Bradford.

Aix-la-Chapelle, and even 16 in Franconia; and this without deductions for Sundays and holidays.

With regard to agriculture, we learn that increased duties have just been imposed on the importation of wheat and rye, in deference to the views of Prince Bismarck, and in spite of the report lately issued by the Prussian Minister of Agriculture, which declares that the country cannot in future rely on the growth of corn, but should try to widen the scope of production by introducing the rearing of cattle, &c., and which records the fact of the existence of much land which is still in a primitive condition, especially in the eastern provinces, where more than 10 per cent, of all the land is in this state, and might be made profitable.

*Economist*, 14th Feb., 1885.

We learn also that emigration is now five times more than it was before 1879, when Protection was established; but, according to a speech of Prince Bismarck in the Reichstag, on the 8th January, this was simply a convincing proof that the material prosperity of the nation had increased in proportion.

The *Times*, 9th Jan., 1885.

The Report of the Trade Inspector of Moravia and Silesia states that at Brunn the working time in the weaving and spinning mills, which were fixed at 12 hours before the new Act was issued, was sometimes prolonged to 16 and even 18 hours. It states also that in many manufactories workmen remain the whole week in the factory, sleeping on woolsacks, and working 96 hours, from Monday morning until Sunday morning. The weekly wages fluctuate between 4fl. and 8fl. for men, and 1.20fl. and 4fl. for women, &c. These low wages barely keep the workpeople in lodgings and dry bread.

3. Belgium.—In protected Belgium we find the labourers working longer hours and for lower wages than in Great Britain. There are no factory acts; children of tender years are employed 66 and 72 hours per week, and take their share of nightwork; while women and children work in the coal mines.

Swire Smith at Bradford.

4. Italy.—Here, as elsewhere, the people are protected in everything in which the foreigner might compete with them, and yet they are wearing out their lives, from childhood to a premature old age, in a perpetual struggle for existence. Old men in England tell of being carried to the factory on the backs of their fathers sixty or seventy years ago, when they were but seven or eight years of age, to begin work at five o'clock in the dark winter mornings, and working till seven or eight at night, for a few pence a day.

Swire Smith at Bradford,

Such are the conditions at present existing in Italy.

5. Russia.—With regard to Russia, we read in the *Times* of the 5th of February, that the industrial depression, and disturbances are beginning to attract very serious attention, and that on all hands are heard sounds of alarm at the growing discontent and agitation among the factory hands, and the working population generally. In the agricultural districts there are disturbances, and outrages, rick-burnings, and crop destruction; while in the cotton and iron industries, there are many large mills working at a loss for fear of the consequences of dismissing large numbers of workmen; attempts at reduction having in several instances resulted in combined or isolated attacks upon the masters.

6. Holland and Switzerland.—Before we leave Europe we must take a glance at these two countries. They form quite a contrast to those which we have just been regarding. The tariff of Holland is now one of the lowest in the world. She has no material advantages except her sea-board. She is thriving and prosperous, and her industries, reckoned per head of population, are larger than those of any other Continental state. As to Switzerland, a country without a single mine, canal, or navigable river, and hemmed in from the sea by great military and protectionist nations, she imports, and exports, and holds her own in the general competition. She spends lavishly in the education of all classes, her system standing almost unrivalled, while her factory acts regarding the education and employment of children, are stricter than in any other country in the world.

Swire Smith at Bradford

7. United States.—Turning from the Old World to the New, let us see whether there is anything to justify protection in its chosen home. There we find that the diary of the year lately closed is nothing but a chronicle of disaster in every department of trade and industry. Mercantile failures have not been so numerous, or for so large an aggregate, since 1878, as the following table will show:—

In manufacturing and mining we see nothing but the closing of mills, workshops, factories, and foundries, the blowing out of furnaces, the discharge of workmen, and a reduction of wages of from 10 to 30 per cent. An inquiry into the industrial situation, instituted by the well-known trade journal, Bradstreet's, in December last, brought out the fact that in 22 States, containing 90 per cent, of the industrial population of the Union, there were at least 316,249 less people employed in manufacturing in 1884 than in 1882, that is, a decrease of 13 per cent.; while wages in most lines had fallen 20 to 25 per cent., and in some instances 30 per cent.; all this being accompanied by disastrous strikes. In a subsequent number of the paper it is stated that in all probability a more careful count of the employés would show a decrease at the end of 1884 of 350,000.

We read also, that a stream of emigration is setting out for Europe, chiefly of Germans, Italians, Poles, and Hungarians, who complain that they can no longer get work, a large exodus taking place from the Pennsylvania anthracite coal region. This is not to be wondered at, when we learn from the evidence laid before the Senate Committee on Labour and Education last year, that there were miners of iron ore working in Pennsylvania for 75 cents, a day (3s. 1½d.), that their abodes were extremely miserable, and that they suffered from a truck system, under which they paid 100 per cent, more than the iron and steel workers did.

Speech of the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, House of Representatives, April 30th, 1884.

"The testimony of working men presented for the first time in the history of this or any other country in methodical order and representing every branch of business in this country was absolutely unanimous: first that



the wages and earnings of working men in this country are not sufficient to give them comforts or even a decent support for their families, and was equally conclusive as to their having been a steady degradation in the condition of the labouring classes during the last twenty years, and that it was a decreasing deterioration to be measured year by year."

Speech of the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, *supra*.

We learn also from Secretary Howard, of the Fall River Cotton Spinners' Association, Massachusetts, that a threatened reduction of ten per cent, in the wages of the Fall River operatives would make a reduction, since February, 1884, of twenty per cent., and since 1874 of fifty per cent., of what they then earned; also, that under the coming reduction a spinner with three children, after paying rent or fuel, would have less wherewith to clothe his family than the sum which it costs to keep the convicts in the state prisons.

The *Times*, 4th February, 1885, Letter from Correspondent, Lowell, Massachusetts.

We learn also that the cigar makers carry on their trade in filthy tenements, at such low rates, that the families of the workmen have neither fresh air nor sufficient food and clothing;

Senate Committee, evidence.

that at Darby, in Pennsylvania, under a system of tariffs which was to guard them against the pauper labour of Europe, and in the works of a corporation owned by prominent citizens of New York and Philadelphia, children of nine years old and upwards were employed, and were worked from 6.45 a.m. to 8 p.m. The *Philadelphia Ledger*, in March, 1883, recording the fact that one thousand of these mill children, between ten and fourteen years of age, were taken in a steamer to Rocky Point, where they had a shore dinner, and that next day they had to return to their daily drudgery.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 22nd March, 1883.

We read also of "the roof-sleepers of New York," people who, in the intensely hot weather of last year, were driven to sleeping on the roofs of their habitations.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 11th September, 1884.

Speaking of the third and most wretched class of people, who occupy the lowest grade of tenement houses, the writer describes these as:—"whose every room accommodates from one to three families, where men and women die, and children are born; where beds are huddled, meals are cooked, clothes are washed, dried, and ironed. These places are bad enough in the winter. In the summer, leaving aside all questions of health, decency, and morals, the utter wretchedness, physical, is something utterly and absolutely beyond description, or conception, to those who have not been eye-witnesses to it."

In the *Times* of 4th February, 1885, is a letter from a correspondent writing from Lowell, Massachusetts, already quoted, in which he says that "New York is estimated to have at least 50,000 workless people; Boston has 20,000 at least; and, out West, Chicago is said to have from 20,000 to 30,000; St. Louis 15,000; while the iron districts of Pennsylvania, Indiana, &c., have their thousands; and so it is all over the old settled districts of the country." He also, says, "And in cultured, enterprising, busy Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the 'hub of the universe,' I know many fine, steady, willing, worthy fellows, who . . . are in the greatest poverty. Some of these—lawyers, journalists, &c., have carried off honours at Oxford or Cambridge, and here in this boasted land of liberty and plenty have offered to do any kind of work, even that of shovelling snow or dirt, or driving horses and wagons, just for a mere pittance, but their services have not been required."

And we are not surprised after this when we read in the same letter that crime is being committed for the sake of obtaining food, and that in this same Boston, Judge McCafferty, of the Municipal Police Court, should state from the bench that strong rugged men, capable of working and of supporting others, pleaded guilty, and were sent away criminals, for the sake of being clothed and fed; one of these criminals exclaiming as he was sentenced to prison, "Thank God I shall get something to eat." And this takes place in a country where, according to Mr. J. S. Jeans, in a paper read at the Statistical Society on the 16th December last, money wages were eighty-four per cent, higher than in England.

But this is not all. In the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated 1st Dec., 1884, Mr. McCulloch writes;—"The time has now come when the manufacturing industry of the United States is in dire distress from plethora of manufactured goods. Some manufacturing companies have been forced into bankruptcy; others have closed their mills to escape it; few mills are running full time; and as a consequence a very large number of operatives are either deprived of employment or are working for wages hardly sufficient to enable them to live comfortably or even decently." Also, "The all-important question, therefore, that presses itself upon the public attention is, how shall the country be relieved from the plethora of manufactured goods, and how shall plethora hereafter be prevented . . . unless markets now practically closed against us are opened, unless we can share in the trade which is monopolised by European nations, the depression now so severely felt will continue, and may become more disastrous." Also, "How, then, shall the information required for a full understanding of what stands in the way of an increased exportation of our manufactured goods be obtained?"

. . . I see no better means than by the appointment of a commission composed of men not wedded to the

doctrines of Free Trade or Protection—fair-minded men, who would prosecute the inquiry thoroughly, comprehensively, and impartially." "The great and profitable carrying trade between the United States and Europe has been permitted to pass into the hands of the shipowners of other nations. . . . There is in my opinion no prospect whatever that the United States will ever share to a considerable extent in the foreign carrying trade without Government aid. The let-alone policy has been tried for many years, during which our ships have been swept from the ocean, and we pay every year many millions of dollars to foreign shipowners for freights and fares."

Such is the commercial picture presented by a country which, as Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, in his speech in Congress on the 30th April last, already quoted, states, "has had twenty-five years of uninterrupted protection, under a higher tariff than ever existed in any civilised country on the globe."

## Chapter IV.

### Causes of Depression.

Not our Fiscal System—Production greater than ever, Distribution different—Producers and Capitalists the Sufferers—Consumers and Labourers the Gainers—An Economic Revolution arising from a Diffusion, and more equal Distribution, of Wealth—Among Wage Earners the Causes of Distress are Intemperance, Improvidence, and Bad Land Laws.

THE question now arises:—What is there in all this showing to make us envious of the economic condition of our protectionist neighbours on either side of the Atlantic? There is nothing; on the contrary there is everything to show that such evils as we suffer from arise, not from our Free Trade system, but from other causes. What these causes are, and what the remedies, will form the burden of the remaining pages of this essay. We have arrived at the kernel of the problem, and we will discuss it by the light of what has been already advanced.

Let us first ascertain in what sense the present state of things can be called Depression. There is no sign of national impoverishment. There has been no falling off in the production of wealth. Our foreign trade, measured by quantities, was never so great as within the last two years. By way of interest on loans made to the rest of the world, which interest is due to us in gold, but paid to us in commodities, we now get, in consequence of the fall in prices, something like 50 per cent, more than we did some years ago for the same money.

Here is a table which shows the consumption per head of certain imported articles for the years 1873, 1879, and 1883.

There is no sign of decadence or of decay in such figures as these. What is shown is an accession and diffusion of wealth. Of this we have many proofs. One great cause has been the general fall in prices. As has already been observed, three factors have combined to bring about this fall. As regards two of these, namely, the opening up of new fields of production, and the improvement of industrial processes, however classes or individuals may have suffered thereby, the community has benefited. As regards the third, the scarcity of gold, that has been a misfortune to the world, but a benefit to Great Britain. Owing to her unique position as the great creditor nation she profits largely by this scarcity, while other countries indebted to her find a constantly increasing difficulty in satisfying her claims.

To manufacturers, merchants, wholesale traders, and producers generally, the increasing scarcity of gold, so far as it has contributed to the fall in prices, has been a source of loss. Owing to this and the other causes named, the fall, during the last few years, has been very rapid. Changes have taken place in two or three years which, formerly, it took a generation to effect, and the classes just named have not been able to keep pace with them. Capital has also suffered. It does not obtain the returns it formerly did. The high price of all first-class investments shows this; while, as regards capital employed in manufactures, there is a general complaint of insufficient returns.

Mr. B. Whitworth, M.P., at a meeting of the Statistical Society on 16th December last, stated that he was himself engaged in the cotton trade, and was in a position to say that for the last five or six years there had not been 2 per cent, made on the whole capital engaged in the cotton trade of this country.

Now, seeing that there has been a greater production of wealth than ever, and that certain classes have not been able to obtain as great a proportion as formerly, it is clear that other classes must have gained. The sufferers have been capitalists and producers; the gainers have been labourers and consumers.

The grand result, therefore, has been a diffusion, and a more equal distribution of wealth, and this is shown in the cheapness and plenty which prevail. Articles of prime and secondary necessity are brought within the

reach of the lower grades of labour, for whom life has been made more easy. For the labouring class generally, the attainment of a higher standard of comfort and of morals is made possible; thrift is made practicable; there is less inducement to crime; and pauperism tends to diminish.

This is anything but a depressing picture. It is of the highest importance that the ever-increasing stream of wealth which is created by our labour at home, and which pours in from abroad as interest on our investments, and as profit on our great carrying trade, in the shape of the world's products, should be diffused among the many, and not concentrated in the hands of the few. What has taken place is a beneficent revolution calculated to produce far-reaching social and political consequences. It is a filling up of the gulf which divides the very rich from the very poor; an equalising of conditions by an elevation of the masses; a gradual binding together and fusion of classes; and a preventive of that dire poverty, and deep discontent, in which socialism and communism find their source.

But, while the community has thus benefited, it cannot be denied that certain classes have suffered distress and privation. In some cases the suffering has been merited, in others unmerited.

In agriculture deep depression reigns. The lately developed wheat-growing regions of America, Australasia, and Asia, have caused one million acres in the United Kingdom to go out of wheat cultivation, and a quarter of a million of our rural population has been driven into the towns.

This migration is producing many bad consequences. It is a great national evil. It increases the competition in the labour market of the towns, and drives down wages, and while it decreases the demand for goods, it increases the numbers of those who make them. It crowds our cities and raises rents. It takes men, women, and children away from the field and the moor, and all their health-giving influences, and deteriorates the race by planting them amid the noisome haunts of poverty and disease.

That wheat cultivation should, for a time at least, owing to economic causes, cease to pay, is not of itself a calamity, but it is made into a calamity when, owing to our iron-bound land system, there is no alternative for the farmer but to throw up his farm, for the landlord but to forego his rent, and for the labourer but to migrate.

As regards manufactures, we find the capitalist complaining of restricted markets, excessive competition, falling prices, and curtailed profits. To this class no great consolation can be held out. Owing to a concurrence of favouring circumstances, the law of competition—the tendency of profits to a minimum—has been brought into full play, and the community reaps the benefit. Capital will never again be able to obtain as large a share of the profits of production as it once did. The old style of business has quite passed away. Differences of price between producing and consuming countries no longer exist, except as regards cost of carriage. Steam and electricity have abolished them, and have created a revolution. Allowing for cost of transport, wheat is, now-a-days, sometimes cheaper in London than in Chicago. All this means, of course, loss of profits to the trader, but it also means a corresponding gain to the rest of the community.

The only trading class which at present has nothing to complain of is the small retail trader. He alone has benefited from the fall in prices, for he has not been particularly prompt in adapting his charges to the fall in the wholesale markets: From inquiries made of stockbrokers it is ascertained that of late the only investor has been the retail trader. Coming to the domain of finance, we find among the bankers a falling off of profits, while in Stock Exchange business there is deep depression. Unless profits be made in trade, there can be no investment on balance, no fresh enterprises, and business in securities languishes as a matter of course. This affords another proof of the different distribution of wealth. What capitalists and producers have had to forego, labourers and consumers have received. The few have lost, the many have gained. Until lately the few, after the satisfaction of their wants, had large sums to invest, which came into the market. This is no longer the case, these large sums are now distributed among the many, and much thereof is now spent in increased comfort and enjoyment by them.

We now come to the great army of workers and wage earners. With regard to this class, all testimony agrees as to the fact that, during the last forty years, their condition has materially improved: the average of their money wages having increased, while the cost of living has decreased.

The British workman has not only claimed, and obtained, a larger share of the profits of production, but he has at the same time benefited from the cheapness and plenty which are the natural concomitants of the fiscal system under which he lives. Professor Leone Levi, in his Report on the wages and earnings of the working classes prepared for Sir Arthur Bass, gives in Section III. the following tables, which, he states, are based on the census of population, with a complete analysis of the occupations of the people, and the rate of wages actually prevalent, and paid, in the various industries.

On this table Professor Leone Levi makes the following remarks: "Thus with an increase of less than 11 per cent, in the number of earners, there has been an increase of 24.64 per cent in the amount of earnings, the average earning per head having increased from £38 in 1867, to £42.14 in 1884; or in the proportion of 12.37 per cent.

Dividing the earners and earnings by age and sex, the results are as follows:— on which he says:—"The

total earnings thus calculated include the value of board and lodging wherever given. Deducting this item, the amount of money earnings may be estimated at £470,000,000." In Section VI.—Relation of Wages to Production, Professor Leone Levi quotes Mr. Ellison's statistics respecting the cotton industry, in which valuable data exist for arriving at what may be considered the fair remuneration of labour, and gives the following table, which shows:—"The details of the cost of production in 1859-61, and 1880-82."

and he remarks thereon:—"Economies may be practised in the other expenses, but in any case such gross results account for the complaints of cotton spinners and others connected with this large industry."

In Section IX. he takes the number of families belonging to the working classes at 5,600,000, and the total income as £521,000,000, or, exclusive of food, &c., £470,000,000, being an average of about 32s. per week, per family, a fair amount if equally distributed.

In March, Professor Levi issued some supplementary notes to his Report, in which he states that since the publication of the main results of his inquiry in December, a reduction of fully 15 per cent, on the rate of wages had taken place in the principal branches of industry since the receipt of the returns; and that, taking the total amount of income from such industries at £200,000,000, 15 per cent reduction would amount to £30,000,000.

It is clear, therefore, that the workman's share of the profits of production was never so great as it is now, and that what he now earns may be laid out to greater advantage than ever.

One of the effects of this prosperity is seen in the statistics relating to life, which show that during the Free Trade era, the average duration among men had increased 2 years; and among women, 3½ years.

If, then, it be a fact, as undoubtedly it is, that the wage-earning class has received a great accession of wealth, and if we find a considerable portion of that class, as we do, always on the brink of poverty, it follows that either there must be inequality in distribution or waste in application. So long as inequality of powers exists among men, so long will there be inequality of earnings; but whatever men may earn, the earners can always be divided into sections, one of which is careful and thrifty, and the other careless and improvident. Among the causes which operate to produce a state of things in which cheapness and plenty prevail side by side with idleness and starvation, are intemperance, improvidence, and faulty laws.

With regard to intemperance, it is a melancholy fact that something like £126,000,000 are annually spent in intoxicating drinks; and that many a workman spends on a Saturday night five shillings out of his weekly wage of twenty shillings. That it is a source of crime and pauperism no one can deny. At a conference of relieving officers of the metropolis, held on the 27 th February, those who spoke testified with one voice as to the distinct connection between drink and pauperism, and drink and lunacy, and testimony was given that very few of the applicants for relief were abstainers.

As regards improvidence, in nothing is want of prudence so much shown as in the matter of marriage. How can anything but poverty and misery be the lot of multitudes if they be brought into the world by parents who themselves are on the verge of pauperism? How can there be anything else but a crowding and a jostling in the labour market when we, here in Great Britain, increase at the rate of one thousand a day—when, every morning, there are a thousand additional mouths to be fed? How can such a constant increase as this take place without recurring periods of distress?

The marvel is, not that distress exists, but that it is not tenfold what it is, considering the faultiness of certain laws under which we live—the laws which govern the ownership and occupation of land.

As has been observed, we have of late years witnessed a partial depopulation of our rural districts, and a crowding into the towns—a disastrous result, which can be traced to a system which has proved unfitted to adapt itself to the altered circumstances in which agriculture is placed.

## Chapter V.

### Remedies.

Agriculture—Landlords, Farmers, Labourers—Manufactures—Capitalists, Workmen.

HAVING stated what may be considered the most important of the causes which have contributed to the existing depression, I now pass to the remedies.

So far as the present state of affairs is the result of over-production, and of a natural reaction from inflation, there is no remedy but time and patience. Depression is felt in other countries besides our own, and we must await an improvement in the general situation. Foreign nations are our customers, and until they prosper we cannot fully benefit.

There are evils, however, which spring from faultiness in our laws, our modes of life, our methods, and

from ignorance or disregard of new economic conditions, such as progress of invention, facilitation of transport and of communication, opening of new fields of production, and alterations in the standard of value. Of such evils we can take account, and, to a great extent, can apply remedies.

First, as regards agriculture. What is wanted in land is Free Trade. The laws and customs which govern the tenure, devolution, and occupation of land in Great Britain have favoured and stimulated its accumulation in few hands, have conferred on ownership privileges, and exemptions, and powers by way of entail and settlement, which are inimical to good cultivation, and opposed to the public interest. The existing modes of transfer are cumbrous, dilatory and expensive, and in their stead there should be established a system which should, as far as practicable, make land as marketable and as transferable as consols or railway stocks.

A radical change in the direction of freedom is necessary in the interest of all parties. The community is interested in having the land cultivated so as to give the largest possible return to the capital and labour bestowed on it; and one of the first steps to be taken is the passing of a measure which shall facilitate the breaking up of encumbered estates, and thus promote the establishment of cultivating ownership. The need for such an Act is obvious when we remember that the indebtedness of our landowners is estimated at £400,000,000, or six times the rental. Another interest which the community has in allowing the forces of accumulation and of dispersion to have free play, is the getting rid of the inordinate political power which has hitherto attached to the possession of land. A practical step towards this was taken in the passing of the Representation of the People Act of 1884, by which two millions of voters were added to the electorate, and a transfer of power effected from the aristocracy to the democracy. This will act as a powerful lever in the splitting up of large estates, by doing away with one of the great inducements to accumulation. Those who are landowners in name, but not in fact, ought to welcome such a change. They are now in a position which is awkward and embarrassing, and which is likely to become more so, especially if they resist, in which case they may draw, not only on themselves, but on the whole class of landlords, legislation of a drastic nature, involving perchance judicial rents or compulsory sale.

It is vital to the public interest that there should be good agriculture, and for this purpose, that capital should be attracted to the soil, not, however, to be swallowed up by the impoverished, or grasping landlord, as it too often is, under the present system, but to be secured to, and to fructify for, the farmer who brings that capital, and the workman who brings his labour.

According to Sir James Caird (*Times*, 2nd Feb., 1885):—"There is no such fall in the value of agricultural produce as should make the farming of good land in this country unprofitable. And in regard to foreign competition, we must always have in our favour the cost of transport from distant regions, which on any kind of produce, is an advantage not yet less than the average rent of our agricultural land." If this be so, there is no reason why the farmer should not succeed. But, to this end, he must keep abreast of the times, and take determined action on several lines. As regards his landlord, he must in future discard worn-out feudal ideas, and principles he must pluck up a spirit of independence, and treat with owners of the soil on a purely commercial basis. He will find them in future more amenable to reason and common sense, than formerly. In the minds of many landowners, until very lately, the only agricultural interest worth considering was rent. In treating with this class, farmers should recollect that rent is that portion of the produce of the land which remains over after rewarding the labourer for his toil, and the farmer for his outlay, and his work: that just what remains over is what he can afford for rent; and that if nothing remains over the land can bear no rent.

He must demand stability of tenure; security for his capital; compensation for his improvements, and no raising of rent thereon; and liberty in cultivation. Having agreed on these points, he should go in for variety in cultivation, remembering that we annually import twenty-three million pounds worth of butter, eggs, cheese, game, fruit, and vegetables. He must agitate for fair rates of railway carriage, and demand that a stop be put to the present discriminating charges between British and foreign produce, which are nothing else than protective duties in favour of the foreigner. He will recollect that American meat, and cheese, are carried at 25s. a ton from Liverpool to London, while English meat is charged 50s.; that fruit from Holland to London pays 25s. a ton, while from Sittingbourne in Kent, through which station it passes, the charge for English fruit is also 25s.; and that the difference in the rates on English wheat and barley, and foreign wheat and barley amounts to a rent of 5s. an acre. Then he should give his attention to middleman's profits, and see if by union and combination he cannot narrow the enormous margin which at present exists between what he gets for his produce, and what the consumer pays, and thus benefit both parties. He will bear in mind that the sheep which he sells for £3, costs the consumer £4 10s.; that the milk which he sells for 1d. or 1½d., costs the consumer 4d. or 5d., and that the total value of this one product amounts to thirty millions sterling, far more than the value of the wheat crop of the United Kingdom; and that if farmers could have managed to get one halfpenny per pound on the 230,000 tons of meat which were sold in Smithfield market alone last year, they would have pocketed no less a sum than one million sterling.

Lastly, they must discard all idea of profiting by the imposition of duties on corn—what is called

Protection—for two reasons, the first of which is that experience has shown that it is not the cultivator who profits thereby, but the owner of the soil; and the second, which is, that there is no probability whatever of this nation ever again consenting to raise artificially, by protective duties, the price of any product, whether of agriculture, or of manufacture, above what it fetches in the general market of the world.

The agricultural labourer must recollect that for the first time in history he will very soon have a voice in the making of the laws. The great object which he should steadily and determinedly keep in view is his reinstallation on the land; in his once more being able to obtain that interest in the soil of which he has been despoiled. He wants Free Trade in land. He must work for reform, for the getting rid of all the artificial barriers which bad laws and customs have raised against the natural dispersion of land. These barriers must be broken down, and these laws and customs abolished, before he can undo that state of things which ousts his class from the country, and drives them into the towns. He wants legislation which will give him fixity of tenure in his cottage, and a few acres attached thereto, at a fair rent; legislation, which shall, to some extent, atone for the mighty wrong to which his class have been subjected in being deprived of millions of acres—more than a third of the cultivated surface of England and Wales—and in being thus left helpless and hopeless, with nothing to look forward to, after a life of toil, but the grave or the workhouse. By thus striving, he will help to elevate himself, and to benefit the community, by drawing population back from the town, stopping the degeneration now going on, and thus helping to restore that strong and stalwart race of men which were the strength and the pride of our nation.

In view of the competition to which manufacturers are subjected on all sides, they must study how to reduce cost of production. For instance, coal and iron are the foundation of all our other industries, and note should be taken of the differences which exist between royalties and cost of carriage at home and abroad, to the detriment of British trade. As regards royalties, Sir I. Lowthian Bell, F.R.S., in his work on *Iron and Steel*, states that the charge upon one ton of pig-iron for royalty on ore and coal is roughly as follows:—

While, as regards railway carriage, the Iron Trade Association states that the average rate in England for pig-iron from the works to inland markets is 0.94d. per mile, whilst in Germany the charge is 0.50d., and in France, 0.60d.; that on manufactured iron the charge per mile from works to shipping ports in England is 1.06d., whilst in France it is 0.59d., and in Germany, 0.54d., and that on the average it may be taken that the mileage rates on the Continent are about one-half of those in England.

As has been already observed, capital will not in future be able to secure the profits it has hitherto done, and must be content to allow a greater share to labour.

The employer of labour must in future, under pain of loss, be better educated than he has hitherto been in science, in art, in political economy. He must keep abreast of the age in his methods, his machinery, in knowledge of the requirements of markets, and above all, he must study to do good and honest work. The day will certainly come when a competition, fiercer than that which now exists, will take place, and woe be to him who is behind in the race. That day will come when our competitors will shake off the fetters which, under the guise of protection, cramp their energies, and hinder them from disputing with us our present industrial supremacy. When that day comes, some of us will have to rue the making of textile fabrics which are the commonest and least artistic in the world, and which, when the dishonest sizing is washed out of them, make excellent sieves; or which are not adapted to the wants of the markets to which they are consigned. Lastly, he must do all in his power to promote education among his workpeople, as the principal, if not the sole means by which our country can in future hope to hold its own in the general competition.

To the workman every piece of advice which can be given, may be summed up in one word, Providence. This virtue involves almost everything which affects the welfare of man, and carries in its train almost every blessing which can be enjoyed on earth.

For a man to be able to elevate himself and his belongings, materially and morally, it is absolutely necessary that he should save something out of his earnings; that he should exercise self-restraint, and make some sacrifice, some little sacrifice to-day, in order to obtain some great benefit tomorrow.

The provident man ever bears in mind that good times are only one-half of life; that, taking the world over, the sun shines but twelve hours out of the twenty-four; and that it is in these good times, these twelve hours of light, that he must work and save up for the hours of darkness.

To be provident a man must be industrious, he must be temperate, he must be prudent in the matter of marriage. As regards sobriety, all that need be said here is, that intemperance carries in its train almost every curse which afflicts humanity. It is with regard to marriage that some advice is necessary.

The artisan and the labourer should study prudence in this respect, and not recklessly bring into the world human beings whom he does not clearly see his way to support, without an eternal fight to keep the wolf from the door. He should think of the struggle for existence involved in the simple fact that here, in Great Britain, one thousand fresh mouths have to be fed every morning, a fact which of itself is enough to account for much of the shameful crowding of our cities, the starvation wages of our lowest grades of labour, for the health

destroying, death dealing, sweating system, and for most of the horrors which spring from the cruel competition of excessive numbers.

It is in the lower ranks that imprudence in this respect principally reigns. So long as trade and commerce are brisk, the constant increase of our population is met and provided for; but the moment the tide turns, and there are, say five men looking for four places, either one of them has to go to the wall, or the five have to divide between them, and in unequal proportions, the wages which the four were getting.

All this is bad enough, but when the evil is aggravated by bad laws and customs, as is the case when, owing to the break-down of our land system, the population of the country comes to swell the ranks of the unemployed in the towns, it is time for the workman to inquire into a matter in which he is so vitally interested. And when he does look into it he will find that an immediate land reform is necessary, in order to restore the balance of society, and that nothing will so much conduce to the well-being of the community as a rectification of the evils which flow from our present system. Providence, moreover, when translated into action by saving, raises the workman at once into the rank of the capitalist, and gives him a force and a power which he can use at will. According to his circumstances and his tastes, he may improve his mind, or his surroundings, and thus raise himself in the social scale. By being a capitalist he can always command his market, and will no longer be compelled, by the thralldom of debt, to pay the often exorbitant profits of the middleman.

He can go into the co-operation of distribution, and make a second saving by getting much of what, under the wasteful and expensive system by which the poor are served, is diverted from him. His food, his clothing, and everything he consumes will not only be cheaper, but of better quality.

All these additional means will now be available for the co-operation of production, in which the workman should steadily aim to take part. When he has accomplished this he will, in his own person, have done much to reconcile the conflicting claims of capital and labour. He will represent both classes, will help to bring them together, will enable them to see the difficulties, to which each is peculiarly liable, and thus make them understand each other, and more disposed to apportion fairly the profits which are the result of their combined action. By all this he will have done something towards solving the great problem which now nearly drives to despair many of those who in their different ways, and by their various lights, but with small success, are striving to better the lot of the great mass of mankind.

Having arrived at this stage, the capitalist workman will see the paramount necessity of education in its broadest sense, of education which shall comprise technical and artistic instruction, in which, until very lately, we Englishmen were behind all the leading European nations; and some teaching with respect to political economy, or the science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth. By no other means will he be able to hold his own against the highly trained heads and hands of other nations.

With artistic training he will not fall behind in the universal competition; while political economy will teach him many things of which he is now ignorant, and give him a safe defence against the clap-trap of the economic quack. It will give him some knowledge, not only of the condition of his own country, but of that of others; he will know their rates of wages, their working hours, and many other things which will inform his judgment and enable him to make just comparisons.

It will enable him, on the one hand, to check the action of his Trades Union when it appears to him that that action is contrary to sound principle; and, on the other, will help him to guide his less instructed brethren on trying occasions, as when, for instance, the introduction of labour saving machinery or the sale of articles of foreign make interferes with their particular trade.

Lastly, he will see the vital interest which he, in common with the whole nation, has in turning out honest and good work, and will strive might and main to impress on others its necessity in order to avert the disaster which, sooner or later, is sure to attend dishonest and short-sighted practices.

For there is an eventuality which will have some day to be faced, and that is the casting off of the shackles which, under the name of protection, cripple the industrial energies of other nations. When that day comes, as assuredly it will, the advantage which we now possess by reason of our system of free imports will cease, and we shall be brought face to face with rivals who run their machines and work their bodies twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen hours a day against our nine and a half or ten.

Owing to our free importation our products are manufactured at a minimum money cost which is, of course, below that of the tax-burdened products of our protected rivals. By this means, and by the increased efficiency which our shorter hours confer on us, we hold our own against their longer hours.

When they shake off their trammels, however, a competition will begin such as the world has not yet seen, and it behoves all who have their own and their country's interest at heart to prepare for it.

Let us hope that if foreign nations have the wit to see the evils of Protection, they will also be enlightened enough to shorten their hours of labour, and thus, not only rescue their populations from the degrading toil they now undergo, but elevate generally the condition of labour.

If, adopting Free Trade, they do not shorten their hours, it is possible that we might then be compelled, in

order to live, to repeal so much of our factory laws as affects adult labour.

But, whatever happens, we must not lose our trade through dishonest work; and in the meantime we may congratulate ourselves on the soundness of the system on which our industrial fabric has been built up.

## Chapter VI.

### Conclusion.

WE have now to ask, what are the conclusions to which we are led by the preceding investigation?

In the first place we cannot but see that the depression is not confined to any particular country, but is universal; and that in many respects it is a novel state of things which is the result of agencies that have been brought into active operation during the last few years.

These agencies are the invention and enterprise which, stimulated by man's increasing mastery over the forces of nature, have resulted in increased powers of production and distribution, and in the improvement and cheapening of processes, and a consequent fall in prices, the fall being aggravated by an increasing scarcity of gold, the standard, and measure of value.

The grand result is nothing less than an industrial, social, and economic revolution, which, although highly beneficial to the community, has not been effected without loss and suffering to certain classes.

The profits of the producer, whether agricultural or manufacturing, have been reduced to a minimum. The trade of the merchant has been rendered precarious and unprofitable. In a word, capital has been the chief sufferer, labour the chief gainer; and there has been a diffusion and a more equal distribution of wealth.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the unprecedented cheapness and plenty which reign, we see among us in many quarters, want and distress.

When we inquire closely how this is, we see in the first place that it is not owing to our Free Trade system, for we find these evils existing in greater intensity in countries where protection reigns, not only in the old countries of Europe where ages of misrule have left their mark, and where the nations are groaning under the crushing burden of armaments, but in the new world, in the United States, where an all bountiful nature spreads her riches in boundless fertile regions, and the people are free from the curse of these armaments; it is in the United States, of all places in the world, that we find pauperism increasing while it is diminishing with us.

But we do see that such want and distress as exist among us are traceable, firstly, to the depression in other countries, which has reacted on us, and which must pass away before we can again gain ground; secondly, to our national characteristics of intemperance and improvidence; and thirdly, to our bad land laws.

For the privation which comes from the existence of depression abroad there is, of course, no remedy but time and patience. As to intemperance and improvidence, if they cannot be eradicated, they can at all events be lessened by an endeavour on all hands to raise the masses by education, by precept, by example, by the enactment of just laws.

Beyond these efforts society cannot go; everything else depends on the individual. As Herbert Spencer says, "What is the quality in which the improvident masses are so deficient? Self-restraint; the ability to sacrifice a small present gratification for a prospective great one. A labourer endowed with due self-restraint would never spend his Saturday night's wages at the public-house. Had he enough self-restraint, the artisan would not live up to his income during prosperous times and leave the future unprovided for. Were there no drunkenness, no extravagance, no reckless multiplication, social miseries would be trivial."

But a great amount of the existing destitution must be set down to the operation of our land laws. These have favoured the accumulation of land in few hands, have allowed the despoiling of our peasantry to the extent of millions of acres, have crippled our agriculture, have depopulated the country and crowded the towns, and have allowed the baneful leasehold system to grow up and to become one of the most fruitful sources of misery, disease, oppression, and wrong. To this evil we can at all events apply the remedy of a radical change, and it will be the business of those to whom the reins of power will soon be handed over to devise the mode and the method of the change.

Finally, let us learn and take to heart the lessons of experience. The depression which weighs upon us will pass away, as others have done, and prosperity, but probably of a chastened nature, once more dawn upon us. Let us not, now in the dark time, be too much cast down, and when prosperity comes let us not be too elated. The saying, as old as Horace, tells us, in prosperous gales to draw in the flowing sail, and in narrow straits to preserve an equal mind. Whether in prosperity or in adversity, let us ever bear in mind that—

"There is a Tide in the Affairs Of Men."



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## Chapter I.

### The Plot.

*Scene.*—THE STUDY OF MR. HENRY GEORGE.

*Persona.*—MR. HENRY GEORGE, and in him THE ARCH TEMPTER.

### Dialogue.

A. T. Henry, raised as you have been on the Pacific Slope, *ergo*, from local associations a free trader, ambitious of fame, with respectable intellectual parts, fair education, a facile pen and easy, graceful style, why do you not, like Henry C. Carey, of the Pennsylvania side, who has made a name for himself as the apostle of protectionism, distinguish yourself in the public advocacy of your free-trade principles?

H. G. *Cui Bono?* What the Secession War twenty years ago was undertaken for and failed in, is not likely to be accomplished by anything that I could write. All the literature of the Cobden Club would have no more effect upon Massachusetts manufacturers than the adventures of Baron Munchausen.

A. T. Then eschew the literature of the Cobden Club, and get at your object indirectly.

H. G. How?

A. T. What is the object ?

H. G. To abolish Customs duties.

A. T. Is hanging the only way of killing a dog? To whom do the Customs duties go, and for what purpose?

H. G. To Government, for its maintenance.

A. T. Well, if all taxation were rendered needless, there would be no excuse for collecting Customs duties, and straight you have free trade established without any mention of the subject.

H. G. But you cannot do without Government.

A. T. Granted, but you might make Government so abundantly wealthy, as to leave no excuse for taxation.

H. G. How?

A. T. By a swinging impost on land. In the lively times, nearly a hundred years ago, when I was gloriously busy in France with the revolution, I had amongst my *protégés* a fellow named *Quesnay*. If you look up his writings you will come upon a notion which secured him some notoriety until things grew too hot for theorizing; it was that all taxes should be abolished except an *impôt unique* upon land, so that landowners should bear the whole cost of government and a surplus to boot. They are neither producers, manufacturers, exporters, nor importers who are the folks with whom you are concerned.

H. G. But the *modus operandi*?

A. T. Simple enough, a mere legislative act. John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer advocate the assumption of the ownership of land by the State, and the compensation of the owners so dispossessed.

H. G. That would not work; the amount of compensation would be so enormous. It could only be effected by an immense loan, to pay interest on which general taxation would still be necessary, and free trade indefinitely postponed.

A. T. Then pay no compensation.

H. G. But that would be confiscation, the bare proposal of which would be yelled at as unjust and iniquitous.

A. T. Headlong again, like a bull at a gate. Don't make the bare proposal; cover up its bareness with three or four hundred pages of a neatly, methodically, and gracefully compiled philosophical treatise, the bigger in reason the better, because it will the more effectually bother your adversaries to follow you, and tempt them to waste their energy in combating details, which are of no more importance than is the "patter" with which a thimble-rigger distracts the attention of his observers from his fingering, palming, and placing the pea, whilst seemingly only engaged in shuffling the thimbles. Like him, too, in treating of the science you have taken in

hand, say political economy, you will shuffle about with fitting "patter,"—land, labour, wages, capital, interest, &c.; they give room for any amount of *hocus pocus*, and having arranged them to your purpose, you will triumphantly discover under the thimble LAND OWNERSHIP, and the name REST, the pea which whilst so remaining is the root of all evil, but which by mere transference to coverture of the thimble, STATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND, will at once germinate into the golden age which poets have sung, and high-raised seers have told in metaphor; the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendour; what he saw whose eyes at Patmos were closed in a trance; the culmination of Christianity; the city of God on earth with its walls of jasper and its gates of pearl; the reign of the Prince of Peace.

Make only a slight and incidental reference to your real object, free trade in America; deal rather with the social condition of England and the British people; and to give Homeric personal interest to the theme, select some prominent Englishman as your special example. Being a citizen of the great American Republic, you will of course choose a nobleman, probably a duke, with, it may be, even a secondary *bête noir* as low down as a marquis. Don't forget about the city of God upon earth, the culmination of Christianity, and so forth, with some other apposite Scripture references quoted "like a very cunning clerk." It will have upon some a soothing, lubricating effect, so that you will, so to speak, absorb and assimilate them. Above all be careful to proclaim yourself in set terms a devotee, a very incarnation of justice, or as some Cockney admirer may title you, a very Harry Stides George, so that when you have led up to and must out with the confiscation proposal, it will be becoming in so awfully, quite too entirely learned, just, good, and Scripture-quoting a philosopher to declare that to confiscate the ownership of their lands is an act of not justice merely but of actual mercy to the owners, whom you will take special pains to blacken and brand with infamy as nefarious robbers, deserving of, and, if they grumble, likely to fall in for much harsher treatment.

H. G. Well, but, I say, that will be rough on some of the poor beggars. That duke whom you suggest I should single out, for instance, came by his property innocently enough from his forefathers, however they may have got it; and then, think of some poor widow, with her fatherless children, to whom the place her husband left her at his death is her whole income and means of support for herself and them; or the labourer who, preparing to marry and make a home for himself, has paid part of his wages week by week to get a bit of land and build a cottage on it; or that old shopkeeper, who stuck to business so long, and pinched and spared till he could buy two or three little tenements to give him an income, and a bit of a villa just out of town to end his days comfortably in;—surely it won't honestly do to say that this man's or the labourer's little estate is not the produce of his toil, nor that old, hard-worked lawyer's, nor the merchant's, nor that weather-beaten ship captain's neither. And then again, some of this land has been actually given away and devoted to charity, and there's Parnell's estate at Avoca, which the Irish Land League have begged the world through to get the money to pay off the mortgages of and give to him clear. And crowds of others have bought their land direct from the State, and paid the Government the highest price it would fetch at public auction. I say, you know, to call these nefarious robbers and all that is really coming it a trifle strong.

A. T. "Won't honestly do?" That is sweetly simple; would do honour to Verdant Green. What have you to do with honesty? You have your ambition, have you not? Let them have it hot, I tell you; and, what's more, pitch into Herbert Spencer roundly for his namby-pambyness in proposing compensation; it will show that, great gun as he is among the Britishers, you are a cut above him in boldness and originality. You will not induce the world to follow your lead, but that's of no consequence; what does matter is, that you will at once become talked about, you will have done your best to fulfill Jack Falstaff's injunction: "Rob me the Exchequer, Hal, and mind thou does it with clean hands." And the more you're criticised the more your book will sell; the English will swallow any bunkum if cleverly spiced, and, with a handsome sum in your pocket, you will be gratified with transatlantic fame to the topmost bent of your vanity. Therefore, take my tip, write a book, and out-Herbert Herbert with Social Ex-Statics.

H. G. Thanks, old friend. Here's to the work, and the title shall be "Progress and Poverty."

## Chapter II.

### The Consummation.

*Factum est*—the hook is complete—a handy volume of four hundred and one pages with a copious index to prove method and deliberation, dispel doubt as to the seriousness of the argument, and scout the suspicion that this is the most recent and subtle development of American humour, to raise a horse-laugh against Social Static philosophers. It sells, too, in thousands, and all sorts, from Oxford Dons to asses'-bridge juvenile debating

society orators, are smitten with its beauties. Mr. Henry George is famous, has fobbed a heap of money, is furnishing his publishers with more of the like stuff, and is orating to crowds of admiring Britishers.

The number of pages was limited only by book-making considerations of handiness, for as to matter, if the four hundred and one pages had been multiplied by the same number, it would have been an advantage in giving room for the introduction of so many the more side issues to lead contentious critics on Will-o'-the-Wisp digressions, and of unimportant truisms wherewith to gloss over the main point, give a pervading flavour of veraciousness, and present a thicker crust to counteract the tendency of falsehood to behave like butter in hot porridge.

But for this the pages necessary to the work would have been the number which it contains less four hundred. For, all that is original in it, the sole excuse for its production, may be stated in four lines—namely, the assertion that it would be a just act on the part of the State to seize, confiscate, and appropriate without compensation the land ownership of all individual landowners, with the incidental right to receive and use the ground rent. This assertion is all that is added to previous literature, and, if it were true, its self-evidence would have rendered a second page needless, but being untrue, it, after the nature of lies, requires an unlimited amount of bolstering, and remains an untruth to all eternity. Hence for what is stateable in four lines, we have four hundred and one pages, and regrets that opportunity will not admit of more. And yet the assertion is no more proved at the end than at the beginning of the volume.

The whole force of this assertion, *ergo*, the truth or falsehood, God-inspired or devil-prompted character of the entire work, rests upon the meaning of the one word *Just*. Conscious of this, Mr. George demonstrates in set terms his knowledge of the reverence which is popularly paid to justice, and adopts what he is pleased to call a test to prove that his proposal tallies with this sentiment. He proceeds as follows: "When it is proposed to abolish private property in land, the first question that will arise is that of justice. Though often warped by habit, superstition, and selfishness into the most distorted forms, the sentiment of justice is yet fundamental to the human mind, and whatever dispute arouses the passions of men, the conflict is sure to rage, not so much as to the question, 'Is it wise?' as to the question, 'Is it right?' This tendency of popular discussions to take an ethical form has a cause. It springs from a law of the human mind, it rests upon a vague and instinctive recognition of what is probably the deepest truth we can grasp. That alone is wise which is just, that alone is enduring which is right. In the narrow scale of individual actions and individual life this truth may be often obscured, but in the wider field of natural life it everywhere stands out. I bow to this arbitrament and accept this test."

But he takes care that the test shall be of his own concoction, and a most characteristically curious one too. It is this. "If private property in land be just, then is the remedy I propose a false one; if, on the contrary, private property in land be unjust, then is the remedy the true one."

Now this is an impudent juggle. First, observe that the "remedy" which he pretends to test the justice of is not the same thing that he a moment previously mentioned as certain to give rise to the question of justice,—namely, the proposal "to abolish private property in land," and which, as advocated by Englishmen, *i.e.*, with compensation to landowners, might perhaps meet the inquiry,—but an altogether different thing which he craftily puts forward under colour of it—*viz.*, to punish landowners as robbers by confiscating their property, giving them no compensation, and terrifying them with threats of liability to greater ill-usage. And, whilst as to this no question of justice can arise, because the proposition has flagrant injustice on the face of it, he pretends to be unconscious of that fact, and professes to test whether it is or is not just by discussing a third and still further different matter—namely, whether private property in land is just, and submits this precious "remedy" of his to no test whatever.

A glance is sufficient to reveal the monstrous roguery of this piece of legerdemain. Suppose private ownership of land to be unjust, how does that decide that Mr. George's "remedy," the punishment which he would inflict upon landowners for such injustice, would not be inadequately lenient, or unduly severe, and therefore in either case unjust?

Paraphrase his test. Suppose some Draconic farmer's friend to recommend hanging as the penalty for stealing a turnip from a turnip-field, the justice of the punishment might be tested by the same formula. "If stealing a turnip be just, then is the remedy I propose a false one; if, on the contrary, stealing a turnip be unjust, then is the remedy the true one?"

Or suppose the crime to be willful murder, and the suggested punishment a fine of five shillings, and the same formula gone through; and both stealing and murder being unjust, would the "test" decide that the suggested punishment or "remedy" in either case would be a just one?

In fact, like a cuttle-fish, he involves himself in an ink-fog, and takes advantage of the obscurity to practice a deception. And having done so, it is as interesting as to observe through a microscope the voracious energy of one of the infusorial animalcula in a drop of ditch-water, to watch him, with a velocity which prevents his unsuspecting reader from noticing the trick which he has played, dash off upon the false issue he has raised, and

in a torrent of historical, legal, economical, political, poetically-imaginative, and awe-inspiringly encyclopedic erudition fulminate a furious indictment of robbery against landowners, charge the jury, which is himself, to bring in a unanimously prompt verdict of guilty with a faint recommendation to mercy, and pass sentence upon the culprits, with solemn admonition that they merit even greater severity. And all the while he is in seeming unconsciousness that the many parts which one man in his life is said to play are few as compared with his: first, accuser; second, prosecuting counsel; third, jury of say twelve; fourth, judge; fifth, legislature of Crown, Lords, and Commons; or if that be shocking to his republican nerves, say President, Senate, and Representatives, the accredited legislative voices of nations, to prescribe the penalty for the crime which he is pleased to create, charge with, prosecute, find guilty of, and pass sentence for. Nor does it seem to strike him as anything unusual to allow the unfortunates no opportunity to be heard in their own defence before even verdict should be given against, not to say sentence passed upon them. Nor that even Fouquier Tinville gave some pretence of a hearing to those whom he intended to send to the guillotine. In short, he tests what is just by begging the argument that landownership is unjust, and asserting that the punishment which he is pleased to prescribe for such assumed injustice is just.

This foolery is mere thimble-rigging, in lieu of which a perfectly true and fair test can be appealed to, which, whether he pleases or not, Mr. George must "bow to the arbitrament" of and accept. The question is: Is the meaning of "just," as used in this book of Mr. George's in support of his contention, that landownership should be confiscated without compensation to the landowners, the same as the word ordinarily conveys and which receives popular reverence? In short, would such confiscation be just?

To test this it may be premised that when a word signifies an active principle, the operation of that principle amongst the people to whose language the word belongs best defines what the word means, and next in value is the opinion of the best-informed of those to whom the language is native. Adopting this duplicate process, let us see whether "just," as used by Mr. George, signifies that which Englishmen mean, and which receives popular reverence under the same assemblage of letters.

1st. Test by active operation of the principle of justice amongst Englishmen.

The English nation when it emancipated the West Indian slaves paid their owners £20,000,000, or, as Mr. George puts it in his currency, \$100,000,000, because Englishmen held that the payment of such compensation was just; they have been proud of having done so, and have been universally honoured for it.

The American Government since then liberated four millions of slaves, but gave their owners no compensation. Outside of North America, and doubtless by those in it who were sufferers, this liberation of slaves without compensating their owners was looked upon as merely one of the cruel expedients of war, adopted from no such humane sentiment or love for freedom as actuated the English people, but to cripple the Southern rebels, and it had no reverence or approval as an act which should be perpetrated in cold blood.

Mr. George, however, cites it as an example to be followed towards landowners whose estates he desires to have forfeited without compensation, and asserts that to be just.

Clearly, then, Mr. George's rendering of "just" is diametrically opposite to the active justice of the people to whose language the word belongs.

2nd. Test by competent English opinion. John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer may be counted well informed as to their native tongue, and whilst advocating that the State should be the sole landlord, they both hold that it would be just to compensate the landowners. In this opinion of theirs as to what is just other Englishmen coincide. Mr. George states the fact at page 255 of his book: "It is this idea that suggests the proposition which finds advocates in Great Britain, that the Government shall purchase at its market price the individual proprietorship of the land." Mr. George's contention is that to pay nothing for the ownership of the land would be "just," and that to pay would be unjust.

Manifestly, therefore, the word "just," as used by Mr. George, has not the same signification as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and other Englishmen attach to the word of the same form in their language. His word is no doubt American, and would probably be best interpreted by reference to the action of the "Sovereign State" of Pennsylvania some years ago with regard to its bonds. The English designated it by a word of different signification in their language—Repudiation; and Mr. George, in asserting that this is what receives popular reverence, is knowingly guilty of gross slander and insult towards humanity.

The object of the book, therefore, is to corrupt the mind and conscience of the English people into accepting the perversion of an important word of their mother tongue, and of the vital principle which that word indicates.

The main propositions of the book are three:—

- That every individual who owns land—no matter how acquired by him—is a robber, because "not merely the surface of the earth as distinguished from the water and the air, but the whole material universe outside of man himself," belongs by right of birth to everybody, and no particular portion of it to anybody; wherefore anybody who specially appropriates to his own use any part of what belongs to the

entire human race is a robber against his species, deserving neither mercy nor consideration.

- That the rent paid to individuals for land absorbs all the gain of labour and capital, robbing the one of its wages and the other of its interest;.
- That the punishment and rectification of this robbery and the prevention of the payment of rent to individuals by the State's summarily seizing, confiscating, and appropriating without compensation the rent of all the landed property of every individual owning land, would not only be absolutely just, but would bring about a state of universal prosperity, beatitude, and peace, the possibility of which has heretofore only been dreamed of.

Let us take these propositions in the order in which they are here stated.

The first of them is amplified into a definition that the right to the whole material universe, outside of man himself, the surface of every habitable inch of the globe at all events, is the equal right of all men,—a right which vests in every human being as he enters the world, and which, during his continuance in the world, can be limited only by the equal rights of others. And the proposition is specifically illustrated by the statement that to the Duke of Westminster's estates the poorest child born in London has as much right as the duke's eldest son. "And though the Sovereign People of the State of New York consent to the landed possessions of the Astors, the puniest infant that comes wailing into the world in the squalidest room of the most miserable tenement house, becomes at that moment seized of an equal right with the millionaire, and it is robbed if the right is denied."

Accepting this as becomes conventionality discarding philosophers, and, as Mr. George elsewhere desires "in reasoning that aims at exactness," why has not the juvenile London pauper as good a title to the property of the Astors as the "Sovereign People of the State of New York," and the badly lodged, puling New Yorker as good a claim as the sucking Cockney to the lands of Mr. George's favourite duke? Both are human beings, probably even of the same subdivision of the race. Why, then, are their individual rights of common ownership to the entire material universe, to every habitable inch of the globe's surface, to be limited and restricted by "the people of the Sovereign State of New York" or the realm of England? If they be so limited, then on Mr. George's own showing the Sovereign State and the realm named, and scores of other states and realms, are convicted of robbery against every bantling that squeals elsewhere. Indeed, fierce armies of such bantlings grown older, Assyrian, Hyksos, Hebrew, Mede, Hellene, Roman, Goth, Hun, Vandal, Saxon, Arab, Northman, English, Spaniard, German, Russ, Frank, and Filibuster, have, in wild invasion, cruel siege, and bloody battle, affirmed such limitations to be robbery against them, only to re-enact the like against the residue, and leave sovereign states and realms as they now exist, each, if not itself individual owner, at least the accomplice, abettor, and defender of individual owners of land comprising entire countries, held in (according to Mr. George) denial of right, and in robbery of other individuals of the human family who have common and indefeasible right to every inch of the globe's surface, including the portion so improperly appropriated. Wherefore, pursuing Mr. George's theory, "in reasoning that aims at exactness," the land held by each of them, or by each secured to individual owners, must, at least as to its rent, be, without compensation, forfeited and confiscated to "the State," which for that purpose must be a single Government, exercising jurisdiction and care over the entire human species of all countries, colours, languages, and creeds. A grand idea truly, worthy of a transatlantic republican philosopher: And so simple too! Merely the coalescing of the human family into a cosmopolitan republic, to be endowed with the landownership of the entire surface of the globe, taken for that purpose from every separate state and individual, by all of whom it is to be yielded up in obedience to an act of the Legislature, and doubtless cheerfully, for Mr. George declares that this proceeding will inaugurate the reign of the Prince of Peace!

This is the *reductio ad absurdum*, and if to avoid it Mr. George objects that by "State" he means not one universal republic, but the political Governments of various places, then he will advocate that portions of the earth's surface, down even to those which most nearly resemble the Sovereign State of Monaco, no larger than a well-sized park, and with a single individual practically the political government, may be held to the exclusion of other individuals of the human race entitled by right of birth to joint ownership in the whole; and therefore that the holding of land by individuals is just, notwithstanding such alleged right of joint ownership, and consequently, according to his own "test," that individual landowners are not robbers, and that to despoil them of their estates on pretence of their being such would be unjust; therefore the remedy which he proposes is false and needless, there being no wrong to remedy. He is welcome to the alternative.

Pass on to the second proposition: That the rent paid to individuals for land absorbs all the gain of labour and capital. This is exemplified specifically as to capital by the statement (page 158) that capital is robbed of its interest by the rent which is paid for land on which a manufacturing or commercial city is built, and as it is stated that similarly labour is robbed of its wages, "rent swallows up the whole gain."

This statement of the effect of rent upon capital is unsupported by a scintilla of evidence. Is that because it is a truism of which proof would be surplusage? If so, owners of land, and they only, get the whole gain of the

exertions of labour and investment of capital; they alone, therefore, can become rich.

Is that true? People unindoctrinated with the results of Mr. George's manipulation of the thimbles of political economy have strong justification for believing it possible to invest capital in commerce or manufacture in a manufacturing or commercial city without further connection with land than the very small consideration of the value or rent of the site of an office, warehouse, or manufactory, and so far from its being the case that such rent or value "swallows up the whole gain," that a return for capital may be obtained permitting the payment of rent and of the wages of labour in full, and leaving a surplus sufficient for the building up of a handsome fortune. Amongst instances by the thousand may be cited the story of Josiah Mason spending his starving wife's last ninepence in flour to make tea-cakes to sell and gain sixpence profit by, and afterwards, as a steel-pen maker, rising to the possession of wealth, the honour of knighthood, and the gratification of endowing Birmingham with an industrial college. If Mr. George's proposition be true this man never existed, nor Stewart of New York, nor Lord Overstone. The biographies of men who have risen are romances for children, and the phrase "Merchant Princes" is a fancy from the Arabian Nights. Not being landowners, their existence would be contrary to Mr. George's discovery that "rent swallows up the whole gain;" therefore they not only never did, but they never could have existed, so there is an end of them, as also of the fallacy contained in the records of the House of Commons, and in Mr. Justin McCarthy's statement in his "History of Our Own Times," that previously to 1858, when the property qualification for Members of the House was abolished, "men who were rich enough to spend thousands of pounds in contesting boroughs and counties, had often to go through the form of having a fictitious conveyance made to them because they did not happen to have invested any part of their wealth in land. Great city magnates, known by their wealth, and known in many cases for their high personal honour as well, had to submit to this foolish ceremonial."

If "rent swallows up the whole gain," how came these people by their wealth, and having it, why should they be exempt from the expense of good government, which secures them with great care and cost in its possession, and be allowed to shuffle the whole burden on to the shoulders of owners of land, which no thief could carry away? Objectionable questions, for it is clear that for the consistency of Mr. George's "patter," the alleged wealth of such miserables does not and never did exist, and is, therefore, not taxable, because anything which would throw doubt upon the desirableness of the French revolutionary expedient of *impôt unique*, a tax on land and on nothing else, would peril the building up of the city of God upon earth out of the abolition of duties on cotton fabrics and hardware.

Which brings us to the third proposition, so softly, elegantly, and unalarmingly put, that "to appropriate rent by taxation," or, in other words, that to mercilessly snatch away by a villainous act of inhuman political tyranny the property of "old men and babes, and loving friends and youths and maidens gay," whilst with slanderous malice foully branding all those as robbers, and insulting them with a cynical sneer that they deserve, and may rejoice that they do not receive, worse treatment, "would raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify Government, and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."

To suppose this scoundrelism possible we must imagine a national electorate of swindling fools inflicting wrong upon themselves by electing a popular representative house of thieves, and with no second chamber possessing a grain of honesty or common sense; and the first result a constitutional revolution in the direction of arbitrary power, by placing "the Sovereign as the representative of the collective rights of the people" in permanent possession of a superabundant revenue, with no need to apply to Parliament for supplies, and free to govern at his own sweet will. And the effect of the outrage is to "raise wages." Yes, temporarily to the extent of their being equivalent to a greater quantity of the commodities cheapened by the removal of duties, but only until the temporary disturbance should be settled by wages being forced (quoting Mr. George) "by competition amongst labourers to the minimum at which labour will consent to reproduce."

"Increase the earnings of capital." Not a whit, if the argument be true that capital is robbed of interest by land-rent, for eventually land by sub-letting will be raised in value upon all who require to use it, and an irresponsible and dishonest Government will corruptly appropriate and misapply the revenue, and so necessitate other forms of taxation.

"Extirpate pauperism and abolish poverty." By robbing of their property and rendering destitute thousands of the middle and working classes to be comforted only with the assurance that the Duke of Westminster will not, after all, be really badly off!

"Give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it." Remunerative until over-production renders it otherwise, or as to agriculture, the subdivision of land brings Englishmen to the same condition as the peasants in France, Belgium, and Holland (pages 231-2), whose "material progress has not been so rapid with a minute subdivision of the land, and where the condition of the labourer is worse than in England, whilst the tenant-farmers are rack-rented with a mercilessness unknown in England, and even in Ireland;"—a sort of

levelling which Mr. George looks forward to for England with hope, if it will only despoil the large landowners.

"Afford free scope to human powers." Heaven forefend if in the same direction!

"Lessen crime, elevate morals, taste, and intelligence." If it lessen crime it must be on the principle of *similia similibus curantur*. But the assertion that morals, taste, and intelligence would be elevated by such means, is simply false and impudent balderdash.

"Purify Government." By handing over the wealth procured by a gigantic swindle to a Government having no necessary dependence on Parliament.

"And carry civilization to yet nobler heights." Yea, even to a very apotheosis; to "the golden age which poets have sung and high-raised seers" (by the way, for the satisfaction of grammatical curiosity, what is a "high-raised seer"?) have told in metaphor; the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendour; what he saw whose eyes at Patmos were closed in a trance; the culmination of Christianity; the city of God on earth with its walls of jasper and its gates of pearl; the reign of the Prince of Peace." Prince of what, Mr. George?—Peace! Then why walls and gates, whether of jasper, pearl, or cobweb? Peace! Perhaps in America, from fear of mob tyranny; but Englishmen, Mr George, are free, and by no means prone to submit tamely to ill-usage. There is an anecdote in their history about a generation or so after the Norman Conquest, of a sturdy old baron, whose lands were coveted by the "Sovereign as the representative of the collective rights of the people," giving answer to demand for production of his title deeds by clapping hand on his sword; and be assured, Mr. George, that the working-man of to-day in England, whose freehold homestead you would dishonestly rob him of, by converting it into a precarious rent-paying tenement, would not be a whit less prompt to find weapons wherewith to defend his property.

Peace! With fierce indignation and wrathful resistance against cruel and brutal wrong!

City of God! With wailing, railing, curses, hatred, misery, and strife.

Culmination of Christianity! With a tyrannous doing of that to others which no man would desire to have done to himself. Truth, decency, and common sense revolt against this Yankee hifalutin, rhapsodical trash, in adoration of a bogus, shoddy millennium of free trade in slops and ironmongery.

But though common sense spurns the insult and patience rebels against consideration being wasted upon it, let us examine some of the materials which Mr. George's book affords us to draw our own conclusions as to the effects which would follow the adoption of the notable expedient which he advocates; for example, as to the beatitudes which he declares would inevitably spring from a return to the custom of holding land as common property, we shall do best by inquiring whether the like effects did spring up and exist in times and places where that custom prevailed. Take two of his instances, the one comparatively ancient, and the other of almost our own day—viz., "the tribal rights of the Irishman," and those of "the Aborigines of New Zealand," and remembering that in both those cases the custom was not an innovation suddenly effected with brutal and exasperating cruelty and insult, as proposed by Mr. George, but one to which the people were "native and to the manner born." We may from Mr. George's rhapsody be warranted in expecting to learn that Ireland, under the Brehon land-tenure, and New Zealand, at the advent of Europeans, were respectively illustrations of "the culmination of Christianity, the city of God upon earth, and the reign of the Prince of Peace."

Do we find this expectation verified?

1. As to Ireland. An Irish historical writer

Smyth, "Ireland Historical and Statistical," vol. i., p. 98.

may answer. "Scarcely a single page of the uncouth annals of the period is clear of the record of some dark crime or faithless cruelty," and the story of what preceded and led to the invasion of the Normans, inter-tribal wars, deceitfulness, violence, lust, bloodshed, and devilish inhumanity are curious realizations of Mr. George's fancy picture; whilst as to the economical effect of the Brehon land-tenure the same writer

*Ibid.*, p. 69.

declares that "The gavelkind of Ireland was about the worst of all laws; no people could possibly advance in civilization under such a system. By that law all property was a common holding in principle, but the division was made by the Chief, so that whenever, the head of a sept or family died, or, as oftener happened, was violently removed, his successor distributed all the lands anew, and naturally rewarded his own followers with large shares to the prejudice of all who had supported his enemy." Now, in this statement, if for death of the head of the sept or family we read change of governing party, we shall have exactly what would occur under Mr. George's system and republican morality, and with the result indicated by the Irish historian. "The general confusion and poverty inseparable from a tenure of property at once so precarious and arbitrary requires no comment."

2. As to New Zealand. The like story of inter-tribal war, bloodshed, and cruelty might be repeated, but with this difference as to economical results, that there was no poverty; for, as to those who might have suffered from it, their countrymen providently ate them.

But, in addition to such blessedness as this, Mr. George has yet another boon in store for Englishmen wherewith to crown their happiness in the good time coming; they are to abandon monarchy, aristocracy, and prelacy, and follow the example of America, by adopting republican government. The one hundred years' history of the United States, and Mr. George's experience as a citizen "raised" and matured in the great Republic, enable him to speak of its institutions with knowledge, which gives confidence that is utterly wanting in regard to his wild speculations and fervid rhodomontade as respecting the necessity for, and anticipated benefits from confiscating rent.

It is to be remembered also, that he is no maker of "goaks" or humorous satire—no Artemus Ward, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Josh Billings, or Hosea Biglow—but an advanced politico-economical and social philosopher, disposed to "argument which aims at exactness;" therefore, the facts being within his knowledge, we may accept his statement of them, and therefrom contemplate the inestimable blessings which he anticipates our enjoyment of.

Some of the products of the republicanism which has made the United States "the most advanced of all the great nations" he enumerates as follows: "gross corruption and fraud," "constant under-valuations of the Custom House," "ridiculous untruthfulness of income tax returns," "absolute impossibility of getting anything like a just valuation of personal property," "douceurs to assessors" [This, by the way, is invaluable evidence as to what would occur when a Government which had stolen the ground ownership of the land of the country should depend upon ridiculously untruthful returns or unjust valuations, made by corruptly-elected, douceur-receiving assessors for assessment of the annual rent to be got out of the plunder], "bribes to Customs' officials," "money expended in electing pliable public officers or procuring acts or decisions which avoid taxation."

These, however, are mere incidentals, and, though it be to borrow verbatim nearly a whole chapter from "Progress and Poverty," it would be wrong to fail to do so for the purpose of impressing most strongly upon Englishmen and others what are the effects of republicanism in the United States according to so competent and (on this point) indisputable an authority as Mr. Henry George.

His testimony to the republicanism of his country is as follows—

"In all the great American cities there is to-day as clearly defined a ruling class as in the most aristocratic countries of the world. Its members carry wads in their pockets, make up the slates for nominating conventions, distribute offices as they bargain together, and though they toil not, neither do they spin, wear the best of raiment, and spend money lavishly. They are men of power, whose favour the ambitious must court, and whose vengeance he must avoid. Who are these men? The wise, the good, the learned—men who have earned the confidence of their fellow-citizens by the purity of their lives, the splendour of their talents, their probity in public trusts, their deep study of the problems of government? No; they are the gamblers, saloon-keepers, pugilists, or worse, who have made a trade of controlling votes and of buying and selling offices and official acts. They stand to the government of these cities as the Prastorian Guards did to that of declining Rome. He who would wear the purple, fill the curule chair, or have the fasces carried before him, must go or send his messengers to their camps, give them donations and make them promises. It is through these men that the rich corporations and powerful pecuniary interests can pack the Senate and the Bench with their creatures. It is these men who make school-directors, supervisors, assessors, members of the Legislature, Congressmen.

"In theory, we are intense Democrats; the proposal to sacrifice swine in the temple would hardly have excited greater horror and indignation in Jerusalem of old than would among us that of conferring a distinction of rank upon our most eminent citizen. But is there not growing up among us a class who have all the power without any of the virtues of aristocracy? We have simple citizens who control thousands of miles of railroad, millions of acres of land, the means of livelihood of great numbers of men; who name the Governors of Sovereign States as they name their clerks, choose Senators as they choose attorneys, and whose will is as supreme with Legislatures as that of a French king sitting in bed of justice.

"There is no mistaking it; the very foundations of society are being sapped before our eyes.—It is a matter of fact that, in spite of our laws, anyone who has money enough and wants to kill another may go into any one of our great centres of population and business and gratify his desire, and then surrender himself to justice with the chances as a hundred to one that he will suffer no greater penalty than a temporary imprisonment and the loss of a sum proportioned partly to his own wealth and partly to the wealth and standing of the man he kills. His money will be paid not to the family of the murdered man, who have lost their protector; not to the State, which has lost a citizen, but to lawyers who understand how to procure delays, to find witnesses, and to get juries to disagree.

"And so, if a man steal enough, he may be sure that his punishment will practically amount to but the loss of a part of the proceeds of his theft; and if he steal enough to get off with a fortune, he will be greeted by his acquaintance as a Viking might have been greeted after a successful cruise. Even though he robbed those who had trusted him; even though he robbed the widow and the fatherless; he has only to get enough, and he may



safely flaunt his wealth in the eyes of day.

"All this is matter of common observation. Though we may not speak it openly, the general faith in republican institutions is, where they have reached their fullest development, narrowing and weakening. It is no longer that confident belief in republicanism as the source of national blessings that it once was. Thoughtful men are beginning to see its dangers, without seeing how to escape them; are beginning to accept the view of Macaulay and distrust that of Jefferson. And the people at large are becoming used to the growing corruption. The most ominous political sign in the United States to-day is the growth of a sentiment which either doubts the existence of an honest man in public office or looks on him as a fool for not seizing his opportunities. That is to say, the people themselves are becoming corrupted. Thus in the United States to-day is republican government running the course it must inevitably follow under conditions which cause the unequal distribution of wealth.

"Where that course leads is clear to whoever will think. As corruption becomes chronic, as public spirit is lost, as traditions of honour, virtue, and patriotism are weakened, as law is brought into contempt and reforms become hopeless, then in the festering mass will be generated organic forces, which shatter and rend when seeming accident gives them vent. Strong, unscrupulous men rising up upon occasion, will become exponents of blind popular desires or fierce popular passions, and dash aside forms that have lost their vitality. The sword will again be mightier than the pen, and in carnivals of destruction brute force and wild frenzy will alternate with the lethargy of a declining civilization."

Mr. George holds all this to be due to "conditions which cause the unequal distribution of wealth."

That an equal distribution of wealth is synonymous with patriotism, virtue, and intelligence.

And that the "great cause of inequality is the natural monopoly which is given by the *possession* of land."

As to which he may be answered that inequality in wealth, as inequality in stature, physical strength, health, temper, disposition, intellect, education, morality, wholesome associations, opportunities, and accident, and because of them, is incidental to or inherent in the nature and social relations of men, and will outlast any "sovereign remedy" which he or any other man can prescribe.

One whom it would be blasphemy to put Mr. George in comparison with for love towards humanity, or for acquaintance with human nature and its tendencies, who knew all men and needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man; and to whom the world is indebted for all the progress it has since made towards the realization of the city of God on earth and the reign of the Prince of Peace, and will ultimately owe their full enjoyment, so far from holding opinions such as these of Mr. George, refused to have anything to do with equal distribution of wealth, replying, when asked by one brother to bid another to share the inheritance, "Man, who made me a judge or divider over you?" and he went on to caution against the spirit which had prompted the request—covetousness; and gave as a reason that "a man's life "[which embodies patriotism, virtue, and intelligence] "consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth and whilst advising the rich to put no trust in wealth, but rather to divest themselves of and give it to the poor, held out no expectation that equality of wealth or abolition of poverty would result, but, on the contrary, said, "The poor ye have always with you," and gave a graphic illustration of one amongst the causes where from poverty will be continuous, the distribution of wealth notwithstanding, in the case of that young man who, having claimed and got the portion of his father's substance falling to him, that is equal distribution of wealth as between him and his brother, wasted his share in riotous living, and came to want even to the degree of filling his belly with the husks that the swine did eat.

But suppose that, instead of giving such answers, Mr. George's argument be conceded, and it be admitted that inequality in the distribution of wealth results solely from the natural monopoly which is given by the possession of land, and is the root of all evil, and that the abolition of such possession of land is the "sovereign remedy," and would result in an equality of wealth and countless blessings.

Then, with a ludicrous inconsistency which justifies the suspicion that, like Barnum, and others of his famous countrymen, spiritist mediums, and so forth, Mr. George is really perpetrating a transparent piece of refined humour, and laughing heartily in his sleeve to find that a solemn, savagely-earnest, and semi-sanctimonious style has not only humbugged gullible old John Bull into a belief that the argument is serious, but has filled the humourist's pockets, and procured him the reputation and fame of a philosopher; *Mr. George does not advocate the abolition of the monopoly of the possession of land, nor the equal distribution of wealth*, and as without these his unhappy country is, as he declares, doomed to swift perdition, thither he patriotically lets it rip.

Here (page 288) is his own final and supreme statement of the practical application of his proposal:—"Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them buy and sell, bequeath and devise it; we may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent."

Be it noted this does not do away with the so-called monopoly given by the possession of land, for it continues the possession.

How does it prevent inequality?

1st. As between those who now own land and those who do not, the latter will remain landless, or, if they want it, be compelled to pay rent to the former, or purchase with money, which is aggregated rent; and as to the benefit gained by relief from other taxes, that would not remedy the inequality, for it would be equally shared in by the landholders and the landless.

2nd. As between different holders of land. As Mr. George puts it (page 320): "The Duke of Westminster, who owns a considerable part of the site of London, is probably the richest landowner in the world. To take all his ground-rents by taxation would largely reduce his enormous income, but would still leave him his buildings and all the income from them, and, doubtless, much personal property in various other shapes, he would still have all he could by any possibility enjoy." How would this alter the inequality between this pet Duke of Mr. George's and the owner of one single tenement, the ground-rent of which would be taken from him? Relatively they would remain as unequal as before. And as regards the "equal right of all men to the use of land," the Duke, in addition to having one house for his own use, which is all that by the equal right-of-all-men doctrine he could properly claim, could grant or refuse five hundred houses to others.

To argue upon such incongruous nonsense is absurd, but again, if only for amusement, it may be worthwhile to follow this genius one wing-flap further in his flight.

As to appropriation of rent, into which he has resolved his "Sovereign remedy," he declares (page 366) that the appropriation of rent for public purposes, becomes, when political and religious power pass into the hands of a class, the ownership of the land by that class, and the rest of the community become merely tenants."

Now Mr. George must be perfectly well aware that the government by a class has given way to government by party; therefore, in plain English, the political party in power is to be made more powerful still by being constituted the owner of the land of the country, and its political opponents merely tenants.

*Vae victis* in a party struggle under such conditions. As the Irish writer before referred to, has it: "The chief" (*i.e.*, victorious party) "distributed all the lands anew, and naturally rewarded his own followers with large shares to the prejudice of all who had supported his enemy; no people could possibly advance in civilization under such a system."

The addendum is worth repeating: "The general confusion and poverty inseparable from a tenure of property at once so precarious and arbitrary requires no comment."

So it amounts to this, that on the advice of this Yankee joker the English people are to abandon monarchy, aristocracy, and prelacy, and take instead republicanism under the same conditions as have reduced the inhabitants of the United States into slaves of mob tyranny and of scoundrelism. With the additional infamy of accompanying this dive into perdition with the villainous perpetration of an act of foul national dishonour and cruel wickedness, which would have the effect of adding immensely to the importance and profits of the "gamblers, saloon-keepers, pugilists or worse," the class who in the great republic govern all elections and appoint to all offices, and of intensifying and embittering party strife and hatred, by adding to the already baneful effects of government by party the demoralization of enormous pecuniary advantage in the spoils of victory.

Thank you, Mr. George. John Bull may be an obfuscated old buffer, but he is not fool enough for that. He thought when your countrymen were playing up Yankee Doodle a hundred years ago, that it was to the devil they were going, and you are remarkably candid in proving how very far they have already got on the road, and how rapidly they are hastening to complete the journey. It will be as well for him to wait and see the finish. In the meantime, would it be possible to point out to so transcendently distinguished a philosopher that monarchy, aristocracy, and prelacy are exactly the influences which protect England from the anarchy towards which, as he declares, the United States is tending? That there are influences arising from these institutions powerfully operative upon the entire community towards the development of the highest, the holiest, the purest, and the noblest impulses by which humanity can be affected: Influences which knit and bind Sovereign, aristocracy, prelacy, and people into a mutually trusting, law-abiding, self-reliant, and progressive nation. For, bethink you, Mr. George, the poorest child in England may become by ability and the qualities which deserve confidence and respect, and no otherwise, a polished and honoured gentleman, the gentleman a knight or baronet, the commoner a peer, the peer a stage higher in the scale of nobility; and so any boy may become a clergyman, and the clergyman may reach a bishopric or archbishopric, but ever and always by the qualities which gain and secure respect. And for the Sovereign there is as strong an ambition to deserve and enjoy the confidence and love of all her subjects.

If testimony were needed of the inestimable benefit of monarchy, aristocracy, and prelacy to England, and the damnable injury of republicanism to America, it is afforded by Mr. George's statement that those who in England are elevated for public admiration and example, by the honour and distinction of rank and title, "the wise, the good, the learned, men who have earned the confidence of their fellow citizens by the purity of their lives, the splendour of their talents, their probity in public trusts, their deep study of the problems of

government," have in America the places in which we should look for them filled by "gamblers, saloon-keepers, pugilists, or worse," who hustle them out of public life into uselessness to the State and political oblivion.

In fact, John Bull has no valid inducement to pull down the partition walls of his drawing-room and dining-room so as to add the extent of those apartments to that of the kitchen and scullery, and mix his books, pictures, mirrors, statuary, art-treasures, and *bric-à-brac* amongst slop pails, coal-scuttles, cooking utensils, kitchen-furniture, and rubbish. He may be excused for objecting, that this is contrary to his notions of good order and of beauty; that to his thinking it is right and seemly that his rooms should be suited to those who have to occupy them, and that in his state apartments there should be picture-stands and pedestals and shelves, on which to lift and place that which is worthy of being studied, admired, and copied; that he thinks it quite right to have so placed Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Isaac Newton, and scores of others, and as to yet more elevated pedestals, he is proud of having lifted up Bishop Ken, Bishop Heber, Archbishop Whately, Lord Bacon, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Macaulay, Lord Lytton, the Earl of Beaconsfield, Lord Tennyson—everyone of whom and crowds of other ennobled worthies began as plain Mr.

What does the knighthood of England serve as? A reward to naval and military commanders for long, arduous, and valiant service, to public officials for zealous, faithful performance of duty and avoidance of scandals of the General Belknap sort, to good citizens for public-spirited and clean-handed fulfilment of shrievalties, mayoralties, and honorary positions of public importance, undefiled by practices of the Boss Tweed description, and to the honour and distinction of private worth, and of excellence in the liberal professions, science and the arts. And so with the higher ranks, the baronetage and the several grades of the peerage, rewards for highest qualities of statesmanship, of administration and command, and for devotion of brilliant talents to the service of the best interests of the nation—so charily conferred withal as to avoid their inordinate increase, whilst their heredity (a pet republican objection) has the advantage of producing youths reared to the memory and emulation of great and worshipful deeds, and bound by the obligations of nobility to stainless honour and scrupulous rectitude, not the less so because some individuals fall short of their obligations, and when they do, are the more justly reprobated. And this hereditary nobility, whilst constantly fed and strengthened by accessions from the commonalty, as constantly and regularly sends back its cadets, carrying with them the recollections and associations of their family's honour, as the ocean sends up by evaporation healthful supplies of moisture to clouds, which dissolve and fall again to feed the rivers and fertilize and beautify the country.

Any man's son, if he have talent, good conduct, and good luck, may rise to be a lord, but a lord's younger descendants are mere commoners, which is the advantage of the English system of nobility over that of some other countries.

Clearly, then, as to monarchy and aristocracy (of which prelacy is only another form), these influences are inspiring, purifying, ennobling. What has Yankee republicanism to offer in exchange for them? The worship of the almighty dollar—Mammon in all his grovelling filthiness.

Mr. George himself has said it: The people of the United States are becoming so corrupted that they do not believe there is such a person as an honest man in office unless he be a fool. Any wealthy man may murder whom he pleases, and with a hundred chances of his being able to bribe away severe punishment. Men of the highest ability and character are compelled to eschew politics; the arts of the jobber count for more than the reputation of the statesman; and he who is ambitious must court and avoid the vengeance of corrupt and characterless ruffians, with whom rest all elections and appointments to public office, to both branches of the Legislature and the Judicial Bench.

It is probably in individual resentment of this shameful despotism that the good people of the United States revenge themselves by each insisting on taking the mote out of his neighbour's eye, and tyrannizing over him to the full extent that is possible without amenableness to the law, and even combining to exceed that limit by the *Vehme Gericht* of Vigilance Committees inflicting domiciliary nocturnal visits, flogging, tarring and feathering, and hanging under the judicial authority of mob fury and savage passion personified in His Honour Judge Lynch, whose efforts to override the decision of the regular tribunals have recently had practical illustration in the Cincinnati riots and bloodshed of April 1884. Thus the most laudable aspirations of the American mind become acrid and tyrannical. The saloon-keeper and his whisky-mill must be put down by mob vote of local option, or by prohibiting the sale of all intoxicants, but here, as in their prohibition of aristocracy, the over-righteous, by sweeping intemperance, sacrifice a good and gain an evil. In attempting to wholly prevent the use of that which makes glad the heart of man, and the Bible commands him to take, they induce sly drinking, hypocrisy, and falsehood. And, to the extent to which they succeed, it would seem that they produce a worse evil, by sharpening, cynicising, and souring the tempers and dispositions of their people, to the embitterment of domestic life and the rupture of matrimonial bonds; insomuch that, quoting from the New York

*Nation*, "The facility and frequency of divorce in the Eastern States are such that societies are organizing to discourage the practice, as there are associations to prevent intemperance in other things; as, for instance, whisky drinking. In a lecture in the Centre Church of New Haven, the Rev. S. R. Dyke, Secretary of the New England Divorce Reform League, presented some startling statistics. It appears that while in the year 1849 there were only 91 divorces in Connecticut, now the average is 440 a year. The population of the State has increased less than 70 per cent, in thirty years, while the number of divorces has increased 500 per cent. In Connecticut the ratio of divorces to marriage is 1 to 10.4; in Vermont, 1 to 13; in Massachusetts, 1 to 21; and in Rhode Island, 1 to 10; while New Hampshire, which is sometimes regarded as the type of bucolic simplicity and primitive purity of manners, stands first on the list, with a ratio of 1 to 9; though Maine follows hard after with about the same figures." And these are the puritan and anti-liquor law regions! Imagine English society with one divorce to every nine marriages!

Mr. George says that, in theory, his countrymen are intense Democrats; that the proposal to confer a distinction of rank upon their most eminent citizen would create horror as of the vilest sacrilege. In theory, but how about truth and fact? That for the most part they are veritable tuft-hunters, who admiringly worship a lord's title and console themselves for the absence of legitimate distinctions by dubbing themselves with substitutes of their own creation, honourables, and what not. Why, how many times does the title of the Duke of Westminster occur in Mr. George's book! He rolls it about with as much satisfaction as a cow does her cud, and how unctuously he takes care to prefix the title "Sovereign" when making mention of one of the States!

As to the assumption of titular military rank by his countrymen, it is told of Abraham Lincoln that he once said that he could not throw a stone in Washington but it would be sure to hit a Major-General.

And it is certain that if, in the civil war, General M'Clellan, whom the love for titles caused to be styled "The young American Napoleon," had won a battle or two, and got Napoleonized into Emperorship (which was easily on the cards), and had created a score or so of dukes, lords, and things of that sort, converting Senator Thaddæus Washington O'Reilly's better half into Lady Orailly, Congressman Larry Delaney's wife into the Countess De Lainny, and Mrs. Mackay into the Princess Tas d'Argent, the General might have been shot the day after, but those noble peeresses would not only not have given up their titles, but would have been the envy of their sisterhood throughout the Union, and the fashion would have spread like a fire in Chicago.

Where American republicanism is leading to, Mr. George has told us; it is to carnivals of destruction, brute force, and wild frenzy, alternating with the lethargy of a declining civilization.

And this is to be all prevented by a national crime, having the effect of increasing the means and rewards of corruption. Mr. George may tell that to the Marines. John Bull will not believe it; he is quite aware that republicanism is the dead level of decomposed rottenness, which, when the putrefaction is completed, will constitute the manure out of which other organisms will spring. If any wisdom be secreted in the process in America, the shoot will be a healthy young oak, with sturdy head of monarchy, and bright green leafy branches of nobility to grace the stem with honour, and give grateful shade and beauty to the land.

But whether that, the upas tree, or only noxious weeds, suffice it that John Bull is plainly told that it is to perdition that American republicanism is rushing headlong, and that he would not be a bull, but an ass, if he took Mr. George's advice and did the same.

He is proud to know that in England the rich are growing richer—aye, and the middle class, and those below them likewise; but he also knows that it is absolutely untrue that the poor are growing poorer, more numerous, or at all more helpless, even in English great cities. He rejoices in the knowledge that increasing prosperity is accompanied with decreasing poverty, and not that only, but decreasing crime. In 1870, three years after the justice of the Englishmen in England towards the Englishmen in Australia had finally abolished transportation, the criminal population amounted to 12,000, and now, after a lapse of fourteen years, they do not number so many by more than one-sixth. So, too, with pauperism; for five years preceding 1870 the pauper class averaged more than 4½ per cent, of the population, whilst for the five years preceding 1883 the average is barely over 3 per cent., and there is a larger sum annually expended on the maintenance of the decreased number.

John Bull does not even object to the utmost publicity being given to the poverty which does exist; he rather desires it, though it should be the mere reproduction from plays or periodicals of typical cases of misery, in sensational pamphlets such as "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London;" for thereby is brought into stronger relief the pleasing fact that in England there is felt towards the poor a warmer sentiment than is expressed by the republican word "citizen"—a recognition of English blood, kindred, and country. The tendency of the wealthy, the fashionable, the talented, and the beautiful, is "Eastward Ho!" For from the Queen—God bless her!—throughout all ranks downward there is an honest, earnest, loving, and humane desire to do all that legislation, liberality, and active benevolence can accomplish to ameliorate the condition and improve the circumstances of the poorer class.

To rob landowners of their property, and abandon monarchy, aristocracy, and prelacy in emulation of the

progress of the great American republic, "the most advanced of all the great nations," towards "carnivals of destruction, brute force, and wild frenzy," would be no improvement upon this.

## Chapter III.

### Nemesis.

*Personce.*—MR. HENRY GEORGE, *asleep; over him his Guardian Angel, weeping, speaks*—

OH, HENRY, HENRY! pity and shame that talent should be so misapplied, that such a wealth of language, gift for the turning of well-phrased sentences, power of fascinating and holding attention, abundance of fine sentiment, and verisimilitude of reverence for justice and right, should be vilely desecrated to inculcating ethics that would mark whoever should practice them as a ruthless tyrant and a thief!

And this under the garb of philanthropic philosophy, too thin to hide the wickedness, too frail to shield from reprobation, ridicule, and contempt.

Pseudo-philosophy will no more serve you than would gentlemanly dress, speech, and manners him who, possessing them, should be detected teaching naughty words to the children, and inciting accomplices to rob the house on pretence that the goods in it had been stolen by their owner.

Fame of Authorship! Notoriety! Popularity! Money! *Vanitas Vanitatum*. For oh, Henry! in the compendium of true philosophy it is written—

*"Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."*

### Conclusion.

THE title of the book "Progress and Poverty" may be translated from American into English as "Humbug and Knavery."

George Robertson and Company, Limited, Printers, Melbourne.  
The Camera in the Coral Islands Front cover image

## Catalogue

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## What the Papers Say.

*(Abridged from the "Otago Daily Times.")*

The idea of photography has certainly not hitherto been associated with the South Sea Islands, but the recent cruises of the "Wairarapa" have changed that, and the untravelled public of New Zealand will now have an opportunity of acquiring the same distant acquaintance with Fiji and the more remote islands that they have already acquired with the lake and mountain scenery of our own Colony. Mr. Burton, who for years past has been so busy in the latter districts, has lately been just as busy in the South Seas. He was a member of both the "Wairarapa" excursion parties, and the result of his labours is now published in the shape of a series of 230 photographic views, taken wherever the vessel touched on either trip. That they are a most curious and interesting addition to Mr. Burton's already large collection of landscape photographs is unquestionable. Nothing can picture strange scenes so faithfully and effectively as the camera, and anyone viewing this series, for instance, will acquire a far more exact and familiar knowledge of Levuka, Taviuni, Samoa, Vavau, &c. than after reading pages of graphically-written description. He will form a truer idea of the wild luxuriance of tropical verdure; of the scenery, beautiful, but little varying; and of the different native races that live and labour together on some of these islands.

The Wairarapa's "Innocents Abroad"—or a great many of them—figure often enough in Mr. Burton's negatives. Very cool and comfortable they look in loose white raiment, armed with the natural defensive weapons of the tropical tourist—the helmet and the umbrella. Very strange, too, does it seem to see European ladies and gentlemen standing complacently side by side with the dusky sons and daughters of the soil. The latter are habited in their own distinctive fashion—a fashion with which both they and their visitors appear to be perfectly content. Next in order come views of Suva itself. First, the main street of the town, edged with neat wooden buildings—the latter chiefly remarkable for the broad, roomy verandahs, which seem indispensable. It is strange to see in another picture a modest little structure in a group of coconut trees decorated with the familiar title, "Union Bank of Australia." Government House is a fine building within view of the town, and is photographed from a point which gives a good idea of its position and surroundings. In some of the scenes in the neighbourhood of Suva we are irresistibly convinced of what is meant by the "feathery palm." In many of the best photographs of his series Mr. Burton has been singularly happy in reproducing minutely the delicate foliage of this tree. Ever present as it is in these latitudes, it figures in the foreground of numbers of views and gives tone and character to the picture. Not unfrequently the gigantic proportions of the tree are emphasised by the small, black figure of a native who has ascended the slender trunk, and is just clutching the lowest branches in his search for cocoanuts. The bread-fruit tree is seen in a few of the views of Fijian villages, and the banyan tree also with its enormous spreading leaves. For an idea of the denseness of tropical undergrowth, and the numberless varieties of foliage it presents, reference need only be made to the photographs taken in the botanical gardens, Suva.

Crossing over to Levuka, Mr. Burton has found many inviting subjects. Apart from landscape photography, we have the heir to the title of Thakambau, taken in state upon the steamer's deck, and later on a view of that dignitary's canoe, a "twin-ship" built roughly upon the plan of the celebrated channel steamer. Some comprehensive views of the town have been taken from the jetty; and as regards the surrounding scenery, it at once strikes the eye as being more rugged than that of Suva. One of the most interesting negatives is that of the famous pool of Commodore Goodenough, a shady, cool, little sheet of water nestling in a picturesque hollow, and almost buried beneath overhanging foliage. Among the several out-of-the-way effects secured by Mr. Burton is one in which he shows to perfection the action of the wind upon the palm foliage. It is impossible in such a comprehensive series to speak in detail of many individual views.

At Taviuni some singularly pretty scenes have been reproduced, and passing on to Mango, one of the most striking of the collection is a broad view of the lagoon, lying white and calm in the sunlight, and in the far background the narrow clean-cut entrance in the rocks, which forms its only communication with the sea. In this locality Mr. Burton has taken his camera among the sugar-fields, and shown the various stages of this industry. One hillside is seen thickly dotted over with the bending figures of the workers cutting the cane. It is also shown in process of loading, and there is a view of a field in which the young cane is growing. A picturesque study is that of a group of natives upon the summit of a rock, watching the "Wairarapa" as she is preparing to steam away.

After leaving Fiji, Samoa was the next halting-place, and here again good views of Apia have been obtained from seaward. A number of interesting interiors are shown, and in almost all the pictures Mr. Burton has individual natives or groups in his foreground, whether they clearly understood the process of photography

or not, they seem to have been singularly willing to lend it their passive assistance. There are numbers of beautiful lanes in the neighbourhood of Apia, and the scenery is plentifully enriched by bread-fruit trees and bananas.

At Pango Pango there is evidently less civilisation than at any of the previous places visited; and a view of the harbour, in which no cocoanut trees and no natives appear, shows a remarkable resemblance to the scenery of our New Zealand Sounds.

Nukualofa and Tongatabu have each furnished a pretty series of views, and Mr. Burton's artistic perceptions have led him to make friends with several of the Tongan beauties, and photograph them in variously arranged groups. Space does not permit us to particularise all, or a tenth part of the scenes that are presented. Mr Burton has found plenty of new and inviting material to his hand, and he has made the most of it with the time at his disposal. The composition of all the pictures is strikingly good, and even in those which display least technical merit there will be found much to please and interest.

*(From the Dunedin "Evening Star")*

The two pleasure-trips of the "Wairarapa" to the Fijian, Samoan, and Friendly groups of islands have brought us into closer relationship with our neighbours. Probably every newspaper in the Australasian colonies has given to its readers more or less circumstantial narratives of the doings of the tourists, the scenery they gazed upon, the people who live on the islands, and a few remarks regarding their appearance, manners, and customs. But words cannot do all that is needed; just as Euclid's theorems would be difficult to demonstrate without diagrams, because the eye is of the greatest possible assistance to the mind in forming a correct image of the things reasoned about. The clearest narratives and descriptions are better understood by the aid of pictorial representations. The various excellent reports furnished to the Press by its representatives have received an added value through the labours of Mr. Burton, of the firm of Burton Bros. Fortunately, he was one of the tourists, and availed himself of the opportunity of the "Wairarapa's" trips to add to his already rich collection of photos of colonial scenery a long series of views, numbering over 200, exclusive of groups of natives, which will much increase the pleasure of rereading the accounts of the voyages. We have always found much pleasure in examining Mr. Burton's photos. They are not crude outlines filled in with shadow, leaving more to be guessed at than is seen. They possess the life and beauty of highly-finished engravings. There is in them that clearness of definition, combined with beautiful aerial perspective, which forms the charm of a true picture. All the various groups of figures by which some of the events of the voyage are illustrated, and through which the everyday life of the people of islands is detailed, are artistically arranged. Each face is a portrait, and many little incidents are stamped with reality that necessarily escaped the pen of the reporters. The points of view from which the scenes are taken seem well chosen, and Mr. Burton appears to have been singularly successful in selecting favourable illustrations of the flora which flourish in such rich abundance in those tropical islands. This series, therefore, is useful as an aid to science, as well, as a memento of the voyage.

## The Camera in the Coral Islands

### A Photographer's Diary of the "Wairarapa's" Second Trip to the South Seas.

To return to Dunedin from the great South Seas Excursion without having landed on either the Samoan or Tongan groups was evidently out of the question. Photographs of these Islands, as well as of the Fijis, were looked for, and photographs must be supplied. "Measles" might be a sufficient explanation to all who went on the first trip, and to some others who were in a position to realise the situation, but it was felt that it would be deemed but a poor excuse "down south." Accordingly, advantage was taken of the Company's liberal concession to all who had gone on the trial trip, a ticket was secured for the second, and on

MONDAY AFTERNOON, July 7th, six days after her return to Auckland, the "Wairarapa" left the wharf for the Coral Islands once more. Whereas on the former trip she carried 103 passengers, this time there were just eighty, including seven of us "old hands." The journey began under the best of auspices, and everyone seemed at once to throw away all forebodings, and to feel assured that *this* trip was going to be a great success. The sea was smooth—there was a minimum of sea sickness, and all seemed at once to become "weel acquent." A most business-like committee, with an energetic and capable chairman, was formed, and the result quickly appeared in a very successful entertainment of music and recitations on the second evening. Next day a chess tournament, which brought out eleven competitors, was inaugurated. Athletic sports beguiled the daylight

hours, and a ball followed in the evening. Ladies being very powerfully in the minority, an additional levy of winsome damsels was improvised. On Thursday morning appeared on the notice-board an announcement of the early issue of a newspaper, the prospectus concluding thus:—"Nothing will be inserted in the paper which is calculated to cause any disturbance in this most Pacific Ocean." Another entertainment—quite as good as the former one—brought another day to a close, and on

FRIDAY, July 11th, at 2 p.m., we found ourselves at Suva, in the Fijis. The Suvans had prepared for our amusement a performance of "The Pirates of Penzance," which exhibited, when the smallness of the white population is taken into account, a wonderful amount of musical and dramatic talent.

SATURDAY, July 12th.—Yesterday afternoon the weather had been anti-photographic, so the first start with the camera was made to-day in a native village about two miles from Suva. Studies of tropical foliage, with peeps of the harbour; groups of men, women, and "pickaninnies;" and other groups of passengers, with the prettiest and shapeliest native girls they could find and persuade to be "posed,"—made a good morning's work. When our boats reached the village, the tide was "in," and all stepped ashore easily enough; but on the return journey it was "out," and very much "out" too; so those who did not care to wade two or three hundred yards, had to be carried on the backs of stalwart Fijians. Verily it was a sight to see a most genial and almost more portly member of our party carried, supported, and propped up by five of the biggest men the village could produce. After luncheon another little trip was made by way of the Immigration Depot (by boat thus far) through the Cemetery and Botanical Gardens to some caves, which rank among the "shows" of the place. The beauty of the foliage seen in the morning filled all with delight, but the effect was almost effaced by the wondrous wealth of nature spread around us in the afternoon's walk. Fresh pictures revealed themselves on every hand, and the day was but too short for the camera to secure all it could see. Thoughtful residents had provided refreshments, which were discussed in the first and larger cave, and then, one by one, the party crept through a very, very narrow gallery to a second cavern, whence the outer air was reached by another route. While the photographer was laboriously dragging himself and instrument through this "needle's eye," he was complimented by the wits of the party striking up the appropriate air, "The Camera's A-coming." The afternoon's programme included a visit to a large Banyan tree, and suddenly emerging from the bush the photographer beheld before him the huge tree laden with most extraordinary fruit. The whole of the party had climbed into the branches, and the sad spectacle was witnessed of affluent "globe-trotters" and substantial Fijian merchants all "up a tree." Two or three "shots," permanently to record this event, concluded the first day as far as photography was concerned—twenty-eight exposures being the satisfactory result. Meanwhile a large party had gone up the Rewa River to the great mill of the Colonial Sugar Company, and returned at night full of delight. Having secured a number of negatives on the former trip, a second visit thither had not been needed.

SUNDAY, July 13th.—Sailing early from Suva, reached Levuka at 2 p.m. Felt greatly tempted to take the camera ashore, but resisted, and quietly "prospected" for the morrow. Turning to the left on landing, and passing by Nasova, the old Government House, between the native villages of Ndremba and Nai-Koro-Koro, is most romantically situated the Cemetery, and in the most beautiful part, on the very point of a tongue-like cliff, almost overhanging the sea, is a sweetly poetic tomb. A large mass of rock stands—seemingly only just balanced—on two or three small stones; and in the rock is inserted a tablet with the inscription—"Beneath the evening shadow of this rock lie the hallowed remains:" and here follows the name of a young lady, wife of a very prominent official. The grave itself is further marked by a beautiful cross of polished marble. Altogether it strikes the spectator as one of the most graceful and affecting tributes which devoted love could possibly rear to the memory of one who had "gone before."

MONDAY, JULY 14.—After taking a panorama of Levuka, pushed on to the villages of Ndremba and Nai-Koro-Koro, to work the ground prospected yesterday. Pictures of native houses and their inhabitants—studies of tropical trees—then more groups—characteristic verdure again. Such was the order of the day, as fast as one could go, until the sun dropped behind the Levuka hills, when back self and bearers trudged to the ship—thirty "exposures" being the day's "bag." This evening had a conversation with Mr. Hemmings, the German Consul here, who, it will be remembered, entertained the first excursionists at a "Fijian at Home." that gave such unalloyed pleasure to all. It is this gentleman's opinion—founded upon twenty-six years' knowledge of the South Seas—that the Union S.S. Company would do well—say next year—to vary considerably their programme; namely, to leave out altogether the Fijis, as being already well known or easily reached by the steamers "Penguin" and "Suva"—make directly for Vavau, in the Friendly Islands; then to Samoa, going to Savaii—not to Apia, or such settled places at all. From thence to Tahiti; afterwards to the Marquesas Islands, taking Rarotonga, in the Cook Islands, on the way back to Auckland. This trip could be done in six weeks or thereabouts, and would give, says Mr. Hemmings, something like a thorough idea of the South Seas.

TUESDAY, July 15.—Reached Vuna Point, Taviuni, at 3 p.m. After a shot at the Sugar Mill, went with a large party in a "special train" along the tramway which runs some four miles through the sugar canes into the



bush. The sky, already lowering at the start, became blacker as we proceeded, though we escaped anything worse than a sprinkle. This would not be worth mentioning were it not that this was almost the only day on which the weather was not everything that could be wished. Of course photography was "out of it"; but this was of less consequence, as very good results had been obtained here on the first trip.

WEDNESDAY, July 16.—Early in the forenoon we were off the Island of Mango. From the glowing account of this lovely isle given by the "First-trippers," a grand field day was anticipated, and, truly, a grand field day was enjoyed. The force was divided; one body, consisting chiefly of ladies, pulled round to attack the island by a flank movement through the well-known and most lovely lagoon, while the larger division pushed on boldly to the front, gallantly cleared the cocoanut groves, and then, deploying in the open ground, regardless of the heavy fire poured down from the tropical sun overhead, carried the Bungalow and the heights of Talasinga. The original holders of these coigns of vantage cheerfully accepted the new condition of things, and shared their luncheon with the victors. Meanwhile the Engineer Corps—represented by the Photographer-in-chief and a small but effective following of dingy mercenaries—had hovered on the skirts of the column, making a diversion ever and anon as some tempting scene would invite capture. After coconut palms, banana groves, and bread fruit and pandanus odoratissimus trees had thus fallen, the Camera was planted in the very front of the Bungalow; and the grand valley beneath, with the Butoni Mill as a centre, was covered by its fire, and irresistibly swept through one hundred and twenty degrees of angle in a panorama of three plates. From this point the Engineer Corps was ordered to advance upon the coffee estate. Like good fortune awaited them here; for just before reaching the summit (crowned by the manager's house), they were confronted by a large body of coolies (female), who drew up in front of a village. Their disposition was excellent, but after a very brief engagement they were all "taken." The chieftess of the party (a Brahmin, it afterwards appeared) was decorated with silver anklets and wristlets, a ring of about three inches in diameter through one nostril, and change for three English sovereigns in small silver coins disposed over her person. Despite the temptation, no attempt was made to "loot." This lady, on the approach of the victors, appeared to consider it the correct thing to veil herself, which she did, partially, with a corner of her robe; but on the Photographer-in-chief imitating her with a corner of *his* robe (coat-lap), she laughed at the joke, dropped the garment, and let all who would gaze their fill. After this the whole coffee estate, with the "nursery" and the newly-planted ceara rubber trees, were duly captured; and this portion of the force returned to the landing place, covered with honour and self-satisfaction. The report of the force that moved by way of the lagoon was also eminently satisfactory, the way having been cleared by the engineers on the previous trip, and all the best (*i.e.*, most picturesque) positions duly secured on that occasion. The whole force—now massed in the saloon of the "Wairarapa"—duly dined, felicitated themselves on their achievements, and then generously abandoned the whole of their conquests to the original occupiers, reserving only the glory. The engineers, though, retained their spoils—namely, twenty-two exposed plates. The "Wairarapa" gaily steamed away for the Navigators' Group, or Samoa, on

THURSDAY July, 17.—The Fiji portion of the programme had now been duly done, and next came the momentous question—"Is it possible that anything can turn up *this* time to prevent our lauding in the Samoan and Tongan Islands?"

FRIDAY, July 18.—This day was published the first number of the "Wairapara Wilderness"—surely a strange title for a newspaper. Admitting the paramount necessity of invoking "apt alliteration's artful aid," one would think that a better word than "Wilderness" might have been hit upon. How would the "Wairarapa Whistle" have sounded? However, the first issue certainly fulfilled the promise of the prospectus, for there was truly nothing in it at all calculated to "cause disturbance in this most Pacific Ocean." It was as innocent of offence as Archibald Grosvenor's decalet, "Gentle Jane was as good as gold." Indeed it reminded one of the old story of the Scottish wooer, who on the eve of their marriage, reminded his lassie that he had been very "civil," not having snatched a single kiss during the whole of their five years' courtship. "On, any said the maiden, "senselessly ceevil! "To-night our third entertainment was given, and another success scored.

SATURDAY, July 19.—Hurrah! Tis all right! After the usual formalities by the authorities of Apia, we rush for the boats, and soon set our feet on Samoan ground. On the previous visit here, a good deal of surreptitious trading in curios was done while the police boat was temporarily absent from the duty of preventing communication between the polluted Wairarapa and the shore, and fancy prices were asked and readily paid. This time business was attempted to be done on the basis of last trip's prices, but buyers were shy, and the market eventually steadied and goods were quitted at not more than say twice their value. It is needless to say that the camera was soon "at it" in the native village, illustrating as thoroughly as the limited time would permit "The Samoan at home." Some fine examples of tattooing were secured. As is perhaps pretty well known, the men tattoo the body from the hips to the knees in most elaborate and beautiful patterns, following the curves of the body. On the outer sides of the thighs, the work is laid in in a solid mass of blue, while inside the legs a sort of latticework is depicted, giving the idea of laced pantaloons. It is scarcely possible to think, without a shiver, of what the pain of the operation must be. It evidently marks the assumption of the *toga virilis*, and would seem

to be universal, though we were told that the missionaries discountenanced the practice. Devoted the afternoon to the Roman Catholic mission grounds—snatching "bits" all the way up the hill, and finishing with the church and other buildings and groups of pupils. Father Gavet speaks no English, and it would have been "a caution" to a linguist to have heard the French of the photographer. However, they managed to understand each other, and eventually a bowl of kawa was made in his honour, and with the usual formalities handed to the visitor. After dinner a mysterious whisper was passed round a select circle that a *proper* Samoan *mèkè* would be given at a private house in Apia. Accordingly all who were in the secret shewed up at the rendezvous, and were regaled with the usual sing-song and hand-clapping business by Samoan girls, somewhat diversified by the archness (not to say "impudence") of their fair leader. Still some of the younger members of the party on leaving expressed the opinion that the affair was a "sell"—that it was *not* a *proper* *mèkè*—or rather that it was far too "proper." To add to their chagrin they learned afterwards that a *mèkè* took place in another part of the town, at which no disappointment was expressed or felt.

SUNDAY, July 20.—Considered that no overt photography would be seemly, so did another day's "prospecting." Passing through a native village, got a youthful guide to show *the* fall, and some most delicious bathing places. At one of these found a large party from the ship disporting themselves in primitive—even biblical fashion, for *they* were naked, and the native ladies on the bank were evidently not ashamed. In the evening, pursuant to invitation, Father Gavet, his two assistants, and about thirty native pupils came on board, and after a wondering examination of the ship, the latter gave us: the best sample of Samoan sitting-dances and songs we have yet seen or heard. It was shrewdly suspected that some of these were "secular," but as they were judiciously sandwiched with "hymns," nobody was seriously shocked.

MONDAY, July 21.—As per usual, spent to-day in "taking" views "prospected" yesterday. Among other items secured a fine view of a Samoan interior with the process of kawa-making going on. About half-a-mile out of Apia is a little stream, and over it some speculative individual has thrown a foot bridge at a probable outlay of at least five pounds. In return he exacts a toll of threepence, going or returning—double fare after dark. This seemed a piece of such thorough go-aheaditiveness, that a plate was expended on the scene in commemoration. At 4.30 p.m. weighed anchor and started for the second Samoan stopping-place, viz, Pango Pango, which we reached early on

TUESDAY, July 22.—A goodly number of those on board had been at some time or other to the Fjords of the South Island of New Zealand; and almost with one voice these exclaimed—"Why, if it were not for the coconut trees, we could think ourselves in the Sounds." Doubtless they were thinking of the *Southerly* Sounds, such as Preservation and Chalky Inlets. There was nothing, of course to suggest Wet Jacket and Hall's Arms, or Milford Sound. It was an agreeable change, after the roadsteads within the coral reefs that had been our anchorages hitherto, to find ourselves in a real landlocked harbour. Well might we admire, for this is the Queen Harbour of the Pacific, and is destined, says the *soi disant* far-seeing ones, to be a place of great commercial and political importance in the not very distant future. Here we found flourishing the "fiend" system, of which most of us have read in books of South Sea travel. The arrangement is very simple. The inhabitants flock down to the landing place to meet the visitors, and by a process of "elective affinity," each one attaches him or herself to one of the strangers with the *naive* query—"You be my friend?" Should the answer be favourable, the bond is supposed to continue as long as the ship stays. Many little services are assiduously rendered, and then at parting the propriety of a present in return is delicately suggested. Sometimes it must be confessed there is no advance beyond the baldest mercenary idea, as, for instance, in one case—"You be my friend?" "Oh, yes, certainly!" "You give me two dollar!" Alarmed visitor backs out, and unsophisticated Samoan goes in search of another "affinity." The photographer was fortunate in arranging with two "fiends"—one of each sex—though he had grave doubts if this were not an infraction of the unwritten law; and he must admit, at the expense of his reputation for gallantry, that his female "frendship" partook somewhat of a practical, not to say selfish character—that in fact he meant just to use this "fiend" as a model for his pictures. Indeed, the pact had lasted a good part of the day, and she had submitted to be "posed" time after time, when, suddenly realising the position, she turned abruptly on her heel, saying, "Me go now," and this photographer saw her no more. The male "fiend," William, at once fell into his proper position as beast of burden for the necessary impedimenta, and all went well for some time. But as the party proceeded higher and higher up the harbor, working the country *en route*, it became evident that William was growing very uneasy. By alternate coaxing and bullying a few hundred yards more were made, when William unmistakably struck. It then transpired that we had passed the boundary of his enemy's country, and that if he ventured further there would probably just be a row. Taking pity upon the gallant chief, he was allowed to transfer the most indispensable boxes to the shoulders of his young son, when he at once beat a masterly retreat to the landing-place, which, it would seem, was regarded as neutral territory. The photographic party were now arrested by a request to turn aside and take a group who were ready posed in a beautiful little dell. Here were a number of the *jeunesse dorée* of the "Wairarapa" paired off with the prettiest maidens of the country. The centre of the picture was occupied by a popular globe-trotter

and his "fiend," the fair Faaolatana, a young lady of the highest social standing in the neighborhood; while others were arranged around in positions of the most delicious *abandon*. It was evident that the sensuous influence of the climate and the other surroundings was beginning to tell upon the impressible visitors. There was a perceptible relaxation of the moral fibre. "Very suggestive of Solomon's song, ain't it?" whispered an irreverent fellow passenger in the photographer's ear. Noticing that the remark was received with a disapproving frown, he hastened to add, "Of course I mean without the orthodox head-lines!" No one, indeed, could be starched and square-toed among the children of nature who frolicked around. Even Mr. X——, at home one of the most decorous and rigid of churchgoers, a tax-paying "citizen of credit and renown," could be seen lying upon a mat in a native house, his head pillowed upon the lap of a dusky charmer, who fanned him with one hand, while the other toyed seductively with his hair. "What's your name, my dear?" "The fair one told him, and in return demanded his. X——pulled out his handkerchief, on which his name appeared "in permanent ink." Circe at once begged this, and X——could not refuse. The next question was "You got wife?" when the photographer left, and diligently minded his own business.

The scene on the decks of the "Wairarapa" this afternoon was one long to be remembered. Crowds of Samoans—of both sexes and of all ages—pervaded the ship, diffusing a decided, though by no means disagreeable, aroma of cocoanut oil. Most were impelled by curiosity and wonder; some on trading thoughts intent, and others perhaps full of tenderer feelings. As to the trading community, it must be said that a new experience awaited us. Many of the vendors of curios—clubs, kawa bowls, etc.—could not be induced to quote a money price, being intent solely on "clothes." A shirt or an old coat would "fetch" where the offer of silver and gold would be quite unheeded. As this was our first experience of the kind, so was it our last; forever afterwards, as ever before, the "almighty dollar" reigned as supremely as in any civilized country.

If anyone doubted the perfect suitability of the native dress to the climate and conditions of life around, he would have been convinced had he seen what a transformation could be effected by a slight change in costume. Here, for instance, is a girl dressed but little according to civilized ideas, very much of her form, her bosom, her shapely limbs being freely revealed. She is just a poem, and no thought of impropriety suggests itself for a moment. But see, someone has added to her garb boots, stockings, and garters! "Faugh! what a very objectionable young person! Really, she ought to be sent on shore forthwith!"

WEDNESDAY, July 23.—We were to sail at 10 a.m., and no ship's, boats were available for the shore. The morning was so glorious, though, with so perfect a calm, that it was not in photographic nature to resist the temptation of trying to add to the twenty-four plates of yesterday. Accordingly the pilot boat was secured, and from the opposite side of the harbour to the scene of yesterday's operations, some grand pictures were obtained. Two love-sick swains—rivals for the attention of the lovely Sauimatane—dubbed "the beauty with the languishing eyes," had persuaded that charmer to come across in her canoe to be photographed.

Standing: with reluctant feet  
Where the brook and river meet—  
Womanhood and childhood fleet—

Her form just perfect—her face charming—with dreamy eyes fringed with the longest lashes (her admirers said") ever seen,—Sauimatane was elected by acclamation the "Belle of the Coral Islands."

The steamer's whistle warned us that time was up. We hurried on board just in time to get half-a-dozen snap shots at the fleet of canoes of all sizes, full of natives, that crowded round the ship, and then up came the anchor and we were soon fast leaving Tango Pango behind, and bidding good-bye to Samoa and the Samoans. Almost the last thing noted was a little canoe a long way astern, carrying a single person waving farewells with a handkerchief to someone on board the steamer. A binocular told that this was "the beauty with the languishing eyes."

THURSDAY, July 24.—We had hoped to reach Vavau, in the Tongan group, this afternoon; but through a head wind and heavy-sea, we could only sight it and dodge about till daylight.

FRIDAY, July 25.—The first hitch of the trip here occurred. The health officer of the port of Neiafu—to our great horror—boarded us at the outer anchorage, and forbade us to come any further, serving us with a notice signed by H.M. Vice-Consul, as to all vessels arriving from "Samoa or any infected ports." However, after some correspondence, no end of formalities, and the loss of several precious hours, all was declared to be right; we were admitted to pratique and allowed to move to the anchorage off the town. In the afternoon the launch, with two boats in tow, took a large party to the Coral Cave, which Miss Gordon Cummingthus describes:—

"We were guided to a truly exquisite cave, about five miles distant. Never before in all my wanderings had my eyes been gladdened by such an ideal fairy grot. We rowed along the face of beautiful crags; suddenly we steered right into a narrow opening and found ourselves in a great vaulted cavern like a grand cathedral—a

coral cave, with huge stalactites hanging in clusters from the roof, and forming a perfect gallery on one side, from which we could almost fancy that white-veiled nuns were looking down on us. The great outer cave is paved with *lapis lazuli*, at least with water of the purest ultramarine, which was reflected in rippling shimmers of blue and green on the white marble roof. For the sun was lowering, and shone in glory through the western archway, lighting up the mysterious depths of a great inner cavern, which otherwise receives but one ray of light from a small opening far overhead, through which we saw blue sky and green leaves. No scene painter could have devised so romantic a picture for any fairy pantomime. Altogether it was a scene of dream-like loveliness." This is a capital bit of word-painting, and the exaggeration of description—if any—is really very pardonable.

SATURDAY, July 26.—A day spent in the orange groves—for Neiafu is literally built amongst the oranges. Both houses and people presented a marked difference from Samoan houses and people. Whereas the houses in Samoa are just a roof on pillars, with a series of Venetian-like screens, which can be let down or raised so as to exclude or admit light or air at will,—the Tongan dwellings are similar to the Fijian, and have permanent walls, with two or perhaps three doors. The characteristic of the people which strikes the stranger at once as varying from that of the other two groups is the greater prudery or perhaps modesty of the women. While the Fijian and Samoan women—for the most part—seemed to look upon the upper garment as one to be either worn or thrown off—especially when the latter course was suggested for aesthetic reasons—the Tongan women seemed to regard a wish that they should do likewise as somewhat of a liberty. After taking a view of the Wesleyan Church, was persuaded to try one of the interior. Should this prove a success it will show to advantage the greatest charm of all native buildings—the roof. However large the edifice may be, the roof is put together without screw or nail; it is in fact just held together with fibre. [This view *did* prove a success, and figures as No. 2681 in the catalogue.] The next subject was a picture of the venerable King George, who is now 86 years old, taken in front of his palace. Then followed a group of Tongan notabilities, viz.:—Rev. Shirley W. Baker, Premier; Prince Wellington, grandson of the King and heir-apparent to the crown (native name and title—"W. G. Tubou Malohi, Governor of Vavau"); Junia, Minister of Finance; Fotofili, Governor of Niuafouu; Rev. J. B. Watkin, Superintendent of Vavau Circuit; and J. Afu, Chief Clerk in the Department of Finance. Several sweet pictures from the Cemetery—from the top of Olopeka, looking towards Talau The Pudding"—a set of "stereos," and some groups of Tongan girls, completes the tale of thirty-seven plates, the heaviest day's work in either trip.

Dinner this evening was noteworthy for a really capital display of post-prandial eloquence. We were honoured by the presence of several distinguished guests; among them Prince Wellington and the Premier. Mr. Crossman, in a very happily-worded speech, proposed the health of the Prince, who after a few prefatory words in well-choosen English, requested Mr. Baker to translate while he continued his speech in Tongan. The health of the Rev. S. W. Baker, proposed by Mr. Wheeler, gave the Premier the opportunity of setting before us in a few words the present condition of Tonga, in contrast with its state a very few years ago. "When the government was first formed the King had not an income of twelve pence; now he has twelve hundred pounds a year, while the Prince enjoys a handsome salary. The revenue of the country is one hundred thousand dollars, against just nothing at all at the period above referred to. All this," he declared, with pardonable self-assertion, "is my work." As to the calumnies that had been circulated about him, he would be quite prepared to meet them at the proper time: meanwhile he would tell us that he was known among the Tongans by a title of which the English word "Invincible" fairly conveys the meaning. As to the question of annexation, Mr. Baker gave forth no uncertain sounds declaring that his motto was—"Tonga for the Tongans"—averring that the Tongans were perfectly able to maintain their independence and that he for one would never listen to proposals for annexation to any power; though he trusted that the closest friendly relations would ever be maintained with Great Britain and her Colonies—especially with Auckland. He concluded with a very neat compliment to the Union S. S. Co., and the Prince endorsed this compliment in giving the health of Captain Chatfield.

SUNDAY, July 27.—Sailed this morning at 7 o'clock for Nukualofa, Tongatabu, our last place of call.

MONDAY, July 28.—Reached Nukualofa at 9 o'clock, and at once enlisting an auxiliary force, carried the camera up the hill—Zion. Took views in all directions therefrom; then "shot at" the King's Palace and the new church adjoining. This is a very showy Gothic building in wood, with two towers, now nearly complete. It is to cost £2,500, which will be defrayed out of the King's privy purse. The idea seems to be to make it as European as possible, and even to imitate, in a humble degree, structures of world-wide fame. There is to be a considerable amount of carved work inside. An elaborate throne is to be built for the monarch, and a row of stalls for an order of knights not yet called into existence. It is in reference to this building that a waspish writer in the *Fiji Times* suggests that Mr. Baker's ambition is to become Archbishop of a new church of his own instituting—kindly prognosticating his ultimate death in the odour of sanctity, and his canonization as "St. Barabbas of Tonga!" Surely a genuine Tongan building, with such a roof as described a little above, is worth half-a-dozen grimcrack weather-board "Gothic" imitations. Talk of Tonga for the Tongans, forsooth! "Tongan

architecture for the Tongan people" would be more sensible, one would think. The afternoon was spent at Mua, a village about two hours' run along the coast, the chief object of interest being a very large banyan tree. The planting of the camera in front of it was just irresistible, it would seem, for up the tree rushed passengers by the score, where they hung on, reminding a friend at one's elbow of the tree-dwellers in Central Africa. But *the* sight of Tonga is a few miles beyond Mua, just too far to render it possible in the time to get up the photographic traps, greatly to the chagrin of the operator, who herein suffered his only real disappointment in the trip. This is what is conjectured to be a monument or rude building for some religious right, suggestive at once of Stonehenge. No light can be thrown upon its use now, as no traditions thereanent exist among the natives. Briefly, its description is as follows: Near the village of Kologo, about fifteen miles from Nukualofa, and some eighty yards from the sea-shore, stands a pile of stones, two being upright, and the third laid across the top, or rather let in, as a groove has been carefully cut in each upright in which the cross stone accurately fits. The perpendicular stones are about fifteen feet high, twelve feet deep, and four feet thick, and they stand ten feet apart. The horizontal one is four feet six inches by two feet deep; and of course long enough to connect the uprights. Were this writer to indulge in any speculation as to the use of these peculiar remains, he might be landed in as great an absurdity as Mr. Pickwick was in an affair of not very dissimilar character.

TUESDAY, July 29.—This is to be our last day in the Islands. Acceding at once to the request of the photographer, a distinguished "group" was formed in front of the palace—the ladies condescendingly leaving the washtub for the purpose. The personages in question were Salote (Charlotte) Mafileo, daughter of the King; Anazieni (Anna Jane), sister of Prince Wellington; and Jiaogi (George) Fatafehi, Governor of Hapaii. After this, the Rev. J. K. Moulton's residence was coolly appropriated, followed by the Tubou College with many scores of pupils arranged in front. These same pupils had just astonished our passengers by their proficiency in mental arithmetic and their mastery of some of the problems in Euclid. Waylaying a bevy of the bonny Tongan girls on their way home from college, they were easily induced to form groups for the insatiable camera. Then, with shouldered instruments, a bee line was struck for the Roman Catholic Mission, to fill up the two hours which now remained. Were most politely received by the priests and a group of the native brass band was soon formed in front of the residence, followed by a view of the as yet uncompleted coral church, with the nuns and pupils arranged around, and the boss mason on the scaffolding chipping away at the coral carving. Very kindly received as he was by the priests of the mission, this photographer must still have his little fling. It is as to the dress of the pupils. "Confound the fellow!" says someone, perhaps, "can't he let the women's dress alone?" Well, he can't, when he sees the unfortunates dressed all alike in a species of bedgown of a flaring chintz, reaching from the neck to the heels. What is the object in disguising Nature's own children in such a vile and worse than charity school rig? It is not aesthetic, that is plain, and one appeals confidently to a consensus of opinion of English ladies (surely the ultimate court in such a matter) if it is really any more delicate than the true native costume. Two or three more views on the way to the launch, and then, in the midst of taking the very last, the steamer's whistle sounds, and the "Camera in the Coral Islands" has, for this time at least, done its work, whether successfully or no, "development" only can show. Punctually at three o'clock—the advertised time—the anchor is up, and we are heading for Auckland.

THURSDAY, July 31.—By noon this day we have covered just half the distance between Tongatabu and Auckland. Six hundred miles in forty-five hours is capital work, and we are hopeful of reaching Auckland wharf early on Saturday afternoon.

FRIDAY, August 1.—Everyone busy, either finishing diaries or taking counsel with stewards as to packing the treasures secured in the islands. Hitherto the cabins have been as gorged with curios as purses have been depleted in their purchase. This evening we had a little more speech-making. The Hon. E. Carnegie proposed the toast of "The Captain, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Stott, and the officers of the ship," remarking that as there were perils of the sea through which the skill of the Captain had piloted them, so there were dangers and difficulties on land, which it was Mr. Wheeler's province to surmount. That gentleman, in the discharge of his duty, had shown a combination of energy and patience which unhappily fell to the lot of but few. The toast was received with enthusiasm, and was duly responded to by Captain Chat-field and Mr. Wheeler—the latter gentleman announcing that it was the intention of the Company to continue these trips yearly, and perhaps to extend them to groups of islands even more interesting than those we had just visited.

SATURDAY, August 2.—At 10 o'clock a.m. Auckland wharf is reached, and the second "Excursion to the South Seas" is at an end. There is no need to multiply words. The trip has been a success—unequivocal—perfect. It would seem impossible for the veriest cynic to find occasion for a single snarl; and as to regularity, if punctuality be really the politeness of kings, the officers of the Wairarapa may be declared to be just regal in their virtues.

In the above scribble, "it goes without saying" that there is no special attempt at conveying useful information. It is just what it pretends to be,—a hastily-written account of what a busy man, rushing through three groups of islands with the camera on his shoulder, might be expected to see and hear.

vignette of plant in ornate pot

UNION STEAM SHIP COMPANY OF NEW ZEALAND, LIMITED. Winter Excursions to the South Sea Islands SECOND SEASON. The magnificent Steamer "WAIRARAPA," will leave Auckland during July, 1885, on an Excursion to the South Sea Islands, and during an absence of four weeks from Auckland will visit Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and other of the beautiful Islands of the South Pacific. Passengers limited to one hundred. FARE, £40 FROM AUCKLAND. Should a sufficient number book, a SECOND EXCURSION will be made immediately on the return of the "Wairarapa" to Auckland, when the route selected will be TONGA, SAMOA, TAHITI. FARE, £60 FROM AUCKLAND. Experience has shown that July and August are the two best months for visiting the South Sea Islands, as fine weather may then be depended upon, and the temperature is the coolest and pleasantest of the year. Excursions to the West Coast Sounds. EIGHTH SEASON. IN January, 1885, The favourite Steamer "TARAWERA" Will make Two Excursions to the Wonderful West Coast Sounds of the Middle Island. The First will leave Port Chalmers on Saturday, 17th January; and the Second on Monday, 26th January. Each Trip will occupy eight days from Port Chalmers (Dunedin), during which the most attractive of the Sounds will be visited, and special facilities will be given for Fishing, Shooting, Sketching, and Exploring these wonderful Fiords. The social enjoyment of Passengers is made a special feature of these excursions—the Steamer spending each night at anchor in one of the Sounds. FARE.—£12 from Port Chalmers. From other Ports: £10 in addition to the Return Fare to Port Chalmers. HEAD OFFICE: DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND.

Front Cover

Napier (N.Z.) as a Health Resort for Pulmonary Invalids.

BY W.I. Spencer, M.R.C.S. LOND.

Formerly Army Medical Department and Surgeon N.Z. Militia. Hon. Surgeon Napier Rifle Volunteers. Late Vice-President Hawke'S Bay Philosophical Institute. Author of Papers on the Fresh Water Algæ of New Zealand.

vignette Napier: Printed By R. C. Harding, Hastings-Street. 1885.

## Napier, as a Health Resort For Pulmonary Invalids.

BY W. I. Spencer, M.R.C.S., LOND.

In 1875 I wrote a short paper for Dr. Dobell on "Napier as a Health Resort," which was published in the volume of his "Reports on Diseases of the Chest" for 1876. Since that time, New Zealand has become a favorite resort for pulmonary invalids in England. Ten years' further experience and observation have still more confirmed me in the statements I then advanced, and have added conviction to my opinion as to the pre-eminent suitability of the climate of Napier for those cases of incipient lung disease in which residence in a warm, dry, and tolerably equable climate, together with moderate elevation above the sea-level, is indicated—such for instance as chronic bronchitis and the earlier stages of phthisis. And I have not arrived at this conclusion hastily, but after a residence of twenty-one years in the colony, seventeen of which have been passed in Napier, and during which period I have had extensive opportunities of seeing and studying cases of phthisis which have arrived here in search of that health which is forbidden them by the cold sunless climate of the British Isles.

And here I would once more direct the attention both of patients and their medical advisers to a point of much importance—and that is the want of knowledge that appeals to exist as to the geography and the conditions of this country. The usual advice to patients in England is "Go to New Zealand," without particularising the special locality. Hence many invalids come out, and by-and-by return home, having derived no benefit from their sojourn here, and disgusted with the climate in general. The writer of the article on Climate in Quain's Dictionary of Medicine, p. 267, recommends Wellington as the place to seek. A more unfortunate selection could scarcely have been made. Situated in Cook's Strait, one of the stormiest parts of the Southern Hemisphere, the climate of Wellington is notoriously one of the most disagreeable, windy, and rainy in the country, and certainly the most so in the North Island. Indeed, the climate in different parts of New Zealand varies as much as it does in Great Britain—and this might be anticipated from the fact that the distance between the North Cape in New Zealand and Stewart's Island is nearly 2° greater than that between Unst, one of the Shetland Islands, and the Lizard point in Cornwall: the respective latitudes being, Unst, 60° 45', the Lizard 49° 57' N.; and Stewart's Island 47°, North Cape, 34° 25' S. Therefore, to send a patient to New Zealand indiscriminately for the benefit of its climate, is equivalent to sending him to Great Britain for the same purpose. In each he will find extremes of heat and cold, wet and dryness, sunshine and cloud, wind and calm, land elevation and depression, barometrical range, geological formation of soil, water supply, hygienic

arrangements, and in fact all those conditions which are comprehended under the general term "climate," within pretty much the same range of latitude.

In a very brief attempt to discuss the merits of Napier as a health resort, there are a few points which it may be well to lay before those who, having believed in New Zealand as a whole, have been disappointed in their experience of the country; or, having decided to give the climate a trial, are uncertain which locality to select as the best adapted to their case. I propose to say a few words, therefore, with respect to its Geography, Climatology, Local Products, Means of Communication, and some other questions which, although apparently of minor importance, go far in the aggregate to determine whether any particular place is desirable or otherwise as a residence for invalids.

Scinde Island, on which the town of Napier is situated, is on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand, near the southern extremity of Hawke's Bay.

Hawke's Bay, so named by Captain Cook, is a large inlet of the South Pacific Ocean, in length, from N. to S., about 50 miles, and with a depth, from E. to W., of about 30. On the north and south the bay is bordered by ranges of hills of no great elevation; on the west, however, these ranges extend inland to a distance of about 50 miles, and attain an elevation of 2000 or 3000 feet. These ranges have undoubtedly much influence in modifying the climate of Napier. The cold damp ocean breezes which prevail on the West Coast are, in their passage through and over the hills, deprived of the greater part of their moisture, and raised to a considerably higher temperature, and thus reach us as warm, dry, and at times somewhat enervating winds. At the same time their violence is greatly diminished.

Scinde Island or Napier is situated about 14 miles from Cape Kidnappers, the southernmost extremity of Hawke's Bay. The Cape received its name from Captain Cook, from an incident which occurred there during his visit to this country, the son of his interpreter having been kidnapped by the natives and only recovered after some bloodshed.

Scinde Island is an outlyer from the coast of New Zealand. It is about 2 miles in length by an average of  $\frac{3}{4}$  in width, in height it varies from 350 to 200 feet, its borders are on all sides precipitous, but easy access is gained to all parts through the many ravines by which it is intersected, and which have been utilised by the Engineer for the formation of well-paved roads, mostly of gentle gradient. The geographical position of Napier is peculiar. Situated in the southern bight of the bay, it evidently at one period was joined to the mainland, from which it has been separated by the action of the sea, and possibly might ere this have been completely swept away but for the action of a mountain stream which, flowing through a gravel-bearing district, has brought down shingle in such quantities as to form a spit 4 miles in length and 200 yards or so in breadth, thereby connecting the island with the mainland on the south side and by cutting off the wave-flow and tidal influence forming a barrier of protection for the island. By the continual drift of the shingle round the eastern side of the island, another spit 5 miles in length and about  $\frac{1}{4}$  in breadth, extends in a westerly direction, and also joining the main-land. These two long arms enclose a tidal lagoon of considerable area, through which a small mountain stream finds its way to the sea.

Situated in S. latitude  $39^{\circ}$  it might be expected that the climate of Napier would bear some resemblance to that of Madeira—and so I believe it does although it is probably not quite so hot, nor is it obnoxious to any winds, having the characteristics of the "Leste" which at times prevails in the latter island—nor, as I learn from patients who have had experience of both places, is the climate so enervating.

Down to the year 1879 meteorological statistics were collected and published annually under the auspices of the Government. Since that date their publication has been discontinued, so that recent official records of climatic events are not available. From the last official table published in 1880 I am able to quote the following as an average of the preceding 10 years:—

During the last two months—middle of March to middle of May—from notes kept by myself, I obtain the following results:—

The records were made at 9 a.m. daily, and therefore do not shew the diurnal variations of temperature. In the same period—65 days—there have been 15 marked cloudless, 46 sunshine, 9 on which rain fell at some time, and 1 on which it fell almost the whole day. And it is to be remembered that the 65 days during which these observations were made include the period of the autumnal equinox, which is usually the stormiest part of the year in New Zealand. Comparing Napier with two other fashionable health resorts, I have made the following table:—

From which it is apparent that Napier holds an intermediate position, and that although a greater depth of rain descends during the year than at Torquay, yet it falls on fewer days in the proportion of nearly 2 to 8.

As to the force, prevalence, and nature of winds I have not been able to find any reliable basis for comparative statistics. In summer and autumn the prevailing winds are easterly sea breezes during the day and off the land at night. N.W. winds not unfrequently occur, they are often hot and enervating, and blow with considerable force. Severe storms which are of unfrequent occurrence commence with N.E. gale, after a few

hours heavy rain comes on and the wind veers to S. or S.E.; this lasts usually two days, the wind then changes to S.W., is cold and showery, and so the storm terminates.

Thunder-storms, although common enough amongst the mountain ranges inland, rarely visit Napier.

The geological formation of the island consists of a series of limestone, clay, and sandy beds, covered by a thin layer of loam, the beds varying in proportion from pure clay, limestone, or sand, to various proportional mixtures. The fossiliferous deposits, which are all tertiary, Captain Hutton, Professor of Geology at Canterbury College, refers to the miocene period. The soil is porous, and dries quickly after rain. Systematic drainage of the town has been carried out by the Municipal Council, and although not yet extended to every part of the island, is believed to be as perfect as is possible at present.

The water supply is from artesian wells; it is excellent in quality and practicably inexhaustible in quantity.

Almost all plants that flourish in the South of England grow here, besides many that find that climate too cold. The Poplar and Weeping Willow are almost evergreen, the latter being rarely out of leaf more than 4 to 6 weeks in the year. The geranium and fuchsia are in flower all winter. The *Eucalyptus globulus* and the Norfolk Island Pine form conspicuous objects. Lemons, oranges, and grapes come to perfection in sheltered situations. The camelia and mangolia thrive well. The banana grows out of doors, but does not fruit.

Houses to let are scarce, and rent is high. Otherwise living is cheap. Best joints of beef and steaks are 6d. per lb; mutton, a large quantity of which is now being frozen and exported, 4½d. to 6d. per lb; it is of first-rate quality, quite equal to Welsh mutton. Poultry of all kinds and fish are abundant and cheap. Garden and Orchard products, asparagus, seakale, spinach, and all the ordinary vegetables; fruits of many kinds, apples, pears, plums, grapes, mulberries, figs, strawberries, medlars, almonds, peaches, nectarines, quinces, tomatoes, apricots, and many others, all of local growth, are cheap and abundant. Tropical fruits, such as pine-apples, bananas, &c., are imported from the Pacific Islands, and in the season are plentiful.

Communication with other parts of the world is frequent and easy. With England by four routes. (1) Through San Francisco monthly. (2) By direct steamer monthly at alternate fortnights with the American route, through Australia weekly by steamers which meet either (3) the P. & O. or (4) the Orient steamers. The time occupied in the voyage between England and New Zealand is now so short that the journey is almost reduced to a holiday trip. In Quain's Diet. Med. p. 266, the voyage to Australia is stated to average 90 days—the fact is that the double journey does not take quite so long, the advertised time being, by direct steamer, Plymouth to New Zealand 45 days and, the return, calling at at Rio de Janeiro, 42 (has been done in 37). The San Francisco route, although somewhat shorter, is not to be recommended for invalids, in consequence of the long railway journey across the continent of America.

In endeavoring to form an estimate of the value of a place as a residence for an invalid, two questions of the first importance are What amount of time can he spend in the open air? and What attractions and facilities does the locality offer to induce him to be out of doors? In this climate there are not many days in the year of which the greater part may not be passed out of doors, and still fewer when some portion may not be so spent, as, from whatever point of the compass the wind blows, shelter can be found in some of the roads which are formed in the various ravines by which the island is intersected in all directions. For the purpose of driving, riding, or cycling, level and well-paved roads lead in different directions to the mainland. No hunting is to be had, but in the season a fair amount of shooting, chiefly wild ducks and pheasants, is available. There are no fish here that take the fly, but boating, yachting, and sea fishing may be indulged in in fine weather.

In the hottest part of the year, when the weather in Napier is relaxing and enervating, facilities offer for visiting numerous places of interest, the virgin forest, which still covers a large area of the central portion of the north Island of New Zealand, with its magnificent pine trees, palms, and ferns; the Manawatu Gorge, with its wild and beautiful scenery, distant 8 hours,—5 by railway, and about 3 by coach. Taupo, with the only active volcano in the Colony, its wonderful system of hot springs, fumaroles and geysers—90 miles distant—can be reached in two days by coach, and one day's journey further takes the traveller to the hot lakes Rotorua and Rotomahana with their indescribable white and pink terraces, boiling cauldrons, and weird scenery,—the "Wonderland of the Antipodes."

In addition to these trips, the Union Steamship Company every summer organise excursions in one of their large steamers to the bays and sounds of the middle island, many of which are unapproachable except by sea, and to the islands of the South Pacific, Fiji, Norfolk Island, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, &c.

Unfortunately official statistics as to the causes of death in the Colony are highly untrustworthy, the local registrar of deaths being authorised to receive certificates from any *disant* doctor, irrespective of the fact of his possessing any or no medical or surgical qualification. A counterbalance to this regulation, however, exists in a law that every case of highly infectious or contagious disease must be reported by the medical attendant to the local board of health under a severe penalty, and speaking from personal knowledge, as chairman of the local board of health, I can say that no reports are received except from duly qualified practitioners. This fact therefore affords some reliable basis upon which to form an estimate of the general healthiness of the town. Of



that class of diseases which are now usually attributed to the presence of microzoids in the air or food we see very little. It is two years since a case of diphtheria was reported. It was fatal.

Typhoid fever was ten years ago not uncommon, especially in the hot months of the year—Christmas to the end of March—but since the system of drainage and water supply has been carried out, and a large stagnant swamp that existed nearly in the centre of the town has been obliterated, this affection has almost disappeared. During the last five months—commencement of January to end of May—only two cases amongst the adult population have been reported. A case of cholera, so far as I am aware, has never occurred in Napier. Malarial affections are extremely rare. Occasionally an old shaker will have a modified attack, or a case of neuralgia will assume a periodic phase; but even these are almost phenomenal. On the other hand, I have seen imported cases of violent malarial fever recover permanently and with great celerity. Sunstroke is almost unknown; still it is very necessary not to expose the unprotected head to solar heat.

On the health charts of the world, such as that in Aitken's Science and Practice of Medicine, Australia and New Zealand appear to be generally included in the rheumatism zone. Speaking for New Zealand I believe this bit of medical geography will have to be altered. Without going into statistics, which I have not at hand, I should say that acute articular rheumatism is by no means a frequent affection in New Zealand. The so termed *muscular rheumatism*—a very different affection, in etiology, treatment, and prognosis—was at one time common enough; and this was nothing more than might have been predicated from the habits and mode of living of the pioneers of settlement. When people take up their abode in an uncultivated country, live in slightly thatched huts, are exposed to weather by day and night whatever it may be, have no comforts, not even a lighted fire on their return home after 12 or more hours in the saddle, sleep in fern because they cannot obtain dry straw to make a bed; it is scarcely fair to attribute their rheumatic pains to the climate. And certainly since ordinary home comforts have been more obtainable, one hears very much less of rheumatic affections.

Doubtless the climate of Napier is at certain seasons of the year depressing and enervating, and induces a considerable amount of atonic dyspepsia amongst the residents. This, however, is in summer, a time which the invalid should utilise to visit the many places of interest in not only the country, but also the other South Pacific Colonies in the adjacent islands.

Pulmonary affections, bronchitis, pneumonia pleuritis, are rare. Phthisis is not so uncommon as might have been expected, the proportion of deaths from consumption being, so nearly as I can ascertain, to deaths from all causes, about 6½ per cent., but it must not be forgotten that many of these cases occur in people who have acquired the disease elsewhere, or whose parents have come here suffering from tubercular affections, and who are therefore congenitally predisposed. Of the actual benefit derived by some of those who have arrived in Napier in various stages of the disease, I can speak from observation. One young gentleman, a medical student, had been obliged to discontinue his studies. On his arrival here he was somewhat emaciated, had cough with copious expectoration, night sweats, the physical signs pointed to vomicae in the upper lobe of one lung and some solidification on the opposite side. He remained here two years, spending his life out of doors, and when he left for home, had lost the cough and perspiration and gained nearly two stone in weight. There were no signs of any advance of the pulmonary lesion. I have since heard from him that the improvement in his condition continues. He subsequently paid a visit to Madeira, not on his own account, but with his father, who was ill, and he writes to me from there that he prefers the climate of Napier to that of the Atlantic Island, and that a comparison of the two places would be highly in favor of the South Pacific. Another case which came under my notice 8 years ago, on arrival from England, in the last stage, apparently, of emaciation and debility, and with extensive mischief in both lungs, is still here in fair health, in regular and daily employment as clerk in a lawyer's office, and walks up the steep hills with ease and comparative comfort. It is not expected that every case should derive the same benefit from residence here as those mentioned, for various reasons. In some people the constitutional tendency to consumption would appear to be so pronounced, that no sooner does the local affection manifest itself, than the whole system gives way; there appears to be neither power nor inclination to resist the disease, and medicines and all remedial measures are alike inefficient to arrest its progress. Another class of cases defer all thought of climatic assistance until too late; their state is beyond hope, and they arrive at the end of their journey merely to die. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that it is the earlier stage of phthisis in which the remedial effects of change of climate are to be sought if sought at all. Perhaps to no other disease is the advice of Ovid more applicable than to this:

Principiis obsta: sero medicina paratur,  
Quum mala per longas convaluere moras.

vignette

HARDING, PRINTER, NAPIER, N.Z.

The Advantages of Sanatoria in the Treatment of Phthisis.

BY J. H. L. Allen, M.D. UNIV. DUB.

vignette Napier: Printed By R. C. Harding, Hastings-Street. 1885.

# The Advantages of Sanatoria in the Treatment of Phthisis.

BY J. H. L. Allen, M.D. UNIV. DUB.

My object in supplementing the remarks contained in Spencer's pamphlet is to draw attention to the advisability of establishing a Sanatorium in Napier for the reception and treatment of patients suffering from pulmonary consumption.

Dr. Spencer's statements are based on a long-continued and careful observation of the climate and its influences in modifying disease, and they prove how suitable Napier must be, as a residence for the pulmonary invalid.

Napier is, in point of fact, one of, Nature's Sanatoria, its peculiar semi-insular position, the dryness of its soil, the purity of the air from mountain and sea, and the abundance of sunshine, render it admirably adapted for a health resort.

The medical profession in New Zealand have long recognized the value of the climate, as is amply testified by the number of consumptive patients who are sent to Napier. The wonder is that a greater number of invalids from other parts of the world do not take advantage of this beautiful climate. The reason perhaps may be, that although Napier's claims in this respect are so generally acknowledged by visitors and residents, no one has hitherto taken the trouble to advocate these claims in such a manner as to bring them under the notice of the outside world.

Dr. Spencer, as he remarks in his pamphlet, wrote an article on the subject of the Napier climate some years ago, but this was published in England, side by side with descriptions by various authors of many other climates, so much more within reach, that it is little wonder the article did not attract the attention it deserved; and to the invalid seeking change of climate, the long and weary voyage of that time, with its dangers and possible privations, would put New Zealand out of the question.

Dr. Spencer's pamphlet deals fully with the special advantages of Napier as a health resort, but the points to which I would wish to direct attention here are, the aid which may be given to many sufferers by the establishment of a special institution for their reception and treatment; and also the responsibility which rests with the patients themselves, and how materially they may by their own voluntary actions either advance or retard their own recovery.

It may seem unnecessary to advance any arguments in favor of Sanatoria for the special treatment of pulmonary invalids, the advantages of these establishments being so generally recognized by the public, and so gratefully acknowledged by the many who have benefited by them. But, in the rapid growth of the Colony, the consideration of this important matter has apparently been forgotten, and notwithstanding that the increase in population is necessarily accompanied by greater prevalence of the disease, a special establishment for its treatment has not yet been erected in New Zealand.

A suitable climate is universally regarded as important in the treatment of chronic pulmonary disease, and justly so, for taken alone there is perhaps no other agent which tends so much to promote a cure. It should, however, be remembered that climate, however excellent, is not a specific for disease; the patient is hereby placed in the position most favorable for recovery, but other remedies, and general precautions, are indispensable.

A careful attention to the proper performance of the various functions of the body is necessary for the maintenance of health as well as its re-establishment in disease, and in no class of diseases is a recognition of this fact of more vital importance, than in chronic affections of the lungs. Patients at health resorts are apt to forget this, and to imagine they have nothing more to do in order to obtain the maximum amount of benefit from the climate, than to submit themselves passively to its benign influence. They trouble themselves little in regard to matters which they do not seem to have direct connexion with the diseased organs; and rules of diet, regulated exercise, healthy occupation of mind, and sanitary matters in general, are hardly considered at all by many patients.

This state of things, obtaining so generally, has neutralized to a great extent the beneficial effects which change of climate might otherwise have produced in many instances, and has led to the establishment at health resorts, of Sanatoria and special hospitals for consumption, where patients are kept under constant medical supervision, and in which all hygienic arrangements are carefully carried out.

It has been proved by experience, that the diseases under consideration are to be cured, not so much by medicine, as by general management, and patients should submit themselves unreservedly to this management, if they wish to secure to the full, the beneficial effects of this system of treatment.

The following extracts are quoted from Professor Flint's Treatise on the Practice of Medicine:—

*"The point of departure for the consideration of the management of this affection (consumption) is the pathological fact that the local affection is the expression of a general or constitutional morbid condition, the latter being the essential disease. The great object of treatment, therefore, is the removal of this constitutional morbid condition. . . . Measures addressed to the pulmonary affections are of secondary importance . . .*

*"Important indications are to be fulfilled by remedies, but it should be clearly understood that far more reliance is to be placed on hygienic than on medicinal measures of treatment. Directing attention to the measures which fall under the head of hygiene, these relate to diet, exercise in the open air, clothing, mental encouragement, and change of climate."*

The necessity for constant medical supervision in order to ensure a thorough observance of hygienic rules, was forcibly brought home to my mind by the varying and apparently contradictory results of many cases which I have noted since my arrival in Napier.

Of these cases, sent here for health's sake, some having comfortable homes, have made recoveries more or less perfect, while other of a similar nature, notwithstanding having had the best medical advice and constant care on the part of their attendants, have derived no benefit, and have gone from bad to worse.

This discrepancy of result, where the same advantages of climate have been enjoyed by all alike, seems to be in great measure due to the varying amount of attention which the patients pay to the ordinary rules of health. Some individuals are possessed of more intelligence than others in these matters; but it is the difference in the domestic surroundings which chiefly influences the result in such cases.

Some invalids, having the means to do so, come to a health resort accompanied by members of their families, and taking up their abode permanently, simply transfer their home with its comforts from one locality to another; others, being fortunate enough to obtain permanent employment of a light sort, thus connect themselves with the place, and make it their home. These two classes frequently do well, as the lawyer's clerk instanced by Dr. Spencer, and others who have come under my own observation here.

Another class of patients—and the class is a large one—regarding the health resort merely as a temporary residence, never dream of making it a home, or in other words of associating with it those comforts, and the many little indescribable accessories which help to make up the idea. By these individuals the time spent at a health resort is regarded as a period of banishment; they take up their abode at hotels or boarding-houses, which, however excellent and comfortable, are not meant for the residence of invalids, nor do the proprietors of these establishments as a rule care to undertake the responsibility of such cases. These patients, looking forward to relief more or less speedy, and not thinking it worthwhile to collect around them any permanent sources of amusement or comfort, pine for those they have left behind. They perhaps have limited their stay to a definite period, and as the months pass, and they notice no improvement in their state of health, they become nervous, and in their endeavors to do more than they have hitherto done in aid of their condition, they are fighting against time; the result of this being a constant mental anxiety which inevitably retards their recovery.

It may be thought that a needless amount of stress is laid on these matters—and that a patient having been sent to a suitable climate, and placed under the care of a skilful physician, all that is really necessary has been done—and that these subordinate matters are unimportant. But results prove the importance of these little things.

As the largest bodies in their entirety and perfection are composed of numberless apparently insignificant atoms, thus a complete course of treatment includes attention to many details and little matters, which to the invalid and his friends may appear of very slight importance, yet each contributing, however imperceptibly, to the successful result. On the other hand, slight omissions and indiscretions, however trivial they may appear at the time, may make all the difference in the ultimate issue of cases in which the prospects of recovery or the reverse are at all evenly balanced. Dietetic errors, for instance, are frequent, and the ensuing slight attack of indigestion being as often as not attributed to the wrong cause, the offending article of food may be persevered in, while really useful and harmless articles are suspected and shunned; the result being dyspepsia more or less permanent, whereby the changes necessary for its assimilation being prevented, the food either does no good, or becomes an actual source of irritation. The sudden cutting off of supplies—temporary though it may be—causes an interference with the nutrition of the body generally, and consequently of the lungs, which in their delicate state, sympathize with the slightest derangement of the system. A progress hitherto uninterrupted may thus be checked, and retrograde changes initiated—and from this very point it may happen that a loss of weight will be observed.

Regularity in the time for taking meals will also probably have been enjoined by the physician, and for a time the patient will observe these directions with tolerable accuracy—so that the stomach comes as it were to

expect its supplies at these hours—and is ready for them. Some unforeseen circumstance, some arrangement of business or pleasure, may however cause a postponement of the dinner hour—and the consequence is, that the appointment with the stomach being broken, when the meal appears, the appetite for it is lost, and the digestive energy gone, and if, through a sense of duty, the food be forced down, it probably does as much harm as good.

The invalid may hesitate to consult the physician about such a trival matter as this fit of indigestion, or temporary loss of appetite, or motives of economy may prevent him from doing so—and the same feeling may lead to results equally unfortunate, by inducing the patient to deny himself many little comforts which are really necessary for him.

I may here relate a case in point, which recently occurred in my practice. A young man in good circumstances, and with fine prospects, had come to Napier suffering from delicacy of the chest—he had been feeling rather worse than usual of late, but attributed his sensations to having caught cold; and until I saw him, he had had no medical advice since his arrival some weeks before. I found that in addition to the chest affection, he was suffering from disease of the kidneys, of the existence of which disease he was utterly unaware. The affection had been advancing insidiously, and had reached such a stage that all treatment proved useless, and he rapidly sank. Now had this young man been under constant medical supervision, the kidney affection must have been detected long before, and life might have been much prolonged.

This case serves to exemplify the disastrous results which may occur when patients far from home and friends trust to their own sensations as a criterion of progress—it shows, too, not only the necessity for medical supervision, but also that this supervision should be constant, and not limited to the occasional advice of a doctor, just when the patient may consider he requires it.

Such careful medical supervision is only to be secured to its full extent in a special hospital, or well ordered Sanatorium, under the superintendence of a resident physician.

One of the greatest advantages of the Sanatorium is the fact that the medical man possesses an accurate knowledge of the doings of his patients—he institutes a certain method of treatment, and having the patient constantly under his eye, can see that his instructions are carried out to the letter, and the most minute details strictly observed—the effect of medicines, of various kinds of food, and of treatment in general, can be watched and noted to an extent quite impossible in ordinary private practice; and the change from one remedy or article of food to another can immediately be made when such change becomes necessary, so that the physician holds as it were the hand of his patient constantly within his own, and can at once perceive any backward slip, while guiding his progress towards recovery.

But the necessity for Sanatoria is evident to any thinking mind, and the large number of such institutions which are now established on the southern shores of England, and on the Continent, sufficiently attest their value, and the successful results which in many cases are found to follow the treatment conducted in them.

On the other hand, how unfortunate are the results in many cases, such as that which I have related above, where the patient—sent to a health resort without having friends to guide him—trusts to his own judgment, he is like a ship without a rudder, he probably meets with others in like case, and the blind lead the blind; he visits a medical man, and is presumably under his care—but the credulity with which he listens to stories of cure by other remedies, will as likely as not lead to a want of confidence in his physician, and a half-hearted acquiescence in the rules prescribed;—while promising obedience, he probably makes a mental reservation that he will also try this or that new remedy, or "infallible cure," which has just been so strongly recommended to him, and thus the best efforts of the medical man are often frustrated.

As a drowning man, in his ineffectual straggles, may seriously hamper his preserver, and may defeat the most strenuous efforts put forth on his behalf—thus the patient, unaware of the importance; of perfect acquiescence in the advice of his physician in matters small and great, may forget, or neglect this advice; or, alarmed at the prospect of danger, he may overreach himself in his anxiety, and feverish efforts to promote his recovery.

How often we see the consumptive patient drifting about, eagerly listening to, and vainly endeavoring to follow the various, and generally contradictory advice, which in such cases is readily and confidently given—the disease unfortunately being so wide-spread that almost everyone has seen something of it, and therefore thinks he or she knows something about it. One specific after another is recommended to the bewildered invalid, and the many half empty bottles which litter his room bear testimony to the utter inefficacy of them all. Meanwhile golden time is lost, and the invalid goes steadily down the hill. What a haven of security is the well-ordered Sanatorium for such a case as this!

I may here quote some remarks from a course of lectures delivered in March last, at the Royal College of Physicians, London, by Dr. Hermann Weber, Physician to the German Hospital. Dr. Weber is one of the highest authorities on the subject of pulmonary disease, and in these lectures draws special attention to what may be called the common-sense treatment of consumption. He lays great stress on the necessity for the intelligent co-operation of the patient with his physician, so that both may earnestly work together with a common object

in view.

Speaking of the relation which should exist between physician and patient, he says:—"Shall the physician frankly tell the patient that his disease is phthisis. It is still the opinion of many eminent medical men that we should not do so. As long as phthisis was considered an incurable disease, there may have been some reason for such concealment, but now, as we know, and can tell our patient, that phthisis is a curable disease, I think the patient ought to be informed of his condition, more or less according to the individuality; and as far as my experience goes, this has a salutary effect. The patient is more ready to co-operate with the physician, and to bear the great and long continued sacrifices, for he becomes aware of his own large share of responsibility. I have already alluded to the circumstance that intelligence on the part of the patient and his friends is a great help towards recovery in phthisis; and that want of judgment or insight into the nature of the illness, and of the manifold dangers, and into the means of cure, renders the prognosis less hopeful unless we are able to place the patient under the strictest superintendence of a judicious physician, or still better, in a health establishment under the control of a resident medical man and his assistants, or in a well arranged special hospital. Every consumptive patient ought to be under the constant guidance of his doctor."

Speaking of the importance of diet, he says:—"All those who have been successful in the treatment of phthisis have paid much attention to the question of food . . . . It ought to be varied as far as possible, and the cooking and serving of meals ought to be nice. The example of others is mostly very useful, and this is one point in favor of special establishments and health resorts for phthisis. I have seen at Davos and St. Moritz, patients in company with other patients, eat and drink with regard to quantity and quality what they would never eat in their own homes. Though it is impossible to lay down fixed rules for all cases, one rule is almost general—namely that those suffering from active consumption, ought to take the amount of food required in frequent small meals, and not in only two large meals as in French, and in three meals, as in German and Swiss hotels. This is one of the reasons why ordinary hotels are in general not adapted to the treatment of active phthisis.

Dr. Weber's remarks on exercise are most instructive, but I can only quote a few sentences here:—"Without exercise I should not like to treat phthisis—to take exercise properly, however, requires the guiding hand of the physician—there are judicious persons who can be taught . . . . to do neither too much nor too little, but such persons are rare among consumptive invalids. In many of them the nutrition of the brain has suffered as much as that of the stomach and lungs and other systems, and their judgment with regard to their own state and their wants is impaired. We ought therefore to bear in mind that the majority of those suffering from phthisis require to be held by 'leading reins' and must be told what kind of exercise to take, how much, and at what time, walking on level, climbing gently, etc."

Remarking on air and ventilation, he says:—"Fear of the inclemency of the weather is far too great amongst the public, as well as the profession. Patients affected with chronic consumption . . . . ought to spend the greater part of most days in the open air, and ought not to be deterred by a little rain, or mud, or low temperature, or by the fact that they begin to cough when they come out of the close house into the open air . . . . As however the greater part of the twenty-four hours is spent indoors, the arrangements of the house, and of the rooms, are of the utmost importance.

Speaking of the habits of invalids at the continental health resorts, Dr. Weber says:—"The majority of invalids are in the habit of acting almost independently of their medical advisers, and many perish, who, under strict guidance; might have been saved . . . . but the whole system of this looseness of tie between medical man and consumptive patient is deplorable, and the results obtained are very inferior to those which might be obtained by judiciously arranged health establishments under strict medical supervision in every point of general hygiene. This, however, is by many invalids, not yet regarded as the principal sphere of the physician's work, but more or less as everybody's business, for which no medical man is required, and which each individual must find out for himself."

In quoting from these lectures I have only selected some points which bear more directly on the necessity for medical supervision, and on the advantages of treatment in Sanatoria, but Dr. Hermann Weber's lectures are worthy of most careful perusal, not only by medical men, but by all who may be brought into contact with the class of cases under consideration; for the more that is known on the subject of the general management of consumptives, the better will it be for this large class of sufferers.

The failure of one remedy after another having disheartened both patient and physician, consumption was formerly looked upon as beyond the reach of treatment and unfortunately this is still the case in too many instances; but now "we can tell our patients that phthisis is a curable disease," and can face it more boldly having hope on our side. But it is only by rallying all our forces that the march of the disease can be arrested.

Recent researches have thrown much light on the nature of the disease, and seem to point out more clearly the directions in which our efforts may meet with success, but all experience points to the futility of the exclusive employment of any one remedy—and it is in an institution furnished with facilities for the

simultaneous employment of the many measures, medicinal and general, which are found to conduce to the one end, that the highest degree of success at present possible, is to be achieved.

In coming to Napier the invalid need not fear *ennui*. The town is the capital of the province, and is full of busy life; the best society can be enjoyed by those strong enough to take advantage of it, and the scenery is varied and charming.

From the seaward hills the view is particularly fine. The luxuriant growth of trees and shrubs, with their varying tints of green, and the bright flowers blooming in semi-tropical profusion in the well-kept gardens, form a singularly beautiful foreground, contrasting in richness of coloring with the delicate tints of the distant hills which bound the bay, and the soft deep blue of the Pacific which rolls its waves on the beach below.

Extending to the southward in a gentle curve, is a level beach of sand and shingle, on which the children may be seen playing all the year round; the town has extended much in this direction, and a long line of houses follows the curve of the shore—the sunlight on walls and roofs contrasting with the deep shade beneath their verandahs. The broad blue bay, fringed by a line of white foam extending unbroken for miles along the curving shore, reminds the beholder of the bay of Naples, and the brilliancy and abundance of the sunshine renders the resemblance still more complete.

Arrangements are now in progress for the establishment of a Sanitarium on modern principles in Napier. The site is not yet definitely fixed, but it is the intention of the promoters to build on one of the hills, so as to have the advantage of an uninterrupted view of the bay, and the benefit of the sea breeze.

Pending the erection of the building, it seems a pity that any time should be lost—time so invaluable in many cases. A large and commodious house in an elevated position, has therefore been taken. The proprietor has spared no expense in rendering the hygienic arrangements complete—and a limited number of patients can now be temporarily received under medical care.

In thus endeavoring to secure the advantages of sustained medical treatment, and the curative influence of the climate, while obviating the drawbacks which so often mar the beneficial results of the latter, we can look back on the records of successful treatment in health establishments, and on lives preserved by their means, and may confidently look forward to equally successful results.

It may perhaps be thought that such matters as the foregoing should be relegated to the province of the physician, and that it can serve no useful purpose thus to call general attention to them; but when we look around and on all sides see the baneful effects of this disease—so many useful lives cut short, so much rising talent doomed to early extinction, and our fairest flowers so often blighted just as they are opening into bloom—surely the consideration of consumption should be looked upon not merely as a question of medical interest, but so far as regards its general management and prevention as of vital importance to the community at large, and universal support should be accorded to those institutions in which all the resources of medical science can be collected together and concentrated to combat the disease.

Medical men, having devoted their lives to such subjects, will always be the guides of the public in matters relating to health; but they will ever welcome intelligent co-operation in their efforts for the prevention and cure of disease.

Many invalids are fully alive to the drawbacks which in their case attend the usual temporary residence at health resorts they desire to spare no expense in order to secure suitable accommodation and the advantages of constant medical care, and they enter the pay ward of the hospital. But the general hospital for many reasons is not well adapted to the treatment of phthisis, and there are many who shrink from the idea of a hospital, and from propinquity to disease in so many forms. To these individuals the comforts and privacy of the Sanatorium are an inestimable boon.

The great benefit of health establishments being so generally recognized, and so many of these institutions having proved their value in inferior climates,—surely it is time that with a climate so pre-eminently suitable, Napier should possess a Sanatorium—and that invalids should no longer be debarred from the restorative influence of the climate by want of suitable accommodation.

Let the inducements offered by nature be enhanced by the advantages of an establishment as perfect in hygienic arrangements as modern science can make it; in which the invalid can confidently place himself under medical care, and yet enjoy the comforts of home with amusement and relaxation of mind, and we may anticipate finding Napier in the near future the favorite health resort of the colonies.

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**Our Railway and How to Make it.**

A Pamphlet, Respectfully Dedicated to the Bay of Plenty Settlers and the New Zealand Government,  
*James Galbraith, M.A., L.L.B., Barrister.*

*Price One Shilling.*

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# Our Railway, and How to Make it.

"Awake! arise! or be forever fallen.!"

ALTHOUGH the above language was put by Milton into the mouth of Satan, in the latter's address to the angels who "had lost their first estate," and had fallen, in hopeless ruin, into the bottomless pit, we do not thereby insinuate, either that our readers are fallen angels, or that there is anything of an absolutely hopeless nature in the prospect of the ultimate formation of our railway, or that there is anything diabolical in the advice which we purpose submitting in these pages. These words are used merely to imply that the Bay of Plenty settlers should be up and doing, and no longer, like Mr. Micawber, remain "waiting till something turns up." In other words let them be the engineers of their own fortune, by making their railway themselves. This, after a few preliminary remarks, we propose to show how they may accomplish.

We, that is, the settlers aforesaid, have been kept 011 the tenterhooks of railway expectation for a number of years. We have boon repeatedly assured on *good* authority *that the capital (or our Railway was all subscribed by London syndicates*. Years ago railway matters were said to be so far advanced that *the rolling stock was being prepared, and first and second class railway carriages on the point of being shipped hither*. Then, when the London gentlemen still delayed making any sign, we were told that it win because *they were out of town*, or because *the money market was tight*. These were certainly very curious coincidences—when the money market was slack the London gentlemen, went out of town: when these gentlemen returned to town the money market was tight. Still nothing came of it; and still we continued doing really hard work by trying to account for the delay, and "maintain our souls in patience."

Ultimately, that is to say, more than a year ago, there arrived in our midst a gentleman, ostensibly accredited, as their contractor, by *a new London syndicate*, who were said to have taken in hand the *certain* floating of our railway. We seemed then to see the silver lining through a rift in the cloud of depression, with which we had been so long enveloped. Some of us even thought the railway as good as made. The Contractor has now been with us for more than a year. Every requisite concession demanded by the London gentlemen from our local Railway Company, and Colonial Government, has been granted; including a most valuable land concession, extension of time for proving, by a substantial money deposit, that they are a *bona fide* syndicate,; including, further, agreement by the local Company to transfer their whole right, title and interest to the London gentlemen,; and, last of all, including the deliberate suicide of the local Company by their going into voluntary liquidation. And; after making such tremendous concessions to people about whose monetary position we know absolutely nothing: in a word, after selling our birthright of 225,000 acres of land, worth, probably, £3 per acre, we get after long, and weary waiting, our mess of pottage in the shape of— *advice*—we are advised, *to maintain our souls in patience for another hitch has occurred*.

We may state that, previous to this last *hitch*, when the local Railway Company were discussing the expediency of committing suicide by passing special resolution for liquidation, one of the local shareholders insisted that it be a condition, precedent to liquidation, that the London gentlemen refund all local outlay. Although the close occurrence of two things in point of time is not necessarily to be taken as proof of cause and effect, yet this raises a strong causal presumption. Therefore, we may say that, this *hitch*, occurring so soon after the stipulation for payment of local outlay, entitles us to assume that, probably, the hitch is the consequence of that demand. We are therefore, in all likelihood, greatly indebted to the local shareholder who brought the matter to an issue by compelling the London gentlemen to admit that they are not prepared to pay the two or three thousand pounds of local expenditure. We may say further that, probably, but for this stroke of sound policy, we would have been continually advised to "maintain our souls in patience" until the arrival of the last day for depositing the required *bonae fidei* guarantee of £25,000, when, doubtless, another, and final, *hitch* would have occurred, and the money would not have been deposited.

It has been said that the London promoters will take their own time, and will not trouble themselves about the interests, convenience, or wishes of the people here, (from whom they got such a valuable land concession). They certainly have done so, and, probably, but for the demand for payment of local outlay, would have continued to do so. It has also been said that persons who have invested money, and arranged for settlement here, on the faith of the formation of this Railway, did so with their eyes open, and have only themselves to blame if they have made a mistake. These are views of the matter which we entirely, repudiate. A large district is not to be kept in a state of chronic, unrest and uncertainty; the value of property here is not to be kept year after year in an abnormal condition: a large tract of land in the district is not to be kept locked up: settlers are not to be kept, year after year, cropping and stocking, to supply the wants of a promised influx of population; the district is not to run the risk of "falling between two stools" when the railway estimates come on in Parliament; and the public generally are not to be induced to cast their lot, invest their capital, and waste their

time in this district, in order that a few London gentlemen, who, for aught we know, are not capitalists, may have a chance of dividing some £225,000, the proceeds of the sale of our railway land concession.

Under the circumstances, therefore, it behoves *all the settlers* in the Bay of Plenty district to seriously consider the position of this railway affair: to determine to adopt an active railway policy of their own for the future; and, if a scheme be submitted, by which our district may obtain *immediate* railway facilities, to unite, *unanimously and heartily*, in bringing that scheme to a successful issue. We, of course, assume, what we think every Bay of Plenty Settler will admit, that *the speedy formation of our Railway is, of all things, the most essential to the prosperity of our district*. We propose, in the following pages, to submit to our readers such a

## **Scheme for the Speedy Construction of Our Railway, and for the Obtaining by the District Settlers of All the Accruing Profits.**

It is a trite maxim that "money makes money." To this must be added this other maxim that "credit, or security, represents money." And to this last maxim may be added this corollary that "*faithful and hearty cooperation creates credit*."

The Bay of Plenty settlers wish to get a railway constructed in their district in order to give them a market for their products by the consequent influx of population and capital, and by giving the district an outlet to cosmopolitan markets. The making of this railway, is estimated to cost about £250,000. The district settlers certainly have not got that amount of money available for railway purposes. But yet, the settlers, as we propose to show, do themselves possess the means of obtaining that sum, much more easily than the London gentlemen can, and with all the profit and advantage to the district settlers themselves.

The method of accomplishing this is briefly:—(1.) *The pledging by the district settlers of all adequate credit which they possess*; (2.) *The hearty, faithful and unanimous cooperation of the district settlers, in carrying out any scheme which may be proved to be feasible*; and (3.) *The obtaining from Parliament inter alia, tame additional assistance, of the nature of a Government Guarantee, for which concession there are well known precedents*.

I. *The Credit which the Bay of Plenty settlers can pledge for money advanced or work done, in the construction of the Tauranga Railway.*

(1.) *Land Concussion of £75,000 to be paid in land at 6/8 per acre*—In other words, the Bay of Plenty settlers can pledge, as security for the construction of their railway, 225,000 acres of land near the proposed line, which land may be at present considered as worth, at least, £1 per acre, and which, after the construction of the railway, would be worth, at the lowest estimate, £3 per acre. Therefore the security offered amounts to £675,000 worth of land.

(2) *The security of the Railway itself*.—This security would come into existence when the railway construction commenced, and would continue increasing as the works progressed. As it is impossible to say whether the railway will pay, (although railways elsewhere, with fewer advantages have paid), it is difficult to put a value on the railway after construction. If, however, the construction should cost £250,000, and Government should, as in other similar cases, elect to purchase, they would do so on terms, similar to those which they have granted elsewhere in similar cases. We may, therefore, safely state the value of the railway, for security purposes after construction, as, at least, £200,000.

(3.) Its guarantee granted by Government under "The Railways Construction and Land Act 1881," as to which see appendix 2.

(4.) *The security of the County and Borough rates*.—We shall proceed to show that the County and Borough rates represent security for at least £125,000:— which amount would secure, and pay interest at 4½ per cent, on a loan of £100,000. As to special rates by county for loans see appendix 5.

Even should Government refuse to pledge themselves to the supplementary yearly allowance, assumed above, or to any allowance, the county ratepayers could, by a special assessment of from 2½d to 3d per £1 provide a yearly amount sufficient to pay interest on a loan of £75,000. We assume that Government would give their guarantee as they have done in somewhat analogous cases to which we shall refer further on.

It requires no figures to prove that the Borough can offer security for a loan of, at least, £25,000, for there has already been gazetted at their instance, a loan of that amount, which has not yet been operated upon. This amount, therefore, with Parliamentary sanction, is also available for railway purposes.

In other words, this district can offer *pre-railway-construction* security to the extent of about one third of a million sterling, made up as follows:—



And the *post*-railway-construction security of the district is:—

There should be no difficulty, therefore, in obtaining a loan to the extent required. In any event the local authorities could easily raise £50,000, which would give the undertaking a start and enable the promoters to finance by means of the 225,000 acres of railway land. Interest on this might be taken in *Scrip*; and, if so, the ratepayers would not be called on for special rates. But, if they were, they would receive equivalent value in *Railway Scrip*, as Ave shall explain more fully below. This would deprive of all cause for complaint, any district which might consider that it would not receive sufficient immediate benefit from the construction of the railway.

## II. Government Guarantee.

The above security would, we consider, be alone ample for raising a loan of £125,000; but, "to make assurance doubly sure," and, in order to obtain the loan at the lowest rate of interest, Parliament should be asked to sanction a Government Guarantee of the moneys borrowed by the Local Authorities. For such Government guarantee there are the following well-known precedents:—

(1.) By section 9 of "*The Westport Harbour Board Act, 1884*," it is provided:—"Prior to the issue of a loan the Governor in Council, if satisfied at anytime that the revenues accruing to the Board under this Act are sufficient to meet the interest on any loan proposed to be raised under the authority of this Act, and to provide a sinking fund for repayment thereof, may declare such loan and interest to be guaranteed under this Act; and from the date of the Order in Council declaring the guarantee, the interest on such loan shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund.

But no greater sum than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in the whole shall be guaranteed under this Act except such extended guarantee be sanctioned by a resolution passed in that behalf by each House of the General Assembly."

(2.) By section 9 of "*The Greymouth Harbour Act, 1884*," there is, *mutatis mutandis*, a precisely similar enactment.

## III. Railway Scrip.—

We have occasionally referred to *Railway Scrip*, and we shall now endeavour to explain to our readers what we mean by that expression *Railway Scrip*. Railway scrip would consist of *coupons*, each representing an equivalent value in railway and land, and entitling the holder, at stated times, to select railway land by ballot, and to pay for the same with such railway scrip. This scrip would be used in paying for the construction of the railway. To induce contractors and workmen to agree to take *scrip* instead of cash it might be arranged that they should receive a *premium equivalent in scrip*. As however, workmen could not live on scrip, it would be necessary to pay them *part cash and part scrip*. Suppose, for example, forty shillings' worth of work done; for this the contractor or workman would receive 20/- in cash, and 21/- in *railway scrip*.

*Scrip* would bear interest at 5 per cent, from the date of issue till redemption. The *part cash*, referred to, would be obtained from the Loan to be operated by the Local Authorities, as above explained, for which accommodation the Local Authorities, and ratepayers for rates, would receive *railway scrip*. This *railway scrip* would, probably, be eagerly accepted by the debenture-holders in satisfaction of the loan to the Local Authorities. Thus, the ratepayers might not be required to pay a single penny.

*Consolidated, Railway Stock Certificate*.—There is another benefit to the possessor of *railway scrip*: a scrip certificate, besides being a *Land-Order*, would also imply that the holder is entitled to receive, in exchange, a *Consolidated Railway Stock Certificate*, whereby he becomes a proprietor of the Railway, to the extent of the scrip lately held by him.

*Railway Scrip would be negotiable, and would circulate like Bank Notes*. The issue of *railway scrip* would, in fact, introduce into this district a much needed *circulating medium*, and, in consequence, revival of trade.

*Railway Land Orders*.—As railway scrip will represent an equivalent in railway land along the proposed line, and also consolidated railway stock, the consequence would be that the Railway Company's accredited British agents could readily induce settlers to purchase railway scrip in order to flock to this district; for the scrip certificates would be, not only, *Land Orders for land of good quality, at a moderate price, close to the railway, and with first class access to all markets; they would also be warrants for obtaining consolidated stock certificates, making the holders fully paid up shareholders of a railway through their land, and, probably, entitling them to a very handsome bonus, in the very probable event of the railway being acquired by Government*. In other words, intending settlers could thus, by paying a moderate price, become owners of good land, along a railway, and get in addition, and as a present, the railway itself running through their land.

*Disposal of Railway Land*.—The Railway Land would be laid off in suitable and *alternate Blocks and Townships*, so mapped out as to afford the most efficient communication of all the allotments with railway stations and highways. These blocks and railway townships would, in detail, be open to scrip-holders for selection. Choice lots might be exposed to sale by auction. For all railway land so acquired the Railway Company would be bound to take payment in scrip, if offered. In plotting out the blocks and townships, care

should be taken that sufficient land is reserved for roads, schools, railway and public works and buildings, and for educational, recreational and other necessary purposes.

*The Railway Board of Management.*—It would be necessary, in the Joint Act, to make provision for a Board of Managers, which would be a guarantee to the railway creditors that their interests would be protected. The best method of accomplishing this would be, we think, for the creditors themselves to be their own protectors, by themselves appointing the Board. As all scrip-holders will be creditors, and as it is proposed that all interested in the railway should, in the first instance at least, be scrip-holders, the board would, if appointed by the scrip-holders, be sufficiently representative. Consolidated stock holders would, of course, be tantamount to, and ultimately replace, scrip-holders. It might be provided, that the scrip-holders, including the stock-holders, and the Local Authorities, should be entitled to appoint to the Railway Board one Director for every £20,000 of scrip, or consolidated stock, held by them; and that, in any event, the County Council are to be entitled to appoint three Railway Directors, the Borough Council two, the other scrip and consolidated stock holders two; and Government, in consideration of their guarantee of Local Authorities' debentures, might be empowered to appoint one Director.

*Reconciliation of Conflicting Interests.*—

(1.) *The Borough.*—The County would, for its loan or accommodation of £100,000 to the Railway, receive a sufficient consideration in having the land of the County opened up, and by getting equivalent value in railway scrip. The same, however, cannot be said in respect of the Borough's loan of £25,000. So far as has appeared, the only consideration which the Borough would get for that accommodation would be an equivalent in railway scrip. The Borough would, therefore, require some additional consideration. This *additional consideration* might take the form of a proviso in the Joint Act to the effect that the Railway Company is to obtain all the reclamations around Tauranga Harbour, and that the Borough Council should have the preemptory right, within a limited time, of exchanging any railway scrip, which they may hold, for reclamation of equivalent value, not essential for the railway, as settled by arbitration, or as otherwise reasonably provided by the Joint Act.

(2.) *The Victoria Wharf Question.*—The Railway Company should purchase this, if the proprietors are willing to sell, for a price to be fixed by arbitration, and provided that the proprietors take payment in railway scrip. The wharf to be, of course, handed over to the Borough Council, in manner described in the preceding paragraph.

(3.) *The Katikati Ratepayers.*—As Katikati would not obtain, by the construction of the Railway, immediate benefit to the same extent as the rest of the County, it might be provided that, for any rates obtained from Katikati for railway purposes, the ratepayers are to receive *Premium Railway Scrip*:—e. g. for twenty shillings of rates, so paid by them, let them receive say twenty one shillings' worth of railway scrip. We do not believe that the Katikati ratepayers would refuse to cooperate on such very reasonable terms; but, if they did, that difficulty might be obviated by the *creation of a New County*, whose rates were to be devoted to railway construction purposes. In this connection we may state that, in our view, the spending of the rates in the making of district railways is as legitimate an application of them as the spending of them in the making of roads, bridges and other public works.

(4.) *The Interests of the Local Railway Shareholders.*—These interests might also be protected by a proviso in the Joint Act to the effect that all persons who had paid money, or done work on account of the railway, should be reimbursed with *railway scrip*.

(5.) *Saving the Rights and Interests of the London Syndicate.*—The Joint Act would also contain a saving clause, providing that, in the event of the London Syndicate impounding the £25,000 within the time limited, and otherwise, carrying out their obligations, the Joint Act be null and void.

*Preliminary Railway Expenses.*—The Joint Act would provide that any person doing work for the undertaking, previous to the obtaining of statutory powers, would be required to take [*unclear*: payment] way scrip. Such preliminary expenses might include cost [*unclear*: of] preparation of Plans, Sections, and Book of Reference, Law [*unclear*: e] connected with the framing of the Joint Bill, Printing, etc. So [*unclear*: we] ourselves are concerned we may say that we are prepared to take payment in scrip for any preliminary railway work which we may be employed to do. As, however, some cash for preliminary outlay would be required, we would suggest that, in order to meet this difficulty, *the Bay of Plenty Settlers should form themselves into an Association, to be called "The Bay of Plenty Railway Association"*, and that each member of this Association should contribute a small sum, in proportion to the amount of land, or other interest, held by him in this District:—say one penny for every acre of land, or for every ten pounds sterling of other interest. Such contributions would, of course, be subsequently repaid in railway scrip.

*Subsequent Expenditure.*—With regard to the expenditure to be incurred, after the passing of the Joint Act, in the actual construction of the railway; the Joint Act, (which would authorise the issue of railway scrip, representing a proportionate share of railway land and railway line, as already explained), would authorize the

Railway Company to pay in railway scrip, or, if necessary, in *premium* railway scrip, all its creditors who should agree to do work for, or lend money to, the undertaking, in consideration of receiving payment in such railway scrip.

*Specifications for Railway-construction Contracts to stipulate that Contractors take payment wholly or partly in Railway Scrip.*—After the obtaining of the Joint Act, and when matters were so far advanced as to require the letting of contracts for the construction of the railway line, the specifications for contracts might contain a condition that the contractors are to take one half, or as much more as they choose, of the contract prices, in railway scrip. The loan, guaranteed by the Local Authorities and Government, would provide the requisite ready cash. The Local Authorities might pay over that money to the Railway Company on the *Joint Certificate* of their own and the Company's engineers. For every cheque so paid by them they would receive an equivalent in railway scrip. The debenture holders, the creditors of the Local Authorities, might, in their turn, be willing to take, railway scrip in satisfaction of their claims. Thus these loans might be at once redeemed, and the question of the ratepayers liability might not be of long duration.

*Why not pay for the whole Railway construction in Railway Scrip, and thus obviate the necessity for the Loans by the Local Authorities?*—It is possible that our Railway Scrip may be at such a premium that our Railway Company may not require to borrow at all. This, however, is a mere *possibility*, and cannot be reckoned on, for the reason already referred to, that *the workmen would require cash sufficient for their food, clothing and lodging.*

*Allocation of Railway Land.*—The mode of allocating railway land might be as follows;—

The Amount of Railway Scrip may be assumed to be as follows:—

Which is adequate to the purchase of 165,000 acres of land at £1.12/10 per acre.

Worn all the railway land allotments of equal value, taking into account quality of soil, proximity to railway and roads, &c., the allocation would be simplicity itself. But, manifestly, the differentiating conditions, in these respects would require to be considered, and, as far as possible, given effect to. It may be assumed that, at least, *four different valuations for Railway Land* would require to be stated as follows:—

The above figures are merely indicative of the proportions and classification, and might be differently stated. In any case, however, the classification and apportionment of the railway land would have to be so effected as to cover the amount of railway scrip, and leave over as small a balance as possible.

*Any Balance left over.*—This would, of course, form part of the Railway Company's property in railway, plant, Ac., of which the scrip-holders would be also entitled to their proportionate share.

*Railway Station Townships.*—The railway land to be set apart for Railway Townships might consist of about 10,000 acres, of which the allotments should be disposed of by public auction, and for which payment would be received in railway scrip, as far as, and to the extent of, the nominal value of the railway scrip held by the successful bidders.

*Mapping out of the Railway Land.*—The railway land sections should be carefully mapped out in suitable sizes for farms &c, having due regard to roads and natural boundaries, and so as to minimise fencing, and admitting of both small and large farms, but of not less than fifty, nor more than six hundred acres or thereabout.

*Reservations.*—The Reservations, as above referred to, should be taken throughout the whole of the railway land on the *alternate block principle*, so that a fair division for all interested may be secured.

*The Scrip-Holders Property.*—All the railway property would thus belong to the scrip-holders. This property would be in two portions viz.:—(1.) *Land Allotments*, and (2) *The Railway itself, and its Equipments*, being the whole of the railway property, *minus* the land allocated as above illustrated.

*Priority of Selection.*—The priority of selection might be according to priority of application for selection, and of making the required deposit, and by ballot. If scrip-holders did not exercise their right within six months after the railway land had been duly advertised as open for selection, the Company should have the right of redeeming the scrip at its nominal value.

*Cooperation.*—In order to provide a small sum for preliminary outlay, and to bring pressure to bear on Government and Local Authorities by petitions or otherwise, and otherwise promote the scheme, *all the Bay of Plenty settlers should unite informing themselves [unclear: t] "Bay of Plenty Railway Association"* and subscribe towards the Association's funds in proportion to the amount of their land, or other interest, in the district—say 1d per acre of land, or per £10 of other interest. Each member should pay one shilling of entry-money. They should also undertake to petition in favour of the Joint Bill, if approved of by them.. And, finally, they should undertake that, in the event of taking contracts from the Railway Company, (*and as many as possible should agree to do so*), they shall take payment in railway scrip to the extent of, at least, one half. The Association would also require to form a Committee for taking the necessary legislative and other steps *at once*.

With the view of the *immediate* formation of "*The Bay of Plenty Railway Association*," we append a *coupon*, which should be *at once filled up, signed, and transmitted to the under signed.*

We do not absolutely guarantee the accuracy of the above figures as to the amount of the land concession and its value, as we have not had access to official documents; but, from information of a reliable kind received by us, we believe that we have not made an overstatement.

In the event of twenty or more ratepayers subscribing the appended *coupon*, a meeting of the Association will be immediately convened, at which an Acting Committee may be appointed, and other necessary arrangements made. In any other event all payments, less cost, of remittance, will be returned.

*James Galbraith;*

*Hamilton Street.*

*Tauranga.*

May 21st., 1886

## Appendix,

### 1. MR GRACE ON THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

IN order to show the urgent necessity for the Bay of Plenty settlers taking immediate action in the direction indicated by our pamphlet, by *at once* signing and returning to us the annexed application for membership in "the Bay of Plenty Railway Association" we append extracts from our [*unclear: hatim*] report of the proceedings at Air Grace's meeting in Tauranga on 7th mat:—

Talking of the "Interests of this District" Mr Grace said:—

*"The most important matter is our Railway. I hope every success to the company with the matter now in hand. I hope they will be successful. But if they are not quick in settling the matter in London I fear it the Tauranga people don't look out they will fall between two stools. Government are, this session, bringing down certain borrowing proposals for connecting and extending all the railways throughout the Colony. These will come down early in the session. I wish those with the railway in hand to keep me well informed as to their syndicate, and I will endeavour, when these proposals come down to have our railway scheduled provisionally. If the Company cannot float the undertaking in London, then it will be taken in hand by the Government. I would also endeavour to have an extension to Opotiki from Gisborne, and from Tauranga to the Thames. If Government, in bringing down these proposals, are not willing to extend to this District a fair share, I shall not support them."*

In support of our contention that Government should help those who help themselves, we append the following extract from the same report:—

Mr. Robert Home put the following question to Mr. Grace:—"As the Borough has not received, in the opinion of the Native Minister, unci others concerned, a fair share of the endowments to which it is entitled under "The Municipal Corporations Act," will you try to ace that, if we cannot get land inside of the Borough, we shall got it outside? Let us get our rights. We woo't get them till we bring pressure to bear. We have not got half justice, or one third justice"

In answer Mr Grace said:—"It will always give me pleasure to do my best. The only lauds available are Native Reserves. I shall again bring the matter before the Minister of Lands, and see whether they can't change these Native Reserves, that is, give the Natives land outside of the town, so as to relieve these lands, and enable them to be given over to the Borough. I think it might be arranged. *Mr. Ballance is willing to meet the requirements of the District, that is, to meet us half way"*

### 2. Government Guarantee.

That the contention that Government should guarantee a loan for railway purposes is strictly in accordance with New Zealand statute law appears from section eighty eight of "The Railways Construction and Land Act, 1881," which is as follows:—

"(3.) *Special Rate.*—88. Every company entitled to adopt the provisions of this Part of this Act *shall be guaranteed the whole or, (as the ease may require), any deficiency of interest* on the cost of the railway, at a rate not exceeding five per centum per annum, and such interest shall be raised by means of a rate in manner hereafter provided Such guaranteed interest shall be payable as follows—(1) On the whole cost of the railway from the date on which the whole line shall be open for traffic (2) On the cost of any complete part or section of a railway from the date on which such part or section is opened for traffic, but in the proportion which the cost of such complete part or section bears to the cost of the whole railway (3) No guarantee shall exceed the interest

on any expenditure on construction exceeding five thousand pounds a mile (4) Such guarantee shall only attach when and so long as the railway is open for traffic (5) The guarantee created by this Act shall only subsist for a period of fifteen years from the date when the same first becomes payable".

### **3. GENERAL RATES.**

WITH reference to the power of the County Council to levy general rates to the extent of 1½d in the pound, we append the following proviso in "The Counties Act 1876 Amendment Act 1882"

*"Power of Council to levy general rates. 43. The Council of every county may, from time to time, as it thinks fit, make and levy general rates on all rateable property within its county for carrying into effect the general purposes of the said Act; but the total amount of such rates made for any one year shall not exceed three farthings in the pound on the rateable value, in counties in which there are either road districts or town districts, or six farthings in the pound if there are no road districts or town districts in the county."*

### **4. Government Subvention to Local Authorities.**

SECTION Five of "The Financial Arrangements Act 1876 Amendment Act 1877, to which we have above referred, is as follows:—

"5. In lieu of the subsidies payable to the County and Borough Councils, and to Road Boards and River Boards, under the said Act, there shall be issued and paid out of the Consolidated Fund during each financial year in respect of all sums received by way of general rates during the year ending on the thirty-first day of March previous thereto, the sums following:—(1.) *To each County Council a sum equal to one pound for every pound of general rates so received by such Council, or equal to one pound for every pound on the total of the sums so received by all the Road Boards or parts of Road Boards within the County, whichever of such two sums is the greater: Provided that in any County where no Road Boards exist there shall be paid to the Council of each such County two pounds for every one pound of general rates received by such Council.* (2.) *To each Road Board and River Board a sum equal to one pound for every pound of general rates so received by each such Board:* (3.) *To each Borough Council a sum equal to one pound for every pound of general rates so received by each Council:* But for the purposes of this section to sum shall be deemed to be received by any such Council or Board in excess of the sum receivable on a rate of one shilling in the pound of the annual value of rateable property."

### **5. Special County Rates.**

WITH reference to the levying of special rates in the County, section twenty one of "The Counties Acts Amendment Act 1885" provides as follows:—

*"Special rates may be levied as provided in section one hundred and twelve of the said Act ("The Counties Act 1876") within any portion of a County, with the consent of the ratepayers therein, for the purpose of providing interest and sinking fund upon a loan authorized to be raised for the exclusive benefit of such portion, or for works constructed in such riding.*

*All such special rates shall be applicable to the loan or works for which they were authorized to be raised, and for no other purpose whatsoever."*

Section one hundred and twelve of "The Counties Act 1876" provides:—

*"For the purpose of providing the interest and sinking fund upon any loan raised by the County, the Council may, if it think fit, by special order, make and levy special rates. Every special rate shall be an annually recurring rate, and shall be payable at such interval as such special order directs, and shall be levied year by year, without further proceeding by the Council, until the loan, in respect of which such special rate was made, is paid off."*

### **6. Policy of Government.**

As showing that the policy of the present Government is to encourage local authorities in carrying out undertakings similar to our railway, we quote from the Governor's speech, delivered on the 14th. inst., the following remarks:—

"Whilst giving attention to the undertakings which it is desirable the Colony should carry out, it is not to be forgotten that the works constructed by local bodies are of essential importance towards promoting and extending the settlement of the lands. A measure will be placed before you dealing with the finance of local bodies, and enlarging their powers of directly managing their own affairs. My ministers view with satisfaction the disposition which is being shown to develop local resources in the Colony, including those of the mines, the forests, and the fisheries. It is of infinite importance to recognise and take advantage of the natural wealth of New Zealand, and to encourage the prosecution of industries of a varied character. My advisers place great faith

in operation of a policy which embraces the points of prosecuting local industries, and thus affording abundant occupation to the population, promoting settlement by liberal land laws, constructing railways with a view to opening the country, aiding the progress of settlement, and speedily securing satisfactory economical results, placing local bodies in a position to open roads, and do other useful works, giving to the mining population liberal facilities, and the establishing of friendly relations with the Maoris."

## 7. Saving Rights of Ratepayers after Construction of Railway.

THE ratepayers would have, On the shares in the undertaking of the County and Borough respectively, (after providing for the repayment of the loans to the undertaking on the security of the County and Borough rates), a prior claim in respect of special County or Borough rates applied for the purposes of the under a king, and which were not liquidated by scrip or otherwise.

N.B. No time should be lost in forming "The, Bay of Plenty Railway Association"

## Form of Application for Membership in the Bay of Plenty Railway Association.

To James Galbraith, Esq., Interim Secretary.  
Sir,

*I herewith remit you one shilling as Entry-Money, and the sum of £  
..... towards Preliminary Expenses, and request  
you to enter my name as a Member of the Bay of Plenty Railway Association; and I agree to sign a Petition or  
Petitions to Parliament in favour of a Bill or Bills, embodying the views expressed in foregoing Pamphlet: and I  
further agree to take payment, for any work done by me in the construction of any railway; in the Saurang a  
Electoral District, in terms of said Pamphlet, in, at least, one half Railway Scrip.*

Name.

Address.

Date.

Printed by James Galbraith, Hamilton Street, Tauranga.

State Banks.

By J. Sandlant.

*Published under the auspices of the Gisborne Working Men's Political Association.*

vignette of horseshoe hanging upside down Gisborne: Printed and Published by JOHN BALDWIN, at the Office of the *Poverty Bay Independent*. JULY, 1886.

## State Banks.

T The following paper, treating upon a subject which has such a vital bearing upon the great scheme of social and political economy which is at the present time engaging the attention of all intelligent men throughout the world, was read at a meeting of the Gisborne Working Men's Political Association, and deemed by them worthy of publication.

In laying the paper before the public it is scarcely necessary to state that it is not for one moment to be criticised as an exhaustive treatise upon such a wide and extensive subject, but if it should contain sufficient matter to induce the reader to look into the subject, or to assist the thoughtful man in arriving at a defined and definite opinion on this all important subject, the writer's end and aims will be attained, as he has little doubt but that, under those circumstances his humble labors will indeed bear "golden fruit," and he will have done something towards ameliorating the condition of a class of his fellow beings who now labor under so many disadvantages born of those huge monopolies and privileges which are now solely enjoyed by one favored class, and of which the hydra-headed Banking institutions of the present day is one of the most prolific factors.

John Sandlant.

Gisborne,

June, 1886.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is but fair to state that I am largely indebted to various sources for the statistical information contained in this paper. No object would be served by any further apology.

The attention of the world at the present time is largely engaged by an overwhelming depression which pervades amongst the industrial classes to an alarming extent. To search out its cause and cure has engaged the diligent attention of thoughtful minds, and I many, in the logical sequence which a question of this nature presents, have wandered in the bye ways of doubt and perplexity without having in any way advanced one single idea that had in itself any relative value as the exponent of any measure calculated to relieve the industrial classes from the effects of these oft recurring depressions.

A large portion of the fair face of nature spread: out in all the plenitude of its powers of production, which should under the fostering care of strong hands and willing hearts is now waste and unused, through the dog in the manger spirit evinced by those whose duty it is to frame just and wise laws, whose force shall act with an equal impartiality upon all that may be within the radius of their operation.

It has been truly said that money is the root of all evil. Mature reflection pursued on the lines of cause and effect shows that the contingent cause of the many evils that affect society are directly attributable to it. Not that money in itself can be said to be an evil, such an assertion would be simply absurd. The evils are in the laws of distribution by which it is governed. To search out and enquire into these laws shall be my endeavor, and since statistics must furnish the facts with which I propose to deal, it shall be my study to furnish those that, to my mind, will not only show the cause of these depressions and their contingent evils, but will, in the sequence that follows, declare a remedy.

To suppose for a moment that any remedy, however, complete, would be hailed with joy, or much less if at all received in the present abnormal conditions of society would be a useless waste of time, (for why) because selfishness, that much developed characteristic of humanity, is a vital power that moves the ambitions to strive and rise in the social scale, and is likewise an all prevailing element in human nature, whose proclivities swamp all its nobler faculties, a devilish trait that has no pity for aught that will not pander to its requirements, divested of which would then hold out a reasonable hope of the immediate adoption of a course that would relieve society from the effects of these depressions, fairly attributed to the greed of foxy financial operations, encouraged by the unwise legislation of those who are entrusted with the Government of the people, and apparently controlled by a monied ring, whose riches have been unlawfully acquired by a series of manipulations that cannot be classed in any higher scale than legalised theft.

The signs of the times declare that the whole matter is fully understood by the more enlightened of the industrial classes, and that also a spirit of inquiry is pervading the minds of those whose intelligence is not so far advanced, but who are alive to the fact that a radical wrong has been, and is being inflicted, and with a set determination to see that wrong set right.

If ought were wanting to convince those who have to bear the burden of taxation without any of the ameliorating conditions which the monied classes enjoy, an example is furnished in the amount of gold and silver possessed by the various States, and which may be said to represent the accumulations of the ages. The two metals in gold and silver comprise in all three thousand three hundred millions. Now the world cannot do business on that amount. The gold and the silver does not furnish a sufficient means of exchange, and so advantage is taken of this fact to rob society. It requires ten times the amount of gold and silver that is in existence, or thirty-three thousand millions. to conduct its commercial transactions, so that twenty-nine thousand millions of paper money are required for distribution, which are principally made up of bonds, debentures, exchange bills, and bank notes. All this technically speaking may sound very bewildering to the uninitiated, but is not, when viewed in the light of common sense. Bills of exchange are mainly used by merchants in the interchange of commodities, and also in other ways. Bonds and debentures, unlike bank notes, are not convertible into gold by the ordinary method of procedure, but may be sold by the owner with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto, and are thus rendered both convertible and transferable. This method is much prized, and that for reasons that explains itself as being more convenient than gold, in being less bulky and risky in transfer, are thus used as a medium of exchange in an easy and convenient form, and are often sold at from £1 to £5 above par for gold.

This method is not so new, neither is banking so modern as some may suppose. Ancient Greece had her bankers, or money changers; they were called *trapezitæ*. from *trapeze*, or table. A similar name, *mensarii*, from *mensa* a table, was applied to a money dealing class at Rome, these being appointed by the State, whilst private bankers were known by the name of *argentari*, from *argentum* silver money. Modern banking took its rise in Italy in the 12th century, in whose cities the whole trade of Europe was then centred. The first public bank of which we have any record was that of Venice. It was established as early as the year 1171, during the Crusades, for the purpose of giving assistance to those expeditions. On that occasion the Government forced its wealthy citizens to deposit their gold and silver in the bank, and became responsible for the deposits. The whole capital

was in fact a public loan, the funds of the bank being made use of by the Government. In the early period of its operation it was strictly a bank of deposit, and the funds were not withdrawn when deposited, but the depositor had a credit at the bank for the amount deposited, and made payments by transferring his credit to another instead of paying money. This bank was brought to such perfection as no bank since established has attained, or has worked so successfully or beneficially, or had in it such sound principles for the attainment of what should be the ends and aims of finance. The Bank of Venice was essentially a State Bank. Of all the banks that ever existed or was ever established the Bank of England is the most important. It combines the functions of a bank of deposit, discount, and circulation, and is by far the largest monopoly the world ever saw, and let us hope ever will see. What are really the facts regarding this institution are little understood by the public. If they were, it would soon cease to exist in its present form. The notes issued by this powerful corporation for the week ending 18th April, 1883, was thirty six millions seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifteen, or about 34 of notes to one of gold, which afford the bank not only special but tremendous privileges. The following statements gleaned from statistics in reference to this matter should convince you, more especially when we take into consideration that but a comparative small portion of gold is in circulation, and therefore is not used as a currency. It may be safely affirmed that much less, but say one thousand millions in all, is in circulation, which inference leaves the astonishing fact declared that thirty-two thousand millions of the world's currency and medium of exchange is provided for and worked by bills of exchange, bond and bank notes. As a further comparison, I would now draw your attention to the exports and imports of Great Britain, which are annually seven hundred and thirty-two millions. Her money transactions through the clearing house yearly are six thousands of millions. The profits that are charged yearly on income tax are six hundreds of millions, besides one hundred and fifty millions annually paying death duties, to say nothing of landed property; in all about eight thousands of millions. Now, the statistics of the Bank of England show that not more than two millions of bullion are weekly withdrawn to carry on this enormous traffic, or one hundred of millions of bullion yearly. This clearly proves that seven thousand nine hundred millions of business transactions are yearly carried on in Great Britain by a paper currency and exchange, or in other words £1 of gold is used to £79 of notes. Further it is a noticeable fact that when the withdrawal of bullion amounts to two millions weekly it is very liable to raise discounts from £4 to £5 or £6 per cent, and why, because bullion is the credit on which trade lives. Now, the Bank of England carries on its business on the strength of the State guarantee. This is its sole power. If therefore the State guarantee is thus beneficial to the Bank of England, why could and would not it be alike beneficial to itself as a State banking institution, which would go very far towards relieving society from a gross and fraudulent oppression, fraudulent to the interests of society as opposed to the interests of private corporations.

The relative conditions of paper money and gold coin is further shown by a reference to the Bank of England returns for the years ending 1847, 1857, and 1866. Had not the Bank Act on those occasions been suspended by the Government in favor of an increased paper currency the Bank of England must have suspended payment. This arose partly from an undue appreciation of gold, and partly from an insufficient exchange medium not being in circulation to meet the imperative demands of trade. In the year 1847, with a liability of thirty-five millions, the assets were thirty-nine millions, of which nine millions seven hundred and eighty-eight thousand were bullion. In 1857, with a total liability of forty millions four hundred and sixty-eight thousand, of which only eight millions seven hundred and eighty-eight thousand were bullion, and in 1866 the liabilities were fifty million five hundred and eighty-eight thousand, of which seventeen million four hundred and sixty-eight thousand were bullion. This statement is a matter for reflection, as I shall presently show. On these occasions the error did not consist in the suspension of the Bank Act by the Government in favor of an increased paper money circulation in order to facilitate trade, but in allowing of its control by a private corporate body, whereby it became a monopoly. If then the commercial transactions of Great Britain are yearly eight thousand of millions, and these transactions are nearly conducted by a paper currency, and the issue of money from the Bank of England ranges from a circulation of 32 of paper note money to one of bullion or gold, why not acknowledge the fact and not allow the manipulation of a paper currency by private corporations which not only endangers public prosperity but has in it that which is subversive and destructive to the peace, happiness, and welfare of society. These assertions are at once proved, first by statistics and then by calculation. Statistics show that a depression periodically occurs in exact ratio with the interest charged. Take as an example of the principle involved—A banker is allowed by the State for a merely nominal consideration to issue two of paper to one of bullion he may or is supposed to possess. On this principle the six different private banks in New Zealand, holding two millions of bullion, could issue four millions of paper money. It may be suggested that these banks never issue to the amount allowed. The Bank of England returns show that their relative issues much exceeds in the proportion of paper note issue to the issue of a gold currency. Now these four millions of paper note issue become interest bearing bonds to these banks directly they are issued. Some may say, "Yes, but they are as good as gold." This does not relieve society from their burden for evil, neither would such answer be



to the point. It is easy to show how little, if tested, these notes may be relied on. Since then, by the act of issue, they become interest-bearing bonds, let us see how they react upon society. When £5 per cent is charged a depression will occur about every ten or twelve years, that is when worked in conjunction with profits arising from discount on bills of accommodation, varying in the rate of time with the charge made for discount. The Bank of England returns for 1847, 1857, and 1866 convincingly prove the truth of this statement. These depressions were by the unthinking attributed to the scarcity of money, but were not; in reality depressions are the offspring of interest and the reversionary powers of interest. So then the two millions of bullion held by the six different Colonial banks by the addition of four millions of paper note issue, which the possession of this two millions of bullion empowers them to employ, would if fully used at £5 per cent, give them a capital of eight million in a little over fourteen years, and that without using any of the coin lying in the coffers of these banks, and this result is obtained without taking into consideration or account the profits arising from the discount on bills which would much more than pay the expense of management. The Bank of England paid £10 10s per cent to its shareholders for the year ending 1882, and as money there is lent at a comparatively low rate of interest, we may fairly conclude that the profits arising from discount on bills is very large. Now, both the interest charged on loans and discount on bills in the Colonies is much higher than that instanced by the foregoing, and no doubt largely accounts for the very high percentage paid by the six different Colonial institutions to the shareholders, and since both at Home and abroad, in Britain or New Zealand, these unjust profits are extracted from and contributed by the industrial classes, very materially increases to them the costs of the necessities of life. It is therefore both unreasonable and unjust that the peace and welfare of society should be marred and trammelled by the undue advantages which these private bank notes issue monopoly most undoubtedly possess.

A review of the question is here necessary to get at the real facts, and also in order to lead up to the proposition, I shall, bye-and-bye, advance with a view to the adoption of a State Bank; and further, will not only sustain the foregoing conclusion, as held in relation to the Bank of England, but as held in relation to Colonial banks, but with much more alarming results. The notes issued by these six different private corporations in New Zealand cannot be said to be a legal tender. The statistics of these banks show that their notes have no security behind them in time of panic. Yet, by the issue of paper money, these corporations are enabled to secure much of the accumulation and wealth of labor and property. A national currency should be maintained without risk to the interest of labor and property, and also to those who hold these notes. This could be done with advantage to the state on which this duty is imperative. With the notes of these six different private institutions, it is not so, as they cannot be said to be a legal tender. On the 31st December last the deposits in these banks not bearing interest was four millions, and six and a half millions bearing interest. The amount of; bullion held by them at that date was two millions, so that in the event of a panic eight out of every ten of the holders of these notes could not be paid in gold, but would have to abide the issue of liquidation. Take the Glasgow Bank as an example, whose note issue was not so large in proportion of the issue of paper to gold as that in the Colonies, and therefore should have a sounder basis, but whose manipulations in stock am Colonial lands were notorious, and so arranged by the inner ring that when the bank was held in liquidation could not be reached, and its deluded shareholders were ruined. Six millions of money on that occasion failed to be made good, and should it eventually pay the demands of all those to whom it stands indebted would not compensate its shareholders for the years of anxiety, suffering and trouble they have endured, and which may be fairly charged to the dishonesty of those under whose control and direction it was placed. This is not to say that banks are not useful institutions, but that their organisation should be such as will protect the interests of society. With a State Bank, such a circumstance could not possibly arise. I do not wish to be understood as referring to Colonial banks that their assets would not be sufficient, but as instancing the difficulty there would be in getting at them. This system of banking then endangers finance, besides securing other undue and unjust advantages. Let us travel a little farther in order that this matter may be fully explained, and this cursed evil exposed. Colonial banking statistics show that as high as £16 and over £17 per cent, has been paid to the holders of Colonial bank stock, which, by the reversionary law of interest, would double their capital in four and three quarter years. So then the four millions of paper money which the possession of two million of bullion empowers these six different banking institutions to issue as a medium of currency, if fully worked, at the rate of £16 per cent., would give them a capital of eight millions in four and three quarter years, without taking into account its bullion, which may be fairly added thereto, and would make it ten millions, less working expenses.

The profits arising from such a source of wealth would more than pay the interest, &c., on the present Colonial debt, besides furnishing another source of wealth. Need we wonder at depressions under such conditions. They must of necessity come, and are the scourge of society. Need we wonder at exceeding poverty existing side by side with fabulous wealth. The owners of such wealth, to my mind fraudulently taken, have no sympathy with the masses on whom this falls with oppressive force. Their business is to feed avarice and

gratify the vanity of being rich, but alas at what an expense to society. Our rulers are largely responsible for these evils, either through ignorance of facts or careless indifference to the demands of reason. They have so outraged every principle of common sense as to render them in the highest degree obnoxious to a disgusted people, whose confidence should no longer be placed in aught that wittingly or unwittingly sustains craft, duplicity, or fraud. Both experience and enquiry show that gold is little used in the operations of trade, and that paper, or the confidence the public place in a paper currency, is the trading medium. As long as land is convertible property and a paper currency is controlled by private corporate bodies, these evils must exist and increase. The only remedy is a State Bank and nationalisation of the land. Will this work? Experience proves it will. Venice, the Queen of Commerce, started a National Bank; its money consisted of gold and paper. The State stood behind the paper, and made it better than gold. From the year 1171 to the invasion of Venice by Napoleon no depression in financial matters ever occurred. For the space of six hundred years the Venetians used the paper money freely as a tool of trade, and for which they paid no interest. Her palaces declare her grandeur and magnificence; her history her freedom and the freedom of her people from poverty until the ruthless hand of the stranger marred her peace and welfare. Our Post Office as a public institution shows that what concerns the State as a whole should be conducted by the State. Its success, both financially and otherwise, is undoubted.

Having shown the relative conditions which a paper and gold currency occupy to each other, and that the use of a paper currency to the gold employed in the commercial transactions of the world are 1 of gold to 32 of paper as a currency, and having examined their relative conditions as regards Colonial banks, I purpose to pursue the inquiry no further than to show how these conditions may be used to subserve the establishment and working of a State Bank.

Any who have studied financial questions must be in some measure conversant with the issue of greenbacks by the United States Government. Although the system under which these bank notes were first issued was very crude, yet they were very beneficial in their operations in that, by the use of these greenbacks the Americans were enabled both to gain and keep their independence. It was owing to the greenback note issue lacking the essential of a full legal tender in not being made receivable in payment of all public and private dues that it was not a complete success. This omission on the part of the United States Government depreciated their value to as much as 70 below par, which enabled speculators to dump them into Wall Street and abide their time. It came in the year 1878. In that year by Act of Congress they were made a full legal tender, and were accepted in payment of all public dues and private debts, and now practically form the currency of the United States, whose national debt to the amount of one hundred and seventeen millions is represented by them. These greenbacks pass current in the banks of that country on a par with gold, and pay no interest. How different to the national debt of New Zealand, many of whose rulers seem to have little or no conception of what the ends and aims of finance should be; and as regards Sir J. Vogel's public works scheme and his financing qualities, it convinces me that he has about as much notion of the right thing as Balaam's ass had of a pot of soup, and since human nature likes humbug, he has succeeded in humbugging them to their hearts content. Carlisle has said most men are fools. History confirms his opinion. What a contrast Sir Julius presents as a politician to that grand old man Sir George Grey—who loves the people and toils for their liberties and their freedom. May a lasting peace cover his head with a crown of glory forever. The actions of Sir George Grey will live in the history of New Zealand both with respect to her politics and her finance, which latter he started on such a basis as his far-seeing wisdom and the demands of society will approve, that will give him a memory in the far-off future, which should be the end and aim of all noble lives.

Guided then by the financial experience of the past, and furnished with the relative conditions in which paper and bullion, as a medium of exchange, are employed, suggests a mode of procedure that will meet every requirement of the case. Starting out on the assumption that what as a currency is made legal by the State, is the currency of that State. In order to effect this a State Bank must be established, and its currency declared by Act of Assembly, a full legal tender. Let its issue be, say one million five hundred thousand, the amount the State now propose to borrow, one million of which shall be in the form of inter-convertible notes of the specific value of £1, £5 and £10 notes, as many of each as would suit the interrelations of trade. Such notes of issue not to be convertible into gold on demand in any State Bank, but shall be interconvertible with State bonds of the value of £20, and of £100. Such bonds not to be convertible into gold for the term of seven years, but shall bear such interest as expediency may suggest, and made transferable to facilitate the operations of trade. By this method a purchaser of a Government bond of the value of £20 would, at £5 per cent., be entitled to the yearly interest of £1 on his £20 bond. Likewise, a purchaser of a £100 bond to the yearly interest of £5 on his £100 bond. Such interest to be made payable quarterly, and if used as a circulating medium shall be stamped with a certified stamp, to show that the interest for the quarter has been paid to the last holder thereof. This plan would encourage colonial investors to operate in Government bonds, which is undeniable security, and by being transferable would answer admirably as an exchange medium, and as there are ten and a-half millions lying on

deposit in Colonial banks, the security for which seems very questionable, would give the Government tremendous success directly the principle action and intention was understood. By this process the Government would secure the control of vast sums at a nominal cost, which could be largely employed on reproductive work and relieve society from an unbearable burden on the cost of foreign loans. I have proposed that one third shall take the form of bonds that will practically answer all the conditions of trade, and since the third, or in other words, 500,000 shares and of these bonds will bear interest, say £5 per cent., would reduce the cost of interest on the whole to one third of £5 per cent. So that five hundred thousand of transferable bonds would float one million five hundred thousand of paper money, which, backed by the State, would at once rise to par with gold, and even above it, and reduce the interest on the whole amount to £1 13s 4d per cent., besides answering what should be the end and aim of finance.

No financial or industrial depression could possibly arise under these conditions so long as their issues were kept within the demands of trade, but must be kept up to that, and as this scheme has in it the principle of self-adjustment, would need in that respect but little supervision, because as the bonds were purchased the Government could issue in-controvertable notes, with bonds in sufficient quantities to meet supply and demand. This medium of exchange could also be used to pay Government employees and other works of State, and since one-third pays no interest, which private bank notes do, is deserving of consideration for the State. Money of this nature could also be lent out by the State to owners of land, but should not bear a higher rate at interest than would pay expenses of management. Under any other condition, the reversionary power of interest is sure to injure, in corresponding ratio to interest charged, the prosperity of the people—and sooner or later would depression come. Major Atkinson's and R. Stout's idea of economy and the blue shirt period are silly and unbecoming to men of their assumed standing. Nature is bountiful; let all enjoy her blessings that earth may be a paradise, and the hearts of men rejoice in the joy of peace and plenty. Assistance could also be given to any who wished to take up a perpetual lease in such quantities as they judged would suit their means, always supposing that the radius of land acquired by them was within reasonable limits, the quality and situation being likewise considered, and a proof given that the means they possessed and proposed to employ was sufficient to induce the State to give reasonable assistance if any need should arise. This course would draw many from centres of population in the encouragement held out as offering sufficient inducement to employ the energy and capital they possessed, besides largely increasing the sources of employment to those who had no other means of gaining a subsistence.

The science of Government should long since have taught those whose ambition has been to rule, with no result but complete failure, that the end and aim of finance, more especially when a paper currency is employed as an exchange medium, should not be a monopoly, which serves no object but to feed avarice, when its aim and object should be to further the conditions of society as a whole and not as a part, in an ever increasing prosperity. Sir J. Vogel has said that a grave difficulty surrounds the establishment of a State Bank, in the fact that these private banks in the Colony have a perpetual charter to issue notes, and would require a large indemnity. Right here I tell him that the rights of society stand first, and the will of society stands next, and that no indemnity should be paid to these corporations for the loss of what they call their right, to rob society by continuing this false and blasting private note issue whose blight has eaten out of many the life-blood of hope and happiness. Had Sir J. Vogel as much honesty as some of his other developments there would he in him something to admire and respect. In admitting as he has done, and which common sense would compel any to do who were possessed of its attributes, that a State Bank has in it all that contained the elements of success, plainly shows that he is convinced that a paper note issue controlled by private corporate bodies is a wrong to society, and, since a paper money medium is a necessity, should be regulated and controlled by the State. Interest should no longer gather the harvest of labor and rob industry of its reward. It is the offspring of fraud, violence, and idleness, whose instincts destroy all the noblest aspirations of the soul—a black curse that overhangs the prosperity of the people and robs them of all its sunshine—a very devil clothed in purple, who sits enthroned on bitterness and wrongs, smiling at the prolonged agony of the masses held in its insatiable grasp. Whilst science is advancing in every walk of life, the science of Government is returning to the age of the Pyramids—monuments of oppression, violence and wrong. Echo says where is the moral force of those who are entrusted with the guidance of the State? Has avarice and ambition over-balanced any redeeming qualities they may have possessed? If so, history will furnish to them a monument of derision, whose whisperings will clothe conscience with the insatiable greed of an unsatisfied longing that will ring its change in the far off future as the disturbing element to abiding peace. Before social life can attain unto the highest good the science of Government must be moralised by a devotion to the interests of humanity, and although this may compel supporters of the present form of administration to abandon many of their most cherished illusions, yet would relieve conscience from many needless fears, and furnish to them a firmer foundation of happiness than can be obtained by appealing to the worldly philosophy of vanity or riches.

It has often been a matter of wonder to the unreflecting that banking corporations grow very rapidly rich.

Unusual facilities for this are afforded them. The amount of gold that has been collected from off the various Colonial goldfields have amongst others been a veritable source of wealth. Vast quantities of gold have been sold to these banks and paid for by a paper currency. Take as an example for every £1,000 worth of gold purchased by the banks and paid for by notes, which is invariably done, practically gives them £3,000—and is in fact virtually making a present of the gold got in the country to foreign capitalists for almost nothing. They have acquired immense sums by this system as of manipulation, which has impoverished the country. All the wealth of her productions, whether of gold, wool, grain, &c., are being paid to these privileged corporations, who are revelling in wealth and luxury, sinfully acquired from the hard-working toilers of New Zealand, whose affairs, if directed with honest ability and energy, would be the most prosperous country on the face of our fair earth. By similar methods landed property is fast becoming a hank monopoly. By manipulations of private property with paper note money—advanced as loans—they are practically reducing society to an abject though refined slavery, and it is therefore the imperative and urgent duty of society to stamp out this scourging evil.

It has been advanced that a State paper issue would injure our inter-relations of trade with other countries. Such argument is but a shallow artifice never put forth to any or by any that possess ordinary intelligence. The exports and imports of New Zealand are nearly equal, and the exports could be profitably and legitimately increased to much above her imports by the intelligent use of the means which nature and our surplus labor has furnished to our hands. It is well known that inter-trading relations are carried on by bills of exchange, and that interest and debentures on bonus may be paid with the ordinary productions of a country. A State Bank never interfered with the commerce of Venice, but much increased her advantage. Its adoption by America, in so far as its national debt is concerned, is but a go-between to its ultimate and final adoption in all its details in that country. None but those who are mainly concerned in sapping the life-blood of society will or have attempted to uphold the system of banking as practised by private note issue monopolies in contradistinction to a State Bank. Again, none will question who are capable of sound judgment, the security offered by the State. Instance its Life Insurance business as opposed to the security of private insurance companies. These societies, like all other private corporate bodies, have surrounding them an atmosphere of doubt, born of past experiences, which invests them with more or less insecurity that can in no way be chargeable to a Government life insurance investment. This principle of security will certainly give it an immense success through this undoubted advantage of which it is really possessed. The most potent reason or objection that has or can be raised against the adoption of a State Bank we may therefore proceed without fear to examine, and it will be found, like all the other objections raised against it, utterly worthless. It is that a State Bank would not pay gold on demand for notes, which private banks do. Now, as before said, the deposits in the Colonial banks of New Zealand were, on the 31st of December last, about ten and a half millions, the bullion they then possessed about two millions. In the event of a panic eight out of every ten could not be paid in gold, but would have to abide the issue of liquidation. This says ranch. Again, the commercial transactions of Great Britain are yearly eight thousands of millions. This shows, as regards Great Britain, the circulation of a paper currency is one sovereign to 79 of paper money, which plainly proves that confidence and not gold is the trading medium. Taken this in relation to a State Bank clearly declares that the assets of the State are much superior to the assets of any corporate body, embodying as they do as a security the whole body politic both in property and the recurring operations of taxes thereon, and as such is reckoned and received by foreign capitalists not only as a sufficient but the very best security for their investment.

Again, any who have studied finance have loudly praised both the utility and usefulness of our Post Office Savings Banks, and not without reason. These institutions have proved an unmitigated blessing to many as an incentive to both industry and carefulness. The deposits in these various banks have already reached the respectable amount of over one million six hundred thousand. These deposits are a most convincing proof of the confidence the people place in a national institution. These savings banks would answer admirably as a basis on which to build up a State Bank, and could as necessity demanded extend their operations at little public cost. To start with, machinery and plates for notes could be provided at less cost than £1,000, so that little provision is needed to give the matter effect. An Act of Assembly by which notes and bonds were declared a legal tender for any public or private debt would meet every requirement of the case.

It may be asked what form of note would best suit. This is not imperative, but I may, by way of experiment, suggest the following:—

*By Act of Assembly it is hereby declared that this interconvertible note of the value of £1, £5, or £10, as the case may be is a legal tender for any public due or private debt in the Colony of New Zealand, and may be paid and received as such.*

*By order of the Assembly.*

And with respect to interest-bearing bonds I would suggest that they read somewhat as follows:—

*By Act of the Assembly it is hereby declared that this transferable Bond of £20 (or more) shall bear interest at £5 per cent from the date of purchase, and shall not be convertible into gold on demand at any State Bank in*

*New Zealand until after the expiry of the time specified in the terms of this agreement.*

*By order of the Assembly.*

This mode of banking would relieve society from untold hardships. Paper currency as a private bank monopoly is an outrage, and must be stopped. It cramps the business relations of a man with his fellow, and defrauds labour of its hard earnings, wrings tears of bitterness from the widow and the orphan, and sends willing hands to and fro in the land in search of employment, and lets loose upon society a vagabond class who keenly feel their position, but cannot help themselves. For why, because the owners of property to whom they look for labor, wherewith to obtain an existence, have to wring from it all they can to pay interest on the loans obtained from these bankers, whose tool is paper money. It is not easy to satisfy these financial gourmands, who are only too ready to devour if their unjust demands are not satisfied. So that these conditions of finance are so overwhelming that, unless it is speedily stamped out, will echo from settlement and city, from high-ways and bye-ways, from slums and allies, one wail of rage and vengeance that will shake the foundations of Government to its centre to it? complete destruction.

Why should any Government outrage every feeling of prudence and humanity by furthering the interests of a small section of society, who have no claim to any virtue than can or will command respect. By the the aid of paper money monopolies have been formed, and nearly all the best available and get-at-able land has been acquired by them at a merely nominal cost, and been so manipulated that railways have been run through them at the public cost, increasing their value in many instances sixty fold. It is this that will dam the Public Works scheme in the eyes of any who have understanding for ever. What has given titles that are but nick names to a few makes many slaves to poverty and want. Had those railways been constructed under such conditions as ordinary intelligence should have suggested to those who presume—I say advisably presume—to have the directive ability, they would have given them a name, and both the honor and thanks of prosperity in the living memorial of an accomplished fact, not as a burden as these railways now stand, but as a blessing to society.

By the use of such means as the foregoing farmers with moderate capital, were induced, and not forced to invest with them, because available land could not be had otherwise that would suit the necessity and way to a market. The surrounding conditions of such investments were invariably so hard that numbers of them were robbed, not only of the capital they had invested, but of the improvements they had made, and turned out beggars. By these actions they have first robbed the State of any improved value which the forming of railways through these lands gave to them. Then, by hard conditions drove those who invested with them off those lands that they might filch others who took them up, who, in their turn, were invariably outwitted. These, with other evils of which they are the fathers, has destroyed producers and forced them into towns to swell the lists of the unemployed. Such proceedings on the part of these foxy knaves is becoming so well understood that men with any capital, and brains to keep it, will not have ought to do with land from them lest they fall into their clutches, and since they are a power it is almost impossible to get land at a reasonable cost that has anything in it in point of situation or quality. If any would get available land the matter is only compromised by dealing with them at their own prices. I speak this as a truth gleaned from inquiry and observation. A State Bank and a system of perpetual leaseholds are the true remedies. Against their adoption all the powers of wealth and villainy are leagued. It is therefore the duty of society to demand those rights which nature, God and common sense declares rightly belongs to them, and since some have contended against perpetual leaseholds I intend to give in a pamphlet (Land O) an account of what led me to suggest, in a letter, the idea of perpetual leasing to one of the Commissioners of Crown Lands, and further some details that will open the eyes of the public. Perpetual leasing carried out on its original scheme is a freehold to all from one generation to another in its fullest and complete sense, since it would perpetuate the cause of justice and harmony.

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- Stanford, R. L.
- Stewart, W. D.
- Stephenson, John
- Stout, Robert
- Strachau, William
- Street, W. P.
- Stronach, D.
- Thomson, A.
- Thomson, A. E.
- Thompson, Lamb
- Tomlinson, T.
- Towers, E. F.
- Twopeny, R. E. N.
- Turnbull, G.
- Union Insurance Co.
- Union Bank of Australia
- Victoria Insurance Co.
- Wales, N. Y.
- Watson, W.
- Watson, J. F.
- Westport Coal Co.
- White, J.
- Wilkie, James
- Wilkinson, T. M.
- Wilson, James
- Wilson, James
- Wilson, R.
- Wise, Caffin, and Co.
- Wright, J. T.
- Wright, Wm.
- Wyper, R.
- Young, T.
- Young, H.

# Dunedin Chamber of Commerce.

*Report of the Committee of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce for the year ending 30th June, 1885, presented at the Annual Meeting, held on the 3rd September, 1885—the Vice-President, Mr J. T. Mackerras, in the chair.*

## Annual Report.

The retiring Committee beg to lay before the Chamber the following report of matters which have engaged their attention during their period of office.

Five General Meetings of the Chamber have been held in the course of the twelve months—three quarterly and two special—at which the following subjects were, after discussion, dealt with by resolutions of the Chamber:—

*Anomalies of Customs Tariff.*—Copy of the Report of a Sub-Committee appointed to consider this question was forwarded to the Minister of Trade and Customs, and was afterwards the subject of conference with the Minister, who promised to give due consideration to the representation of the Chamber.

*Telephone Charges.*—A resolution urging a reduction in the scale of charges was adopted and forwarded to Government the annual subscription has since been reduced to £8. There are now 384 instruments in use in Dunedin.

*Harbour Board Works at Heads and in Channel.*—A resolution was adopted strongly urging the vigorous prosecution of these works.

*Trade Reciprocity with the Neighboring Colonies.*—This subject was introduced by Mr Robert Gillies, who moved the following resolution—

*"That the Government of New Zealand be respectfully urged to take such steps as they may deem necessary for extending to this Colony the Provisional Agreement entered into between the representatives of Victoria and Tasmania, for establishing a Reciprocity of Trade between those Colonies, by which natural products and articles of purely colonial manufacture be admitted into either Colony free from Customs Duties."*

A lengthened discussion followed, and the debate was adjourned for further consideration; but owing to the illness of the mover, the meeting was allowed to lapse.

*Bank Circulation.*—This subject was brought before the Chamber by Hon. John Bathgate, and after it had been referred to a Subcommittee and reported on, was discussed at some length, and the following resolution at length adopted by the Chamber:—

*"That the Chamber memorialise the Government in order that a Parliamentary Committee may be appointed to investigate the whole subject of the currency, and the practice of Banking within the Colony."*

*Alterations in Customs Tariff proposed at present Session of Parliament.*—This question, after discussion, was the subject of the following resolution:—

*"That this Chamber, having carefully examined the Customs Tariff proposals by the Hon. the Treasurer, consider that the duties imposed on goods imported should be levied for revenue purposes only, and therefore object to any increase that bears unfairly on special classes; that the additions proposed to be made on the produce of several industries already established in the Colony are unnecessary, unwise in principle, and if operative will unfairly burden consumers."*

The proposals of Government have since been largely modified, and many of the alterations objected to withdrawn.

*Increase of Postage on letters via Brindisi.*—The Committee regret that the Government has not seen fit to make any modification of the proposal of the Honble. the Postmaster-General. The rate of postage on letters via Brindisi was raised to 1s. per half-ounce, and continues so to this day. The Committee adopted the following resolution, and forwarded the same to the Hon. the Treasurer and Members for the City:—

*"That this Committee view with concern the proposal of Sir Julius Vogel to increase the rate of postage on letters via Brindisi to one shilling per half ounce, as in their opinion such a step will practically close this route to the general community, and so deprive them of the mail communication with Home which they now enjoy."*

*"That great value is attached to the existing frequent facilities for communication; but while appreciating the advantages which the Direct Steam Service and the San Francisco Mail Route confer, the Committee are of opinion that it would be an unwise and retrograde step to curtail the present facilities."*

*San Francisco Mail Service.*

*East and West Coast Railway.*

*Transfer of Port Chalmers Dock Trust from the Harbour Board to Corporation of Port Chalmers.*

The following resolutions on above subjects were adopted by the Chamber at their meeting on July 27th, and forwarded to Government:—

*"That it does not appear desirable to put an end to the San Francisco service, but in the opinion of this Chamber the price proposed to be paid is too high, and ought to be reduced to mailmoney only; also that it should not be for a longer term than three years. Further, the Chamber express a strong disapproval of the prohibitive postage established by the Government via Brindisi."*

*"That this Chamber desire to place on record their strong objection to the extraordinary concessions proposed to be granted to Messrs Meiggs and Sons, and enter their emphatic protest against any alteration of the East and West Coast and Nelson Railway Act, 1884, or of the contract already entered into by the Governor for the construction of the aforesaid railway, which would in any way directly or indirectly pledge the revenues of the Colony, either by further concessions of land or guarantee of interest, or which would in any way whatsoever impose any burden or liability on the public exchequer."*

*"That this Chamber express their strong disapproval of the proposal by the Government to transfer the Dock Trust from the Harbour Board to the Port Chalmers or other Corporation, and of the methods adopted in connection therewith."*

The Committee further dealt with the following questions:—

*Facilities for discharging Home Ships at Dunedin.*—Several conferences have been held with a Committee of the Harbour Board, with the result of bringing about arrangements satisfactory to consignees of vessels and cargo.

*Draft Bills introduced to Parliament on subjects touching Commercial Interests.*—The request of the Committee that these should be forwarded has been favourably met by the Treasurer, by whose directions copies of such Bills are now forwarded as printed.

*Defences of Dunedin.*—In response to a requisition by some members of the Committee, the following resolution of the Committee was forwarded to His Worship the Mayor of Dunedin, on March 14:—

*"The Committee are of opinion that the question will be more effectively dealt with by the Mayor of the City, and that it be suggested to His Worship that he bring the matter before the Council, and seek the co-operation of the Councils of surrounding Municipalities, with the view of urging upon Government the propriety of taking immediate steps for utilizing the materials in guns, etc., now in hand, and promoting the efficiency of the Volunteer force, and of calling a public meeting for discussion of the question."*

*Trade with Rio de Janeiro.*—A letter was addressed, on 16th October, to the British Consul General, requesting information as to Markets for New Zealand produce, Customs Tariff, Port Regulation, etc., but no reply has yet been received.

*Steamers Bilk of Lading.*—A good deal of correspondence in reference to clauses which have been objected to has passed between the London Chamber of Commerce and some of the Colonial Chambers, and with Mr John Ewen and Mr John Ross, London, who have given much time and attention to the subject but no result has yet come of it.

*High School Medals* were presented as usual by the Chairman at the annual distribution of prizes.

*Reduction of Charges for Cable Messages between New Zealand and the Neighbouring Colonies.*—This subject has been brought before the Government by a letter addressed to the Colonial Treasurer, and also in the Assembly by Mr W. D. Stewart, without however eliciting any favourable reply, the Treasurer stating that instead of being high compared with other cables all over the world, the charges were by far the lowest, taking into account the length of the line; and that instead of getting lower rates for private messages, there was much more liability to an increase of rates.

The Committee desire to press upon Members of the Chamber and upon such of the mercantile community as have not joined its membership the propriety of according to it their hearty support. It is unnecessary to urge the value of the Chamber as the only recognised and readily available mouthpiece of the mercantile community, affording the ready means of calling the attention of the public or the authorities to any matter of interest, it is desired to bring forward for discussion, or to point to the good service it has rendered in the past. It is maintained at a very moderate expense, and yet it has been the somewhat painful experience of successive Committees that great difficulty is found in obtaining the moderate sum required for its support. This Committee, by a special canvass, succeeded in obtaining contributions, apart from ordinary subscriptions to the amount of £106, which helped to put the Chamber's Bank account in a better position, but the Committee feel that they leave to their successors in this part of their duty, a matter which will call for their most careful attention.

The Annual Statistics referring to the trade of the Colony—compiled chiefly from reports of the Registrar-General, the Department of Trade and Customs, and other official sources—will be found in the appendix to this report.

J. T. Mackerras,

DUNEDIN,

August 31, 1885.

*Chairman.*

## Address of the Chairman.

### Proceedings at Annual Meeting.

In moving the adoption of the Report, I have to express my regret that Mr E. B. Cargill, our chairman, has been unexpectedly called to Melbourne, thereby throwing on me at the last moment the duty of presiding at this annual meeting. Consequently I have not had time to prepare such an address as is usually delivered from the chair on these occasions, and I must therefore throw myself on the indulgence of the Chamber as regards the few remarks I intend to make.

At this time last year the chief matter of concern to us all was the depression which prevailed all over the Colony; and now we have to deplore that that depression is in no degree lessened. Everyone is trying to trace the cause with a view to finding a remedy.

It seems strange that, with all the advantages we possess in the shape of productive soil, splendid climate, and other great natural resources, we in New Zealand should find the whole of our varied interests in their present state of suffering.

On looking around we find that our two main interests—the agricultural and pastoral industries—show no signs of amelioration; on the contrary, both are more depressed now than last year. And to what is this due? Not merely to the unprecedentedly low prices which prevail for grain and wool, but also, in my opinion, to the action of our financial companies, with large sums of money at their disposal, who have induced farmers and wool-growers to invest in land at exorbitant prices, the high interest and charges on which are far beyond what even judicious husbandry and grazing of the lands can possibly return. Until this state of things is altered, and the lands of the Colony are in the hands of the settler at prices which will enable him, not only to pay fair interest on what he is obliged to borrow, but in addition return a reasonable profit on his labour, we cannot hope for permanent improvement.

Another factor in the present depression is extravagance. There is no concealing the fact that an important characteristic of our colonial life in the past has been extravagance. We have been all living too fast; and the consequence is that we are now brought face to face with the necessity for the strictest economy, not only commercially and socially, but also, and especially, on the part of the Government, who, since the Public Works scheme was inaugurated in 1871, have set us the example of unbounded extravagance. The Colony has had to pay enormous sums yearly by way of interest on heavy expenditure on public works which have been begun and not prosecuted to a reproductive point.

From the returns attached to the Public Works Statement, and which have just been submitted by the Minister of Public Works, I find that on railways alone a sum of about one million sterling has been expended on lines not yet open for traffic; and on some of these lines the expenditure has been going on for eight or ten years, while had the works been prosecuted with vigour they might have long since been opened and yielding some return on the capital expended.

While a certain large outlay is unavoidable in the construction of our railways before they can become reproductive, I believe I am within the mark in estimating that the country is burdened unnecessarily from the cause I have stated to the extent of £50,000 a year; and this extravagant course will continue so long as we are liable to the formation of what are known as political railways and other purely political public works.

The only remedy for this state of things is for Parliament to lay it down as a rule, in so far as railways are concerned, that for the future, in the case of every new railway to the construction of which they give their assent, and which can be shown to be worked at a loss, that loss shall be made good by a rate levied on the district through which the railway passes.

I now pass from the less pleasing features of our commercial position, and deal in a few sentences with one or two subjects of a more local character, which I think ought to present to us a more hopeful prospect, if not at present, certainly in the future. From the statistics of New Zealand for 1884-5, we find the value of the exports

for the Colony amount to £7,009,667, of which Otago exported £2,214,800, or nearly one-third of the whole. The total imports for the same period amount to £7,663,888, and to Otago, £2,373,796.

Our industries and manufactures, notwithstanding the dull times, have steadily gone forward, and are now attaining a magnitude and position of excellence of which we may be justly proud. If Dunedin is to hold her own in onward progress, our manufactures must continue to bear an important part in that progress. In the prosecution of this department of commercial enterprise nature has supplied us with all the elements necessary to success. We have coal in abundance at our very door, and supplied at a minimum of cost; we have water power, which is not sufficiently appreciated, but is sure to be more utilised as our manufactures develop. While on the subject of motive power, I may say that the output of coal from our local mines for the year amounts to 110,000 tons, the value of which at the pit mouth is £62,000. This industry employs 265 men. As regards two of our local industries I have had forcibly brought under my notice the enormous loss to the Colony that arises from the present defective manufacture of butter and cheese—especially the former. Owing to this cause I am within the mark when I say that half our production goes bad, and in my opinion the only remedy for this is the encouragement of butter and cheese factories where a uniform standard of quality can be secured. Our export of butter for the year under review amounted to £66,593, and cheese to £25,095.

Before leaving the subject of local industries, I would venture the remark that the Colony must sooner or later face the question how far new and struggling industries are to rely on receiving some fostering aid from the State, or whether their development is to be left to the intelligence and enterprise of the promoters themselves. In other words, we have to fight the battle of Free-trade *v.* Protection, and, without venturing an opinion on either side, I trust to the question being speedily settled one way or the other.

Our Harbour operations are progressing satisfactorily, both at the Heads and in the Upper Harbour. Already the mole which is being constructed at the Heads is producing the effect on the Beach current which was looked for, and it is confidently expected that the works, when completed, will realise the expectations of the Engineer.

The minimum depth on the Bar is now 19 feet at low water.

In the Victoria Channel a minimum depth of 14 feet low water, equal to 20 feet 6 inches at high tide, has been attained. This depth will be increased to 16 feet at low water within the next three months, and a small additional amount of work at three or four points would give us a navigating depth of 18 feet low water.

The arrivals at Dunedin wharves for the six months ending—

While the number of vessels coming up to Dunedin in 1885 was less than in 1884, the tonnage was about 50 percent, more.

In 1875 the revenue of the Harbour Board was £13,000; this year it will exceed £40,000. The present revenue from endowments is about £7,000 a year, and as the whole revenue now more than meets the interest on loans it may be reasonably expected that the rents to be derived from the large additional area of land available for leasing will shortly enable a material reduction to be made in the Port charges.

Of the many subjects dealt with by the Chamber during the past year I may mention the difficulties attending the discharge of Home ships at Dunedin wharf. The Committee of the Chamber have given their assistance to the Harbour Board in removing some of them.

The action of the Chamber, in conjunction with the other Chambers in the Colony, in memorialising the Government to reduce the price charged for the telephone, has been amply justified by results, observe, from the recently-issued report of the Telegraph Department, that the income from the telephonic services has been the large sum of £9,584 for the year, while the capital expended up to December 31 last was only £26,178. Now, as the annual cost of the services (including maintenance, repairs, and working expenses) is set down at £5,590, the Department is actually netting a profit at the rate of 16 per cent, per annum, I am inclined to think that the Chamber will be disposed to agree with me that no department of the State should be carried on with the object of extracting a large profit out of the already heavily-burdened taxpayer. The public, on the one hand, have a right to expect that a service should be efficiently and economically performed; and the Government, on the other hand, should be content with a reasonable margin of profit after meeting all proper charges for maintenance, salaries, etc. I do not think that I need ask business men whether a profit of 16 per cent, is reasonable in the circumstances? That the exchanges are popular is evidenced by the fact that on June 30 last there were over 1,100 subscribers in the Colony. Of this number Dunedin has 343, Auckland 320, Wellington 204, and Christchurch 184. Though the Department complacently points to the fact that in some of our cities the telephone is more largely used than in the United States, I think that this Chamber will act wisely in continuing to bring pressure to bear on the Department to further reduce the charge till this useful invention is brought within the reach of every class of the community. I feel persuaded that a uniform charge of £5 per subscriber would not only greatly popularise the exchanges, but would result in an appreciable increase of revenue.

The Committee had an interview with Dr Von Haast, the Commissioner appointed by the Government to furnish information on the subject of the proposed Indian and Colonial Exhibition, to be held in London, in

1886. The Committee sympathised most cordially with the movement, and resolved to afford all the assistance in their power to forward the objects of the Exhibition. They also appointed a Subcommittee to give their special attention to this subject.

During the past year death has removed three of our members—one of whom, Mr G. Lewis, took a great interest in the business of the Chamber, and made a most efficient member of committee.

Appended to the Report will be found a valuable mass of statistics, compiled by the Secretary, which I commend to the careful study of the members.

## Public Works Expenditure.

Mr J. M. RITCHIE moved the following resolution:—"That in order to strengthen the hands of Otago members of Parliament in resisting the beginning of new public works, especially the East and West Coast railway, and generally those involving an increase of borrowing on the part of the Colony, this Chamber are of opinion that it is desirable to forego the proposed expenditure for this year on the Otago Central railway, if by so doing the objects indicated above are gained." He had not time, and did not know that it would be desirable to occupy the Chamber with any lengthy remarks. It was a matter of notoriety, and had been frequently commented upon, that the increasing inclination on the part of the Government and members of Parliament to claim the full share of what they deemed necessary expenditure for public works, and to increase borrowing for that purpose, was becoming a serious matter for all who had the interest of the Colony at heart. He did not know that he need say much to emphasise this fact. It was patent before our eyes, and the present Government—about whom he was not going to say anything good or bad, because after all they were representatives of the people, and were merely pressing what was in the main the views of the people—were assisting by all means in their power to have these strong inclinations given effect to. He need only refer to one or two points in proof. The first was their extraordinary action in reference to the Port Chalmers dock, which had after all simply put facilities in the way of increased borrowing. Then there was the large expenditure authorised for the North Island railway; and, worst of all, the expenditure which the Government were determined to commence, if they could, on the East and West Coast railway. He might take it as proved that there was no appearance on the part of the Government of any inclination to curb the borrowing inclinations of the people. It was true the House seemed to have a strong leaning towards economy, and had attempted by various means to give effect to this; but there was no evidence yet that they had brought themselves to the point of allowing their efforts to have any direct effect upon the districts which each section of the House represented. That was to say, members were very willing to talk about the necessity for decreasing the expenditure, but it must be in every case somewhere else than in the particular district represented by each member. In short, every member seemed perfectly willing to sacrifice the last drop of his brother's blood, but none of his own. It seemed to the speaker that if this went on the present evils were likely to be indefinitely perpetuated. The £150,000 proposed to be spent on the East and West Coast railway, small as it seemed, was merely the thin end of the wedge, and was the beginning of an expenditure of something like three millions. The only means by which a cure for this state of things might be looked for was by someone having the courage and self-denial to make a beginning in the direction of the principle which they all believed to be so important. For this reason he had brought forward his motion, and would only say that we in Otago seemed to be in a position to make the sacrifice with a better grace, or at any rate with less actual harm to the works in our own district than any other section of the Colony. We had got the Otago Central railway begun, and a good deal of money had been spent upon it, and it was so far advanced that it must be finished. Of course a large sum was lying idle in connection with the line, but on the other hand the year's expenditure would have but an imperceptible effect in bringing the line into a revenue-producing state, and we could fairly allow such a period to elapse without suffering much thereby. He had been told by one or two to whom he had spoken that this motion was too specific, meaning that they should pass some resolution more general in tone, and should not be so specific in reference to any particular work. He did not, however, agree with this, and he was intentionally thus specific in the wording of the resolution. The fact was that anything short of a specific act of self-denial would simply be relegating the motion into the region of generalities, and would have very small effect indeed with those they were seeking to influence. Besides, they felt that specific works in the North should be postponed, and of course the arguments of the supporters of these works would be that the Otago people should be the last to complain, having already got what they wanted—that Otago had its line and had no right to say a word about other places. There was, of course, a broader view from which the matter might be looked at; but they all knew what human nature was; it was impossible to give their arguments any weight by merely advocating general principles. He had purposely abstained from any reference to the specific question affecting the Otago Central railway. It would be very likely pointed out that hundreds of thousands of pounds were lying idle, and that a large section of the line only wanted a certain further sum spent to make it in a measure

productive. To tell the honest truth, he had no idea of the position of the Otago Central Railway, as regarded these sections, but he felt that unless there was some extraordinary objection upon specific grounds there would be no serious disadvantage to the Country or district in carrying such a motion. He was sure the effect of it on the Government and the House would be very strong indeed. It would be the first exhibition of a desire on the part of the country to bring matters within proper bounds, regardless of how hard the consequences might press on special districts. He might say that he had been an opponent of the Otago Central from the first, and never had been able to see that the expenditure had done much good to Dunedin or to the district. The hopes of gain from such expenditure had been very much over-estimated, and he thought this hope of benefit to towns by expenditure was one of the main reasons for Parliament pressing its various schemes. He could repeat the argument used by Mr Donald Reid in speaking of the Port Chalmers dock, and say that he firmly believed if the East and West Coast railway could be laid down to-morrow—in one day,—there would not be a man in Christchurch grateful for it. There was merely an idea that expenditure would be good in these depressed times. If that were so, it was a very dangerous principle to go upon, and was merely putting off the day when we should have to act very differently in setting our house in order. They all knew the extent to which the prices of our products had fallen, and that very morning there came a message telling of a fall in the value of our wool which would, he believed, make hundreds of thousands of pounds difference to the Colony. The whole tendency was downwards, and this was the time, by whatever means, to bring matters to a point and speak out with a voice no Government could refuse to listen to, saying that we have had enough borrowing, and that it must be suspended until we see how far we can get along with the burdens we already have.

Mr A. C. BEGG seconded the motion, remarking that the proposal for the construction of the East and West Coast railway meant the expenditure of about £3,000,000. He thought the stand they ought to take was that they would not press for the completion of the Otago Central railway, and would at the same time oppose the construction of the East and West Coast railway or other such works. The proposal for the construction of the East and West Coast railway should be discouraged in every way. As to the Otago Central line, he was not particularly sanguine as to its paying very well; while of the East and West Coast railway, he did not believe that the Canterbury members believed it would pay, but that the Canterbury people wished it carried out so as to have this money expended among them.

Mr D. REID considered that Mr Ritchie had placed the Chamber in somewhat of a dilemma, for he asked them to declare that the Otago Central railway, on which such a large sum had been expended, should be singled out. He thought Mr Ritchie's motion was a very sweeping one, and would suggest that it should be altered so as to read as follows—"That any vote proposed for the initiation of the East and West Coast railway should be opposed, irrespective of the effect of such a position on other votes on the Public Works Estimates." They must oppose the East and West Coast railway, be the consequences what they might.

Mr RITCHIE said he was willing to accept Mr Reid's alteration of the motion, which was then put as amended, and carried unanimously.

## **Election of Office-Bearers.**

The CHAIRMAN said that on former occasions it had been customary for the incoming committee to be nominated by the outgoing one, but some objection had been raised to this from time to time, and he had to intimate that now the election would be left entirely in the hands of the Chamber. Members had been requested to send in nominations, but none had been received, still the election would be left to the Chamber to nominate members now.

Mr BROWN believed it was customary for one of the retiring committee to propose the new president, and he had therefore much pleasure in proposing that Mr Mackerras be president for the ensuing year. The manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of vice-president was the best guarantee that good work might be hoped for under his presidency.

Mr G. L. DENNISTON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr Glendining, Mr G. L. Denniston was then elected vice-president.

After some discussion the following gentlemen were elected the committee for the ensuing year:—Messrs R. Glendining, R. H. Leary, E. B. Cargill, Andrew Maxwell, W. B. Boyd, George Bell, W. Dymock, Grant P. Farquhar, Robert Wilson, and J. M. Jones

## **Dunedin Chambers of Commerce.**

Cash Account from 1st July, 1884, to 30th June, 1885. Dr. RECEIPTS. EXPENDITURE. Cr. £ s. d. £ s. d.  
£ s. d. £ s. d. To cash in hand from last year ... 1 11 6 By Balance from last year ... 111 3 4 " Waste Paper ... ..

... 3 10 5 " Rates and Taxes ... .. 43 12 6 " Sale of Reports ... .. 5 7 0 " Interest on Mortgage ... .. 315 0 0 "  
 Use of Hall ... .. 41 6 6 " " to Exchange ... .. Company ... 206 12 5 " Stock Exchange ... .. 31 10 0 " Bank  
 Interest ... .. 15 17 9 " Rents ... .. 350 0 0 " High School Medals ... .. 9 17 6 " Donations ... .. 106 1 0 "  
 Cleaning Offices... .. 32 13 9 " Subscriptions ... .. 357 0 0 " Printing, Advertising, and Stationery 25 1 9  
 894 14 11 " Printing Annual Report ... 15 12 0 Balance ... .. 132 10 6 " Petty Disbursements ... .. 23 16 S "  
 Books and Newspapers ... 41 1 6 " Secretary ... .. 150 0 0 " Telephone ... .. 9 2 6 " Insurance on Building  
 14 0 0 " " Furniture 0 10 0 14 10 0 " Corn Exchange Expenses 8 10 10 " Repairs ... .. 5 0 0 916 9 2 " Cash in  
 Hand ... .. 1 4 5 £1028 16 11 £1028 16 11 By Balance ... .. £132 10 6

Examined and found correct—

DUNEDIN,

July 1, 1885.

John Davie.  
 Henry Houghton,  
*Secretary.*

## **Imports and Exports.**

### ***Customs Revenue Returns for the year ended 31st March, 1885, for all Ports of Entry.***

Of which was collected at—

### ***Comparative Table of Imports and Exports for the Port of Dunedin for the Years ending June 30th, 1883, 1884, and 1885, respectively.***

### ***Return of Shipping at the Port of Dunedin for the year ending 31st July, 1885.***

TONS. TONS. Foreign ... .. 82 Vessels = 98,423 In, and 43 Vessels 73,597 Out. Intercolonial ... 147 " =  
 123,741 " 116 " = 111,728 " Coastwise ... 642 " = 168,502 " 688 " = 194,441 " Totals ... 871 = 390,667  
 847—379,766 1884 ... 917 352,333 879 333,039

### ***Principal Items of Export.***

### ***Intercolonial Trade for the Year ending 31st March, 1885.***

### ***Registered Tonnage of Colonial Owned Vessels, Port of Otago.***

### ***Return showing the number of Foreign and Intercolonial Vessels Entered and Cleared at New Zealand Ports during the year ending 31st March, 1885.***

### ***Return of Gold Exported from 1st April, 1857, to 31st December, 1884.***



Exported for the year ending 31st December, 1884, 239,688 ozs., of the value of £927,433, of which Otago exported 78,810 ozs., of the value of £318,932.

## ***Population.***

Being an estimated Increase during the year of 16,887 on total Population of Colony.  
The Maori Population is 44,000 in addition to the above.

## ***Occupations of People.***

### ***Freehold Estate.***

30,684 persons and 80 companies own 18,511,350 Acres Freehold Land outside Boroughs and Townships of the value of £53,350,812.

Of these two companies hold areas over 150,000 acres, two over 100,000, one over 75,000, and three over 50,000. The total number of Freeholders in the Colony is 71,240, of whom 30,764 own 5 acres and upwards of country land.

### ***Banking Returns, for the Quarter ending June 30th, 1885.***

Being an Increase of Deposits of £245,567 on the Year.  
Advances, £15,306,987, being an Increase on the Year of £295,141.

### ***Savings Banks—Government and Private.***

Total Amount of Deposits in the Colony at the end of Year 1884, £1,499,112. Depositors, 65,717, averaging £22 16s. 3d. each Depositor, being an Increase of £89,861 on the year.

### ***Property Tax Returns, for the Year ending 31st December 1884. Assessment capital value of real property under the Property Assessment Act***

Exclusive of Railways, Telegraph, and other Public Works.  
Returns for the present year not completed.

### ***The National Debt of New Zealand.***

From which, deducting cost of construction of Railways, £11,251,633, from the total indebtedness of £29,574,903, leaves £18,323,270 as the National Debt of the Colony at the present time apart from Railways.  
Amount of Public Debt per head, less Sinking Fund accrued, £53 19s. 9d.

### ***Railways.***

Railway Revenue over Expenditure is approximately estimated up to 31st March last at £355,686. The amount realised on the estimated cost of the Railways is £3 0s. 3d. per cent, per annum.

### ***Export of Frozen Meat.***

*Return shewing the total number of Sheep exported from New Zealand since its commencement in February, 1882, to the 31st August, 1884, with ports of shipment:—*

*Shipped from the following Provinces, from 30th June, 1884, to 30th June, 1885.*

### ***Agricultural Statistics.***

The Official Statistics for Victoria give the total yield of Wheat in that Colony during the season 1884-5 at 10,850,000 bushels, being an average yield of 9.49 bushels per acre.

South Australia.—The Returns give the area under crop as 1,942,453, with a yield of 14,621,755 bushels; the average being 7 bushels 32 pounds per acre.

## Sheep Returns.

## Wool Shipments.

During the past year 4,500 Bales of Wool, of the value of £50,625, were consumed by the Mosgiel, Kaikorai, Roslyn, and Oamaru Woollen Mills. These, added to the quantity exported, raise the production of Otago for 1885 to 77,675 Bales, and the value to £873,844.

In addition to the above the Kaiapoi Mills, Canterbury, worked up 2,050 Bales.

## Coal Industry.

## Dunedin Harbour Improvements.

Vessels drawing 17ft. of water now discharge at Dunedin wharves.

Report of THE ORKNEY AND ZETLAND ASSOCIATION

For 1885.

Printed by Crawford & M'Cabe, 15 Queen Street. Edinburgh: 1886.

## Office-Bearers.

## Patrons.

- The Right Hon. the EARL OF ORKNEY.
- The Right Hon. the EARL OF ZETLAND.
- The Hon. Lord GIFFORD.
- DAVID BALFOUR, Esq. of Balfour and Trenabie, Convener of Orkney.
- MAJOR CAMERON of Garth and Annsbrae, Convener of Shetland.
- ROBERT BAIKIE, Esq. of Tankerness, Vice-Lieutenant of Orkney.
- JOHN PENDER, Esq. of Minard.
- SAMUEL LAING, Esq. of Crook.

## President.

- The Hon. JOHN CHARLES DUNDAS of Papdale, Lord Lieutenant.

## Vice-Presidents.

- JAMES, D. MARWICK, Esq., LL.D., Town-Clerk of Glasgow.
- ROBERT BROTHIE, Esq. of Swannay.
- MAJOR-GENERAL F. W. TRAILL BURROUGHS of Veira, C.B.
- ARTHUR JAMES HAY, Esq., Lerwick.

## Council.

- THOMAS DISHINGTON, Merchant, Leith.
- GILBERT GOUDIE, National Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh.
- DAVID PETRIE, 28 Nelson Street, Edinburgh.
- JOHN A. TRAIL, LL.B., W.S., Edinburgh.
- T. W. L. SPENCE, The Holms, Granton Road.
- THOMAS S. CLOUSTON, M.D., Edinburgh.

- DAVID ROSS, M.A., B.Sc., Glasgow.
- THE PRESIDENT of the EDINBURGH ORKNEY and SHETLAND LITERARY ASSOCIATION.

## Secretary.

- JOHN DAVIE, 13 Rankeillor Street, Edinburgh.

## Treasurer.

- JAMES SHAND, Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh.

## Auditor.

- PETER PEACE, Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh.

## District Secretaries.

- *Kirkwall*—R. G. W. IRVINE, Banker.
- *Stromness*—JAMES SPENCE, Banker.
- *Lerwick*—JAMES M. GOUDIE, Merchant.

# Sixteenth Annual Report of the Council of the Orkney and Zetland Association.

The OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION ARE—

- THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE AMONGST THE MEMBERS; AND
- THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE COUNTY BY THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES, BURSARIES, OR OTHERWISE.

EXTRACT RULE VIII.—*'Every Ordinary Member shall, on admission, pay the sum of Five Shillings for the year in which he is admitted, and thereafter an Annual Subscription of Five Shillings during the Membership. Every Honorary Member shall contribute Ten Shillings Annually to the Funds of the Association, or in lieu thereof, a single payment of Three Guineas. A single Payment of One Guinea shall constitute a Lady an Honorary Contributor. The Annual Subscriptions shall be payable on 1st January in each year. Donations will be received from all who are interested in promoting the objects of the Association.'*

THE COUNCIL beg to submit their SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT for the year ending 31st December 1885.

The number of Members on the Roll at the beginning of the year was 161. Of these 5 have been removed by death and otherwise; one Honorary and one Ordinary Member have become Life Members; and there has been an addition during the year of 43 new members—5 Life Members, 2 Honorary Members, and 36 Ordinary Members, making the total number on the Roll at the close of the year 199—consisting of 44 Life Members, 24 Honorary Members, and 131 Ordinary Members.

The Income during the year has been £114, 15s. 6d., and the expenditure £59, 8s. 4d., leaving a credit balance on the year of £55, 7s. 2d. The Funds now amount to £462, 6s. 9d.—consisting of Capital Fund £300, and Ordinary Fund £162, 6s. 9d. This is the largest income the Association has ever had in any one year, and is principally due to the liberal donations and subscriptions afterwards referred to; but the expenditure has also been high, including as it does, the special item of £11, 8s.—paid for the Medal dies. Abstract of Accounts, with Auditor's certificate, is appended.

The Association's Examination was held on 1st May, at convenient centres in the Islands, under the superintendence of one of the ministers of the district. There were 116 competitors—59 from Orkney and 57 from Zetland—from the following districts, viz. :—

The papers were examined and reported on by Mr John Gunn, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, whose services deserve special acknowledgment; and the Council having his Report before them, awarded the School Bursaries, Medal, and Prizes, to the successful Competitors, as mentioned in the annexed

## Prize List.

In his Report Mr Gunn says:—

*The whole number of Competitors in the senior and junior divisions together is 116, from 24 schools. Of these, only 38 fall below the lower limit fixed by the Association as earning a second class prize, and, with one exception, every school is represented on the merit list.*

*In the senior division (including Bursary Competitors) the average value reached in the common subjects is very high, being over 73 per cent., and no one falls so low as 40. The special subjects are also well done; but with some exceptions, especially in Mathematics and in French. The highest honours again fall to the girls, the first medal of the Association being won by Jane Wishart (Hope Public School, South Ronaldshay), with the very high percentage of 94, or a total of 470 out of 500 marks. The school bursary for Orkney is won by John Hourston (Stenness Public School), with papers of much merit throughout, and that for Zetland is won by James Robertson (Cullivoe Public School), whose superiority over the other Competitors is, however, confined to the Common Subjects.*

*In the junior division, the papers are of course of very varied degrees of excellence. The great majority of Competitors show very satisfactory proficiency in their work, and only 24 out of 96, or one-fourth of the whole, are unable to obtain 100 of the 300 marks assigned to the common subjects, while 23 competitors succeed in obtaining 200 marks or more. These and 7 others who likewise reach 60 per cent, obtain a place in the first class, and have sent in papers creditable alike to their teachers and to themselves.*

*'As the value of the answers in each subject is sufficiently indicated by the number of marks assigned, a more detailed Report seems unnecessary.*

*'In view of the very high merit of many of the papers sent in, and bearing in mind also the circumstances of many of the schools in Orkney and Zetland, I am convinced that the Association is acting wisely in trying, by means of these Prize Competitions, to offer some small inducement to the more promising boys and girls to prolong their stay at school beyond the legally prescribed period, in order that they may be the better fitted to secure in after life those more substantial prizes for which an essential condition is the acquisition of a sound elementary education.'*

The Council have fixed Friday, 30th April 1886, as the date of next Examination, and the usual circular has been issued to Teachers and others interested in education in the Islands. The Syllabus of Subjects is appended hereto.

THE ASSOCIATION'S SCHOOL BURSARIES—one for Orkney and one for Zetland—of the annual value of £10 each, and tenable for two years, have both been awarded. The Orkney Bursary to

JOHN HOURSTON, Stenness School;

and the Zetland Bursary to

MAGNUS M. F. PETERSON, Skeld School.

Peterson was second in the Competition for Zetland; the candidate (James Robertson) who took the first place, not having seen his way to accept the Bursary on the usual conditions. Hourston is at present attending the Stromness Burgh School, and Peterson the Lerwick Institute.

These Bursaries will again be open for Competition in 1887, and the Council hope, with the continued prosperity of the Association, to be able to offer them yearly thereafter, which will necessitate an expenditure of £40 a year, in addition to the Medal and Book Prizes.

The Council are also anxious to have at their disposal, one or two Bursaries for girls educated in the Islands, studying for the certificate of School-mistress, to be awarded on the Government Examination for Entrance to Training Colleges.

Two Meetings of the Association were held in the Islands last autumn—one in the Castle Hotel, Kirkwall, on 28th August, and the other in the Queen's Hotel, Lerwick, on 4th September. The Right Hon. The Earl of Zetland occupied the chair at both meetings. At the Kirkwall meeting his Lordship was supported by the Hon. C. T. Dundas, Sheriff Thorns, Rev. Professor Trail, Rev. D. Webster, Dr Traill of Woodwick, Dr Logie, Mr Brochie of Swannay, and Bailie Peace. Mr John Bruce of Sumburgh acted as croupier. And among those present were Messrs J. A. Alsop, F. Bagshawe, M.D., Benj. Bell, M.B., G. E. Case, T. S. Clouston, M.D., J. A. Campbell, M.D., W. Cowper, T. M. Cruickshank, W. Cromarty, W. Drever, A. Gold, J. Heddle, E. B. Holmes, J. I. Inkster, R. G. W. Irvine, A. W. Johnston, James Johnston, jun., Rev. A. Leslie, Rev. J. Linklater, S. Leitch, J. Macrae, E. M. Nelson, W. T. Norquay, J. P. Omond, W. Peace, T. W. Ranken, Rev. J. Rutherford, Bailie Spence, M. Spence, J. A. Trail, W.S., T. W. Traill, C.E., R.N., A. Thomson, and the Secretary.

Letters of apology were intimated from, among others, The Hon. J. C. Dundas of Papdale, M.P., Lord Lieutenant of the county, Dr Baikie of Tankerness, D. Balfour of Balfour, convener of Orkney. Major Cameron of Garth, convener of Zetland, General Burroughs, C.B., J. D. Marwick, LL.D., J. Pender, M.P., and Major Smith-Sligo of Inzievar.

After dinner the Secretary introduced Jane Wishart from St Margaret's Hope School, who took the first

place in the Association's Examination, and had been awarded the Silver Medal as Dux of the county; and John Hourston from Stenness School, who had been awarded the Association's School Bursary, and the Medal and Bursary were presented to them by the Chairman.

The usual loyal and patriotic toasts having been duly honoured, the Chairman proposed 'The Orkney and Zetland Association.' In the course of his speech his Lordship remarked that this was the first meeting of the Association that had been held in the north; and its object being the promotion of friendly intercourse amongst the members, and the advancement of education in the county, he thought it most desirable, in the interests of these scattered Islands, that the Association should receive every encouragement. Several other toasts and speeches were given during the evening, and the meeting was in every respect most successful.

At the Lerwick Meeting his Lordship was supported by the Hon. C. T. Dundas, Mr L. F. U. Garriock of Berry, Mr G. H. B. Hay of Hayfield, Lieut. Bruce, Rev. A. R. Saunders, and Mr C. Robertson. Mr John Macrae, Kirkwall, acted as croupier. And amongst those present were Rev. J. H. Allan, Rev. C. N. Baldie, Messrs J. Bruce of Sumburgh, G. E. Case, James Garriock of Stapness, A. H. Harrison, J. Harrison of Raefirth, A. J. Hay, A. C. Hay, J. J. G. Heddell, J. Hunter, E. B. Holmes, W. Lawrence, H. Morrison, Myles, E. M. Nelson, A. Pole, M.D., A. A. Porteous, W. Smith, Thomas Strong, jun., and G. R. Tait of Helendale. This meeting was also very successful, and a programme was gone through similar to that at Kirkwall.

The very satisfactory accession of 43 new members, and the large addition to the funds of £62, 3s. 6d. received during the year, were largely influenced by these local meetings, and it appeared to be the general feeling that they were calculated to further the objects of the Association, and might be repeated with advantage.

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the ASSOCIATION was held at No. 5 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh, on Friday, 29th January 1886. Sheriff Thorns in the Chair.

The Secretary read the foregoing Report by the Council for the past year, and on the motion of Sheriff Cheyne, seconded by Mr William Garson, it was unanimously adopted.

On the motion of the Secretary, seconded by the Treasurer, 10 additional new members were enrolled, as mentioned in the annexed list.

Mr T. Robertson moved, and Mr J. G. C. Cheyne seconded, the election of Office-bearers for the current year (*see list prefixed*), which was unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Mr Petrie, seconded by Mr Goudie, hearty votes of thanks were accorded to the Secretary and Treasurer, and to Sheriff Thorns for presiding.

## General Abstract OF THE Accounts OF THE Association FOR THE Year 1885.

CHARGE. DISCHARGE To Funds on hand at 31st December 1883, £406 19 7 £20 0 0 To Donations as per separate List, £35 7 6 "Accounts for Book Prizes, . . . . . 10 7 6 "Subscriptions of Honorary Life Members, . . . 16 16 0 "Expenses in connection with Meetings in the Islands, and 52 3 6 Advertising . . . . . 4 5 8 "Annual Subscription of The Earl of Zetland, £ 2 0 "Accounts for Printing—Annual Report, Examination "Annual Subscription of Colonel Balfour, . . . . . 1 0 0 Papers, Notices, Labels, etc., and Paper, . 7 16 6 "Annual Subscriptions of Honorary Members, 11 10 6 "Sundry Expenses—Postages, etc., of Secretary and Treasurer 5 1 8 "Do. do. of Ordinary Members, 30 15 0 Rent of Room for Meetings, . . . . . 0 9 0 "Interest on Deposit with National Bank of India 11 8 0 Ltd., . . . . . 7 10 0 £59 8 4 "Do. on Deposit with National Bank of New Zealand Ltd., . . . 7 10 0 Deposit with National Bank of India Ltd., "Do. on Deposit with Union Bank of Scotland as per Receipt, . . . . . £150 0 0 Ltd., . . . . . 2 1 4 Do. with National Bank of New Zealand "Do. on Current Account with do. . . . . 0 3 2 Ltd., as per Receipt 150 0 0 62 12 0 Do. with Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., . 150 0 0 Current Account with Do., . . . 12 5 9 In hands of the Treasurer, . . . 0 1 0 462 6 9 Total Charge, . . £521 15 1 Total Discharge, £521 15 1

*James Shand, Treasurer.*

EDINBURGH, 28th January 1880.

—I have examined the foregoing Accounts for the year ended 31st December 1885, and have found the same correctly stated and vouched; the balance due on the Capital Account being £300, and that on the

Ordinary Fund, £162, 6s. 9d., of which sums £150 is lodged on Deposit Receipt with the National Bank of India Ltd., £150 on Deposit Receipt with the National Bank of New Zealand Ltd., £150 on Deposit Receipt with the Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., and £2, 5s. 9d. at the credit of the Association's Account current with the Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh, the balance of is being in the hands of the Treasurer.

Gilbert Goudie, *Auditor*.

## Prize List, 1885.

*(First Class, above 60 per cent.; and Second Class, from 10 to 60 per cent.)*

THE ASSOCIATION'S MEDAL, to the Candidate taking the first place in the Senior Division, awarded to—  
Jane Wishart, St Margaret's Hope.

### Senior Division.

- First Class.
- Mary Home, St Margaret's Hope.
- John Hourston, Stenness (Bursary).
- James J. Hardie, Lerwick Institute.
- John J. Barnett, Sanday.
- John Anderson, Costa.
- Jane Anderson, Costa.
- May Sandison, Cullivoe.
- Lizzie Spence, St Margaret's Hope.
- James Robertson, Cullivoe.
- Ellen Hay, Sandwick, Zetland.
- Second Class.
- Magnus M. F. Peterson, Skeld (Bursary)
- Jeannie Duncan, Tomison's Academy.
- Marcus Wood, Costa.
- Angus Gunn, Cunningsburgh.
- Robert Halcrow, Cunningsburgh.
- Alice Gibson, Frotoft.
- William Smith, Sandwick, Zetland
- James Anderson, Brae.

### Junior Division.

SPECIAL PRIZE to the Candidate taking the first place in the Junior Division, awarded to—

- Edward Russell, South Walls.

### Orkney Schools.

First Class.

- Lillie Sword, South Walls
- Mary Gibson, South Walls.
- Magnus Louttit, St Margaret's Hope.
- John Malcolmson, South Walls.
- William Ritch, Sanday.
- Jas. B. Struthers, St. Margaret's Hope.
- Margaret Peace, Sanday.
- Jessie J. Brown, St Margaret's Hope
- John Muir, Sanday.
- William Kirkness, Wasbister.
- James Gibson, South Walls.
- Andrew Wishart, St Margaret's Hope.
- Mary Barnett, Sanday.
- James Banks, St Margaret's Hope.

- Alexander Gillies, Orphir.
- James Spence, Costa.
- Isabella Sinclair, Sanday.
- David M'Neill, Holm.
- Mary A. Foubister, Holm
- Maria Sinclair, Harray.
- James Brown, Tomison's Academy.

#### Second Class.

- John Garrioch, Orphir.
- Alexander Leith, St Margaret's Hope
- Bella Ritch, Brims.
- Georgina Stout, Brims.
- John Swanson, Brims.
- Mary Norquay, Widewall.
- Andrew Anderson, Costa.
- William Mowatt, Tomison's Academy
- Frederick Kirkness, Wasbister.
- Jeffrey Baikie, Cross.
- James Garrioch, Orphir.
- William Sinclair, St Margaret's Hope
- Alice Gibson, Wasbister.

## Zetland Schools.

#### First Class.

- Charles Jamieson, Baltasound.
- James J Pottinger, Lerwick.
- Lawrence D. Smith, Baltasound
- William Sinclair, Lerwick.
- James R. Ridland, Sand.
- Edward Young, Sand.
- Martha Goudie, Boddam.
- John Abernethy, Sand.

#### Second Class

- Mary Brown, Lerwick Institute.
- William Goudie, Lerwick.
- George Jamieson, Cunningsburgh.
- John M Bunt, Baltasound.
- James White, Baltasound.
- David White, Baltasound.
- Catherine Thomson, Lerwick Institute.
- Angus M'Kay, Baltasound.
- John A. M'Kay, Baltasound.
- Malcolm Smith, Lerwick Institute.
- Jessie R. Smith, Lerwick.
- Robert Gunn, Cunningsburgh.
- Magnus Harrison, Lerwick.
- James Arcus, Lerwick Institute.
- Georgina Abernethy, Sand.
- Helen Tohnson, Skeld.
- Peter Henderson, Sand.

# Syllabus of Examination for 1886.

## I.—Common Subjects.

ENGLISH.—Writing from Dictation; Elements of English Grammar.

ARITHMETIC.—Simple and Compound Rules, Practice, Bills of Parcels, Proportion, and Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

GEOGRAPHY.—The Geography of the British Isles, and General Geography of Europe.

HISTORY.—The History of Great Britain from the Union of the Crowns to the Death of George III.

## II.—Special Subjects.

MATHEMATICS.—Geometry—First Book of Euclid.

Algebra—the Elementary Rules, and Simple Equations.

LATIN.—Grammar. Translation of a passage from the first Book of Cæsar. Easy English sentences turned into Latin.

FRENCH.—Grammar. Translation of a passage from the first three Books of Voltaire's *Charles XII*. Easy English sentences turned into French.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.—Inclusive of the three stages prescribed in the Scotch Code, Schedule TV. (*For Girls only*.)

NOTE.—Every Candidate for the Junior Prizes shall be required to take all the Common Subjects.

Every Candidate for the Senior Prizes shall be required to take all the Common Subjects, and *any two* of the Special Subjects.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO GAINED THE FIRST PLACE IN THE ASSOCIATION'S SENIOR EXAMINATION—

- 1872. John Gunn,  
One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for Scotland.  
Stromness.
- 1873. William R. Rac,  
Head Master of Cambden Street School, Newcastle.  
Stromness.
- 1874. John W. Slater,  
Minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Scone.  
Kirkwall.
- 1875. Andrew Robertson,  
Deceased.  
Stromness. (Discontinued from 1875 to 1885.)
- 1885. *Jane Wishart*, St Margaret's Hope.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO GAINED THE FIRST PLACE IN THE ASSOCIATION'S JUNIOR EXAMINATION, AND WERE AWARDED A SPECIAL PRIZE—

- 1873. John W. Slater, Kirkwall.
- 1874. James Scott, Sanday.
- 1875. Andrew Robertson, Stromness.
- 1876. Isabella Sinclair, St Margaret's Hope.
- 1877. Barbara Robertson, Lerwick.
- 1878. Andrew Harrison, Lerwick, and Magnus Nicolson, Nesting, equal.
- 1879. Mary Walker, Lerwick.
- 1880. James Slater, Kirkwall.
- 1881. Alex. M. Laughton, St Margaret's Hope.
- 1882. William Russell, South Walls.
- 1883. Evelyn M. Flett, Firth.
- 1884. May L. Grieve, Kirkwall.
- 1885. *Edward Russell*, South Walls.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO HAVE HELD THE ASSOCIATION SCHOOL BURSARIES (£10 for two years)—

BURSARIES IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY (FACULTY OF ARTS) FOR THE BENEFIT OF ORKNEY AND ZETLAND STUDENTS.

*The Orkney and Zetland Bursary*, founded by the late Earl of Zetland in 1872, of the annual value of £40, and tenable for three years.

It will be open for competition at the beginning of Session 1886-7.

Candidates must be Natives of these Islands, or Children of Parents one or both of whom have been born in, or connected for a long period of years with, the Islands; and must be intending to commence as First-Year Students, and to prosecute their studies for the full curriculum preparatory to Graduation in Arts.

It has been held by—



- 1872. Frederick William Pelly.
- 1874. James Hoseason Ballantyne.
- 1877. James Marwick.
- 1880. Theodore Johnston.
- 1883. *James Baikie*.

*The Earl of Zetland's Bursaries 1877.*—(There will ultimately be about seven Bursaries of the annual value of between £30 and £40 each.)

Candidates must be Natives of these Islands, or Children of Parents one or both of whom have been born in, or connected for a long period of years with, the Islands; and must be intending to commence as First-Year Students, and to prosecute their studies for the full curriculum preparatory to Graduation in Arts.

They must also either have been wholly educated in the Islands, or, at least, they must not have attended any school elsewhere for the period of four years before being admitted as Candidates.

The first of these has been held by—

- 1881. George William Reid
- 1885. *William Park*.

Further information, regarding both these Bursaries, may be obtained from Messrs H. G. & S. Dickson, W.S., 12 Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.

## ***List of Members at 31st December 1885.***

### **I.—HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS.**

- The Right Hon the Earl of Orkney.
- The Right Hon. the Earl of Zetland.
- The Hon. John Charles Dundas of Papdale, Lord-Lieutenant of Orkney and Zetland.
- The Hon. Thomas Dundas, Middleton Lodge, Middleton Tyas, Yorkshire.
- Colonel David Balfour of Balfour and Trenabie, Orkney.
- John Blair, W.S., 22 Castle St., Edinburgh
- John Bruce of Sumburgh, Shetland.
- Major General, F. W. T. Burroughs of Veira, C.B., Orkney.
- Edward S. Clouston, Banker, Montreal
- T. S. Clouston, M.D., Tipperlinn House, Morningside Place, Edinburgh.
- D. Deuchar, Harlaw, Hope Ter., Edin.
- John Gray of Roeberry, South Ronald shay, Orkney.
- The Hon. Lord Gifford, Granton House, Edinburgh.
- Sir R. G. C. Hamilton, K.C.B., Under Secy, of State for Ireland, The Castle, Dublin.
- Rev. William Harcus, M.A., St Andrews Presbyterian Church, Sheffield.
- Wm. Hawley, 137 George St., Edinburgh
- Alfred Chas. Hebden, Cawdor, Nairn.
- J. G. M. Heddle of Melsetter, Orkney.
- Maj. G. F. F. Horwood of Westvoe, Orkney.
- Samuel Laing of Crook, London
- J. B. Leask of Sand, Lerwick.
- Nathaniel Leask, M.A., Oakfield, Hornsey, London, N.
- David W. Marwick, M.A., LL B., W.S., Edinburgh.
- James D. Marwick, LL.D., City Clerk, Glasgow.
- John C. Mellis, Sheriff-Substitute, Kirkwall.
- Edward M. Nelson, Clare House, Westend Lane, West Hampstead, London.
- John Pender, 66 Old Broad St., London.
- William Peterson, Highland Road, Upper Norwood, London.
- John C. Peterson, Merchant, 6 Queen Street, Melbourne.
- David Petrie, 28 Nelson St., Edinburgh.
- Rev. John H. Pollexfen of Cairston.
- John M. Ritchie of Bawraid, Dunedin.
- W. B. Scarth, Toronto, Canada.
- Basil Sievwright, Solicitor, Dunedin.

- Major A. V. Smith-Sligo of Inzievar, Drummond Place, Edinburgh.
- Hon. Robert Stout, Solicitor, Dunedin.
- Thomas Stout, jun., M. A., B.L., Writer, Glasgow
- George Hunter Thorns, Sheriff and Vice-Admiral of Orkney and Zetland, Edinburgh.
- James W. H. Trail, M.D., Professor of Botany, Aberdeen University.
- John A. Trail, M.A., LL.B., W.S., Edinburgh.
- Thomas W. Traill, C.E., R.N., 16 The Chase, Clapham Common, London.
- William Walls, Glasgow.

## **II.—HONORARY MEMBERS.**

- Robert Baikie of Tankerness, M.D., 55 Melville Street, Edinburgh.
- Gilbert Bain, 3 Mayfield Ter., Edinburgh.
- Rev. Alex Bayne, Tingwall, Shetland.
- Robert Bell of Lunna, Sheriff-Substitute, Falkirk.
- Robert Brothie of Swannay, 5 John's Place, Leith.
- Major T. M. Cameron of Garth, Lerwick.
- Harry Cheyne, W.S., 9 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
- John Cheyne, Sheriff of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Selkirk, Edinburgh.
- David Flett, S.S.C., 57 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
- L. F. U. Garriock, Gibliston House, Scalloway, Shetland.
- R. P. Gilbertson, Merchant, Glasgow.
- Andrew Gold, Chamberlain to the Earl of Zetland, Kirkwall.
- Captain John Harrison, 3 Bowater Place, Blackheath, Kent.
- Arthur James Hay, Merchant, Lerwick
- G. H. B. Hay of Hayfield, Lerwick.
- R. G. W. Irvine, Banker, Kirkwall.
- John Macrae, Procurator-Fiscal, Kirkwall,
- Hon. John Norquay, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Charles Rampini, Sheriff-Substitute, Elgin
- Samuel Reid of Braebuster, Kirkwall.
- R. M. Smith, Bellevue Cres., Edinburgh
- John Spence, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Geo Stewart, Merchant. Bath St., Leith.
- John Walls, S.S.C., 33 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.

## **III.—ORDINARY MEMBERS.**

- Alfred A. Adie, Voe, Shetland
- William J. Adie, Voe, Shetland.
- W. M. Anderson, 22 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
- James Baikie, 7 Queen's Place, Greenside Row, Edinburgh.
- W. S. Baikie, Teacher, Glenbuck.
- Alexander B. Bews, 26 Bothwell Street, Glasgow.
- R. H. Bell, yr. of Lunna, Edinburgh.
- Benjamin D. C. Bell, M.B., Kirkwall.
- W. E. Brand, Inland Revenue Office, Edinburgh.
- James Brothie, Merchant, 9 Mincing Lane, London.
- Angus Buchanan, Banker, Kirkwall.
- Peter Campbell, M.A., Morningside College, Edinburgh.
- Rev. William Caskey, B.D., Orphir, Orkney.
- J. G. C. Cheyne, Scottish Widows' Fund, Edinburgh.
- James Copland, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.
- John S. Copland, Solicitor, Stromness.
- William Cowper, Town-Clerk, Kirkwall.
- W. Cromarty, Berridale, South Ronaldsay.
- John Cursiter, Merchant, Kirkwall.

- John Davie, Standard Life Assurance Company, Edinburgh.
- Thomas Dishington, 5 Laverock Bank Terrace, Trinity.
- Jaines Drever, Factor. Harris.
- John Drever, 50 Nicolson St., Edinburgh.
- William Drever, Solicitor, Kirkwall.
- George Elgin, 12 North St Andrew Street, Edinburgh.
- William Firth, Secretary. North British Rubber Company, Edinburgh.
- J. K. Galloway, Solicitor, Lerwick.
- P. Garriock, Commission Agent, Lerwick.
- William Garson, 21 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
- James Gibson, S.S.C., 1 Lutton Place, Edinburgh.
- Thomas Gifford, Busta, Shetland.
- Gilbert Goudic, 39 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.
- James M. Goudie, Montfield, Lerwick.
- James T. Goudie, Manufacturer, Glasgow.
- James C. Grierson, yr. of Quendale.
- A. M. Sutherland Græme, yr. of Graæmes-hall, Orkney.
- John Gunn, M.A., Inspector of Schools, 41 Gillespie Crescent, Edinburgh.
- Arthur H. Harrison, Merchant, Lerwick.
- A. Cunningham Hay, Merchant, Lerwick.
- J. Heddle, Rectifier, 35 Bath Street, Leith.
- B. H. Hossack of Craigiefield, Kirkwall.
- Captain Robert Hossack, Bonnington, Leith.
- George Hourston, Shipping Agent, Leith.
- R. Humphrey, City of Glasgow Life Assurance Company, Edinburgh.
- James Hunter, Accountant, Lerwick.
- John S. Ireland, 20 Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.
- William Irvine, Banker, Lerwick.
- Rev. J. S. W. Irvine, St Margaret's Hope
- Rev. Alex. Isdale, B.D., Kirkwall.
- P. W. Jamieson, P. & O. Navigation Company, London.
- Alfred W. Johnston, 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster, London.
- Chas. S. S. Johnston, Architect, Edinburgh.
- James Johnston, yr. of Coubister, Orkney.
- Jas. M. Johnston, 16 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Arthur Laurenson, Leog House, Lerwick.
- C. D. Laurenson, Banker, Lerwick.
- Gilbert Laurenson, Inland Revenue, Lerwick.
- W. C. Liddle, Writer, Kirkwall.
- G. R. Linklater, Merchant, Lerwick.
- Rev. Jacob Linklater, M.A., New Deer, Aberdeenshire
- J. S. Linklater, Merchant, Leith.
- S. T. Linklater, M.B., Hillsboro, Oregon, U.S.A
- James S. S. Logic, M.D., Kirkwall.
- Alexander Macgregor, Solicitor, Lerwick.
- J. P. Marwick, 65 Nicolson Street, Edinburgh.
- M. Marwick, 65 Nicolson Street, Edinburgh.
- George Melville, 4 Princes Sq., Glasgow.
- D. Mitchell, Solicitor, Lerwick.
- R. B. Mitchell, M.D., Royal Asylum, Edinburgh.
- Charles Merrylees, Manager, North of Scotland Shipping Co., Aberdeen.
- Arthur Morison, Scottish Provident Institution, Edinburgh.
- H. Morrison, Bookseller, Lerwick.
- John Mouat, 28 North Bridge, Edinburgh.
- Samuel Mullay. Edinburgh Gas Company, Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.
- W. T. Norquay, Banker, St Margaret's Hope.
- J. P. Omand, 9 Sylvan Place, Edinburgh.
- Peter Peace, Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh.

- Wm. Peterson, M.A., Principal, University College, Dundee.
- Arthur A. Porteous, Chemist, Lerwick.
- John Rae, Bookseller, Stromness.
- Charles M. Reid, Manufacturer, Leith.
- James A. Ritchie, Stockbroker, 135 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.
- A. Macbeth Robertson, Zetland Villa, Dumfries.
- Charles Robertson, Merchant, Lerwick.
- George Robertson, Noma's Court, Lerwick.
- John Robertson, Merchant, Lerwick.
- John Robertson, Jun., Merchant, Lerwick.
- R. J. Robertson, 21 Duke Street, Leith.
- Thomas Robertson, Inland Revenue Office. Edinburgh.
- John B. Robson, Teacher, Crossmichael.
- David Ross, M.A., B.Sc., Rector E. C. Training College, Glasgow.
- W. B. M. Rossie, Merchant, Stromness.
- James Russell, City Chambers, Edinburgh.
- J. O. Russell, Teviot Place, Edinburgh
- R. S. Russell. 4 Forrest Road, Edinburgh.
- Rev. John Rutherford, B.D., Kirkwall.
- Arthur Sandison, Town Clerk, Lerwick.
- Alexander Sandison, Merchant, Lerwick.
- Andrew Sandison, Publisher, Lerwick.
- Rev. A. R Saunders, M.A., Lerwick.
- James Sclater, North British Rubber Company, Edinburgh.
- James Shand, Union Bank of Scotland Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Wm. M. Shand, Shipping Agent, Lerwick.
- J. A. Shearer, Grocer, Stromness.
- Peter Sievwright, Actuary, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- William Sievwright, Solicitor, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Rev. John W. Slater, B.D., Scone.
- William Smith, Chemist, Stockbridge, Edinburgh.
- James Spence, Banker, Stromness.
- John D. Spence, Scottish Widows' Fund, Edinburgh.
- Robert Spence, M.B., Burntisland.
- T. W. L. Spence, General Board of Lunacy, Edinburgh.
- Rev. S. S. Stobbs, II London Street, Edinburgh.
- Robert Stout, Postmaster, Lerwick.
- Thomas Stout, Writer, Glasgow.
- Thomas Strong, Jr., Shoemaker, Lerwick.
- Jas. Sutherland, Law Agent, Edinburgh.
- W. T. Sutherland, S.S.C., 38 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.
- George R. Tail, Merchant, Lerwick.
- Andrew Thomson, Solicitor, Kirkwall.
- R. C. Traill, Merchant, 16 Scotland St., Edinburgh.
- R. H. Traill, 7 Drapers' Gardens, Throgmorton Street, London
- William Traill of Woodwick, M.D., St Andrews.
- Weems Walls, 5 Hanover St., Glasgow.
- W. G. T. Watt of Breckness, Orkney.
- L. H. S. White, National Bank, St Enoch Square, Glasgow.
- James. H. Wilson, 5 Hanover Street, Glasgow.
- D. F. Wishart, 14 Greenhill Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Rev. T. D. Wiagate, Stromness.
- Rev. D. Woodside, B.D., Glasgow.
- W. A. Young, Leith Engine Works, Leith.

## **HONORARY LADY CONTRIBUTORS.**

- Mrs Edmondston of Bunes, Shetland.

- Mrs Saxby, St Leonard's Hill, Edinburgh.

## Members Enrolled Since the Close of Year.

### LIFE MEMBER.

- George W. T. Omond, Advocate, 4 Royal Circus, Edinburgh.

### HONORARY MEMBERS.

- George E. Case, 27 Inverness Terrace, London, W.
- Everard Britten Holmes, Beaconsfield Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- Robert Hunter, 30 Upper Gilmore Place, Edinburgh.

### Ordinary Members.

- James Hunter, I Drum dry an Street, Edinburgh.
- A. G. Sinclair, Commercial Bank, Edinburgh.
- John Ross, Cowgate Port School, Edinburgh.
- Robert D. Stanger, 61 North Bridge. Edinburgh.
- R. L. Work, 49 South Clerk Street, Edinburgh.
- James C. Laughton, 18 Crichton Place, Edinburgh

Report by the Directors of the Shetland Fisherman's Widows' Relief Fund,  
As at 31st December, 1885.

*Registered as a Benevolent Society Under 38 And 39 Vic., Cap. 60.*

PRINTED AT THE "SHETLAND NEWS" OFFICE, LERWICK.

Back Cover

## Shetland Fishermen's Widows' Relief Fund.

Report, 1885.

## Shetland Fishermen's Widows' Relief Fund.

*Report by the Directors of the SHETLAND FISHERMEN'S WIDOWS' RELIEF FUND, as at 31st December, 1885.*  
vignette

The Year just closed has been uneventful in the history of the Fund, and the Directors have nothing very interesting to record. The total number of Widows, Children, and Dependents left by the Disaster of July 1881, and receiving Relief from the ORIGINAL FUND, is at this date 117, or 5 less than last year, two boys and two girls having been struck off during the year, after reaching the ages of 14, and one woman—a dependent—having died.

During the year only one casualty occurred—the drowning of Adam Smith, Gott, Cunnings burgh, when returning from the fishing on the 17th June. He left a widow and child, who were admitted to the benefit of the PERMANENT FUND, the total number assisted from it during the year being 25.

The CONTINGENT FUND now amounts to £500, the sum originally aimed at.

In July last, Sheriff RAMPINI, chairman, was appointed to Elgin and Nairn, and in consequence resigned his connection with the Fund. The Directors recorded their regret at his removal in a fitting minute, and the vacancy as a Director *ex officio* will be filled, in terms of the Rules, by his successor, Sheriff MACKENZIE.

Three of the Directors—viz., Messrs John Jamieson (Maywick), Charles Robertson, and Arthur Sandison, and the Secretary and Treasurer—retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election.

BY ORDER.

Thos. M. Cameron,  
*Vice-Chairman.*

## Shetland Relief Fund—Original.

*Account of Treasurers Intromissions, from 7th December 1884, to 7th December 1885.*

### Charge.

- I.—Balances as per Last Account—*
- II.—Revenue—*
- III.—Capital Realised—*
- IV.—Sundries—*

### Discharge.

- I.—Investments—*
- II.—Aliment—*
- III.—Expenses of Management—*
- IV.—Funds at Close of this Account—*

E. & O. E.

Alex. Mitchell, TREASURER.

EDINBURGH, 24TH DECEMBER, 1885.—I have examined the foregoing Account, and find it to be correctly stated and properly vouched. I have also examined the various securities and other documents instructing the Funds, and find them in order.

Cha. Prentice, C.A.,

*Public Auditor under the Friendly Societies' Act.*

## Shetland Relief Fund—Permanent.

*Account of Treasurers Intromissions, from 7th December 1884, to 7th December 1885.*

### Charge.

- I.—Balances as per Last Account—*
- II.—Members' Subscriptions—*
- III.—Interests—*
- IV.—Contingent Fund—*
- V.—Miscellaneous—*
- VI.—Capital Realized—*

### Discharge.

- I.—Allowances—*
- II.—Management—*
- III.—Investments—*
- IV.—Funds at Close of this Account—*

E. & O. E.

Alex. Mitchell, TREASURER.

EDINBURGH, 24TH DECEMBER, 1885.—I have examined the foregoing Account, and find it to be correctly

stated and properly vouched. I have also examined the various securities and other documents instructing the Funds, and find them in order.

Cha. Prentice, C.A., *Public Auditor under the Friendly Societies' Act.*

vignette

Front Cover

Görliker Congress für handfertigkeits-Unterricht

am 27. Mai 1885

Heransgegeben im Auftrag des Deutschen Centralcomite für handfertigkeits-Unterricht und hausfleik.

Bremen. Druck von C. W. Rouffell. 1885

## Borbericht.

Einladung zum Congreß wurden an fämmtliche deutche Unterrichtsbehörden und preußische Bezirksregierungen, ferner an alle deutchen Städte über 10000 Einwohner, und endlich an alle bekannten Freunde der Bewegung sei es durch directe Zufendung, sei es durch Bekanntmachung in pädagogischen und politischen Zeitungen erlassen. Threr Berbreitung entsprach die äußerft rege Betheiligung, die sich auf hunderte belief. Man glaubte aber auch herborragenden ausländischen Bertretern eine einladung zufenden zu müffen, zunächst weil das Ausland auchbeutchen Bertretern der Cache schon mehrfach Gattfreundchaft gewährt hat, dann weil die letzte Anregung selbst erst vom Auslande zu uns gekommen ist, und endlich weil sich hoffen ließ, daß man von den Bertretern des Auslandes noch manches für Deutschland lernen werde, Bergleicht man den Besuch der drei früheren Berfammlungen mit der diesmaligen, so ist nicht zu verfennen, daß die Bewegung für handarbeits-Unterricht der Ruaben in immer weitere Reife eindringt.

Bon namhaften Persönlichkeiten, welche anwesend waren, erwähnen wir die herren Geheimerath Wifchnegradski aus St. Petersburg, Oberpräsident der Provinz Schlefien Wirkliche Geheime Rath Dr. von Gendewiß aus Breslau, Ministerialrath und Borftand des badischen Oberfchulraths foos aus Karlsruhe Bertreter der drei schlefischen Bezirks-Regierungen Geheimerath Bock aus Liegnitz, Oberregierungsrath von Dörnberg aus Oppeln, Regierungs- und Gchulrath Gander aus Breslau, zwei Gchul-Inspectoren aus Breslau, drei Bertreter des schlfischen Central-Gewerbevereins u. f. f.

In Görlitz hatte sich ein Centralcomite gebildet, welches in Gemeinschaft mit dem geschäftsführenden Ausfcheß des deutchen Centralcomites die Einladung zum Congreß in folgender form erließ:

*Die jeßt in Deutschland in erfreulichem Wachfen begriffene Bewegung für Einföhrung eines erziehlichen handfertigkeits-Unterrichts gibt dem deutchen Centralcomite für handfertigkeit und hausfleiß Beranlassung, in diesem Jahre eine allgemeine öffentliche Berfammling der Freunde dieser Bestrebungen zu dem Zwecke einzuberufen, um einerseits den innern Ausbau dieses zeitgemäßen Unterrichtszweiges weiter zu fördern, und andrefeits denjenigen kreifen welche der gache zur Zeit noch ferner, aber doch Fhmpathifch gegenüberstehen, einen nähern Einblick in das Wesen dieser Bestrebungen zu geben. Als Berfammlingort hat das Centralcomite, dem einstimmigen Wunfche feiner Mitglieder entsprechend, die Stadt Görlitz gewählt, da dieselbe nicht nur als einer der Ausgangspuncte der Bewegung zu erachten ist, sondern dem Besuch auch Gelegenheit bietet, eine der schon länger bestehenden nach streng pädagogischen Grundfäßen geleiteten handfertigkeitsfchulen einsehen zu können. Außerdem wird die Stadt Görlitz in diesem Jahre noch eine besondere Ausziehung dadurch üben, daß dort vom 15. Mai ab eine in größerem Stile angelegte Gewerbe- und Industrie-Ausstellung eröffnet sein wird. Das deutche Centralcomite ladet daher, in Gemeinschaft mit dem unterzeichneten Localcomite, alle Freunde des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts auf*

### **Mittwoch den 27. Mai**

zu einem deutchen Congreß für handfertigkeits-Unterricht nach dem genannten Orte ergebenft ein. Zur weiteren Orientirung für die erschienenen herren fügen wir nachstehend das Programm des Congreffes bei.

Für seine weitere wirksamkeit wünscht das Centralcomite die Orte zu erfahren, in welchen die Bedingungen für die Errichtung von handfertigkeitsfchulen vorhanden sind oder burch entsprechende Auregung geschaffen werden können. Herr Landtags-Abgeordneter von Schenckendorff wird diese Angelegenheit in feinem Referat-Punct 7 des Congreß-Programms-näher besprechen und den Weg zur Errichtung von handfertigkeitsfchulen andeuten. Um für diese Thätigkeit des Centralcomites einen realen Boden zu schaffen, bitten wir unfere Frunde dem genannten Herrn entweder vorher brieflich oder im Laufe des 27. Mai mündlich mitzutheilen, an welchen Puncten des Deutschen Reiches zur Zeit die Absicht oder der Wunfch auf Errichtung einer handfertigkeitsfchule besteht.

Schließlich bitten wir Sie unferer Einladung nicht nur freundliche Folge geben, sondern in unferem Namen

*auch in Ihren Bekannten- kreifen auf einen thunlichft regen Befuch des Congreffes gefälligft hinwirken zu wollen.*

*Bremen, im Mai 1885.*

## **Ramens des deutfchu Centralcomite Für handfertigkeit und hausfleiß**

### **der gelchäftsführende Auslchuk.**

- A. Lammers-Bremen, Dr. Brenning-Bremen, Borfißender des Centralcomite.
- Bücking-Bremen, Credner-Bremen, Dr. Chmck-Bremen, Bau-Inspector. Seminar-Director. Senator.
- Brinkmann-Walle bei Bremen, Oberlehrer.

Görliß, im mai 1885.

### **Das Localcomite.**

- von Scheuckendorff, Landtagsabgeordneter. Borfißender.
- Bethe, Iuftizrath und Stadtverordneten-Borfteher.
- Dr. Eitner, gymnaſial-Director.
- Dr. Förfter, prakt. Arzt.
- Henne, Bürgermeifter.
- Hoer, Goldarbeiter.
- Em. alex. Kaß, Kaufmann.
- Lätſch, Tifchlermeifter.
- Nenmann, Lehrer, Director der handfertigkeitſchule.
- Rauthe, Stadtrath.
- Reichert, Oberbürgermeifter.
- Schulße, königlicher Superintendent und kreisſchulinſpector.
- Tſchierlchky, Stadtrath und Polizeidirigent.
- Urbaneck, Stadtpfarrer.
- v. d. Velde, Oberlehrer.
- Weife, Mittelfchullehrer.

### **Das Congreß-Programm war wie folgt aufgeſtellt:**

Eine aus acht Mitgliedern beſtehende Empfangs-Commiffion hatte die Aufgabe übernommen, die auswärtigen Gäfte am Bahnhof zu empfangen, und zugleich in unmittelbarer Nähe deffelben während zweier Tage ein Zimmer zur Auskunfter-theilung beſetzt gehalten. Eine Preb-Commiffion nahm ſich der herftellung der



Zeitungs-Referate und der stenographischen Aufnahme der Congreß-Behandlungen an, und eine Ausstellung-Commission der Auffstellung der von auswärts eingegangenen Schülerarbeiten im Congreß-Gaal. Diese Commissionen bestanden ausnahmslos aus Görlißer Lehrern.

Die Begrüßung des Centralcomite am 26 Mai im "König Wilhelm" erfolgte durch den Stadtverordneten-Borftelher Herrn Iuftizrath Bethe. Bei dem gemeinfamen Mahle welches nach Schluß des Congreffes in der Reffource stattfand, herrschte die heiterste Stimmung, da man auf die Behandlungen als durchaus gelungene zurückblicken konnte. Herr Bürgermeister Heyne brachte den Ehrentripfurch auf den Kaiser aus, Herr von Schenckendorff den auf die Gönner der Bestrebungen des Congreffes, insbesondere die Kronprinzessin und Herr Stadtpfarrer Urbanek auf die von auswärts erschienenen Gäste. Herr Director Grunow aus Berlin dankte dem Localcomite und endete mit einem Hoch auf die Stadt Görliß. Herr Geh. Sanitätsrath Dr. Krifteller aus Berlin ließ das Centralcomite leben in der Person des Borftelbenden desselben A. Lammers aus Bremen, der danach die Freunde feierte, welche am Erscheinen verhindert waren, aber geschrieben oder den Congreß telegraphisch begrüßt hatten; darunter der finnische Schulreformer Uno Cygnaeus und der schwedische Glöjd-Apostel Otto Galomon. Eine Reihe weiterer Reden folgte nach, u. a. von Geheimerath Wifchnegradski, v. Claufon-Kaas, Oberlehrer Dr. v. d. Belde, Schuldirektor Kunath aus Dresden, Schulrath Krähe aus Halle und Stadtrath Rauthe. Am Schluffe folgte noch ein besonders Hoch auf Herrn von Schenckendorff, dessen schon mehrfach gedacht war.

## Derhandlungen des Congreffes.

(Stenographirt von den Lehrern Otto Lehmann und Eduard Bogel, Mitgliedern des Stolze'schen Stenographenbundes zu Görliß.)

A. Lammers aus Bremen: hochgeehrte Herren! Im Namen und im Auftrag des deutschen Centralcomite für Handfertigkeit und Hausfleiß erlaube ich mir die Berfammlang zu eröffnen. Nach den vergangenen Pfingstfesttagen werden wir aus heute einer gemeinfamen ernsten Arbeit hingeben, von der wie überzeugt sind, daß sie der wirtschaftlichen wie der geistigen Kraft der Nation ebenso diene als die schöne Ausstellung, deren Zengen wir gleichzeitig hier sein können.

Landtags-Abgeordneter v. Schenckendorff: Es war anfangs nicht beabfichtigt, eine Ausstellung auswärtiger Schülerarbeiten mit der heutigen Berfammlang zu verbinden. Infolge eines Atrages aus Kroatien aber und andern aus unferer eignen Provinz ist es jedoch in letzter Stunde noch geschehen, so daß die übrigen Schulen erst spät aufgefordert werden konnten. Immerhin hat die Ausstellung noch einen sehr ansehnlichen Umfang gewonnen. Die Schule zu Giffek in Kroatien wünscht ein Urtheil des Congreffes über die ausgestellten Arbeiten. Es wird sich das allerdings nicht anders ermöglichen lassen, als daß wir unsere Meinungen privatim gegenseitig austauschen und daß ich das daraus resultirende Urtheil der Schule meinerseits mittheile. Ich bitte also nachher um Ihre Ansicht hierüber. Nächstdem ist eine Anzahl von Sachen zur Ausstellung gelangt, die auf Wunsch des Einfender vertheilt werden können, wie die Zeitschrift "Der Jugend Spiel und Beschäftigung", illustrierte Zeitschrift für Spiel, Beschäftigung, Unterhaltung, Handfertigkeit und Hausfleiß, die Zeitschrift ist herausgegeben von der Leipziger Lehrmittelanstalt, und verdient ihre Beachtung. Weiterhin liegt eine Schrift von dem schweizerischen Reallehrer Seidel "Der Arbeits-Unterricht" zur Ansicht aus, erschienen in Tübingen, die eine der besten sein dürfte, welche über den Gegenstand, der uns beschäftigt, geschrieben sind. Außerdem möchte ich aber nicht verfehlen Sie darauf hinzuweisen, daß auch die Zeitschrift "Nordwest", die schon seit Jahren unser Bereinsorgan ist, und der wir immer weitere Verbreitung und neue Freunde wünschen müssen, hier zur Bertheilung ausliegt. Wer unsere Bestrebungen dauernd verfolgen will, kann dies Organ das ihn im Laufenden erhält, nicht entbehren. Ich bemerke hierzu, daß der Jahrgang bei der wöchentlichen Ausgabe auf 12 M und bei der monatlichen auf 8 M sich beläuft; wer dagegen nur diejenigen Nummern, in denen über Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht berichtet wird, wünscht, zahlt hierfür aufs Jahr nur 4 M. Diese Zeitschrift erscheint in Bremen, und wird von dem Borftelbenden unferes Centralcomites Herrn Lammers herausgegeben. Einen Bestellungsbogen setze ich hiermit in Umlauf. Ferner gestatte ich mir, einige Schreiben hoher und höchster Gönner zu verlesen, und zwar zunächst das Schreiben der hohen Protectorin unferer hiesigen Schule, der Frau Kronprinzessin. Das Schreiben lautet:

*„Ew. hochmohlgeborenen beehre ich mich im höchsten Auftrage ganz ergebenst mitzutheilen, daß Ihre kaiserliche und königliche Hoheit die Frau Kronprinzessin aus der Eingabe vom 18. d. M. mit um so lebhafterer Befriedigung von dem zu Görliß stattfindenden Congreß Kenntnis erhalten hat, als höchst dieselbe die Erwartung hegt, daß dies Unternehmen den auf die Verbreitung des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts gerichteten Bestrebungen zu besonderer Förderung gereichen werde.*

*Ueberzeugt von der hervorragenden Bedeutung, welche diesem Unterrichtszweige beizumessen ist, begleitet Ihre kaiserliche Hoheit den Congreß mit ihren besten Wünschen, und sieht einem mündlichen oder schriftlichen*

*Bericht über die Ergebnisse desselben mit Interesse entgegen.*

*Neues Palais, Wildpark, den*

25. Mai 1885.

*J. B.: E. v. Commerfeld,  
Oberst und persönlicher Adjutant.“*

Wir sind der hohen Protectorin jedenfalls zu großem Dank verpflichtet, daß sie den Congreß in dieser Weise freundlichst begrüßt. Unser Frau Kronprinzessin war von jeher eine huldvolle Gönnerin unserer Bestrebungen. Seitens des Ministers des Innern Herrn von Puttkamer ist ein Schreiben eingegangen, in welchem er bedauert an dem Erscheinen verhindert zu sein, und auch einen seiner Räte nicht schicken zu können. Er sagt zum Schluß: "ich werde indeß gern Veranlassung nehmen, den Bestrebungen auf Einführung des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts, soweit sich für mich hierzu Gelegenheit bietet, auch fernerhin meine Unterstützung zu Theil werden." In ähnlich wohlwollender Weise sprechen sich die Herren Minister von Goßler, von Bötticher, Manbach und von Hofmann aus. Herr Unterstaatssecretär von Möller im Handelsministerium, welchem jetzt der Psmannücker Landfertigkeit-Comité an den dortigen Seminaren untersteht, schreibt erfreulicher Weise u. a.: "Ich gehöre zu denen welche die Ausbreitung des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts für einen Gegenstand halten." Wenn solche Aufsichten an maßgebender Stelle herrschen, können wir gewiß, mit Ruhe und Hoffnung einer weiteren Entwicklung dieses wichtigen Unterrichtszweiges in Preußen entgegensehen. Ich könnte noch eine Zahl anderer werthvoller Schreiben verlesen, doch ich will angeichts unserer Congreßverhandlungen hiermit schließen.

Meine Herren, nach Punct 7 der Tagesordnung findet die Fortsetzung desselben nicht hier sondern im Central-Hospital, rechts neben der Gewerbeausstellung statt. Ich werde Sie also bitten, nachdem der Congreß seine Beendigung erfahren hat, wir dorthin zu folgen. Ich möchte ferner bitten, daß nur die Auswärtigen und die Mitglieder des Localcomité, nicht aber auch die Einheimischen, welche ja stets Gelegenheit haben die Schule einzusehen, wegen des dort zu sehr beengten Raumes meiner Einladung dorthin Folge leisten. Es werden daselbst in drei verschiedenen Gängen Lehrproben von den Lehrern der hiesigen Handfertigkeitsschule vorgeführt werden. Sie können ihnen natürlich nur ein annäherndes Bild gewähren, weil einmal unsere Zeit zu beschränkt ist, um die Lehrproben gründlich vorzuführen und ferner weil die Vorführung derselben immer auf den Schüler den Eindruck einer Schaustellung macht, und ihn befangen macht. Aber Sie werden daraus doch den Classen-Unterricht erkennen.

A. Lammers-Bremen: Meine Herren, das Centralcomité schlägt Ihnen vor, mit dem Vorsteher der heutigen Versammlung zu betrauen Herrn Professor Biedermann-Leipzig, Herrn Abg. v. Schenckendorff-Görliß und den Director des Kunstgewerbe-Museums in Berlin Herrn Grunow, sowie zu Schriftführern zu ernennen die Herren Lehrer Gärtig-Pofen und Püfchel-Görliß.

Ich darf wohl annehmen, daß die Versammlung damit einverstanden ist, und bitte die genannten Herren hier Platz zu nehmen.

Professor Biedermann-Leipzig: Geehrte Versammlung! Wenn mich ihr Vertrauen zum Vorsteher bestimmt, so liegt mir zuvörderst die angenehme Pflicht ob, die ich als Ihr erwählter Vertreter erfüllen zu müssen glaube, nämlich denjenigen Herren, welche diesen Congreß im Auftrage hoher Behörden mit ihrem Besuch beehren, den aufrichtigsten Dank auszusprechen. Vor Allen danke ich dem Herrn Oberpräsidenten der Provinz Schlefien Herrn von Gendewiß dessen Anwesenheit wir als gute Vorbedeutung für den Congreß betrachten können, als ein Zeichen daß die hohe königliche Regierung den Bestrebungen, welchen der Congreß dient, mit freundlichem Auge zuschaut. Desgleichen danke ich den Herren Vertretern der drei Bezirksregierungen der Provinz Schlefien, welche die Chefs der Unterrichts-Abtheilungen nach hier zu entsenden die Güte hatten. Die Stadt Görlitz ist vertreten durch ihren höchsten Beamten Herrn Oberbürgermeister Reichert, und ich beehre mich ihm auf seinen Wunsch hiermit das Wort zu geben.

Oberbürgermeister Reichert-Görliß: hochgeehrte Herren! Daß es mich mit lebhafter Freude erfüllen muß, dieser zahlreichen und illustren Versammlung namens der Stadt, der ich diene und der Sie die Ehre erwiesen haben sie zum Versammlungsorte ihres diesjährigen vierten Congresses zu erwählen, unsern aufrichtigen Dank und unsern Willkommen entgegenzubringen, bedarf keiner näheren Begründung und keiner besonderen Versicherung. Diejenigen Herren welche von auswärts gekommen sind, werden allerdings von Menschenhänden errichtete Ehrenpforten und Triumphbögen nicht vorgefunden haben; aber die Stadt hat sich Dank der gütigen Natur und dem freundlichen Frühling doch in ein Schmuckgewand gehüllt, schöner als Menschenhände es hätten schaffen können. Und wenn ich Sie versichere, daß entsprechend diesem Schmucke auch die Herzen der Bewohner in natürlicher und offener Freude Ihnen entgegenkommen, so, glaube ich, ist dies mehr werth, als wenn wir ihnen mit schwungvollen Worten und Ehrenpforten den Weg geschmückt hätten. Die Bestrebungen,

die Sie hier vereinigen, haben in hiesiger Stadt einen guten Boden gefunden. Ihr Bestreben geht dahin, die Ausbildung der männlichen Jugend harmonischer zu gestalten, da Sie neben dem Wissen, neben den Bestrebungen, die der Geist durch den Unterricht in der Schule erfährt, also neben den Fächern die den Geist vorzugsweise beschäftigen, der Jugend Gelegenheit geben wollen, das Können im äußeren Wirken durch die Handarbeit zu betheiligen. Dieses Bestreben hat, wie gesagt, in hiesiger Stadt lebhaftere Anerkennung gefunden, und zwar je länger je mehr. Ob diese Bestrebungen schon in den frühesten Zeiten geherrscht haben, ob sie in Deutschland erwacht sind oder ob sie von Schweden und Dänemark importirt werden mußten, ob sie als obligatorisch ihre Berechtigung haben oder facultativ, darüber kann ich mich nicht auslassen, theils weil ich dies nicht verstehe, theils in die Begrüßungsrede gehört. Aber soviel steht fest, daß die Stadt Görliß seit dem Jahre 1879 mit steigendem Interesse sich ihren Bestrebungen zugewandt, und soviel in ihrer Macht gestanden, sie gefördert hat. Zunächst verdient der Agitator Herr v. Claufenkaas, der im genannten Jahre hier selbst durch einen gehaltenen Vortrag die erste Anregung gab, erwähnt zu werden. Die Folge davon war, daß der Magistrat im folgenden Jahre 1880 einen hiesigen Lehrer, der sich dafür besonders interessirte, nach Emden schickte. Daran schloß sich in weiterer Folge die Ausbildung der hiesigen Handfertigkeitsschule, wie sie gegenwärtig besteht und wie sie im Laufe der heutigen Verhandlungen noch näher ihnen vor Augen geführt werden wird. Unzweifelhaft wäre das Ganze nicht so lebhaft betrieben worden, wenn nicht Herr v. Schenckendorff mit lebhaftem Feuereifer trotz aller Anfeindungen und trotz aller entgegenströmenden Richtungen, die ursprünglich sich zeigten, mit unverrücktem Blick vorgegangen wäre. Zunächst 1879/80 als Magistratsmitglied; demnächst weiter, indem er rast- und mühelos weiter wirkte sowohl innerhalb als außerhalb der Stadt. Wir hoffen, daß dieser heutige Congreß auch für unsere Stadt den Gegenstand mit sich bringen wird; daß wie in großen Kreisen Deutschland, ihre Bestrebungen auch innerhalb des Reichsbildes der Stadt Görliß immer mehr anerkannt werden mögen, so daß uns die Früchte in den Schoß fallen und wir sehen werden, daß der Congreß auch uns einen effectiven Nutzen bringt. Insofern also können wir uns nicht bloß darüber freuen, sondern auch dankbar sein. Beides, die Freude und den Dank spreche ich hiermit aus. Ich begrüße die hohen Abgeordneten der verschiedenen Staaten, die Herren Commisars der Stadt- und sonstigen Communen, sowie diejenigen die aus eigenem Antriebe sich dem heutigen Congreß angeschlossen haben! Ich wünsche, daß diese Arbeitsstunden dem Werke zur Förderung gereichen mögen, daß aber auch die Stunden der Gefelligkeit einen angenehmen Eindruck zurücklassen und Sie sagen mögen: in Görliß ist es doch nicht ganz übel gewesen! (Bravo!)

Prof. Biedermann-Leipzig: Es kann uns nicht überraschen, daß die Bürgerchaft der Stadt Görliß unsere Bestrebungen so freundlich entgegenkommt. Nicht bloß hier schon seit längerer Zeit eine blühende Handfertigkeitsschule unter der Leitung meines Nachbarn (v. Schenckendorff) besteht, sondern was von Hause aus uns auch sonst hoffen lassen konnte, daß wir hier freundlich empfangen werden würden, das ist jener schöpferische, selbstthätige Geist, der in der Bürgerchaft der Stadt Görliß lebt, der das rasche intensive Wachstum und Aufblühen der Stadt herbeigeführt, und der auch das kleine Paradies, die Gewerbe-Ausstellung, das wir bereits gestern gesehen, hervorgezaubert hat. Ich meine, eine Bürgerchaft die von solchem Geiste befeelt ist, muß unsere Bestrebungen günstig sein, Bestrebungen denen auch der heutige Congreß dienen will, und die wesentlich darauf hinzielen, das kommende Geschlecht zur Selbstthätigkeit heranzubilden und geschickt zu machen. Also wenn wir nicht überrascht sind von den freundlichen Begrüßungen und von dem wohlwollenden Empfange, so freuen wir uns dessen doch aufrichtig und danken ihnen herzlich. Es erfüllt uns mit großer Befriedigung und es ist eine gute Vorbedeutung für unsere Arbeit, wenn eine so bedeutende, eine so hoch angesehene Bürgerchaft wie die hiesige mit uns Hand in Hand auf diesem Wege geht. Und ich theile den Wunsch und die Hoffnung des Vorredners, daß auch andere Gemeinden in gleicher Weise wie die hiesige sich unsere Bestrebungen früher oder später anschließen mögen. Nehmen Sie nochmals unsern herzlichsten und verbindlichsten Dank!

Ich gebe nunmehr das Wort Herrn Lammers zu seinem Vortrag über

## **Bedeutung und Ziele des handfertigkeitserunterrichts.**

A. Lammers (Bremen):

Die Ausbildung von schulbesuchenden Knaben in handwerks-Arbeit, ein Gegenstück zu den weiblichen Handarbeiten der Mädchen, ist aufgenommen worden als ein durchgreifendes reformatorisches Princip. Sie setzt den Gedanken fort, welchen Friedrich Fröbel für ein früheres Alter und für beide Geschlechter in seinem Kindergarten verwirklicht hat; sie liegt in derselben Richtung wie Anschaulichkeit des Unterrichts und Turnen. Aber wie anwendbar immer auf Göttern aller Stände und folglich auf die Jugend der verschiedensten Lehrentalten, wird sie doch nicht gefordert als ein Theil des Zwangs-Unterrichts, der aus dem in Deutschland bestehenden Schulzwang und mittelbar aus den Bedingungen erleichterter Wehrpflicht in Deutschland hervorgewachsen ist. Das mag ein kleines Land mit einfachen gleichartigen Verhältnissen wie Finnland thun, oder ein Land das wie Frankreich den Schulzwang neu verwirklicht. In unsern längst ausgebildeten

Unterrichtsverhältnissen, die der Ueberbürdung der Schüler und zum Theil selbst der Lehrer ohnehin schon verdächtig sind, wäre nichts aussichtsloser als der Beruf, auf einmal von oben herunter einen neuen Lern- und Arbeits-Zweig in das dichte Geflecht hineinzuzwängen. Wir sind auf diejenigen Lehrer und Schüler angewiesen, welche uns, von der Nützlichkeit der Sache überzeugt, freiwillig kommen. Wir bauen neben dem Palast der Staats- und Gemeinde-Schule eine leichte Baracke auf, damit in ihr Hand und Auge üben, wem die Kopfarbeit der Schule entweder nicht genügt oder schon zuviel geworden ist.

In diesem Maße glaube ich Bedeutung und Zweck des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts auf ihren kürzesten Ausdruck zurückführen zu können. Er soll die Hand kunstfertig machen, und damit durch Vermittelung des Auges auch den inneren Sinn des Knaben für Auffassungen und Würdigungen reifen, welche ihm in einer allzu abstrahierten Bildung, in einem einseitig und ausschließlich nach innen gerichteten Geistesleben abhandeln kommen oder gar nicht entstehen, und welche doch auch wichtig sind für die mannigfaltigen Aufgaben des Lebens neben Lesen, Schreiben und Rechnen, neben Sprachkenntnis, Geschäftskunde und Naturwissenschaften. Etwas steckt im Handwerk, das jeder brauchen kann. Dem Handwerk im allgemeinen dies zu entlehnen und erziehungskräftig zu gestalten ist unser gemeinsamer Zweck, den der Eine unmittelbar praktisch, der Andere durch geschultes Nachdenken, der Dritte durch jene Bewegung der Geister, welche Agitation genannt wird, zu erreichen strebt.

Golange die Bedürfnisse des Unterrichts und die Beschäftigungen des späteren Lebens nicht in dem Maße wie heute auf das Unfichtbare und Ungreifbare gingen, erhielten Auge und Hand das Maß von Bildung, welches zu harmonischer Entwicklung des ganzen Menschen gehört, gewissermaßen von selbst. Der Knabe ergänzte unbewußt aus eigenem Triebe, was die Schule ihm noch nicht notwendig zu bieten brauchte. Er hatte Zeit sich im Freien oder auf den städtischen Straßen herumzutummeln, in der Werkstatt oder auf dem ländlichen Hofe sich spielend hundert kleine Einfichten und Fertigkeiten anzueignen, die dem Manne als Waffen in dem Kampfe um die Existenz zu statten kamen. In dem Maße wie die Ansprüche des Lernens dies dann verkümmerten, mußte von außen und oben her für die Allseitigkeit des werdenden Menschen gefordert werden. Die wissenschaftliche Pädagogik hat dies auch früh genug begriffen. Von Amos Comenius an oder noch früher führt ihre Geschichte eine Reihe theils hervorragender, theils halbvergeffener Namen an, welche hinweisen auf das was wir heute als handfertigkeit-Unterricht bezeichnen. Sie drangen freilich nicht durch. Das krytallifirte spröde Gefüge des in Systeme gebrachten Zwangsunterrichts der Knaben öffnete sich der neuen Zumuthung nicht. Der Kopf galt lange als allein schulmäßiger Bildung bedürftig. Nur einzelne Lehr-Anstalten unabhängig denkender schöpferischer Erzieher bildeten Ausnahmen, und in einer Reihe von Häusern—darunter bezeichnender Weise das vornehmste von allen, das königliche Haus von Preußen—wurde es Sitte, die Knaben neben ihrem gelehrten Unterricht ein Handwerk erlernen zu lassen. Mit dem dieses Geschlecht auszeichnenden hohen praktischen Berstand hat es auch grade zu denjenigen Betrieben gegriffen, welche jetzt wieder im Vordergrund der Schülerwerkstätten stehen: Tischlern und Buchbinden, oder vielmehr Buchbinden und Tischlern, denn jenes ist für die jüngsten, dieses für kräftigere Schulknaben.

Die Gewohnheit des hohenzollern-Hauses kann aber überhaupt als Vorbild gelten. Sie ist handgreiflich frei von aller Rücksicht auf den künftigen Erwerb, dient nur der allgemeinen Ausbildung, Aber indem sie diese Prinzen auch die Schwierigkeiten und Feinheiten einer ehemals von ihresgleichen tiefverachteten, den Sklaven und Leibeigenen überlassenen Art von Arbeit kennenlehrt, macht es die doch fähiger für ihren hohen Beruf, begründet es in ihnen Achtung vor einer Thätigkeit, aus der ein großer Theil des nicht mehr sklavenmäßig unterworfenen Volkes sein Brot und seine Lebensfreude gewinnt.

So ist der handwerks-Unterricht gemeint, welchen diese Bereinigung von Männern der verschiedensten Lebensstellungen ersterebt. Wir reißen ihn ein in die Fächer der allgemeinen Bildung. Danach suchen wir die handwerksbetriebe aus, welche in die Lehrwerkstätten aufgenommen werden, und nicht wie Handwerker thun, wird in ihnen gearbeitet, d. h. im Banne der zahlungsfähigen Nachfrage nach den Erzeugnissen, sondern wie die Erziehungswissenschaft es vorschreibt, gegründet auf Kenntnis und Beherrschung der Menschennatur. Der Junge soll mit einem Paar Händen ins Leben treten, die noch etwas mehr können als die Feder führen und ein Buch umblättern.

Wohin zielt das nun? Es wird alle die den neuen Unterricht genießen für die Wechselfälle des Daseins, für die Verschiedenheit der Lagen, denen Dank den modernen Verkehrsmitteln und Dank unter anderem auch dem so mächtig erwachten nationalen Trachten nach Colonien der Mensch der Gegenwart ausgeführt ist, vollständiger ausrüsten und unabhängiger von kunstgerechter fremder Hilfe hinstellen; aber Handwerker macht es aus ihnen nicht, denn dafür ist das Handwerk längst zu ausgebildet und getheilt. Doch werden die deren Loos einmal die Arbeit in der erwerbenden Werkstatt fein wird, ihr Lebelang die Wohlthat spüren, daß ihre Hand in der Jugend nicht verkümmert noch sich selbst überlassen geblieben, sondern tüchtig ausgebildet worden ist. Ebenso unmittelbaren, nachweislichen Vortheil wird angeeignete Handarbeit dem Besteller des nährenden Bodens in seinen täglichen Berrichtungen und Bedürfnissen bieten. Je einfacher ein Beruf, kann man sagen, desto werthvoller verhältnismäßig auch dieser Erziehungszweig für seine künftigen Betreiber. Je zusammengefaßter, feiner, geistiger umgekehrt ein Beruf, desto nützlicher der handfertigkeit-Unterricht als ein Gewicht in der

anderen Schale der Wage, das sich immer gleichbleibt,—defto wichtiger diese neue Bür das Gefundbleiben.

Wir brauchen diese einfachen und naheliegenden Betrachtungen nur mit den kopfzahlen zu vervielfältigen, welche hier in Anfaß kommen, um die volle Bedeutung unfrer idee zu überfchlagen. Sie ift für Alle, die ihrer Berwirklichung nicht zufällig fchon, wie das erlauchte hohenzollern-haus, vorangeeilt find. Sie erhöht in ihrem Totaleffect nicht unmerklich die kraft der nation, indem fie ihr auf der Seite der in fichtbaren Dingen auftretenden Leitungsfähigkeit zulegt, ohne ihr dafür auf der anderen Seite das mindefte zu nehmen. Der ftärkere, fähigere Menfch wird beides können.

Aber fo weittragend und allbedentfam in feinen leßten nationalen und fäcularen Zielen der Gedanke, fo maßvoll find unfre Anfichten und Pläne hinfichtlich feiner Berwirklichung. Wir wünfchen ihn nicht einmal mit Gewalt durchgeführt, gefchweige denn daß wir es forderten und betrieben. Die idee hat Zeit und die Agitation befcheidet fich. Allzu fehr fchon nimmt heute die Schule den knaben in Befchlag, als daß ihm ohne weiteres eine neue Laft aufgehafft werden könnte, felbft wenn ihre Wirkung dem Anfchein entgegen, wie wir allerdings für zahlreiche Fälle glauben, durch den Wechsel der Befchäftigung nicht Mehrbelastung fondern Erleichterung würde; allzu gefchloffen und befeßt fteht vor uns diefer alte wunderbare Bau, unfer deutches Schulwefen, als daß ein neuer Eindringling erwarten könnte fofort für fich Raum und volle Würdigung zu finden. Aber der Bau ift doch nicht ftarr wie Stein oder undurchdringlich wie Eifen. Er befeht fchließlich auch aus Menfchen, Menfchen der höchften Bildung und Gefittung, d. h. aus dem fortchrittsfähigften was es giebt, aus Geiftern die fich gegen Culturideen nicht verfchließen können. Wir haben in den leßten zwanzig iahren noch weit fchroffer, ablehnender widerftrebende Gefaltungen in Deutichland fich von Grund auf wandeln fehen, und erleben alle Tage die Beweglichkeit und Elafticität der nationalen Geele als daß die Geringfügigkeit der erften Fortfchritte uns zagen laffen follte an dem endlichen Triumph unfrer guten, wahren, krafterhöhenden idee. Am wenigften könnte folcher kleinmuth uns in Görliß befchleichen, das mit Leipzig und Osnabrück am erfolgreichften die Wellen der Bewegung immer weiter treibt.

Borfißender Prof. Biedermann: Es ift nach jedem Bortrag natürlich den Theilnehmern gefattet, ihre Anfichten über denfelben auszufprechen; indeß möchte ich bei diefem Bortrage, der nur allgemeine Anfichten auspricht, Anfichten zu vertagen bis zu den fpäteren Gegenftänden, wo daffelbe Thema in größerer Specialität uns entgegentritt. Demohngeachtet frage ich jedoch, ob jemand hierzu das Wort ergreifen will? Es ift nicht der Fall. Wir gehen daher zum zweiten Gegenftand unfrer Tagesordnung über, und ich bitte herrn Oberlehrer Dr. Göße-Leipzig hierzu das Wort zu ergreifen.

## **Aus welchen Gründen, in welchem Umfang und in welcher Weife ift der handfertigkeits-Unterricht in den Sehrplan der Lehrer-Seminare einzureihen?**

Oberlehrer Dr. Göße-Leipzig: hochanfehuliche Berfammlun!

Schon vor längerer Zeit hatte das Central-Comite für handfertigkeits-Unterricht und hausfleiß gewünfcht, einen Bericht über den Stand des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts an den Lehrer-Seminaren bei einer feiner öffentlichen Berfammlungen erfattat zu fehen; herr Confiftorialrath Dr. Brandt zu Osnabrück follte über die fächfifchen Seminare berichten. Ganz in diefem Sinne habe ich meine Aufgabe aufgefaß und zunächft an der beften Quelle, nemlich im königlichen Minifterium des Cultus und öffentlichen Unterrichts in Dresden Erkundigungen hierüber eingezogen. Nachdem mir hier diejenigen fächfifchen Seminare bezeichnet worden waren, in denen hadfertigkeits-Unnterricht getrieben wird, habe ich an die Directionen derfelben Schreiben gerichtet mit der Bitte um Mittheilungen über die Art und Weife des Betriebs diefes Unterrichtsfaches, welche auf beftimmtformulirte Fragen hinauslief. Ich glaubte die mir von dem Central-Comite geftellte Aufgabe am beften fo zu löfen, daß ich das von den Seminar-Directionen mir in freundlicher Weife mitgetheilte authentifche Material hier zufammenfaßend gehenden Tages-Ordnung, daß ich berichten würde über die Fragen: aus welchen Gründen, in welchem Umfang und in welcher Weife ift der handfertigkeits-Unterricht in den Lehrplan der Lehrer-Seminare einzureihen? Es würde hiernach alfo nicht meine Aufgabe fein, über das bisher geleiftete zu berichten, fondern unfere Wünfche für die Zukunft zu formuliren und zu begründen. Sicherlich wäre es auch von großer Wichtigkeit, wenn die Meinungen hierüber geklärt würden, denn grade die Seminar-Frage ift nach meinem Dafürhalten die allerwichtigfte. Unfere Befrebungen find ja urfprünglich ausgegangen von dem hausfleiß. Bald aber fagte man fich, daß man nicht fowohl die Erwachfenen für den hausfleiß gewinnen, als vielmehr die iugend zu ihm erziehen folle. So wurde aus der focialen hausfleiß-Frage eine Erziehungs-Frage. Und jeßt fagen wir uns: wer foll die iugend anders zur Arbeit erziehen als die Lehrer?

Ein auf dem Seminar für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht durch eigene Erfahrung gewonnener junger Lehrer wird der beste und einflußreichste Berbreiter unserer Idee sein. Darum hat der Vorstand der Schülerwerkstatt zu Leipzig auch seit dem Bestehen derselben, von Ostern 1880 an die Heranbildung von Lehrern für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht stets in den den Kreis seiner Thätigkeit einbezogen und bereits 10 halbjahre hindurch regelmäßige Curse dieser Art abgehalten. Im vorigen Sommer veranstalteten wir während der großen Ferien auch Unterrichts-Curse für auswärtige Lehrer, und da der Versuch glückte, so rüften wir gegenwärtig für die Wiederholung derselben in den nächsten Sommer-Ferien. Aus diesem Grunde begrüßte ich daher die von dem geschäftsführenden Ausschusse auf unsere Tagesordnung gestellten Fragen mit Freuden; zugleich aber hielt ich doch die Mittheilungen über die bisherigen Anfänge und Versuche für äußerst wünschenswerth.

Bei der Ueberlegung, welcher der beiden Berichte für die Förderung unserer Sache am dienlichsten und daher von mir zu geben sei, habe ich mich dahin entschieden, zunächst in einer kurzen Darlegung die Befassung von den bisher geschehenen Schritten in Kenntnis zu setzen. Danach möchte ich um die Erlaubnis bitten, die hieraus sich ergebenden Wünsche für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht an den Seminaren entwickeln zu dürfen, also die gestellten Fragen nach dem Warum und Wie nicht im allgemeinen, sondern von dem Boden aus zu beantworten, der durch das bisher geschehene geschaffen worden ist.

Da liegt es mir zunächst ab, den anderen für diesen Punkt ausersehenen Referenten, Herrn Confistorialrath Dr. Brandt in Osnabrück über die an den dortigen beiden Seminaren gemachten Versuche zu Worte kommen zu lassen. Da er am persönlichen Erscheinen leider verhindert ist, so hat er einen schriftlichen Bericht geschickt, den ich mir zunächst zum Vortrag zu bringen erlaube:

Der im letztverfloffenen Winter hier in Osnabrück ausgeführte Versuch, den handfertigkeitsunterricht auch an einem preussischen Lehrerfeminar betreiben zu lassen, ist im Grunde der Initiative des Herrn Ministers von Goßler zu verdanken. Bei einer Befichtigung der Osnabrücker Unterrichts- und Wohlthätigkeits-Anstalten am 25. Oktober 1883 hatte der Herr Cultusminister auch die hiesigen Knabenwerkstätten besucht und von dem frischen Leben in den einfachen Räumen den Eindruck empfangen, welchem er später, am 7. Februar 1884, im Abgeordnetenhaufe die bekannten wohlwollenden Worte geliehen hat.

Gelegentlich des am 15. April 1884 in Osnabrück ablernten dann auch die beiden Commiffare des Herrn Ministers, die Herren Geheimen Oberregierungsräthe Dr. Schneider und Lüders die hiesigen Knabenwerkstätten kennen, sodaß es nahe lag, die im Abgeordnetenhaufe im März 1884 seitens der Unterrichtsverwaltung in Aussicht gestellte Einrichtung eines handfertigkeits-Curses an einem Seminar hier sogleich zur Sprache zu bringen. Nach vorläufiger Skizzirung des Planes übernahm der Referent die Vorlage bestimmter Vorschläge, welche dann auch schon in den nächsten Tagen beim königlichen Unterrichts-Ministerium eingereicht wurden.

Diese gutachtlichen Vorschläge, welche der Herr Minister angenommen und zur Ausführung bestimmt hat, gehen von der Voraussetzung aus, daß zunächst nicht eine besondere handfertigkeits-Einrichtung bei dem Seminar zu veranstalten, sondern dem Seminar vorläufig nur zur geeigneten Betheiligung an der bereits vorhandenen handarbeits-Anstalt Gelegenheit zu geben ist. Außer anderen auf der Hand liegenden Gründen ist hierbei besonders der maßgebend gewesen, daß die Seminaristen nicht bloß selbst arbeiten, sondern auch den Lehrgang, Erfolg und Einfluß des handarbeitsunterrichts bei Knaben und Jünglingen aus den verschiedensten sonstigen Lehranstalten beobachten könnten; es sollte ihnen Gelegenheit geboten werden, selbst aus dem handfertigkeitsunterricht Nutzen zu ziehen und die handfertigkeitsfache aus eigener Anschauung pädagogisch beurtheilen zu lernen.

Zu letzterem Zwecke mußten dem Seminar—oder richtiger beiden Seminaren, indem bischöfliche katholische Seminar in gleichem Maße theilnahm, wie das königliche evangelische Seminar hieselbst—die Werkstätten jederzeit geöffnet, und mußte Lehrern wie Zöglingen der Zutritt zu sämtlichen Arbeitscursen gestattet sein.

Selbstverständlich hatten bei den näheren Festsetzungen die Seminare selbst, bzw. deren Vorgesetzte, also insbesondere das Provinzial-Schulcollegium in Hannover maßgebend mitzuzprechen, indem ja auch die Interessen der sonstigen Arbeiten der Seminaristen dem handfertigkeitsunterricht gegenüber zu vertreten waren, und hieraus ergab sich dann schließlich, daß im allgemeinen nur der jüngste, dritte Seminarcurse und dieser auch nur einmal wöchentlich handarbeitsunterricht erhalten sollte. Der deshalb vertretene Wunsch war bei beiden Seminaren ganz derselbe: beiderseits war man der Ansicht, nur dem jüngsten Jahrgang der Zöglinge stehe die zu einer allgemeinen Betheiligung am handarbeitsunterricht nöthige Zeit zu Gebote; für die beiden folgenden Curse des Seminars müßte der handfertigkeitsunterricht auf diejenigen Zöglinge beschränkt bleiben, welche dafür besondere Anlage und Neigung zeigten.

Darauf wurden nun 24 Zöglinge vom königlichen und 12 Zöglinge vom bischöflichen Seminar zur Theilnahme angemeldet und zugelassen; erstere erhielten in zwei Gängen von je zwei Meistern am Sonnabend, letztere in einem dritten Gange und von zwei (andern) Lehrmeistern am Donnerstag, immer des nachmittages von 2—4 Uhr Unterricht. Gegenstand desselben war Holzarbeit, Tischlerei, Holzschneiden und Stechen.

# Berlauf und Erfolg des handfertigkeitsunterrichts.

I. in überwiegender Mehrzahl, ja man darf wohl sagen, abgesehen von krankheitsbehinderungen fogut wie ausnahmslos haben die 36 Seminarzöglinge den ganzen Winter hindurch mit großem Eifer und Erfolge gearbeitet, den handarbeitsunterricht regelmäßig und pünktlich besucht und rasche Fortschritte gemacht.

Die Arbeiten bestanden in der hauptfache in solchen nach Anleitung der bekannten näs'schen Modelle, denen theils durch unfere Lehrmeister, theils durch Modelle nach Bucking 'schen Zeichnungen Ergänzungen zugefügt waren. Aber weit rascher als bei knaben trat bei diesen erwachsenen Schülern der Unterschied der persönlichen Begabung und Geschicklichkeit hervor. Während einzelne überhaupt die größte Mühe aufzuwenden hatten, eine faubere, genau dem Modell entsprechende Arbeit fertig zu stellen, zeigte sich bei anderen so großes natürliches Geschick, daß deren Fortschritte die Lehrmeister in Erstaunen setzten.

Inbezug auf Haltung, Betragen, Interesse und Durchschnittsfortschritte ließ sich bei den Zöglingen der beiden beteiligten Seminare kein Unterschied erkennen. Diese Beobachtung ist insofern vom allgemeinem Werthe für die Sache, als sie zeigt, daß die hervorgetretenen Erfolge nicht etwa besonders günstigen Verhältnissen zu danken sind, etwa der Einwirkung eines Lehrers u. dergl. Wie die Zöglinge des evangelischen Internats und des katholischen Externats ganz verschiedenen Kreisen entstammen, verschieden leben und arbeiten, und auch ziemlich ohne Berührung miteinander ihre Wege verfolgen, so kann man mit Sicherheit annehmen, daß irgend ein Unternehmen, welches beiderseits zu gleichen Ergebnissen führt, den Grund zu dem letzteren in sich selbst tragen muß.

Von dieser Seite betrachtet ist also Verlauf und Resultat unferes ersten Versuches als sehr günstig zu bezeichnen.

Wie nun höhern Orts über die Fortsetzung des handfertigkeitsunterrichts bei den Seminaren verfügt werden wird, ist hier noch nicht bekannt. Daß die Seminaristen auch den Sommer hindurch die geschlossenen Werkstätten besuchen, ist gewiß wenig erwünscht; bei ihren vielfachen sonstigen Arbeiten wäre ihnen für die schöne Jahreszeit jeder mögliche Aufenthalt in freier Luft zu gönnen, auch um botanischen, baden, turnen zu können. Gleichwohl haben auf Anfrage des Directors des königlichen Seminars nicht weniger als 12 der am handarbeits-Cursus im vorigen Winter betheiligt gewesenen Zöglinge um Fortsetzung der Arbeiten während des Sommers nachgesucht.

Was die Methodik des den Seminaristen ertheilten handfertigkeitsunterrichts anlangt, so wird darin ohne Frage noch manches der weiteren und planmäßigen Entwicklung bedürfen, und zwar beginnend fogleich von der ersten einleitenden Unterweisung. Die Lehrmeister, in der Unterweisung von knaben nunmehr hinreichend erfahren, standen eben hier erwachsenen Schülern gegenüber, die ihnen geistig wohl fast alle überlegen waren; sie werden daher denselben vielleicht noch manchen Wunsch hinsichtlich der Modellwahl gestattet haben, der einem streng folgerechten Lehrgang nicht entsprechen mochte. In dieser Beziehung Fortschritte herbeizuführen ist zunächst Sache der Unternehmer, welche ja überhaupt für geeignete Lehrmeister bezw. deren weitere Anleitung zu sorgen haben. Im übrigen hat die Beobachtung des handfertigkeitsunterrichts der Seminaristen uns in der Auffassung von der Nothwendigkeit des „Einzelunterrichts,“ welcher der individuellen Veranlagung gerecht wird, befestigt.

Getattet, wie wir hoffen, der Herr Minister im künftigen Winter die Fortsetzung des handfertigkeitsunterrichts bei den hiesigen Seminaren, so sollen die jüngsten Curse ganz—obligatorisch—und daneben von den bisher betheiligten noch diejenigen Jünglinge in Betracht gezogen werden, denen bei besonderer Liebhaberei auch die nöthige Zeit frei bleibt. Auf solche Weise genießen schließlich alle Seminaristen, wenn auch in beschränktem Maße, die Vortheile eines planmäßigen handfertigkeitsunterrichts, während besonders geeigneten jungen Leuten außerdem Gelegenheit geboten wird sich weiter auszubilden. Damit ist nicht nur für die Ausbreitung der handfertigkeits-idee unter das Volk, sondern auch für die allmähliche Heranbildung solcher Lehrer gefordert, welche die handfertigkeitsfache fördern und bei der Einrichtung des handfertigkeitsunterrichts mit Erfolg behilflich sein können.

II. Ueber die Erfolge der Beobachtungen der Knabenwerkstätten seitens der Seminaristen vermag der Referent nur anzugeben, daß häufig einzelne Seminaristen in den Werkstätten anwesend gefunden sind und daß deren Amwesenheit laut mündlicher Mittheilung der Seminardirectoren auf Anordnung der letzteren beruht hat. Ob nun die Directionen Neigung haben werden, mit den Leitern der Lehrurse die Verbindung zu unterhalten, welche zur allseitigen Berthätigung über Ziele und Zwecke des handfertigkeitsunterrichts erforderlich ist, insbesondere ob es sich ausführen läßt, daß dem Vertreter der handfertigkeitsfache innerhalb des Seminars selbst, wenn auch nur dem Lehrercollegium gegenüber, das Wort ertheilt wird, darüber muß der Bericht noch vorbehalten bleiben; mehr als wünschenswerth dürfte aber solches doch sein. Denn schon aus gelegentlichen Aeußerungen im Publicum erkennt man genügend die Unklarheit, welche noch vielerorts über unfere Bestrebungen herrscht; und es sind ja die Freunde der handfertigkeitsfache selbst noch untereinander über die

nächsten Wege zum Ziele uneinig.

## **schlußbemerkungen.**

Für die Dauer ist es also erforderlich, daß den Seminaristen neben der praktischen Unterweisung auch über die Entwicklung des handfertigkeitsunterrichts u. f. w. nähere Auskunft erteilt wird. In diesem Berichtsjahre ist in dieser Hinsicht nur soviel geschehen, wie sich, abgesehen von einer allgemeinen Einleitung vor Eröffnung der Kurse, gelegentlich während des Unterrichts machen ließ.

außer diesem Umfange ist es, wie oben bemerkt, der von den Lehrmeistern innezuhaltende Unterrichtsgang in seinen Einzelheiten, was für die Zukunft zunächst weiterer Ergänzung und klarerer Gestaltung bedarf. Sonst haben wir keine Veranlassung, an der verfuhrsweise getroffenen Einrichtung wesentliche abzuändern. Insbesondere hat es sich bewährt, wie die praktisch tüchtigen, in dem handarbeitsunterricht nun schon erfahrenen Lehrmeister mit ihrer fachlichen Ueberlegenheit den Seminaristen gegenüberstanden. Ein Schüler in folchem Alter verlangt ganz besonders auf Seiten seines Lehrers die Befähigung, unter allen Umständen auch für ein kritisches Auge die Arbeit tadellos und gewandt vormachen zu können; und grade weil hierin tüchtige handwerksmeister stets über den tüchtigsten Schülern stehen werden, eignen sie sich am besten für unsere Lehrwerkstätten.

Wenn nur an den letzteren neben dem unterweisenden Meister auch überall ein die Sache geistig und ethisch fördernder Lehrer beteiligt wäre!“

(soweit der verlesene Bericht des h. Conf. raths Braudi. h. Dr. Göbe fuhr dann fort:)

Fassen wir das Ergebnis dieses in Osnabrück angestellten Berichtsjahrs kurz zusammen, so haben wir zu sagen: Es sind im Winter 1884/85 36 Seminaristen des untersten Jahrgangs in wöchentlich 2 Stunden von handwerksmeistern, so daß je 6 Schüler auf einen Lehrer kamen, in der Holzarbeit unterwiesen worden. Die geringe Anzahl der Schüler und die verschiedene Anlage derselben bedingten den Einzel-Unterricht derselben. Alle haben mit großem Eifer und Erfolg gearbeitet, so daß eine Fortführung des Unternehmens wünschenswerth erscheint. Der Herr Berichterstatter wünscht in Zukunft diesen handfertigkeits-Unterricht für den untersten Curfus obligatorisch, für den oberen Curfus facultativ; der Unterricht soll nur im Winter erteilt werden, und zwar von handwerksmeistern und in Werkstätten außerhalb des Seminars. Jeder Zögling macht seinen Weg für sich und wird von den Meistern einzeln gefördert. Der handfertigkeits-Unterricht besteht für sich neben den theoretischen Unterweisungen des Seminars; methodische Beziehungen zwischen der Lern-Arbeit der Seminaristen und ihrer praktischen Bethätigung finden nicht statt; die Holzarbeit ist ein neues besonderes Fach, das zu dem bisherigen Unterricht einfach hinzutritt. Nur wünscht der Herr Berichterstatter, daß die Holzarbeit an sich möglichst planmäßig entwickelt und weiter methodisch durchgebildet werde, und daß es auch möglich sei, die Schüler außer mit den praktischen handgriffen mit den Zwecken und Zielen des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts bekannt zu machen.

Die von dem Herrn Berichterstatter gewünschte Unterrichtsform gleicht also in einigen wesentlichen Punkten der bisherigen Unterweisung des Handwerks. Allerdings wünscht er ausgefucht tüchtige Lehrende, verlangt einen geordneten Lehrgang und schließt alle Beziehungen zum Erwerb vollständig aus, verfolgt also rein erzieherische Absichten. Ich möchte in Kürze fogleich hier Stellung zu dem Programm des Herrn Referenten nehmen. Zunächst halte ich es für wünschenswerth, daß das Seminar wie seinen Turnsaal, seinen Zeichenaal, so auch seine Werkstätte habe. Ferner sollten nach meinem Dafürhalten nicht Handwerker die Lehrer sein, denen von Anderen der Lehrgang vorgeschrieben wäre, sondern ich halte es für erstrebenswerth, daß die Leitung des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts in die Hand tüchtiger hierzu vorgebildeter Lehrergelegt werde, von denen natürlich technische Tüchtigkeit verlangt werden muß. Dann entfallen die von außen an die Meister herangebrachte Instruction und die besonderen Veranlassungen, die Seminaristen auch über Zweck und Ziele des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts aufzuklären. Ist so eine engere Verbindung mit dem Seminar in Bezug auf den Ort des Unterrichts und die Person des Lehrers hergestellt worden, so ergibt sich auch drittens die von mir gewünschte engere Verbindung mit dem Schulunterricht. Nach meinem Dafürhalten muß die praktische Arbeit streben, Beziehungen zu dem theoretischen Unterricht zu gewinnen. Jede mathematische und physikalische Erkenntnis, die in der Werkstatt praktisch dargelegt werden kann, festigt das Band zwischen der Schule und der Werkstatt. Freilich verlange ich nicht, daß die praktische Unterweisung nur die Dienerin des theoretischen Unterrichts sei, sondern will ihr ihre selbständige Geltung lassen. Aber wie es die Wirkung des Unterrichts vertieft, wenn die Geschichte und die Geographie Hand in Hand gehen, wenn die Geographie wiederum der Naturkunde die Hand reicht, wie die Physik fort und fort mathematischer Anschauungen und Gesetze bedarf, so, meine ich, sollte es auch versucht werden, die handfertigkeit in das Unterrichtsganze organisch einzugliedern. Und ich bin überzeugt, wenn einmal der praktischen Unterweisung der Zöglinge Raum gegönnt wird, so werden sich solche Beziehungen, wenn man Werth auf sie legt, ganz gewiß entwickeln. Freilich dürfte man sich dabei nicht auf die Bearbeitung eines einzigen Materials, insbesondere des Holzes beschränken. Und das ist der letzte



Punct, in dem ich mit dem herrn Berichterfatter nicht ganz in Uebereinfimmung bin. Ganz gewiß ift das halz eines der werthvollften und unentbehrlichften Materiale bei der Erziehung zur Arbeit. Aber es follte nicht allein herrfchen. Wollen wir dem Zögling das A B C der Arbeit lehren, fo kann es nicht darauf ankommen, ihm die Bearbeitung eines einzigen Stoffes in ausgiebigfter Weife beizubringen. Wir werden Werth darauf legen, daß er die elementaren Werkzeuge wie hammer und Zange, hobel und Säge, Meffer und Meifel, Feile und Bohrer u. f. w. gebrauchen lerne. Sollen wir uns deswegen auf die Bearbeitung des holzes befchränken, weil dies der Tifchler thut? Gern gebe ich zu, daß die holzarbeit eine der vielfeitigften ift, aber fie kann doch nicht alle anderen erfeßen. Dabei fehe ich ganz ab von dem Umftande daß die Werkzeugbefchaffung grade für die holzarbeit wegen der koftfpiegeligkeit der hobelbänke die meiften Schwierigkeiten macht, daß man grade hier faft nothwendig zum Einzel-Unterricht geführt wird, da die holzarbeit für die Unterweifung einer größeren Anzahl von Schülern nicht geeignet zu fein fcheint, und daß fie fich zwar vortrefflich zur herftellung von Wirthfchaftsgräthen fchickt, gegenüber dem Gedanken aber, daß die praktifche Befchäftigung die Gegenftände des theoretifchen Unterrichts zur Darftellung bringen folle, fich äußerft fpröde verhält. Inbefondere halte ich die Papparbeit für unentbehrlich deswegen weil grade die jüngerer kinder, deren kräfte für die holzarbeit noch zu gering find, doch ganz nothwendig praktifch thätig fein follten, da fie finnlicher Aufchauungen und praktifcher Erfahrungen wiet mehr bedürfen als das reifere, für Abtractionen eher zu gewinnende knabenalter. Befonders lehrreich find die jedem Material befonders eigenthümlichen Formen der Berbindung einzelner Theile zu einem Gangen. Die charakteriftifchen Formen der holzverbindung, das Nageln und das Leimen, das Zinken und Zapfen kann, fo infructiv es ift, doch unmöglich zugleich dem Schüler einen Begriff von den Metallverbindungen, dem Lötjen imd dem nieten, oder von den der Papier-und Papp-Arbeit charakteriftifchen Conftuctionen einen Begriff geben. Als es fich darum handelte dem kinde das Berftändnis für die Natur, die es umgiebt, zu erfchließen, befchränkte man fich nicht mit der Augnahme der Botanik z. B. in den Unterrichtsplan, fondern man verlangte die Elemente, aber freilich auch nur diefe, der drei naturkundlichen Disciplinen. Man befchritt alfo nicht den Weg, eines der drei Reiche für eine umfaßendere Behandlung auszuwählen, in der hoffnung daß die hier gewonnenen kenntnisse die auf den anderen Gebieten mangelnden Erfahrungen erfeßen würden. Wir wollen nun das kind erzieherifch in die Welt der Arbeit einführen, und da gilt es ebenfo, unbekümmert um die in den handwerken vollzogene Theilung, die Elemente der praktifchen Thätigkeit herauszuheben und für die Erziehung zur arbeit zu verwerthen. Bon diefem Gefichtspunct aus erfcheint mir die Ergözung des holz-Slöjds als wüncshenswerth. Dabei möchte ich ausdrücklich betonen, daß ich die methodifche Durcharbeitung diefes Theiles unferes Unterrichtsgebiets, wie fie von Schweden und inbefondere von dem fehr verdienten Otto Saloman in Nääs geleitet worden ift, überaus hochfchätze, und daß ich folche Durcharbeitung der einzelnen Materialien für die erzieherifche Berwendung für nothwendige Borftufen halte; aber ich kann fie nicht als das leßte erftrebenswerthe Ziel anfehen. Sagt man mir: es fei doch beffer, ein Arbeitsmaterial gründlich und nach allen Seiten bearbeiten zu lehren, als eine ganze Anzahl von handfertigkeitsfächern dilettantifch betreiben zu wollen,—fo erwidere ich, daß auch ich dies für weit beffer halten würde. Dem Dilctantismus in diefem verächtlichen Sinne möchte ich um keinen Preis das wort reden. aber es handelt fich für mich gar nicht um mehrere handfertigkeitsfächer, auch nicht um ein einzelnes wie den holz-Glöjd, fondern um die Elemente der praktifchen Arbeit. Es handelt fich um die Anfänge der Erziehung des Auges und der hand, und wir müffen uns dabei nicht nur foweit vom handwark loslöfen, daß wir von direct gewerblichen Zwecken abfehen, fondern auch foweit das wir den Arbeitsunterricht nicht durch den von einem beftimmten handwerk bearbeiteten Stoff allein beherrfchen laffen. Man foll doch nur erkennen, daß es fich in unferem kampf weit mehr als um ein neues Unterrichts fach um ein neues Unterrichtsprincip handelt, nemlich um die Aufnahme der eigenen praktifchen Thätigkeit des Kindes unter die Mittel feiner Erziehung. Wir wollen, daß der Unterricht fich nicht mehr mit der äußeren Anfchanung begnüge, fondern dem kinde Erfahrungen vermittele durch die eigene Thätigkeit; wir kämpfen an gegen die dogmatifche Form des Unterrichts namentlich in den Erfahrungswiffenfchaften, und wollen das diefe Erkenntnisse auch von den Schülern erfahren, d. h. erarbeitet werden; was hat diefe idee aber mit der Befchränkung der Arbeit auf einen einzigen Stoff, und fei er auch fo bildfam wie das holz, zu thun? Darum verlange ich Loslöfung des erzieherifchen Arbeits-Unterrichts von der enge des handwerks auch inbezug auf das Unterrichtsmaterial.

Ich wende mich nun zu den in Sachfen für die Pflege des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts auf Seminaren getroffenen Beranfaltungen. Was zunächft die Stellung des königlichen Minifteriums für den öffentlichen Unterricht zu unferer Sache betrifft, fo glaube ich annehmen zu dürfen, daß diefelbe eine wohl-wollende ift. Se. Excellenz der herr Staatsminifter Dr. von Gerber hat mehrfach das freundliche Intereffe, das er an unferen Befrebungen nimmt, bekundet, auch der Bertreter des Bolksfchulwefens im Minifterium, der herr Geheime Schulrath kockel hat in gleicher Weife den in Sachfen auf dem Gebiet des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts zu Tage getretenen Berfuchen wohlwollende Aufmerkfamkeit zu Theil werden laffen, und daß auch der Decernent für die Seminare, herr Geheimer Schul-Rath Dr. Bornemann dem handfertigkeits-Unterricht nicht abgeneigt ift, das zeigen die für die Betreibung deffelben an den Lehrer-Bildungs-Anftalten getroffenen Maßnahmen. Ueberdies

wird das freundliche Wohlwollen der höchsten Unterrichtsbehörde bewiesen durch die namhafte Unterstützung, welche sie dem in Dresden 1881 stattgefundenen Curfus zur Ausbildung von Lehrern für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht gewährt hat, dann durch die ansehnlichen Hilfen, deren sich die Schülerwerkstatt zu Leipzig schon zweimal zu erfreuen hatte, ferner durch die Opfer, welche das königliche Ministerium für den Betrieb des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts am Seminar zu Dresden-Friedrichstadt in der Zeit von Neujahr 1883 bis Ostern 1884 gebracht hat, und durch die Aufwendung von Mitteln für den gleichen Zweck an allen den fachlichen Seminaren, welche den handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu betreiben wünschen.

Gehe ich nun auf die Darstellung des handfertigkeits-Betriebes an den verschiedenen Seminaren über, so habe ich als dasjenige unter ihnen, an welchem schon seit langen Jahren Arbeits-Unterricht getrieben wird, Grimma zu nennen. Hier bestehen zwei Seminare, das Haupt-Seminar und dasjenige für ältere Schulamtsaspiranten aus dem ganzen Lande, die sich erst später für den Lehrerberuf entschieden haben. Sämmtliche Schüler 4. Classe des Haupt-Seminars werden nun Countags Vormittags von 11 bis 12 Uhr unter der Leitung eines Buchbindermeisters mit Papparbeiten beschäftigt. Auch am Neben-Seminar werden unter der Leitung eines Buchbindermeisters Papparbeiten angefertigt. Außerdem ertheilen die Schüler, welche in ihrer früheren Lebensstellung ein Handwerk erlernten, ihren Mitschülern Unterweisung im praktischen Arbeiten.

Weiter ist der handfertigkeits-Curse Erwähnung zu thun, welche am Seminar zu Dresden-Friedrichstadt von Neujahr 1883 bis Ostern 1884 unter der Leitung des Herrn Rittmeisters Claufen von Kaas stattgefunden haben, auf die Einrichtung dieser Curse im einzelnen komme ich später zu sprechen; es sei mir nur gestattet, hier im Vorhinein einiges allgemeine über dieselben mitzutheilen. Das königliche Ministerium hat diese Curse mit reichlichen Mitteln in das Werk gesetzt, und Herr Director Dr. Pohle, der entscheidenden pädagogischen Einfluß auf die Führung derselben nahm, hat darüber eingehende Berichte an die hohe Unterrichts-Behörde erstattet. Nach Mittheilung des Herrn Verfassers derselben lauten sie günstig über den Verlauf und die Resultate des angestellten Versuches. Herr Director Dr. Pohle hat mir ausdrücklich erlaubt hier zu erklären, daß er, obgleich anfänglich mit Misstrauen an die Sache hinangetreten, dennoch seine Zufriedenheit über diesen Unterricht aussprechen könne, und daß er eine Fortsetzung des Unternehmens wünsche, namentlich für diejenigen Schüler seiner Anstalt, welche daselbst wohnen. Er halte den handfertigkeits-Unterricht am Seminar nicht deshalb für nöthig, weil hier Lehrer für diesen Unterricht ausgebildet werden sollten, sondern um der eigenen Erziehung der Seminaristen selbst willen, und bedauert daher die praktischen Arbeiten aus äußeren Gründen haben einstellen zu müssen. Das Unterrichts-Local für den Arbeits-Unterricht war nämlich die Turnhalle, und zwar wurde diese Mittwochs und Gonnabends von 2 bis 6 Uhr als Werkstatt in Beschlag genommen. Da aber an den übrigen Tagen die Turnhalle für ihre eigentlichen Zwecke durch die vielen Classen des überfüllten Seminars vollauf in Anspruch genommen werden mußte, so blieb keine Zeit für die Reinigung des Saales übrig. Der durch die Werkstatt-Arbeiten hervorgerufene Staub wirkte schädigend auf den Turnunterricht, und so mußte man erkennen, daß die gleichzeitige Benutzung desselben Raumes als Turnsaal und Werkstatt wenigstens in einer stark besetzten Anstalt unthunlich ist. Der handfertigkeits-Unterricht am Seminar zu Dresden-Friedrichstadt scheiterte darum vornehmlich an dem Mangel eines geeigneten Raumes, und so lange die Miete einer fremden Werkstatt nicht zu lösen ist, wird dieser Unterricht trotz der auf Fortsetzung desselben gerichteten Wünsche des Directors unterbrochen bleiben müssen. Vorläufig hatte Herr Director Dr. Pohle den Plan, um den Arbeitsunterricht nicht ganz feiern zu lassen, den dafür geeigneten Seminaristen durch einen erfahrenen Dresdener Lehrer, der sich durch geschickte Anfertigung einfacher physikalischer Apparate hervorgethan hat, in einem zur Verfügung stehenden kleineren Raume in einem Nebenhause praktische Unterweisung ertheilen zu lassen.

Die für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht am Dresdener Seminar ausgeworfene und unter den obwaltenden Umständen nicht verbrauchte Summe stellte nun das hohe Ministerium den übrigen Seminaren des Landes, welche den handfertigkeits-Unterricht betreiben wollten, zur Verfügung. Dadurch kam zunächst Grimma in die Lage, die von Lage, die von längerer Zeit her betriebene Unterweisung der Seminaristen in praktischer Arbeit zu erweitern. Es wurde jetzt den Schülern der dritten Classe Gelegenheit gegeben, sich mit Holzarbeiten zu beschäftigen. Gegenwärtig nehmen 18 Zöglinge dieser Classe Unterricht bei einem Tischlermeister, und zwar in drei Sectionen, wovon jede 12 Wochen hintereinander Sonnabends von 1 bis 6 Uhr nachmittags beschäftigt wird. Im Seminar selbst soll ein Beschäftigungssaal eingerichtet werden, damit sich die Schüler auch in ihrer Freizeit mit praktischen Arbeiten beschäftigen können.

Wir haben es hier also im wesentlichen mit Papp- und Holzarbeiten zu thun, die in den Freistunden unter der Leitung von handwerkswerkstätten gefertigt werden. Die Meister dürfen im allgemeinen bei ihrer Lehre nach den Regeln des Handwerks verfahren.

Außer diesen Seminaren giebt es noch drei, nämlich Annaberg, Auerbach und Schneeberg, alle drei im Erzgebirge gelegen, welche den handfertigkeits-Unterricht eingeführt haben. Von den 16 fachlichen Seminaren sind also gegenwärtig 5, in denen dieser Unterricht betrieben wird, und da das Dresdener den selben wieder beginnt, wenn die Localfrage gelöst ist, so kann man sagen, daß 6 Seminare sich durch die Praxis zu den

Ideen des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts bekennen.

Um hier authentische Mittheilungen machen zu können, habe ich an die Seminar-Directionen die Bitte um Auskunft über bestimmte Fragen gerichtet, und dieselben sind mir dabei mit dankenswerther Bereitwilligkeit entgegengekommen. Ich stelle die mir gewordenen Auskünfte im folgenden zusammen, nachdem ich mir erlaubt habe eine principielle Erklärung der Seminar-Direction zu Annaberg voranzuschicken. Dieselbe schreibt:

„Durchdrungen von der Ueberzeugung, daß den Seminaristen um feines künftigen Amtes willen eine gewisse handfertigkeit anzubilden sei, habe ich bereits seit dem Jahre 1880 den Quartanern des hiesigen Seminars von einem Annaberger Buchbindermeister auf Kosten der Hauskasse einige Unterweisung in Buchbinder-Arbeit ertheilen lassen.

Das Anerbieten des königlichen Ministeriums, jährlich eine Summe für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht an Seminaren gewähren zu wollen, war mir daher sehr willkommen. Es ist mir nun möglich geworden, das nöthige handwerkszeug zu erwerben. Vor allem habe ich dem unterrichtenden Buchbindermeister nun einen Oberlehrer des Seminars an die Seite stellen können, eine Einrichtung durch welche der betreffende Unterricht in bezug auf Disciplin und Gang bereits viel gewonnen hat.

Eine Erweiterung des betreffenden handfertigkeits-Unterrichts durch Einführung z. B. von Tischlerarbeit plane ich zunächst nicht. Ich bin der Meinung, daß für den Seminaristen die Erlernung von manchen Buchbinder-Arbeiten allenfalls genügt. Wollte ich den Unterricht auf noch weitere Gebiete sich erstrecken lassen, so würden verschiedene Schwierigkeiten erwachen, unter welchen Mangel an Raum und Zeit im Vordergrund steht. Meine Sorge wird vorläufig sein, daß unser handfertigkeits-Unterricht auf seinem Gebiet mehr und mehr sich vervollkommenet, insbesondere noch mehr als bisher der herstellung von Lehrmitteln sich widmet.“

Die Antworten aus Dresden, Schneeberg, Annaberg und Auerbach (von Grimma sind die Fragen nicht im einzelnen beantwortet worden) lauten nun folgendermaßen:

Dresden. Schneeberg. Annaberg. Auerbach. Welche Fächer des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts werden betrieben? Papparbeiten, Tischlerei, Holzschneiderei. Buchbinderei. Papparbeiten. Einige Drechsler-, Tischler-, Buchbinder-, Schlosser- und Klempner-Arbeiten. In wieviel Abtheilungen? 4 1 In einer Classe, welche hinsichtlich dieses Unterrichts in 2 Abtheilungen getheilt ist. - Wieviel Teilnehmer haben die Abtheilungen? Je circa 25, zusammen also circa 100. 20 Im letzten Winter-Semester 12. 4 bis 6 Ist der Unterricht facultativ oder obligatorisch? Obligatorisch für die unteren Classen. Facultativ. Obligatorisch. Facultativ. Zahlen die Teilnehmer Honorar? Nein. Nein. Die Teilnehmer zahlen kein Honorar, müssen sich aber einiges handwerkzeug anschaffen. Nein. In welchen Räumen findet der Unterricht statt? Turnhalle des Seminars. In einem größeren freien Zimmer des Seminars. Im Wohnzimmer der 4. Classe. Im Physik.-Lehrsaal. zu welcher Zeit? Mittwochs u. Sonnabends von 2 bis 6. Zweimal wöchentlich von 5-7 Uhr. Von 5 bis 6 Uhr Abends. In den Freizeiten Mittags von 1/2 1 bis 2, oder Abends von 5 bis 1/2 7 Uhr. welche Seminar-Classen nehmen am Unterricht Theil? II, III, IV, V u. VI. Die 5. Classe hauptsächlich, auch einige Schüler der 4. Classe 4. Die 3. u. 4. Classe. Seit wie langer Zeit, ist der Unterricht eingeführt? Neujahr 1883 bis Ostern 1884. Seit Michaelis vorigen Jahres. Seit Michaelis 1884. Seit October 1884. Der größte Theil der Zeit ist zur Anlernung der Lehrer verwendet worden.

Dresden. Schneeberg. Annaberg. Auerbach. Wer ertheilt denselben? Leitung: Rittmeister v. Claufon-Kaas. Buchbindermeister Leonhardt. Tischlermeister Heinig. Holzschneider Albrecht. Ein Buchbindermeister in Anwesenheit von 2 Seminarlehrern. Ein hiesiger Buchbindermeister und ein Seminar-Oberlehrer. 3 Seminarlehrer, die Herren Dr. Reuther, Schumann u. Drehsfel. liegt ihm ein bestimmter Unterrichtsgang zu Grunde? Der des Gemeinnützigen Vereins zu Dresden. Der von Fr. Hertel in Zwickau ausgearbeitete. Ja. - Wie werden die Leiter der handfertigkeits-Curse honorirt? Die Meister erhielten die Stunde 1 M. Der Buchbindermeister erhält die Stunde 75 Pfg. Der Buchbindermeister erhält 1 M, der Seminar-Oberlehrer 1 M 50 Pf. für die Stunde. ist noch nicht geordnet. Für den für den fämmtlichen Aufwand sind vom kgl. Cultusministerium für das Jahr der gegenwärtigen Finanzperiode 150 M bewilligt worden. Wird nach mündlichen Angaben, Zeichnungen oder Modellen gearbeitet? In 1. Linie nach Modellen, aber auch nach Zeichnungen und mündlichen Angaben. In der hauptfache nach mündlichen Angaben, doch auch nach Zeichnungen u. Modellen. Nach mündlichen Angaben. Nein. Wieviel betragen ungefähr die jährlichen Unkosten des Unternehmens? Abgehen von 3000 M für die ersten Anschaffungen und den nach den obigen Angaben zu berechnenden Honoraren 150 M für Materialien und 50 M Nebenkosten. 150 M. Für das erste Jahr waren 150, für die folgenden Jahre sind dies auf weiteres 120 M zur Verfügung.

Dresden. Schneeberg. Annaberg. Auerbach. Nehmen die Seminaristen gern an dem Unterricht theil? Aehnliche Wahrnehmungen wie beidem regulären Schulunterricht. Sehr gern. Die Seminaristen nehmen gern am Unterrichte Theil. Scheint der Fall zu sein; den als jetzt aufgefordert wurde zur Theilnahme an Buchbinderarbeiten, haben sich fämmtliche Schüler der 3. und 4. Classe gemeldet. Welche Erfolge hat der

Unterricht bisher gehabt? leidlich befriedigende. Erfreuliche. Um das beftimmen zu können, haben die Schüler noch zu wenig Stunden gehabt. Findet er arch an der Seminar-Uebungsfchule statt? Es haben nur einige kinder theilgenommen. Nein. Nein. Nein. Welcherlei Gegenftände werden gearbeitet? Nüßlichkeits-Gegenftände? Solche Dinge die mit dem Unterricht in beziehung ftehen (mathematifche körper A.)? Nur Nüßlichkeits-Gegenftände. Borherrfchend Nüßlichkeits-Gegenftände. Die Schüler werde im heften u. Befchneiden, inder Anfertigung von Verfchiedenartigen käftchen Schachteln, Mappen u. f. f. unterwiefen. Beftellungen der einzelnen Lehre der Anfalt werden thunlichft ausgeführt. Der an dem Seminar zu Auerbach eingeführte handfertigkeits-Unterricht foll darauf abzielen, die Schüler in den Stand zu feßen, die herftellung u. Reparatur gewiffer Lehrmittel felbft zu beforgen. Daraufhin find die nachfolgenden Papp-, holz-und Metall-Arbeiten ausgewählt worden.

## **Auerbach.**

### **Buchbinderarbeiten:**

Behandlung von Leim und kleifter. Streichen mit dem Pinfel. Schneiden der Pappe, heften und Befchneiden von heften. Actenhaften. Aufziehen von Plänen und karten, Ueberziehen von Pappdeckeln, Einfügung von Bändern und Metallöfen in Pappdeckel, herftellung von geometrifchen körpern, von Mappen, käftchen mit Glasdeckeln u. f. f.

### **Tifchler-Arbeiten:**

schärfen von Säge, hobel und fchneidender Inftrumente. Sägen, hobeln, bohren, feilen. herftellung einer 4-und mehrkantigen Säule, von cylindrifchen Stäben an der hobelbank, eines Rahmens mit Stoß und Gehrung, eines kaftens mit deckel (Berzapfung und Berzinkung), herftellung eines Cylinders und einer Rolle an der Drechfel-Bank. Schneiden von Glasplatten. Schneiden und Brechen, Biegen und Ausziehen von Glasröhren. Herftellung von Filtern. Reinigen der Flafchen und Röhren.

### **Metall-Arbeiten.**

Umgang mit Blechfcheere, fchlagen und fchneiden von Blechen. Bernieten und feilen. Weich-und hartlöthen, und der dabei zu berücksichtigende Gebrauch desorydirender Mittel. herftellung von Filter-Schablonen und Drei-Füßen, von geometrifchen hohlkörpern, von Schrauben-Spindeln und-Muttern. Gewiffe Druckarbeiten, wie Blechfchalen u. f. w.

Faffe ich alles zufammen, fo ergibt fich, daß wir es in den Seminaren vorwiegend mit Papp-und holz-Arbeiten zu thun haben; in Auerbach hat man wegen des phyfikalifchen Unterrichts leichte metall-und Glas-Arbeiten hizugefügt. Der Unterricht ift hier facultativ, dort obligatorifch, dann aber auch für die unteren klaffen obligatorifch, für die oberen dagegen facultativ. Zumeift nehmen die Schüler der unteren Claffen Theil. Die Urtheile der Directionen ftimmen darin überein, daß die Fortfchritte befriedigende feien, und daß der Unterricht auch in Zukunft fortgefetzt werden folle. Der Zweck des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts wird theils in der Ergänzimg des theoretifchen Unterrichts durch praktifche Befchäftigung oder auch nur in dem erfrifchenden Wechsel zwifchen geiftiger und leiblicher Anftrengung gefucht, theils erklärt man ausdrücklich, daß der Seminarift „um feines künftigen Amtes willen“ handfertigkeits-Unterricht erhalten müffe, und an Einer Stelle wünfcht man insbefondere den Seminariften in den Stand zu feßen, „die herftellung und Reparatur gewiffer Lehrmittel felbft zu beforgen.“

Die Leitung des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts liegt zum großen Theil in händen von handwerkern, die in der ihnen geläufigen Weife die Technik ihres Berufs den Zöglingen übermitteln, ohne von den in unferen kreifen gemachten Anftrengungen, eine Methodik des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts zu fchaffen, berührt zu fein. In anderen Seminaren fucht man zwar nicht die Methodit, wohl aber die Disciplin dadurch zu fördern, daß man dem handwerksmeister Seminarlehrer an die Seite ftellt, und in dem einen haben Seminarlehrer fich felbft erft praktifch zur Ertheilung des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts befähigt, um danach die Leitung deffelben felbft zu überneymen. Die aufgewendeten Mittel find bei allen Seminaren (mit Ausnahme von Dresden) äußerft geringe zu nennen.

haben wir damit einen Ueberblick über den bisher an den Seminaren betriebenen handfertigkeits-Unterricht gewonnen, fo, fcheint mir, ift damit zugleich eine natürliche Grundlage gegeben für die Wünfche welche in Bezug auf die zukünftige Entwicklung deffelben gehegt werden müffen. Wir haben damit zugleich einen Standpunct gewonnen für die Beantwortung der drei auf unferer Tagesordnung ftehenden Fragen: aus welchem Grunde, in welchem Umfang und in welcher Weife ift der handfertigkeits-Unterricht in den Lehrplan der

Seminare einzureihen?

Freilich nicht zunächst für die Beantwortung der ersten Frage nach den Gründen, aus denen die Einführung des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts gewünscht werden müßte.

Diese Frage allein würde recht wohl zum Gegenstand eines ausführlichen Referats gemacht werden können. Ich müßte die ganze, bereits ziemlich angeschwollene Litteratur über den handfertigkeit-Unterricht, das lebhaft für und wider recapituliren, müßte die Bewegung, in der wir seit sechs Jahren stehen, schildern, wollte ich diesen einen Punkt zur Genüge erörtern. Das ist natürlich hier und heute nicht möglich. Nur das sei gesagt, daß das Seminar mehr als jede andere Unterrichts-Anstalt des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts bedarf. Denn sie ist in erster Linie Erziehungs-Schule. Die dem Seminar zugeführten Zöglinge bedürfen zunächst selbst noch ihrer eigenen Erziehung. Alle Gründe also, welche für die Aufnahme des handfertigkeit-Unterrichts unter die Erziehungsmittel sprechen, gelten demnach voll und ganz auch für das Seminar, insbesondere für die unteren Classen desselben. Wenn wir sagen, daß die Uebung des Auges und der Hand für die harmonische Bildung des ganzen Menschen unbedingt nothwendig sei, so können wir natürlich den Seminaristen nicht ausschließen wollen.

Wenn gesagt wird, daß auch das geistige Leben durch die Erfahrungen, die bei der praktischen Arbeit gemacht werden, bereichert wird, daß der handfertigkeit-Unterricht dazu dient, die Anschauungen zu vermehren, daß das Interesse an den Gegenständen des theoretischen Unterrichts durch die praktische Beschäftigung mit ihnen geweckt und vertieft wird, so werden wir auch dem Seminaristen diese Wirkungen zugutekommen lassen wollen.

Wenn wir immer und immer wieder erfahren, welche große Freude die Jugend an der Bethätigung ihrer körperlichen Kräfte hat, wie fruchtbar der Wechsel zwischen wissenschaftlicher Beschäftigung und praktischer Arbeit wie psychologisch rationell es ist zu vermitteln zwischen dem Wissen, das nie abgeschlossen wird, und dem Können, das die Freude an der Hervorbringung zwar einfacher aber doch in sich vollendeter Werke gewährt, wie erzieherisch werthvoll die Bildung des Willens durch die Selbstthätigkeit ist, wie nothwendig es ist den dem Menschen innewohnenden und nur durch Zwang niederzuhaltenden Gestaltungstrieb sich entwickeln zu lassen, wie wünschenswerth es ist, daß für die Bildung des ästhetischen Geschmacks mehr als bisher geschehe, so werden wir hieraus einen Grund für den handfertigkeit-Unterricht auch auf den Seminaren herleiten. Wenn endlich in dem Kampfe gegen die Ueberbürdung immer und immer wieder gesagt werden muß, daß nicht sowohl die Menge der von den Schülern verlangten Arbeiten, sondern die Einseitigkeit der geistigen Anstrengung zur Schulmüdigkeit, Frühreife und Bläthe führt, so wird man auch den Seminaristen den Segen körperlicher Arbeit wünschen; denn auch sie brauchen frische Kräfte, wenn sie in das Leben hinaustreten. Hier geht ja ihre Arbeit eigentlich erst an!

Was ist solchen schwerwiegenden Gründen gegenüber der immer wiederholte Einwand, daß keine Zeit für den handfertigkeit-Unterricht vorhanden sei? Wie oft soll es wiederholt werden, daß ein geistig frischer, spannkraftiger Knabe rascher auffaßt als ein lernmüder, mit Gedächtniswissen überlasteter Schüler? Man kann doch nimmermehr die Tiefe des Einflusses, den die Schule auf ihre Zöglinge übt, nach der Zeitdauer messen wollen, innerhalb deren er gezwungen wird die Bank zu drücken? Die günstigen Erfahrungen, die man in Schweden nun schon seit Jahren mit Schülern gemacht hat, welche praktisch thätig sein dürfen, zeigen ja zur Evidenz, daß das Interesse an der Schule durch den Arbeits-Unterricht viel lebendiger, der Geist geweckter wird. Es handelt sich eben nicht um die Hinzufügung eines neuen Faches zu dem Betrieb der bisherigen, sondern um ein neues Erziehungs-princip, um die Benützung des Thätigkeitstriebes für die Bildung des Willens, des Charakters. Ja und wenn der Arbeits-Unterricht nichts weiter wirkte, als daß er die praktischen, künstlerischen Anlagen, die heute die theoretische Schule ungenüßt verkümmern läßt, entfaltet, wenn er den Schülern, die durch den heutigen Unterricht dem praktischen Leben eher entfremdet als zugeführt werden, Berufstüchtigkeit und Interesse dafür vermittelte, wenn er nichts thäte als durch die Freude an der eigenen Arbeit dem Hange zu müßigen, thörichten und unfittlichen Zerstreuungen vorzubeugen, so verdient er vollauf seinen Platz in der Erziehungsschule, also auch im Seminar. Übt der Arbeits-Unterricht diesen Einfluß, so wird sich wohl auch die Zeit für ihn finden. Es ist meine Ueberzeugung, daß nicht der Mangel an Zeit, sondern zum größten Theil das Vorurtheil gegen die praktische Arbeit, die Unterschätzung ihres eminenten Werthes für die Erziehung des Einzelnen wie der gesammten Menschheit es ist, was zu der Entschuldigung vom Zeitmangel geführt hat. Und beweisen denn diejenigen Seminare, welche den Arbeitsunterricht eingeführt haben, nicht klar und deutlich, daß die nöthige Zeit bei gutem Willen gefunden werden kann?

Aber das Seminar bedarf des Arbeits-Unterrichts nicht nur darum, weil es eine Erziehungsschule, sondern auch weil es eine Fachschule zur Lehrerbildung ist. Denn alle für ihn angeführten Gründe sprechen für werden die Lehrinhalte der Volksschule, in dem Seminar aber werden die Lehrkräfte für dieselbe gebildet. Außerdem wird die praktische Arbeit ein Mittel sein, den jungen Lehrer mit dem wirklichen Leben zu verbinden, die Beziehungen zu der Gemeinde, in der er lebt, anzuknüpfen und zu gestalten. Man denke sich doch nur einmal in die Lage eines jungen von dem Seminar kommenden Lehrers, der bisher in fast klösterlicher Abgeschlossenheit

vom Leben gehalten, sich nun vor die Aufgabe gestellt sieht, Erzieher und Bildner der heranwachsenden Generation für dieses Leben zu werden! Wird man die Frage, ob er das Leben verstehe, ob er die Bedürfnisse des Volkes kenne, bejahen wollen? Wird die Bücherweisheit, wird die bei Gelehrten und halbgelehrten so oft gefundene Unterfchätzung des Lehrers zu feiner Gemeinde eng zu knüpfen? Ich entnehme einer neuerdings über den Arbeits-Unterricht erschienenen Brofchüre

Robert Seidel, Der Arbeits-Unterricht, eine pädagogische und sociale Nothwendigkeit u. f. f. Tübingen, Laupp'sche Buchhandlung, 1885.

) inbezug auf diesen Punct folgende Stelle: „heute ist namentlich der angehende Lehrer in den praktischen Dingen ein wahres King und kann von jedem handwerkslehrling oder Bauernknechte gehänfelt werden. Das wird durch sein praktisches Geschick anders werden; er wird in der Achtung des Publicums nicht wenig steigen. Die erhöhte Achtung des Publicums und das Gefühl der Sicherheit in den praktischen Dingen des Lebens muß das berechtigte Standesgefühl des Lehrers erhöhen. Wenn dabei das unberechtigte Standesgefühl, das sich auf das Schulwissen statt auf den socialen und moralischen Werth gründet, verloren geht, so kann das dem Lehrerstande wiederum nur zum Bortheil gereichen. Wir leiden überhaupt an der Ueberfchätzung des theoretischen, todten gegenüber dem praktischen, lebendigen Wissen und können.“ „Der Arbeits-Unterricht wird den Lehrer nicht zum Stümper, sondern er wird ihn tüchtiger in seinem Beruf machen und der Schule wird auf der praktischen Bildung der Lehrer größerer Gewinn erwachsen als aus der gelehrten Unbeholfenheit.“ Darum ist es wohl zu verstehen, wenn eine Seminar-Direction ausdrücklich den handfertigkeits-Unterricht wegen des künftigen Amtes des Seminaristen wünscht.

Alle Lehrer-Seminare sind zugleich Erziehungs- und Fachschulen. Viele von ihnen sind aber auch Internate und haben als solche ihren Zöglingen die Familie, das Elternhaus zu ersetzen. Diese haben meines Erachtens die größte Aufforderung, den Arbeits-Unterricht zu pflegen. In jeder wohlgeordneten Familie hat die freie Muße nach der Pflicht-Arbeit ihre Stelle; und in den Internaten gibt es demgemäß nach den Arbeitsstunden Zeiten welche der Erholung gewidmet sind. Im Sommer mögen sie zum Wandern durch Feld und Wald, zum Besuch des Schwimmbades und des Spielplatzes verwendet werden, im Winter aber sollte neben dem Schlittschuhlaufen der praktischen Arbeit eine Stelle eingeräumt sein. Oder soll auch hier immer wieder nur das Buch dem Schüler in die Hand gegeben werden? Soll das Buch, an dem sich der Geist erst müde gearbeitet hat, danach auch das rechte Erholungsmittel sein? Nein. Man gebe durch die Volksbibliotheken dem Arbeiter nach des Tages Laft und Mühe ein gutes Buch in die Hand, dem geistig angeftrengten Seminaristen aber gestatte man in seiner freien Zeit an die Hobelbank zu treten.

Eine weitere Frage ist die nach dem Umfang des Arbeits-Unterrichts auf den Seminaren. Darf ich die Frage zuerst im allgemeinen beantworten, so sage ich: dieser Umfang sei bescheiden. Es handelt sich ja nicht um die Erlernung eines oder gar einiger Handwerke, sondern um die Elemente der Handarbeit. Diese sind aber so einfach, wie die Elemente der Wissenschaften. Wer der Sache fernsteht glaubt es nicht, wie anerkennenswerthes hier in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit durchschnittlich von den Schülern geleistet werden kann. Herr Seminar-Director Dr. Pohle in Dresden hat mir gradezu seine Bewunderung ausgesprochen über das was von einzelnen seiner Seminaristen erreicht worden ist. Freilich giebt es auch Ungechickte, die nur langsame Fortschritte machen und keine glänzenden Arbeiten liefern. Aber darum würde ich auch nur für facultativen, nicht für obligatorischen handfertigkeits-Unterricht sein. Ich würde es damit ebenso zu machen vorschlagen wie mit der Musik, die auch nur von denjenigen getrieben wird, die Neigung und Anlage dafür haben. Die Regel aber ist, daß sich die Schüler in kurzer Zeit mit ein paar wöchentlichen Unterrichtsstunden eine erstaunliche Fertigkeit auf verschiedenen Gebieten der Handarbeit erwerben. Wir ahnen eben nicht, welchen Schatz praktischer Fähigkeiten wir zu Gunsten des Wissens verkümmern lassen. Ein Borgang aus der Praxis sei als Beleg für die Richtigkeit der oben aufgestellten Behauptung angeführt. Als man vor einiger Zeit die Arbeiten von Schülern, welche in der Straßburger Schülerwerkstatt angefertigt worden waren, öffentlich ausstellte, waren dieselben zu aller Bewunderung so gut ausgefallen, daß man meinte, die Schüler könnten diese faubern, geschickmankvollen Schnißereien u. f. f. unmöglich allein und ohne jede fremde Hilfe geschaffen haben. Und dieses Urtheil ließ sich nicht eher beschwichtigen, als bis man die Werkbänke kommen und die Knaben ihre Arbeiten vor den Augen des Publicums herstellen ließ.

Was den Umfang des handfertigkeits-Unterrichts auf den Seminaren insbesondere anlangt, so dürfte nach den vorhin gegebenen Mittheilungen es angemessen erscheinen, wenn man für die beiden unteren Classen diejenigen Arbeitsgebiete zu betreiben vorschlägt, die methodisch bisher am meisten ausgebaut worden sind, nemlich die Papp- und die Holz-Arbeiten, letztere mit Einschluß der Holzschneißerei, welche gleichsam die Ueberleitung zur Kunst bilden und die schlichten Handarbeiten künstlerisch verklären. Die Gründe, welche für die Papp-Arbeit sprechen, sind schon früher berührt worden. Sie beruhen in der Möglichkeit, damit auch kleinere Kinder zu beschäftigen, in der engen Verbindung, die sich zwischen dem elementaren mathematischen Unterricht und ihnen herstellen läßt, in der Gelegenheit, durch sie den Farbeninn, die Farbenfreude der Kinder zu entwickeln, und in der Möglichkeit, auch bei geringen Mitteln dennoch die Kosten für die Anschaffung der

Werkzeuge befretzen zu können. Als hiftorifcher Grund mag angeführt fein, daß von jeher bei den Befretzenen, die Kinder zur Arbeit zu erziehen, die Papier- und Papp-Arbeit eine wichtige Rolle gefpielt hat.

Die dritte mir zur Beantwortung geftellte Frage ift die nach der Weife, in welcher der handfertigkeits-Unterricht auf den Seminaren getrieben werden foll.

Was da zunächft die Perfönlichkeit des handfertigkeits-Lehrers betrifft, fo entfcheide ich mich gegen die hereinnahme der handwerksmeister in die Schule. Erftens aus einem Nützlichkeitsgrunde. Ich bin der Ueberzeugung, daß das Gerede, wir wollten die Knaben zu Handwerkern erziehen, nicheher verftummen wird, als bis fich die Lehrer felbft der Sache annehmen. Wir in Leipzig haben wenigftens unter diefem Borurtheil fo gut wie nicht zu leiden, und wie ich glaube deswegen, weil wir von vornherein die Meister zwar zur Ausbildung der Lehrer in vollftem Maße, nicht aber für die Unterweifung der Schüler in Anspruch genommen haben. Dann aber fpreche ich auch gegen die handwerksmeister in der Schule aus der rein fachlichen Ueberlegung, daß diefelben immer geneigt fein werden, die Schüler in der That wie Lehrlinge anzufehen. Ich weiß wohl, daß es glänzende Ausnahmen von Meiftern gibt, welche mit natürlicher pädagogifcher Begabung ihr Fach durchdrungen haben und allen handfertigkeits-Lehrern als Beifpiele dienen könnten; das ift jedoch wohl nicht der Durchfchnitt. Wir bedürfen aber in der Schule lauter folcher Kräfte, die fich der Mitarbeit an der Schule lauter folcher Kräfte, die fich der Mitarbeit an der Durchführung des gefammten Erziehungsplanes wohl bewußt find. Herr Confiftorialrath Dr. Brandt erwähnt ferner die geiftige Ueberlegenheit der Seminariften über ihre handfertigkeits-Lehrer, und das ift nach meinem Dafürhalten kein glückliches Berhältnis. Er wünft fich einen die Sache fördernden Lehrer neben dem handwerksmeister, und auch in Straßburg ift, während der Meister die Knaben unterrichtet, der Claffenlehrer anwesend. Dadurch aber erwachfen doppelte Koften. Und warum wünft man in Osnabrück und in Straßburg handwerksmeister als handfertigkeits-Lehrer? allein wegen ihrer technifchen Ueberlegenheit über die Schüler. Die kann fich aber auch ein Lehrer erwerben, dafür gibt es wahrlich Beifpiele die hülle und Fülle. Deshalb fage ich: die Werkftatt dem Meister, die Schule dem Lehrer. Wir wünften ja auch für den Turnunterricht keine Gymnastiker, alfo folche technifch überlegene Fachleute, deren alleiniger Beruf die Beherrschung des Körpers ift, fondern pädagogifch durchgebildete Turnlehrer, ja die Fälle häufen fich auch an höheren Schulen, wo der Ordinarius feiner Claffe zugleich auch den Turnunterricht ertheilt. Und im Zeichnen-Unterricht wünften wir uns keine Künstler von Fach, die für fich felbft die Technik meifterhaft verftehen, ohne fie darum auch lehren zu können, fondern wir verlangen gute Zeichnenlehrer; ja felbft mit dem handfertigkeits-Unterricht, foweit derfelbe bereits eingeführt ift, nemlich in Bezug auf die weiblichen Handarbeiten hat man die gleiche Erfahrung gemacht. Anfangs verwendete man zur Unterweifung der Mädchen Berufs-Näherinnen, und heute gibt es wohl allerwärts pädagogifch vorgebildete Handarbeits-Lehrerinnen. Als Uebergangs-Stufe bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, wo überall technifch tüchtige Lehrer für den handfertigkeits-Unterricht vorhanden fein werden, möchte ich die Berwendung brauchbarer Kräfte aus dem Kreife der Handwerker keineswegs ausgefchloffen fehen, namentlich wenn fie durch wohlüberlegte Borlagen oder Modelle unterftützt werden. Nur follte diefe Form des Unterrichts nicht unfer leßtes Ziel fein. Als Ort, wo der Unterricht ertheilt wird, ift natürlich das Seminar felbft zu wünften, fchon um der Befchäftigung der Seminariften während ihrer Mußzeit willen. Das wünschenswerthe ift die Unterbringung der Werkftatt in einem eigenen Raume; außerdem dürfte die Mitbenutzung des Zeichenfaales für die praktifchen Arbeiten der Seminariften am eheften möglich fein, wie fich ja das Zeichnen und die Handfertigkeit auch fonft gegenfeitig unterftützen. Solange man aber nicht die Mittel befißt, eine eigene Werkftatt auszurüften, wird die Mitbenutzung der Werkftätte eines Meisters immer weit beffer fein, als der völlige Ausfchluß der praktifchen Arbeit von der Erziehung der Seminariften.

Was die Unterrichts-Zeit betrifft, fo würde es genügen, wollte man dem Arbeitsunterricht wöchentlich 2 bis 4 Stunden einräumen. Inbefondere dann, wenn man den Schülern erlaubt in ihren Mußestunden praktifch zu arbeiten, werden 3 Wochenftunden für die Unterweifung genügen. Und diefes Zeitopfer würde nach meiner Ueberzeugung nicht abfolut gebracht werden, fondern durch die körperliche Frifche und Spannkraft, durch das Intereffe welches der Arbeits-Unterricht erweckt, wiederum zum Theil wenigftens einzubringen fein. Dies wird namentlich dann gefchehen, wenn man darauf bedacht ift die von mir gewünschte Berbindung zwifchen dem theoretifchen und dem praktifchen Unterricht herzustellen. Es genügt nach meinem Dafürhalten nicht, daß die praktifchen Arbeiten pädagogifch ausgewählt und angeordnet find und aus pädagogifchen Abfichten betrieben werden, fondern die Theorie der Schule muß mit der Praxis der Werkftatt hand in hand gehen. Werden die praktifchen Arbeiten losgelöst vom Unterricht und ftehen fie völlig ifolirt neben ihm, fo verlieren fie viel von ihrer geiftbildenden Kraft. Und umgekehrt: werden die Theorien nicht verkörpert in den praktifchen Arbeiten, fo werden fie nicht zum wahren Eigenthum des Schülers, fie erwachfen nicht in ihm zum rechten Leben, fondern machen ihn düffelhaft.

Das heutige Nebeneinander von Lernfchule und Werkftatt follte darum auch nur Uebergangstufe fein. Entwickelt fich der Arbeitsunterricht in die Tiefe, fo wird er ganz beftimmt in engere Berbindung mit dem anderen Unterricht treten. Freilich giebt es noch kein durchgeführtes Syftem eines folchen Arbeitsunterrichts,

denn das kann nur aus der Praxis der mit der Schule verbundenen Werkstatt hervorzugehen. Jedenfalls wäre es verkehrt, aus dem Umstande daß ein solches System nicht vorhanden ist, der Handarbeit den Eintritt in die Schule zu verbieten. Das hieße Jemandem, der gern schwimmen lernen und dazu in das Wasser möchte, das Experiment im Wasser darum unterfragen, weil er auf dem Trockenen nicht schwimmen gelernt hat. Giebt es aber auch noch kein System eines solchen Arbeitsunterrichts, so sind doch entschiedene Ansätze dafür vorhanden. Das lehren die sehr anerkanntwerthen Bemühungen, welche in diesem Sinne schon seit langer Zeit in dem Erziehungs-Institut von Friedrich Beuf zu Hottigen bei Zürich gemacht worden, um die organische Verbindung der Geographie, des Zahlenrechnens, der Planimetrie und Raumlehre mit den praktischen Beschäftigungen der Knaben, mit Papp- und Holz-Arbeiten herzustellen. Unsere Ausstellung von Werkstatt-Arbeiten in Leipzig weist auch eine große Anzahl derartiger, die bloße Anschauung des Knaben zur eigenen praktischen Gestaltung erhebender Arbeiten auf. Daß die Physik als Erfahrungs-Wissenschaft zur Erprobung ihrer Gesetze durch die Arbeit des Zöglings gradezu herausfordert, das lehren die vielen zu Hause ohne Anleitung experimentirenden Schüler, und ich hoffe, der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht wird eine Zeit herbeiführen helfen, in der man sich wundern wird, daß man früher jemals fruchtbaren Physik-Unterricht ohne jede eigene Bethätigung des Schülers hat ertheilen wollen. Auf solche Wege scheint mir auch der im Seminar zu Auerbach betriebene Handfertigkeits-Unterricht schließlich zu führen. Hier möchte ich ausdrücklich hervorheben, daß es bei den Bestrebungen der Leipziger Schülerwerkstatt, die übrigens die Anfertigung von Nützlichkeitsgegenständen und von Spielgeräthen keineswegs ausschließt, nicht darauf ankommt Anschauungsmittel für die Verwendung im Classen-Unterricht herzustellen zu lassen und dadurch etwa nur den Lehrmittel-handlungen Konkurrenz zu erwecken, sondern einzig und allein darauf, das technische Geschick, die Erziehung des Auges und der Hand mit dem geistigen Leben des Knaben in enge Verbindung zu bringen, damit es so werde, wie der Dichter sagt:

Das ist's ja, was den Menschen zieret,  
Und dazu ward ihm der Berufand,  
Daß er im innern Herzen spüret,  
Was er erschafft mit feiner Hand.

Fasse ich nach alledem meine Wünsche zusammen, so ergibt sich als erstrebenswerth die Einführung des Handfertigkeits-Unterricht in bescheidenem Umfang in den beiden unteren Classen der Lehrer-Seminare. Der Unterricht soll sich auf Papier- und Papp-Arbeiten, sowie auf die Elemente der Holzarbeit, einschließlich der einfachen Holzschneiderei erstrecken, er soll facultativ in 2 bis 4 Stunden wöchentlich womöglich von technisch tüchtig vorbereiteten Lehrern in einem Arbeitssaale des Seminars ertheilt werden.

Der Arbeits-Unterricht soll in möglichst enge Beziehung zu dem übrigen Unterricht dadurch zu kommen suchen, daß er die theoretischen Kenntnisse einzelner Disciplinen praktisch darstellt. Und endlich soll den Seminaristen die praktische Arbeit als körperliche Erholung in ihrer Freizeit gestattet sein.

Borßender Professor Biedermann-Leipzig: Ich bitte die Herren, die zu diesem Gegenstande sprechen wollen, sich zu melden. Es scheint keine Debatte beliebt zu sein, ich bitte daher den nächsten Vortragenden das Wort zu seinem Vortrag zu ergreifen.

## **Welche Lehrgegenstände hat ein erziehlicher Handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu umfassen?**

Lehrer Gärtig-Pofen: hochgeehrte Anwesende!

Nur wenige Monate fehlen noch und das erste Decennium der deutschen Bestrebungen für den Knaben-Handarbeits-Unterricht liegt hinter uns Zehn Jahre!—eine Fülle von Zeit in unserer schaffenschnellen Gegenwart. Was haben wir in ihr erreicht?—Wohl können wir mit Genugthuung constatiren, daß die Idee der Sache in die weitesten Kreise getragen wurde, aber bezüglich ihrer Realisirung sieht es bei uns in Deutschland doch noch nicht allzu erfreulich aus. Abgesehen von dem Königreich Sachsen, das, wie der Herr Borredner nachgewiesen hat, in der Gestaltung der von uns vertretenen Reformidee unzweifelhaft erkennbare, ja erhebliche Fortschritte gemacht hat, ist im übrigen Deutschland in der praktischen Inangriffnahme der Sache doch eine gewisse Stagnation eingetreten,—und was das theoretische Arbeitsfeld anbelangt, so sind die auf diesem Gebiet unternommenen Arbeiten wohl höchst schätzenswerth, aber genauer betrachtet doch nicht positiv



genug, da sie immer nur auf den Erfahrungen und Calculationen Einzelner basieren. Forderungen aber welche die Organisation einer allgemeinen erzieherischen Maßnahme bezwecken, können—falls sie Anspruch auf Positivität machen wollen—keineswegs nur als Resultat des Nachdenkens oder des praktischen Befuchs Einzelner erscheinen, sondern sie müssen Product einer ganzen Kategorie von Einzelnen sein, sie müssen als das Product des Gemeingeistes, der in der Bewegung zu Tage tritt, der Öffentlichkeit vor Augen kommen.

Beide Erscheinungen nun, sowohl die Stagnation auf praktischem als die Zerfplitterung auf theoretischem Gebiet, stehen in innigem Zusammenhang. Wohl können für die erstere Gründe verschiedener Art vorgeführt werden mangelnde Mittel, mangelndes Berufständnis, Furcht vor Neuerungen, Gleichgiltigkeit, principielle Generosität u. f. f.—doch es wird nicht zu leugnen sein, daß gerade die theoretische Bielseitigkeit in den handfertigkeits-Bestrebungen nachtheilig auf die Beurtheilung und praktische Gestaltung der ganzen Sache eingewirkt hat, insofern als sie der generischen Kritik willkommenes Handhaben bot und verschiedene Kreise zurückschreckte sich mit praktischen Berufen zu befaßen.

Es muß demnach im Interesse unserer Bestrebungen liegen, wenn die gerügte Zerfplitterung beseitigt, wenn eine einheitliche Theorie geschaffen wird, die als Product der ganzen Bewegung erscheint. Das kann aber nur dann der Fall sein, wenn der Repräsentant der Bewegung, also der Congreß für handfertigkeits-Unterricht bestimmte Stellung zu den in Frage kommenden Punkten einnimmt. Unsere heutigen Bemühungen laufen nun darauf hinaus, eine derartige Stellungnahme den wichtigsten Fragen der inneren Organisation gegenüber, wie Art und Zahl der Lehrgegenstände, pädagogisch oder nur technisch gebildete Lehrer u. f. f.—herbeizuführen oder definitiv anzubahnen.

Die erstgenannte Frage nun, die dahin präcisiert worden ist: welche Lehrgegenstände hat ein erzieherischer handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu umfassen? hat eine zweite nicht minder wichtige Frage, nemlich die des Principes, nach welchem der Arbeitsunterricht einzurichten ist, zur Voraussetzung. Von der Eigenartigkeit des Principes hängt auch die Eigenartigkeit des Unterrichts und seiner Mittel ab. Wohl befaßt sich unsere Frage nur mit dem „erzieherischen“ handfertigkeits-Unterricht, es erscheint also das Princip selbst bereits als festgesetzt, als unfraglich, aber wir wissen es alle, das Wort „erzieherisch“ ist ein sehr dehnbarer Begriff. Betrachten wir die Motive jeder einzelnen handfertigkeits-Richtung, so finden wir, daß das Interesse der Erziehung für gewöhnlich im Vordergrund steht und allermeist betont wird. Wollen wir uns also jeder Subjectivität begeben, so müssen wir die einzelnen zu Tage getretenen Richtungen, deren Ziele und Mittel vorführen, sie auf ihren erzieherischen Werth hin prüfen und schließlich das naturgemäße Facit ziehen.

Sämmtliche Richtungen des Knaben-Handarbeits-Unterrichts lassen sich bekanntlich in zwei Gruppen zusammenfassen: die volkswirtschaftliche und die hausindustrielle, welche entweder dahin trachtet, in Gegenden, die von der Mutter Natur nur spärlich bedacht worden sind, gewinnbringende Hausindustrien ins Leben zu rufen,—oder die dahin zielt, bereits bestehende Hausindustrien, sei es in technischer oder kunstindustrieller Beziehung empor zu heben,—oder die dahin strebt, an Stelle der durch die immer mehr sich ausbreitende Benutzung der Maschine in zahlreichen Industriegegenden zum Absterben gerauchten Hausindustrien andere Arbeitsarten zu setzen,—kann als ausschließlich ökonomische Richtung von Seiten eines erzieherischen handfertigkeits-Unterrichts nicht beachtet werden. Die Volksschule ist vor allem eine allgemeine Bildungsanstalt und ist ihrer Organisation nach nicht geeignet die Lösung von derartigen Specialaufgaben zu übernehmen; ihre Arbeitszeit und insbesondere ihre Arbeitskräfte reichen dazu nicht aus.

Etwas anderes ist es jedoch mit derjenigen Richtung, deren Bedeutung neben ihrem volkswirtschaftlichen insbesondere auch in ihrem volkspädagogischen Endzweck liegt;—ich meine die häusliche Handarbeit, welche nicht für den Verkauf berechnet ist, sondern für den eigenen Gebrauch, den Hausfleiß im Allgemeinen.

Das Bestreben, die Moralität unseres Volkes zu heben, indem es befähigt werden soll seine müßigen Stunden durch interessante und nutzbringende Handarbeit ausfüllen zu können, damit so die Langeweile, diese Mutter aller Laster, aus der Welt gebannt werde, und das im Besonderen auch darauf hin gerichtet ist, in gewissen Kreisen unserer Bevölkerung den Arbeitsgeist zu wecken, die Arbeitsfähigkeit zu bilden und die Ehre der Arbeit zum unumstößlichen Dogma zu machen—das Bestreben kann als solches nur unseren besten Sympathien begegnen. Wenn jedoch, wie es in der Natur dieser Richtung liegt, das materielle Interesse stets das ausschlaggebende Agens ist, wenn das Hauptaugenmerk sich auf die Aneignung recht vieler mechanischer Fertigkeiten richtet, ohne zu unterfuchen, ob denn nicht durch dieses Bielerlei der Oberflächlichkeit und Bfucherei Borfschub geleistet werde,—dann müssen wir auch dieser Richtung die Berechtigung abprechen, als Unterrichts-princip der Schule gelten zu können. Wir thun dies um so nachdrucksvoller, als die in jener Hinsicht bereits gemachten Erfahrungen uns lehren: der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht kann sich nicht mit der Fertigung aller möglichen, in Rücksicht auf Material und Technik höchst mannigfaltigen Gegenstände des häuslichen Gebrauchs und Schmucks befaßen, kann unmöglich alle diejenigen Gewerbearten welche mehr oder weniger unmittelbar im Dienste des häuslichen Lebens stehen, zu Gegenständen feiner Arbeit machen. Das von uns hoch gehaltene ideale Moment des Hausfleiß-principes darf selbstberfändlich auch in einem überwiegend formalen Handfertigkeits-Unterricht nicht ganz vernachlässigt werden, vielmehr wird dieser Unterricht der Forderung

nicht entgehen können, insbesondere im Interesse der Land-schulen auch solche arbeitsgegenstände zu beachten, welche neben ihren allgemein erzieherischen Vortheilen geeignet sind dem späteren Hausleiß grundlegende Fertigkeiten zuzuführen.

Fast ebenso behält es sich mit der im Kriege unseres Bemühens sich geltend machenden gewerblichen Richtung, deren Vertreter dem Knaben, der später im Gewerbe, in der Technik oder Kunst fein Brot suchen muß, so frühzeitig als möglich die Fertigkeiten eigen zu machen wünschen, welche er später in seinem Lebensberuf braucht, und die ferner die Wahl des künftigen Berufs nicht wie bisher dem Zufall überlassen, sondern die dem Knaben schon in der Schulzeit Gelegenheit geben wollen, die verschiedensten Gewerarten aus eigener Erfahrung praktisch kennen zu lernen. Diese Gedanken sind ja an und für sich nicht zurückzuweisen, widerstreiten aber den realen Verhältnissen des Lebens und rufen auch mannigfache Bedenken des Pädagogen wach. Vor allen würde eine derartige Organisation des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts große pecuniäre Opfer erfordern, da schon in den gewerblichen Mitterstädten fast jedes gewerbliche Fach berücksichtigt werden müßte; zum ändern können wir uns auch darum für diese Richtung nicht begeistern, weil, wie ihre Vertreter ausführen, eine solche gewerbliche Vorbildung principiell nichts mit humanitären Ideen gemein haben darf, die Sinne zu schärfen, die Aufmerksamkeit zu steigern, den Menschen als Mensch reifer und selbständiger zu machen,—sondern daß diesem Unterricht nur das eine positive Ziel vor Augen stehen soll, das betreffende Gewerbe als solches zu heben und jene ganz positiven Geschicklichkeiten zu erzielen, die für das Gewerbe unerläßlich nöthig sind.

Wir glauben keineswegs, daß das solide Handwerk etwa ein überwundener Standpunkt ist, wie Viele meinen, sondern auch wir erkennen, daß es seiner inneren Vervollkommnung zutreibt, und daß demgemäß jeder Handwerker, fürderhin sich geistig immer reger tummeln und seine Hand immer mehr zu jenen Arbeiten geschickt machen muß, welche von der rohen mechanischen Kraft der Maschine unabhängig sind, nemlich der Kunstgewerblichen;—aber die speciellen Vorbedingungen hierzu können nur durch besondere Fachschulen geschaffen werden. Der Volksschule darf nur die allgemeinere Aufgabe zufallen, denkende und zum raschen Erlernen der Elemente eines Handwerks befähigte Werkleute vorzubilden, zu erziehen. Dieser Aufgabe genügt sie, wenn sie neben die sittlich-religiöse und intellectuelle Bildung auch die Bildung des praktischen Berufsstandes, die thematische Übung der Hand, des Formenfinnes und Geschmacks in Gestalt eines in erster Linie pädagogischen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts setzt. Die sichere Hand, die gewonnene allgemeine Fertigkeit, der entwickelte praktische Berufsstand sind dann für jeden Knaben ein Capital, das er gut verwerthen kann, welchem Gewerbe er sich auch immer zuwenden will. Auch die Basis der für alle Kunstgewerbe nöthigen Bildung wird in diesem Falle geschaffen werden, wenn der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht namentlich in den städtischen Schulen, die ihre Böglinge ja vorwiegend dem Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe zuführen, nicht nur intensive Übungen des Auges, sondern auch solche der Phantasie in sich schließt. Demgemäß werden wir bei der Festsetzung unseres Arbeitsplanes hierauf wesentliche Rücksicht nehmen müssen.

Wenn wir nun der von uns betretenen und bereits angedeuteten pädagogischen Richtung des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts näher treten, haben wir noch denjenigen Principien unsere Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden, welche von anderer Seite bezüglich eines schulmäßigen Unterrichts in Formarbeiten aufgestellt worden sind.

Die weitgehendste Richtung dieser Art ist unstreitig die der Fröbelianer. Wenn dieselben nach Fröbel's Vorgang den Handarbeits-Unterricht als pädagogischen Stammunterricht betrachten, indem sie darauf fußen, daß der Mensch nur das vollkommene Werkstück, was er darzustellen imstande sei, daß also die Arbeit die Wurzel, der Angelpunkt aller fruchtbaren Erkenntnis sei, und wenn sie demgemäß diesem Centrum ihrer Schulthätigkeit alle anderen Beschäftigungen und Maßnahmen unterordnen, so müssen wir dies unbedingt als extrem charakterisiren. Wir stimmen Fröbel vollständig bei, wenn er die Erziehung die Pflicht zuweist, den Menschen als schaffendes Wesen zu beachten und zu behandeln und zum Selbstthätigen zu befähigen und auszubilden, aber daß darum an die Pflege des Beschäftigungstriebes sich alles anknüpfen, daß aus derselben alles herborgehen solle, was zur wahrhaft menschlichen Entwicklung des Kindes, zu dessen allseitig genügender Erziehung nothwendig ist, vermögen wir nicht einzusehen. Seine derartige Bedeutung kann die Handarbeit nie erlangen: das Gethische und Religiöse muß stets Mittelpunkt einer jeden erzieherischen Schulthätigkeit bleiben, die Handarbeit wird nur ein den übrigen Erziehungsfactoren beigeordnetes Mittel sein dürfen.

Halten wir dies fest, dann erübrigt es sich, in eine Kritik der arbeitsgegenstände dieser Richtung einzutreten, wie sie also auf der Basis der Fröbel'schen Kindergartenarbeiten von Geidel und Schmidt in Weimar, von Alois Fellner in Wien, sowie in ganz selbständiger und höchst consequenter Manier von Dr. Georgens in Berlin theoretisch durchgebildet worden sind.

Richt ganz so gestaltet sich unser Urtheil bezüglich derjenigen pädagogischen Richtung, welche im Gegenfaß zu den Fröbelianern die Handarbeit ausschließlich als Dienerin des theoretischen Schulunterrichts betrachtet wissen will, der sogenannten „Leipziger Richtung“, wie sie von Dr. Götze betreten, in den oberen Classen der Realschule zu Leipzig, sowie in der Barth'schen Erziehungsschule durchgeführt, von der dortigen

Schülerwerkstatt aber aus äußeren Gründen nur unvollkommen berücksichtigt worden ist. Wir sind keineswegs böllige Gegner dieser Richtung, denn auch wir erkennen, daß der Arbeitsunterricht ein höchst intensiver Anschauungsunterricht ist und daß einzelne der in der Rechenstunde, in der geographischen, mathematischen, physikalischen und naturgeschichtlichen Lehrstunde besprochenen Stoffe von der praktischen Seite her Gegenstände des Arbeitsunterrichts werden können. Wenn jedoch verschiedene Vertreter dieser Richtung in Rücksicht auf die vorgenannten Erscheinungen die Fertigung von Gegenständen des praktischen Lebens verbieten, wenn sie ein vollständiges Angehen der Handarbeit in den einzelnen Lehrfächern befürworten, ihr somit keine selbständige Stellung als Unterrichtsgegenstand einräumen wollen, so erklären wir uns gegen sie.

Wir meinen, auch die Handarbeit ist in dem Falle, wo sie sich mit Objecten befaßt, wie sie den Kindern tagtäglich in der Praxis des Lebens vor Augen treten und durch die Hände gehen, dem Eideckel der Schüler angepaßt, kann auch in diesem Falle die theoretischen Kenntnisse der Kinder erweitern und befestigen insofern, als sie eine vielseitige Besprechung und Demonstration in Bezug auf Stoff, Werkzeug, Form, Art der Thätigkeit mit Hilfe des Vorzeichnens, der Mathematik, auf welche sie basirt werden muß, gestattet. Die Befürchtung, daß bei Anfertigung von Gegenständen des täglichen Gebrauchs dem Handwerk eine unwillkommene Concurrenz erwachse, hat sich bezüglich des formalen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts als illusorisch erwiesen. Wir behaupten also: die Anlehnung des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts an Nützlichkeit Gegenstände des wirtschaftlichen Lebens, sowie eine selbständige Stellung der letzteren als besonderer Unterrichtszweig ist eine unbedingte Nothwendigkeit, selbst dann, ja dann erst recht, wenn jenes Princip des Anwendungs-Unterrichts allgemeine Annahme fände.

Die innere Berechtigung zu dieser Behauptung ergibt sich zunächst aus dem Verhältnis, welches der Rechen- und Schreib-Unterricht zu den übrigen Schuldisciplinen einnimmt. Beide stehen im Dienste der theoretischen Unterrichtsgegenstände ganz ebenso wie dies von der Handarbeit verlangt wird; trotzdem geht keiner von beiden in denselben auf. Es denkt auch Niemand daran, eine derartige Forderung zu stellen,—vielmehr wird eine eigene methodische Durchbildung jener Fertigkeiten in der Form besonderer Unterrichtsgegenstände als pädagogisch unerlässlich erachtet. Ein Ziel höherem Grade tritt nun dies Erfordernis bei den unbedingt schwierigeren Formenarbeiten ein. Nur an eine flüchtig entwickelte handgeschicklichkeit wird das Anfassen gestellt werden dürfen, der Theorie dienlich zu sein. Eine flüchtige Durchbildung verlangt aber in erster Linie die strikte Beachtung methodischer Grundsätze, und man wird mit Rücksicht hierauf unmöglich den theoretischen Unterricht den diesbezüglichen Forderungen des Arbeitsunterrichts anbequemen wollen. Uebrigens ist das Bestreben der Volksschule in den einzelnen in Frage kommenden Gegenständen so vielseitig und reichhaltig, daß wenn man ohne Sprünge Sinfälligkeiten und Beiläufigkeiten vermeiden will, man unmöglich den Handfertigkeits-Unterricht an dasselbe anlehnen könnte.

Vollständig entgegengesetzt gestaltet sich unser Urtheil hinsichtlich einer beabsichtigten Durchführung jenes Gedankens in den oberen Classen der mittleren und insbesondere der höheren Lehranstalten. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß hier eine wissenschaftliche Ausnützung der Handarbeit am Platze und nach Abfolgerung der Vorfächer eines vorangegangenen besonderen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts auch leicht durchzuführen ist.

Die Volksschulen, sowie die unteren und mittleren Classen der höheren Lehranstalten werden—wie schon bemerkt wurde—den theoretischen Unterricht unter Anlehnung an einen besonderen Werkstatt-Unterricht gewiß gefahren ist; vor allem aber müssen sie die Arbeit als erziehendes Element in den Kreis ihrer pädagogischen Mittel aufnehmen und müssen bei der Festsetzung ihrer Arbeitsgegenstände unter allen Umständen hinein formalen Bildungswert als ausschlaggebenden Factor festhalten.

In welchem Sinne wir die erzieherische Wirkung des Arbeits-Unterrichts auffassen, ist bereits von Herrn Lammers in zutreffender Weise gezeigt worden; ich bemerke nur: als Viele schweben uns vor die Erziehung der Hand im Dienste der Technik, die Entwicklung des Formensinnes und Geschmacks, des Sinnes für Ordnung und Gaubigkeit, die Bildung des praktischen Berftandes, oder um mit Dr. Gelbe zu reden, "die Bildung der praktischen Intelligenz, d. h. der Fähigkeit sich in praktische Verhältnisse hineinzudenken, sie und ihre Constructionen zu verstehen." Alles jedoch untergeordnet unter den ethischen Gesichtspunct der Erziehung der Arbeit.

Bevor wir nun eine Prüfung der einzelnen Arbeitsgegenstände bezüglich ihres formalen Wertes, ihrer Bildungskräfte vornehmen, ist es nothwendig auf einige Differenzen allgemeinerer Natur innerhalb unserer Richtung hinzuweisen, zumal sie einen wesentlich mitbestimmenden Einfluß auf die Art und Bahl der Unterrichtsgegenstände ausüben. Hierher gehört zunächst die Frage: welchen Altersstufen soll der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht dargeboten werden?—Die Ginen, wie u. A. mein verehrter Lehrer, Geminardirector Otto Salomon in Räs, meinen, daß nur diejenigen Knaben, welche kurz vor dem Eintritt ins praktische Leben stehen, während der beiden letzten Jahre ihrer Schulzeit—also vom 12. Lebensjahre an—mit Formenarbeiten beschäftigt zu werden brauchen. Andere hingegen fordern, daß der Arbeitsunterricht sich bereits im ersten Schuljahre an die Kinder zu wenden habe. Wir müssen zugeben, daß bei der gegenwärtigen Lage des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts, wo derselbe fast durchweg nur auf freie Curse beschränkt bleibt, die mit der Schule

kaum in lofer Verbindung ftehen, einmal ein naturgemäßer Aufbau des ganzen Arbeitsfhftems bon unten auf nur fchwer durchführbar ift, und zum andern die Heranziehung der älteren Schüler fchon darum als zunächft empfehlenswerth erfcheint, um fo wenigfteas das Endziel der Befrebung, die Endrefulate dereflben dem großen Publicum annähernd zeigen zu können. Irotzalledem dürfen wir aber nie den idealen Bau des Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht aus den Augen berlieren, fondern müffen ftets betonen: ein exziehlicher Arbeitsunterricht will fich an alle Kinder wenden (Ruf: fehr richtig!) Ohne Unterfchied des Alters, und, möchte ich auch fagen, ohne Unterfchied des Gefchlechts. Ich wenigftens glaube, das es unferem weiblichen Handarbeits-Unterricht nur zum Gegen reichen würde, wenn ex einen Theil der Brincipien unferer formalen Richtung in fich aufnahme und bewirklichte.—Wir fchließen us alfo bezüglich der Ausdehnung des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts auf die einzelnen Altersftufen den Forderungen an, welche feit Beginn unferer Reformbewegung bon Grasmus Schwab in Wien, Professor Biedermann und Dr. Barth in Leipzig, bon Brofeffox Galicis in Baris u. A. arhoben und begründet worden find. Da durch den Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht fchon bon früher Lugend an dem angeborenen Schaffenstribe unferer kinder Genüge geleiftet werden foll, fo werden wir uns auch nicht wie Director Salomon mit einer Arbeitsart begnügen dürfen. Der bon demfelben im bergangenen Lahre in Osnabrück in überzeugendfter Weife empfohlene Holzflöid ift beifpielsweife für Knaben unter elf Sahren im allgemeinen zu fchwer und außerdem für die unter neun Lahren zu ernft.

Auch keine andere Befchäftigungsweife zeigt eine fo bierfeitige Gefaltung, daß fie der phnflichen und intellectuellen Entwicklung der 6-oder 7jährigen, wie der 12- und 13jährigen Knaben entfpricht; folglich wird nur eine Reihe bon Hehrgegenftänden die progreffib anwachfenden Formenarbeiten enthalten, die für einen methodifchen Betrieb des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts unerläßliche Bedingung find.

Sin zweiter hierher gehöriger Differenzpunct betrifft die Frage, ob ein Handfertigkeiten fchüler gleichzeitig in verfchiedenen Arbeitsarten unterwiefen werden darf. Diefte Frage beantwortet fich infofern bon felbft, als Borausfetzungen welche wir an erziehlich wirkende Unterrichts-gegenftände zu ftllen haben, für jede Grziehungsstufe gleichartig fein müffen. Sine folche Gleichartigkeit findet fich aber, wie wir fehen werden—abgefehen bon den Arbeiten des Kindergartens und der Glementarftufe—nicht. La felbft wenn fie borhanden wäre, würden wir uns gegen jene Maßnahme entfchieden wenden; denn fchon mit Ruckficht auf eine möglichft intenfibe Uebung in jeder Art der ernfteren Formenarbeit erfcheint es als geboten, daß das Intereffe der Kinder nicht durch gleichzeitige Bflege verfchiedenartiger Handarbeiten zerfplittert, daß die der Schule und dem Schüler zur Berfügung ftehende Arbeitszeit und Arbeitskraft nicht im Uebermaß angepannt werde.—Aber Konnten nicht in letzterem Falle die fpeciellen Anlagen und Reigungen der Knaben Berücksichtigung finden? Es ift nicht zu leugnen, daß bei einzelnen Menfchen eine gewiffe Borliebe für diefe oder jene technifche Befchäftigung anzutreffen ift; aber diefe Erfcheinung fteht doch allermeift nur mit Bfälligkeiten in äußeren Berhältniffen in Verbindung, und Bufälligkeiten dürfen auf einen allgemein erziehlichen Unterricht keinerlei Cinfluß ausüben, foll dem Ganzen nicht der Stempl der "Biebhaberei" aufgedrückt werden. Sine gewiffe Berechtigung wäre der hieraus refultirenden "freien Wahl" der Arbeitsgegenftände nicht abzufprechen, wenn der wille, eine feftgefetzte Arbeit zu leiften, wohl borhanden wäre, das Bermögen für die Durchführung der Beiftung aber fehlte. Sin folcher Fall tritt nur ausnahmsweife bei Schülern ein, die entweder in ihrer körperlichen oder geiftigen Entwicklung zurückgeblieben oder die mit mancherlei Gebrechen behaftet find. Bei normal entwickelten knaben gleicher Entwicklungsstufe kann keiue Rede dabon fein. In formaler Begiehung ift es überdies ganz gleich, ob der Schüler aus Bappe oder Blech Figuren bildet und zufammenfetzt, ob er in diefent oder jenem Material fchneidet und fägt, dreht und bohrt. Aus allem refultirt demnach die Forderung, daß fämmtliche Knaben eine und biefelbe Bafis in der technifchen Ausbildung der Hand, in der Bildung ihrer praktifchen Intelligenz erhalten, daß alle in ein und denfelben Belchäftigungsweifen durchgebildet werden.

Stellen wir nun diefe Bafis feft!—Sie wird im allgemeinen in Unterrichtsgegenftänden beftehen muffen, welche in zmeckmäßiger Weife in das technifche Beben einführen und die dort nöthigen Kunftgriffe dem fteten Entwicklungsftande der Kinderwelt gemäß bis zu dem beftimmten Grade lehren, melcher den Bielen der ganzen Maßnahme entfpricht.

Ueberfchauen wir das Ganze der verfchiedenen technifchen Arbeiten in Rückficht daraut, welchen inneren Entwicklungsgang fie felbft im Laufe der Beiten genommen haben, fo laffen fich drei ganz natürliche Gruppen unterfcheiden.

Bur erften Gruppen gehören die urfprünglichften und einfachften Arten technifcher Fertigkeiten: das bloße Zufammenfügen des Stoffes ohne Hilfe befonderer Werkzeuge, welche Befchäftigungen fich noch heute bei den auf den niederften Culturftufen ftehenden Menfchen borfinden. Wir rechnen hierher, abgefehen bon dem Flechten, das Bauen in feiner primitibften Form, das Zufammenlegen bon flächenartigen Körpern, Stäben, Ringen, das Berfchränken u. a. Alle diefe Ihätigkeiten Können dem borfchulpflichtigen Kindesalter im H aufe und im Kinder- garten überlaffen bleiben; entfpricht doch die Stufe der Kindheit des Einzelnen der Kindheitsstufe des ganzen Memfchen-gelchlechts.

Die zweite Gruppe umfaßt alle diejenigen Arbeiten, welche sich mit der Umwandlung der Formen und des Stoffes befassen und wobei der Gebrauch zweckmäßig eingerichteter Werkzeuge und Geräte, sowie theilweise auch die Ausnutzung von Naturkräften Hauptfordernis ist. Sie repräsentirt die Arbeiten des gehobenen Culturzustandes; es gehören ihr diejenigen Beschäftigungsarten an, aus denen wir die für einen Handfertigkeits-Unterricht der Schule geeigneten Formenarbeiten herauszulählen haben.

Die dritte Gruppe charakterisirt sich als die Blüthe der Cultur; sie ist die Vertreterin der künstlerischen Thätigkeiten: Modelliren, Bildhauen in Holz und Stein, Malen u. s. f. Das Werkzeug ist unwesentlich, Genie ist die Hauptsache. Die Pflege dieser Thätigkeiten überlassen wir den Specialveranstaltungen des Lebens. Die allgemeine Bildungsanstalt des Volkes, die Schule, vermag sich ihrer nicht anzunehmen. Genie ist eine Gabe Gottes, und kann weder dem Schüler anerkundet noch immer bei dem Lehrer vorausgesetzt werden.

Berufen wir nun die Arbeitsarten der für den Handfertigkeits-Unterricht allein bedeutungsvollen zweiten Gruppe, der gewerblichen Thätigkeiten im engeren Sinne. Die Eigenarten derselben sind theils materieller, theils formeller Natur. Uns interessieren zunächst nur die letzteren. Beachten wir alle in diese Gruppe fallenden Beschäftigungsweisen hinsichtlich ihrer allgemeinen Eigenschaften und der einzelnen technischen Grundformen, wie sie für einen formalen Handfertigkeits-Unterricht von Bedeutung sind, so erkennen wir hier eigenartige Abtheilungen, die naturgemäß unter sich mannigfache Combinationen zulassen:

1. Die geschmeidigen Stoffe, welche in der linienartigen Faden- und Bandform zur Herstellung von Flächen und theilweise später von körperlichen Gegenständen dienen; also die Technik des Spinnens, des Webens, des Flechtens in Papier, Spähnen, Ruthen, Rohr, Draht.

2. Die Stoffe in Flächenform, welche durch Brechen, Falten, Schneiden und Bearbeiten in Körper oder Körper-räumliche Darstellungen ergeben, die Arbeiten in Papier, Pappe, Blech, Leder, Zuch u. s. f.

3. Die Stoffe in Körperform, welche entweder

- geschmeidig sind und sich leicht kneten und formen lassen, sowie an der Luft oder im Feuer erhärtende verschiedenen Arbeiten in Zinn-, Porzellan-Erde u. s. f.; oder die
- zwar sehr fest und zäh sind, jedoch in ihrem natürlichen Zustande mit Hilfe scharfer Handwerkzeuge mannigfach geformt werden können; hierher gehören die Arbeiten in Holz und Stein; oder die endlich
- so widerstandsfähig sind, daß sie vor ihrer Umbildung erst durch das Feuer formfähig gemacht werden müssen, und die sich nur mit Verwendung besonderer Kräfte bearbeiten lassen, wie die Glas- und Metall-Arbeiten.

Bei allen vorgenannten Gewerbearten wiegt das rein technische Element vor, obwohl in gewissem Sinne stets auch irgend ein Kunstelement in Betracht kommt. Auf eine besondere Stufe stellen wir darum

4. alle diejenigen gewerblichen Thätigkeiten, bei denen in einem bestimmten technisch-künstlerischen Element der Schwerpunkt liegt.

Die letzteren Arbeiten werden allgemein als "Kunstgewerbe" bezeichnet, da sie in der Mitte zwischen Gewerbe und Kunst liegen. Wir nehmen die einfachsten derselben auf, weil sie der Bphantasie reiche Nahrung geben und wir so den Uebergang von den in erster Linie gepflegten vorwiegend technischen zu den aus dem Kreis des Arbeits-Unterrichts gewiesenen rein künstlerischen Thätigkeiten anbahnen.

Damit hätten wir die Grundlinien der gewerblichen Arbeit skizzirt. Wollen wir den praktischen Berftand der Knaben bilden, die Fähigkeiten in ihnen entwickeln, daß sie sich in die mannigfachen praktischen Verhältnisse des Lebens hineindenken, sie und ihre Constructionen verstehen können, dann müssen auch diese Grundelemente im Handfertigkeits-Unterricht betreten sein. Demgemäß werden wir hier Stufen von Unterrichtsgegenständen zu unterscheiden haben. Diefen entsprechen in ihren bezeichnenden Merkmalen den wachsenden physischen und intellectuellen Kräften der Kinder, und wir behalten sie deshalb in der vorgeführten Anordnung bei. Gelbftberständlich ist hiermit nicht gefagt, daß in den einzelnen Stufen keine differirenden Schwierigkeiten vorhanden sind. Richt jede Thätigkeit eignet sich für Kinder und nicht jede Gewerbeart als Gegenstand des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts. Nur diejenigen Beschäftigungsweisen werden wir aus jeder Stufe in Anspruch zu nehmen haben, welche den Forderungen, die man an einen erzieherischen Handarbeits-Unterricht der Schule zu stellen berechtigt ist, am vollkommensten genügen.

Diese Forderungen ergeben sich aus dem Zweck des Unterrichts meist in so selbstverständlicher Weise, daß wir sie nur einer flüchtigen Grörterung zu unterziehen brauchen. Wir präzisiren sie dahin:

Die Beschäftigungsweisen dürfen das Kind nicht einseitig erfassen, sondern sie sollen Hand, Berftand und Gemüth des Kindes gleichmäßig in Anspruch nehmen.

Im Interesse der "Hand" müssen sie

- den Kräften derselben, bzw. den Kräften des ganzen kindlichen Körpers entsprechen, und
- die Mehrzahl derjenigen manuellen Geschicklichkeiten zur Uebung bringen, welche jeder Stufe der Formenarbeiten eigenthümlich sind, damit so als Endresultat des Ganzen sich eine entwickelte "allgemeine Handfertigkeit" ergibt.

In Rücksicht auf den "Berftand" ist es erforderlich,

- daß die Arbeiten eine dem kindlichen Berftändnis angepaßte mathematifche Grundlage erhalten können,
- daß fie in constructiver Beziehung fo bielfeitig als möglich find, und
- daß fie das Intereffe der Kinder zu gewinnen bermögen, weshalb ihre Objecte dem Ideenkreife des Kindes nahe liegen und inbetreff der Anfertigung nur geringe Zeit erfordern müffen.

Im Hinblick auf die Inanspruchnahme des "Gemüths", deffen Sache hier das Empfinden des Schönen ift, sollen

- ihre Producte den Gefetzen der Schönheit volles Genüge leiften, also hinsichtlich der Form nur ästhetifche richtige, hinsichtlich der Farbe nur harmonifche Zusammenstellungen gestatten, für beide aber Genauigkeit in der Nachbildung zulassen; und
- müffen fie zur Sorgsamkeit, Ordnung Und Reinlichkeit Erziehen.

Letzterer Grundfatz wird meift fo berftanden, daß die Arbeiten in keinem Falle Gelegenheit zum Beschmutzen geben dürfen, aus welchem Grunde verschiedene Bedenken gegen die Hantirungen mit Kleister und Leim laut geworden find. Zch meine, wer sich Sorgfalt und Sauberkeit angewöhnen soll, dem muß vor allem auch Gelegenheit geboten werden sich einmal zu beschmutzen, sonst bermag er eben nie feine Sorgsamkeit zu bethätigen und fie zu üben. Gelbftberftändlich halten wir diejenigen Beschäftigungsweisen fern, durch welche der Sinn für Reinlichkeit an Hand und Gewand abgestumpft wird.

Als erziehlicher Unterrichtsgegenstand der Schule muß weiterhin jede Darftellungsarbeit

- sich in methodifcher Weise durchbilden und
- sich auch möglichft in den Dienft der körperlichen Grziehung ftellen lassen. Letzteres tritt ein, wenn die Arbeit eine allgemeine Kräftigung der Muskulatur u. f. f. bewirkt und wenn fie dabei keine technifchen Manipulationen aufweist, die auf die Gefundheit nachtheilig einwirken. Schließlich müffen die Arbeitsgegenstände
- noch denjenigen Gesichtspunkten genügen, welche wir bezüglich der Förderung des Hausfleißes und der Vorbereitung auf das Gewerbeleben gefunden und festgestzt haben.

Runmehr find wir foweit angelangt, um in die fpecielle Ausmahl der Unterrichtsgegenstände einzutreten. Es wird mir wohl erlassen bleiben, jede Gewerbeart auf jeden Gesichtspunct hin zu prüfen; das würde an diefer Stelle schon wegen der kurz bemeffenen Zeit nicht angebracht fein. Ich werde mir deshalb erlauben, nur die Resultate einer derartigen Unterfuchung borzuführen und ebentuell einige derselben kurz borzuführen und zu motiviren.

Die Zeit der ersten Schuljahre, das fiebente, achte, neunte Lebensjahr, charakterifirt sich als die Zeit des Uebergangs vom freien ungebundenen Spier zur ernfteren Zhätigkeit. Dementfprechend werden auch die für diese Altersstufe zu wählenden Beschäftigungen geartet fein müffen.

Die in formeller und materieller Beziehung einfachsten Ihätigkeiten aus der Gruppe der Umwandlung linienartiger Stoffe bieten sich in

*den Flechtarbeiten in Papier und Spähnen, dem Berfchnüren und Strohknüpfen.*

Die Flechtarbeiten in Papier, fowie das Berfchnüren eignen sich mehr für städtifche, das flechten in Spähnen u. f. f. und das Strohknüpfen, wie es Dr. Fölfing für die Klein-Kinderfchulen durchgebildet hat, für ländliche Berhältniffe. Es find dies alles borzügliche Uebungen, um die Iechnik des Webens und Flechtens fpielend zum praktifchen Berftändnis zu bringen. Weitere Beschäftigungsmittel für diese Stufe find elementare Borübungen aus der zweiten Gruppe der gewerblichen Arbeiten, nemlich

*das Papierfalten in Berbindung mit dem geometrifchen Ausfchneiden und dem Aufkleben.*

Bei der Eigenartigkeit aller diefer Ihätigkeiten, die fämmtlich dem Kindergarten entlehnt find, wo fie faft durchweg als zu fchwierig befunden werden, empfiehlt es sich die einzelnen Arten derselben nicht nacheinander sondern nebeneinander—freilich mit Berücksichtigung des Grundfatzes "vom Leichten zum Schweren"—zu betreiben, damit fo dem Bedürfnis der Kindesnatur nach Abmechfelung genügt werde.

Bemerken will ich noch, daß sich die eigentlichen Gewerbearten der ersten Stufe, das Spinnen und Weben, für keine Grziehungsstufe als geeignete Unterrichtsgegenstände hinstellen lassen. Die Drahtarbeiten, die im Sinne der Barth-Gütze'schen Richtung unentbehrlich find, überlassen wir den oberen Glaffen höherer Schulen,—das Korbflechten, eine nothwendige Hausfleißarbeit, gleich allen übrigen fpecielleren Hausfleißarbeiten der ländlichen Fortbildungsfchule.

Grft vom Zehnten Lebensjahre ab beginnen die Handfertigkeitsarbeiten ernfterer Ratur, da bis dahin kein Berftändnis und die erforderliche kraft für fie borhanden find. Znsolgedeffen müffen dem Unterricht nun ganz positive Fertigkeiten vor Augen fchweben, und darf sich derselbe darum nur auf die technifche Durchbildung einzelner Gewerbearten beschränken.

Der Mittelftufe unserer Bolksfchulen, dem 10. und 11. Lebensjahre, Weifen wir die Umwandlung von flächenartigen Stoffen zu Körpern und körperähnlichen Gebilden zu. Aus den hierher gehörigen gewerblichen

Ihätigkeiten entspricht weder die Arbeit in Leder oder Zuch noch die in Metalloder Holz-Zafeln den gestellten Anforderungen in ausreichender Weise, weshalb wir sie berwerfen. Schuhmacherei und Schneiderei werden nur in solchen Anftalten gepflegt, die im Interesse der eigenen Hausindustrie dazu gezwungen sind, also in Blindenanftalten, Befferungsanftalten u. f. f., und die Arbeiten aus dem Gebiet der Klempnerei nur da wo man sie wegen ihrer Bedeutung für die Anfertigung einzelner Objecte aus dem theoretischen Unterricht nicht entbehren will. Bezüglich der letzteren bemerken wir, daß wir sie gleich den Drahtarbeiten insbesondere aus dem Grunde von dem Handfertigkeits-Unterricht der Bolkschule fern halten, weil sowohl das beim Löthen erforderliche Löthfalz (Zink in Salzfäure aufgelöst) oder Löthwaffer (eine Verbindung von Ghlorzink und Salmaiak), als namentlich auch das Hantieren mit dem glühenden Löthkolben nicht ungefährlich ist. Die geringste Unvorsichtigkeit kann hier Folgen schaffen, welche den gesammten Handfertigkeits-Unterricht in Mißcredit bringen. Wenn 15-bis 20jährige Jünglinge, Zöglinge der oberen Classen in höheren Lehranftalten, derartige Arbeiten bereinzelt, außerhalb eines thematischen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts nach gegebener Anleitung vornehmen, so haben wir weniger Veranlassung Bedenken gegen sie vorzuführen.

Was die Laubfägerei anbelangt, die gleichfalls hier zu betrachten ist, so war dieselbe einst zwar ein sehr beliebtes Beschäftigungsmittel, jedoch nur solcher Knaben welche keine andere Gelegenheit hatten ihren Schaffensdrang zu befriedigen. Da diese Arbeiten auch jetzt noch in einzelnen Handfertigkeitschulen gepflegt werden, so müssen wir etwas eingehender nachweisen, weshalb wir sie für ungeeignet crachten, als besonderer Handfertigkeits-Gegenstand gelten zu können. Zunächst sind sie, unserer Ansicht nach, gesundheitschädlich. Die durch das Sägen bedingte bordere gitzlage führt eine Breffung der Unterleibsorgane und eine Lammung der Respiration herbei, welche schon bei einhalbstündiger Dauer nur störend auf den ganzen Organismus einwirken müssen; auch wird den Lungen beim Athmen stets eine Menge feinsten Sägestaubes zugeführt, und wird das Auge Während des genauen Beobachtens der fein borgezeichneten Sägebahn zu sehr angeftrengt. Weiterhin lassen sich die Arbeiten nur in Ginzelfällen auf mathematische Grundlage bafiren, stehen also zu wenig im Dienste der Berftandesbildung; endlich sind ihre Manipulationen ganz einseitig und mechanisch und ihre Producte von wenig Werth und kurzer Dauer. — Nur Sine Arbeitsweise ist es, die aus der in Rede stehenden Gruppe der Umbildung flächenartiger Stoffe empfohlen und zugleich auch auf der Mitterstufe unserer Bolkschule mit gutem Erfolge betrieben werden kann, das sind

## die Papier-und Bapp-Arbeiten.

Dieselben entsprechen allen Forderungen, die wir festgesetzt haben. Bei zehneund elfjährigen Knaben dürfen selbstber-ftändig nicht allzu complicirte Gegenstände als Arbeitsobjecte gewählt werden. In den ländlichen Bolkschulen sind mit Rücksicht auf den Lausfleiß auch einige der einfachsten buchbinderischen Arbeiten gelegentlich zu üben. Als selbständigen Unterrichtsgegenstand halte ich dahingegen Buchbinderei für ganz berwerflich; einmal wegen ihres geringen formalen Nutzens, und zum andern, um den Bedenken der Handwerker inbetreff der Concurrenz, welche ihnen durch die Kinderbeschäftigung in diesem Fache namentlich in den Städten bereitet werden würde, keine Rahrung zu geben.

Der Oberstufe überlassen wir die Umbildung der Stoffe in Körperform. Nach unseren Untersuchungen sind hierbei drei Richtungen zu beachten.—Das Umbilden geschmeidiger Stoffe, wie sie sich in der Zöpferei, der Steingutund Borzellan-Fabrikation zeigen, ist vorzugsweise die Arbeit der Drehcheibe oder anderer finnreich conftruirter Maschinen und fällt schon darum außer Betracht.—Die Umwandlung derjenigen Stoffe, welche entweder erst durch Feuer formfähig gemacht werden müssen, oder zu deren Bearbeitung besondere Kräfte nöthig sind, also die mannichfachen Gifen-, Kupfer-, Glas-Arbeiten u. f. f., können hier ebenfalls nicht berücksichtigt werden. Die erforderlichen Ginrichtungen sind zu complicirt und zu kostspielig, die Arbeiten selbst überwiegendmaßen schwer und auch gefahrbringend. Gomit berbleiben uns nur noch die Formenarbeiten in Holz, die gewerblichen Ihätigkeiten des Iifchlers, Drechslers, Böttchers, Stellmachers, Löffelchnitzers u. f. f.—Sine eigenartige Combination dieser verschiedenen Arbeitsarten, der Holzflöjd, wird dem Slöjd-Unterricht in der Mehrzahl der Schulen Schwedens zu Grunde gelegt. Die Bofener Handfertigkeits-Schule hat die Arbeiten der Böttcherei wegen ihrer Schwierigkeit, und die der Drechslerei wegen ihrer Kostspieligkeit, der damit verbundenen allzugroßen körperlichen Anftrengung und gleichfalls schwierigen Ichnk ausgefchieden, und das wird auch als allgemeine Regel gelten müssen. Für Stadtschulen genügen im allgemeinen

*Arbeiten aus dem Gebiet der Zifchlerei, die in enger Verbindung mit wenige charakteristischen Arbeiten der Löfferschitzer stehen.*

Letztere fordern wir im Gegesatz zu adere Freunden des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts aus dem Grunde, weil sie eigenartige Handfertigkeiten und insbesondere auch intensibe Uebungen fürs Auge umfassen. Im Interesse der Etwicklung grundlegender Fertigkeiten für den künftigen Lausfleiß werde auf dem Lande

*neben der Anfertigung von Gegenständen aus dem Gebiet der Zifchlerei weiter gehende Uebungen der*

*Löffel schnitzerei, fowie folche Arbeit zu pflegen sei, welche an der Schnitzelbank mit den einfachsten Werkzeugen vorgenommen werden können.*

Die Vorzüge der Holzarbeiten ist rechtlich Licht zu stellen erübrigt sich nach der allgemeinen Anerkennung, welche sie gefunden haben, nach den eingehenden Lobeserhebungen, die ihnen im vergangenen Jahre in Osnabrück zu Theil geworden sind, von selbst. Sie entsprechen eben allen Ansprüchen, die man an einen erzieherischen Landfertigkeits-Unterricht stellen kann, in vorzüglichem Maße. Daß sie sich auch auf Mathematik ausdehnen lassen — was manche bezweifeln — ist wohl für jeden, der dahingehende Untersuchungen angestellt hat, unfraglich. Das Bisherige von Holzarbeiten hat diesen Gesichtspunct vollständig durchgeführt.

Für die Schulen des platten Landes in Dörfern und vorwiegend ackerbautreibenden Kleinflecken ist der Landfertigkeits-Unterricht nach Durcharbeitung der vorgeführten Unterrichts-Gegenstände als abgeschlossen zu betrachten; zumal er sich hier auf das Winterhalbjahr beschränken muß, da im Sommerhalbjahr mit Rücksicht auf eine möglichst allseitige Vorbereitung auf das praktische Heben in diesen Schulen auch

*die Arbeiten des Bodenbaus, der Pflanzen- und Bienenzucht im Schulgarten*

zu betreiben sind. Dahingegen wird in den vorwiegend gewerbetreibenden Städten der Landfertigkeits-Unterricht — wie mir es bereits begründet haben — mehr nach seiner Bedeutung für Weckung und Bildung des Kunstgeschmacks cultivirt werden, aus welchem Grunde dort Arbeitsweisen der vierten Stufe gewerblicher Thätigkeiten, bei denen das technisch-künstlerische Element herborragt, Pflege erheischen.

Es kommen bei diesen Arbeiten zwei Fälle zur Beachtung: die plastische Nachbildung von Natur- und Kunstformen, wie sie sich vorzugsweise in der gewerblichen Holzbildhauerei zeigen und die einfache Flächenverzierung mittels Kerbschnitts und Ausgründung. Welcher von Vorzug gegeben werden muß, ist durch Herrn Director Grunow im vergangenen Jahr in Osnabrück nach eingehender Begründung festgestellt worden. Nur die Einführung des Kerbschnitts und der Ausgründung erscheint als berechtigt, und wir schließen uns dieser Ansicht ohne Rückhalt an, da diese Arbeitsarten unseren Voraussetzungen entsprechen und besonders auch der kindlichen Phantasie den anregendsten Beschäftigungsstoff darbieten.

Aus mancherlei Gründen ist es nothwendig, die Ornamenten-schnitzerei nicht als ganz selbständiges Fach, sondern in möglichster Beziehung zu den Holzarbeiten an der Hobelbank zu betreiben. Auf Grund mehrjähriger Erfahrung empfehle ich, daß man im ersten Jahr des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts auf der Oberstufe leichte einfache und zusammengesetzte Gegenstände der Tischlerei, letztere beschränkt auf Nagel-, Schrauben- und Zapfen-Verbindungen, fertigen lasse, von denen ein gewisser Theil im zweiten Jahr in stufenmäßig aufsteigender Weise durch Kerbschnitt verziert werde. Im dritten Jahr schließe sich hieran Handfertigkeits-Unterricht abgesehen von einigen technischen Vollendungsarbeiten, wie Beizen und Lackieren einzelner Objecte — die schwierigere Holzverbindung (Berzinkung, Schwalbenschwanzverbindung u. f. f.) ausgeführt an einer Reihe von Gegenständen, welche die Schüler der weiterführenden Volksschule (Mittelschule) wiederum als Unterlage für die im nächsten Jahr sich anschließenden schwierigen Uebungen in Kerbschnitt und Ausgründung benutzen. Im Anschluß hieran wird endlich bei den letztgenannten Schülern, also dem 15. und 1. Lebensjahr, auch darauf zu achten sein, daß dieselben unter entsprechender Anleitung und Aufmunterung des Lehrers Arbeiten mannigfacher Art vornehmen, in denen sie der entwickelten Phantasie in eigenen Entwürfen Spielraum lassen dürfen.

Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß nach Abfolgerung der Benen des eigentlichen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts es für jeden Schüler der höheren Classen schon in Mittelschulen, speciell aber in gehobenen Bürger-, in Realschulen und Gymnasien leichte Mühe sein wird, Arbeiten für theoretische Unterrichtsgegenstände vorzunehmen, die selbst in das Gebiet der einfachsten Metallarbeiten hinübergreifen. Die entwickelte Handfertigkeit, das geübte Auge, die praktische Intelligenz lassen dann den Züngling nicht in Berlegenheit kommen, wenn er nöthigenfalls auch einmal mit Orautzange oder Feile, Blechschere oder Löthkolben operiren muß. Letzteres selbstverständlich, nachdem er durch Wort und Demonstration vom Arbeitslehrer dazu befähigt worden ist. Ein thematischer Handfertigkeits-Unterricht in Metallarbeiten ist darum hier nicht mehr Erfordernis.

Damit hätte ich meine Aufgabe gelöst und ein "Stück von Formenarbeiten" vorgeführt, das in erster Linie von erzieherischen Gesichtspuncten ausgeht und von pädagogischen Grundätzen beherrscht wird, das dann bemüht ist jeder Richtung zukommen zu lassen, was ihr gebührt, aber auch alles das auszumergen, was die Zustimmung der Pädagogen nicht finden kann. — Freilich das Stücker allein macht es nicht, wenn nicht der Unterricht selbst in jeder Einzelheit methodisch richtig betrieben wird, und wenn der innere Gang eines jeden Gegenstandes nicht folgerichtig und lückenlos ist. Wird beides durchgeführt, dann werden die einzelnen Unterrichtsgegenstände auch stets die Aufgabe lösen, welche ihnen im Interesse des Gesamtbaus unseres Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts zugewiesen sind. Daß auch hierin der Folgerichtigkeit und Lückenlosigkeit Rechnung getragen ist, wird leicht ersichtlich: folgt doch auf das beschäftigende Spiel im vornehmlich kindlichen Kindesalter die spielende Beschäftigung in den ersten Jahren der Schulzeit, den Unterschied zwischen Spiel und Arbeit ausgleichend und so den Uebergang zur ernstlichen Thätigkeit vermittelnd. Und während diese selbst es



borzugsweise mit dem Umbilden linienartiger Stoffe zu thun hat, befaßt sich die ernstere Arbeit in gestaltender Linicht anfangs nur mit der Ausarbeitung von Linienbegrenzungen an flächenartigen Stoffen, dem wenig schwierigen An- einanderfügen hergestellter Theilstücke und der Bedeckung derselben, und erst später übt sie das Gestalten mannigfacher Flächen mit Hilfe von Werkzeugen, das directe Herausarbeiten regulärer Körper aus Rohstoffen, sowie die verschiedenen Ineinanderfügungen derselben, welchen je eine bestimmte Schwierigkeit nicht abgeprochen werden kann. Lieran schließen sich einige technische Bollendungs- und technisch-ästhetische Beredlungs-Arbeiten, von denen letztere, Hand in Hand mit den entwickelten rein technischen Fertigkeiten, schließlich eine gewisse Freiheit in der Composition herbeiführen. Alle diese Arbeitsweisen zusammen genommen, bilden ein sich gegenseitig ergänzendes Gange, welches in den dargelegten Gigenthümlichkeiten die Elemente der Handarbeit, das Gemeinfame aller in bezug auf Material und Technik so verschiedenen Arbeitsweisen umfaßt, und so zur Grziehung der Hand, zur Entwicklung der allgemein technischen Anlagen und Fähigkeiten im Menschen, zur Bildung der praktischen Intelligenz wohl geeignet ist.

Borfitzender Professor Biedermann: Bevor ich die Debatte eröffne, erlaube ich mir der geehrten Berfammlng eine telegraphische Depesche unferes hochberdienten Freundes Randt mitzutheilen:

Lingen. Dem Congreß herzlichen Gruß. Die gute Sache wachse und siege! Rahdt, Superintendent. Ich eröffne nunmehr die Discuffion und ertheile das Wort Herrn b. Schenckendorff.

Abgeordneter b. Schenckendorff-Görlitz: Meine Herren! Gestatten Sie mir, mit einigen Worten in den foeben von uns gehörten inhaltreichen Bortrag einzugreifen. Die Frage, welche Lehrgegenstände eine Handfertigkeitsschule lehren soll, ist eine der bestrittensten, und wenn ich es fagen soll, auch eine der schwierigsten. Sie wird in der Regel heute dadurch entschieden, welchen Ursprung die Schule hat. So finden wir beispielsweise in Schweden, wo das Rääs'sche Sstem das borherrschende ist, in den Schulen hauptsächlich die Zifchlerei und diese oft ganz allein. Berdankt die Schule ihr Entstehen dem Herrn Rittmeister b. Claufon-Kaas, so finden wir eine Anzahl weiterer Gegenstände bertreten. Auf diese Weise kann man gewiffermaßen an der Art der gewählten Lehrgegenstände den Ursprung unferer heutigen Schulen von bornherein erkennen.

Wenn nun der Congreß — und es ist diese Frage schon im borigen Zahre zu Osnabrück berührt worden — eine positive Stellung nehmen soll zu bestimmten Gegenständen, so haben Sie eben aus dem Borgetragenen selbst entnehmen können, wie schwierig das zur Zeit noch ist. Und wenn Sie bedenken, daß alle diese Schulen, die wir haben, erst seit einigen Zahren bestehen, daß sie ferner aus verschiedenen Grundlagen und mit verschiedenen Zielen emporgewachsen sind, so werden Sie auch einsehen, wie schwer es dann ist, die Schule von dem Lebensboden, dem sie erwachsen, durch einen einfachen Congreßbeschluf loszureißen. Nur so Ziel zur allgemeinen Charakteristik der Sache; doch will ich noch auf einige specielle Buncte des ebenfo trefflichen als fleißigen Berichts eingehen.

Meine Herren, der Herr Bortragende hat die Korbund Storh-Flechterei aus den handschulen erwiesen und den ländlichen Fortbildungsschulen übertragen. Ich stehe hinsichtlich der Fortbildungsschulen, deren warmer Freund ich bin, doch auf dem Standpunct, daß ich glaube, dieselben dürften bei dem Umfang ihrer sonstigen Aufgaben für eine derartige Beschäftigung wenig Raum bieten. Meine Herren, ich habe auf diesem Gebiet mannigfache praktische Erfahrungen gesammelt, und will nur ein Beispiel aus vielen anführen. Die Fortbildungsschule, die wir hier in Görlitz haben und die sehr segensreich arbeitet, ist eine der umfangreichsten Schulen, denn sie hat einen vierjährigen Lehrgang bei wöchentlich acht Unterrichtsstunden. Nun bedenken Sie, daß die ländlichen Fortbildungsschulen für ihre Lehrziele doch meist eine weit beschränktere Zeit haben, daß ihre Lehrgänge nur auf zwei oder drei Jahre bei oft nur vierstündiger Unterrichtszeit in der Woche festgesetzt sind: wo soll da die Zeit noch herkommen für den Arbeits-Unterricht? Dann möchte ich auch principiell fagen: ich erachte die Korb- und Storh-Flechterei doch als wünschenswerthen Gegenstand in den ländlichen Arbeits-schulen. Meinen Herren, wir müssen die verschiedenen Gegenstände nicht allein nur von ihrem formal bildenden Werth aus betrachten, — gewiß, damit stimme ich, wie Sie nachher ausführlicher noch von mir hören werden, mit dem Herrn Borredner überein, daß jeder Gegenstand so gewählt und gelehrt werde, daß er bildend wirkt, daß in der Lertstellung der einzelnen Gegenstände eine stufenmäßige Folge vom Leichtem zum Schweren beachtet wird, daß die Erläuterungen im pädagogischen Sinne erfolgen, — sondern wir müssen bei der Auswahl der Gegenstände uns auch auf einen praktischen Standpunct stellen und die materiellen Bedürfnisse und Anforderungen des Lebens berücksichtigen. So haben wir in der Stadt neben anderem beispielsweise an das Handwerk zu denken, während ich für das Land die genannten Gegenstände, um Schule und Heben in engere Berbindung zu bringen, für geboten und wünschenswerth erachte.

Rächstem würden aber für das Land auch noch, wie der Herr Referent auch herborhob, die Arbeiten an der Schnitzel- und Hobel-Bank in Betracht zu ziehen sein, und Während die Korb- und Storh-Flechterei schon in früheren Jahren begonnen werden können, ist die Holzarbeit, welche wegen der größeren Zähigkeit des Stoffes mehr Kraft voraussetzt, erst eine Befchäftigung für die späteren Jahrgänge.

Es ist dann ferner der Laubfägerei gedacht worden. Infofern die Laubfägerei eine Beschäftigung für sich, also Endzweck sein soll, glaube ich, werden Alle die auf den pädagogischen Standpunct sich stellen, mit mir

darin übereinstimmen, daß die Laubfägerei, also als Zweck gedacht, nicht zu denjenigen Gegenständen gehören kann, welche in einem erziehlichen Handfertigkeits-Unterricht gelehrt werden sollten. Als Hilfsfertigkeit und Vorbereitung für die Führung der Säge hat jedoch auch die Laubfägerei ihre volle Berechtigung; und ich möchte daher die Gegner der Laubfägerei bitten, das Kind doch nicht mit der Wanne auszugießen. Wir gebrauchen die Laubfäge z. B. bei der Holzschneiderei, bei den Gegenständen, die Sie in der Gewerbe-Ausstellung nachher von meiner Schule sehen werden; sie dient hier zum Ausfägen der Gegenstände, welche beschnitten werden sollen. Wie kann ein Schüler diese etwas stärkere Säge mit Sicherheit führen, wenn er sich nicht vorher in der Führung der leichteren Laubfäge geübt hat? Wir können sie aber auch nicht entbehren bei den Einlegearbeiten, zu denen wir gelangen werden, wenn wir in unseren Holzarbeiten noch weiter fortfahren. Ich würde also unter solchen Umständen, wo die Laubfäge als Mittel zum Zwecke dient, sie in der Schule zulassen.—Ich möchte nun zum Schluß noch einen Punkt erwähnen, der bei unseren Bestrebungen der Erwähnung heute wohl werth sein dürfte.

Die Thätigkeiten in unseren Handfertigkeitschulen werden noch vielfach mit hochtrabenden Namen belegt, welche zu Irrungen in weiteren Kreisen oft Veranlassung gegeben haben. Fange ich an mit dem Worte Zischerei! Da denkt doch Jeder, es sollen Zische, Stühle u. dgl., also Zischlerarbeiten gemacht werden. Das ist aber gar nicht der Zweck, den wir verfolgen; es soll nur das Holz in einfacher Weise gemodelt, bearbeitet werden. Gegenstände wie die oben erwähnten gelangen gar nicht zur Fertigstellung. Werfen wir also das Wort Zischerei in das Volk, so gewinnt dieses von unsern wirklich gefertigten leichten Holzarbeiten eine ganz falsche Vorstellung. Rennen wir diese Thätigkeit lieber: leichte Holzarbeit an der Hobelbank, so ist dies keinen Misverständnissen ausgesetzt, während das Wort Zischerei den ganzen Beruf des Zischlers in den Kreis der Betrachtung zieht.—Ich nenne ferner die sogenannte Metallarbeit. Wer denkt da nicht im ersten Augenblick an Lämmern, Schmieden, Schweißen? Nichts liegt uns aber ferner als das; für uns handelt es sich da doch nur um die einfachsten Arbeiten von Blech und Draht, die allenfalls mit der Hölthlampe gelötet werden. Der Name Metallarbeit trifft nicht das was wir wollen, und es fehlt mir selbst augenblicklich das rechte Wort hierfür.—In gleicher Weise behält es sich mit dem Modelliren. Wir haben uns bei diesem Worte schon in Osnabrück recht scharf an den Harren gefaßt, und ich führe das zurück auf dieselbe Ursache; es wird eben mit dem Namen etwas falsches ausgedrückt, insofern man sich das Modelliren denkt, wie es in den Fach- und Kunst-Schulen getrieben wird. So entstehen allerdings Vorstellungen, die mit der Wirklichkeit gar nicht übereinstimmen. Wir denken uns das Modelliren als eine Zergliederung in feinen einfachsten Formen. Ich wollte alle Freunde unserer Bestrebungen bitten: verpönten Sie die Namen, welche unserm Volke ganz falsche Vorstellungen geben von dem was wir erstreben. Wir wollen keine Zischerei, keine Metallarbeit, kein Modelliren in gewerblichen Sinne, sondern nur die einfachste elementare Bearbeitung des Stoffes; wir wollen keine große handwerkliche Thätigkeit hier üben, die irgendwie dem Handwerk Konkurrenz bereitet; darum lassen Sie uns nach Worten suchen, die das was wir wollen auch wirklich treffen.

Rittmeister v. Claufon-Kaas: Meine Herren, obgleich ich der Ansicht bin, daß der Herr Vortragende weiter gegangen ist, als wie nach den Worten des Programms ihm eingeräumt war,—indem es dort heißt: "welche Fehrgegenstände hat ein erziehlicher Handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu umfassen?" und damit wohl zunächst die pädagogische Seite des Unterrichts in den Vordergrund gestellt worden ist,—so bin ich dem Vortragenden doch dankbar, daß er auch die zwei andern Seiten, die ich von Anfang an betreten wissen möchte, nämlich der Hausfleiß und die Hausindustrie, mit berührt hat. Ich möchte aber als alter Mitarbeiter auf diesem Gebiet noch einige Worte hinzufügen, um die Frage noch mehr zu läutern und zu klären. Während man in Deutschland wie auch in einigen andern Ländern mit großer Vorliebe die pädagogische Seite der Handarbeit betont, möchte ich doch auch die beiden andern Seiten hervorheben und der Beachtung mehr ans Herz legen. Unter Hausfleiß verstehen wir die Arbeit im Laufe und fürs Haus, ohne dabei an Erwerb zu denken. Ein Erwerb liegt ja allerdings in gewisser Beziehung insofern darin, als man nicht zu kaufen braucht, was man sich selbst herstellt. Das andere, die Hausindustrie soll betrieben werden, um der Bevölkerung einen Erwerb zu verschaffen, und zwar einen Nebenerwerb. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß auch diese beiden Richtungen einen erziehlichen Werth haben. Es ist schon von dem Vortragenden betont worden, daß auf dem Gebiet des Hausfleißes die volkserziehliche Seite von der größten Bedeutung sei; dies ist aber unbedingt auch auf dem Gebiet der Hausindustrie der Fall. Sie wird eingeführt an Orten und in Gegenden, wo es der Bevölkerung an Nebenerwerb fehlt. Und ich möchte wissen, was wohlthätiger, segensreicher ist: sie hungern zu lassen oder sie etwas zu lehren, womit sie sich etwas verdienen können, und dadurch ihrem Heben eine neue Richtung zu geben und sie davor zu bewahren, in das Proletariat herabzufinken? Es haben also alle drei Richtungen ein volkserziehliches Element.

Anders ist es allerdings, wenn wir von der Schule sprechen. Das ist eine ganz neue Seite, und ich wollte, um die Sache zu klären und nicht falsche Meinungen in die Bevölkerung hineinzubringen, nur die pecuniäre Seite berühren und hervorheben, daß die Handarbeit, bei welcher man allein das pädagogische Princip obwalten läßt, das meiste Geld kostet.

Bas nun die Gegenstände anbetrifft, so ist auf dem Gebiet des Hausfleißes, wo also im Haufe gearbeitet und wo fürs Haus gearbeitet werden soll, eine Allseitigkeit geboten und namentlich unter den ländlichen Verhältnissen; denn heute geht ein Zeller entzwei, morgen eine Schüssel, übermorgen ein Bflug oder ein Rad, ein Korb oder eine Bürste, und alles soll reparirt werden im Haufe, also von den Bewohnern des Haufes. Eben diese Richtung ist so schön betreten in meinem Vaterlande, in Dänemark, wo auch zugleich gezeigt worden ist, daß mit wenig Mitteln Ziel erreicht werden kann.

Bei der Hausindustrie ist dagegen eine Allseitigkeit oder Bielseitigkeit gar nicht geboten; sie wäre vielmehr ein Mißgriff. Wenn man einer Gegend einen Nebenwerb beschaffen will, so geht es nur in einer bestimmten Richtung. Es muß der Handfertigkeitstreibende in einem bestimmten Zweige zu einer gewissen Vollkommenheit herangebildt sein, damit er aus seiner Beschäftigung einen Vortheil erzielen kann.

Von den verschiedenen Industriezweigen, die ich unter dem künftigen Ministerium des Innern betreibe, will ich nur zwei erwähnen, Strohflechterei und Schnitzarbeit. Ich kann sagen, daß damit ein bedeutender Verdienst erzielt worden ist, in den letzten zwei Monaten allein 2000 *M*; natürlich müssen sich dann auch diejenigen die sich durch Holzschnitzerei einen Erwerb beschaffen wollen, darauf legen. Und das alles wird erreicht mit wenig Mitteln, welche sich für einen Schüler auf etwa 3—4 *M* belaufen. Ebenso erhält es sich mit der Korbflechterei; es sind auch dazu große Ausgaben nicht erforderlich. Bei der Strohflechterei braucht man im wesentlichen nichts anderes als die Finger. Ich will nur das hervorheben:

Um in der Hausindustrie alle Richtungen zu verfolgen, bedarf es weniger Mittel; Mittel erfordert unbedingt die pädagogische Richtung; denken Sie nur an die Anschaffung von Hobelbänken und andern Sachen.

Wenn uns der Herr Vortragende auch ganz bestimmte Zweige für die Schule vorgeschlagen hat, so dürfen wir nicht unbedingt annehmen, daß das das allein richtige ist. Wir dürfen nicht vergeffen, daß wir mit sehr verschiedenen Schulen zu thun haben, mit höheren Schulen, mit städtischen Volks- und mit Landtschulen. Warum soll man z. B. in den letzteren die Korbmacherei nicht treiben, warum die Strohflechterei nicht betreiben? Wer bürgt uns denn dafür daß wir für andere Beschäftigungen eine ausgestattete Werkstatt bekommen? Warum sollen wir mit geringen Mitteln nicht beginnen? Außerdem finden wir auch in den Schulen, die augenblicklich bestehen, mit großer Borliebe und Züchtigkeit jeden Zweig betreten. Ich möchte sagen, wir befinden uns noch zu sehr auf einem Versuchsfelde; es ist noch zu früh, um sagen zu können: Dieses ist gut, und jenes muß verworfen werden. Es muß sich alles erst noch weiter entwickeln. Es ist sicher, daß jeder Zweig viele Schüler an sich gezogen hat, und daß alle mit großer Borliebe arbeiten.

Waisenhaus-Director Kranz-Wülfegiersdorf: Der Umstand, daß an das Gehörte eine eigentliche Debatte sich nicht geknüpft hat, ist ein Beweis dafür daß die Versammlung zu dem in so klarer und maßvoller Weise zum Vortrag Gebrachten ihre Zustimmung erklärt. Wir sind überzeugt davon daß der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht von der praktischen und pädagogischen Seite aus eine Förderung zu erfahren hat; indeß wird es nicht immer möglich sein, auf dem pädagogischen Gebiet überall vorzugehen, weil es an Lehrern hierzu fehlt. In Waldenburg z. B., welches in seinen 5 Arbeitsschulen 500 Kinder unterrichtet, wird der Unterricht von Handwerksmeistern erteilt, und ich kann sagen, daß in bezug auf Fertigkeit diese Schulen eine gewisse Anerkennung verdienen, wenigstens ist mir das von den Herren, welche im Auftrag der königlichen Regierung zu Breslau die Schulen besuchten, besichert worden. In bezug auf die Auswahl derjenigen Gegenstände, die betrieben werden möchten, erlaube ich mich mit den Vorrednern dahin einverstanden erklären zu können, daß die Zeit noch Ziel zu kurz ist, um darüber endgiltige Beschlüsse zu fassen. Man wird dies vielfach äußern Umständen anheim geben müssen. Denken Sie sich beispielsweise einen kleinen Ort, da ist zufällig ein Tischlermeister anfällig oder ein Korbmacher, der dafür ein Geschick zeigt; warum soll man da die vorhandenen Kräfte nicht benutzen, warum soll man da etwas anderes beginnen? Ich glaube also, daß man darin zu weit geht, eine bestimmte Grenze ziehen zu wollen; man muß es vielmehr den Verhältnissen überlassen.

Ich weiß nicht ob ich recht thue, wenn ich noch auf etwas aufmerksam mache, was mir sehr wichtig erscheint. Viele der Herren werden mit mir die Erfahrung gemacht haben, daß es mit der Zeit an Gegenständen fehlt, die angefertigt werden sollen, also an Modellen, und es wird sich dieser Uebelstand besonders bemerklich machen an Orten, die eine entfernte Lage haben. Würde es sich da nicht empfehlen, wenn die verschiedenen Schulen ihre Modelle gegenseitig austauschten? Ich wollte die Sache hier nur in Anregung bringen und den Herren anheimgeben, die Zweckmäßigkeit meines Vorschlages zu prüfen, und eventuell einen Austausch der Modelle unter den in Deutschland bestehenden Schulen herbeizuführen.

Lehrer Hertel-Zwickau in Sachsen: Meine Herren, es hat mich herzlich gefreut, daß das in Rede stehende Thema einen Bextreter gefunden hat, der die vielen Richtungen, die der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht bis jetzt eingeschlagen, gekennzeichnet hat. Es sind nicht wenige unter uns, die da glauben, der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht hänge allein ab von der Möglichkeit der Tischlerei oder einer andern derartigen Arbeit. Ich habe mich darum gefreut daß das Gebiet welches zu bebauen ist, heute als ein so großes bezeichnet worden ist. Bezüglich der Laubfäße-Arbeit stelle ich mich auf den Standpunkt des Herrn b. Schenckendorff. Ich meine auch, daß die Laubfäße nur von denjenigen beurtheilt wird, welche wohl den Mißbrauch derselben, aber

nicht ihren rechten Gebrauch kennen. Wenn der Junge auf sich selbst angewiesen ist, dann bleibt ihm nichts weiter übrig als zu sägen. Anders gestaltet sich jedoch die Sache beim Unterricht in der Handfertigkeitsschule. Der Knabe sägt nicht bloß, er stellt auch zusammen, lackirt, polirt, er wechselt ab mit den verschiedensten Thätigkeiten. Der Behrer wird ihm nicht diejenigen Aufgaben stellen, die sich auf mechanische, geistlose Art und Weise ermöglichen lassen. Ganz ausschließen kann auch die Handfertigkeitsschule die Säge nicht. Dann ist auch noch folgendes in Erwägung zu ziehen. Wenn wir für unsere Ideen neue Kreise begeistern und gewinnen wollen, so müssen wir uns an das anschließen, was schon im Volke lebt. Nun finden Sie in weiten Kreisen, wo die Jugend bisher bei ihren Beschäftigungen sich selbst überlassen war, die Laubsägearbeiten als Lieblings- und Erholungsbeschäftigung der Schüler; und ich meine es ist richtig, wenn man hier einsetzt und damit beginnt, wenn man auf diese Lieblingsthätigkeit der Schüler eingeht und dann leise das Ziel weiter streckt. Mit Gewalt läßt sich das Publicum nicht leiten; es will sehen, was wir leisten können. Die Laubsägearbeiten haben allerdings den Nachtheil, daß sie durchaus Scheinconstructionen sind. Das ist wahr; der Gewirt scheint berechtigt. Allein, meine Herren, die Scheinconstruction ist immer noch das Bild einer wirklichen Construction. Und wenn dem Schüler gezeigt wird: siehe, dieses trägt und jenes wird getragen, und darum steht dieses hier und jenes dort, hier ist es berechtigt und dort nicht,—so gewinnt der Schüler die Grundlage des Berftändnisses für die kunstgewerblichen Gegenstände; er sieht sie nicht an als zufällige Formen, sondern er unterscheidet ihre einzelnen Theile, sucht die Functionen der einzelnen Theile auf und beurtheilt den Gegenstand danach, und das will auch erlernt sein. Ich füge noch eins hinzu: es gibt eine Menge Arbeiten, die man nicht ohne Weiteres von der Hand weisen kann. Ich denke an unser Erzgebirge, dort läßt sich unser Unterricht bloß durchführen mit Hilfe der Laubsäge, und zwar deshalb weil jeder Theil des Gebirges angewiesen ist auf Einlegearbeiten. Wenn der Lehrer dort nicht will eingehen auf diesen Zweig, wenn er sich damit nicht befassen will, so bezahlt man ihm nicht einen Pfennig dafür. Die Laubsäge erweist sich aber auch bei anderen Arbeiten als nothwendig, nemlich bei gewissen Metall-Arbeiten. Es thut mir leid, daß ich hier aus unserer Schule nichts davon habe ausstellen können; die Arbeiten waren ausgegeben. Es lassen sich mit Hilfe des Löhthens ganz munderhübsche Dinge in Metall herstellen. Also ich will einmal sagen: einzelnes aus dem Gebiet des Gürtlers und des Reufileber-fabrikanten; aber immer nur die ersten Anfänge. Weiter darf die Schule jedoch nicht gehen; darum meine ich, wir dürfen bei unserem heutigen Zusammenkommen die Laubsäge nicht so ohne weiteres von der Hand weisen; ich selber habe den nachtheiligen Einfluß solcher Meinungen gespürt, sie wurden seiner Zeit durch den "Rordwest" verbreitet, und dieses Organ wird ja auch von maßgebenden Personen in der Gemeinde gelesen. Ich habe damals gehörig kämpfen müssen, um die nachtheiligen Folgen einer derartigen Verbreitung zu beseitigen. Ich würde mich also dahin aussprechen, daß man es vermeide gegen solche bestrittene Fächer mit einer gewissen Unbedingtheit aufzutreten.

Schuldirektor Kunath-Oresden: Ich möchte den Ausführungen meines Herrn Borredners nur eine kurze Bemerkung hinzufügen. Als im vorigen Jahre in Osnabrück das geflügelte Wort "Laubsägearbeiten gehen entzwei" vom Stapel ging, mußte jeder die Wahrheit desselben, soweit es sich auf die gewöhnliche Laubsägearbeit bezog, anerkennen. Ich kann jedoch bezeugen, daß ich vor einiger Zeit derartige Ausstellungsgegenstände mit großem Interesse besichtigt und sie selbst mit dem Fuß getreten habe, ohne daß sie brachen, weil sie aus besserem Material hergestellt waren. Ein Herr Borredner beklagte sodann den Mangel an Modellen, und es wurde darauf hingewiesen, sich in dieser Angelegenheit an das deutsche Central-Comite zu wenden. Ich sage mir aber: was kann denn das Comite thun? Doch auch nichts anderes als auf Borlagen hinweisen, Ziel mehr nicht. Ich habe deshalb das Wort ergriffen, um dem Herrn zu sagen, wie wir uns in Sachen zu helfen beschafft haben in anderer Weise. Wir haben uns Zusammen gethan zu einem Landesverband, der diese praktische Frage lösen, den Austausch der Modelle vermitteln und den Ankauf von Werkzeugen erleichtern soll. Und soweit man geneigt sein sollte an diesen Landesverband sich zu wenden, wird man das herzlichste Entgegenkommen, die größte Bereitwilligkeit auszuhelfen vorfinden.

Lehrer Donath (Westpreußen): Es wurde von dem Herrn Borredner aus Zwickau gesagt, daß es nöthig sei, daß die Laubsägearbeit in der Schule beibehalten werde, und daß bei Einführung des Handarbeits-Unterrichts grade an die von den Schülern schon früher betriebenen Laubsägearbeiten angegeschlossen werden müsse. Hierin kann ich dem Herrn Redner nur insofern Recht geben, wenn er dabei große Städte und besondere Landesgebiete im Auge hat, und etwa Schüler, welche das Gymnasium besuchen. In kleineren Städten, in Stätten unter 5000 Einwohnern existirt die Laubsäge gar nicht, und auf dem Lande ist an die Laubsäge erst recht nicht zu denken. Will man hier mit der Einführung des Landarbeits-Unterrichts beginnen, so kann von einem Anschluß an die Laubsägearbeiten gar nicht die Rede sein. Wenn man hier einen Anschluß haben will, so ist es nöthig, daß man sich fragt: was fehlt augenblicklich hier im Schulhaufe? Ich betreibe seit 1½ Jahren in meiner Schule den Unterricht und habe ihn in der Weise angebahnt, daß ich von einem Knaben eine durchtretene Thürschwelle durch eine neue, die er aus einem Brette herstellen mußte, ersetzen ließ. Ein Meister hätte die Arbeit gewiß besser gemacht; als die Leute jedoch zum Gottesdienste kamen, freuten sie sich darüber, daß ein Kind aus der Schule die Arbeit berichtet hatte. Vor meiner Thür befindet sich ein Staketenzaun, an welchem einige Latten

fehlten. Ich habe den Knaben Holz gegeben, es wurde gefpalten, zu Latten zurechtgemacht und diese angenagelt. Die Leute hatten ihre Freude an der Arbeit der Knaben. Ferner habe ich mit vieler Mühe Geld zu einer Bibliothek zusammengebracht;—die Herren Collegen wissen, wie schwer das ist; die Wichtigkeit einer Bibliothek für die Kinder ist nicht in Frage zu stellen. Ich habe die Bücher schicken lassen, und die Kinder haben sie einbinden müssen, nachdem sie schon vorher dem Ortschulzen die Kreis- und Amtsblätter eingebunden hatten, und zwar so daß der Herr Kreis-Schul-Inspector bezweifelte, daß es die Kinder gemacht hätten. So, glaube ich, muß auf dem Lande der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht seinen Anschluß suchen; nicht aber bei der Laubfägearbeit.

Director des Kunstgewerbe-Museums Grunow-Berlin: Meine Herren! Da ich derjenige gewesen bin, der schon in Osnabrück gegen die Laubfägearbeiten gesprochen hat, so gestatten Sie mir einige von den Gründen anzuführen, die mich schon damals dagegen sprechen ließen. Es ist borhin die Laubfägearbeit erwähnt worden bei der Befprechung des Themas: "welche Lehrgegenstände hat ein erziehlicher Handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu umfassen?" Borläufig beschäftigen wir uns nur mit dieser Frage, und aus dem Mittelpunkt heraus berwerfe ich die Laubfägearbeit. Es ist doch richtig, daß das Resultat der Arbeit eine Handvoll Brocken ist, auch bei besserem Material. Ich weiß daß es Mittel gibt dem vorzubeugen, man braucht nur zwei Furniere auf einander zu leimen. Das ist aber nicht der Zweck der Arbeit. Der Zweck ist vielmehr, die Bildung des Berftandes und der Hand. Und ich möchte fragen, nach welcher Richtung der Berftand gebildet wird bei der Laubfägearbeit, wenn der Knabe Bauspapier nimmt, und die Zeichnung durchpauft und dann ausschneidet? Er ist ganz außerftande auch nur ein mäßiges Mufter selbst zu entwerfen, und das ist doch der Kern unfrer Bestrebungen, die Thätigkeit des Geistes mit anzuregen, nicht nur die Geschicklichkeit der Hand zu fördern. Gerade in der Anregung beider liegt der erziehliche Bortheil der ganzen Richtung. Sie können nicht das eine bloß betreiben, denn dann Kommen Sie darauf hinaus, Handwerker zu bilden, nicht aber durch den Handfertigkeits-Unterricht den Stand der geistigen Thätigkeit des Boltes zu heben. Ich will damit nicht gefagt haben, daß ich die Laubfägearbeit unter allen Umständen berwerfe, daß sie nicht für gewisse Zwecke eingeführt werden und sich brauchbar erweisen könne; ich behaupte nur, daß sie für einen erziehlichen Handfertigkeits-Unterricht nicht geeignet sei. Für diesen muß meiner Ansicht nach der Gedanke festgehalten werden, daß des Knaben Geist und Hand bei der Arbeit gleichzeitig thätig sei. Nur unter diesen Bedingungen wird das Ziel erreicht werden können, das wir uns in erziehlicher Hinsicht gestellt haben.

Lehrer Hertel-Zwickau: Ich habe nicht behauptet, daß die Laubfägearbeit borwiegend fein soll. Ich kenne die Mängel und Schwächen der Laubfägearbeit auch; aber auf eins muß ich hinweisen, daß ist die Heranziehung der Laubfägearbeit zu dem Ornamentzeichnen in der Schule; so böllig ohne Nutzen sind diese Arbeiten also doch nicht. Zweitens möchte ich dann noch hinweisen auf die Schwierigkeiten, welche der Einföhrung der Lischerei in die Volksschule entgegenstehen. Wir müssen lernen Massen zu unterrichten; wir müssen wenigstens 30 Schüler gleichzeitig unterrichten können, das ist aber bei der Lischerei einfach unmöglich. Bringen wir's nicht innerhalb einer gewissen Zeit dahin, daß wir solche größere Schülermassen unterrichten können, dann wird es von uns später heißen: Sie hatten eine gute Sache unternommen, waren aber nicht fähig dieselbe durchzuführen.

Borsitzender Prof. Biedermann-Leipzig: Wir dürfen wohl nunmehr diesen Gegenstand als erledigt betrachten. Es ist soeben ein Festgruß eingegangen, den ich zur Kenntnis der Berfammlang bringe.

Göteborg: Wir erlauben uns hiermit unsere herzlichsten Glückwünsche zu einem erfreulichen Erfolge der Congreß-Arbeiten auszusprechen. Abrahamson, Salomon.

Lammers-Bremen: Berehrte Herren, ich knüpfe hieran einen uns sehr angenehmen Auftrag des Herrn Salomon. Dieser Meister hat mich mit Herrn Abrahamson gebeten, also noch vor Abfendung des Zelegramms, dem Congreß seine herzliche zheilnahme zu bekunden und seine Bedauern nicht hier fein zu können auszusprechen. Er hatte vor, die Berfammlang mit seiner Gegenwart zu schmücken; aber die Berlegung des Congreffes auf eine spätere Zeit und der Anfang eines dortigen Lehrcurfus haben ihn verhindert hierher zu kommen. Er nimmt, wie Sie sich denken können, den ernstlichften Antheil an unfrer Berfammlang, und hat mich auch gebeten die Berfammlang darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß wie ihm kurz borher bekannt geworden und in Deutschland wie es scheint bisher kaum beachtet worden ist, in Ungarn eine große Thätigkeit auf unferm Gebiet sich entfaltet hat seit länger als zehn Jahren. Ich entspreche hiermit seinem Wunsch und möchte die in der Nähe wohnenden Herren erfuchen dorthin zu reifen, und darauf aufmerksam machen, daß dort Ziel zu suchen und zu finden ist. Im Anschluß hieran möchte ich noch im Namen des Central-Comite meine Freude ausprechen, daß wir Gelegenheit gehabt haben auf unferer heutigen Berfammlang auch den dänischen Agitator zu hören. Ich darf ferner hier besonders den berehrten Herrn begrüßen, welcher das russische Ministerium bertritt, Herrn Geheimerath Wifchnegradski aus Betersburg. Wir fühlen uns geehrt durch seine Anwesenheit, und sind erfreut daß dieses große Reich an unferer Bestrebungen Antheil nimmt. Wir können uns nichts darauf einbilden, daß in Deutschland auf diesem Gebiet schon Ziel gefchehen und geleistet worden sei; aber Deutschland ist überaus günstig gelegen, und ich glaube darauf hinweisen zu dürfen, daß einige der herborragendsten Bertreter und Freunde dieser Bestrebungen grade auf den deutschen Congressen sich

zusammenfinden, wozu die günstige Lage besonders einladet. Wir werden uns freuen, wenn wir sie auch in Zukunft immer wieder begrüßen können. (Brabo!)

Borfitzender Professor Biedermann-Leipzig. Ich habe Ihnen, meine Herren, noch eine weitere freudige Mittheilung zu machen. Es ist ein freundlicher Gruß eingegangen von dem Manne, den man mit als den ersten Anreger unserer Sache ansehen muß, der schon Anfang der 60er Jahre die Sache zur Anwendung gebracht hat, nemlich Uno Ehgnaeus aus Helfingfors. Der telegraphische Glückwunsch lautet:

*„Helfingfors, 27. Mai. Ein alter Freund des erziehlichen Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts sendet ergebensten Dank für die freundliche Einladung und wünscht Glück zu erfolgreicher Entwicklung dieses zeitgemäßen Unterrichtszweiges im Fröbelschen Sinne. Uno Ehgnaeus.“*

Das chlußwort hat der Herr Referent.

Lehrer Gärtig-Bofen: Meine Herren, ich kann die einzelnen Einwendungen und Wünsche der verschiedenen Herren Borredner bezüglich des von mir begründeten Systems im Hinblick auf die ziemlich vorgeschrittene Zeit nur einer kurzen Beantwortung unterziehen. Wenn der letzte Herr Borredner gefagt hat, in den Arbeiten aus dem Gebiet der Zischlerei müßten wenigstens 30 Schüler gleichzeitig zu beschäftigen sein, wolle dieselbe Anspruch auf Einführung erheben, nun so meine ich: 30 Schüler können überhaupt in keinem Lehrer in derselben Abtheilung gleichzeitig unterrichtet werden; das ist auch bei der Bapparbeit, welche der genannte Herr vornehmlich befürwortet, nicht möglich. Der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht ist ein so eignartiger, daß man an ihn inbetreff des Massenunterrichts durchaus nicht die Forderungen stellen kann, welche man an den theoretischen Unterricht stellt. In den Holzarbeiten können gewiß allermeist nur 12 Knaben von einem Lehrer zu gleicher Zeit unterwiesen werden, aber bei allen anderen Arbeiten wird diese Ziffer auch höchstens nun ein ganz geringfügiges größer sein dürfen, will der Lehrer die einzelnen Manipulationen der Schüler genau controliren, will er nicht im Verlauf der Stunde mannigfache Schäden an den Arbeiten, Werkzeugen und selbst den Fingern erblicken. Dann muß ich noch einem Mißverständnis begegnen. Ich habe doch die Aufgabe gehabt, über Unterrichts-Gegenstände zu sprechen und nicht über Werkzeuge. Demgemäß habe ich mich auch nur gegen die Laubfägerei als selbständiges Fach gewendet. Die Laubfäße behält ihren Werth als Werkzeug, das nur selten bei feineren Holzarbeiten zur schnell vorübergehenden Anwendung kommt, ganz selbstverständlich bei. Weiterhin ist gefagt worden, das Flechten werde in meinem System nicht berücksichtigt. Ich will aber gerade die Mechanik des Flechtens bereits auf der Unterstufe zum Beständnis bringen und habe auch dem Lande besondere Flechtereien nach der Dr. Fölsing'schen Manier zugewiesen. Wenn ich mich gegen die Korbflechtereie gewendet habe, so beruht dies darauf daß sie eben den von mir festgesetzten Gesichtspuncten eines schulmäßigen Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts nicht entspricht. Ich hebe nur das eine hervor: ich habe in Schweden öfter die Erfahrung gemacht, die Arbeiten sind im Durchschnitt für Kinder zu schwer. Das Flechten des Randes wollte nie gelingen, immer mußte hier der Meister eintreten.—Der Herr Rittmeister von Claufon-Kaas verlangt, daß alles mögliche getrieben werden solle. Kommen wir dieser Forderung nach, dann werden sich die Lehrer nie mit dem Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht befreunden, weil die Schule in diesem Falle einfach Beschäftigungsanstalt wird. Erziehlich wirkt freilich in gewissem Sinne jede Arbeit, also bielleicht auch Bürsten- und Befen-Binderei, aber wenn wir von einem erziehlichen Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht der Schule sprechen, dann dürfen wir doch vor allem den formalen Erziehungs Zweck deselben nicht aus den Augen verlieren. Wenn derselbe Herr ferner fordert, jede Schule solle in derselben Weise weiter arbeiten wie bisher, dann frage ich: wozu kommen wir denn eigentlich zusammen? wozu beranzufalten wir dann Congresse, die doch nicht bloß das Interesse der Agitation, sondern auch das der Belehrung und Einigung befolgen?—Meine Herren, ich glaube mit voller Berechtigung eingangs meines Vortrages darauf hingewiesen zu haben: wir müssen endlich Einigungspuncte finden, soll das Werk des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts kräftigere Triebe zeitigen, als dies bisher bei uns geschehen ist. Die Unterrichtsgegenstände, welche ich als allein beachtenswerth hinstellte, haben sich allgemein als praktisch erwiesen; ich habe sie nur vom pädagogischen Standpunct aus begründet und in ein System gebracht. Daß ich damit zu weit gegangen sein soll, wie Herr von Claufon-Kaas meint, wofür er aber den Beweis schuldig geblieben ist, bermag ich nicht zuzugeben.

Borfitzender Professor Biedermann: Wir gehen nunmehr zu dem nächsten Gegenstande der Tagesordnung über:

*"Organisation und Zehremethode der Görzitzer Handfertigkeiten-Schule mit gleichzeitiger principieffer Grörterung der Frage, ob Lehrer oder Handwerksmeister den Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht ertheilen sollen,"* und ertheile ich das Wort Herrn von Schendendorff.

Meine Herren! Wenn die bisherigen Verhandlungen des Congresses sich der Bedeutung und hinsichtlich der Unterrichtsgegenstände der Begrenzung der Arbeitsideen zuwendeten, so soll das gegenwärtige Keferat und die Vorführung der Lehrproben Sie in das Gebiet der Ausführung der Arbeitsideen führen. Ich habe also mit den Lehrern der hiesigen Handfertigkeiten-Schule gemeinam die Aufgabe zu erfüllen, Ihnen die Braris des Arbeits-Unterrichts vorzuführen, das heißt: Ihnen darzulegen und auch anschaulich zu machen, auf welchem Wege eine Schule an einem Orte errichtet werden kann, und wie die erziehlichen Vortheile, welche wir durch

den Handfertigkeitens-Unterricht anftreiben, durch die Aneignung manueller Fertigkeiten auch wirklich errichtet werden follten.

Meine Herren! Bei dem gegenwärtigen Stadium unferer Beftrebungen kann es fich bei einem Referat nur darum handeln, Ihnen darzulegen, wie eine Arbeitsschule neben der Lernschule, also auf facultativer Grundlage zu errichten und zu leiten sei.

Wir müffen für jetzt noch von dem Wunfche auf obligatorische Einführung des Handfertigkeitens-Unterrichts abfehen, weil wir nur auf dem Wege der freien Betheiligung den Boden vorbereiten, und darauf auch mit Sicherheit vorgehen können. Meine Gründe für ein facultatives Vorgehen find Kurz diefe:

Diefer neuer Unterrichtszweig muß zunächft noch weiter pädagogifch durchgebildet werden, ehe er allgemein eingeführt werden kann. Wir fehen ferner, daß die Zeit, welche wir für unfern Unterricht beanfpruchen müffen, im Schulwefen fchon ausgefüllt ift, fo daß es grundlegender Beränderungen bedürfte, um auf fo breiter Grundlage kaum für diefen Unterricht zu gewinnen. Dies trifft ganz befonders für die höheren Lehranftalten zu. Das Vorgehen auf facultativer Bafis hat aber noch den befonderen Bortheil, daß die Sache damit populärer wird. Wollten wir—wie es in den erften Stadien der Entwicklung diefes Strebens in Abficht war, und, wie ich bekenne, auch von mir befürwortet wurde—die Einführung von oben herab, durch die Schulbehörden anftreiben, fo würde dies einem Octrohiren ziemlich ähnlich fehen, und in der heutigen Zeit der freien Meinungsäußerung vielfachem Widerfpruch begegnen. Ich habe in meiner ziemlich ausgebreiteten Erfahrung Gefunden, daß die Schulbehörden diefem Unterrichtszweig heute noch mit fehr verfchiedenem und getheiltem Wohlwollen gegenüber ftehen, was angefichts der eigenartigen Entwicklung unferes Schulwefens keinen Borwurf involviren foll, aber doch einen fernern Beweggrund bilden muß, vorerft den facultativen Boden noch weiter zu beackern. Ienes getheilte Wohlwollen findet, meine Herren, feine Erklärung auch in dem Umftand, daß Ziel und Ausführung unferer Beftrebungen den Schulbehörden noch nicht genügend bekannt find. Ginen fchlagenden Bewies hierfür giebt die eben abgefchloffene Debatte, in welcher noch mehrfach der fruchte Utilitätsgedanke neben dem erziehlichen herbortrat. Daß ich meinerfeits nur dem letzteren das Wort rede, und die Utilität des Arbeits-Unterrichts nur mittelbar durch Beachtung der örtlichen Berhältniffe fördern will, ift Ihnen bekannt, und wird aus meinem Referat noch näher herborgehen.

Es hieße also die Sache einer fehr zweifelhaften Entwicklung zuführen, wollten wir fchon heute die Hand in den Schoß legen und die Angelegenheit den Schulbehörden allein überlaffen. Was wir indeffen bedürfen, um die Sache zu fördern, das ift das Wohlwollen und die werktätige Unterftützung der obern wie der untern Schulbehörden. Dies Wohlwollen erbitte ich daher bei dem heutigen Congreß von denfelben im Intereffe unferer Sache in aller Form.

Dies find also in Kürze meine Gründe, weshalb ich heute den Standpunct verfechte, die Arbeitsschulen zunächft auf facultativer Grundlage zu errichten.—Ich gefatte mir mein Thema flebft nach einer dreifachen Richtung zu befprechen:

- Entftehung und Organifation der Görlitzer Handfertigkeitens-Schule;
- Skizzirung des Weges, den Leder befchreiten muß, um eine Handfertigkeitens-Schule neben der Lernschule an irgend einem Orte errichten zu können; und endlich
- Entwicklung der Grundzüge der pädagogifchen Methode des Handfertigkeitens-Unterrichts.

Der erfte Bunct wird Ihnen ein in einem befimmten Rahmen abgefchloffenes Bild geben, und der Befprechung des zweiten Bunctes vorarbeiten; der zweite Bunct deutet direct den Weg zur Errichtung von Handfertigkeitens-Schulen im Lande an, und im dritten Buncte werde ich darlegen, wie die theoretifche Auffaffung unferer Beftrebungen in die Praxis zu überführen ift, wie die Sache vom pädagogifchen Gefichtspunct aus meines Erachtens erfaßt werden muß, wenn fie wirklich die Früchte tragen foll, welche wir von ihr erwarten. Bei Befprechung diefes letzten Bunctes wird fich dann von felbft ergeben, ob im Princip Handwerksmeister oder Lehrer den Unterricht zu ertheilen haben.

Meine Herren! Die hiefige Knaben-Handfertigkeitens-Schule verdankt ihre Entftehung der directen wie indirecten Anregung, beziehungsweise Mitwirkung des Herrn Rittmeifters von Claufon-Kaas, der zu meiner Freude heute auch unter uns anwesend ift. Mit faft denfelben Worten beginnt der erfte Jahresbericht unferer hiefigen Schule. Ich erwähne das beim heutigen Congreß mit um fo dankbareren Gefühlen, als die gleiche Borausfetzung auch für viele andere Schulen im Lande zutrifft, und als fein Antheil hieran mir faft in Vergessenheit zu gerathen fcheint. Er war der erfte Bahnbrecher für die neuere Bewegung in Deutfchland und ohne fein Auftreten und Wirken wären wir heute gar nicht hier verfammelt. Der Umftand, daß wir glaubten in mancher Richtung unfern eignen Weg gehen und den Utilitätsgedanken mehr zurückdrängen müffen, hat zu mannigfachen Angriffen auf unfern hochbegrühten Freund geführt, und dadurch find die wirklichen Verdienfte deffelben in den Hintergrund gedrängt worden. Es verdient dies um fo mehr herborgehoben zu werden, als Claufon-Kaas niemals behauptet hat, daß der Handfertigkeitens-Unterricht, wie er ihn anfangs lehrte, ein fchon in fich abgefchloffener Unterrichtsgegenftand fei; als er nicht aufgehört hat mit dauerndem Fleiß und voller Hingabe mit uns an dem weiteren Ausbau diefes Unterrichtszweiges zu arbeiten. Wandert unfer begrühter

Freund auch mehr auf dem Gebiet des Hausfleißes und der Haus-Induftrie, fo kann und darf uns dies nicht abhalten, der Gerechtigkeit den pflichtigen Zribut zu zollen, und damit zugleich, wenigstens mittelbar, allen jenen Angriffen abweifend gegenüber zu treten, welche diesen ausgezeichneten Mann im Laufe der Zahre, und zwar oft aus kleinlicher Auffaffung heraus, getroffen haben. (Brabo!)

Die von Claufon-Kaas im Zahre 1876 in Deutchland gehaltenen Reden hatten für Schlefien zur Folge, daß sich im Zahre 1877 der 15. Schlefien Gewerbetag für die Errichtung von Claufon-Kaas'schen Arbeitsschulen aussprach; nächftdem fand diese Zdee in einem Zahresbericht der Bunzlauer Kinder-Befchäftigungs-Anftalt ihre Grwähnung, aus welchem ich im Zahre 1878 zuerft Kenntnis von diesen Beftrebungen erhielt. 1879 war Claufon-Kaas dann durch Beranlaffung des hiefigen Magiftrats in Görlitz, und hielt hier einen Bortrag, der fehr gefiel. In demfelben Jahre nahm auf Koften unfrer Stadt der Herr Lehrer Reumann, noch heute Director unferer hiefigen Handfertigkeitsschule, an dem Emdener Lehrer-Unterrichts-Curfus, den Claufon-Kaas ebenfalls leitete, theil, und am 3. März 1881 wurde, nachdem ein gweimaliger Berfuch die Angelegenheit zu einer ftätifchen zu machen miflungen war, die hiefige Schule durch einen für diesen Zweck befonders gebildeten Berein eröffnet. Der Magiftrat gewährte demfelben jedoch von Anfang an die freien Localitäten, und mehrmals auch mamhafte Geldbeiträge.

So fehen Sie also, daß die Grkenntnis von dem Werthe und den Bortheilen des Handfertigkeitsschulunterrichts zunächst hier Boden fallen mußte, ehe es gelang die Berkörperung der Ideen durch Bildung eines Bereins und einer Schule folgen zu laffen.

Die Schule unterrichtet jetzt gegen 100 Knaben im Alter von 12 bis 14 Jahren in 6 Abtheilungen, und zwar in der Halzbearbeitung ander hobelbank, dem holzfchnitzen und der Bapp-Arbeit. Jeder Schüler hat hier unentgeltlich Unterricht und wird nur in einem Lehrgegenfande unterrichtet; nach Jahresfrist kann er indeß wechfeln. Die Unterrichtszeit beträgt hier Stunden wöchentlich, und zwar gwei mal zwei Stunden an den freien Rachmittagen, von 2 bis 4, bzw. 4 bis 6 Uhr. Die gefertigten Gegenftände bleiben freies Gigentum der Knaben, um die Luft derfelben an folchen Arbeiten mehr anzufpornen. Ift ein Gegenftand zur Zufriedenheit hergefellt, fo geht es an die Herftellung eines anderen, fchwierigeren. Maffenanfertigung findet also nicht ftatt, ebenfowenig Berkauf von Arbeiten. Es widerfpräche dies auch dem oberften Brincip der Schule, die eben auf dem Wege der fortfchreitenden Arbeit bilden, nicht aber zum Geldberdienft führen foll. Wir fchließen also den Utilitätsgedanken bollftändig aus. Ift der Knabe erwachsen, und fteht er im Heben, fo Kann er sich dann die erworbene Fertigkeit ja unter Umftänden nutzbar für feine Ginnahme machen; fei es in der Hausfleiß oder Hausinduftrie-Richtung. Die Grziehung felbst foll und darf aber mit Geldberdienft nichts zu thun haben; fie befchritte damit einen neuen und meines Grachtens bedenklichen Weg.

In diesem Sinne werden Sie nachher die Knaben in den drei Richtungen thätig fehen; ihre Arbeiten befinden sich in der Gruppe II unferer Gewerbeund Induftrie-Ausstellung, der Sie hoffentlich auch Ihren Befuch fchenken werden.

Die feither für die Schule entftandenen Koften find diese:

Die für Inbentarien und Handwerkszeuge entftandenen Koften fetzen sich namentlich aus Reubefchaffungen zufammen, und find also zumeift einmalige. Die Koften für Reparaturen find gering. Die eigentlich laufenden Koften find die für Materialien, Unterrichts-, Botenund Berwaltungs-Ausgaben.

Die jetzt getroffene Ginrichtung unferer Schule kann man sich natürlich wefentlich erweitert denken; zunächst in Hinblick auf die Schülerzahl. Würden wir die noch freie Zeit an den hier anderen Schultagen, also am Montag, Dienstag, Donnerstag und Freitag von 4½ bis 6½ Uhr mit befetzen können, fo konnte man die doppelte Schülerzahl in denfelben Werkftätten, also 200 Knaben befchäftigen. Dazu würden etwa 900 *m* mehr erforderlich fein, über welches Mehr wir zur Zeit im Berein allerdings nicht berfügen. Sine höhere Schülerzahl als 200 Knaben würde eine Werkftätte neben der Schule aber nicht befchäftigen können, man müßte in diesem Falle also eine zweite, dritte u. f. f. Werkftätte fchaffen.

Man kann sich auch eine Grweiterung der Schule in der Richtung der Altersclaffen denken, fo daß also auch schon jüngere Knaben als zwölfjährige Befchäftigung erhielten. In diesem Falle müßten aber theiweise andere Lehrgegenftände und Modelle gewählt werden, die den Kräften und dem Alter der Knaben angemessen wären. Auf diese Weise kann man sich die Arbeitsschule unmittelbar anfchließend an den Iröbel'schen Findergarten denken.

Hiermit dürfte ich Ihnen fummarifch ein Bild von unferer hiefigen Schule und deren ebentueßer Weiterentwicklung geliefert haben, und komme jetzt zum zweiten Buncte meiner Ausführungen, nemlich Skizzirung des Weges, den Zeder befchreiten muß, um eine Handfertigkeitsschule neben der Lernschule an irgend einem Orte errichten könne. Ob man hierbei im Auge hat, den Arbeits-Unterricht nicht in einer Handfertigkeitsschule fondern in dem fo fegensreich wirkenden Knabenhort einzuführen, ist für die nachfolgenden Ausführungen irrelevant, da es bei dem gegenwärtigen Stadium der Sache nur darauf ankommen kann, den Arbeits-Unterricht überhaupt an irgend einer Stelle Eingang zu berfchaffen. Bei der Handfertigkeitsschule ist der Grundgedanke der rein erzieherische, bei den Knabenhorten die Befchäftigung. Um



deswillen kann der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht in den Knabenhorten auch eine gewisse Modification erfahren, nicht sowohl hinsichtlich der Unterrichtsmethode, auf die ich nachher zu sprechen komme, als hinsichtlich der Beschäftigungsarten. Man sollte aber nicht das Verdienen hierbei derart in den Vordergrund stellen, als dies in manchen Knabenhorten, oder wie man sie sonst auch nennt, in Beschäftigungs-Anstalten leider geschieht.

Sch spreche nur diejenigen Punkte die ich für wesentlich halte. In der Regel werden es zu Anfang nur wenige Personen, oft nur eine einzige sein, welche die Sache in einem Orte in die Hand nimmt. Diese müssen zunächst das Verhältniß für die Bestrebungen an dem betreffenden Orte verbreiten; es muß die rechte Stimmung für dieselbe in der Bevölkerung geschaffen werden. Dies ist nur durch Verbindung mit andern einflussreichen Personen und Körperschaften zu erreichen. Nachdem zunächst ein engerer Kreis gewonnen ist, dienen zu dem genannten Ziele am besten Besprechungen in den Vereinen und in der Breite. Ist der Boden dadurch entsprechend vorbereitet, so muß ein öffentlicher Vortrag über Bedeutung und Ziele des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts mit darauf folgender allgemeiner Discussion stattfinden. Auf diesem Wege allein klären sich dann die Ansichten, die anfänglich natürlich sehr auseinandergehen. Dieselben Einwände kehren überall wieder. Die Vorträge wirken am kräftigsten, wenn sie durch eine Ausstellung von Schülerarbeiten unterstützt sind, und wären es auch nur wenige; denn dadurch gewinnt der Zuhörer am raschesten den Eindruck, warum es sich im Endzweck handelt. Diese Mitführung und Ausstellung von Schülerarbeiten hat freilich ihr Misliches, weil einmal ein Theil der Sachen unter dem Transport, der Verpackung und der Ausstellung leidet, und weil sich dann stets die übel Gewohnheit der Versammeln zeigt, jeden Gegenstand zu befallen und nach allen Richtungen hin zu beschauen. Groß aller Ambitionen bricht sich selten die Ueberzeugung von der Schädlichkeit des Befahrens derart Bahn, daß dies unterbleibt. Dennoch ist dies eine Vorbedingung von Ausstellungen dieser Art, da wir niemals über so viele Schülerarbeiten verfügen, um stets neue zur Hand zu haben.

Das Centralcomité wird zur Erreichung von Vortragskräften für diesen Zweck gern die Hand bieten; ich selbst bin, wie bisher, so auch fernerhin im Interesse der Sache bereit—so weit es meine Zeit erlaubt—eventuell da Vorträge zu halten, wo der Boden schon entsprechend vorbereitet ist, und wenn ich zugleich hoffen kann, daß sich in Folge meines Vortrages ein Centralpunct für die weitere Entwicklung in den Nachbar-districten bilden könnte.

Ist die rechte Stimmung vorhanden, so handelt es sich weiter um die Aufbringung der Mittel, und zwar in erster Linie um die Mittel zur Ausbildung eines Lehrers. Diese werden wohl da, wo die Stimmung günstig ist, von Behörden und Einzelnen leicht zu erlangen sein, um so mehr als sie einmalige sind und keine sehr große Höhe erreichen. Die Mittel setzen sich aus einem geringen Honorar und den Aufenthalts- und Reise-Kosten zusammen. Derartige Unterrichts-Curse finden in diesem Sommer in Leipzig statt, worüber Herr Oberlehrer Dr. Götze gewünschten Falls in der folgenden Discussion weitere Auskunft zu geben bereit sein würde; und im nächsten Jahre voraussichtlich in Erfurt unter der Oberleitung des gleichfalls hier anwesenden Herrn Schulrath Dr. Borbrodt.

Die Beschaffung der auf Errichtung einer Schule hinzielenden Mittel sind freilich schwieriger zu errichten, indeß helfen Gifer, Uermüdlichkeit, und schließlich auch kluge Benutzung der Verhältnisse weiter. Hier gilt als Grundfatz, wie bei jedem gleichartigen Vorgehen, daß ehe der größere Kreis herangezogen wird, ein engerer Kreis einflussreicher Freunde und Gönner bereits gewonnen sein muß.

Ob die Stadt oder der Kreis oder sonst eine Behörde, oder auch ein schon bestehender Verein die Errichtung einer Handfertigkeitschule in die Hand nehmen soll, oder ein für diesen Zweck erst zu bildender Verein, das hängt natürlich von den rein localen Verhältnissen ab. Beim Vorhandensein unternehmungsbereiter Freunde empfiehlt es sich aber immer mehr, daß nicht die Behörden, sondern die freie Vereinsthätigkeit die Sache betreibt, also ein Gewerbe-Handwerker oder pädagogischer Verein, jedoch mit Unterstützung der Behörden. Das Eintreten der letzteren für sich allein wird oft von den breiteren Schichten mit Misstrauen befolgt; dann ist auch die Entwicklung der Sache schwerfälliger, schon weil mehrere Factoren mitzusprechen und zu beschließen haben. Doch sprechen, wie ich wiederhole, die localen Verhältnisse hier in erster Linie mit. Wird aber ein besonderer Verein gebildet, so empfiehlt sich auch hier, daß guborn ein engerer Kreis von Freunden zusammentritt, und den Verein mit feinen neuen Statuten fest constituirte. Ist dies geschehen, so erfolgt dann die Aufforderung zum Vereinsbeitritt in den öffentlichen Blättern. Seine Beitrittsliste kann dann auch mit Vortheil bei der Einwohnerchaft circuliren. Die Vereinsbeitragshöhe überläßt man am besten dem freien Ermessen der Beitretenden. Die Einziehung der Beiträge erfolgt am vortheilhaftesten vierteljährlich, da Iemand auch für ein ganzes oder ein halbes Jahr erfahrungsmäßig selten mehr zeichnet als für ein Vierteljahr. Immerhin aber ist, wenn dies nicht bei Allen zutreffen sollte, der Einzelne doch leichter zu gewinnen für einen kleineren vierteljährlichen Beitrag, als für größere halb oder ganzjährige Beiträge.

In ähnlicher Weise kann ein schon bestehender Verein vorgehen, indem er aus seiner Mitte mit anderen einflussreichen Freunden der Sache eine besondere ständige Commission bildet. Diese Commission ist hier dann ganz dasselbe, was der anfängliche engere Kreis bei einem neu constituirten, besonderem Verein ist. Auf diesem

Wege hat man gegenwärtig in Erfurt die Sache von Seiten des dortigen Gewerbe-Bereins in die Hand genommen. Diefen Commiffion gehören dafelbft der Oberbürgermeister Breslau, der Schulrath Borbrodt und andre einflußreiche Freunde der Sache an. Bei der Zufammenfetzung folcher ftändigen Commiffionen, bezw. Bereins-Borftände muß man thunlichft auch die politifchen und confeffionellen Gegenfätze bereinigen. Leider ift das nicht immer möglich, wie die Erfahrung gelehrt hat, namentlich hinfichtlich der politifchen Gegenfätze; immerhin muß man es aber verfuchen.

Sind die Mittel für die Ausrüftung der Schule befchafft, fo kommt es dann auf die Ausrüftung der Schule und die Befchaffung der Modelle an. Darüber wird aber der inzwifchen ausgebildete Lehrer die nothwendige Anleitung geben können, weshalb ich diefen Bunct nicht näher erörtere. Dann folgt endlich die Heranziehung der Schüler. Auch hier muß man in thunlichft praktifcher Weife verfahren. Wir haben es in Görlitz als am beften zum Ziele führend gefunden, wenn der Unterricht koftenfrei ertheilt wird, und wenn die obere Leitung der Schulen gebeten wird, in den einzelnen Claßen zur Betheiligung am Handfertigkeits-Unterricht aufzufordern. Dazu haben wir die Schulbehörden hier ftets bereit gefunden, und ebenfo meldeten fich immer noch weit mehr Schüler—faft biermal foniel—, als wir unterbringen konnten. Endlich müffen in der neugebildeten Schule felbft weitere Lehrkräfte herangebildet werden, damit das Beftehen derfelben nicht auf zwei oder vier Augen gefteht ift. Hier haben wir etwa 20 Lehrer ausgebildet. Mit diefen haben im erften Jahre bielfache Conferenzen ftattgefunden, um Shftem und Methode des Unterrichts zu befprechen. Dies in Verbindung fetzen mit den Lehrerkreifen hat z. B. hier bei uns den Bortheil gehabt, daß wir aus denfelben die wärmften Freunde und Fürfpreeher gefunden haben. So ift es denn gekommen, daß wir in Görlitz einen offen herorgetretenen Widerftand des Lehrertandes nicht gefehen haben. Sie find im Gegentheil von bornherein unfre beften Freunde gewefen.—Dies find etwa die praktifchen Rathfchläge, die ich aus der Erfahrung heraus zu geben bermag; fie werden aber nur dann, meine Herren, zum Ziele führen, wenn man fich durch Hinderniffe nicht irre machen läßt und bei der borgeftzten Arbeit felbft nicht erlahmt!

Ich komme zum dritten Buncte meines Bortrages, der pädagogifchen Methode des Unterrichts.

Ich beginne mit der allgemeinen Behandlung der Knaben. Die Arbeit, welche von diefen beim Handfertigkeits-Unterricht zu leißen ift, unterfcheidet fich fehr wefentlich von derjenigen auf dem rein geiftigen Gebiete des Lernens,—fie ift verhältnismäßig leichter. Alles ift für den Knaben hier anfchaulich; er berfteht die Anweifung des Lehrers daher auch leichter. Ift die Arbeit gut oder fchlecht ausgeführt, fo lehrt der Augenfchein fofort das Sine oder das Andere. Ueberall bewegt fich der Knabe daher auf einem fichereren, feinem Selbstvertrauen weckenden Boden. Hierzu tritt, daß der Knabe folche Arbeiten gern ausführt, denn der Ihätigkeits- und Gefühlungs-Irieb ift von Natur aus in ihm ein fehr reger und Hebediger. Es ift alfo erklärlich, wenn der Knabe hier einen befonderen Gifer und eine herborragende Ihätigkeitsluft zeigt. Der Lehrer tritt feinerfeits auf diefem Gebiet deshalb auch in ein ganz anderes Verhältnis zum Schüler, als bei dem fonftigen Schulunterricht; er fteht nicht auf dem hohen Katheder und docirt von oben herab, fondern er arbeitet überall mit; er zeigt dem Knaben durch die eigne Arbeit, durch das Vormachen, wie diefer die Sache anfaffen foll; er fteht fich damit, wenn auch nicht auf gleiche Stufe mit dem Schüler, fo doch menfchlich diefem näher. Die Erfahrung hat deshalb auch gelehrt, daß die Schüler ihren Handfertigkeitslehrern im allgemeinen eine weit größere Dankbarkeit bewahren als ihren übrigen Lehrern. Diefe Umftände find außerordentlich günstig zur Erreichung des Zweckes, das Zutrauen der Knaben zum Lehrer zu fördern; und das ift das erfte was ein tüchtiger Handfertigkeitslehrer gewinnen muß. Hat er dies Zutrauen, fo gewinnt der Lehrer bald auch einen größern Einfluß auf die übrige Ausbildung des Knaben und das ift vom pädagogifchen Gefichtspunct gewiß ein hoher und wefentlicher Factor der Gefammterziehung.

Dies Zutrauensverhältnis hat freilich auch feine Gefahren und Schattenfeiten, indem es dem natürlichen Uebermuth der Knaben Raum zur Entwicklung gewährt. Es ift daher für den Lehrer nothwendig, daß er im Hintergrunde den erforderlichen Ernft für die Sache durchblicken läßt, und daß er diefen gelegentlich, wenn nothwendig, auch zur Geltung bringt. Ift der Lehrer ein Bädagoge von echtem Geift und Herzen, fo wird er den richtigen Weg hier fehr bold felbft finden. Anlernen läßt fich diefer Theil der Erziehung nicht; es fchlägt dies eben in das Gebiet der natürlichen pädagogifchen Beranlagung, die kein Unterricht, kein Seminar lehren kann, die aber eine der wefentlichften Borbedingungen für einen guten Handfertigkeitslehrer bildet. Mit diefer richtigen Erfaffung des Unterrichtszweiges werden fozufügen erft die nothwendige Wärme und Luft gefchaffen, in welche allein der Unterricht feine bollen Früchte tragen kann.

Rächftdem ift ein geordneter Lehrgang erforderlich. Er repräfentirt fich in guten und muftergiltigen Borlagen. Diefe Können etweder Zeichnungen oder Modelle fein. Die erfte Grundanforderung an diefelben ift ftufenmäßige Folge in Bezug auf Schwierigkeit der Herftellung. Die Stufen müffen nur foweit von einander entfernt fein, daß auch eine mittelmäßige Kraft fie zu überfchreiten bermag. Gut beranlagte Knaben können nach Ueberwindung der Anfänge gewiffe Stufen überfpringen. Die Borlagen müffen ferner thunlichft einheitlich im Stile fein, jedenfalls aber auch ein Borbild für gute Formen geben; fie müffen endlich in ihrer Zufammenftellung zuerft rein bildend für die Fertigkeit fein, und dann entweder dem Schulunterricht dienen,

oder sonst einem nützlichen Zwecke. Diese letzteren auszuschließen, hieße den Reiz des Knaben an der Herstellung solcher Arbeiten herabmindern. Es ist dies nicht gleichbedeutend mit dem Utilitätsgedanken des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts, denn hierbei geht man darauf aus, daß der Unterricht unmittelbar nutzbringend für den Knaben werden sollte, was nicht, wie ich schon sagte, der Zweck des erzieherischen Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts sein kann. Dieser muß vielmehr stets die Vervollständigung der formellen Bildung des Knaben vor Augen haben.

Godann handelt es sich bei der richtigen Methode 1. um das volle geistige Erfassen des nachzubildenden Gegenstandes, 2. um die technisch richtige Ausführung, und 3. um eine gute und gediegene Arbeit.

Meine Herren, was den ersten Punkt betrifft, das Gehen, das geistige Erfassen eines körperlichen Gegenstands, die volle Anschauung davon, das ist, wie ich glaube, ein schwacher Punkt in unserer heutigen Erziehung. Indem sie vorwiegend den Geist ausbildet, indem die Schule heute, wie der Kaffeler Lehrertag vom Jahre 1882 allerdings treffend sagte, wirklich nur eine Werkstatt geistiger Arbeit ist, ist der Blick des Kindes vorwiegend auch immer den innern geistigen Vorgängen zugewendet. Wie kann sich da gleichzeitig auch der Blick in die Außenwelt hinein entwickeln, wie die klare Vorstellung von einem körperlichen Gegenstande? Wie kann sich auf diesem innern Blick allein ein volles geistiges Heben aufbauen? Ist denn die sinnliche Vorstellung nicht die Basis für alles höhere Denken? Seine gewisse Unklarheit über die oft naheliegendsten Dinge, eine Einseitigkeit, die den Charakter der Theorie trägt, ein Zustand, in welchem das Auge die Verhältnisse und die Umgebung nicht unmittelbar sieht, sondern immer nur durch das Medium des Denkens, wie erst durch eine Brille hindurch,—das sind die schwerwiegenden Nachteile der heutigen Erziehungsweise. Diese bevorzugt den Geist so sehr, und erzieht jedoch nur einseitig. Wird aber auch der Blick in die Außenwelt hinein gebildet, so erhält der Knabe eine vollere, klarere Anschauung. Verbindet sich damit dann auch die Thätigkeit, das Angefahene und Vollerfaßte körperlich nachzubilden, so erhält der Geist damit ein ganz anderes, volleres, gefundenes Gepräge.

Bei der Ausübung des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts soll der Schüler also zunächst das Sehen lernen. Aus diesem Grunde muß der Lehrer den Gegenstand, den der Schüler nachbilden soll, mit diesem derart besprechen, daß der Schüler den Gegenstand geistig vollkommen erfäßt. Wie dies überhaupt auch zugleich in der Form des Klassen-Unterrichts hier geschieht, werden Sie nachher selbst beobachten. Wie notwendig ein solcher Hinweis des Schülers auf den Gegenstand ist, und wie oberflächlich demungeachtet er denselben dann oft noch ansieht: das zu erkennen haben wir oftmals Gelegenheit gehabt. Es fehlt dem Knaben eben die Anleitung hierzu bis zum Eintritt in die Handfertigkeitschule. Der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht, in diesem Sinne ausgeführt, ist also zu gleicher Zeit ein Anschauungs-Unterricht; er ist aber noch mehr, denn die Anschauung bleibt nicht nur eine rein geistige Thätigkeit, sondern sie geht auch zur That, zur Verkörperung des Angefahenen über. Daß eine gleiche Bildung schon heute durch die Schule erfolge, ist gewiß nicht ganz richtig; ist auch die Hand schon beim Schreiben und Zeichnen thätig, wird insbesondere im letzteren auch nach der Natur, nach Körpern wenigstens zum Theil gezeichnet, so ist das doch zur Erreichung des erforderlichen Gegengewichts gegen die einseitige geistige Erziehung nicht hinreichend. Dem Handfertigkeits-Unterricht gegenüber trägt auch das Zeichnen gewissermaßen noch ein theoretisches Gepräge; dies giebt den Gegenstand nach zwei Dimensionen wieder, stets nur mit dem Griffel und auf dem Papier ausgeführt, die Handfertigkeit lehrt aber den Gegenstand nach drei Dimensionen herzustellen, und zwar in den verschiedensten Materialien und unter Anwendung einer großen Anzahl von Werkzeugen. Daß der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht daher allgemeiner und vielseitiger wirkt, ist hiernach selbstverständlich. Beide Richtungen, nemlich Zeichnen und Handfertigkeit dereinst aber in eine enge, ja organische Verbindung zu bringen dürfte vielleicht das Ziel sein, das wir für später anzustreben haben, wenn der Handfertigkeits-Unterricht einmal zur Einführung in die Schule kommen sollte.

Allein die Arbeit soll zweitens auch richtig ausgeführt werden. Dazu ist zunächst eine Unterweisung des Knaben notwendig, wie er schrittweise den Gegenstand herzustellen habe. Dabei muß er dann stetig überwacht werden, um zu beobachten, ob er den angegebenen Weg auch inne hält, oder ob er davon willkürliche Abweichungen vornimmt; er thut dies leicht aus Unkenntnis oder aus Oberflächlichkeit und Unachtsamkeit, ja theils auch um gewisse Schwierigkeiten zu umgehen. Er soll aber nicht allein richtig, also nach Vorschrift, sondern auch technisch richtig arbeiten lernen, das heißt: das Werkzeug richtig handhaben und die Arbeit derart ausführen, wie dies der Fachmann selbst thun würde. Seine derartige Anleitung muß zweifellos zugleich eine gute Vorhule für das Handwerk und die Industrie bilden. Aber auch diejenigen welche sich nicht dem gewerblichen Heben später zuwenden, werden dann doch den Handwerker besser beurtheilen können, als heute. Die oberflächliche Arbeit, wenn sie außerhalb nur gut ausgeputzt ist, wird heute leider oft für eine solide Waare angesehen und gekauft.

Die Arbeit soll endlich aber auch eine gute sein. Ja, meine Herren, hier liegt fast der Schwerpunkt der ganzen Sache, ja die Frucht des gesammten Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts, und nur wenn wir zugleich auch eine gute und gediegene Handarbeit erzielen oder doch mit Ernst anstreben, werden wir den vollen Nutzen erreichen, die wir von dem Handfertigkeits-Unterricht erwarten. Darum sollte jede Handfertigkeits-Schule zu ihrem Motto

die Worte wählen:

Bor allem lerne dies:

Was du thuft, thu gut, thu ganz!

Ia, meine Herren, in dem guten, gediegenen Arbeiten, da liegt bor allem auch der Werth den der Handarbeits-Unterricht in fittlicher Hinsicht hat, im Hinblick auf die Bildung des Charakters. Freilich muß man sich hier bon bornherein über den Begriff „gut“ klar werden, und nicht Anforderungen ftellen, die eben bon Kindern nicht erreicht werden können, besonders auch im Hinblick auf die behältmismäßig kurze Zeit, welche dieselben für die Erlernung der Handfertigkeiten berwenden. Es kann sich also hier nur um die relatibe Güte handeln, nicht um die absolute. Dieselbe ist eben erreicht, wenn der Gegenstand mit boller Aufmerksamkeith, und so gut, als dem Knaben dies indibiduell möglich war, hergestelt ist. Und da wird ja auch Ziel auf die natürliche Beranlagung ankommen. Es besitzt bielleicht jemand eine schlechte Handchrift, aber man kann es ihr doch anfehen, ob dieselbe nur so hingeworfen ist, gewiffermaßen im Fluge, oder ob der Knabe sich doch Mühe gegeben hat. Ganz dasselbe Berhältnis findet bei der Handarbeit ftatt. Hierauf also zu achten, den Knaben entsprechend anzuleiten, und ihn auf die einzelnen Mängel in der Ausführung hinzuweisen, erachte ich es als eine der wesentlichsten Aufgaben eines guten Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts. Jede anders angefertigte Arbeit sollte bernichtet werden, schon um das Auge nicht zu berletzen und an einen solchen Anblick zu gewöhnen.

Was du thuft, thu gut, thu ganz! Dieser Spruch, meine Herren, sollte auch die Säule der gefammten Grziehung, der geistigen, wie der fittlichen bilden. Er wird heute wohl gelehrt; er findet wohl feine Beachtung bei der Kritik der Arbeit; ich glaube aber, daß er doch in der Erziehung noch nicht diejenige Stelle einnimmt, die er verdient; daß man ihn noch nicht so würdigt und boranftelt, wie man dies thun müßte. Die Urfache dabon liegt meines Grachtens zum Theil darin, daß man auf dem rein geistigen Gebiet nicht in der Lage ist, dem Knaben die Oberflächlichkeit, Gedankenlosigkeit, ja Lüderlichkeit gewiffermaßen greifbar nachweisen zu können. Wenn Sie es bei der Befprechung eines Aufsatzes z. B. auch thun, der Knabe berfteht es nicht boll und ganz. Die Handarbeit giebt aber Gelegenheit, dies sichtbar, greifbar nachweisen zu können.

Der Grundsatz, daß man etwas ganz und gut thun sollte, findet in der Handarbeit also feine leichteste Anwendung. Sollte eine Anleitung auf diesem Felde nicht aber auf die geistige Arbeit bortheilhaft zurückwirken? Sollte sie nicht ihren Einfluß auch auf den Charakter wirklich ausüben? Das ist meine feste Ueberzeugung. In dem fittlichen Organismus hangt auch alles enig zusammen, wie in dem körperlichen. Ich kann es mir nicht denken, daß ein Knabe, wenn er eine körperliche Arbeit gut und fauber ausführt, eine geistige Arbeit oberflächlich oder lüderlich behadelt werde; daß er, wenn er bei jener Arbeit die Ordnung, Bünctlichkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit übt, diese Tugenden des Charakters anderswo außer Acht lassen werde. Ich fühle mich daher tief innerlich bon der Wahrheit dessen überzeugt, daß die gute Handarbeit Ordnung in die ganze Lebensrichtung bringe, also auch einen hohen Einfluß auf die Entwicklung des Charakters ausübe. Ist dies aber der Fall; bildet der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht also nicht nur Hand und Auge, nicht nur den Schönheits- und praktischen Sinn; giebt er nicht nur dem Geist einen bollereren und natürlicheren Gepräge, bildet er nicht nur ein Gegengewicht gegen die einseitige, geistige Ausbildung, sondern bildet er auch den Charakter, den fittlichen Willen: so ist der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht dann auch ein integrierender Bestandtheil der Grziehung; so ist er nothwendig auch eine Schul-Disciplin, ja meine Herren, eine wichtige Schul-Disciplin. Er ist eine Erweiterung der formellen Bildung und füllt zahlreiche Lücken aus, welche der heutige Schulunterricht gänzlich brach liegen läßt.—Bon all diesen Gesichtspunkten muß die rechte Methode des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts ausgehen, wenn sie darauf Anspruch erheben will, boll erzieherisch auf den Knaben einzuwirken.

Wenn Sie, meine Herren, die Methode des Handfertigkeiten-Unterrichts bon diesem Gesichtspunkt aus betrachte, so kann die principielle Erörterung der Frage keinen Schwierigkeiten bereiten, ob Lehrer oder Handwerksmeister denn Unterricht ertheilen sollen? Beide sind nothwendig: der eine, um die Individualität des Knaben und überhaupt feine ganze innere Natur richtig zu erfassen und zu leiten; der andere, um eine technisch richtige und gute Arbeit zu erzielen. Da aber nur einer den Unterricht ertheilen kann, so tritt die Nothwendigkeit her, daß der Handwerksmeister sich entweder das pädagogische Geschick aneigne oder daß der Lehrer die nothwendige manuelle Fertigkeit erlerne. Was ist leichter? Die Beantwortung dieser Frage entscheidet allein über das Princip. Zweifellos ist das letztere leichter, um so mehr als es sich ja nicht um eine Fertigkeit handelt, die für einen handwerksmäßigen Betrieb nothwendig ist, sondern nur um eine elementare.

Darum halte ich denn Lehrer im Princip als geboten für den Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht. Es läßt sich nicht verkennen, daß mancher Handwerksmeister, der eine natürliche Lehrgabe besitzt, gewiß auch den Unterricht ertheilen kann, und die Erfahrung hat ja hinreichend gelehrt, daß wir solche Handwerksmeister besitzen,—ich erachte dies immer nur als Ausnahmefall. Fernerhin kann ich auf der adern Seite trotzdem nicht den Handwerksmeister beim Unterricht ganz entbehren; wir werden ihn bielmehr als technischen Beirath mit großem Nutzen berwenden können, ja müssen, damit wir der Gefahr und Klippe vorbeuge, daß der Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht sich in einer Weise entwickelt, die in ihrer Ausführung sich bon dem technisch richtigen und guten entfert. Dies würde und müßte uns auch die Handwerker zu Gegnern und zwar zu berechtigten

Gegnern machen. Das kann aber um so weniger unsere Absicht sein, als wir unter andern die Arbeitsschule auch als eine Vorstufe für ein besser durchgebildetes Handwerkerthum erachte. Ich muß meinerseits weigertes dies Ziel aufrecht erhalten, wenn es, im Hinblick auf den rein erzieherischen Zweck des Arbeits-Unterrichts, auch nur als ein Nebenziel erscheint.

So machen wir es hier bei uns, d. h. der Handwerksmeister wirkt als technischer Beirath, indem er sich von Zeit zu Zeit von der richtigen und guten Ausführung der Arbeiten überzeugt, und indem er andererseits dem Lehrer wieder als Rathgeber zur Seite steht.

Ich fasse meine Ausführungen hiernach in folgende beiden Theile zusammen, um deren Annahme ich denn Congress bitte:

- Bei dem gegenwärtigen Stadium des Handfertigkeit-Unterrichts ist die Errichtung von thunlichst vielen Arbeitsschulen neben der Lernschule, also auf facultativer Grundlage geboten. Die Methode des Unterrichts muß mit den pädagogischen Grundätzen im Einklang stehen und die Erweiterung der formellen Bildung des Knaben zum Ziele haben.
- Der Unterricht ist im Princip vom Lehrer zu ertheilen, welchem jedoch tüchtige Handwerksmeister als technische Beiräthe zur Seite zu stellen sind.

Meine Herren, wenn Sie heimkehren in Stadt und Land,—legen Sie Hand ans Werk! Helfen Sie uns in unsern Bestrebungen dadurch, daß auch Sie sich mit auf dem Boden der werktätigen Arbeit stellen; lassen Sie dem Gedanken die That folgen, die allein ja den Ausdruck gibt für das Ernftgewollte. Lassen Sie die Saat, die der heutige Congress ausgestreut hat, zu schöner Blüthe und Frucht auch in Ihrer Heimat gedeihen. Es gilt, so unheimlich die Sache auch äußerlich sich annimmt, hier doch um die Mitarbeit an einer großen Erziehungs-Idee, die um ihres rein menschlichen und nationalen Zieles willen auch Befriedigung gewährt in unserer eigenen Brust. Möchte unsere gemeinliche Arbeit aber, die nur dem Triebe entspringt, Menschenglück und Volkswohl zu fördern, reiche Früchte tragen, und zum Wohle des deutschen Volkes, ja zum Wohle der Menschheit geeignet sein!

Borsitzer Professor Biederman: Ich eröffne die Discussion, und ertheile das Wort dem Herrn Hauptlehrer Olm.

Hauptlehrer Olm-Botsdam: Meinen Herren! Ich will zunächst meiner Freude Ausdruck geben, daß der Herr Redner auch der Einrichtung des Jugendhorts Erwähnung gethan hat. Ich gehöre einer Commission an, die dafür zu sorgen hat die Kinder zu beschäftigen, und habe dabei die Erfahrung gemacht, daß die Kinder nicht genug beschäftigt werden können; denn die Spielzeit und der Thätigkeitstrieb der Kinder sind ungemein groß. Sie sind von 2—7 Uhr Nachmittags auf dem Schulhof versammelt und follen, nachdem sie ihre Schularbeiten angefertigt, anderweitig beschäftigt werden. Der Lehrer ist aber nicht in der Lage fortwährend die Kinder zu unterhalten, und es fehlt dann wirklich an einer geeigneten Beschäftigung. Ich halte daher den Handfertigkeit-Unterricht als ganz geeignet für Knabenhort-Aftalten. Die Einrichtung der Knabenhorte ist überhaupt eine segensreiche. Es sind so viele Kinder, die in der schulfreien Zeit sich selbst überlassen sind, und so zu allerlei Rohheiten auf der Straße Gelegenheit finden. Wir sind daher in meiner Heimatsstadt zusammengetreten, um diese ohne Beaufsichtigung und ohne körperliche Pflege aufwachsenden, auf der Straße sich umhertreibenden Kinder in irgend einer Weise zu beschäftigen, und habe zunächst mit einer geringen Anzahl von Schülern angefangen. Die Zahl der Anmeldungen hat sich jedoch so gemehrt, daß wir schon leider eine ablehnende Bräse haben befolgen müssen, weil wir nicht alle Kinder aufnehmen konnten. Jetzt geht man daran, eine zweite Anstalt zu errichten. Da hierzu aber bedeutende Ausgaben nothwendig sind, hat man sich an die hohen Herrschaften gewandt, und gut gedachtem Zwecke 1200 Mark zusammengebracht. Ich bin der Ansicht, daß die Einführung des Handarbeits-Unterrichts in Knabenhorten sehr segensreich sein muß. München hat bereits derartige Einrichtungen. Uns fehlt es noch immer an einer geeigneten Kraft zur Ertheilung des Unterrichts, und wir haben daher beschloffen, einen Lehrer hierzu ausbilden zu lassen. Und dann, glaube ich, wird durch eine derartige Einrichtung eine organische Verbindung der Schule und des Hauses herbeigeführt, die Kinder werden zu einem regelmäßigen Schulbesuch veranlaßt und wir werden durch die Kinder auch auf die Eltern einwirken können. Ich halte den Handfertigkeit-Unterricht ganz geeignet für Knabenhorte, und ich habe mich gefreut, daß diese Meinung auch von so bedeutenden Männern ausgesprochen worden ist.

Landtags-Abgeordneter v. Schenckendorff-Görlitz: Die Frage der Knabenhorte ist auf dem vorjährigen Osnabrücker Handfertigkeitstag ein hervorragender Berathungsgegenstand gewesen, womit der Nachweis geführt ist, daß die Knabenhorte im Rahmen unserer Ziele liegen. Dieselben treffen sich nämlich in dem Begriffe der Erziehung zur Arbeit. Auch wenn es uns längst gelungen sein wird, dem Arbeitsunterricht eine Stelle im Schulorganismus verschafft zu haben, werden die Knabenhorte nicht überflüssig sein, denn der leidige Umstand daß die Kinder außerhalb der Schulzeit in Folge der Beschäftigung der Eltern vielfach ohne Aufsicht sind, wird auch dann noch fortauern. Die Kinder daher dann zu beschäftigen und in nützlichen Dingen zu beschäftigen, die sie für ihr Leben einmal brauchen können, wird immer ein Segen für sie sein, und nichts geringes dazu beitragen, der socialen Verwilderung entgegenzuarbeiten. Möchten neben den Handfertigkeitsschulen daher

auch die Knabenhorte zahlreich im Lande erwachsen und aufblühen; sie werden für jeden Einfichtigen eine Stätte sein, die der besten Unterfütterung würdig ist, weil sie nur positive Maßregeln bilden, der Berkümmernng und Entartung der menschlichen Natur vorzubeugen.

Borfitzender Professor Biedermann: Es hat sich Niemand weiter zum Wort gemeldet, auch hat Niemand die von dem Herren Referenten vorgeschlagenen Thefen angefochten, ich nehme also an, daß der Congreß dieselben angenommen hat.

Es sind noch einige sächfliche Angelegenheiten abzumachen. Das Centralcomite hat sich nach dem in Osnabrück voriges Jahr gefaßten Befchluß zu einen Drittel erneuert. Die Romen der ausgelosten Herren sind folgende:

- Professor Dr. Biedermann in Leipzig,
- Professor Dr. Birch-Hirshfeld in Leipzig,
- Bürgermeister Dahfe in Güftrou,
- Oberbürgermeister Fürbringer in Emden,
- Museums-Director Grunow in Berlin,
- Schul-Director Kunath in Dresden,
- A. Lammers in Bremen,
- Schul-Director Michelfen in Hildesheim,
- Professor Dr. Grasmus Schwab in Wien,
- Oberbürgermeister Gelke in Rönigsberg;
- dabon wiedergewählt die Herren
- Biedermann,
- Birch-Hirshfeld,
- Grunow,
- Kunath,
- Lammers,—
- und zugewählt die Herren
- Oberbürgermeister Breslan in Erfurt,
- Gewerberath Frief in Breslau,
- Th. Klunzinger in Stuttgart,
- Stadtschulrath Krähe in Halle,
- Geh. Sanitätsrath Dr. Krifteller in Berlin,
- Commiffionsrath Benno Milch in Breslau,
- Seminar-Director Dr. Bohle in Dresden,
- Oberbürgermeister Rrufcher in Brandenburg,
- Professor Dr. G. Schuller in Hermanftadt,
- Bürgerfchul-Director Urban in Wien,
- Professor Dr. Weicker in Zwickau.

Von ihnen hat nur Herr Dr. Bohle für jetzt wegen überhäufeter anderer Befchäftigung die Wahl ausgefchlagen.

A. Lammers: Wir haben in letzter Zeit einen warmen Freund unferer Beftrebungen durch den Tod verloren, dessen ich hier gedenken möchte, den Hofrath von Eitelberger in Wien, Schöpfer des dortigen großen Kunst-Gewerbe-Museums. Er befaß ein lebhaftes Interesse an der Thätigkeit unferer Bereinigung, ist aber leider, ehe er selbst für die Sache wirksam sein konnte, heimgegangen. Wir werden uns seiner stets berehungsoll erinnern.

Borfitzender: Lassen Sie uns hoffen, meine Herren, daß durch den heutigen Congreß auch nach allen Theilen Deutchlands hin die schönen Wurzeln und Keime unferer Beftrebungen weiter bepflanzt werden, und thun Sie dafür Jeder an seinem Theile was Sie thun können! Mit diesem Bunfche schließe ich hier die Berfammlng, und bitte die Herren nunmehr Herrn von Schenckendorff zum Schullokal folgen zu wollen.

Während der Borführung der Lehrproben lief von dem Cultus-Minifter Herrn von Goßler folgendes Telegramm an Herrn von Schenckendorff ein:

*Berlin. Die Theilnehmer an dem Congreß für Handfertigkeiten-Unterricht begrüße ich mit den lebhaftesten Wünschen für den gedeichlichen Fortgang ihrer Arbeiten.*

b. Goßler.

Die Berfammlten nahmen die Berlefung des Telegramms mit einem allseitigen lebhaften Brabo auf. Möchte dieser von so berufener Seite dem Congreß noch gugefendete Wunsch ein gutes Borzeichen für das weitere Gelingen dieser Beftrebungen sein.

# Ausstellungs-Bericht.

Ueber die ausgestellten Sachen ist das Folgende zu berichten:

In einer Seitenhalle des Congreß-Saales waren auf zwei langen Tischreihen die von auswärts eingegangenen Arbeiten aufgestellt. Dieselben fesselten die Congreßbesucher in hohem Grade, und legten Zeugnis davon ab, mit welchem Wettstreit die verschiedenen Schulen arbeiten. Durchgehends konnte man eine große Sauberkeit und Präcision in der Ausführung, eine wesentlich gegen früher verbesserte Geschmackrichtung, einen geordneten Stufengang und eine Erweiterung in der Auswahl der Arbeitsobjecte beobachten.

Betreten waren die Arbeitsschulen von Waldenburg in Schlefien, Dresden, Zwickau und Gifek in Kroatien; ferner die von Claufen-Kaas auf Veranlassung der königlich sächsischen Regierung ins Leben gerufenen Hausfleißschulen, und die Glöckerschule zu Hedemora in Schweden. Letztere hatte zwar keine Arbeiten, indeß eine in feinen Zeichnungen ausgeführte, in das Gebiet der Tischlerei (leichte Holzarbeit) fallende Modell-Serie aufgestellt. Endlich hatte der Director der Görlitzer Handfertigkeitschule, Herr Lehrer Reumann, einen von ihm hergestellten Kerbschnitt-Lehrgang, aus einer größeren Reihe von Schnitzmodellen bestehend, aufgestellt.

Einen für deutsche Augen fremdartigen aber doch auch interessanten Eindruck machten die Gifeker Schülerarbeiten. Um nicht mißverstanden zu werden bemerken wir, daß dieselben durchaus sauber und präcis hergestellt waren; sie zeigten indeß eine eigenartige Richtung, und wir wollen deshalb auf dieselben mit einigen Worten beschreibend eingehen, um den Lesern doch wenigstens einen ungefähren Einblick in die Organisation dieser Schule zu geben, welche zugleich die erste ist, welche in Kroatien bis jetzt, und zwar von dem Bürgerchuldirektor Ante Cubaj zu Gifek begründet wurde. Die Beschreibung dürfte vielleicht um so mehr das Interesse erwecken, als in den nachfolgenden Verhandlungen auch Herr Lehrer Gärtig die Grundzüge eines Arbeitsplans für die verschiedenen Altersstufen aufstellte. Es waren aufgestellt:

- I. Papierarbeiten:  
1 Tafel Papierfalten, 2 Tafeln Papierausfchneiden, 1 Tafel Durchfchnüren.
- II. Arbeiten aus Hobelplänen:  
1 Tace.
- III. Arbeiten aus Stroh:  
1 runder Korb.
- IV. Arbeiten aus Borsten:  
1 Kleiderbürste.
- V. Arbeiten aus Weidenruthen:  
1 Bogelneft, 1 Handkörbchen.
- VI. Rohrarbeiten:  
1 Kleiderklopper, 1 Gitzplatte eines Stuhles (Flechtwerk).
- VII. Arbeiten aus Naturabfällen:  
1 Bifitenkartenatace aus Kürbiskörnern, Lampenteller aus Zapfenschuppen, Confole.
- VIII. Papparbeiten:  
1 Körbchen für Handarbeiten, Strickkörbchen, Tace (Hackarbeit).
- IX. Buchbinderarbeiten:  
1 Brofchirtes Bormerkungsbüchel, feifgebundens Brotokoll, Rotizbüchel gebunden in Blüfch.
- X. Sattlararbeiten:  
1 Schultafche.
- XI. Lanblägearbeiten:  
1 Gigarren-und Tabackftänder.
- XII. Spritzarbeiten:  
1 Unterfatz.
- XIII. Ginlegearbeiten:  
1 runde Tischplatte.
- XIV. Modelliren:  
1 Wappen der Stadt Gifek.
- XV. Dreharbeiten:  
1 Strumpfftopfer, Schlüffelhalter, Handtuchhalter.
- XVI. Gilchlerei:  
1 Kleiderrechen.

- XVII. Schnitzarbeiten:  
Kochlöffel, obale Photographierahmen.
- XVIII. Metallarbeiten:  
Datumzeiger.

Den Arbeiten war ein ausführlicher Lehrgang beigelegt, der vier Jahrgänge umfaßt. Hiernach ist die Schule schon seit dem October 1879 eröffnet und mit der Bürgerchule verbunden. Diese wird von Schülern im Alter von 10—14 Jahren besucht, nachdem sie die Volksschule vier Jahre zuvor durchgemacht haben. Die Bürgerchule hat den Zweck, die Vorbildung für Gewerbetreibende, Handelsleute und Landwirthe zu geben. Der Besuch des Handfertigkeits-Unterrichts ist unentgeltlich und nicht obligat. Das erforderliche Werkzeug beschafft die Gemeinde. Die angefertigten Gegenstände werden nach der Jahresausstellung verkauft; 25 pCt. des Verkaufspreises werden zu Schulzwecken zurückbehalten, während 75 pCt. den Eltern der Schüler behändigt werden. Der Unterricht ist Maschinen-unterricht, umfaßt drei Stunden wöchentlich, und wird von pädagogischen Gesichtspunkten geleitet.

Der Lehrplan für die einzelnen Jahrgänge ist dieser:

## I. Jahrgang.

### A. Papierarbeiten und Leinwandarbeiten.

- Papier- und Leinwandfalten:  
Falten quadratischer Papierformen;  
Falten rechteckiger Papierformen;  
Falten bieleckiger Papierformen;  
Falten Falten von Serbieten.
- Geometrisches Ein- und Ausschneiden;  
Einfaches Einschneiden;  
Einfaches Ausschneiden.
- Ausschneiden gefalteter Papierformen.
- Befchnüren.
- Freiflechten.

### B. Arbeiten von Hobelpähnen, Stroh, Borften, Weidenruthen, Rohr und Naturabfällen.

- Arbeiten von Hobelpähnen:  
Beflechten in quadratischer und rechteckiger Form. Befertigung von Tacen, Körbchen, Rahmen u. f. f.
- Arbeiten von Stroh:  
Reinigung und Färbung des Strohes. Flechten von Bändern und Zöpfen. Flechten der Körbe, Fußwischer, Bienenkörbe u. dergl.
- Arbeiten aus Borften:  
Borften- und Roßhaarflechten. Binden von Bürsten.
- Arbeiten aus Weidenruthen:  
Befchneiden und Herrichten der Weidenruthen. Korbflechten.
- Rohrarbeiten:  
Das Biegen des Rohres. Stuhlflechten. Befertigung von Ubrhaltern, Zeitungshaltern, Blumenftandern u. f. f. aus Rohr.
- Arbeiten aus Naturabfällen:  
Sammeln verschiedener Naturabfälle und Anwendung derselben zu Schatullen, Confolen, Körbchen u. dergl.

### C. Papparbeiten.

In diesen Arbeiten wird der Lehrgang des Leipziger Lehrers Herrn Kummer befolgt, dessen 104 Modelle sich Herr Director Cubaj als Wegweiser anschaffe.

### D. Tapezierarbeiten.

Auffpannen von Papier, Leinwand und Leder auf Bappe und Holz. Umnähen derselben. Befertigung von Mappen, Schultafchen u. f. f.



## II. Lahrgang.

### E. Laubfägearbeiten.

Das Halten der Säge und fügen von Gradern und Krümmen; Berfertigung geometrischer Formen nach bestimmten Maßstäben und Skizzen. Diese Arbeiten werden nur insofern gepflegt, als sie eine Vorbereitung zum Einlegen sind.

### F. Einlegearbeiten.

Färben der Abfälle bei Laubfägearbeiten und Einlegen derselben auf ihre frühere Stelle. Das Sägen doppelter Furniere und wechselfeitiges Einlegen derselben. Politur und Spritzarbeiten.

### G. Modellieren.

Zubereitung des Lehms für das Modellieren. Berfertigung des Würfels, der Kugel, des Kegels und der Halbkugel als Vorbereitung zum Modellieren. Auflegen kleinerer Flächen auf größere; Abrunden ihrer Kanten; Weiterbau des einfachen Ornaments. Berfertigung von Onksabgüssen; Glacieren und Brennen derselben.

## III. Lahrgang.

### H. Dreharbeiten.

Die Theile des Drehapparats; das Schleifen der Meißel. Zubereitung des Holzes zu Dreharbeiten. Abrunden und Glätten des Holzes; Einfräsen von Vertiefungen u. f. f. Berfertigung von Stoppeln, Walgen, Griffen, Schlüssel-, Handtuch und Kleiderhaltern u. f. f.

### I. Tischlerarbeiten.

Die verschiedenen Holzgattungen und ihr Preis. Die Werkzeuge des Tischlers und ihre Bezugsquellen. Schleifen der Tischlerwerkzeuge. Hobeln, Schneiden, Stemmen, Bohren und Leimen des Holzes. Die verschiedensten Holzverbindungen. Berfertigung und Ausbesserung der leichteren Hausgeräte.

### K. Holzchnitzen.

Das Zubereiten des Holzes zum Schnitzen. Die verschiedenen Schnitzmeißel und ihr Schleifen. Das Glätten, Abrunden der Kanten und Einfräsen. Das Schnitzen von Laubfägearbeiten; selbständiges Schnitzen nach Modellen und Vorlagen.

### L. Metallarbeiten.

#### a) Drahtarbeiten:

Das Brennen und Grademachen des Drahtes; das Krümmen des Drahtes in verschiedenen Winkeln. Flechten von Ketten und Berfertigen von Hafteln, Sicherheitsadeln, Pfeifenstecher u. f. f.

#### b) Blecharbeiten:

Die verschiedenen Blechgattungen, ihre Zubereitung und ihr Preis. Das Schneiden und Sägen, Rieten und Löthen.

## IV. Lahrgang.

### M. Berfertigung verschiedener Lehrmittel, Spielzeug- Ausbesserung beschädigter Hausgeräte.

Ein völlig zutreffendes Urtheil über die Organisation dieser Schule zu gewinnen ist selbst für den eingeweihten Fachmann nicht leicht möglich. Um ein solches zu fällen, müßte man die Schule selbst mit ihrer Methode einfassen, die arbeitenden Schüler beobachten, und auch die gefammte übrige Schulrichtung nebst den Lebensverhältnissen des Landes zuvor kennen. Für deutsche Verhältnisse würden wir allerdings eine größere Concentration der Lehrfächer wünschen. Im allgemeinen dürften die schwedisch-Räas'sche Richtung,

welche borwiegend nur die Tifchlerei (Holzbearbeitung mit theilweifer Schnitzerei) pflegt, und die kroatifche als Gegenfätze einander gegenüberftehen. Zedenjalls konnte der Congreß dem Leiter der Siffeker Schule aber nur dankbar dafür fein, daß er ihm einen Ginblick in die Organifation derfelben eröffnet hat. Die Anerkennung einer methodifchen Ordnung wird man diefer Schule ungeachtet der mehr concentrirten Richtung, welche in Deutchland herrfcht, doch immerhin nicht berfagen können.

Pamphlet on the Culture and Manufacture of Tobacco:

By Charles Harvell.

Price, One Shilling.

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## Contents

### Preface.

The object of this pamphlet is to draw the attention of farmers and others to the fact that Tobacco culture will in all probability become one of the best paying industries in this Colony. I have pointed out the only and surest means of procuring the seeds of first-class plants. I have touched clearly, concisely, and truthfully upon planting, the bad quality of cigars sold in these colonies, the way they are made, and the class of material of which they are composed. After I have visited the tobacco lands up North, I intend to enlarge this pamphlet, for then I shall be qualified to write from personal knowledge as to the capabilities of the soil for planting purposes. In the meantime, if this little canoe is sufficiently buoyant to float over the broad waters, and avoid shipwreck, I am content. Sae, flow gently, sweet Afton, and dunna droon it.

*i.e.* Ye planters who have started at the wrong end.

Wellington,

16th March, 1886.

## I.—A Manufacturer's Experience.

vignette

TTThe way to produce a superior class of locally-grown leaf tobacco, and the manufacture thereof, form a subject well worthy attention. At present the Tobacco Act of 1879, and the amended Acts of later dates, are so prohibitive and oppressive that persons who are thoroughly qualified to carry out tobacco culture to a successful issue do not feel disposed to enter into it and be heavily taxed whilst experimenting as to the best means of producing the superior classes of leaf at the lowest cost of production. However, there is a change coming, and while it is slowly moving onward I would have some enterprising person take the initiative in this industry, by carefully endeavouring to produce a prime tobacco seed thoroughly acclimatised.

It is a well-known fact that the early growers in Victoria rushed into planting in such a thoughtless manner that many of them lost considerably, at the same time doing the industry incalculable harm. They had no knowledge of tobacco culture, or where the seed they were planting came from. It was tobacco seed, that was sufficient—just sufficient for failure.

As far as I have seen the small experimentalists here are travelling at a slower pace, but over the same ground journeyed over by the Victorians, in proof of which I will state a few cases in point. Some years since I received samples of leaf from growers in the province of Nelson. Enclosed in one of the samples was a note intimating that the holder would dispose of all the leaf in hand at eighteen pence per lb. It was not worth one cent per cwt. On another occasion I was informed that a person at Papakura was growing leaf of superior quality and manufacturing a splendid sample of goods in the shape of cigars, cake tobacco, shag, and snuff. Feeling considerably interested in the tobacco business in all its branches, I induced my informant to procure for me samples of the goods. In due course they arrived. I certainly was thoroughly astonished at the would-be manufacturer's stupidity in attempting to overcome one of the impossibilities of tobacco making. The hitch

occurred in endeavouring to produce the four lines from one kind of leaf. Nobody can do it, that is, and produce articles of any commercial value. The cigars were of a greenish cast, evidently made from unripe and half-cured leaf, rolled as hard as wire nails and as smooth, with about a wire nail's capacity for smoking. When burnt on a fire they emitted a stench that would have strangled an elephant. The other goods were about equal to the cigars. A manufacturer can produce cigars and snuff from one kind of leaf. He can also make shag and cake from one sample of leaf; but he cannot make cigars, cake and shag tobaccos from any one kind of leaf extant. Good cake and shag are returned only from one kind of leaf, called Virginia ground leaf or leaf from that seed, nor can any person make saleable cake or shag from the best or any other quality of Havana leaf. Many growers have shown leaf to me, and asked my opinion as to its quality and value. In most cases my answer has been: "It will do very well for sheep wash, and is just worth sheep wash prices and not a penny more." Some years since a person in Wellington asked my opinion about the quality of some leaf, grown, I think he said, by some Chinamen on the east coast of this island. My opinion being unfavorable he abandoned the idea of converting it into cigars. As well he did so, for the leaf was grown from low class South Sea Island seed, which produces a coarse large, thick veined, yellowish brown leaf, utterly unfit for manufacturing purposes. There is tobacco seed and tobacco seed. A single seed from a first-class yarrow plant would be worth £500 to any person in New Zealand, providing it would mature; the leaf, if sound, would be worth from fifteen to twenty shillings per lb. There are other seeds that I would not give five cents for five hundred bushels of them. Such being the case it must be patent to anyone that to succeed a planter must start with the proper seeds for specific purposes, supplemented by the requisite knowledge of planting, which can only be obtained by visiting the tobacco-growing countries. You certainly can obtain seeds from your consuls and friends in America; but I have seen so many failures from seeds so procured, that I would not trust to them. Consuls and friends, though living in tobacco-growing countries, may not know the difference between Bull Tongue and Cuba. One step of that kind would entail years of profitless labor, with failure, utter and complete, in the end. I was once a victim to this kind of misplaced confidence. It occurred in this way: Being in the manufacturing business, and at that particular time unable to get leaf from any of the surrounding colonies to please me, as I wanted to make a cigar which would sell for at least £20 per thousand, I decided to send to San Francisco for a bale of the best Havana. After sending three times, at the end of the eleventh month from the date of the first order, I received a bale of leaf laid on the cigar tables ready for making up. It cost 15s. 6d. per lb; it was a medium sample of leaf, but not anything like what I ought to have received for the money. Not satisfied, and determined to succeed, I sent an order accompanied with strict instructions as to the leaf required. In due time I received a bale; the first was medium good, the second was decidedly rotten. The agent who bought the leaf was a general seeds merchant, totally unacquainted with leaf tobacco.

To make the matter worse for me the holder would not ship it unless paid for on the spot. That bale was a dead loss. Twelve months' time and £140 lost by sending for what I ought to have gone and purchased. When a person has decided to do anything, and has carefully weighed the chances for and against the undertaking, it is very unsatisfactory afterwards to discover that the first move spoilt the whole scheme. Such was the case, however. Had I gone and purchased the leaf, the cost would have been less and the undertaking would have succeeded, instead of which it "treed the coon."

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## II.—Planting.

vignette

One of the greatest drawbacks to planting in this colony is the difficulty of obtaining first-class seeds of the best tobaccos grown in other countries. It requires the same amount of capital and acreage to produce a given quantity of leaf worth fifteen shillings per lb., and leaf worth sixpence per lb. I do not think that there can be two opinions as to which a planter should produce. Even supposing a few months and several hundreds of pounds are expended in procuring the seeds, one crop would amply recoup any planter for the outlay. I wish to impress upon you a few simple facts, which are: If you wish to make planting a payable industry in New Zealand go to the plantations and get the seeds, and no longer trust to seeds that came from you know not where, and the quality of which you cannot ascertain until the season is over. All qualities of tobacco seeds resemble each other so closely that only an expert can tell the good from the bad, and he can only do so whilst the seeds are fresh, by a process known only to himself. Once more, if you want good seeds go and get them, even then you may have some trouble to procure them; planters do not readily part with their best seeds. On arriving where you purpose obtaining seed take particular notice of all things that in any way relate to tobacco planting; procure all the information possible about the seed, seed beds, shoots, and transplanting; how the plants are tended during growth; the time and manner of cutting, drying, and packing for market. The above

cautious proceedings are recommended for the reason that all kinds of seeds are not manipulated the one way. Also note the soil, climate, variation of temperature, and the tabulated record of the rain form of former years, and so acquire some knowledge as to the climatic influences upon the various classes of leaf. Secure your seeds from healthy, fully matured plants; fill a phial with them; cork tight, and seal; then I think you will have something that will become valuable to future planters of New Zealand. On your return select the proper localities and prepare your seed beds; pour the seeds you intend planting out on a sheet of glass; shake them down into one layer; place another sheet of glass on the top of the seeds, press the two sheets together, cant them to an angle of 45 deg., then shake them; all the small seeds that fall out put in the fire. Of those left between the glasses, select, with the aid of a microscope, the finest and smoothest, plant them, destroy the others. Planting and curing the leaf, as it is called in these colonies, is about as simple as drying hay. Here is planting from the seed bed to the packed case for market. The seed beds should be good sandy loam, well worked and nicely broken up; two inches of the surface should be one-third wood ashes, and two-thirds road dust or riddled loam, thoroughly amalgamated. The bed should not be more than four feet in width, but as long as you like. When the spring frosts have disappeared take a quart of road dust, dry and pass it through a fine riddle; spread it on a tray; put the seeds in cold water for five minutes, then drain and scatter them over the dust; stir it up until the seeds are well mixed; sow this very care-fully over the bed; add an over dressing of wood ashes, very thin. If the ground is parched water it after sundown; put up a post at each end of the bed; add a ridge pole. At night throw a fly over to guard against a late frost; cross plough and harrow a field, then with a plough set shallow, so that it only scratches, mark off the field into four feet right angled spaces; for very tine leaf the spaces are less. When the plants are about five inches high dibble one in at each angle, do this in the evening or on a cloudy day; after go over the field, and where a plant has failed, pull it and insert another. If the worms become troublesome pick them off night and morning, or turn turkeys in, they will clear the plants and do very little injury to them; keep the field perfectly clear of weeds and the soil loose; when the plants begin to bunch at the top they are about to blossom; pinch off the tops and remove the bottom course of leaves, dry them. The yellowish green looking cakes called "Golden Bar," and the light mild cigarette tobaccos are manufactured from this half ripe rubbish. The plant left for seed will indicate when the leaf is ripe. Be sure and cut before the frosts arrive, for, though tobacco will stand heat, wind, and rain, frost kills, and wherever touched, that portion is valueless. For a cutting implement take two feet of an old scythe blade; straighten the shank and put on a handle; curve the point like a shinty stick; cut with this or a bill hook; cut on a hot day and allow the plants to remain where they fall until the leaves have wilted, then carry them to the shed. Do not place them in a heap or they will heat and spoil; split the stalks up the centre, leaving half the leaves on each portion of stalk; tie the two butts of each half stalk about six inches apart. The drying shed must be well roofed and the walls about ten feet high. Lay four inch battons on the flat from wall-plate to wall-plate, lengthwise the shed, leaving fifteen inch spaces; put a support across the centre if required. The ends of the shed should be movable to allow a free current of air to pass through the leaf. Hang the plants over the battons, leaving a few inches between each stalk. There will be some very hot days when the plants cannot be touched without breaking them; when they can be handled turn them once a day. As soon as the leaf is brown and without green spots it is ready for packing. Some day when the leaf is in case—that is when it can be handled without breaking—pull the leaves from the stalks, place eleven of them together and tie the butts with a leaf. That is called a hand. Pack in alternate right angled layers in a case sufficiently large to allow the leaves to lie at full length. I will conclude this chapter by stating that tobaccos of the better sorts will thrive in this colony for one good and sufficient reason, which is this: That the entire surface soil in New Zealand is impregnated with lime, and that is one of the constituents that tobacco cannot get along without.

### **III.—Scraps from American Factories Worked up in Europe.**

When Miss Phely spoke of visiting the kitchen to inspect things, and to ascertain what Aunt Chloe was doing, St. Clair dissuaded her, by saying that she might find the ancient goddess washing the dishes with the foot of one of her old stockings. The thought of things being done on such a gigantic footing, I have no doubt, often interfered with Miss Phely's dinner in that house. What I am about to state, relative to American Tobacco Scraps, may also spoil many dinners, by interfering with a number of after-dinner smokes, and the flourish of not a few smooth, fine-looking weeds, whose inner parts have been resurrected from the spittoon and floor. However, if facts will induce consumers to go in for more, expensive and cleaner locally-grown and manufactured smokes, I am content. Cigar makers, in the States generally operate in large rooms. A spittoon is placed between each pair. The greater portion of the operatives chew tobacco, all smoke, and many take snuff.

The result of all this is copious expectoration—old quids and cigar stumps. Sometimes these things find their way into the receptacles placed to receive them, oftener they reach the floor. In the early morning, prior to the arrival of the operatives, striper boys remove the shorts, empty the spittoons, and sweep the floor. All the sweepings are put into barrels, old quids, stumps of cigars, and other things, until large quantities of this scavange is collected. Then it is purchased by a cousin of the scavenger man, he consigns this "Araby the blessed" to European manufacturers, and they cover it with a decent-looking wrapper, but of very indifferent quality. If light colored cigars are the fashion, they are made light; if dark are leading, they are dyed. They are then dried in heated rooms (which improves bad cigars by making them worse). When dried they are packed in Honduras cedar boxes, stamped, and covered with spurious Havana labels, shipped foreign, and sold in bond in the Colonies at from 30s to £6 per 1000. Even at the above quotations shippers realise large profits, which is not to be wondered at, when they can purchase sufficient of those second innings for \$50, to make two hundred thousand (gutter gems

Good name.

). In pulling the gems asunder you will often find hairs, chips, paper, matches, lumps of dried paste, rags, nails, and leather, in fact a regular marine shop stock. The inside of the gems are rolled by machinery, and the operatives, men and women, are so poorly paid, that they cannot spare the time to remove any of the above mentioned substances. Now, observe the difference. Savellanos or good Renas are made of tobacco worth from 12s 6d to 15s per lb, and they cannot be landed here for less than £16 10s per 1000. But then they are made by operatives who earn from £2 15s to £4 per week, and they are particularly careful not to allow any substance to get into the fillers that would injure the flavor of the cigars. Many lavender kidded exquisites twirl their sticks, flourish their resurrections and exclaim—"By Jove, George, splendid cigar, by Jove." "I have no doubt they pay sixpence for them, and have them out of the right box. That only proves the Good Samaritan quality of the seller, and lavender kid's deficiency in smoke lore—

Where ignorance is *folly*,  
"Tis bliss to be *wise*.

## IV.—Maoris as Planters.

vignette

There is a partially smothered, smouldering fire, deep in the hearts of the Maoris of this Island, that may, if any serious difficulty arises between England and any of the Great Powers, burst forth at a moment's notice, spreading death and destruction of property over a large area of country. If this widespread desolation, or rather, the chances of its ever occurring, can be lessened, I consider it the duty of all right thinking men to use every means at their disposal to prevent such a dreadful catastrophe, and so preserve from utter annihilation one of the best aboriginal races of the present day. There have been many schemes tried in most new countries for the civilisation of native possessors of the soil. Prominent amongst the processes were Christianity, whiskey, land sharking, and the sword. About the time the Ab's became thoroughly conversant with some of the most complicated principles of civilisation, there were none of them left. The other principles of civilisation—and, I believe, by far the best—are labor, continuous labor, and the school master abroad; a big bag of dollars as a result of the labor, and cultivated intelligence as a return for the teaching. In the case of the Maori, there is something of them left, and a tall, broad, strong something it is, too. And holding as they do, large areas of the best, agricultural lands of the Island, who are in a better position to become tobacco planters than they? And planters they will become after it has been proven by experiments, outside their holdings, that prime leaf will grow here. There certainly must be some grand tobacco country for the best qualities of leaf up the North Cape way. There are people that say Maoris will not stick at work day after day and month after month. If this is so or not, I am not qualified to say, never having seen the Maori where the full dress is a tomahawk neat. I have, however, read everything about them I could get hold of, and the readings have convinced me that in the old days, at any rate, they were remarkably keen traders, and I am half inclined to believe, are so yet. Here is a little anecdote as an illustration, related by a French gentleman who was present. "In the early days of Akaroa, a priest on a proselyting expedition at a pah held service, sprinkled the heads with holy water, and gave the old chief a blanket. A few days after a baptist performed, and gave the chief two blankets. Some time after the priest returned and held mass. The old chief remained outside looking on. After service, the priest asked him why he had not entered. Then the old sinner opened his budget. 'See, first time you come you give me one blanket, ole one, you put water on my head ! kapi! Bime-by noder man come, he give me two blankets, ole

ones, he put water on my head ! kapi! kapi! Now (holding up three fingers), if you give me three blankets, new ones, you can put water on my head ! kapi! kapi! kapi!" The priest smiled and gave in."Now, I maintain, that that old copperhead displayed a considerable amount of business capacity. He did not understand much about the water-sprinkling business, but he knew how to get six blankets a long way below cost price.  
vignette

## V—PUBLISHED IN THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL INDUSTRIES.

Wellington,

15th July, 1880.

*G*Gentlemen,—I respectfully beg leave to call your attention to a few of the clauses of the Tobacco Act of 1879, that will prevent capitalists from introducing tobacco culture and the manufacture of cigars and tobacco into the Colony. I submit a few amendments for your consideration :—

- Reduction of manufacturers' license fee.
- Reduction of duty on leaf grown in the Colony.
- Reduction of duty on imported leaf.[Note, this to be reduced until good leaf is grown in the Colony, then a protective tariff.]

I am, &c.,  
Chas. Harvell.

Clause 5th, Act 1879. A yearly license fee of £50 is a tax that will press unfairly upon the small manufacturers, who may perhaps be engaged in only one branch of the business, that is making cigars by hand labor. Under such conditions they would lose about 20 per cent of raw material, through their inability to utilise the scraps, stems, and shorts from the cigar tables, or the waste from badly packed cases. On the other hand, capitalists, running large concerns, fitted with all the latest improvements in machinery for cutting, grinding, and pressing, lose absolutely nothing. Suggested amendments clause 5. Issue licenses, monthly, quarterly or yearly, at so much per head, for operatives engaged in converting raw leaf tobacco into articles of consumption.

Apprentices, to serve the first year of their time free of license Clause 7—Let the applicant for a license enter into a bond, himself in the sum of £500. Clause 12—The duty on cigars, cigarettes, tobacco, and snuff manufactured from tobacco grown in the Colony ought to be only 6d per lb, and the duty on imported leaf tobacco, 2s per lb.

Manufacturers who may desire to produce medium or superior classes of goods, will be obliged to use an equal quantity of local grown and imported leaf, at least, I think so. I arrive at the above conclusion, because I have never seen any leaf grown in any of the Australian Colonies, or New Zealand, that could be made up and give satisfactory results, unless mixed with imported leaf.

Tobacco grown in the Colonies from the best imported seed will require careful cultivation for some time before it becomes thoroughly acclimatised, and equal in quality to the leaf produced in the country from whence the seed was obtained. Therefore, a considerable time must elapse before the New Zealand planters will be able to shut out the imported manufactured goods, and raw leaf. In the interim planters should cultivate the best leaf, and none other. The best samples of leaf are grown only in the West Indian Islands (excepting Lattekea, an Eastern leaf, that Englishmen would not smoke). The next best is a leaf called Florida Havana, produced from Havana seed planted in the State of Florida. There are other kinds and qualities of leaf grown from Florida in the South to Connecticut in the North. Florida Havanna, I believe, would grow in favorable localities anywhere between the North Cape and the Bay of Islands. Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky might be cultivated at the Bay of Islands and along the East Coast up to Hawkes Bay, or perhaps to Wellington. Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts seed leaf ought to grow in Marlborough, Nelson, Canterbury, and part of Otago. The prices of American leaf in the States range from \$3 per lb for the Southern dow to 10 cents for the poorest Northern. An acre of fair land ought to yield about a ton of leaf—some seasons perhaps less—one and a half tons are very often grown on prime land. The very best Yarra leaf, grown in Cuba is made into cigars that sell for £50 per thousand. Is there any leaf grown in any of the Australian Colonies, and made into cigars which would realise £5 per thousand in any market in the world ? Think of it!

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## VI.—Miscellaneous.

vignette

FFake Tobacco-making is a costly affair and can be made to pay only in a large establishment, the requisites for which are—hydraulic presses, skilled operatives, a large and constant supply of the right kind of leaf, and a very skilful manager, which means locking up a considerable amount of capital as dead stock. This I think is an outlay that had better be avoided until the fact is thoroughly established that leaf for tobacco-making purposes will grow here and yield a profit to the growers. The leaf for cake tobacco-making purposes is long, broad, thick, and gummy, yields heavily, and is generally allowed to retune for three years; sold in the States at from 5 to 20 cents per lb. (wholesale, of course). Bear in mind this leaf is fit for cake and twist tobaccos only; made into a cigar and smoked, the stench would make a bed bug sick unto death, and the smoker ditto. A cigar factory can be run on a very small capital. A supply of leaf, some tables, cutting boards, knives, paste pots, barrels for fillers a few cigar makers, and the concern is afloat. Cigars should never be dried in close heated stove or pipe rooms, nor packed in boxes until they are a month old. Shelve them in a dry room, five feet from the floor and upwards; keep them there for six months, at least, before placing them in the market. There is no dead stock in cigars, the longer they are kept the better they become; a very sharp flavoured cigar becomes pleasanter with age. The names of the various cigar leafs are—Yarra, Havana, Cuba, Florida Havana, St. Domingo, St. Jago, Porto Rico, Mavsville, Kentucky, Pennsylvania Seed, Connecticut Seed, Massachusetts Seed, Esmarelda, and German Strip, price from 1s. to 25s. per lb. There is a great deal more to be said upon this subject; at present I am condensing as much as possible; some other time I may open out.

### HOW TO SMOKE A CIGAR.

When I say a cigar, I mean a twenty pounder (£20), nothing less, to those who can get them, which is not at present an easy matter in New Zealand. One hour after dinner enter your smoking den, turn all others out and lock the door; remove your coat, collar, and boots, unbutton your vest, and one other button if necessary; draw your rocker up to the grate and drop into it; with a sharp knife cut about an eighth of an inch off the cigar; cut clean and carefully to avoid breaking the wrapper which may happen if the cigar is as dry as it ought to be; take the cigar gingerly between the thumb and finger, do not press it or you may crack the wrapper; now insert the end between your teeth, if the lips are not blubbers, if they are, then between the lips only. Light, up, but not from a match, candle, or gas jet—light from ignited punk or chinese fire stick; put your feet on the fender, mantelpiece, or ridgepole, anyhow, get them up to your satisfaction, and have them off your mind; then throw yourself back in the rocker and start on a voyage to discover the exquisite flavor of that twenty pounder. Do not chew the end of the weed like a porker chewing a straw, nor puff as if you were smoking for a wager; smoke gently, very gently, do not take more than three draws without removing the cigar. Occasionally throw your head back, shut one eye, open one corner of your mouth and produce a miniature Mount Etna on the burst. Never knock the ash off, and if the cigar is perfectly dry and smoked slowly, it will not fall off, cigars smoke much better with the ash on than off. Never allow yourself to be disturbed whilst smoking. If the house takes fire see that cigar out to the last inch and a quarter, throw that, away; if the house does not take fire you may throw your head back, half close your eyes, and pass a very pleasant half-hour in a smoker's paradise. Whisky and the other We are not wanted on this scene.

### CIGARETTE PAPER.

Most people are under the impression that cigarette paper is made from rice straw; more likely from old rags and old lint from battlefields and other places. There is a substance in this colony which, I believe, would make splendid cigarette paper; that substance is waste tow from the flax mills. There is a paper mill in the country, I believe, why not try the tow. The consumption of cigarette paper in the colonies is considerable, and the trade worth securing, I should think.

### MANURE.

Rubbish from stables and barn yards, which has been exposed to rain and sun, until the greater portion of the ammonia and other stimulants are lost, will not do for tobacco lands. Dig compost pits, not deeper than five feet, otherwise as large as you like; brick and face with cement. Melt mutton suet, whilst hot stir in enough pulverized whiting to make a good thick paint; stir, keep it hot, and apply to the cement with a stiff brush; this stops the pores in the cement. Take two boards five feet long, six inches wide and one inch thick; nail them

together, flat and edge flush; stand this in the corner of the vat; put a little hand pump in here. Burn all the old tobacco stalks; put the ash under cover and keep it dry; put a layer of barnyard and stable manure into the pit every day; sprinkle a few pounds of lime over the manure, not enough to set the pit on fire, but just sufficient to shorten the the straw; add any smashed up bones, old boots or leather, chopped up, and fowl's droppings; scatter them over the manure; throw on enough water, or kitchen slops, which is better, to moisten the straw; two hours after cover with a couple of inches of the stalk ash. When the liquor begins to make, punch some holes through the compost with a crowbar or pointed stick, pump up the liquor and throw it over the compost. When you want to use the manure mix it until it absorbs as much of the liquor as possible. Fall or spring (when used), spread this over the land and plough in immediately day by day. The liquor left in the vat mix into a thick mortar, with rich spongy loam. Dig a hole in clayey ground, put the paste into the hole; cover with a waterproof cover of earth or wood until wanted for the seed bed; mix to a thin paste with water spread over the bed and dig in; roof the compost, pit to keep out the rain. To a fairly intelligent man the above is sufficient. Compost made this way is a great recouper for tobacco lands.

At the late Industrial Exhibition in Wellington there was leaf tobacco, exhibited, I think, by one of the Northern Companies. Understand, I do not want to thrust a knife injuriously into any portion of the tobacco industry in the colony. Far from it. The leaf was well grown, of good color, not worm eaten, and thoroughly dried; about equal in value and quality to Maysville Kentucky. From the appearance of the sample exhibited I am convinced that the soil on which it was grown would produce a much finer and more costly article. I think the leaf was lacking in saltpetre. This constituent can be added to leaf; but as it is very easy to overdo it and spoil the leaf, I had better not explain the operation. There are processes for softening the rank flavor of low class tobaccos, and to give a white ash to dark burning leaf; but the leaf so manipulated is no imitation of a superior quality of tobacco, it is only a poor leaf slightly improved and nothing more. My advice to growers—sell all the coarse rank leaf on hand and produce no more of it; procure some first-class seed at any cost; nurse and watch the growing plants carefully as the Alchemists of old watched their bubbling crucibles, and you will find, or I am much mistaken, what they did not find, success at the bottom. Keep at this until you have produced leaf that an honest practical cigar maker, one that has seen and knows something about the smoke world, pronounces to be prime, pack that carefully and send it to London, the market of the world. If the right thing it will be stamped with the Hall Mark of competition. Once marked, the quality of the leaf is guaranteed to manufacturers in all parts of the world.

dragon vignette

Observations on the Manufacture of Cheese, Butter, and Bacon in New Zealand.

By William Bowron

Wilson & Horton, Peintees, Auckland Queen and Wyndham Streets. MDCCCLXXXIII.

## Cheese and Butter Factories.

FROM a combination of circumstances the demand for dairy produce in England is ever on the increase. Passing by the other great centres of population, London alone adds to her teeming millions nearly 100,000 annually. From this cause alone her demands are constantly increasing, and her supplies from domestic sources are decreasing. There are large milk condensing factories now in operation which require 15,000 gallons of milk per day. That quantity of milk is equivalent to nearly 1,900 tons of cheese per annum. Then there are other causes which diminish the supply of cheese and butter. Owing to the strict sanitary regulations of London few cows are now kept within the city; the consequences are that millions of gallons of milk are drawn constantly from the Shires where the principal supplies of cheese and butter are made. This, in my opinion, presents a fine opportunity for New Zealand to step in and supply the want. Through the mildness of this climate, and the fertility of the virgin soil, New Zealand for dairy purposes is preferable to either England or America.

The advantages of the factory over small dairies are many. Twenty small dairies would require twenty sets of appliances and twenty persons to superintend, whereas one factory could take all their milk, and one person superintend the whole operations. By this method a vast amount of labour is saved, and a better quality of cheese is produced. No doubt in large private dairies, say of 80 to 100 cows, cheese can be made to equal any factory cheese, both in quality and size.

My next observation is on the cows. The question has often been proposed, "What breed of cows is the best for dairy purposes?" I always considered the cow-keepers of London excellent authorities. They say the Dutch cow will give the greatest quantity, but the Alderney the richest quality. I have always found the fine Durham Shorthorn and Devon cows the best for general purposes. They breed fine oxen, milk well, and make good beef when their milking qualities fail.

It may be interesting to estimate the value of one cow. In England we have no difficulty to do this, nor do I



think we can get far out in New Zealand. In all estimates of this kind we must take into account the quality of the cow, and the pasture in which she feeds. The old proverb runs, "Milk enters in at the mouth."

One factory in Holland with 600 cows reports the average per day 1,500 gallons. A dairy in Friesland (Holland) states their cows average during the season 850 gallons each. In one year a London dairy averaged per cow 730 gallons.

A gentleman in America reports the average yield of his cows at 680 gallons per annum. From that quantity of milk he produced 6 cwt. of cheese. I may remark that in England and America they can calculate upon grass for six months only; here in New Zealand we calculate upon grass for eight or nine months. My impression is that your cows during 40 weeks will average not less than two gallons per day. I have stated this frequently in public meetings, and have been told that my estimate is below the mark. Two gallons per day is 560 per annum. Well, place the figures at 560, that quantity, at 4d. per gallon, will give the farmer say £9 for each cow. But how stands the factory? 560 gallons of milk represent five cwt. of cheese. Dispose of that at 6½d. per lb., that will give the factory for each cow £15. Now, take a factory of 600 cows; each cow produces five cwt., that is 3,000 cwt. of cheese. Take that quantity at 6½d. per lb. and you have the season's yield in a round sum of £9,000. Of this sum the farmers receive £5,400, leaving a balance for the factory of £3,600 to pay working expenses and pay a dividend.

It may be said that all estimates appear beautiful in figures, but what are the facts? There are few good farmers in England who do not realise £20 per cow per annum, and there are some whom I know who have averaged £24 per cow, and through good management their cows have bought their farms with the produce.

The next point is the manager. We may build factories and supply large quantities of milk, but the success of the enterprise depends upon the skill and experience of the manager. This, at present, is the greatest difficulty we have to contend with here, and there is no way of removing it except by securing a few of the best men we can find in England or America. It matters not where they come from if they have skill and years of experience. Then they will know how to adapt their methods to changing seasons and circumstances. Of all points this *must* be strictly attended to; if not, disappointment and loss will be the sure result. At the commencement, wages must not be the consideration. A few good men will soon teach others. Every factory will be a school, where farmers' sons and daughters, if they please, may be taught the art and mystery of cheese-making. A factory for a dairy of 600 cows would require four men, and one to look after the pigs. £450 would be required for wages. To meet that at least 600 pigs would be fattened, the profit from which would not be less than 30s. per head. That would give £900 to pay all wages and working expenses. In England, for pig fattening, the whey from the milk of each cow is valued at 50s.

The next point of importance is the delivery of milk. This is rather an urgent question. There are some who think the factories should collect the milk. This would be a difficult matter for any company to manage, and it would be found impracticable. Butter factories may collect the milk. A few hours with them is immaterial, but cheese factories must have their milk in early. Those at the greatest distance would have to rise soon after midnight to get their milk ready for the collector. In connection with this point there is another matter of grave importance. Farmers contend that once a day is sufficient to deliver milk. I hold it is not. In cold weather, if you have confidence in the integrity of all who supply milk, it may do, but in warm summer weather it is impossible for all to deliver their milk sweet and fit for cheese-making purposes; and, let it be remembered, that 10 gallons of milk slightly turned would spoil 500 gallons. There are other reasons why it should be delivered twice every day. In hot weather it is absolutely necessary to run the evening's milk and make cheese twice every day. And it regularly occurs that the night's milk is made into cheese before 7 a.m. to prevent too much acidity. The best cheese-maker in the world can never make fine quality from sour milk. The proper method is for the farmer to deliver the milk at the factory, and to deliver it morning and evening.

WHERE IS OUR MARKET?—Australia has been the principal market for New Zealand cheese, and no doubt will continue to take larger quantities when the quality is improved.

India takes large quantities of dairy produce from England, Sweden, and America. Butter in small quantities, from 6 to 12 lbs., in tins. Small North Wiltshire cheese is frequently purchased for India. Their size is from 6 to 10 lb. in weight, close curd, well pressed, to suit the hot climate. The way needs only to be opened, and I feel sure that New Zealand will find a good market for her dairy produce in India. The great exhibition of this year will be a fine opportunity. The Cape also is a market not to be despised. Butter is often sent from London and realises a good price. But London is the great mart for the world's merchandise of every description; for cheese, butter, and bacon, quantity is no object, providing the quality is good. My first impressions were that fine Cheddar cheese could be manufactured in New Zealand, and, from what has been done in that direction, I have no reason to change my opinion. My last reports from London state, American cheese, old, 70s. to 72s. per cwt.; Cheddar fine, 76s. to 84s.; fine pale Cheddar, difficult to obtain at 90s.; the current price at present is encouraging to all who manufacture cheese. Years ago one factory was started in England with American plant, and proper men to manage it from America, but it was a miserable failure. Now

it is managed upon the English system, and the average price of the last 10 years has been 74s. 9d. per cwt.

There is a matter of great importance we must not neglect; the packing cases. The Americans tried many plans, but never succeeded until they invented the round box, each to contain one cheese. They found, and we in London found, the round box to answer well. We could stow them away in our vaults for months and never found them take any harm. And I feel certain no other method of packing can be found to answer so well. I was pleased to meet a gentleman (Capt Runciman) in Hamilton who, in his recent visit to America, had procured all the necessary machinery to split the wood and make the boxes, and I hope in a short time he will be able to supply any amount of boxes, or the timber all ready prepared, so that the box can be put together when and where it is needed. This step is in the right direction, and as factories increase the trade will expand.

The transit of cheese is an important consideration. Every-thing seems to come at the proper time; without the steamers and their refrigerating appliances it would have been impossible to send cheese to London. Not that cheese requires a temperature down to freezing point; 50 or 55° is excellent, and there is no difficulty in the way except the quantity of cheeses. It would not suit a Company to fit up a chamber for a less quantity than 100 tons. Here is our difficulty. To meet it we want 12 factories at least, each capable of turning out 8 or 10 tons per month; this would meet the case. But what must be done until we arrive at this point? I see no plan but one, meet the Company, that is to pay a little higher freight. Their charge, I consider moderate, £4 per ton,—by weight less than ½d. per lb. Something must be done to meet the case or the first factories will sustain loss. The Ashburton factory have 30 tons ready for market, which would have gone to London with the "British King" but for the above cause.

The manufacture of butter is of equal importance and is more simple than that of cheese. Where 40 or 50 cows are kept it can be manufactured at home and placed in 70 lb. or 100 lb. firkins suitable for London market; the larger the body the better it keeps. The butter made here in texture resembles the Dorset, the best salt butter which enters London.

Last year a quantity of New Zealand butter went to London by the "Dunedin"; the quality was inferior, yet in June, the cheapest month in all the year it sold for 11½d. per lb., so Mr. Larkworthy told me. The present prices for good salt butters are from 120s. to 160s. per cwt. 1s. to 1s. 5d. per lb. for salt butter is a remunerative business; New Zealand butter, at the present time, would give about 1s. 2d. per lb. When I look at the millions of acres uncultivated, stretching in every direction on these beautiful islands, I say what a pity; where the fern grows grass will grow, and grass is gold. If one cow will give 600 gallons of milk in one season that is equal to 200 lbs. of butter, say at 1s. per lb., so it is clear one cow will produce £10. Then there is the calf and the pig, worth, at the lowest calculation, How many thousands who at this present moment are suffering want at home, would speedily subdue the forest, drain the swamps, and make them fertile lands. Farmers and sober labourers, with large families, are the sort of men most wanted in New Zealand.

Mr. Guy's account of his prize dairy in Canada is as follows: "We find our best milk cows, when they first calve, to give from 40 to 50 lb. of milk per day, and in some instances to exceed that quantity on grass alone. We estimate their average yield for the first three months after calving, 35 lb. per day; for the next three months, at 25 lb.; and for the next three months, at 20 lb. per day, or an average yield for nine months of 27 lb. per day, making an aggregate of 7,920 lb. of milk as the produce of each cow for the year; 7,920 lb. of milk represents 6½ cwt. of cheese." The best dairy I have known in England did not exceed 6 cwt. to each cow. To produce this a considerable portion of artificial food was used.

In the comparison between large and small cheese factories, it is necessary to bear in mind that if 600 cows are pastured within a radius of three miles from the factory no valid objections can be raised against large factories. The same applies to private dairies. One gentleman may have 600 or 800 cows upon his estate; the milk in his case would be near at hand, consequently would suffer no deterioration by the transit from the field to the factory. When milk is collected from a distance of six or seven miles it is frequently exposed to the hot rays of the morning sun, which seriously affects its keeping properties; and what is still worse is the late delivery at the factory. From this cause alone two or three hours of the best part of the day for cheese making purposes are lost, and the operations necessarily extended into late hours of the evening; the delay, to say the least of it, is injurious to the whole process, and must be avoided.

One reason why a medium-sized factory (say from 250 to 300 cows) is preferable to a large one, the milk will be produced nearer to its destination, and consequently will be delivered at the factory by 7.30 a.m., with the important advantage of the cool morning breeze. In this case all hands would get to their work in proper time, and not a moment would be wasted in needless delay. There are so many advantages arising out of the early delivery of milk that we cannot estimate the practice too highly. The produce of 250 cows would be 500 gallons of milk, the management of which would require two men and a strong boy, at a cost of not less than £250. If we estimate the management of a factory of moderate size at 20s. per cow, years of experience will show that it is not far from the mark. Young men ought to give the labour of one season for the privilege of learning the art of making cheese.

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting if I give a brief outline of the various methods of manufacturing cheese in England. Take Cheddar first. Here I would state that through all Somersetshire it is the custom to have the morning's milk into the dairy not later than 7 a.m. The rennet and colouring are immediately set to work, the door is closed during the breakfast hour, and in the course of forty minutes the curd is ready to break down. This operation is performed by an instrument called the curd breaker. This part of the work is important, and ought to be done with great care; the time required is about forty minutes, but if the milk is perfectly sweet, one hour is not too long—any cheese maker will understand this. The next step is to turn the steam on easily, and increase the power gradually up to the temperature of 96° or 100° as the season and circumstances may require. The next step is to run the whey off; during this process the curd is formed into a solid body, then it is cut into square blocks and placed in a wooden cooler. Three objects are now attained :—The whey separates from the curd, the artificial heat evaporates, and the requisite amount of acidity is generated. When these objects are attained, the curd is broken in passing through a mill, the salt is applied, and the final step is into the press. Such is a general outline of making Cheddar cheese.

The Cheshire mode varies in a few points from the Cheddar. The milk in both cases is run at the same temperature, and the scalding process is nearly the same. When the whey is separated from the curd it is cut in slices, cooled, passed through the mill, salted, and placed in the proper pressing vat. The next step is to place the vat, containing 80 or 90 lbs. of curd, in a brick oven, as it is called, where the temperature is not less than 70°; here it is left for the space of 36 hours, and then pressed in the usual way. This process was new to me; the cheeses were excellent. The required amount of acidity was generated during the 36 hours in the oven, and the fatty substance got so thoroughly fixed with the curd, that no external pressure could remove it.

The Double Gloucester and Wiltshire cheeses are manufactured upon the same principle. The custom is to skim the cream from the night's milk, which is made into butter for the local markets, or the cream is sent to London to supply the club houses and large hotels, at 4s. per quart. The milk is run at a temperature of 80° or 82°. The process in breaking-down the curd and the scald is nearly the same as Cheddar. When the whey is run off, the curd is pressed for thirty minutes, then broken up, cooled, salted, and placed in the press. The whole operation is finished by 1 p.m. The cheeses are much smaller than Cheddar, consequently do not require the same amount of acidity; they generally run four to the hundredweight, and are ready for the market three months after taken from the press. This class of cheese takes a second place in the London market, and will hold its position against all rivals. The wholesale average price is about 65s. I have frequently seen it sold from 70s. to 74s. per cwt. I have no doubt that excellent Double Gloucester can be made in New Zealand. The Americans are now making a strenuous effort to rival and supplant the Gloucester.

Stilton cheese is principally made in small dairies of from six to ten cows. The milk is run at a lower temperature,—from 74° to 78°,—the application of steam is dispensed with. The curds and whey are first dropped into a strainer, and the whey is left to run away until the curd is formed into a cake. This is often allowed to remain for twenty-four hours, then broken small with the hand, dropped into a mould, and salted during the process of filling. No external pressure is used for Stilton cheese, it continues in the mould until it is firm enough to stand, then the outside is scraped with a knife to smoothen the external surface, a piece of calico is pinned round the cheese, which should then be removed into a temperature of not less than 70°. In about five or six months the blue veins begin to appear, and the prime Stilton is moved off to supply London orders.

Cotherstone Cheese are distinguished by thin blue veins of mould and richness of quality. They are the same size as Stilton, and resemble their quality. The mode of manufacture is extremely simple, and the grass upon which the cows feed is rich. Their milk is run at a temperature of 76°, and no steam power is used to scald the curd. When the whey is separated the curd is salted, placed in the small vat, and pressed in the usual way. The cheeses are small in size, weighing from 10 to 12 lb., and sell in London at from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per lb.

Wensley Dale cheese in size and quality resembles the Double Gloucester. Its repute in the North of England is so great the makers have no occasion to enter the London market. Their process is simple; all is done without the use of steam power. The salt, in many cases, is applied after the curd is sufficiently pressed; the application of strong salt brine is frequent.

Such are the various modes of cheese making in England. The American system is taken from the English, with what the Americans conceive to be additional improvements. I specially notice the difference hereafter.

Then another question which frequently crops up at our meetings with the farmers, "If all make cheese how are we to rear our calves ?" First, I would say, it is not desirable, nor need we fear, that all *will* make cheese. There are plenty of outlying districts where butter will be made, and young stock reared, when there is a greater demand; this we naturally expect from the increase of population, the development of foreign trade, and when more cows are kept for cheese making purposes. A dairy of 40 cows, to keep it in a healthy working order, will require not fewer than six heifers to come in every year. I never found it difficult to rear calves with little milk. Porridge made with oatmeal or linseed cake will rear calves without milk, so there is no fear for the future. My impression is that it would be an excellent move to start a butter factory; this, I feel sure, would pay the farmers

well. The building would be small and inexpensive, compared with the cheese factory, and the working expenses light.

There are factories which collect the milk and raise the cream in the factory. Were this principle adopted you would require a large number of calves to feed upon the skim milk, and a considerable space of ground for them to run over, and every autumn they would have to be sold. Still the object would be answered—the calves would grow into cows somewhere, and be found when wanted. The plan which is adopted in Sweden is attended with great success. The farmers keep their milk at home to rear their calves with, and send their cream to the factory in Stockholm. Every day large quantities are sent in by rail 100 miles, in tins which are locked, holding from 10 to 20 quarts. The milk is skimmed every twenty-four hours, cream forwarded to the factory, and churned every day. By this simple process Sweden is famed for its butter, and it commands a high price when placed in the London market. How simple it would be to have a factory in the suburbs of any of our larger towns which would supply the growing city with fine fresh butter every morning. And I know, in spite of all comers, the fresh factory butter would maintain a good price the year round.

To say what these islands are capable of producing is impossible. When we survey the vast extent of unbroken lands, it is no romance to say that millions of cows may be kept where at present few exist. To arrive at a proper estimate of what may be done by a judicious application of skill and labour, we base our arguments and calculations upon reason and facts. Two acres and a-half will sustain a cow summer and winter; two and a-half million acres will keep one million cows; the produce of each cow would not be less than 5cwt. of cheese, valued at 6½d., or £60 per ton, would produce a revenue of fifteen millions per annum, leaving out of our calculation the calf and also the pig which invariably goes with the cow.

Gold mines are good in their place, but at best uncertain, and are soon exhausted; but the green sward, when properly treated, never. Every spear of grass, from generation to generation, is tipped with gold, for people who know how to utilise and extract it.

There is another consideration which will crop up in its place, and it is not too soon to anticipate it, and that is proper organisation,—this is one essential element for progress and prosperity. I speak with all the assurance that is possible. As cheese, butter, and bacon factories extend their operations, it will be absolutely necessary to have store rooms in every large shipping port.

The disposal of the cheese may be safely left to the usual mercantile channels. Upon this point there is no difficulty at all. If you have 100 tons ready I can give you the names of five or six respectable firms in the trade to each of whom you can consign 20 tons; and I know enough of London business to be sure of this, every firm would do their best to secure future favour. They would sell and take all risk at a moderate per centage. I met with a wholesale merchant last year who said he would be glad to take 100 tons and dispose of that quantity to retailers, and charge no rent for the use of his premises.

When a number of factories are in operation, to stimulate and encourage all the managers, it would be well to have a large annual show in the principal towns each factory exhibiting not less than one ton of cheese. The competition would be for a first, second, and third prize.

The annual cheese show in Frome, Somersetshire, is one of the gayest days in all the year. Farmers, with their sons and daughters, assemble in large numbers. The merchants from London and other towns gather to secure the best dairies. Dairy men and maidens are all anxious to wear the blue ribbon, and win the first prize, which is not less than £50, or its equivalent in plate. Butter and bacon and poultry could also be exhibited, and take prizes according to their merit.

For the information of all who may forward cheese to London, I may say that November, December, and January are the months when cheese is little sought after, and forced sales never pay. April, May, and June are the best months, the previous year's stock is all used up, and the cheese merchants are glad to take the first which comes to market. This fact presents a fine opportunity for New Zealand, as you will be able to send in thousands of tons of fine ripe cheese, just at the time when you will have no competitor. This I consider to be a point in favour of New Zealand. The same applies to frozen meat, avoid November and December. Ship loads of poultry, game, and rabbits come in from distant parts, depressing the meat market. There are also other causes which affect the meat market. Winter is setting in, trade is dull, and the large flock masters are killing off their draft ewes; all are sent to London, and the prices are unsatisfactory. Stretching over 45 years, I never knew the market other than I have just stated. Butter realises the highest price in February and March; bacon in May, June, July, and August.

During my recent travels through New Zealand, both in the North and South Islands, many questions of considerable interest have been proposed to me in reference to the above subjects. I returned from travelling through the Colony, with my first impressions deepened; viz,—That for the successful production of every kind of dairy produce, New Zealand is equal to any country in the world. For genial climate, richness and varieties of the soil, rivers and streams of water, I know not her equal. With all the advantages of telegraphy, refrigeration and steam, her destiny, at no distant date, must be to export large quantities of dairy produce to foreign markets.

We already hear of cheese and butter factories being started in all parts of the Colony.

There seems, however, to be a great difference of opinion, as to the principle upon which these factories should be started; or rather, I should say, which would be the best plant—the American or the English. From all I can learn, the general feeling seems to run chiefly in favour of the former; but from my experience of the two systems, and after comparing their results with each other, I have a very strong preference in favour of the English plant. I will here give a few of the chief points, whereby I am convinced of the superiority of the English plant, (1.) If desired, at any time, cheese on the American style and principle can be made equally well with the English plant; whereas cheese on the English principle cannot conveniently be made with the American plant (2.) Last June in London, American cheese realised 50s. to 62s. per cwt, whereas English brought from 70s. to 84s. per cwt. This, to my mind, is the most important and conclusive proof in the matter—a difference in the London market of 20s. per cwt. in favour of the English. Everything taken into account, I should say that the labour expense in the two systems is about the same. There is, however, one point, which may perhaps be taken in favour of the American plant, especially in times of tightness in the money market, and that is, that its first cost for a good sized factory would be about £200 less than the English; against this, however, I place the extra durability of the English plant, which probably would last out three of the American. On the whole, therefore, I consider that although a fair sum might be saved at the start by purchasing an American plant, yet it would in many ways be acting on the "penny wise and pound foolish" principle.

It will perhaps be interesting to compare the two systems in the various processes of cheese-making. Up to a certain point the systems are the same; then two opposite courses are taken, though both hope thereby to attain the same end. It is admitted by all cheese-makers, that a certain amount of acidity must be engendered in the curd, to give it solidity and keeping properties; because, if pressed when sweet, there is a danger of the curd turning rancid and contracting bad flavours. The methods taken to procure this acidity are where the two systems differ considerably. The Americans keep the curd in the whey until the desired result is procured, the time required varying according to the temperature and other contingencies—the average time being about five hours, the curd having to be moved the whole time either by hand or machinery. The English, having finished the "scald" in two hours, then separate the curd from the whey, placing it in a wooden cooler, and keeping it warm until there is a perceptible change and a sufficiency of the required acidity; then the curd is salted, and, when the temperature is sufficiently reduced, it is pressed. The Americans, when the whey is run off, move the curd for a short time, then salt, and put in the press. The Americans press the curd wet, and keep in the press only twenty-four hours. The English press the curd dry, and keep in the press for three or four days. These are about the only differences between the English and the American systems of cheese-making. After years of experience it may perhaps be found that both systems may be worked advantageously in New Zealand; for as in England, so will it probably prove here—different localities will produce cheese wonderfully dissimilar in quality and flavour. A case to the point has come under my notice recently. The Agricultural College at Lincoln and the Ashburton factory manufacture their curd on the Cheddar principle, but there is a marked difference between them. Now, the question naturally arises: Is this variation produced by a difference, however slight, in the manufacture, or does it arise from a difference in the locality? This is a nice point, which has long been argued in England without any satisfactory conclusion having been arrived at. The weight of evidence, so far as my experience goes, is, that the system of manufacture has more to do with the quality and flavour of the cheese than the locality.

I think little need be said on the butter question at present. The great object of the farmer is of course to get a good average price for his cheese and butter all the year round. Let there be a few more cheese factories established, and I believe that point will be so definitely settled in the farmer's favour, that there will be but little chance for his proverbial grumbling to be heard; on the low price of dairy produce, at any rate. More cheese and less butter means higher prices for the latter, and if only our farmers would take a little more pains to make a sweet and good article all the year round, by churning a little oftener, they would be doubly repaid for the little extra trouble they might bestow on the matter. I quite believe that a ready market for all good sound butter could be found all the year round at an average of is per pound; and that, considering the price of land and of stock, should prove a remunerative business.

There are at present three cheese factories at work in New Zealand; one in Auckland, one in Canterbury, and one in Southland, while several others are in project, and will be started during the coming season. It is an industry which can hardly be overdone, as the market for cheese of good quality is very large. Few countries, if any, are better adapted for dairy purposes than New Zealand, whether we take the North or the Middle Island. The Government have offered a bonus of £500 for the first fifty tons of cheese made on the American factory principle, for export; the three factories before referred to have—we are informed—laid claim to the bonus. The cheese has to be produced in the month of May, each competitor being sanguine of success. The contest will be watched with great interest, as the cheese, in at least the last two named factories, is manufactured on totally

different principles. The cheese manufactured at Ashburton is made on the English principle, known as the Cheddar, which may be said to be a combination of the English and American systems, weighing from 40lbs. to 80lbs., and is allowed to remain in the presses for two or three days. In this, the system differs from the American, which is carried out in its entirety at Edendale, the Southland factory. It is needless here to enter into a detailed account of the whole process through which the milk has to pass from the time it reaches the factory till it finds its way to the shelves in the form of cheese. The leading feature in the treatment of the curd is to extract from it all the whey before being placed in the presses—this is done, we were informed, by a chemical process—the curd is then placed in the shapes, and submitted to pressure for 18 hours only. The cheeses are of the uniform weight of 31lbs. when cured. Having recently visited the Edendale factory, I am enabled to speak from personal observation as to how that factory is conducted. It is situated about seventeen miles from Invercargill on the line of rail between that city and Dunedin. The factory was built by, and is still the property of, the New Zealand and Australian Land Company. It is built in the thriving little township of Edendale, on the Company's Edendale estate; the building is close to the railway, having a siding; it is 40 feet by 65 feet, substantially built of wood, and fitted up with all the modern appliances for cheese and butter making. Butter making has not yet been attempted, the price procurable for cheese being found more profitable.

The factory is under the active supervision of Mr. McCallum, the manager of the estate. The work of the factory is carried on by Mr. Inglis, his wife, daughter, and an assistant, who looks after the pigs, etc. The factory is kept scrupulously clean, and those in charge are resolved upon securing the Government bonus. This seems probable, as they have manufactured 30 tons already. The land about Edendale is well adapted for dairy purposes, being strong and well grassed. The factory draws its supply of milk from cows, the property of the Company, who had 300 at the time (end of February); there were about 230 in milk, the rest were coming forward for calving. The quality of the cows was not such as we would like to have seen, they are, however, the best which could be got together in the time, and are being weeded out and their places supplied by better ones. At the present time the quantity of milk daily converted into cheese is about 560 gallons; of this quantity only 150 gallons are supplied by surrounding farmers. The cows are milked by women and boys at one penny per cow, in sheds constructed in convenient parts of the paddocks, floored with concrete, and well-supplied with water—a great consideration with dairy stock. One hundred and fifty Berkshire pigs are kept not far from the factory, to consume the whey.

In concluding these notes, those about to embark in this industry should watch the result of the two modes of cheese-making as carried out at Ashburton and Edendale, which may be distinguished as large *v.* small cheeses. It is just possible that one or the other may prove, if not a failure, at least far inferior to the other, and not suited to our conditions. We shall not have to wait long for results, as a large quantity of cheese from both factories will soon have to be shipped; and we shall then be in a position to judge between the contending systems.

## Bacon Curing.

I should now like to make a few remarks on bacon-curing. Since coming to New Zealand I have often wondered that bacon should occupy such a low position as it appears to do amongst the productions of this Colony, both for home consumption and for export. This can only be attributed, I think, to the ancient and unscientific way in which the business appears to be carried out at present; for I feel sure that if it were conducted in all its branches as it is now in England—from the selection of the right class of pigs, the proper method of feeding, and finally in the curing process—it would be a most simple and easy business to manage, and one of the most certain of success that I know of.

Fifty years ago, Ireland and the County of Wilts were about the only places from which England drew her bacon supply. It was then of a very inferior quality, the Irish especially so, and prices ranged from 50s. to 60s. per cwt. Since then great improvements in the feed and in the cure have been made, and now the article which is sent out from the factories, fresh-cured all the year round, is pronounced perfect. As the quality improved, the demand increased, and consequently prices have advanced, until they now range in London from 74s. to 84s. per cwt. After some time, the Americans and Germans began to send in large quantities of bacon to the English markets. The German is of good quality, but the American is very inferior. In spite of these fresh supplies however, there can be no fear of over-stocking the English market, for some of the largest London merchants told me last summer that they hardly knew where to look for an adequate supply, the demand was so great, and so continually increasing. I thought at the time this was a grand opportunity for New Zealand to step in and help to supply this deficiency, and by so doing she would receive a rich return. I have often thought since then how it could best be done, and the other day, whilst going over the premises of the Canterbury Frozen Meat Company's works at Belfast, I was convinced that I was on the spot where, for a very small outlay, could be

made the finest bacon-curing establishment in the world. Everything is there, nothing wanted but a good curing room on the ground floor. The main point in bacon-curing is to get the pork properly cooled down before salting, and then to keep it in a temperature of about 40 deg. Fah. from eight to twelve days. If this is properly done, success must assuredly follow.

Before good bacon, however, can be made anywhere, it is absolutely necessary that the farmers should do their part of the business properly. First of all, great care should be taken in selecting the right class of pigs. The fine-bred small-boned pigs are pretty to look at, but are not at all the right class for bacon purposes, they are simply rolls of fat, and altogether unsuited for the London market. What is wanted is a long deep-sided animal of quick growth, one that will grow into eight score of pounds in six or seven months. Pigs of about 160lbs. weight are the most suitable size for bacon for the London market, though the English country markets will take them up to 180lbs., but at a reduced price. The fat on the back should be about two to two-and-a-half inches deep; thin, small sides, such as are often cured here, would scarcely be looked at at any price. A Berkshire hog and Waterford sow are fine specimens for growth for bacon.

The next point I would touch upon is a most important one, viz., the method of feeding. Here, I would impress upon our farmers, that if the feed is wrong, all the best arrangements and appliances in the world can never make good bacon. The matter is very simple, and the little extra cost incurred would soon be repaid by the increased price obtainable for well-fed pigs. Having obtained the proper breed, let them run in the paddocks for four or five months, giving them a pint or more of dry beans, peas, or other grain every morning, in order to add solidity to the fat while feeding on clover or grass. Then, when they have attained to a sufficient growth, put them into proper sties, five or ten together, and feed with barley or oatmeal, which would be no worse with a mixture of inferior wheat-meal. Skim milk or whey should be given if possible, but in the absence of both, boiled potatoes, mixed with the meal would make a good substitute. The Irish feed their pigs largely on inferior potatoes and meal.

If our farmers would only attend to these two or three points, and a beginning could be made at the Freezing Company's Works at Belfast, or some similar place with equal advantages, in a very short time, I am confident that the bacon trade in New Zealand would be revolutionized. The people here do not trouble to enquire for bacon during the summer months, for the simple reason, as it was in England fifty years since, that there is none of good quality to be found, and a sight even of the ancient red rusty stuff, which is purchased at a long price, is enough to turn every one against it. If fresh supplies of good quality were turned out from the factory every week, the consumption in New Zealand would soon be more than doubled, to say nothing of the export trade to the neighbouring Colonies and to England which could very profitably be carried on.

I notice there is to be an International Exhibition in Calcutta shortly. Now New Zealand ought to exhibit all her dairy produce there—cheese, butter, and bacon. England does a large trade with India in these articles, and I see no reason why, if we were properly represented there, and exhibits sent, a large share of that trade should not come to this Colony, for we most certainly have numerous advantages over the Old Country to give us a good handicap in the matter.

In conclusion, I fear no contradiction, when I say that New Zealand is as fine a country as there is in the world for rearing and feeding pigs, and where a thousand are now reared there should be a hundred times that quantity, and I feel sure that if only one factory is started on the lines I have suggested, it will not be long before that result is reached, and it must end in a permanent source of wealth to all concerned.

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Why and How the Colonies Should at Once be Given Home Representation in England.

A Lecture, Read by J. M. Orpen, late M.L.A., Aliwal North,

At the Invitation of the Barkly East Mutual Improvement Society,

Before a Public Meeting at Barkly East, May 20, 1885

T. H. Grocott, Steam Machine Printer, Grahamstown : Church-Square. 1885.

Proposed by Dr. Park, seconded by Mr. Copeland, and carried unanimously:—

*"That a Copy of Mr. Orpen's Lecture on 'HOME REPRESENTATION' be sent to the Secretaries of the Federation League in England and to the Secretaries of the Capetown and Grahamstown branches of the Empire League, with the request that it may be taken into consideration by their bodies; and that copies be also sent to the Right Hons. W. E. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Salisbury, and W. E. Forster, with a request that they will give their earnest consideration to the solution of the question of giving the Colonies Home Representation."*

## Why and How the Colonies should at Once be

# Given Home Representation in England.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I felt much honoured by your Committee's invitation to read a paper on the desirability of the Colonies being soon given representation in the Supreme Councils which influence or decide upon matters deeply affecting their welfare as Colonies and as parts of the Empire. I was glad, too, of this invitation because I believe that both you and I can contribute something to the movement and discussion now in progress, on matters so important to every part of the Empire and to all whom its destinies affect.

You are aware that the subject has been taken up for practical consideration and solution by great associations, and many of the ablest men of all parties in England and the Colonies, have joined the movement. Men are taking prominent part in it who have been, or are, or will be, Her Majesty's Ministers in England and the different Colonies. Even our future Sovereign is said to be now associated with it. You have no doubt read much that has been said and written of late upon the subject, including the proceedings of the Federation and Empire Leagues, an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, and lectures delivered in this Colony by Judge Shippard and the Hon. J. X. Merriman. In these the grounds for our now pressing our need for Home Representation, are given very ably and from many points of view. I shall, therefore, now only mention some of the principal grounds, and try to bring out the deepest meaning of the reasons given, and my main endeavour in doing this shall be to bring into more due prominence with regard to all other reasons, that one reason which appears most vital, their really most salient point. In any political movement or discussion this appears the best course to adopt. It gives a short effective war-cry in the strongest reason for a movement in masses on the very citadel of the position, so that each soldier may fully grasp the ultimate design of the movement and the routes by which to struggle to the object in view. There has been, to my mind, some defect in the very initiation of the movement and the names of the Leagues for these purposes in England and this and other Colonies. There is danger to the movement from this cause. The army of volunteers, so to speak, has been called up and met with shouts of enthusiasm, but no clear course has been pointed out to them towards one visible definite object; no immediate action in practical politics; no instant steps to move those Councils which govern the Empire. The army is thus baulked and at a standstill. The danger is that it will be discouraged by this want of decision and action, particularly when some leaders suggest only the occupation of some unsatisfactory present position, or a distant realisation of a vague ideal. People will not sacrifice time and energy in discussing abstract questions and urging ideals which only their descendants may see fulfilled. To fight zealously they want to be led into action at once, to gain victories worth having, which they may secure in their own immediate day, even if they are intended to prepare for more hereafter. If the day's own battle is not waged, the time for it may pass by, and the distant object also be lost. Therefore, it is the duty of everyone heartily desiring the success of the movement to devise some course practical to-day, in the place of indecision and inaction. If he fail to shew something practical, that route can be struck out on the map, and the way is cleared for another proposal. For this reason, this paper suggests, in its very title, that there is a reason for immediate action, and an assurance of immediate victory worth having. It proposes the question *Why* and *How* the Colonies should be given "Home Representation," and that at once; and "Home Representation at once" is the war-cry I should desire inscribed on the banner of the League.

We shall first deal with the question *Why* ? and this will naturally and throughout lead up to the solution of the question *How* ? because it will show what the requisite conditions are which are now wanting and need fulfilment. And when we come to examine the different measures suggested towards meeting these needs, we shall test them by their fulfilling or not, these conditions.

Those who have not very deeply considered the subject, put in the foremost light, the material advantages of the existing union between England and the Colonies, and look to cementing that union by some representation of the Colony, mainly as a means of preserving and increasing those advantages. They propose this because they share an undefined general uneasiness lest this connection should come to an end, as some day it must and ought to end, as fruit when ripe drops from a tree. We shall follow the natural course of thought by considering first what the material advantages of the union are; and this will lead up to an examination of its more fundamental value and to our trying to reach the bottom of the uneasiness about it. It is hardly necessary to ask what England would be without the Empire. That means without Colonies, ships and commerce; so we shall consider the matter from the points of view of the Colonies and wide Empire itself. We are communities collectively possessing immense material wealth and amassing more; we thus offer rich booty to robbers from without and within, and we are in danger from fires of revolution and war. But as part of a great Empire, we form a great protective and mutual insurance association, though the Colonies are not represented on the Board of Directors, and the protective organisation is therefore defective and inadequate, considering the immense



wealth and interests involved. Still, the association is a great protection as it is, and besides, an immense economy, and it promotes the comfort, wealth and happiness of the hearths and homes of every one of us. It gives us great immunity both from foreign and civil wars, and it gives our Government and ourselves credit at low rates of interest, which enables us to do reproductive work, and grow richer. Small countries and republics such as the Empire might split up into, are exposed to dangers from without and within, and these destroy credit. The Transvaal Government, for instance, is unable to borrow in Europe, and its people are similarly out of credit. Some time since there was a talk about republicanism being aimed at by a large organisation of Colonists, who have since emphatically declared their loyalty to our institutions and flag. That talk at the time perceptibly injured the credit both of Government and individuals in this Colony, and we all became the poorer for it. If the danger were more real, the effect would be far greater. Not only are there other Powers possessing immense armies and navies and Imperial ideas, and crying out as Napoleon did, for more "ships, Colonies and commerce," and ready to seize this Colony in particular, but the Colony itself is inhabited by many races, and is far less homogeneous than other Colonies, though it is happily growing in unity under free institutions. So the common danger of other Colonies from disruption, and their common interest in union, is intensified in our case. United, we are the bundle of sticks which, separated, could be broken to pieces.

But at the outset of the consideration of the material advantages of the union of the Empire, the necessary question suggests itself: Why have we become so rich and strong? The principal reason is evident. The Empire carries with it such freedom and protection of the law everywhere, that there is general content and desire for the unity which produces it. There is thus no waste of force and grinding taxation to keep one large portion of the population unproductively wasting their lives as a force to keep the others down, and each individual is given immense vitality and activity by freedom from restraint, and individual and general wealth is thus piled up by the production which perfect liberty—that is, the reign of justice,—developes. Thus, though the Empire maintains but a small army, it has an immense reserve force of loyalty and material wealth, and stands like a great pyramid on the broad base of the loyalty of its people, and appears indestructible; so that it seems strange, at first sight, that a strong movement should have set in throughout the Empire for further organisation to secure it against the possible danger of its falling, or being broken to pieces while so strongly built up.

In Mr. Merriman's able lecture he rightly rejects the ignoble reasons for this movement—National pride—Imperialism and imperiousness—a mere desire to be part of something big and strong and able to control a great part of the world's inhabitants for the glory or benefit of one race or class, or for any government by force or autocratic power. Such power is just what Imperialism developed must end in, for the principles of liberty and tyranny are irreconcilable, and cannot continue to exist in the same body. One must eventually destroy the other; one is life and the other is death. The Czar of Russia, the greatest autocrat of our time, was bound for self-preservation to destroy trial by jury—the one speck left of liberty for the people in his dominions. Slavery in America was bound to break up the greatest Re-public the world has seen, or be destroyed itself, and after one of the greatest struggles the world has known down it went. Macaulay says somewhere that the establishment of free, pure, open courts of law in India, had done more than armies or conquests to establish the Empire there on firm foundations. While remembering that this was both an emancipation from individual oppressors, and practically one sort of representation of the people in open council restricting the power of Government, we must not forget that it is recognised, that this one boon, like letting in of daylight and fresh air, evolves a power of growth which must develop more and more perfect liberty—that of the press and so on—so that unless Government anticipates and prepares gradually, as it does, for what this liberty must ultimately grow to, it must ultimately destroy the power of England in India. If it were not for its tending thus to educate the people in liberty, that power would be pure Imperialism.

In the place of Imperialism, Mr. Merriman worthily puts in the foreground the more true and noble value of the British Empire, which this movement is designed to knit together and ensure. He shews it to be a power of encouragement and resistance in the struggle of the principles of Government, through representatives of the people, against the opposite principles of Government by force—autocratic power. To use his own words—"the surpassing value of the Empire to humanity and the world at large, consists in the fact that not only does it profess the doctrines of freedom, of law, and of justice, but it has also the material strength and power to maintain those rights, and to spread over the world an ideal of Government which is certainly the best and purest which has yet been seen; and the problem which faces each citizen in that Empire is, whether it is possible so to keep together the wonderful fabric, as to continue its noble and beneficent work, or whether the task is so hopeless that a more or less speedy dissolution of the natural bond must take place."

If we ask "but why is there any such danger of dissolution?" it is evident that a fundamental reason is, that just in the most important part of our Constitution,—just where our point of engrafting into the Empire lies—there, is missing that which has given us us even our national wealth, happiness, and all that is worth conserving. There is missing that representation of the people of the Empire—that franchise, that freedom, that "life blood of the Constitution," as Mr. Forster calls Representation, which is in general its characteristic of the

most surpassing value. Just in that part lies Autocratic Government which is an irreconcilable element—and the very thing to which our constitution is the strongest antagonist. It is thus we have a kingdom divided against itself, which cannot stand. It is not, as has been repeatedly said, because in granting self-government to the Colonies a principle has been introduced which must, it is said, be "counteracted"—by representation at Home—lest it break up the Empire. Were it rather said unless "perfected" by representation, this would be more like the truth, but it is only really true in the sense that the principle of liberty is radically antagonistic to that of autocracy.

Many looking superficially at things would say "the Colonies are in the happy position of having perfect constitutional freedom plus protection—there can be no dream of dissatisfaction." And these would point to the Australian Colonies as most absolutely free within the Constitution and satisfied with the state of affairs. Yet it is just from one of those Colonies, from Victoria, that the most emphatic claim for something more comes, and this from its very Ministry supported by the whole Colony. Its Premier, Mr. James Service, wrote giving the adherence of his Government to the principles of the Federation League for these reasons. He says "the chief of these considerations is the very anomalous position which these Colonies occupy as regards, respectively, local government and the exercise of Imperial authority. In regard to the first, the fullest measure of constitutional freedom and Parliamentary Representation has been conceded to the more important Colonies, but as regards the second we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. Subjects in this part of the Empire may be deeply interested in the action, or it may be inaction, of the Imperial authorities but *they have no voice nor vote in those Councils of the Empire, to which Her Majesty's Ministers are Responsible*. Thus in all matters in which the exercise of the Imperial Authority has interests for them, that authority is to all intents and purposes *an unqualified autocracy*. On the one hand we are under Constitutional Government, on the other under an antiquated Autocracy or Bureaucracy."

Now for every point at which the Imperial Authority affects Australian Colonies, there are a hundred at which it affects us. All Mr. Service has said is thus far more urgent in our case. Here the action of Imperial Authority may, every day, involve us not only in European wars, but in African wars and only recently we were, through it, within measurable distance of civil war. It is not long since that a treaty with Spain which overlooked our interests, so injured our wine trade, that the whole Colony has ever since suffered. If we had been represented, many, if not every one of certain sad mistakes in South Africa, or affecting it, would have been prevented.

I have emphasized what Mr. Service has said about Colonies having no voice nor vote in those Councils of the Empire to which Her Majesty's Ministers are *Responsible*, as this is the special condition which is missing and which is to be fulfilled in a remedial measure. But strong though the point may be which Mr. Service here makes, it is only one half the truth and the other half makes it doubly strong. Not only is the general exercise of Imperial Authority irresponsible and irresponsive to the Colonies, but, so far as it concerns the interests of all outside England, it is practically irresponsible even to the Home Parliament, for that Parliament must practically be uninformed with regard to those interests which have no representation in it, and it cannot exact responsibility in respect to what it does not know. Therefore, the antiquated autocratic force of which Mr. Service complains, is sometimes mere blind force acting in ignorance and not even qualified and tempered by steadiness of aim by being that of one mind and person, and capable of unity of reason and purpose and conscience, as even a pure tyranny might be.

This antiquated blind bureaucratic authority, which affects our most vital interests and our very lives, since it is thus irresponsible, is besides, in antagonism with human nature, which requires to be governed by reason, but asks of all authority that it shall be responsible, that is, give a reason for its existence and its acts—that it shall have and render a reason why. You know the ancient song of the Cornish miners,—

And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die,  
There are twice ten thousand Cornishmen shall know the reason why;  
There are twenty thousand underground shall know the reason why.

Well, we are ten million Colonists already, and shall soon be twenty, and there will be twenty million o'er the sea shall know the reason why. But there is no reason why, for any authority among men which freemen, educated in freedom as Colonists are, can recognise, except in a Government in which they have some part, and which is in some way made responsible and responsive to them.

So radical is this principle of the responsibility to men of all Governments, that not only the rough Cornish miners of old grasped it, but even Kafirs do so. No Kafir chief was ever so stupidly ignorant of this fundamental principle in the art of governing men, that he did not on all important occasions hold open council with the representative men of every part of the tribe, or of engrafted tribes, and hear them give representations

and render to them a reason why, for proposed actions of the authority which governed them collectively and affected their interests. It was reserved to the British Empire—the very ideal otherwise of Representative Institutions from top to bottom—thus to decitizenise and, in the radical meaning of the word, uncivilise its citizens—for civilise conics from *civis*, acitizen—and so we Colonists are in this respect less civilised, less citizenised than Kafirs. Curiously, too, even France and Spain give their Colonies representation in their Senate and Cortes, and a black man from Martinique has actually sat in the Parliament of France, while England has not allowed that right to its own free-born citizens in the Colonies.

This is, then, the fundamental need of the Colonies. Representation in the Councils to which the Supreme Authority which governs them, is *responsible*. Nothing less will supply this defect, which is that which causes rational fears for the dissolution of the Empire.

It was just this cause which did dissolve the bond of old between England and the Colonies which now form the United States of America. George III., when he ascended the throne in 1700, attempted to develop autocratic government. At that time only 160,000 out of 8,000,000 possessed the franchise in England. The House of Commons was, to a great extent, composed of representatives of rotten, extinct, or pocket boroughs. The King bought up many of these or their representatives; so while the Colonies were quite unrepresented, England was represented very imperfectly. The King was able to act without proper responsibility either to the Colonies or England, in which he attempted to put down even a free Press; and he was supported by what became called the King's Party in the House of Commons. The Colonies had been devotedly loyal, and had fought well and taxed themselves heavily through their own Legislature in the French and Indian wars, till the French power was crushed in America the year before the King's accession. He determined to tax those Colonies otherwise than through their own Legislatures, and to coerce them into obedience by armies. The noblest in England, led by Pitt and Burke, pleaded the cause of the Colonies. When the harbour of Boston was shut up to coerce the people, £30,000 was subscribed in London for their relief. Still in a few short years, these people, one in blood and sympathies, who had fought and given their lives beside each other as brothers, were brought into civil war and revolution by irresponsible rule. That it was want of Representation produced the breach, is evident from the whole history and discussions of that day. The wisest men of the time in England advocated the Representation of the Colonies, but it was impossible to carry such measures in a Parliament weakened and degraded by the King. Adam Smith advocated it. He said : "There is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain with her Colonies. That institution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The assembly, which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of the whole Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it."

Burke, while a member of Parliament, was engaged as the first paid agent of one of the Colonies. This in itself showed their desperate want of Representation, as did the earnest petitions of the Colonial Legislatures to the Home Parliament. In Burke's celebrated speech in Parliament on the "Conciliation of the American Colonies," he said : "My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield it as a matter of right or grant it as a matter of favour, is to admit the people of the Colonies to an interest in the Constitution." He stated in his third proposition the principle of Representation, and its justice and expediency. He advocated it with wonderful power and force of illustration, but in the face of the impracticability of moving Parliament in its then condition to grant this, he only pressed, in conclusion, the constitutional freedom of the Colonies, and that they should not be taxed but by their own Parliament. He admitted the difficulties of Representation, owing to the distance of the Colonies, but prophetically said : "What nature has disjoined in one way, wisdom may unite in another; "and now that time and space are almost annihilated by steam and electricity, it is time for wisdom to satisfy this great need.

Charles Fox, Burke's pupil, one of the greatest statesmen and most persuasive speakers of the time, said of this speech of Burke's: "Let gentlemen read this speech by day and meditate on it at night; let them peruse it again and again, study it, imprint it on their minds, impress it on their hearts. They would then learn that *Representation is the sovereign remedy for every evil.*" And to-day, when after a century of silence on the subject, the question of the relations of the Colonies with the Mother Country will soon be debated again in a Parliament truly representative of the people, nowhere will be found truer and more sympathetic and wise views expressed on the subject, than in that speech of Burke's, which is still worth careful study, particularly when he advises trusting to the responsive loyalty of the Colonies rather than to any bonds and stipulations to cause them to bear their share of responsibilities. Though the diseases in the body politic, of the causes and treatment of which he spoke so well, have not so grave a form, still, the causes are the same, the principles embodying them are the same, and the ultimate danger of dissolution is the same.

And now, in illustration of another fundamental reason for Representation, I have to point out a central idea underlying and giving unity to the considerations of those whom I have quoted, from Burke and Fox to Mr. Forster and the Hon. Mr. Merriman, who have moved public opinion in favour of giving Representation to the

Colonies. All these naturally draw their analogies from the human body and soul, and speak of England and the Colonies being "members" of one body, of its "frame" requiring to be well-built, and of its "diseases" and "dissolution." Mr. Forster speaks of Representation being the "life-blood" of the English Constitution. Fox called it the "sovereign remedy." In fact the analogies between what belongs to the body politic and to the individuals and human nature of which it is composed, run so close that they are inevitably used, and must be borne in mind, to aid in giving unity and clearness to our thoughts upon the subject. In the individual man, the consciousness of his existence as one sentient being, his health, strength, intelligence, conscience, and capacity for the individual and collective duties of man, and his affections, all depend on the subtle life circulating through the blood, and which through the nerves carries sympathy through all the parts and between them and the centres of life, thought, and feeling. If you divide the main nerve of some limb, or stop the blood from circulating about it, there is a dissolution of sympathy between it and the great centres, the parts can then no longer know of, or care for, or help each other. Something approaching death takes place, and such changes, continued on an extensive scale, would produce death. Restoration of the life blood restores sympathetic life. Just so that principle of Representation which Mr. Forster calls the "life blood of the constitution," gives the only life worth living to the body politic by bringing all parts into unity and sympathy with each other, and strength and ability to perform their duties to each other, and the whole to attain to the strong, full stature of a man, with one living, feeling soul awakened into natural conscience and able to feel with other men and nations, and therefore to do its whole duty (that is, as would be done by) in the great country of nations. Therefore what is wanting to preserve the natural unity and life of sympathy and strength in England and the Colonies, is more complete representation. And what may cause dissolution is the want of representation, the warm life blood which should cause sympathy and warm affection through all the parts. Therefore, in the "formation of a nation" which Mr. Merriman speaks of, there should especially not be omitted a constitutional medium like the great bloodvessels for the circulation of what Mr. Forster calls the life blood of the constitution between the head and heart and members of the body politic. It is thus that if, for instance, the great arteries which convey the life blood to the head are ligatured, the force of the heart will distend other blood vessels to supply their place. Thus, too, some sympathy is maintained by channels which are not constitutional, between us who are of one blood with our kin in England.

But it is under unnatural conditions of straining and danger of rupture. It must be remembered, too, that Colonists are not all of one kin with the people of Great Britain, though we are all amalgamating happily here under free institutions. These attract people from all countries, and we and they become at home here, as the settlers before us (Dutch and English) have become united in this common home. We have even, perhaps in this room, gentlemen born in Holland, Germany and France—valued citizens of the Colony, who sympathize with us and vie with us in loyalty and devotion to the country which has given them a new home. Such naturalised foreigners become even our representatives in our Parliament—our central home, by our own free choice—and Ministers of her Majesty's Government here. The further sympathy is yet in course of development between them and our great centre, which we affectionately call "Home" and the "Mother Country"—which gave us our liberties. But this growing sympathy wants the full, free, natural medium of development by the life-blood of the constitution—*representation in that Home*. And the representative position should be an object of natural and kindly ambition to Colonists of every race, in which we should all rejoice, and it would make them yet more "at Home in the great centre of culture, intelligence, and science in England, and cause a wide-spread circulation of sympathy and thought between Colonial and English society. They should all be made as at home in the "Home" Parliament as they are in the Colonial Parliament. Mr. Forster wisely answers the cold reply to such appeals—"Oh, that is mere sentiment,"—by saying, "Well, sentiment has ruled the world since the world began." No millions of money can buy its value. It is what has always united and held nations together, and made them strong in defence of the unity of their home. And it is no valueless sentiment which makes Colonists speak of England as Home and its Parliament as the Home Parliament. Besides, a Parliament is in fact and origin simply the family home gathering developed till it becomes the tribal council, and then, the people's Parliament; and its main purposes and reasons for existence are still those of the family home, from which it took its root and grew. It is still the home for the nurture of the people, as one family in everything that makes them kind and noble, and knit together and strong, and in this sense our Home Parliament is our own home, in which we have a right to our own place.

It is for all these reasons that the present paper suggests as more effective the cry for "Home Representation" instead of "Imperial Federation." And, in concluding this part of the paper, giving the reasons why this movement should be supported, there remains but this to be said, that the invitation to that Home should come from Home, and that it should be without stipulation or conditions. It would be an unfortunate thing to keep the Colonies waiting on the cold doorstep when they are awakening to a desire to be admitted to their place in their own home. Treat them as aliens and they will be alienated soon.

It remains now to be considered how this Home Representation can at once be carried into effect as far as at

present practicable. The Federation League itself declares—as nearly all admit—that the immediate realisation of a separate Federal Parliament is not practicable. None believe that there is at present any likelihood of Colonial delegates being admitted to their due place in the House of Commons, over-whelmed as it is by domestic legislation and obstruction, not to speak of mere want of room. In the House of Lords, however, there is both room and leisure, and the measure appears so practicable there, that a Liberal Peer and rising politician, Lord Rosebery, now one of her Majesty's Ministers—suggested last year in the House of Lords, that Colonial delegates should be admitted there as one measure in a reform of that House, with regard to which he gave notice that he would propose some motion this session. A Conservative Peer (the Earl of Pembroke), writes in the *Nineteenth Century*, that reform of the House of Lords is both imminent and necessary. He proposes the admission of both life peers and temporary peers, the judges and others. Probably the Bishops will, in such a reform, not retain a place in the House of Lords, as the retention of such power by what the electorate will consider only the representative of one of the religious bodies in one out of the three kingdoms, will not be capable of justification to those who will have to be considered. It is evident from all this that there is a practicable opening, in the House of Lords at least, for the admission of Colonial delegates. The thin edge of the wedge can evidently be best introduced then. The object should be to make it thin enough, and at the same time not to attempt any representation which would interfere with the existing power of the Colonial Legislatures. The representation should, on the contrary, be the natural out-growth of these Legislatures by evolution. They should for this purpose be the delegates of those Legislatures, and retain their seats just as long as they continued to be accredited by those Legislatures. The choice could be renewed, annually or otherwise, as they thought fit. Their position in the House of Lords could be in exact accordance with the precedent by which, as a temporary compromise, the delegates who are accredited by the outlying territories as distinct from the States of the North American Union, are admitted into its Upper House—the Senate—and given seats and a voice without a vote. A vote would perhaps do the Colonial delegates more harm than good. They would be few, and their mere vote would not have much weight—and might involve them in mere insular party movements, and their weight would properly depend more on their high position and the greatness of their constituencies—equal to some European kingdoms—and on the power of truth and knowledge and sympathy in open Council. It would be possible, though not desirable, to restrict even their right of speech to subjects which were not of mere English domestic legislation. But this would be unnecessary and therefore invidious in the House of Lords, which has leisure enough, and the Colonial delegates would not be likely to trouble the realm much about what did not much concern them, and if they did, they might bring very valuable knowledge to the consideration of many subjects, from their having seen the problems involved being worked out under different or simpler conditions. Though this Representation would not be perfect, it would supply the immediate want. It would be real Representation in one part of the Imperial Parliament to which the Imperial authority is responsible. It would provide what is most wanted, by letting in fresh air and daylight in Councils upon the world, and thus a power of growth would be evolved, and gradually produce any further development as circumstances changed and required it. It has been suggested that the Ministers of the Colonies could support delegates, but that would not be pure Parliamentary Representation, nor would such delegates be untrammelled members of Parliament, representative individuals, (not plenipotentiaries) as the Colonial delegates should be so long as they remained accredited. The Ministers who had majorities would almost practically elect them. It has been suggested that the paid Agents-General of the Colonies should be the delegates. This should be a matter of choice to the Colonial Parliaments, and the paid Agents have some functions which are rather incompatible. They are permanent officers, who are selected for capacity for office business and finance. Their permanence adds to their efficiency. Their attending to other business might impair efficiency, and, finally, they may not be the Representative men wanted.

The proposal for Representation in the House of Lords is the only one which appears immediately practicable, and fulfils most of the requisite conditions, and if the present opportunity is lost of the approaching reform of that House, Representation in any satisfactory form must be indefinitely postponed. One of the only other proposals now made for an immediate meeting of the wants of the Colonies, is that the Secretary for the Colonies should call on the Colonial Ministries to accredit their Agents or others to advise him on matters of interest to Colonies in a "Council of Advice." But he might not take their advice, and besides, the English Ministry could not serve two masters. They must be responsible to the Parliament which can hurl them from office. Divided responsibility would only increase the present irresponsibility. The "Council of Advice" would be no open Parliament, and would not have weight or move public opinion. Then the member of the Council, say for British Guiana, could give but little advice about South Africa, and *vice versa*; and the Secretary alone would not be able to discuss all the Imperial affairs which indirectly touched the Colonies. Only in open Parliament could these varied matters be properly discussed, and the Colonies properly represented.

Earl Grey proposes that such Colonial delegates should be members of the Privy Council, and form a Committee of that body. These would still be a mere "Council of Advice," and then the members of the Privy

Council are bound to secrecy, and there are reasons for its privacy, and it would be an innovation to force delegates into that private Council, to which the Sovereign alone calls persons will at. It, or any "Council of Advice," is a Council responsible to the Sovereign, and not one to which Government is responsible, which is the condition required in our Home Representation.

The only other proposal of some immediate course is that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider what is required. But what is wanted is abundantly clear, and what is immediately practicable is also clear, and while the Royal Commission was looking abroad for this, the one Home opportunity may pass for the Colonies—Representation in those Councils of the Empire at which its Government is responsible. But if the admission of the Representation of the Colonies to the one House of Parliament which can receive them, is pressed and carried out, then these representatives would take the place of any such Royal Commission. Those who were able men would naturally, from time to time, be called to Her Majesty's Privy Council, and they would become, in some way or other, the influential advisers of Her Majesty's Ministers, with or without any "Council of Advice."

It is, therefore, to the one immediately practicable measure for giving the Colonies real Representation in the present Imperial Parliament, so as to make the Colonists in fact, as well as in name, citizens, that the earnest attention of the Leagues and of Colonists, and of Her Majesty's Ministers should be called at once.

The hour has arrived and the man. Not only are Mr. Forster, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Rosebery, and many other members of both Houses prepared to press for the Representation of the Colonies, but Mr. Gladstone ought to be now addressed and asked to bring his mind and power to bear upon the satisfactory solution of this question, which must enlist his complete sympathy. He has now given Representation to two millions more at Home, and he has the mental capacity and political power to devise means by which many millions of Colonists over the sea shall be given "Home Representation at once."

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Federation Enabling Act.

A Speech Delivered by R. B. Wilkinson, M.L.A in the Legislative Assembly, New South Wales September 10th, 1885

W. E. Smith, Printer, Sydney 28 & 30 Bridge Street 1885.

My excuse for publishing this short speech is the hope I have that its perusal may induce a careful examination of the Federal Enabling Act before its adoption.

R. B. Wilkinson.

Sydney,  
24th September, 1885,

## The Federation Enabling Act.

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Sir,—I am very glad to see that the Government are giving hon. members an opportunity of expressing their views on the Federation Enabling Act, for in my opinion the prospects of not only Australasian but Imperial federation depend in no small degree on the course the colonies may adopt in regard to this Act. I will not now go into the question of the authority of the Convention to deal with so important a matter, and I do not intend to occupy the time of the House by discussing the various clauses of the Act, neither will I dwell on the proportionate representation of the colonies, or go into the question as to whether that representation should be on a population basis, or on the basis provided by the Act; but I would remind those who bring forward the Senate of the United States as a precedent, that that Senate is only one branch of a Legislature, and it has to work with the House of Representatives, which, as we all know, is elected on a population basis. The same may be said of the Senate of the Dominion of Canada, and of other Federal States. I would also draw the attention of hon. members to the constitution of the Council as provided in clause 5, which reads as follows :—

*Each colony shall be represented in the Council by two members, except in the case of Crown colonies, which shall be represented by one member each. Her Majesty, at the request of the Legislatures of the colonies, may by order in council from time to time increase the number of representatives for each colony.*

Thus, Tasmania, with its area of 26,375 square miles and population of 130,541, has as much voice in the Council as Victoria, with an area of 87,884 square miles and population of a million, or New South Wales, with her area of 309,175 square miles, and population also of about a million. Then clause 13 provides that a

majority of members shall form a quorum; and as the total number of representatives will be fourteen, the quorum will be eight; and as five is the majority of eight, it follows that it is possible that Fiji, Tasmania, and South Australia may enact laws to bind all Australasia. But perhaps these difficulties might be overcome if the powers of the Council were strictly limited and defined, or, in other words, if the Act carried out what I take to have been the intention of the Convention. In trying to arrive at what this intention was, it is to be regretted that the press was not allowed to be present and report its proceedings, and in the absence of those reports we can only judge of the intention of the Convention by the resolutions it arrived at, and by the speeches of the various Premiers in submitting those resolutions to their Parliaments.

On referring to the report of the proceedings of the Convention, we find that on 3rd December a committee was appointed "to consider and report upon the best mode of constituting a Federal Australasian Council, and the definition of its functions and authority." On the following day we find that "Mr. Dalley, as chairman of the committee appointed to prepare resolutions to form a basis constituting a Federal Council of Australasia, brought up the report of such committee, which was ordered to be printed and circulated." Up to this point we hear of "resolutions" only, but the next day we find that "the Convention proceeded to consider the report of the committee to which was referred the preparing of resolutions to form a basis for constituting a Federal Council of Australasia"; then "the question that the report be received" was adopted, and, on the motion of Mr. Dalley, the Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole for the purpose of considering the Bill prepared by the committee." This is the first we heard of a "Bill." On the 6th this Bill was further considered, and on the 7th—that is, in four days from its inception,—after amendment, it was adopted, and on the motion of Mr. Griffith the following resolution was agreed to :—

*That this Convention, recognising that the time has not yet arrived at which a complete federal union of the Australasian colonies can be attained; but, considering that there are many matters of general interest with respect to which united action would be advantageous, adopts the accompanying draft bill for the constitution of a Federal Council, as defining the matters upon which in its opinion such united action is both desirable and practicable at the present time, and as embodying the provisions best adapted to secure that object, so far as it is now capable of attainment.*

I want hon. members to particularly note the wording of this resolution, because I shall presently invite their attention to the manner in which the Act carries out this defining process; but meanwhile we will see what light the Premiers throw on the subject. Mr. Service, in his speech introducing the resolutions to his Parliament, quoted the following from Sir Henry Parkes' memorandum of 1881. Sir Henry Parkes said:—

*That an organisation which would lead men to think in the direction of federation and accustom the public mind to federal ideas would be the best preparation for the foundation of federal government. The bill has been prepared to carry out the idea of a mixed body, partly legislative and partly administrative, as the forerunner of a more matured system of federal government. Care has been taken throughout to give effective power to the proposed council within prescribed limits, without impairing the authority of the colonics represented in that body.*

*No attempt has been made to constitute the proposed council on any historical model, but the object has been to meet the circumstances of the present Australian situation, and to pave the way for a complete federal organisation hereafter.*

Of this, Mr. Service said:—

*More suitable language could not be employed at the present moment. Our desire is that we should unite on those subjects on which we can unite, and on which it is most desirable that we should unite, and leave it to time—and that time, I venture to predict, will speedily come—for these colonies to seek for an extension of the powers sought to be conferred upon them by the lines of this bill.*

In another part of his speech, Mr. Service said:—

*I will add that it is not intended or expected that the Imperial Government will ask the Imperial Parliament to enact the bill exactly in the shape in which it will be sent to them for their consideration . . . . . Unless the various colonies indicate in some degree their wishes, the Imperial Government will not know on what lines we want to go.*

And further on he said:—

*Some people may say—it has been said in other places, if not here—that the bill does not go far enough, and that no such measure could go far enough, unless it embraced other subjects, such as that of an Australasian tariff. . . . Under the existing Imperial law, any two colonies have power to enter into a compact on fiscal matters if they think proper; but for us under the present circumstances to have introduced this question of tariff at the Convention, or to have proposed it in connection with the Federal Council Bill, would have been the very height of absurdity.*

Mr. Woods: It would have capsized the whole lot.

Mr. Service: Yes; we made up our minds before the Convention met that the question of common tariff was

a question that must be religiously tabooed, and it was tabooed; it was not mentioned by a single member of the Convention.

*Major Smith: What is to prevent two colonies from assimilating their tariffs?*

*Mr. Service: Nothing at all. They could do so tomorrow under the existing Imperial statute; and now we are going for another Imperial statute to enable us to do other things.*

*Mr. Griffith, Premier of Queensland, in discussing the matter, said:—*

*The resolution by which this bill was adopted indicated exactly the scope of the action which the members of the Convention thought was needed.*

*And after reading the resolution, which I have already read, goes on to say :—*

*That resolution exactly expresses the position which I think the colonies may adopt at the present time.*

*And he also said :—*

*The whole scheme is tentative.*

Mr. Dalley and Mr. Dibbs, as hon. members will recollect, spoke to the same effect. Now, what could the House gather from the resolutions of the Convention, and from the explanations of the Premiers, but that the intention of the Convention was to establish a Council, whose powers should be most strictly limited to certain matters, and, as Mr. Griffith said, of an entirely tentative nature? And, to use Mr. Kerferd's words:—

*The proposals of the Convention were only put in the form of a bill because that was the form in which what was proposed could be most conveniently conveyed. The draft bill was not a bill in any other sense of the word, therefore all the House would be asked to commit itself to would be the leading features embodied in the bill.*

If we examine clause 15, which is supposed to define the powers of the Council, we shall see how this intention is carried out. That clause says:—

*Saving Her Majesty's prerogative, and subject to the provisions herein contained with respect to the operation of this Act, the council shall have legislative authority in respect to the several matters following:—*

- *The relations of Australasia with the Islands of the Pacific.*
- *Prevention of the influx of criminals.*
- *Fisheries in Australasian waters beyond territorial limits.*
- *The service of civil process of the courts of any colony within Her Majesty's possessions in Australasia out of the jurisdiction of the colony in which it is issued.*
- *The enforcement of judgments of courts of law of any colony beyond the limits of the colony.*
- *The enforcement of criminal process beyond the limits of the colony in which it is issued, and the extradition of offenders (including deserters of wives and children and deserters from the Imperial or Colonial Naval or Military Forces).*
- *The custody of offenders on board ships belonging to Her Majesty's Colonial Governments beyond territorial limits.*
- *Any matter which, at the request of the legislatures of the colonies, Her Majesty by order in council shall think fit to refer to the council.*

So far, it is definite, and we know what we are doing, and this may be called the basis of the federation. We will now go on to the subsection (i) which reads as follows:—

*Such of the following matters as may be referred to the Council by the Legislature of any two or more colonies, that is to say : General defences, quarantine, patents of invention and discovery, copyright, bills of exchange and promissory notes, uniformity of weights and measures, recognition in other colonies of any marriage or divorce duly solemnized or decreed in any colony, naturalisation of aliens, status of corporations and joint-stock companies in other colonies than that in which they have been constituted.*

I think it will be agreed that most of these are also legitimate subjects for federal action; but what shall we say of this ?—

*And any other matter of general Australasian interest, with respect to which the Legislatures of the several colonies can legislate within their own limits, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a law of general application.*

And this is what is called defining and limiting the powers of the Council. I would ask hon. members whether and words can have a wider or more unlimited scope ? Why, it embraces even the question of tariffs, which Mr. Service says was altogether tabooed at the Convention, a subject not to be mentioned, and Mr. Griffith says does not come within the scope of the Act. But, I would ask, is it not a question of Australasian interest ? Then, what is to prevent any two or more colonies bringing it before the Council, and having the policy of the majority present at the time made the Act of the Federal Council on the subject. Under this clause there is no limit to the powers of this Council of 14. Of course, there is the proviso giving the option of adoption, but I look on this as a delusion and a snare, for in many cases there would be no option whatever. The absurdity is that the Convention unanimously resolved that the time had not arrived for a complete federal



union, but this sub-section puts it in the power of a majority of the Council to say when that time has arrived in relation to any subject. Would the people's representatives have agreed to this if they had been consulted? According to this sub-section, the scope and constitution of the Council can be altered at the pleasure of any two or more colonies who happen at the time to have a majority in the Council. We might as well give a majority of the members of the Legislative Council, on the motion of any two of them, permission to give themselves power to deal with money bills. In this Council the majority at the time passes an Act which, we will say, suits and is adopted by some of the colonies. It is then the Act of the Federal Council on that subject, and the colonies which that Act does not suit must stand out until they can muster a majority to repeal or amend that Act to suit themselves, for there cannot be two Acts of general application on the same subject; and when we consider the prestige which will attach to an Act of the Federal Council, we will realise the competition there will be amongst the colonies to have their particular policies at the time made Acts of Federal Council. After a time we shall find ourselves in this position—that some of the colonies will be members of the confederation on some subjects, others on other subjects, each group having an Act of Federal Council to suit itself, and all being bound for all time on other subjects, their own Legislatures having no power in the matter, whether they remain in the confederation or not. In time, a colony would find itself entangled in such a network of unlooked-for Federal Acts adopted by the other colonies, and many of them having a direct or indirect effect on its own federal and local legislation, that to get out of the difficulty and to save its own autonomy, it would be forced to retire from the federation. But, even in retiring, it is still bound for ever by the Acts of the Federal Council to which it had been a party, its own Legislature being utterly powerless either to amend or repeal those Acts, or touch them in any way. I ask hon. members whether any British colony would remain long in such a position, even if it had to fight its way out of it. Again, clause 29 gives the majority power to make representations to Her Majesty on any subject, no matter what. Of course, the dissenting colonies can make their counter representations, but what force will they have against the representations of the Federal Council? We have had an instance of this lately, when, even with all our Soudan prestige, we have been snubbed for asking such amendments in the recommendation of a Convention as would save us from being obliged to stand out of the federation. Do we not see what a field this opens out for over-reaching and scheming for majorities in the Council, and what a chance for the display of ambassadorial talents which have lately had no opportunity for action? What confidence can any colony have in adopting such an act as this, which may begin in federation, but leads, God knows where? Sir, I cannot understand any body of men who have read the Act being so utterly lost to the solemn trust reposed in them as to sacrifice their constituents' birthright for such a mess of pottage as this.

If we look for examples, where shall we find one like this "cunning'st pattern" of a Legislature. I know of none. All the federal bodies of the world have their two Chambers, one of which is in all cases elected on a population basis. All have their powers most sharply defined, and in none can those powers be enlarged without the consent of all the contracting States. But this Act hands over everything, not excepting its own constitution, to a majority of its members, who can introduce what subjects they like, and legislate on them as they like. The other colonies can dissent or retire if they like, but they will retire hampered for all time with all the previous Acts of the Council, and they cannot free themselves. After the requests for amendment from New South Wales and New Zealand, the British Government has done a great wrong in forcing this new constitution upon us, and the want of interest displayed by the British Parliament in its discussion reminds one of the passing of the American Stamp Duties Act. God send that will be its only point of resemblance! Mr. Forster congratulated the colonies on its passing. I wonder whether Mr. Forster would congratulate England if such an Act had been passed for Imperial Federation? Of course, no colony is compelled to adopt this Act; but what will be the position of a colony standing out? The Federal Council, as having been established by Act of the Imperial Parliament, will be looked on in England as the only legalised medium of joint action on the part of the colonies, and the colony standing out will be regarded as representing its own individual interests in opposition to those of Australasia generally; and it will be difficult for those at a distance to judge of the merits of the case, even if they care to inquire into them. And, as I have already pointed out, if the representations of New South Wales and New Zealand have been ignored when supposed to be opposed to the wish of a mere Convention, what can be looked for when opposed to Acts of Federal Council? I will give place to no man in my desire to further federation, but this Act will kill federation; for, instead of promoting unity, it produces disintegration; instead of confidence, distrust. In a tentative measure such as this, the powers of the Council should be most strictly limited and defined, and should not be enlarged without the consent of all the contracting parties. As the Council gains experience and begins to realise federation and understand the real federal interests of Australasia, and by its actions gains the confidence of the colonies, its scope may be enlarged, but not without the consent of all the parties to the contract. I am quite aware that under these circumstances any one colony could prevent legislation on any matters other than those specified, but it is not likely that any one colony could stand out for long against what was evidently for the good of all; but even if it did, it would be better than that

the injustice should be done of the Council exercising powers which were not contemplated at the time that colony entered the federation. For it must always be borne in mind that to make federation a success it must grow up on the confidence of all the colonies. Besides, if one colony prevented any matter being brought before the Council, the other colonies could come to an agreement outside the Council on that subject; and if it proved to be for the good of Australasia, public opinion would force the other colony to join, and then the stamp of the Federal Council could be given to it. My idea is to let federation begin within safe limits, and afterwards grow up on the confidence of all the colonies; but under this Act it is difficult to say which is worse off—the colony which joins the federation, those which stand out, or those which, having once joined, have retired from the federation. Our Government has been accused of disloyalty to federation. I say it has acted with the truest loyalty; for, when it found that the Bill which took four days from its conception to its birth, when it found that this Bill, instead of limiting and defining the scope of the Council, gave that Council the widest and most unlimited powers, and when it found, besides, that without amendments this colony could never join; I say that, when the Government found all this, it would have been guilty of the grossest disloyalty to the cause of federation if it had taken any other course than the one it so tardily took. The Government is to be commended for its action—what it is to be condemned for is its inaction. It seems to me most unaccountable that any Government could have remained so long inactive under such circumstances. But if our Government is to be condemned for its inaction, what is to be said of those Governments who are forcing on this calamity, and those Parliaments who are willing to sacrifice all their rights and privileges, and prostrate themselves bound at the feet of this pretence, this shadow, this burlesque of federation? It is said that the opposition of this colony arises from jealousy of Victoria. I have no such feeling. I spent ten years of my life in that colony, and another fifteen years amongst my constituents of Balranald, whose business relations were, till lately, nearly all with Victoria; some of my oldest and dearest friends are Victorians, and it is because I respect Victoria that, had I the chance, I would implore her to pause and consider well before she makes this fearful, this irreparable sacrifice; and for what?—to grasp at a shadow and lose the substance. I am most assuredly convinced that the prosperity of these colonies, and particularly of my district, is bound up in federation, and it is because I hold this conviction so strongly that I now raise my voice in protest against this Act, which must retard, if it does not altogether kill, federation.

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1885.

Personal Representation. Speech of John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P.,

Delivered in the House of Commons, May 29, 1807.

With an Appendix, Containing Notices of Reports, Discussions, and Publications on the System in France, Geneva, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, the Australian Colonies, and the United States.

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## Preface.

It has been thought desirable to add to this reprint of Mr. Mill's Speech several Reports, Statements of Proceedings of Associated Bodies, Discussions, and Publications in other countries of Europe, and in the United States and Australia, on the subject of Personal Representation, with the view of collecting in a small compass, for easy reference, some of the notices of the system, which show the attention which it has received and the adherence it has gained in countries possessing Representative Government.

## Speech of J. S. Mill, Esq., M.P., on Personal Representation.

On Clause 9, MR. MILL rose to substitute the following:—

*From and after the passing of the present bill, every local constituency shall, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained, return one member for every quota of its registered electors actually voting at that election, such quota being a number equal to the quotient obtained by dividing by 658 the total number of votes polled throughout the kingdom at the same election, and if such quotient be fractional, the integral number next less. Provided always, that where the number of votes given by the constituency shall not be equal to such quota, the quota may be completed by means of votes given by persons duly qualified as electors in any other part of the United Kingdom; and the candidate who shall have obtained such quota may notwithstanding be*

returned as member for the said constituency if he shall have obtained a majority of the votes given therein as hereinafter mentioned.

*(Elector to vote orally or by voting paper—Voting paper may state a succession of names in case those named in priority have obtained the quota.)*

2. Every elector shall vote at his appointed polling place, either orally as heretofore, or by a voting paper, and may on such voting paper state in numerical order the names of any of the candidates at such general election, to one of whom, taken in regular succession, the vote shall be given in case those named first or in priority on such voting paper shall, before it comes to be appropriated, have obtained the quota; but no vote given orally shall be taken for more than one candidate, and no vote given on a voting paper shall be counted for more than one candidate : provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the transmission of voting papers under the act of the 24th and 25th years of Victoria, chapter 53.

*(What candidates are to be returned as members.)*

3. The candidates returned as members shall be all those respectively for whom a quota of votes shall have been polled, whether in one or more than one constituency; and if less than six hundred and fifty-eight candidates have such quota, then those for whom the next greater number of votes have been polled until the number of six hundred and fifty-eight shall be completed; and such of the six hundred and fifty-eight candidates chosen as aforesaid as have the majority or greater number of votes in any local constituency shall be returned as members for such constituency.

*(Vacated seats to be filled up by the voters who returned the last member.)*

4. Any seat vacated by the acceptance of office, promotion to the peerage, or death of a member, shall be filled by election by the body or majority of the body of voters by whose actual votes he was returned.

*(Speaker to lay before Parliament rules for ascertaining the number of votes polled, of the quota, and for regulating form of voting papers and declaring the names of the members.)*

5. The Speaker of the House of Commons shall cause to be framed and shall lay before Parliament such rules as may be necessary for ascertaining and for certifying to the returning officers the total number of votes polled, and the number of the quota, for regulating the form of the voting papers, and the record, collection, and disposition thereof, and the appropriation of the same in the order of the names on each paper, the method to be observed in determining and declaring the six hundred and fifty-eight members who have respectively obtained the quota or number of votes nearest to the quota; and for carrying the provisions of this act into effect in any matter not otherwise provided for; and such rules shall, if the House shall so resolve, be entered on the journals, and the same, when so entered, with any amendment or amendments thereof, at any time adopted by the resolution of the House, shall be observed and performed at all future elections by all officers and persons to whose duties respectively the same relate.

The hon. gentleman said:—The proposal to which I am about to call the attention of the House, and which I move as an amendment to the redistribution clauses, because if it were adopted it would itself constitute a complete system of redistribution, has been framed for the purpose of embodying a principle which has not yet been introduced into our discussions—a principle which is overlooked in the practical machinery of our constitution, and disregarded in most of the projects of constitutional reformers, but which I hold, nevertheless, to be most important to the beneficial working of representative government; and if while we are making great changes in our system of representation we omit to engraft this principle upon it, the advantages we obtain by our changes will be very much lessened, and whatever dangers they may be thought to threaten us with will be far greater and more real than they otherwise would be; and this I think I can establish by reasons so clear and conclusive that, though I cannot expect to obtain at once the assent of the House, I do confidently hope to induce many members of it to take the subject into serious consideration. I cannot, indeed, hold out as an inducement that the principle I contend for is fitted to be a weapon of attack or defence for any political party. It is neither democratic nor aristocratic—neither Tory, Whig, nor Radical; or, let me rather say, it is all these at once: it is a principle of fair play to all parties and opinions without distinction : it helps no one party or section to bear down others but is for the benefit of whoever is in danger of being borne down. It is therefore a principle in which all parties may concur, if they prefer permanent justice to a temporary victory; and I believe that what chiefly hinders them is that, as the principle has not yet found its way into the commonplaces of political controversy, many have never heard of it, and many others have heard just enough about it to misunderstand it. In bringing this subject before the House I am bound to prove two things : first, that there is a serious practical evil requiring remedy; and then, that the remedy I propose is practicable, and would be efficacious. I will first speak of the evil. It is a great evil; it is one which exists not only in our own, but in every other representative constitution; we are all aware of it; we all feel and acknowledge it in particular cases; it enters into all our calculations, and bears with a heavy weight upon us all. But as we have always been used to think of it as incurable, we think of it as little as we can; and are hardly aware how greatly it affects the whole course of our affairs, and how prodigious would be the gain to our policy, to our morality, to our civilization

itself, if the evil were susceptible of a remedy. This House and the country are now anxiously engaged, and certainly not a day too soon, in considering what can be done for the unrepresented. We are all discussing how many non-electors deserve to-be represented, and in what mode to give them representation. But my complaint is that the electors are not represented. The representation which they seem to have, and which we have been quarrelling about the extension of, is a most imperfect and insufficient representation; and this imperfect and insufficient representation is what we are offering to the new classes of voters whom we are creating. Just consider. In every Parliament there is an enormous fraction of the whole body of electors who are without any direct representation, consisting of the aggregate of the minorities in all the contested elections, together with we know not what minorities in those which, from the hopelessness of success, have not even been contested. All these electors are as completely blotted out from the constituency, for the duration of that Parliament, as if they were legally disqualified; most of them, indeed, are blotted out indefinitely, for in the majority of cases those who are defeated once are likely to be defeated again. Here, therefore, is a large portion of those whom the constitution intends to be represented, a portion which cannot average less than a third, and may approximate to a half, who are virtually in the position of non-electors. But the local majorities, are they truly represented? In a certain rough way they are. They have a member or members who are on the same side with themselves in party politics; if they are Conservatives, they have a professed Conservative; if Liberals, a professed Liberal. This is something; it is a great deal, even; but is it everything? Is it of no consequence to an elector who it is that sits in Parliament as his representative, if only he does not sit on the wrong side of the House? Sir, we need more than this. We all desire not only that there should be a sufficient number of Conservatives or of Liberals in the House, but that these should, as far as possible, be the best men of their respective parties; and the elector, for himself, desires to be represented by the man who has most of his confidence in all things, and not merely on the single point of fidelity to a party. Now, this is so entirely unattainable under the present system, that it seems like a dream even to think of it as a rule. The only choice offered to the elector is between the two great parties. There are only as many candidates of each party as there are seats to be filled; to start any others would divide the party, and in most cases ensure its defeat. And what determines who these candidates are to be? Sometimes the mere accident of being first in the field. Sometimes the fact of having stood and been defeated on some previous occasion, when the sensible men of the party did not engage in the contest because they knew it to be hopeless. In general, half a dozen local leaders, who may be honest politicians, but who may be jobbing intriguers, select the candidate, and whether they are of the one kind or the other, their conduct is much the same—they select the gentleman who will spend most money; or, when this indispensable qualification is equally balanced, it answers best to propose somebody who has no opinions but the party ones; for every opinion which he has of his own, and is not willing to abnegate, will probably lose him some votes, and give the opposite party a chance. How many electors are there, I wonder, in the United Kingdom, who are represented by the person whom, if they had a free choice, they would have themselves selected to represent them? In many constituencies, probably not one. I am inclined to think that almost the only electors who are represented exactly as they would wish to be are those who were bribed; for they really have got for their members the gentlemen who bribed highest. Sometimes, perhaps, the successful candidate's own tenants would have voted for him in preference to any one else, however wide a choice had been open to them. But in most cases the selection is the result of a compromise, even the leaders not proposing the man they would have liked best, but being obliged to concede something to the prejudices of other members of the party. Having thus, as I think, made out a sufficient case of evil requiring remedy, let me at once state the remedy I propose. My proposal, then, is this: That votes should be received in every locality, for others than the local candidates. An elector who declines to vote for any of the three or four persons who offer themselves for his own locality, should be allowed to bestow his vote on any one who is a candidate anywhere, whether put up by himself or by others. If the elector avails himself of this privilege, he will naturally vote for the person he most prefers, the one person among all that are willing to serve who would represent him best; and if there are found in the whole kingdom other electors, in the proper number, who fix their choice on the same person, that person should be declared duly elected. Some number of electors there must be who may be considered entitled to one representative—what that number is depends on the numbers of the House, compared with the total number of electors in the country. Suppose that there is one member for every 5,000 registered electors, or one for every 3,000 actual voters, then every candidate who receives 3,000 votes would be returned to this House in whatever parts of the country his voters might happen to live. This is the whole of my proposal, as far as its substance is concerned. To give it effect, some subsidiary arrangements are necessary, which I shall immediately state. But I must first notice an objection which presents itself on the threshold, and has so formidable an appearance that it prevents many persons from giving any further consideration to the subject. It is objected that the plan destroys the local character of the representation. Every constituency, it is said, is a group having certain interests and feelings in common, and if you disperse these groups by allowing the electors to group themselves in other combinations, those interests and feelings will be deprived of their

representation. Now I fully admit that the interests and feelings of localities ought to be represented, and I add that they always will be represented, because those interests and feelings exist in the minds of the electors; and as the plan I propose has no effect but to give the freest and fullest play to the individual elector's own preferences, his local preferences are certain to exercise their proper amount of influence. I do not know what better guardian of a feeling can be wanted than the man who feels it, or how it is possible for a man to have a vote, and not carry his interests and feelings, local as well as general, with him to the polling booth. Indeed, it may be set down as certain that the majority of voters in every locality will generally prefer to be represented by one of themselves, or one connected with the place by some special tie. It is chiefly those who know themselves to be locally in a minority, and unable to elect a local representative of their opinions, who would avail themselves of the liberty of voting on the new principle. As far as the majority were concerned, the only effect would be that their local leaders would have a greatly increased motive to find out and bring forward the best local candidate that could be had, because the electors, having the power of transferring their votes elsewhere, would demand a candidate whom they would feel it a credit to vote for. The average quality of the local representation would consequently be improved, but local interests and feelings would still be represented, as they cannot possibly fail to be, as long as every elector resides in a locality. If, however, the House attaches any weight to this chimerical danger, I would most gladly accept by way of experiment a limited application of the new principle. Let every elector have the option of registering himself either as a local or as a general voter. Let the elections for every county or borough take place on the local registry, as they do at present. But let those who choose to register themselves as members of a national constituency have representatives allowed to them in proportion to their number, and let these representatives and no others be voted for on the new principle. I will now state the additional but very simple arrangements required to enable the plan to work. Supposing 3,000 voters to be the number fixed upon as giving a claim to a representative, it is necessary that no more than this minimum number should be counted for any candidate, for otherwise a few very eminent or very popular names might engross nearly all the votes, and no other person might obtain the required number or any number that would justify his return. No more votes, then, being counted for any candidate than the number necessary for his election, the remainder of those who voted for him would lose their vote unless they were allowed to put on their voting paper a second name, for whom the vote could be used if it was not wanted by the candidate who stood first. In case this second candidate also should not need the vote, the voter might add a third, or any greater number, in the order of his preference. This is absolutely all that the elector would have to do more than he does at present; and I think it must be admitted that this is not a difficult idea to master, and not beyond the comprehension of the simplest elector. The only persons on whom anything more troublesome would devolve are the scrutineers, who would have to sort the voting papers, and see for which of the names written in it each of them ought to be counted. A few simple rules would be necessary to guide the scrutineers in this process. My amendment entrusts the duty of drawing up those rules to the judgment and experience of the right lion, gentleman who presides over our deliberations, subject to the approbation of the House. Let me now ask hon. members is there anything in all this either incomprehensible or insuperably difficult of execution ! I can assure the House that I have not concealed any difficulty. I have given a complete, though a brief, account of what most hon. members must have heard of, but few, I am afraid, know much about—the system of personal representation proposed by my eminent friend, Mr. Hare—a man distinguished by that union of large and enlightened general principles, with an organizing intellect and a rare fertility of practical contrivance, which together constitute a genius for legislation. People who have merely heard of Mr. Hare's plan have taken it into their heads that it is particularly hard to understand and difficult to execute. But the difficulty is altogether imaginary: to the elector there is no difficulty at all; to the scrutineers, only that of performing correctly an almost mechanical operation. Mr. Hare, anxious to leave nothing vague or uncertain, has taken the trouble to discuss in his book the whole detail of the mode of sorting the voting papers. People glance at this, and because they cannot take it all in at a glance it seems to them very mysterious. But when was there any act of Parliament that could be understood at a glance? and how can gentlemen expect to understand the details of a plan unless they first possess themselves of its principle ? If we were to read a description, for example, of the mode in which letters are sorted at the Post-office, would it not seem to us very complicated ? Yet, among so vast a number of letters, how seldom is any mistake made. Is it beyond the compass of human ability to ascertain that the first and second names on a voting paper have been already voted for by the necessary quota, and that the vote must be counted for the third ? And does it transcend the capacity of the agents of the candidates, the chief registrar, or a committee of this House, to find out whether this simple operation has been honestly and correctly performed? If these are not insuperable difficulties, I can assure the House that they will find there are no others. Many will think that I greatly over-estimate the importance of securing to every elector a direct representation, because those who are not represented directly are represented indirectly. If Conservatives are not represented in the Tower Hamlets, or Liberals in West Kent, there are plenty of Conservatives and Liberals returned elsewhere; and those who are defeated may console themselves by the

knowledge that their party is victorious in many other places. Their party. Yes: but is that all we have to look to? Is representation of parties all we have a right to demand from our representative system? If that were so we might as well put up three flags inscribed with the words, Tory, Whig, and Radical, and let the electors make their choice among the flags, and when they have voted, let the leaders of the winning party select the particular persons who are to represent it. In this way we should have, I venture to say, an admirable representation of the three parties: all the seats which fell to the lot of each party would be filled by its steadiest and ablest adherents, by those who would not only serve the party best in the House, but do it most credit with the country. All political parties, merely as such, would be far better represented than they are now, when accidents of personal position have so great a share in determining who shall be the Liberal or who the Conservative member for each place. Why is it, then, that such a system of representation would be intolerable to us? Sir, it is because we look beyond parties; because we care for something besides parties; because we know that the constitution does not exist for the benefit of parties, but of citizens; and we do not choose that all the opinions, feelings, and interests of all the members of the community should be merged in the single consideration of which party shall predominate. We require a House of Commons which shall be a fitting representative of all the feelings of the people, and not merely of their party feelings. We want all the sincere opinions and public purposes which are shared by a reasonable number of electors to be fairly represented here; and not only their opinions, but that they should be able to give effect by their vote to their confidence in particular men. Then why, because it is a novelty, refuse to entertain the only mode in which it is possible to obtain this complete reflection in the House of the convictions and preferences existing in the constituent body? By the plan I propose every elector would have the option of voting for the one British subject who best represented his opinions, and to whom he was most willing to entrust the power of judging for him on subjects on which his opinions were not yet formed. Sir, I have already made the remark, that this proposal is not specially liberal, nor specially conservative, but is, in the highest degree, both liberal and conservative; and I will substantiate this by showing that it is a legitimate corollary from the distinctive doctrines of both parties. Let me first address myself to Conservatives. What is it that persons of conservative feelings specially deprecate in a plan of parliamentary reform? It is the danger that some classes in the nation may be swamped by other classes. What is it that we are warned against as the chief among the dangers of democracy? not untruly as democracy is vulgarly conceived and practised. It is that the single class of manual labourers would, by dint of numbers, outvote all other classes, and monopolize the whole of the legislature. But by the plan I propose no such thing could happen; no considerable minority could possibly be swamped; no interest, no feeling, no opinion which numbered in the whole country a few thousand adherents, need be without a representation in due proportion to its numbers. It is true that by this plan a minority would not be equivalent to a majority; a third of the electors could not outvote two-thirds and obtain a majority of seats; but a third of the electors could always obtain a third of the seats; and these would probably be filled by men above the average in the influence which depends on personal qualities, for the voters who were outnumbered locally would range the whole country for the best candidate, and would elect him without reference to anything but their personal confidence in him; the representatives of the minorities would, therefore, include many men whose opinion would carry weight even with the opposite party. Then, again, it is always urged by Conservatives, and is one of the best parts of their creed, that the legislators of a nation should not all be men of the same stamp—a variety of feelings, interests, and prepossessions should be found in this House—and it should contain persons capable of giving information and guidance on every topic of importance that is likely to arise. This advantage, we are often assured, has really been enjoyed under our present institutions, by which almost every separate class or interest which exists in the country is somehow represented, with one great exception, which we are now occupied in removing—that of manual labour—and this advantage many Conservatives think that we are now in danger of losing. But the plan I propose ensures this variegated character of the representation in a degree never yet obtained, and guarantees its preservation under any possible extension of the franchise. Even universal suffrage, even the handing over of political predominance to the numerical majority of the whole people, would not then extinguish minorities. Every dissentient opinion would have the opportunity of making itself heard, and heard through the very best and most effective organs it was able to procure. We should not find the rich or the cultivated classes retiring from politics, as we are so often told they do in America, because they cannot present themselves to any body of electors with a chance of being returned. Such of them as were known and respected out of their immediate neighbourhood would be elected in considerable numbers, if not by a local majority, yet by a union of local minorities; and instead of being deterred from offering themselves, it would be the pride and glory of such men to serve in Parliament; for what more inspiring position can there be for any man than to be selected to fight the uphill battle of unpopular opinions in a public arena against superior numbers? All, therefore, which the best Conservatives chiefly dread in the complete ascendancy of democracy would be, if not wholly removed, at least diminished in a very great degree. These are the recommendations of the plan when looked at on its conservative side. Let us now look at it in its democratic aspect. I claim for it the support of all democrats as

being the only true realization of their political principles. What is the principle of democracy? Is it not that everybody should be represented, and that everybody should be represented equally? Am I represented by a member against whom I have voted, and am ready to vote again? Have all the voters an equal voice, when nearly half of them have had their representative chosen for them by the larger half? In the present mode of taking the suffrages nobody is represented but the majority. But that is not the meaning of democracy. Honest democracy does not mean the displacement of one privileged class and the instalment of another in a similar privilege because it is a more numerous or a poorer class. That would be a mere pretence of democratic equality. That is not what the working classes want. The working classes demand to be represented not because they are poor, but because they are human. No working man whom I have conversed with desires that the richer classes should be unrepresented, but only that their representation should not exceed what is due to their numbers; that all classes should have, man for man, an equal amount of representation. He does not desire that the majority should be alone represented. He desires that the majority should be represented by a majority, and the minority by a minority, and they only need to have it shown to them how this can be done. But I will go further. It is not only justice to the minorities that is here concerned. Unless minorities are counted the majority which prevails may be but a sham majority. Suppose that on taking a division in this House you compelled a large minority to step aside, and counted no votes but those of the majority; whatever vote you then took would be decided by the majority of that majority. Does not every one see that this would often be deciding it by a minority? The mere majority of a majority may be a minority of the whole. Now, what I have been hypothetically supposing to be done in this House, the present system actually does in the nation. It first excludes the minorities at all the elections. Not a man of them has any voice at all in determining the proceedings of Parliament. Well, now, if the members whom the majorities returned were always unanimous, we should be certain that the majority in the nation had its way. But if the majorities, and the members representing them, are ever divided, the power that decides is but the majority of a majority. Two-fifths of the electors, let us suppose, have failed to obtain any representation. The representatives of the other three-fifths are returned to Parliament, and decide an important question by two to one. Supposing the representatives to express the mind of their constituents. The question has been decided by a bare two-fifths of the nation, instead of a majority of it. Thus the present system is no more just to majorities than to minorities. It gives no guarantee that it is really the majority that preponderates. A minority of the nation, if it is a majority in the prevailing party, may outnumber and prevail over a real majority in the nation. Majorities are never sure of outnumbering minorities, unless every elector is counted—unless every man's vote is as effective as any other man's in returning a representative. No system but that which I am submitting to the House effects this, because it is the only system under which every vote tells, and every constituency is unanimous. This system, therefore, is equally required by the conservative and by the radical creeds. In practice, its chief operation would be in favour of the weakest, of those who were most liable to be outnumbered and oppressed. Under the present suffrage it would operate in favour of the working classes. Those classes form the majority in very few of the constituencies, but they are a large minority in many, and if they amount, say to a third of the whole electoral body, this system would enable them to obtain a third of the representation. Under any suffrage approaching to universal, it would operate in favour of the propertied and of the most educated classes; and though it would not enable them to outvote the others, it would leave to them and to the interests they represent a hearing and a just share in the representation. I am firmly persuaded, sir, that all parties in this House and in the country, if they could but be induced to give their minds to the consideration of this proposal, would end by being convinced, not only that it is entirely consistent with their distinctive principles, but that it affords the only means by which all that is best in those principles can be practically carried out. It would be a healing, a reconciling measure, softening all political transitions, securing that every opinion, instead of conquering or being conquered by starts and shocks, and passing suddenly from having no power at all in Parliament to having too much or the contrary, should wax or wane in political power in exact proportion to its growth or decline in the general mind of the country. So perfectly does this system realize the idea of what a representative government ought to be, that its perfection stands in its way, and is the great obstacle to its success. There is a natural prejudice against everything which professes much; men are unwilling to think that any plan which promises a great improvement in human affairs has not something quackish about it. I cannot much wonder at this prejudice when I remember that no single number of a daily paper is published whose advertising columns do not contain a score of panaceas for all human ills; when, in addition to all the pamphlets which load our tables, every member of this House, I suppose, daily receives private communications of plans by which the whole of mankind may at one stroke be made rich and prosperous, generally, I believe, by means of paper money. But if this age is fertile in new nonsense, and in new forms of old nonsense, it is an age in which many great improvements in human affairs have really been made. It is also an age in which, whether we will or not, we are entering on new paths; we are surrounded by circumstances wholly without example in history; and the wonder would be if exigencies so new could be dealt with in a completely satisfactory manner by the old means. We

should therefore ill discharge our duty if we obstinately refused to look into new proposals. This, sir, is not the mere crotchet of an individual. It has been very few years before the world, but already, by the mere force of reason, it has made important converts among the foremost public writers and public men in Germany, in France, in Switzerland, in Italy, in our Australian colonies, and in the United States. In one illustrious though small commonwealth, that of Geneva, a powerful association has been organized and is at work, under the presidency of one of the most eminent men in the Swiss federation, agitating for the reform of the constitution on this basis. And what in our own country? Why, sir, almost every thinking person I know who has studied this plan, or to whom it has been sufficiently explained, is for giving it at least a trial. Various modes have been suggested of trying it on a limited scale. With regard to the practical machinery proposed, neither I nor the distinguished author of the plan are wedded to its details, if any better can be devised. If the principle of the plan were admitted, a committee or a royal commission could be appointed to consider and report on the best means of providing for the direct representation of every qualified voter, and we should have a chance of knowing if the end we have in view could be attained by any better means than those which we suggest. But without some plan of the kind it is impossible to have a representative system really adequate to the exigencies of modern society. In all states of civilization, and in all representative systems, personal representation would be a great improvement; but, at present, political power is passing, or is supposed to be in danger of passing, to the side of the most numerous and poorest class. Against this class predominance, as against all other class predominance, the personal representation of every voter, and therefore the full representation of every minority, is the most valuable of all protections. Those who are anxious for safeguards against the evils they expect from democracy should not neglect the safeguard which is to be found in the principles of democracy itself. It is not only the best safeguard, but the surest and most lasting, because it combats the evils and dangers of false democracy by means of the true, and because every democrat who understands his own principles must see and feel its strict and impartial justice.

## Appendix A.

Report by Mr. Lytton, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, on the Election of Representatives for the Rigsraad.

*Mr. Lytton to Sir A. Paget. Copenhagen,*

July 1, 1863

Sir,

In conformity with the instructions contained in the Earl of Clarendon's circular despatch of February 27, 1857, and in the circular despatches upon the same subject addressed by Earl Russell to Her Majesty's Missions in the months of January and March 1860, I have the honour to submit to your inspection, with the request that you will be so good as to transmit the same to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the present Report upon the system now in use in Denmark for the election of Representatives to the Rigsraad, or Supreme Legislative Council of the United Kingdom of Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig, Lauenburg, and Holstein.

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In the first place, the mode of direct election for the Danish Rigsraad is a subject of which the interest, indeed, cannot be exhausted by the few general remarks to which this Report must be necessarily confined; but which, nevertheless, furnishes within comparatively close compass more matter for interesting inquiry than any other of which I can possibly think.

In the next place, it enables me to place on record some facts which I believe to be but little known, and which appear to me deserving of an attention greater, and more serious, than they have hitherto received.

In the third place, this is a subject which I venture to think of singular and special importance, because it illustrates by the experience of eight years (although, indeed, within limits much narrower than I could wish) the practical working and effect of a system of election which indeed has hitherto only been considered in England as a theory, but which has, nevertheless, been recently recommended to public attention by the mature approval of a profound and accurate thinker, whose opinion upon all questions of social and political progress is, perhaps, the most generally esteemed in Europe.

I believe that it was in the year 1859 that Mr. Thomas Hare first published his now well-known treatise on the "Election of Representatives." In 1860 some modifications of Mr. Hare's system were suggested in a pamphlet by Mr. Henry Fawcett, and the work has subsequently appeared in amplified form, but with greater condensation and simplification of the original system. In 1861 the proposals of Mr. Hare received additional weight from the concurrence and authority of Mr. John Stuart Mill, in whose recent work upon Representative



Government one of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the explanation and advocacy of those proposals.

Since writing the above, I find it stated in a note to the last edition of Mr. Hare's treatise, as well as in a contribution by the same writer to "Frazer's Magazine" for February, 1860, that the scheme in question was first published in 1857. This does not, however, alter the fact that it is Mr. Andræ, ex-Minister of Finance in this country, to whom is due the honour of having first conceived, as well as rendered practicable, a system of election by which the representation of minorities is secured in just proportion to that of the majority. A very slight and inadequate approximation to the great principle realized in this law does, indeed, appear to have been made in a scheme of municipal election for South Australia, attributed to Mr. Rowland Hill, and printed by order of the House of Commons, as early as 1839. I have not seen the details of this scheme; but it is obvious that they cannot have constituted anything more than a very partial and superficial recognition of the principle elaborately worked into law by Mr. Amine in 1855. A more analogous instance mentioned by Mr. Hare is the Duke of Richmond's project of a Reform Bill in 1780.

But in the year 1855, that is to say, four years previous to the first publication of Mr. Hare's theory of representation, a Danish statesman of great eminence and ability, considering the same subject from a different point of view, and arriving at almost identical results by a different process, had fully anticipated every essential principle and part of the electoral system first advocated in England by Mr. Hare.

It is obvious that in England this system, as yet barely promulgated, must, whatever its merits or defects, so long as it represents only a theoretical conclusion, be encountered by that mass of permanent and preconceived objection which adheres to all theory, and which is, indeed, itself the result of conclusions equally theoretical.

"Among the ostensible objectors to Mr. Hare's scheme, some profess," says Mr. Mill, "to think the plan unworkable."

There must always be ground sufficient to support objections of this nature to a scheme which has not been worked. It is, therefore, a fact by no means unimportant that in Denmark, at least, the scheme in question, or one precisely similar, has actually been working for eight years. For if the question "Will it work?" can be eliminated, the more important question of "What may be the result of its working?" will be entitled to increased attention. Nor is it uninteresting to find that, as regards the main question, the same result has been sought and attained in two instances by a dissimilar process. For if a disputed problem should present precisely the same result to two persons, one of whom undertakes to prove it by mathematics and the other by geometry, the conclusion will then stand upon double grounds that this result is accurate. The grounds upon which both Mr. Hare and Mr. Mill have probably formed the conclusions in which they agree, as to the best basis of an electoral system, would appear to have been chiefly political. Those upon which the basis they recommend has been established in Denmark are no doubt chiefly mathematical.

With the details of Mr. Hare's electoral theory the purpose of this Report is not immediately concerned. That purpose is merely to make intelligible the main features of the Electoral Law established in Denmark in the year 1855 for the election of Representatives to the Rigsraad.

To do this, however, the speediest and simplest means will be to take Mr. Hare's scheme as a point of comparison and reference. It will therefore be necessary to state what is the substance of this scheme. I will endeavour to do so as briefly as I can.

It will then be possible to contrast this scheme, in its chief characteristics, with that which is now law in Denmark, and which I propose to describe, pointing out to what extent the two systems coincide and in what respect they differ. Rightly to appreciate either the one or the other, it is necessary to bear in mind the ends which, in both cases, it has been sought to attain, and the reasons for which these ends have, in each case, appeared desirable. I must, therefore, ask permission to refer in passing to this important part of the subject. I shall do so as rapidly as is compatible with the claim of such a subject to be seriously considered. It will also be necessary, in referring to the Electoral Law of 1855, to point out the peculiar circumstances which unfortunately, by limiting the application of that Law, diminish its value as a practical example. Finally, I shall endeavour to record what, so far as I can yet judge from such conversation as I have been able to hold with persons of intelligence and impartiality interested in the subject, is the general impression in this country, after eight years' experience, of the practical effects of the electoral system devised by Mr. Andræ, and how far the result of it may be considered as having satisfied the intentions of the author.

I. Notwithstanding the length of time during which Representative Government has existed under various forms, it is not surprising that the majority of questions concerning government by representation should still be open to debate; for the conclusion to be formed upon any question of this kind must always be in relation to circumstances peculiar to the country in respect of which the question has to be solved. But in regard to the fundamental principle upon which all government by representation is based, and to the complete realization of which every form of Representative Government must approximate, in a greater or less degree according as the development of it is favoured or impeded by local circumstances, there would seem to be no reasonable ground for difference of opinion. It has been admitted on all sides that the completest form of Representative

Government must be that in which the greatest number of interests and opinions are completely represented; that form of government, in short, which most nearly approximates to the government of the whole by the whole. But by those who have arrived at the conclusions which have dictated, in the one case Mr. Hare's electoral scheme, in the other Mr. Andæ's electoral law, it is argued that such a result is incompatible with any system of representation which tends to assume the part as tantamount to the whole; in other words, to confound the majority with the people.

If, it is argued, the representatives of the majority be suffered by a political fiction to represent more than the majority, not only an arithmetical misstatement, but also a great political injustice, takes place. For the minority is then not merely unrepresented, but it is actually misrepresented. It is compulsorily incorporated into the majority; and this forced fellowship is, to use the words of Mr. Burke, "conquest and not compact." If it were possible to suppose (what is never the case) that the whole of the country were, indeed, divided into only two sections of opinion, of which one was more numerous than the other in the proportion of three to two, the minority in that case, if adequately represented, would stand in the representation at a proportion of two to three; but if it should occur, as it naturally would occur without some provision to the contrary, that the majority in each constituency were to dispose of the entire representation of that constituency to a member of the more numerous class, instead of there being in the Legislature two of the less numerous to every three of the more numerous sect, the minority would, in fact, have no means of meeting their adversaries in the Legislative Body at all. "They are," says Mr. Hare, "previously cut off in detail;" and in qualifying such a result, he cites the authority of M. Guizot, "Si la minorité est d'avance hors de combat il y a oppression."

But the evil, it is further argued, does not stop here. For all customary majorities are, indeed, only an agglomeration of minorities, each of which, rather than remain altogether unrepresented, has preferred to secure a sort of partial and collateral representation as part of an aggregate, which coheres only, perhaps, upon a single and often secondary point. The majority is thus only a majority of a majority, "who may be," says Mr. Mill, "and often are, a minority of the whole." "Any minority," he adds, "left out, either purposely or by the play of the machinery, gives the power, not to a majority, but to a minority in some other part of the scale."

And, although this inequality is, no doubt, balanced, to a great extent, in a system of representation such as that which obtains in England, by the fact that opinions, predominating in different places, find rough equivalents for the minority with which they are swept away in one place by the majority they secure in another; yet, if the suffrage were to be extended much further (and it cannot be considered as final at a point which leaves out of direct representation the most numerous class in the country), the danger which, under the present system, must then arise of Government by a single (and that, on the whole, the least educated) class has long been apparent to statesmen of all parties. At the same time it would be palpably unjust and humiliating to advocate the permanent exclusion of this numerous and important class from all direct representation, on no better grounds than those which involve the admission that the whole representative machinery of the country is constructed upon a principle so erroneous that the motive power cannot be augmented without throwing the entire machine out of gear.

To these considerations is added that of the deterioration of political character to which voters may be exposed by any sort of compulsion, to select as their Representatives, not those men whom they regard as the most enlightened and most honest exponents of their opinions or interests, but those who seem most likely to conciliate the local, and often ignoble, animosities by which majorities themselves are divided.

II. The above summary, although very imperfect, is sufficient to indicate the principal motives which, both in this country and in England, have suggested to eminent statesmen

Besides the works above mentioned I may refer to the Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell, 1854, which in regard to one of its provisions has been characterized as "the most remarkable, and, looking at its spirit rather than its form, the most philosophical amendment of the representative institution which has in this country had anything like authoritative sanction."—*Representation in Practice and Theory*, "FRASER," February, 1860.

the necessity of devising, if possible, some modification of the Electoral system, calculated to secure a more adequate representation to the interests of minorities.

I will now enumerate, within the narrowest possible limits, the most prominent of those provisions by which Mr. Hare proposes to obviate a defect, the existence of which is hardly disputed, and by which, in the Electoral Law of 1855, for the nomination of Representatives to the Supreme Council of Denmark, Mr. Andræ has sought to secure the same result, viz., the protection of minorities.

The essential character of the scheme proposed by Mr. Hare may be thus summed up :—

- The number of voters to be divided by the number of members composing the Legislative Body. The quotient to form the electoral basis, that is to say, every candidate obtaining the quota of votes shall be returned.
- No more than the quota strictly necessary for his return is to be counted in favour of any candidate. The

surplusage of the votes given to any elected candidate is to be distributed in favour of other candidates, in conformity with the principle embodied in the following provisions:—

¶The votes to be given locally; but every elector to be entitled to vote for any candidate who may offer himself in any part of the country,

¶Each elector to deliver a voting paper containing other names in addition to that which stands foremost in the order of his choice. His vote is to be counted for only one candidate. But if the candidate whose name stands first upon his list shall either fail to make up the quota, or shall have made it up without the assistance of his vote, the vote in question may then descend in the order of preference given to it by the elector to some other candidate who may stand more in need of it, and in whose favour it shall then count towards completing the necessary quota.

¶The question which of the votes obtained by each candidate shall count for his own return, and which of them shall be released in favour of other candidates, shall be decided in such way as to secure the representation by the candidate in question of all those who would not otherwise be represented at all. The remaining votes, not needed for his return, to be disposed of by lot or otherwise.

¶The voting papers to be conveyed to some central office and there counted; first votes being preferred to second votes, second to third, and so on. The voting papers, after being verified, shall remain in public repositories accessible to all.

This is a very meagre exposition of Mr. Hare's scheme, which is as minute in its details as it is large in its scope.

It is, however, enough to serve the only purpose with which it is here alluded to. For the scheme of Mr. Hare is devised with a view to its adaptation to existing circumstances in England; and this Report being only directly concerned with existing circumstances in Denmark, I may at once pass to the consideration of the Law of 1855, merely noting by the way that, if the aims and aspirations of Mr. Hare and Mr. Mill be worth realizing, then the extent to which they have been realized by the Law, and the general results of such experience of the working of the Law as must have been acquired in Denmark during the course of eight years, are subjects well worthy of attention.

III. The constitutional history of Denmark, although comparatively short, is far from deficient in interesting phenomena. Nurseries of self government were planted in this country in 1834 by Frederick VI., who then established Consultative States throughout the kingdom; so that when, after the revolutionary movement which convulsed Europe in 1848, it was deemed advisable to expand the basis of government in this country, the population was not wholly unprepared for increased participation in the management of public affairs. Those, indeed, who at that period were engaged in the work of political reconstruction appear to have been disposed to give to the representative element a larger scope than was eventually accorded to it, and they justified their hesitation on the ground that the constituencies were as yet too inexperienced. An able writer,

"Rigsraads-Valgloven og John Stuart Mill, af O. S." Copenhagen 1863

who has warmly engaged in the defence of Mr. Andre's electoral system, has ridiculed this notion by pointing out that the greater the electioneering experience of the constituency (that is to say, the more *rusés* the electors), the more certainly must the majority (unless some provision exist to the contrary) succeed in crushing the minority and monopolizing power. For if, as would have been the case under the system then contemplated, 65 members were to be chosen by 65,000 electors, no one elector being entitled to increase the value of his vote by voting for less than the full number of candidates, it is clear that the majority, consisting of 32,501 electors, would only have to hold firmly together in order to carry the whole number of the 65 seats in accordance with their choice. And in that case, no matter how prudently or sagaciously the minority, consisting of 32,499 electors, might exercise their franchise, these 32,499 electors would remain without any representative at all. How, then, should the real opinions of the electors be ascertained, in order that they may be represented in their just proportion? Suppose that of these 65,000 electors, a compact majority of 32,501 is opposed to various dispersed minorities, amounting altogether to 32,499. If the elections are distributed over 65 districts, it is possible that 32,064 of the majority might be found united in 64 districts against 31,936 of the minority. So that it would be only in the 65th district that the minority could make its voice heard. Nevertheless, the majority could only, with strict justice, claim 33 seats, and the remaining 32 should, in that case, it is clear, fall to the representation of various opinions, provided those opinions be not so dispersed as to be unable to come together in any place.

To attain this result—to secure the adequate representation of every tangible opinion and corporate interest, in such way that, while the majority of the electors shall be able to name the majority of the representatives, the minority of the electors shall be insured an equivalent minority in the representation—this is the great problem which, in 1855, Mr. Andræ undertook to solve.

Of all men in this country, his Excellency was, in many respects, the most fitted, by antecedent experience and natural qualifications, to succeed in the difficult task which he thus spontaneously attempted.

Mr. Andræ is a man of original and speculative intellect, a keen investigator, a bold thinker, admitted by all his countrymen to be the first mathematician in Denmark, and, from his position as Minister of Finance, experienced in the art of bringing the fundamental principles of abstract calculation practically to bear upon complicated facts.

The scope of his experiment, however, was painfully limited by conditions over which he had no control; and the law of which he is the sole author forms only the incidental part of an institution shaped rather by the force of uncongenial circumstances than by the deliberate option of the ostensible founders of it.

What is called the "Common Constitution of 1855" is but the compulsory recognition of a state of tilings which nobody could desire, and nobody could prevent. That such a political contrivance should be either generally popular or essentially satisfactory was not possible.

The entire Danish monarchy consists of the kingdom, properly so called, and the three duchies, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg. Of these duchies, the first had long been in possession of political rights and historical associations apart from the kingdom, while the two last formed, in one and the same time, component parts of the Danish realm and component parts of the German Confederation. In 1855 it became necessary, after an acrimonious conflict, to unite these sore and separate members in such sort of way as not to destroy the distinctions which tended to keep them disunited. This was an attempt to give nominal individuality to the State, whilst maintaining the virtual individuality of all its members; to give external cohesion to a substance of which the constituent parts were to remain internally separated one from the other. All the interests affected by such an experiment were sure to remain disappointed by the result of it; and the general vague unpopularity of this Constitution, both in Denmark Proper and the Duchies, attaches without thought or distinction to every part of the obnoxious instrument.

But this was not the only disadvantage under which the new electoral system was initiated, as will be readily seen by a glance at the restrictions imposed upon its operation by the terms of the Constitution into which it had to be incorporated.

This Constitution, reserving the executive power to the Crown, acting by responsible Ministers, subject to impeachment, distributes the basis of legislation into separate Assemblies for the Kingdom and the Duchies, subject to a superior Council, representing the united interests of the whole monarchy. This supreme legislative body, entitled the Rigsraad,

The Rigsraad sits every second year for two months. It may be prorogued once in two years for a period not exceeding four months; and the King can dissolve it at his pleasure. If dissolved, it must be reassembled within four months, and more than two dissolutions cannot take place within a period of two years. The qualifications for a seat in this Council are—complete citizenship (i. e., the possession of all rights and privileges to which a native-born subject is, as such, entitled), unblemished personal character, and the absence of any legal claim upon such property as the candidate may possess. The qualification for the direct electoral franchise is, in addition to the first above-named condition:—thirty years of age, and the annual payment of 200 dollars (about £25) in direct taxes; or, an annual income of 1,200 dollars (about £135). Private members of the Rigsraad cannot introduce Bills, but can petition the Crown for their introduction. The Ministers take part in the debates of this body in virtue of their office, but cannot vote unless they are members.

consists of eighty members, and is thus constituted: twenty members are nominated by the Crown for a period of twelve years, in the proportion thus indicated:—

The remaining 60 are elected, whether directly or indirectly, for a period of eight years; and of these, 30 are elected by the Provincial Assemblies in a proportion approximative to the population represented by those Assemblies, as thus:—

The other 30 members of the Rigsraad are nominated by the direct vote of the constituencies.

The composition of the Rigsraad is, therefore, threefold; 20 members being nominated by the Crown, 30 indirectly, and 30 directly elected; in all, 80 members.

According to the Census of 1800, the entire population of the Kingdom and Duchies amounted to 2,004,024, so that it was only for the direct election of 30 members out of a population of upwards of 2,000,000 to an Assembly of 80 members that the electoral system of Mr. Andræ was empowered to provide

The indirect election of members to the Rigsraad by the local legislative bodies is, however, conducted upon the principle, and in conformity with the stipulations, of Mr. Andræ's electoral law. This should be borne in mind.

Holstein and Lauenburg have always refused to send members to the Rigsraad. For these Duchies the Constitution of 1855 is suspended; and, therefore, 20 members must be deducted from the total of 80 nominally composing the Rigsraad, and 8 members from the 30 originally contemplated as the quota of direct representation in the Rigsraad; consequently, it is only the choice of 45 out of 60 members that is practically affected by the electoral system of Mr. Andræ.

This, no doubt, diminishes the value to be attached to the success or failure of the system as an example. It

is somewhat like an experiment in a pond upon principles of navigation which, if good for anything, must be good for the ocean. Nevertheless, it is an example; and, in questions of this sort, an example of any kind is most valuable. Eight years' practical experience of the working of an electoral system devised for the realization of an important principle applicable to all representative institutions is—no matter how "cabined, cribbed, confined," be the sphere of that experience—a great and noteworthy addition to the knowledge of mankind.

Under circumstances so disheartening and within limits so restricted as those already mentioned, a mere perfunctory legislator might well have shrunk from the thankless task of pondering first principles in a matter of secondary effect. It would have been easy to have left untouched the root of a difficulty by which nobody was at that time greatly alarmed.

But Mr. Andræ seems to have thought that no question affecting the duty of individuals and the welfare of nations can, under any circumstances, be of secondary importance; that superficial legislation, even on a small scale, is a great evil, and the political embodiment of a right principle, however minute, a great good.

Nay, the very circumstances which limited the number, and reduced the influence, of the direct Representatives of the nation in the National Legislature, rendered it doubly important that these Representatives should, at least, be the very best.

If the voice of the Constituencies was only to weigh in a scale of less than one to two amongst the voices composing the Supreme Council of the realm, it was all the more incumbent upon the State to provide that the true opinions and interests of those constituencies should be accurately expressed by men of the highest intelligence and character.

But this was not the only good which it was possible to attain, and therefore necessary to attempt. By bringing into view a higher standard of representative intelligence, to raise in the sequel the moral and intellectual standard of the constituencies themselves; to impress, as much as might be, on the mind of every voter that he is called by the State to the performance of a solemn duty, not merely indulged in the enjoyment of a noisy right; to constrain him to reflect and select; to induce him to think calmly, and enable him to feel rightly, by extricating him as much as possible from narrowing and ignoble influences;—this, also, was an object to be striven for, inasmuch as the character of nations is but the collective expression of the character of individuals, and the political greatness of the one must, in the long run, depend upon the moral and intellectual worth of the other. Especially is this the case with those States in which the form of Government is popular. In popular States, says Montesquieu, a force other and greater than the constraining power of the laws, or the arm of the Prince, is needed for self-preservation : "cette force c'est la vertu."

To effect such a result it was foreseen that it would be necessary, not indeed to dislocalize entirely the sympathies and associations of the voter, but by the removal of arbitrary restrictions to expand the range and elevate the character of his choice.

The various clauses of the Electoral Law of 1855 sufficiently indicate, I think, that although the conclusions of its author were no doubt arrived at by a mathematical process, these political considerations were not absent from his mind.

It was not possible to obliterate entirely the old electoral divisions. But these were simplified and rearranged by expanding the area, and reducing the number of them.

Denmark Proper is divided into seven dioceses ("Stifter") and nineteen bailiwicks ("Amter"). The diocese was originally a division purely ecclesiastical, each diocese being administered by a bishop. Practically speaking, the bailiwicks into which the country is actually divided cannot be considered as subdivisions of dioceses. By the Law of 1855 the suffrage is distributed over nine electoral districts.

The minute electoral subdivision of Schleswig is a feature in the Law of 1855 which will be more fully noticed further on.

The great object in view, however, was to secure to each elector a reasonable certainty that his vote should bear its full value in favour, not of some candidate imposed upon his adoption by local restrictions and local caucuses, but of the candidate really preferred by him in the free exercise of his individual judgment; and it was felt that this object was to be attained rather by a just electoral basis than by any merely geographical arrangement. To find such an electoral basis was the real problem. "You will find it," said Mr. Andræ, "if you divide the number of electors by the number of members to be elected, and take the quotient as the quota of votes necessary and sufficient for the election of each candidate. This is the only just electoral basis."

If, for instance, there are 6,000 electors, and six members to be elected, the quotient will be 1,000, and it is obvious that, in that case, wherever 1,000 electors are agreed in their choice of a Representative, that choice is entitled to be represented.

The ways by which it has been sought to establish the basis thus fixed will appear in the following paragraphs, which I extract and translate from the Law of 1855, and which form, indeed, the nucleus of Mr. Andræ Electoral system.

The similarity between this system and that of Mr. Hare already referred to is so striking that, in order to

illustrate it in the simplest way, I shall venture to place in parallel columns corresponding paragraphs from the one and the other.

IV. From the extracts just given, the general coincidence of the law of Mr. Andræ with the scheme proposed by Mr. Hare will be apparent. Between the two electoral systems, however, there are some slight points of difference, which I shall now venture to indicate more precisely.

In the elaboration of any electoral system constructed upon the arithmetical principle already described, there is one difficulty which must at once present itself.

The assumption of a prescribed quota of votes, as necessary for the election of each candidate, implies the supposition that a number of electors sufficient to make up this quota shall always be able and willing to group themselves about a number of candidates sufficient to complete the representation.

If, for instance, the representation consists of 100 members, and if this necessary combination on the part of the voters fails to reproduce itself 100 times, the representation will rest incomplete.

But apart from those numerous occasions when the franchise has only to be exercised for the election of a single representative, it is notorious that the full number of electors on the register never does, in any country or on any occasion, come to the poll; and of those votes which are recorded, it is quite conceivable that a certain number should be found exclusively recorded in favour of a particular candidate. These votes, although not needed to complete the necessary quota of the candidate to whose candidature they are confined, could not, in the absence of any authorization to that effect on the part of the voters in question, be disengaged to complete the representation elsewhere. In that case the result would be a deadlock. This was at once foreseen by Mr. Andræ, and provided for by a very simple arrangement in clauses 24 and 26 of his Law. It was also foreseen by Mr. Hare. But the method in which he first proposed to deal with the difficulty was so complicated that it was opposed as impracticable by those who most warmly approved the general principle of his scheme. This method he subsequently abandoned, and in the last edition of his electoral scheme, from which the preceding extracts are taken, the arrangements proposed are (as it will have been seen) almost identical with those already devised by Mr. Andræ.

It has been shown that, in meeting the difficulty here referred to, both Mr. Andræ and Mr. Hare have been constrained to have recourse to the principle of comparative majorities, to which, in all other respects, their systems are diametrically opposed. The opposite principle of election by concurrent majority, which these systems are designed to embody to the fullest possible extent, is, indeed, clearly inapplicable to all cases of single election. For, in such cases, we should have to divide the whole number of electors by the unit, which here represents the whole number of the representation, and, as the quotient would then be equivalent to the total, it is obvious that without complete unanimity there could be no result. This unanimity is neither desirable nor attainable, and consequently there is no escape from the adoption in these cases of the principle of election by relative majority.

But in the 24th clause of Mr. Andræ's Law there appears a feature which does not appear in any clause of Mr. Hare's proposed Reform Bill.

The peculiar local circumstances for which, in framing the Law of 1855, Mr. Andræ was compelled to provide, rendered it expedient to insert a proviso that no candidate should be elected by less than a number of votes sufficient to make up more than half of the full quotient. This proviso would, no doubt, be unnecessary in a law of the same character applied to a more extensive electoral area, and I am therefore disposed to regard it as an exceptional stipulation which does not call for further notice.

But there is a question of greater importance on which I apprehend that Mr. Andræ and Mr. Hare are directly at issue.

The general tendency of both systems is to delocalize representation. But Mr. Hare obviously clings with affection and respect to those local features in the character of the representation which his system would certainly obliterate if he had not laboriously, and as it seems to me lovingly, endeavoured to counteract and restrain its tendency to uniformity by a variety of careful contrivances for the maintenance of local relations between the constituencies, as well as for the distinction of one constituency from another. How far these contrivances are really practicable or compatible with the active operation of the system under which they must be carried out; how far it may be possible in one and the same time to efface from the constituency all legal subdivisions, and maintain all local distinctions of parts, to remove all visible landmarks from the electoral field, and yet identify particular representatives with particular groups of voters, is a question into which I shall not presume to enter, the more so as it involves a problem, enthusiastically accepted, indeed, and ably dealt with by Mr. Hare, but altogether rejected by Mr. Andræ.

Mr. Andræ has no partiality for these distinctions, and no desire to retain them. He has, indeed, been constrained to admit their existence, because he has found them already existing under the protection of circumstances which forbade him to disturb them.

In the note to a preceding page of this Report I have enumerated the various electoral districts over which

the operation of the Law of 1855 is distributed. It will, no doubt, have been noticed that there are in Schleswig no less than five small electoral divisions, each returning only one member a-piece to the Rigsraad. It is obvious why Mr. Andræ should be opposed in principle to this sort of subdivision of the constituency. In each of these five districts the principle of his Law is virtually inoperative, for each of them must necessarily elect its representative by relative majority.

There can be no doubt that the Schleswig constituencies would have been otherwise arranged had this been possible. But the difficulty here was of a foreign rather than a domestic character. Any outcry raised in Schleswig would have been echoed in Germany, and re-echoed in Europe. The Minister most concerned in the question of the Schleswig constituencies was not the Minister of the Interior, but the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who might have found himself worse off than the bear in the fable, for the buzz of remonstrance would not have risen solely from the inmates of the disturbed hive; so the Schleswig constituencies were left as they were found. Mr. Andræ, however, is entirely opposed to all subdivision of the electoral body with a view to the representation of local interests, and in this he is seemingly more consistent than Mr. Hare, but possibly less philosophical. In England, at any rate, the local character of representation is so consequent to the national feeling, that I doubt if it could be safely disturbed; for, practically speaking, all political systems are good only in so far as they are consonant with what is good in the character and associations of the people to whom they are applied; and the natural attachment to native neighbourhood, the patient attention given to local interests, and the sober importance assigned to local duties, are features of the English character which few Englishmen will wish away.

In speaking on this subject, however, I should wish to be understood as representing what I believe to be the personal and abstract opinions of Mr. Andræ, rather than what I believe to be the public and special results of the operation of his Law. By the terms of this Law, it appears to me that ample provision is made for the maintenance of all that is just and salutary in the personal connection between voters and representatives; and, in point of fact, I believe it usually happens that in all cases, excepting those where the candidate happens to be a man of great and exceptional public eminence, the persons put forward for the representation of each constituency are connected by associations, more or less direct, with the local interests of the district which they are invited to represent. Indeed, it stands to reason that this must naturally happen.

Another point of contrast between the Law of Mr. Andræ and the scheme proposed by Mr. Hare remains to be noticed.

In the latter, provision is made for the means by which candidates shall make known to the electoral body their desire to solicit its suffrages. I have not inserted in the preceding extracts the clause which contains this provision, because no corresponding clause exists in the Danish Law. It will have been noticed, indeed, that this Law contains, on the contrary, a clause which implies the anticipated possibility of a candidate, after having been duly elected, declining to accept the votes and represent the choice of the electors. I am informed that such a case is indeed possible, but that practically speaking it never occurs. There can be no doubt that its occurrence would be an exceeding inconvenience. I have been assured by a Danish gentleman, of great intelligence and experience, that there exists in this country, on the part of public men, so strong a disinclination to enter the list of candidates without a reasonable certainty of success, or to make personal solicitation for votes, that even so simple a declaration of candidature as that proposed by Mr. Hare would be viewed with distaste. Practically, it happens that the candidate is put in nomination by his political supporters, who, having previously ascertained that the feelings of the constituency are such as to justify his nomination, come to a private understanding with him that, in the event of his election, he will not disappoint the electors. Measures are then publicly taken to bring his name into notice, and the nature of these measures will necessarily depend upon the previous eminence and popularity of the candidate.

V. Within the comparatively narrow limits to which this Report must be confined, it does not appear advisable to add any extracts to those already given from the Danish Electoral Law of 1855. Those extracts, indeed, comprise the essence of the Law. The subject under consideration is so suggestive, and demands for its thorough comprehension an examination so various and minute, that I cannot possibly hope to do more on the present occasion than indicate ground for further and fuller inquiry. No extensive comment, however, is needed to distinguish the aim and character of the clause above cited.

I shall now endeavour to state precisely what these clauses are designed to prevent, and what they are designed to secure. It appears to me that the marrow of the whole matter is concentrated in §§ 22 and 23.

There are two ways in which local majorities may, if unrestrained by law, exercise their power in questions of representation, to the detriment no less of minorities than of themselves. They may do so both in the selection and in the election of candidates. They may virtually dictate the vote of the elector by indirectly circumscribing the freedom of his choice. By this means, indeed, apparent unanimity may be obtained; but the greater the unanimity the greater the mischief, if it be only a unanimous submission to "Hobson's choice—this or none;" and when this is the case, it may be truly said of the majorities themselves, "*dominationis in alios*

*servitium suum mercedem dant*—"they are content to pay so great a price as their own servitude to purchase the domination over others."

Cowley, "Essay on Liberty."

For in order to secure unanimity in the choice of the majority, it is previously necessary for the majority itself to abdicate individual action on the part of its own members. Men are more likely to admit unanimity in their passions and prejudices than in their sober judgments : and the candidate thus selected may perhaps represent only a selfish compromise between narrow interests and petty animosities. When this happens majorities, indeed, may show their power by converting a bad candidate into a worse representative, but in doing so they will have also shown that their power is incompatible with their freedom; and that may be said of them which Socrates is supposed to say to Polus in the *Gorgias*, when speaking of other tyrannies, "They do not do what they wish, although they do what they please."

But, on the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that all political action necessitates a compromise between opinions in matters of minor import. The absence of this compromise is anarchy. It is only when the compromise is compulsory, instead of spontaneous, that it can be called tyranny. For the foundation of all society is confidence in others. All human creeds must originate in faith of some sort, and men can do nothing without taking something on trust. In the public business of life, individual action will always be guided and controlled by collective opinion: and, practically, the opinion of the many is controlled and guided by the wisdom of the few. Every man has a right to think and choose for himself; but all men are not equally able to think and choose well, or equally disposed to think and choose at all: so that, as long as there exists in the world that discreet deference to the judgment and that wholesome confidence in the character of others without which political combination is impossible, no conceivable electoral system will prevent the choice of constituencies from being greatly influenced by the bias of those local notables who, by personal capacity or social position are fitted to guide the conduct of their neighbours. The object of Mr. Andræ's Electoral Law is, not to annihilate this controlling power, but, on the contrary, to give the amplest scope to its natural operation, by relieving it from the crippling circumscription of arbitrary conditions. Thus the constituent who demurs to "Hobson's choice" is ensured every reasonable facility for bringing forward the candidate he prefers without pecuniary sacrifice, and without incurring that social martyrdom which, in such cases, sometimes seems to justify an assertion of Machiavelli's (whose experience of uncontrolled and triumphant majorities was certainly as great as it was bitter), that "he who deviates from the common course, and endeavours to act as duty dictates, insures his own destruction."

"The Prince," chap. xv.

By enlarging the scope of the voter's choice, moreover, you elevate the quality of his judgment. When he is free to choose whom he will, not constrained to choose merely whom he must, it is probable that if he gives the preference to a person from his own immediate neighbourhood, the person thus preferred will be, not simply the slavish nominee of a perhaps insignificant but petulant party, but a man whom the voter regards with affectionate confidence and respect. Surely it would be unwise to extinguish (even were it possible) those kindly influences which infuse into the public life and spirit of a nation the enthusiasm of local affections, whether they be embodied in a respect for noble names and illustrious houses, or in the grateful recognition of those good deeds which not seldom associate a particular family with a particular neighbourhood. But is it not rather the local demagogues than the real local *aristoi* who would have anything to fear from the most extended competition with intelligence and virtue? In any case, if the voter, by confining his vote to a single candidate, be exposed to the risk of diminishing its value without thereby benefiting the object of his special preference, it is to be presumed that he will extend the scope of his judgment and his sympathies, and provide for those contemplated contingencies in which his countrymen elsewhere may benefit by the exercise of his franchise. In doing so he will have to look further and think more carefully. It is probable that he will select the other objects of his choice from men of eminence and distinction; because those who are neither eminent nor distinguished cannot then be arbitrarily thrust upon his notice. The voter who does this will elevate his own character and class; and if the whole class of voters do this, the whole class of candidates will be improved.

In the next place, it is no doubt intended by the clauses above mentioned to withdraw from the voter every reasonable excuse for disregarding and neglecting the duty of exercising his franchise, as well as to provide for him every reasonable inducement to perform that duty with the most serious reflection, and to the fullest possible extent.

A further consideration here suggests itself in regard to the relations to be maintained between constituencies and Representatives. Representation has so strong a tendency to dwindle into delegation, that it can only be restrained from doing so, either by great moderation on the part of the masses, or else by great elevation of character on the part of the Representative class. These two restraining forces react, and depend upon each other. In proportion as the character of the Representative class is high-minded and scrupulous, it is presumed that the confidence reposed in it by the constituencies will be great; but in proportion as the freedom



of the Representative is cramped, and his responsibility impoverished by the exaction, on the part of his constituents, of exorbitant and vexatious pledges, the general character of the Representative class will be low and subservient, and the confidence it can command will be consequently small. In short, in this, as in all other matters of exchange, the quality and amount of the demand will regulate the quality and amount of the supply. When pledges are recklessly exacted, adventurers will always be found recklessly ready to accept them; when the character of the compact is mistrustful, the character of those that undertake it will be untrustworthy. In America, the House of Representatives has long been, virtually, a House of Delegates, wherein the fate of almost every measure is decided before the opening of the Session, and the majority of speeches made are addressed, not to the conviction of the House, but to the passions and prejudices of the constituencies who have sent its members to sit in political fetters. The solemn responsibility of legislation is thus remitted by those on whose part it is a public duty to those on whose part it is only a mischievous assumption. For the nation can impeach its Representatives by the voice of its constituencies; but to whom are the constituencies practically accountable? The danger of this is in the fact that the intellect and conscience of the nation are not adequately represented in the national public life; and the verdict of this intellect and conscience, which must ultimately be heard, not having been provided with any constitutional expression, can only find utterance in revolution. The Long Parliament could not have been swept away by a gesture of Cromwell's if the head and heart of the nation had been in that body. The temple which enshrines a Constitution cannot long escape from destruction when it begins to be muttered about outside the walls of it, that "the gods are departing." In England, the high moral and intellectual standard of the Representative class is powerfully promoted and sustained by the unremunerated character of its service; but under those Continental systems of representation in which the Representative body is paid by the State, the danger alluded to is not insignificant. Not only, however, is it the object, but I am satisfied that it is also the result, of Mr. Andræ's electoral system (so far as that system has been applied) to facilitate the introduction into the National Legislature of the greatest amount of intelligence and high character, and to hinder the entrance of a great amount of ignorance and passion. I am disposed to think that, on the whole, this system in its practical result attains many of the objects of an educational franchise, without invalidating the salutary influence of property.

Two other results are involved in the arrangements of this Law as concerning the question of personal canvass. It is undoubtedly to be desired that every facility should exist for free personal intercourse and interchange of opinion between candidates and voters, and it is not to be desired that the candidate should be to the voter not a man, but merely a name—an abstraction. Whether, however, it be not possible to provide for this reasonable and necessary intercourse without exposing it to the possible degradation of degenerating into one of barter and beggary, is a question worthy of consideration.

A writer, who was not the least distinguished of Milton's contemporaries, has exclaimed, "To what pitiful baseness did the noblest Romans submit themselves for the obtaining of a Prætorship, or the Consular dignity! They put on the habit of suppliants and ran about on foot, and in dirt, through all the tribes to beg voices; they flattered the poorest artisans, and carried a nomenclator with them to whisper in their ear *every* man's name, lest they should mistake it in their salutations; they shook the hand and kissed the cheek of every popular tradesman; they stood all day at every market in the public places to show and ingratiate themselves to the rout; they employed all their friends to solicit for them; they kept open tables in every street; they distributed wine, and bread, and money even to the vilest of the people. 'Eu Romanos rerum dominos!' Behold the masters of the world begging from door to door!"

Cowley, "Of Liberty."

Might not these words receive with justice a more modern application?

Whether, however, the personal canvass be a good thing or a bad thing, according to this Electoral Law of Mr. Andræ it is quite out of the question.

And with the personal canvass also disappears a very influential personage intimately connected therewith, viz., the electioneering agent. How far the complete effacement from the electoral *dramatis personæ* of this important but costly character is a result to be admired or condemned, involves a question which will be best answered by those who have had personal experience of the part he plays, both in connection with the pockets of candidates and the morals of voters.

Finally, it appears to be the intention of this Law to increase the sense of individual responsibility in matters of public trust; to place the conscience of each voter in his own keeping, and to take it out of the hands of those careless investors of other men's moral capital who flourish in all large communities, and who appear to consider themselves a sort of joint stock company for conscience, with limited liability. Moreover, it may be said that this Law is, in its tendency, a civilizing Law,—for civilization is the parent of variety in opinions; and it is the intention of this Law to provide not only the amplest expression for all varieties of opinion, but also to utilize to the utmost all manner of ways and means provided by the kindly providence of civilization for the formation of these wholesome varieties.

That these intentions are wise and good will hardly be denied. The only practical questions that remain are, first, whether these intentions are fully realized by the mechanical operation of the Law ? and, secondly, whether (if so) their realization is accompanied by any incidental injury to the salutary interests of the virtual majority?

I have no experience which would justify me in offering a personal opinion upon these issues. I shall endeavour to report with fidelity and impartiality the opinions which (so far as I have yet been able to ascertain them) appear to be entertained in Denmark in regard to the questions thus raised.

VI. I approach this part of the subject with extreme hesitation. Only a few months have elapsed since I came to this country: the time which I have been able to devote to the consideration of the electoral system is still shorter. I am convinced that, in order to form an accurate estimate of the practical results of this system, it would be necessary to visit the various constituencies which are affected by its operation, to compare by personal observation the various classes of the voting population, and to ascertain by personal intercourse their general character and sentiments. But it would be idle to attempt such a task without a knowledge of the language much greater than can be acquired in the course of a few months; and I must therefore premise that the remarks I am about to offer are the results of inquiries which, however carefully made, are much too limited to be satisfactory.

In speaking of public questions, all men are disposed to represent their own opinion as the opinion of the public. It is not easy for a bystander, unacquainted with the crowd, to discriminate between public opinion and public prejudice. Whatever is most flimsy and superficial in opinion floats lightly on the surface of the national mind, and readily reveals itself to casual notice; the more weighty elements lie deep, and are not so quickly detected.

An astute student of human character has said that "in the capacities of mankind there are three degrees: one man understands things by means of his own natural endowments; another understands things when they are explained to him; and a third can neither understand them of himself, nor when they are explained to him by others. The first are rare and excellent, the second have their merit, but the last are wholly worthless."

"The Prince," cap, xxii.

Mr. Andræ may, I think, congratulate himself that many of the most vociferous opponents to his Excellency's electoral system belong to this last-mentioned category; whose opinions, since there would appear to be good authority for regarding them as utterly worthless, need not occupy any portion of this Report. Elaborate objections, however, have been made to the law by persons whose natural acuteness entitles their opinion to be gravely considered. Before adverting to these objections in detail I must avow that the impression I have derived from the general result of my inquiries is, that the Law is not popular in this country, and that as yet it has taken no root in the national character.

The causes of the unpopularity of the Law are manifold, and most of them are quite independent of anything in the character of the Law itself. I have already adverted to the general unpopularity of the Constitution into which this Law is incorporated. It may be said that, apart from all other reasons, the Law is simply unpopular because it is part of an unpopular arrangement. But the unpopularity of that arrangement is the expression of feelings wholly uninfluenced by the nature of the Law, and, in this sense, any Law similarly introduced must have been equally unpopular.

I have no doubt that one of the objects with which the Law was framed in 1855, was to prevent the representation of Holstein in the common Legislative Council of the realm from being monopolized and abused by an overpowering and, in some respects, perhaps, a factious majority; to enable, in short, both the Government and the nation at large to ascertain with accuracy the real opinions and interests of the Duchy, and to consult these opinions in their just and relative proportion. This was an object which deserved to be gratefully appreciated, both in the Kingdom and in the Duchy itself; but I doubt if it has been clearly recognized by the public at large.

The numerical majority in the Duchy, which is a numerical minority in the Monarchy, being already masters of political power, resolved (as all majorities do resolve in similar cases), to maintain their position, and succeeded in doing so, by rejecting the Constitution of 1855 *in toto*. This fact did not increase its popularity in the Kingdom.

There is another, and an obvious, source of opposition to this Law. The permanent Legislative Body of the Kingdom (called the Rigsdag), which represents all the local interests of Denmark Proper, consists of two Chambers, of which the First Chamber, or Folkething, is directly elected. The elections for the formation of this Chamber are conducted upon the old and general principle of comparative majority, in a way precisely similar to that which is followed in England. Consequently there are coexisting in Denmark, side by side, and in simultaneous operation, two electoral systems constructed upon the most opposite principles; and as the body of interests and opinions brought into representation by the old system of comparative majority is much the most numerous of the two, and as this body is always in operation, and always in active expression, whereas the

other is only occasionally brought together, it follows that the old majorities, whose monopoly is menaced by the possibility of any extension of the hostile system, being already in that happy position which is said to be nine-tenths of the law, are able, as they are certainly eager, to control opinion in favour of their own interests. Here, as elsewhere, public interests must follow—

*"The ancient rule, the good old plan,  
That those should keep who have the power,  
And those should take who can."*

If Mr. Andræ's system could have been uniformly applied to the voting population of the whole realm, these dominant local majorities would have been dissolved at a touch into their constituent elements, and reduced to their legitimate values. It is only under such conditions as these (which do not exist) that the practical popularity of the Law could be fairly tested.

As it is, Mr. Andræ himself has publicly admitted, with some natural bitterness, that his Law is generally ridiculed as an "*absurd law*."

See the "Landsting Tidende," account of the Debate of June 5, 1853.

I believe that this is the fact. The Law is much ridiculed, but little criticised. I have heard it described as a ludicrous Law, but I have been quite unable to discover, from inquiry or observation, the grounds upon which this epithet is applied; and I must confess that my own sense of the ludicrous is inadequate to appreciate the justice of its application. I have also heard it described as an unintelligible Law, but not by persons who have honestly exercised their intelligence in the examination of it. And I have heard it described as an impracticable Law, an opinion which seems to me confuted by the fact that it has been in practice for eight years, without any flaw having been brought to light in its machinery.

It has been gravely asserted, however, in an able and influential organ of the public press, that the Law does not in practice attain the ends to which it is directed in theory, and that it affords no virtual guarantee for the representation of majorities and minorities in just and adequate proportion. This is a serious charge, and if it were fully established it would involve a decisive condemnation of the whole Law as being, in point of practical legislation, a complete failure. I shall, therefore, proceed to exemplify clearly the arguments with which this charge is supported, by a problem that has been elaborately prepared, and triumphantly put forward by the most intelligent and energetic of Mr. Andræ's political opponents. This problem, indeed, concentrates in very close compass, and illustrates in very plausible form, the whole gist of objection.

Let us suppose (it is said) that, in conformity with Mr. Andræ's system, three representatives are to be elected by a constituency of 600 voters. This may be supposed to be the case, for instance, in the district of Lolland-Falster.

See the Note giving the electoral districts.

Let it be further supposed that the candidates are five in number, VIZ., A, B, C, D, and E, representing, of course, different political parties. Again, let it be supposed that, out of the whole body of electors (consisting of 600) 299 voters record their votes in favour of A, B, and D, in the order here given; that 200 voters record their votes in favour of A, C, and B, in the order here given, and 101 voters in favour of A, C, and E, in the order here given. The voting lists will then be composed as follows:—

The President now opens the elections by dividing the total number of the electors by the total number of members to be elected, and, the quotient having been found to be 200, he proceeds to draw the votes from the urn.

A appears first on the first list as the candidate most approved by the concurrent choice of 299 voters. Consequently A, being found in possession of 99 votes in excess of the necessary quotient, is declared duly elected. The name of A is then cancelled from this list, and, therewith, the 200 votes which makes up the quotient in virtue of which A is elected. B, as being second in the choice of the 299 voters, now moves up to the head of the list, and takes possession of the 99 votes which remain. The first list will, therefore, stand thus :—

Mathematical equation

And, this list being exhausted, the President proceeds to the second. Here, again, A is found first on the list, and is accordingly cancelled. But, A's quotient having been already withdrawn from the first list, the removal of A from the second list does not in this case remove with him the number of votes again recorded in his favour; for to these votes A has no further claim, since he is no longer a candidate. C now moves up to the head of the list, and taking the place of A, and coming into possession of the 200 votes which have been set free by A's election, he attains the necessary quotient, and is consequently elected. The second list will, therefore, stand thus:—

Mathematical equation

A third candidate, however, remains to be elected in order to complete the representation. And, 499 votes being already out of the urn, it is not possible that this remaining candidate should obtain the full quotient contemplated in sections 22 and 23. The case foreseen and provided for in section 24 now happens, and the President proceeds to act in respect of the third list in accordance with the terms of this clause. A is again found first on the list, and cancelled. C, then moving to the head of the list, is also cancelled; and E, thus obtaining one vote more than the half of the quotient, is declared elected. The whole result is, therefore, the election of A, C, and E, instead of the election of A, C, and B. But as B was second in the choice of 299 voters, as well as being third in the choice of 200, whereas E was only third on the choice of 101 voters, this result is obviously unjust and inaccurate.

Now it must be confessed that this problem is very skilfully conceived and very plausibly worked out to a *reductio ad absurdum*. It will not, however, bear serious examination, for it rests upon two improbabilities (the one political, the other mathematical) so enormous as virtually to amount to a double impossibility.

In the first place, it presupposes at the outset, as a necessary condition, a political combination which is plainly preposterous. It is not conceivable that each political party at an election should vote for its opponents. Even admitting (and this must be granted is a great admission) that it is probable, or possible, that an entire constituency should be unanimous to a man in favour of one candidate, and yet nevertheless be so morselled and subdivided in opinion that this singularly favoured candidate represents the suffrages of no less than five opposed political parties, yet it is obviously all but impossible to suppose that the party whose 200 votes stand on the second list should agree with C's opponents on the first list in favour of A and B, and also with B's opponents in the third list in favour of A and C; or that the party which opposes B in favour of E should, nevertheless, join B's party in voting for A and C; whilst the party that opposes C and E in favour of B should, nevertheless, join C's party and E's party in voting for C and A. In short, an impartial examination of these hypothetical voting lists must, I think, result in the conviction that they represent an impossible political combination, cleverly conceived to trump up a case for disingenuous criticism, and plausibly imposed upon the credulity of the unwary.

In the next place, the arithmetical combination upon which this problem rests involves an improbability even immeasurably greater than the first; for, in order to admit the possibility of such a combination we must suppose that, although the voting papers are taken at haphazard from the urn, the whole number of the 299 voting papers which make up the first list, and the whole number of the 200 voting papers which make up the second list, shall have been drawn out in due order and succession before a single voting paper of those 201 which make up the third list shall have found its way into the hand of the President;

This may be very easily tried on a small scale by reducing the numbers in their relative proportion, say to sixty, when the quotient will be twenty.

for if a single one of these last should come out before the two preceding lists have been exhausted, the combination which is required by the problem to displace B will have been rendered impossible.

This problem is so plausible, at first sight; it moreover embodies, in a form so palpable and precise, the only serious objections which I have seen urged against the electoral system of Mr. Andræ, and it raises between the system and its opponents an issue so direct,—that I have deemed it due to a just consideration of the subject to take the liberty of submitting it as it here stands to the notice of Mr. Andræ himself, so as, before expressing my own opinion, to be able to modify or to fortify it by reference to that of his Excellency.

I am thus enabled, by the courtesy of Mr. Andræ, to add to the foregoing remarks the substance of a calculation made by him with reference to this particular point, of which his Excellency has kindly communicated to me the general result; and I think, Sir, that this result is conclusive.

The relative probability or improbability of 600 voting papers leaving the urn (from which they are drawn at hazard) in the precise order represented in the problem above stated being obviously a question to which the answer must depend upon a calculation of chances, Mr. Andræ (whose eminence as a mathematician is undisputed, even by his most bitter political opponents) has been at the pains to make such a calculation, and the rough result of it I will endeavour to express in his own words, so nearly as I can recollect them:—

*"If," said his Excellency, "this law of mine had already been in operation over the whole of Europe (including Turkey) for a period of 10,000 years, and if the elections in every part of Europe to which the law was applied were to take place, not every one, or three, or seven years, but every week in regular repetition, these elections throughout Europe, at the rate of a general European election per week, would still have to go on for more than a thousand times the period of years already stated, that is to say, for more than a thousand times ten thousand years, before the chances would be equal that the voting papers should come out of the urn in the order required to form the basis of this problem. Although, therefore, the supposed combination is, mathematically speaking, only an enormous improbability, yet, practically speaking, it is absolutely impossible."*

To sum up the result of the foregoing inquiry into the mechanical operation of the Electoral Law of 1855, it

appears, firstly, that the most ingenious and elaborately devised combination of objections to the electoral mechanism of Mr. Andræ's system is fixed upon two postulates, the one political, the other mathematical, of which the first is preposterous, and the second impossible. Secondly, that the utmost ingenuity of artifice is only able to erect upon a basis, thus enormous in its unsubstantiality, an hypothesis minute in its material import, of injustice to a single candidate out of three, in a single district out of all. Can as much be affirmed of any other existing electoral system ?

In this Report, which has already, I fear, greatly exceeded its legitimate limits, no more need be said as to the practicability of the Law, and the accuracy of its mechanical operation.

Other and perhaps yet more important considerations, however, are involved in the questions of what are its political results in this country, and how far it may be applicable to other European communities.

These considerations are hardly within the province to which the present remarks must be confined; for they raise an infinite number of collateral and secondary inquiries, which cannot be followed out without bringing the inquirer into a disquisition upon the necessity and value of Government by party, as well as upon the nature of the various answers which may be returned to the paramount practical question of, "How is the Queen's Government to be carried on?"

I may mention, however, that, on lately referring to some of these topics in conversation with a Danish gentleman well acquainted with the political life of this country, I was assured that, in the discussion and settlement of great public questions by the Supreme Council of the realm, no disinclination is found to exist upon the part of representative minorities to combine and concur in the formation of a judicial majority for the decision of what is expedient.

I may also mention that I have been assured by Mr. Andræ that, in his opinion, the general standard of representative character supplied by this Law is the best and highest in the country; and that although he does not consider that a sufficient time has yet elapsed whereby to test the effects of the Law upon the constituencies themselves, he is nevertheless of opinion that, under its operation, the character of the voter as a class has improved and is improving. I have every reason to believe, moreover, that bribery is almost unknown to the constituencies for the Rigsraad. It appears to me, however, that the permission contained in clause 18 of Mr. Andræ's Law, and which equally appears in Mr. Hare's scheme—to fill up the voting paper in private—might, under very conceivable circumstances, facilitate intimidation.

A full and complete investigation into the character and operation of this Law is a task which I should rejoice to see assumed by some person of known impartiality, capacity, and experience. For, whatever may be the character or the consequence of the Law, I venture to think that its existence is one of the most remarkable events in the history of representative institutions.

There is a saying of Lord Coke's, repeated by Junius in reference to a matter of some importance in our own Parliamentary history, that "discretion, taken as it ought to be, is *discernere per legem quid sit justum*"

Letters of Junius, lxviii., to Chief Justice Mansfield.

I shall not presume, Sir, to strain the meaning of these words to fit a partial application. But some excuse for the great, and I fear undue, length to which this Report has now extended may, I hope, be found in the wish which I have felt to bring into notice those peculiar features of the Danish Electoral Law of 1855, the consideration of which may, perhaps, enable others more competent than myself to weigh the justice of the theory by the practice of the law, *et discernere per legem quid sit justum*.

I have, &c.

(Signed)  
Robt. Lytton.

## Appendix B.

*Parliament of New South Wales.*

THE earliest suggestions which are found for the adoption of personal representation in this colony, are contained in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the 26th November and 4th December, 1861, on the proposal to make the Upper House of the Colonial Parliament elective, instead of nominative, as theretofore. Early in the session of 1862 a Bill was brought into the Legislative Council, adapting the principle to the election of the Upper House. This Bill was, on the 18th June, 1862, referred to a Select Committee, of which Mr. Wentworth was chairman. The Committee made its report on the 21st of August, 1862. The following passages relate to this system :—

*"As respects the mode of voting, your Committee have given much consideration to the plan now commonly known as that of Mr. Hare, and which has lately attracted considerable notice among leading political writers in Europe. It has been urged on the attention of your Committee, not only by the intrinsic merits of the scheme,*

but from the circumstance that it admits of being applied to the formation of a Colonial Legislative Council in a much simpler form than it presents in the original scheme of the author, as intended for application to the British House of Commons. The mere fact of its tending to increase the distinctness of character between the two Houses has been felt to be a strong recommendation. Your Committee are not disposed to shrink from its adoption merely because it is new and experimental.

"The leading feature of the plan is the representation of all the electors, in the proportion of the numbers of their respective parties and sections, instead of the representation merely of the majorities prevailing in each local electorate, while leaving the defeated minorities wholly without representation. Under the usual system, if one interest or prejudice be prevalent in a majority of the electors in twenty constituencies, twenty members may be elected to represent those majorities, although the minorities may collectively amount to a number not far short of the successful majorities. A difference of one vote in each electorate might determine the election, and twenty votes might thus determine the fate of twenty elections, leaving thousands of electors, forming the minorities, without a single representative. This is, doubtless, an extreme supposition; but the merits of any system may be fairly illustrated by showing to what it tends when carried to its utmost length,

"The system of Mr. Hare provides a remedy; but while it renders this injustice to minorities impossible, it equally maintains all the just rights of majorities. It establishes a true representation of the whole society, with its various interests and opinions represented in due proportion; and the manner in which this is effected is, when fully explained and understood, extremely simple. Supposing the number of voters to be 30,000, and the number of members to be thirty, each 1,000 voters (called a quota) is considered entitled to be represented by one member. Instead of a local electorate, inhabited by 1,000 electors of divided opinion, and comprising a minority which, if out-voted in that particular electorate, is left wholly without representation in the legislature, each member's constituency will consist of 1,000 electors, coinciding in their choice of a representative, irrespective of their places of residence. For this purpose, the whole colony will form a single electorate, the electoral districts of the Assembly being adopted solely for the purpose of more conveniently making up the roll and polling the votes, but not for the purpose of restricting the votes of the electors to any special local candidates. This term "single electorate" will, however, be apt to lead to a serious misapprehension, unless care be taken to observe that under Mr. Hare's system the effect of a consolidation of many electorates into one is quite the reverse of that which would result under the present system of voting. Under the present system, it would merely give the aggregate majority the power of defeating the aggregate minority on a wider field, and of sending into the Council a preponderating number of members to represent one party, to the exclusion of the other. The subdivision of electorates under the present system thus increases the chance of the occasional prevalence of a weaker party in one or more local electorates, but it affords a mere chance, uncertain and capricious; whereas Mr. Hare's system insures, without any subdivision whatever, the due and proportionate representation of each party. Thus, while the colony forms a single electorate as regards territory, each quota of electors, agreeing in the choice of a member, forms a separate electorate as regards persons.

"Each elector can thus ensure the return of at least one candidate, by associating himself with a sufficient number of fellow-electors, wheresoever resident, to form a quota. But if the vote of each were limited to the naming of the one candidate he prefers above all the others, it is evident that more than the quota would often concur in the choice of a popular candidate, and thus lead to the throwing away of the votes given in excess. To prevent this, each voter is entitled to name several candidates in the order of preference, so that if the vote be not required for the first, it may be used for the second, if not for the second, then for the third, and so on, to ensure its being made ultimately contributory to the election of some candidate of his choice. He cannot fail of his object so long as he does not fail to name on his list some one candidate in whose election he and the required proportion of other voters concur. Whether the first or last on his list be the recipient of his vote, his intentions are equally fulfilled. More so, indeed, if it be the last, for it can only descend to that candidate when all those higher on his list, and therefore of his earlier preference, have been already elected by other votes. Nor is this justice to individuals purchased at the expense of any injustice towards leading parties and majorities. Whatever number of quotas are comprised in the ranks of any party, they can so vote as to obtain a corresponding number of members, and thus maintain their legitimate proportion of influence in legislation. The ideal of representative government in the writings of statesmen has long been the representation of classes and interests in due proportion, so as to render the legislature a true epitome of the political opinions of society. Hitherto nothing but an approximation to this ideal has appeared possible. Mr. Hare's system, for the first time, proposes to make it a reality."—[Ordered to be printed, 21 August, 1862; Sydney. J. Richards, Government Printer.]

The Committee amended, agreed to, and reported, the Bill. It was read a first time in the Legislative Council, and on the 4th September, 1862, on the order of the day for the second reading,

MR. HOLDEN said that on account of the share he had taken in preparing the amended Bill, and his identification with one of the chief principles of the measure, he had yielded to the desire of several members of

the committee to bring forward the measure. His ambition was limited to securing the result he desired; and if that result—the passing of a safe and wise measure—could be obtained by the silent expression of his secret will, he would gladly relinquish to others the prominent share in the steps taken to accomplish it. He had been uniformly a supporter of the elective principle, and had advocated it ten years ago in this Chamber. He had, however, felt its difficulties; and perhaps the delay which had taken place had not been without its advantages. He believed that the enunciation, in the meantime, of Mr. Hare's system, had thrown a new light on the subject, and had rendered it possible to do now what it was impossible to do then. When that system was first brought to his attention it struck on his mind exactly as it struck on the mind of John Stuart Mill; and he was not ashamed to identify his own feelings and ideas with those of that great man. He (Mr. Holden) could have written and thought and felt exactly in the words in which he (Mr. Mill) said (referring to Mr. Hare's system of representation) that "it solved the difficulty of representation, and by so doing raised up the cloud which hung over the future of representative government, and therefore of civilization." For he felt that the civilization of mankind was identified with the success of true, wise, well-constituted representative government, and that that species of government never had existed yet on the face of the earth. But he trusted that it would, and might, and should exist; and he trusted that the first specimen of it might be exhibited in this country. And the only fear he had about it was, that it might not be so effectual as it would otherwise be (supposing that this Bill should pass), because of the system being confined to one House of Legislature, and not being extended to the other. The lion member then stated that his measure, though alleged to be in the spirit of conservatism, was yet truly in accordance with liberal principles, and showed that his views of the necessity, function, and qualification of a Senate, were those expressed by the founders of the American Republic—by Madison and Hamilton, in the *Federalist*; by Calhoun, by Sir James Mackintosh, and also by Lord John Russell. The want of a proper negative power in the constitution of a country compelled the Legislative power, when established on too wide a basis, to concentrate itself by degrees into a single Executive. This occurred as an inevitable consequence if the struggle for place and power between the two parties of the State was more and more developed, until at length all power was virtually concentrated in political leaders—ruling as absolutely as any aristocracy. The evil was augmented instead of lessened, as the community advanced in prosperity. By rendering the representation more equitable as regarded the interests of opposing parties, it was made more possible to have universal suffrage without the dangers which might be apprehended to arise therefrom, and the division of power secured by such a division of power, promoted a harmonious action between coexisting interests which would not be likely otherwise to take place, or to continue uninterrupted. Speaking of the mode of voting adopted in this Bill, Mr. Mill, in his work on *Representative Government*, said. "Of all modes in which a national representation can possibly be constituted, this one affords the best security for the intellectual qualifications desirable in the representatives. At present, by universal admission, it is becoming more and more difficult for any one who has only talents and character to gain admission into the House of Commons. The only persons who can get elected are those who possess local influence, or make their way by lavish expenditure, and who, on the invitation of three or four tradesmen or attorneys, are sent down by one of the two great parties from their London clubs as men whose votes the party can depend on under all circumstances. On Mr. Hare's system, those who did not like the local candidates would have the power to fill up their voting papers by a selection from all the persons of national reputation on the list of candidates, with whose general political principles they were in sympathy. Almost every person, therefore, who had made himself in any way honourably distinguished, though devoid of local influence, and having sworn allegiance to no political party, would have a fair chance of making up the quota; and with this encouragement such persons might be expected to offer themselves hitherto undreamt of. Hundreds of able men of independent thought, who would have no chance whatever of being chosen by the majority of any existing constituency, have by their writings or their exertions in some field of public usefulness made themselves known and approved by a few persons in almost every district of the kingdom: and if every vote that should be given for them in every place should be counted for their election, they might be able to complete the number of the quota. In no other way which it seems possible to suggest would Parliament be so certain of containing the very élite of the country. Not solely through the votes of minorities would this system of election raise the intellectual standard of the House of Commons. Majorities would be compelled to look out for members of a much higher calibre. When the individuals composing the majorities would no longer be reduced to Hobson's choice, of either voting for the person brought forward by their local leaders, or not voting at all; when the nominee of the leaders would have to encounter the competition not solely of the candidate of the minority, but of all the men of established reputation in the country who were willing to serve; it would be impossible any longer to foist upon the electors the first person who presents himself with the catch-words of the party in his mouth, and three or four thousand pounds in his pocket. The majority would insist upon having a candidate worthy of their choice, or they would carry their votes somewhere else, and the minority would prevail. The slavery of the majority to the least estimable portion of their number would be at an end. Had a plan like Mr. Hare's by good fortune suggested

*itself to the enlightened and patriotic founders of the American Republic, the Federal and State Assemblies would have contained many of those distinguished men, and democracy would have been spared its greatest reproach, and one of its most formidable evils. When the Democracy is supreme there is no One or Few strong enough for dissentient opinions, and injured or menaced interests to lean upon. The great difficulty of democratic government has hitherto seemed to be, how to provide in a democratic society, what circumstances have provided hitherto in all the societies which have maintained themselves ahead of others—a social support—a point d'appui, for individual resistance to the tendencies of the ruling power; a protection, a rallying point for opinions and interests which the ascendant public opinion views with disfavour. For want of such a point d'appui, the older societies, and all but a few of the modern ones, either fell into dissolution or became stationary (which means slow deterioration), through the exclusive predominance of a part only of the conditions of social and mental well-being. The only quarter in which to look for a supplement or completing corrective to the instincts of a democratic majority is the instructed minority, but in the ordinary mode of constituting democracy this minority has no organ; Mr. Hare's system provides one. The representatives who would be returned to Parliament by the aggregate of minorities would afford that organ in its greatest perfection. A separate organization of the instructed classes, even if practicable, would be invidious, and could only escape from being offensive by being totally without influence. But if the élite of these classes formed part of the Parliament by the same title as any other of its members, by representing the same number of citizens, the same numerical fraction of the national will, their presence could give umbrage to nobody while they would be in the position of highest vantage both for making their opinions and counsels heard on all important subjects, and for taking an active part in public business. Their abilities would probably draw to them more than their numerical share of the actual administration of Government, as the Athenians did not confide responsible public functions to Cleon or Hyperbolus (the employment of Cleon at Pylus and Amphipolis was purely exceptional), but Niceas, and Theramenes and Alcibiades were in constant employment, both at home and abroad, though known to sympathize more with oligarchy than with democracy. The instructed minority would, in the actual voting, count only for their numbers, but as a moral power they would count for much more in virtue of their knowledge and of the influence it would give them over the rest. An arrangement better adapted to keep popular opinion within reason and justice, and to guard it from the various deteriorating influences which assail the weak side of democracy, could scarcely by human ingenuity be devised. A democratic people would, in this way, be provided with what, in any other way, it would almost certainly miss—leaders of a grade of intellect and character better than itself. Modern democracy would have its occasional Pericles, and its habitual group of superior and guiding minds. With all this array of reasons of the most fundamental character on the affirmative side of the question, what is there on the negative? Nothing that will sustain examination when people can once be induced to bestow any real examination upon a new tiling. Those, indeed, if any such there be, who under pretence of equal justice aim only at substituting the class ascendancy of the poor for that of the rich, will, of course, be unfavourable to a scheme which places both on a level."The hon. member addressed himself to the question of the suffrage for the Council roll. He had been asked why they did not adopt the ballot? He had been anxious for something of the kind in first drafting his Bill; but it might be said in reply that Mr. Hare's system was itself so superior that it would not conform to the ballot, to secret voting in its essence; but still there was so much of the ballot that there could be no violence, no influence used at the time of voting, which the ballot sought to avoid. He moved that the Bill be read a second time.*

*MR. PLUNKETT seconded the motion: and after some observations by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Merewether, Mr. Brown Russell, and the Attorney-General, the debate was adjourned.*

The above report, omitting the argument on the other portions of the Bill, is taken from the SYDNEY MORNING HERALD for Thursday, the 4th September, 1862. The report of the discussion on the next day has not come to hand, which is the more to be regretted, as the Bill appears to have been opposed by one member, Captain Ward, who would seem from the subsequent report to have addressed himself especially to this method of election, and to have contended, 1, that it would not be a guarantee for the representation of majorities and minorities in just and equal proportion, putting forward in support of that argument, substantially the problem suggested in Denmark, in which E with 101 third votes is elected, while B, with 299 second and 200 third votes, fails; 2, that mere single voting would be a better method without the contingent vote; and 3, that the loss of votes, owing to a large number of electors polling for the favourite candidates, might be obviated by publication of the state of the poll from time to time.

*Wednesday, 17th September, 1862. The debate was resumed by Mr. Merewether. He did not admit that popular election of an Upper Chamber was better than a selection by the ministers of the Crown, with proper restrictions, to prevent a creation of members to carry particular measures. If the Lower House was the people's Chamber, the Upper should be the Chamber of statesmen, composed of public men who had passed through great political offices and employments. Addressing himself to the election clauses, &c., he could not*



refrain from referring to the manner in which his hon. friend Mr. Butler had misunderstood both Mr. Hare and Mr. Mill on this subject. The hon. member had complained that the committee had mutilated Hare's scheme by rejecting manhood suffrage. But Mr. Hare's scheme had nothing to do with manhood suffrage; it was, in fact, devised for England, where, happily, manhood suffrage did not exist. But Mr. Hare's scheme was nothing more than a mode of voting applicable alike to any constituency. He had weighed the Bill under a deep sense of their responsibility to the future, and he supported it not as a perfect measure, but as one which it would be wise in them to pass, and as one which they might pass without prejudice to the future policy of the country.

After discussion on other parts of the Bill,—

MR. HOLDEN replied.—The first objection of Captain Ward arose from a misapprehension of the principle and object of the contingent votes. Their entry on the voting paper was apt to be misunderstood as a departure from the system of single voting, whereas it was merely an expedient to prevent the single vote from being thrown away on a candidate who did not require it. It merely indicated for whom the elector would desire to give his vote, if on his coming to the poll he were told, "Mr. A., for whom you intend to vote, is already elected by a full quota, and you are therefore at liberty to aid in the election of another." It was not a second vote, and should be regarded as if it were non-existent, or written in invisible ink, until effect was given to it in consequence of the primary vote not being required. Then it has all the effect of a primary vote. Such being the case, it was evident that no candidate whose name was second on any voting paper has any claim whatever to consideration on this account if the first-named candidate received the vote as a part of his quota. It was a mere indication that the elector would have voted for him if he had not used his vote for another in preference. A vote given by an elector to B, because his greater favourite A did not require it, was as good a vote as the vote of another elector, who esteemed B as superior to A. Now if these two considerations were borne in mind, all the objections raised by his hon. friend Captain Ward to the method of allotting contingent votes, on the ground of supposed injustice to candidates, fell to the ground. It was wholly the concern of the voter, and if he had secured the privilege of rendering his vote—his one vote—effectual for some one candidate of his choice, no other candidate was entitled to complain. Surely nothing could be more ridiculous than that a candidate should complain of it as a hardship that he is not allowed to derive any advantage from the votes of electors whose votes had returned another, because they would have voted for him if they had not voted for that other person. But although no candidate had any greater right than another to influence the selection of the voting papers which were to be taken as the surplus beyond any candidate's quota, general policy required some rules, and these have been applied. The first rule was to select those on which the greatest number of contingent votes were entered. The reason of this was obvious. The greater the number of names entered, the less likely was the vote to be lost in the election. After this rule had been applied, Mr. Hare had introduced a great number of complicated rules, which he had rejected for the sake of greater simplicity. All that appeared necessary to him was, to provide some rule which should preclude any selection of papers by the registrar, through personal or political motives. A political motive could, indeed, hardly apply, because the question would not be (as now, in ordinary elections) between candidates of different parties, but those of a second choice of two electors of the same party, which of two voters for A should have a second choice, because A did not require both votes. An equality of chance was the only impartial course to be adopted, and the most convenient mode of accomplishing this seemed to be the taking the votes in the order in which they happened to stand on the roll; and, notwithstanding it was characterized by the hon. and learned Attorney General as absurd and ridiculous, he would venture to abide by it until some wiser and better plan were suggested; when that were done, he was perfectly ready to consider and adopt it. The hon. member (Captain Ward) said that under this system A might be returned and B rejected by a course which had no greater merit than the system of tossing up. This was a very narrow and fallacious view of the case. The system was a matter altogether distinct from the tossing up. True, it might be that in the working of the system, as in that of any other, a state of facts might result in which there might be a tie, or two or more parties might have equal claim to that which all could not by the nature of the case obtain. A resort to some plan equivalent to tossing up was in such case the only way out of the difficulty. But the hon. member (Captain Ward) had not been content with criticising the system of Mr. Hare. He has declared his preference for another. The system of single voting without quotas and without contingent voting appears to him preferable. It will, he says, protect minorities better. Possibly it might do so; but in what manner and at what expense of confusion and injustice towards majorities it might be worth while first to consider. Taking his friend Captain Ward's illustrations in order, he would answer his objections seriatim. In his first example, he complained that if 1, 2, 3 were taken to make A's quota, A and C would be returned, whereas if 4, 5, and 6 be taken, A and B would be returned. He (Mr. Holden) denied that this was any objection, unless either B had some claim superior to A, or A superior to B. This not being shown, some form of decision by lot was the just and proper course. If instead of an election by contingent voting the votes had been taken by 1, 2, and 3 going to the poll first, and 4, 5, and 6—knowing how they had voted—going to the poll afterwards, and voting for the candidates of their respective second choice, in consequence of such knowledge,

*the candidate whose election was defeated by his not receiving the vote of 1, 2, or 3 would have no ground of complaint, because he would have received it had they voted last in order. With regard to the second example, in which a greater claim was maintained on behalf of the excluded candidate, on account of his having more primary votes, the fallacy of the objection was equal, though of another kind. It was forgotten that when the contingent votes were used, they had the same force as primary votes. The fact that an elector would have voted for A, if A had wanted his vote, did not render his vote for B less valid, if it were not used for A. Thus, the return of C, in example two, by contingent votes in excess of B's primary votes, is quite legitimate. It was not because the vote was called contingent when placed on the voting paper that it was contingent or inferior when used. It has then become absolute, and of equal power with the primary vote. It was the actual vote of one elector. The third example turned upon the converse fallacy. Here contingent votes were taken into account which had never taken effect. The objection assumed that B was entitled to reckon, as influencing his claim to consideration, contingent votes on voting papers actually used for a preceding candidate. These were only votes which would have been given for B, but have not been given in fact. They should be, therefore, considered as non-existent for the purpose of the computation, and the objection would then utterly vanish. This system of single voting, without the protection of Hare's adjuncts, was that proposed in the Bill of the Forster Ministry; but as it was never fully discussed, public attention was not attracted to the objections to which it was open, although they at that time very clearly presented themselves to his mind, and he was thereby more prepared to welcome Mr. Hare's discovery as an escape from them. And his friend Captain Ward hinted that some better plan than Mr. Hare's contingent voting might answer all the purpose of this cumbrous system,—this better plan being, as he understood, a public statement of the number of votes already polled for candidates. If his honourable friend had said at once that he proposed to supersede the necessity of a cumbrous system by a system of voting through the electric telegraph, he could hardly have more astonished him. If he would show in what manner his suggestion could be practically carried out, he was willing to relinquish the field to him. The only merit he claimed for Hare's system was that of doing in the most practicable way which has hitherto been propounded. But what did the publication proposed involve? First, that by some miracle of intuition all the polling officers in the colony were to be aware of the instant at which any candidate had acquired a sufficient number of votes in the aggregate to effect his return. Secondly, that the polling be thus simultaneously stopped, and the fact published, the machinery of election being suspended until all the electors are duly apprised. When, on this being effected, the election recommenced, it could only go on until another candidate were elected, when the polling would again stop, and the same proceedings would be repeated until the electors were tired of travelling backwards and forwards to the poll. If it were practicable to prevent votes being thrown away at elections by any such publication as his hon. friend suggested, it would surely have been long ago introduced in connection with the existing system. It was no part of the avowed policy of the electoral law that votes should be thrown away. It had only been tolerated, as an evil supposed to be unavoidable, until Mr. Hare's invention had, for the first time, supplied a remedy.*

The second reading was earned by a majority of 11 to 4. It was passed by the Legislative Council, and read a first time in the Legislative Assembly. In that House, on the 13th November, 1862, on the order of the day for the second reading,—

*MR. WILSON, after addressing himself to the other questions, said he had heard no one who had risen to speak attempt to defend the principle of one electorate only, and the only question was, would it be at all tolerable even under Hare's system?—though it was scarcely to be dreamt of that that should be adopted here. He believed it to be too complicated for any person to understand it; so much so, that he did not think there were ten members in this House and the other who thoroughly understood it. [An hon. Member: "It is very simple."] Possibly it might be; but they had the declaration of the Master of the Mint, who was no mean authority in mathematical matters, that it was directly the reverse. For himself he would confess that he had not understood much of it when it was first introduced into the Bill, but afterwards the explanations of the hon. gentleman who had proposed it had so mystified him that he now knew less of it than before.*

*MR. MORRIS, after adverting to the franchise and other subjects, added, the principle, however, most important in this Bill, whatever franchise might be adopted, was the principle known as Hare's system—a system of election by quotas. There had been great prejudices against this system, and it had been frequently observed by hon. members that they could not understand the practical working of it. He would explain to the House in a few minutes that there was no mystery in connection with the practical application of this principle. Hare's system was the only one by which representation according to numbers could possibly be secured. Under that system a man carried his rights with him, and could exercise his power of voting in whatever part of the colony he might be at the time of an election. If the Upper House be composed of members returned for large districts, it would, after all, be a mere reflex of the majority of the community; and consequently, out of a community of 100,000 people, it might so happen that 49,000 were not represented at all. But such a state of things could not possibly arise under Mr. Hare's system. He wanted to know why these 49,000 persons were not*

to be represented! No reason had yet been given why the majority of the people should have the whole of the representation. This principle—which many hon. members were fond of exalting—of taxation and law-making by representatives, was practically ignored by the system at present adopted; the majority alone of the community made the laws and taxed the people.

MR. LOVE did not think there would be any necessity for discussing Hare's system, because the country was so thoroughly against it; and it was so imperfectly understood that every one believed it would never become the law of the land. He considered it to be a system that would never work well in this country; it might look well in theory, but would be impracticable. Too much power would be left in the hands of the Registrar-General, who could almost return what members he pleased.

MR. DALGLEISH, among other observations, said: As to the principles of this Bill, he disagreed with them all, except the one pertaining to Hare's system. He believed that no system of representation was so perfect, or so capable of fully eliciting the will of the people, as this which was called Hare's. It was impossible to define it fully in a speech, but any hon. member who carefully examined it would see the truth of what he stated. The hon. member (Mr. Harpur) had struck the only objection that he saw to the system, in the suggestion as to two candidates having equal votes. The effect of this would be to throw the election virtually into the hands of one person. But the present and any other system was open to the same objection. Such an occurrence would, however, happen only very rarely. He did not agree with the drawing by lot as proposed, but would prefer to have the decision left to some impartial person, uninfluenced by personal considerations, as a returning officer should at all times be. Hare's system, he repeated, was the only true way of obtaining the will of the people, and by having the whole colony formed into one great electorate, and all the elections taking place on the one day, every one could vote, while no person could possibly vote in more than one electorate. He could not understand how members of that House could say they preferred the present nominee Chamber to an elective House under the Hare system. He was told, when he asked how it was that hon. members could possibly express such an opinion, that they justified the preference indicated on the ground that, in the present state of things, there was the "swamping power" to fall back upon. He could not understand the force of such an argument as that. Was it to be supposed, if a Ministry, to insure a majority, should suddenly create a number of new members, that an immediately succeeding Government would be disposed to accept such a set of nominations? And if they should not accept them, what was to be done? Was it not clear that their only course in such a case would be to increase the number of members of Council to a very large and indefinite extent, so that the influence of such a Chamber might be practically nullified.

MR. W. FORSTER, after explaining what had been proposed by a former ministry, and discussing the general question of the construction of an Upper Chamber, observed that representation of the average opinions of the country was assumed to be arrived at under our present system. But how was it proposed to produce that effect when there was only one electorate returning six or seven members? [Mr. Harpur: By the progress of truth,] Whatever faith the hon. member might have in the operation of truth (Or perhaps Providence was meant), it was their duty, as legislators, to have in their institutions as little liability to error as possible, to prevent injurious and unjust results. It was a palpable injustice when, in proposing to give the whole country representation, a small majority of a constituency was given the power of returning the whole of the members. That was a result we should endeavour to guard against. He thought a majority of the House would agree with him that this would be unfair, and not a representation in principle at all—only one section was represented, having, it might be, only a majority of three or four, to the entire disfranchisement of the other; at any rate, for a certain period. He thought a result like that which must arise in many instances ought to be guarded against by the institution they were now endeavouring to perfect. He thought he had demonstrated that if the principle of large electorates were admitted, they must alter the system of voting. It was the fear that he and others entertained of this result which led him to make, in the measure his administration introduced, a provision by which an elector was allowed to vote for only one candidate. He admitted that that was an imperfect attempt, and he conceived that Hare's system, so much spoken of in the present debate, went in the same direction, but did the thing aimed at in a far more effective and just manner. They had heard all sorts of denunciations, but not a single argument against that system. Was it a reason that the House should reject this system, which had obtained the attention and approval of thoughtful men, including one honourable member well known to be extreme in his democratic notions, because certain hon. members informed the House that they did not understand it? Or did it follow that because hon. members did not understand it the public would not understand it? It was called a conservative measure. Now, according to his mind, it was one of the most democratic measures ever proposed: it was a complete innovation upon old established principles. It was conservative in the sense in which every reform was conservative, because it seemed to him to conserve justice, being allied with truth and equity, and thus conserving the very best interests for the people. That it was conservative in the sense of obstruction, in the sense of the word "tory," or the maintenance of obsolete, oligarchical, or anti-democratic notions, he denied; and no one who thoroughly considered its operations

could entertain such an opinion for a moment. They were told that it was unpopular—that the people out of doors were against it. But the people out of doors had not considered it; there had been no discussion or expression of opinion on the part of the public to entitle any hon. member to come to that conclusion. He thought it was a popular belief in the widest sense, though not in the superficial sense of being approved of by the people, because they had given no opinion upon it. But it was popular as being thoroughly democratic in its theory, and would prove democratic in its practice. It seemed to be the idea of population carried out in principle; the principle of proportion applied to numbers. In brief, he might say that at its roots were the axiom that equal numbers should have equal representation. [Mr. Harpur: Not as embodied in the Bill.] He admitted that the details were imperfect; he was speaking of the principles of the system. So far as equality could be attained, the system proposed that each equal portion of electors should have an equal representation; and could the equity of the system be better shown? How was it possible to find fault with a system that told off the community into different sections, giving each a representative in proportion to its numbers? [Mr. Harpur: Stereotyping faction.] This remark contained no argument. Anything might be termed faction. Majorities in the House, and even the Government themselves, had been termed a faction, until people were tired of hearing it. This system was a mere mechanical provision, if anything like faction could be involved in that. He believed he had been able to understand the system, after giving it a considerable amount of attention, and he would endeavour to explain to the House some of the features he had remarked in it, and which he thought were in its favour. One objection he had heard against the system would show the manner in which it was treated by honourable members. It was said, suppose a case in which 20,000 electors were to return ten members, and supposing there were forty candidates, each having an equal number of votes—why, such a tiling was simply impossible; or, if possible, it was provided for by this system. The easiest way of putting the question was, by supposing a case of one electorate where there was but one returning officer. Supposing there were 10,000 votes to be given and ten members to be returned. The quota was arrived at by a simple sum in division, the number of electors being divided by the number of persons to be elected. Thereby was obtained what was called a quota. It was not arbitrary, but a definite proportion of the electors to the elected. [A voice: How if less than the quota voted?] And here he took exception to the phraseology of the Bill—the expressions "primary" and "contingent" not being at all connected with the Hare system of voting. Strictly speaking, there was but one vote. He was supposing a case where the electorate was sufficiently limited to admit of one returning officer officiating. Say there is a certain number of candidates to be elected—ten, for instance—and there are 10,000 electors. In such case the quota will be 1,000 votes. Well, the returning officer receives votes up to 1,000 for A and B. After that, if any electors wish to vote for A and B, they are told the votes are not required, and they then vote for C and D, or, if these candidates have also obtained the quota, they are carried to E and F, or any others that the electors approve of. [Mr. Harpur: But the votes are given on paper.] It is not at all necessary. In this way, in a small electorate, the whole number to be returned may be elected without 'the necessity of any great expense, and without the need of much official machinery. But, of course, when you came to apply the principle to extensive electorates, then this official machinery became necessary, just as it was necessary at present. It was not more liable to abuse than any other system. In all cases you must necessarily depend on the integrity of individuals, and if they could not repose confidence to this extent in their officials, the sooner we obtained a despotism the better. But he (Mr. Forster) had no doubt on this score, and he saw no difficulty whatever in applying this system, which embraced the best possible means of securing a representation of opinions. It was argued that persons might combine to secure the election of particular candidates. But was there anything improper or undemocratic in that? Suppose the Wesleyans, or the Roman Catholics, or any other body, desired to elect one of their own number to represent them, was there anything wrong in their combining in order to secure that end? He maintained there was not. On the contrary, he contended it was quite in accordance with the true theory of representation, which regarded the candidate as the representative of opinions, and not of mere numbers. The more he considered the Hare system, the more he admired it, as calculated to secure democratic freedom. He might be told that it destroyed responsibility. It destroyed responsibility to local opinion, perhaps; but it held the representative amenable to the general opinion of the country; for the holding of his position must depend on his having gained the confidence and the respect of the commonwealth of which he formed part. He (Mr. Forster) said, therefore, he had no hesitation in giving his adherence to the Hare system—a system admirable for its simplicity, and one that did honour to its contriver in the mother-country, and for the introduction of which the honourable gentleman who had brought it so prominently under notice here was entitled to great credit.

MR. HOSKINS would accept the single electorate, in combination with Hare's system, which had the advantage of giving effect to every vote. The provision for giving five votes to each elector was no part of Hare's system, and should not have his support.

MR. LUCAS was in favour of trying Hare's system; and, in so far as he could understand it, he regarded it as being as simple and easy as the present system. Nor did he think there was any possibility of a vote being lost,

as had been stated by one hon. member; for every man who voted must tell for one member at all events; and if he put one name only on the paper, then it would be the duty of the returning officer to first select those papers which had one name only on them, so that the vote should not be lost. The present bill differed somewhat from Hare's system, but he believed that difference to be an improvement. Under the system the returning officer collects the number of votes registered, and from that forms his quota. Thus, if there were 30,000 electors and thirty to be returned, he formed his quota by dividing the one by the other; but if only 8,000 electors voted, the probability would be that the matter could not be worked out. inasmuch as no one member would get a quota. According to the bill, however, the returning officer took the number of votes actually recorded, and divided them by the number of members to be returned, in order to obtain his quota. In that way every man would have his vote used, without the possibility of loss. He believed the system to be a good one, and he would like to see it tried; and as there was a bill to amend the Municipalities Act now before the House, he thought a good opportunity was afforded of testing the working of the system. He would be willing enough to apply it to the Council elections if the bill were such a one that he could support.

MR. R. FORSTER would remove from the bill the part relating to Hare's system, for the simple reason that he did not understand it. It appeared to be a very ingenious theory, but one that had never been brought into operation. The Government were bound to see that the bill, with the alterations proposed, was passed by the Upper House, and was not again sent back to us.

MR. HOLT thought the hon. member for New England (Mr. It. Forster) might, if he would only take the pains, easily understand Mr. Hare's system of representation. He would try to explain the matter to the hon. member. The system would give every elector the opportunity of voting just as if he knew the state of the poll. He would suppose that there were twelve hundred electors, and that there were three vacancies; the quota in that case would be four hundred. He would also suppose that the four Ministers were the candidates. First of all, the electors would vote for Mr. Cowper, who ought to be returned on account of his long services. Well, when the number for Mr. Cowper was made up the elector would give his vote for the Minister for Lands; and on Mr. Robertson's number being made up he would give his vote for Mr. Arnold. Every elector had the opportunity of doing what he would do if the polling booths had glass windows. Although the clauses were drawn up in legal phraseology, they were when examined easily intelligible. The instructions to the scrutineers were very complete and explicit. He looked upon this bill as merely a skeleton measure, and in voting for the second reading it was with an anxious desire to get this important matter settled. He did not, however, commit himself to any of the details. If he thought any bill could be so altered as to make it a satisfactory measure, as he thought was the case with this bill, he would support it. There was a good deal in the bill of which he quite approved, and more especially that clause which contained Hare's invention, as it might be termed.

MR. STEWART said that, as to Hare's system, he must admit, from the opportunities he had had of judging, it was his impression that nineteen- twentieths of the community did not and would not, if it was passed, know how to carry it into effect. He thought the present system, which enabled the electors at the close of the poll to know which was the successful candidate, was the best that we could adopt, and with the ballot the elections had been the most satisfactory that had taken place in the colony.

MR. DANGAR and MR. DICK addressed the House, and on a division the second reading was carried by a majority of 24 against 20.—*Sydney Morning Herald*. Friday, November 14th, 1862.

Soon after the debate the Ministry resigned, and the measure proceeded no further.

## Appendix C.

*Parliament of Victoria, Wednesday, 4th March, 1863.*

In a Bill for the Amendment of the Electoral Law of the Colony, it was proposed to allow any voter of a constituency entitled to elect more than two members, to vote for all the candidates which the constituency could elect, or cumulate such votes on one or more of the candidates. The discussion on this clause is fully reported in the (*Melbourne*) *Argus*, Thursday, March 5, 1863, and somewhat more briefly in the (*Melbourne*) *Age* of the same day.

MR. FRANCIS, to raise the discussion on the question, moved an amendment rejecting the clause for cumulative voting, but without therefore pledging himself to vote against it. He thought that if the clause passed, as it stood, it would be an instance of too rapid legislation in so young a colony. He should like to see the principle first accepted elsewhere. He had not heard of its introduction into the elections of members of the House of Commons. The proposal of Lord John Russell had not been adopted. It was scarcely adapted to a constituency returning less than three members, and was inapplicable to a constituency returning only one. In such a constituency the successful candidate might receive 1,100 votes, and the next on the poll might have 1,095. Where, under this clause, would these 1,095 voters find representation? This led him to think that the clause did not go far enough, or, that it failed to provide a perfect mode of representing minorities. . . . He should be glad to hear arguments which would justify the Parliament of Victoria in being the pioneer in such a

*legislative experiment.*

*THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL said the question had been left an open one by the Government. When he introduced the Bill the matter had not been fully considered. Hare's book, with the commentaries upon it, had arrived in the colony while the Bill was being draughted. In the legislature of New South Wales, a Bill had already been introduced by Mr. Wentworth, giving effect to Hare's system . . . . He thought it desirable that minorities should be represented. Take a constituency with 2,100 voters. It seemed very hard that a moiety of the constituency with one or two votes over should have the power to send into Parliament a member to represent the whole of the constituency, when nearly one-half of them would not be represented. It was said that it was wrong to make the experiment now, when it had not been adopted by the Imperial Parliament. He had great respect for the House of Commons, but if the principle was a philosophical one, the fact of its not being introduced at home was no reason why it should not be tried here. It was also urged that it was not a perfect principle, but it was useless to aim at perfection, for some fraction of the minority must always be unrepresented.*

*MR. HEAMES objected to the attempted application of the principle to particular districts only. There was no class of the community to whom he would give advantages which others could not enjoy. If the power of concentrating their votes should be given to the voters of certain districts it would be unjust, and give one set of voters an unfair advantage over others. He was opposed, moreover, to the principle of the representation of minorities.*

*MR. J. T. SMITH opposed the clause. In the district which he represented three members were returned, and the effect of the clause would be injurious to it. Were it divided into three portions, and each part allowed a member, it might be represented as a whole; but to give an inconsiderable minority, perhaps not numbering one-twelfth of the whole body of electors, the privilege of returning a member who would vote in opposition to the other two, was practically to reduce the representation of the district to a single member.*

*MR. WOOD said that if the Legislature once laid down a correct principle that was a very important thing, even though it were attended with no great practical results. He was not affected by the argument that this was a small experiment, applying to four constituencies only. It was for the political philosopher to lay down a great scheme, and it was for the practical man to test that scheme. The hon. member for East Bourke had said that minorities did occasionally return representatives, even under the existing system, by what was commonly called plumping. This was, however, a mere matter of chance; it could only happen where the majority was divided. The same hon. member had also told the committee that under the present system there was a representation of a variety of opinions; that the colony was divided into various interests—mining, agricultural, and town interests; but the hon. member seemed to have overlooked the fact that the same class might be predominant in every instance—that the majority in every instance might hold the same set of political opinions. To take the question of protection, for example. There might, probably, be a majority in the towns in favour of protection; and they all knew that in the agricultural constituencies, the farmers, and probably the labourers, were also in favour of protection. In the mining districts, no doubt, there was a majority against protection. It was clear, however, that even on the question of protection there would be a majority in favour of protection in two classes of constituencies, although those two classes might seem, at first sight, to have no connection whatever. The result of the present electoral system had been that there was a representation of interests, but not a representation of opinions. He did not think that interests ought to be represented at all. What, after all, was the representation of interest but the representation of selfishness? Men's "interests," in the common meaning of the word, implied that a certain number of persons belonging to the same sphere or the same branch of industry thought their selfish interests would be advanced by a certain course of legislation being pursued. That was not what ought to be obtained in the selection of representatives; but if, as was the case, it was found that the people of the colony held very different opinions, the object ought to be to get as many as possible of those opinions represented. How was the truth to be elicited but by hearing different opinions expressed by those who were best able to put them forth in the Legislature? Every interest in the colony might be represented, and yet nothing like a majority or even a fair proportion of the opinions of the colony be represented. It had been asked what practical advantage would follow the adoption of the principle of the clause? Great advantages would follow it, if it were carried out systematically. All classes of opinions, or, at all events, all those opinions which commanded the assent of any considerable portion of the colony, would be represented in that House, and all sides of any question would be heard. Whatever Ministry had been in office, he believed that it had not represented in any degree opinions, and the consequence had been to degrade the politics of the colony. Instead of being supported on the ground of its opinions, the Ministry had always been supported on personal grounds or interests; and either a Ministry or an Opposition, supported on those grounds, did not tend to raise the character of the Legislature. In the constituencies of Collingwood and St. Kilda, large minorities were defeated on every contest. The result of all elections had been that the minority was politically annihilated. This was calculated to lead to political inaction. The minority, feeling themselves*



powerless, would decline to take any part in future elections. This was not a desirable state of things. It was not to the interest of the colony that a large body of men should be led to feel that it was useless for them to take any part in political contests. A gentleman sitting behind him said, "Divide the constituencies." No doubt, in some cases, one class of political opinions was predominant in one part of a district, and another class of opinions was predominant in another part of the district. This, however, was a mere accident; it was one which was not likely to continue, and, above all, it was one upon which no stable system of legislation ought to be based. The Legislature ought to endeavour to give the minority a fair share of the representation in every locality. It had been said that the four constituencies ought to be consulted by their representatives before the change. If it were proposed to place them under some disability, it might be reasonable to ask their opinion, but he really could not see what ground they had for being consulted, when it was proposed to confer on them a privilege not extended to other constituencies. Moreover, it was contrary to the very principle to consult the constituencies, for it was the opinion of the majority which would have to be asked, while the principle of the clause was the representation of the minority. He could refer to subjects which had been agitated from time to time in the colony; and, without disrespect to any members, he would say that candidates had been driven of necessity occasionally to conceal their opinions, or, at all events, to put a gloss upon them. ("Oh !") No doubt there might be a class of persons who had not been driven to that—who, having no opinions of their own, merely endeavoured to ascertain the opinions of a majority, in order to subscribe to those opinions; and he admitted that that class of persons had had no violence done to their opinions. (Laughter.) From time to time a few active persons banded themselves together to agitate for certain changes in the law. When the Constitution was inaugurated, many persons were anxious for the repeal of the clause which authorized a grant of £50,000 a year for religious purposes; and in almost every constituency where these persons had been at all successful, candidates were driven to say either that they would vote for the immediate abolition of state aid to religion, or that they would not oppose the principle, although they thought the grant ought to be continued for some years longer; and yet all this time there was a very large minority entirely opposed to the theory. (Hear.) Then, with regard to the land question, there had been from time to time a vast amount of agitation, and persons had been obliged to give up the opinions they entertained, or, at all events, simulate opinions which they did not hold, in order to be returned. But it would have conduced more to the character of the Legislature if these persons had been able to come honestly and openly forward, and say—"We are opposed to the prevailing theories on the land question; we admit we are unable, in consequence, to command the support of the majority, but we appeal to the minority of the constituencies, who, we are sure, agree with us." (Hear.) Electors would not be driven to take advantage of the clause unless they pleased. (Hear.) Theoretically speaking, the chief objection to the clause was, that it did not apply to the whole colony—that it was limited to four constituencies. But, if the system worked well, it could be extended. Constituencies now returning two members could be so enlarged as to return three; and constituencies at present returning only one member each could be amalgamated, so that the united electoral district should have three representatives. In all countries where legislation had been really progressive, it had been tentative. An experiment was tried on a small scale, and when found to work well the principle was extended. (Hear.)

MR. HIGINBOTHAM, after dealing with the objection that the clause would give the power of combined action to particular sects of politicians, and the argument as to the possibility of representing all opinions, expressed himself hostile to the proposed measure. If the government had proposed Hare's system in its entirety, he would gladly have assented to the proposition; but for other and far more important reasons than the representation of minorities; but it merely suggested the adoption in a mangled form of one feature of the system applied to four particular constituencies, and for which he had heard nothing urged which had any weight on his mind.

MR. DUFFY said that the present clause was copied from the Bill previously introduced by the member for Portland, to whom Mr. Mill had written to express his gratification that a representation of minorities was to be attempted. The principle of such a representation was the result of the best and most philosophical opinions. He adverted to Lord John Russell's proposal in the Bill of 1854, and the interruption to the progress of reform caused by the Crimean War, and addressed himself especially to the arguments with regard to the force which might be acquired by the professors of religious or political opinions.

MR. WOODS, admitting that, theoretically, it was correct that minorities should be represented, said the Bill did not carry the principle out. It was possible that some opinions might not be represented in the House, but this was an evil which could not be obviated: they must stop somewhere, or else a minority of one intelligent voter might demand to be represented.

MR. O'SHANASSY appealed to members, in considering the question on the high ground from which it deserved to be reviewed, to discard from their minds all thoughts of the effect of the clause upon local political parties. If they did so, whatever the present conclusion might be, the discussion could not be fruitless, for it would tend to educate the community. After replying to arguments of preceding speakers, he expressed his

*belief that the more the question was discussed and examined the more likely it was that at a future day a full system of representation would be brought forward by some Government possessing the confidence of the country. He did not know any country in the world in which such a system could be more judiciously tried than in Victoria, a colony accustomed from its infancy to the exercise of political privileges. He hoped to see the day when public opinion would be so enlightened that, no longer seen through the narrow medium of local or sectarian jealousies, this most equitable scheme would be adopted with the full approbation of all thinking and right-minded persons.*

*MR. BEERY opposed the clause. If the question of minorities were to be dealt with, it should be considered in all its bearings, and not upon a clause by which the principle was introduced in a mangled form. Hare's proposition was not before the House.*

*Captain M'MAHON regarded the representation of minorities as opposed to the great principle of constitutional government—the rule of the majority.*

*MR. L. L. SMITH predicted that the adoption of such a clause would lead to anarchy, like that in America.*

*MR. COHEN and Mr. ORR also opposed it in its principle.*

*MR. FRANCIS, having referred to Hare's book, quoted the observations it contained on the minority clause in the English Bill of 1854. (Pp. 14, 15.)*

*MR. LEVI supported, and MR. MCLELLAN, MR. RAMSAY, and MR. HOULSTON, opposed the clause.*

*The ATTORNEY-GENERAL replied.*

*The clause was ultimately negatived.*

## Appendix D.

The following extract is from an article from the pen of M. Louis Blanc, which has had a wide circulation, and excited much attention in France :—

*Le peuple, ce n'est pas la pluralité, c'est l'universalité des citoyens: d'où vient donc qu'on parle toujours de la souveraineté du peuple, comme si le PEUPLE était un être simple, unique, immuable, dont on puisse dire ce qu'on dirait d'un individu : IL veut ceci, IL ne veut pas cela?*

*Quant à la souveraineté, il serait temps de s'entendre. S'il est vrai que d'après Hobbes, d'après Rousseau, d'après tous les publicistes qui ont écrit sur la matière, d'après le dictionnaire, d'après l'usage, elle soit le pouvoir suprême, celui dont tout relève, il est clair que son essence est d'être absolue.*

*Mais si, étant absolu, un pareil pouvoir n'était pas incontestablement juste et regardé avec raison comme infaillible, loin d'être légitime, loin de constituer un droit, il aurait l'odieux caractère d'un fait écrasant, et la souveraineté serait infâme. Qu'une iniquité soit commise au nom du souverain, fût-ce à l'égard d'un seul homme, la souveraineté disparaît comme principe, et ne subsiste plus que comme force. Et, n'est-il pas certain, n'est-il pas historiquement prouvé qu'un seul homme peut, à un moment donné, sur une question donnée, avoir raison contre cent mille hommes, contre un million d'hommes, contre tous les hommes, moins lui?*

*Ainsi donc, pour que la souveraineté, dans le sens absolu qu'on attache à ce mot, fût autre chose qu'une pure abstraction au point de vue du droit, il faudrait qu'elle répondît en fait à l'idée d'universalité; qu'il y eût unanimité d'idées, de sentiment; que toute pression du plus grand nombre sur le plus petit put être écartée par la communauté des intérêts et l'harmonie des volontés. Touchons-nous à la réalisation de ce rêve d'or ? Il est sans fond l'abîme qui nous en sépare.*

*Que faites-vous donc, vous qui prétendez investir du caractère qui conviendrait au gouvernement du peuple par lui-même ce qui n'est, et ne saurait être que le gouvernement d'une partie du peuple par une autre partie? Vous faussez la notion du droit; vous transportez à la pluralité; qui est exposée au malheur d'être injuste, le pouvoir de l'universalité, qui ne peut pas être injuste, parce qu'on ne l'est pas envers soi-même; vous mettez le relatif à la place de l'absolu; vous mutilez le souverain, et en lui dérobant son nom pour le donner à ce qui n'est pas lui, vous courez le risque de consacrer la tyrannie!*

*Il faut quelque chose qui empêche le droit des plus nombreux de trop ressembler au droit des plus forts; quelque chose qui serve à distinguer avantageusement l'état de société, où l'on se compte, de l'état de nature, où l'on se bat; quelque chose qui protège la liberté contre la substitution possible du pouvoir d'un chiffre à celui d'un coup de massue; quelque chose enfin qui fasse que la démocratie cesse d'être un régime de privilège en faveur du nombre. La majorité doit avoir plus de représentants que la minorité, fort bien; mais s'ensuit-il, comme dit M. John Stuart Mill, que la minorité n'en doive pas avoir du tout? Eh bien, c'est pourtant ce qui arrive sous l'empire du système qui ne permet aux électeurs de voter que pour le candidat qui se présente dans le district électoral auquel ils appartiennent. Le représentant élu pour le district est celui de la majorité, et le vote de la minorité se trouve n'avoir pas plus de valeur, l'élection faite, que si la minorité n'existait pas.*

*Cela est-il équitable ? cela est-il conforme à l'intérêt, bien entendu, de la société et au principe de l'égalité démocratique ? Il y a là manifestement un mal qui appelle un remède. La conviction que ce mal est considérable, que ce remède est nécessaire, me fait un devoir de vous exposer le système au moyen duquel M.*



*Hare a cherché à atteindre ce but important, et éminemment démocratique : LA REPRÉSENTATION PROPORTIONNELLE DES MINORITÉS.*

*An explanation of the method then follows.*

*Le mécanisme en est beaucoup moins compliqué qu'on ne serait tenté de le croire, au premier abord. En réalité, l'opération sur laquelle il repose n'a rien de plus difficile que le triage des lettres à la grande poste.*

*Quant à sa portée politique et philosophique, elle doit vous frapper.*

*Là où il n'y a pas égalité de représentation, on peut poser hardiment en fait qu'il n'y a pas de démocratie. L'essence de la démocratie, c'est l'égalité; et partout où les minorités risquent d'être étouffées, que dis-je ? partout où elles n'ont pas leur influence proportionnelle sur la direction des affaires publiques, le gouvernement n'est au fond qu'un gouvernement de privilège, au profit du plus grand nombre. Contre ce mal, le système de M. Hare fournit un remède.*

*On répondra peut-être que, dans le mode d'organisation adopté jusqu'à ce jour, la minorité ne reste jamais sans représentants, parce qu'il arrive que le parti en minorité dans un collège est en majorité dans un autre, ce qui tend à rétablir la balance.*

*Mais une pareille compensation, outre qu'elle n'a rien de certain et rien d'exact, est évidemment contraire à tous les principes du régime représentatif. L'étouffement de la minorité ici ne cessera pas d'être regrettable parce qu'il y aura eu étouffement de la minorité ailleurs en sens inverse. Un mal donné pour correctif à un autre mal ne saurait tenir lieu de remède. Ce qui importe, c'est que la voix de chaque électeur compte à l'homme de son choix, du moins autant que possible. Quoi ! je nomme Pierre à Paris, et je dois me tenir pour bien et dûment représenté si Paul est nommé à Bordeaux ! Passe encore, si le pays n'était divisé qu'entre deux grands partis se disputant le pouvoir, et en présence dans chaque collège ! Mais en dehors de ces deux partis, je puis appartenir à une opinion dont il me plairait fort de préparer l'avenir; je puis faire partie d'une minorité éparsée dans le pays, et qui, bien que trop faible pour l'emporter dans un collège quelconque, serait cependant assez forte pour former une section du corps électoral, si les membres qui la composent votaient ensemble; je puis enfin vouloir pour mandataire, d'accord en ceci avec beaucoup d'électeurs répandus çà et là, un homme sans influence locale, sans relation avec les partis en vue, sans engagement avec les opinions du jour, mais d'un caractère élevé et d'un esprit aussi supérieur qu'indépendant. Dans ce cas, je le demande, à quoi me servira ma qualité d'électeur ? Il faudra, ou que je donne ma voix à un homme qui ne représente mon opinion que très imparfaitement, et alors mon vote est à moitié perdu, ou que je m'abstienne, et alors, il est perdu tout à fait.*

*Il est vrai que le système de M. Hare est loin d'assurer aux minorités une garantie complète, en ce sens qu'il laisse sans organe parlementaire toute minorité qui n'atteint pas le nombre minimum de votants requis pour l'élection d'un député. Ainsi en supposant que la Chambre se compose de 650 membres, et qu'il y ait 6,500,000 électeurs, ce système n'empêcherait pas toute minorité au dessous du chiffre de 10,000 d'être sans organe dans la législature. Mais c'est là un malheur inhérent à la nature des choses. Le nombre des sections électorales est fatalement déterminé par le nombre des députés à élire. Et, d'autre part, il est assez naturel qu'une opinion ne pèse dans la balance des destinées publiques, que lorsqu'elle se trouve avoir acquis un suffisant degré d'importance numérique.*

*Au reste, je n'entends pas dire que le système de M. Hare soit parfait; mais ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'il offre des avantages nombreux, et de l'ordre le plus élevé.*

*Il assurerait la représentation, proportionnellement au nombre de chaque section du corps électoral. Toute minorité serait représentée, pourvu qu'elle se composât d'autant de citoyens qu'il en faudrait pour faire un député, eu égard au nombre des membres à élire.*

*Chaque minorité locale pouvant s'unir par ses votes à d'autres minorités locales éparsées dans tout le royaume, et atteindre de la sorte le chiffre voulu pour l'élection d'un représentant, nulle opinion de quelque importance numérique ne risquerait d'être réduite au silence, ou désarmée.*

*Les électeurs n'étant plus forcés, ou de voter pour un candidat de la localité, alors même qu'ils ne voudraient pas de lui, ou de s'abstenir, et pouvant donner leur voix aux hommes d'une réputation nationale dont ils partagent les principes, une place parmi les représentants du peuple serait réservée aux grands esprits, aux citoyens vraiment illustres, aux caractères indépendants; il ne serait plus indispensable, pour être élu, de se faire l'instrument d'une coterie influente ou l'esclave d'un parti.*

*Chaque vote aurait toute la valeur qu'il doit et peut avoir.*

*Chaque membre de la Chambre représenterait un corps électoral, disséminé peut-être, mais unanime.*

*Par cela même, le représentant et le représenté seraient identifiés l'un à l'autre.*

*Ce qui serait représenté à la Chambre, ce serait, non plus des pierres, mais des hommes.*

*Et toutefois, le principe de la représentation locale serait respecté dans une juste mesure, puisque dans tout collège où la majorité des votants égalerait ou dépasserait le chiffre requis pour l'élection d'un député, il ne tiendrait qu'à elle d'avoir un représentant local.*

*Dans chaque collège électoral, la majorité serait nécessairement amenée à fixer son choix sur le plus digne, parce que son candidat préféré aurait à soutenir la concurrence, non plus seulement du candidat de la minorité, mais de tous les hommes distingués sur toute la surface du pays.*

*Dans la Chambre, les représentants de la majorité ayant devant eux les organes les plus distingués de chaque ordre d'idées, seraient contraints, pour les combattre, d'étudier les questions sérieusement et de penser, ce qui élèverait le niveau de l'intelligence générale.*

*Enfin, la majorité prévaudrait, la démocratie régnerait; mais en même temps une issue serait ouverte à chaque opinion dissidente, et im point d'appui ménagé au droit des minorités : droit non moins respectable dans sa sphère que celui des majorités dans la sienne, droit sacré, lui aussi, et qu'un membre fameux de la Convention revendiquait en ces termes, le 28 décembre 1792, aux applaudissements du peuple qui remplissait les tribunes : "Sidney, mort pour le peuple, était de la minorité. Socrate était de la minorité quand il avala la ciguë, et Caton quand il se déchira les entrailles."*

*See, also, note to p. 161, 3rd ed. of Mill's Considerations on Representative Government, on the opinions by other continental writers.*

## Appendix E.

*United States of America.*

The earliest notice of this system in America appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1860, in which the plan is thus introduced:—

*"Its leading feature is that a unanimous constituency is necessary to the election of a representative. Nor is this unattainable, as at first sight it appears to be. It is rendered feasible by simply taking away the restraint which at present limits a voter to a choice between the two local candidates.*

*"Let us suppose, for the sake of illustration, that there is to be held an election of Congressmen for this State. There are twenty-five members to be elected, and half a million of votes will be cast; the quotient, twenty thousand, shows the number of votes necessary to elect a member. If every voter is at liberty to select according to his preference from all the candidates in the State, there can be no doubt that the prominent candidates of either party will secure the requisite twenty thousand votes. In all probability they will receive more than that number; and this surplus would be thrown away, were it not for the provision that each vote should be a list of the members desired by the voter, and in the order of his preference for them. Thus, if the first member on his list already has the requisite number, that name should be stricken from the list, and the vote will then count for the second in order, who is the next choice of the voter, and so on. The admirable simplicity which characterizes this plan is likely to make us ignore the wonderful results that would flow from its adoption. Let us consider what would be gained by its introduction.*

*"First, it starts out with the fundamental idea, now almost lost sight of in the abuse of the system, that the representative body should reflect exactly the feelings and opinions of the community which it represents. Under this plan every opinion is represented, and that, too, just in proportion to the generality with which it is entertained. The only limitation is, that those holding a given opinion should be sufficiently numerous to entitle them to at least one representative. That is, in the case of a Congressional election, twenty thousand in the whole State should be agreed in that opinion. The majority thus has all the influence which it is strictly entitled to have, but it cannot exercise the undisputed sway which has hitherto given it the character of a tyrant. Every measure which it proposed would be contested inch by inch, and though it would be ultimately carried, it would only be after it was shorn of all its most obnoxious features, in consequence of the thorough exposure which it had received.*

*"Thoughtful men have at times endeavoured to secure a due share of influence to the minority. John C. Calhoun devoted himself to this subject, and has left a treatise upon it, to explain the mode in which such a scheme could be realized. But the plan which he proposed is wholly impracticable, and is now looked upon only as a monument of his patience and ingenuity. Every one feels the hardship of a minority, whose voice is not heard, and whose wishes go for nothing. We have submitted to the inconvenience because we have not heretofore seen any practical plan suggested for avoiding it. Our ready philosophy has taught us that it would be better to be poorly represented than not to be represented at all. Fully aware of the injustice of our condition, we have endeavoured to make the best of it, hoping, with labour and time, to become, in our turn, the majority.*

*"The grand recommendation of this plan is, however, the tendency it would have to bring forward distinguished men as candidates. An individual of any note soon becomes known throughout the State, and he will be voted for in preference to the unheard-of nominee of some petty local convention. The same reason which induces the bringing forward of men of reputation also operates to keep them in the position which they have shown themselves qualified to occupy. At present the reverse is true. The moment a man becomes prominent by displaying his ability or integrity, he makes himself obnoxious to those who rather desire tools to*

carry out their sinister designs, than men of character -who will obstruct them. Hence, an intrigue is set on foot to defeat such a man, and always with success. Those in the community who would sanction his conduct, in case an opportunity was given them to express their opinion, have no influence whatever. It is all settled in the primary meetings, where delegates to the convention are chosen, hostile to him. We all know how these matters are managed. Some greedy aspirant scours up his confederates to aid him to elect, in the ward meetings, his favourites to the convention. They are successful, because respectable citizens will not degrade themselves by frequenting such dens. When in convention, they nominate a candidate who professes the political principles of a party, and its members must either vote for him or throw their vote away. In such an alternative they give him their vote rather than his opponent, who is probably no better, and professes the opposite principles.

"In the final appeal to the people a decided advantage would also be gained. Bribery, that subtle and most dangerous of all foes to free institutions, would be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed. At present, the main inducement for resorting to its aid, is the fictitious importance which a few votes acquire in a closely-contested election. The change of a few votes determines whether a large part of a constituency is to be fairly represented, or not represented at all, or rather misrepresented. Take away this strong motive for bribery, by recognizing a unanimous constituency, and this dangerous element in our government will be eliminated. It is an incredible supposition that an entire constituency could be bought up, but, granting that it were true, it could never be generally done. Hence the influence of a representative so elected would be counteracted by that of the honest men about him.

"There is no reason why a salutary change of this kind should not be introduced. It would work as potently to renovate our legislature and city councils, as it would to restore the lost character of Congress. The corrupting agencies are powerfully and systematically at work in all these places, and it is time that the people, who have the welfare of the country at heart, should set to work to counteract their deadly influence."—*Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 22, 1860.

The civil war arrested all effectual efforts for electoral improvement, and well-nigh suspended discussions on the subject. Several pamphlets and articles, urging a consideration of the method, have, nevertheless, been published; among others, *True and False Democracy*. Boston. Prentis and Deland, Congress-street. 1862. *North American Review*. 1862. Vol. xcv. p. 240. *Christian Examiner*. Boston, 1863, &c.

The *North American Review* thus states the case :—

"Now if the legislative assembly be in its prime intent and use a parliament, a talking body, every numerous and respectable party among the people has an undoubted right to its share in the talk; every significant phasis of opinion has a right to be presented and advocated; or, to state the case still more strongly, the nation has a right to such practical wisdom as can be elicited only by the free comparison and discussion of opposing and divergent theories and measures; and the legislators who represent a bare majority have no right to close their ears and minds to the most ample and forceful presentation of the views and arguments of the minority. But how is it possible to insure the representation of minorities? It can be effected by no system now in practice. An approximation is made to it by rendering each constituency so small that it shall elect but a single representative; for it is probable that a large minority in a state or nation will be a majority in a considerable number of these small constituencies. (?) On the other hand, constituencies large enough to choose several representatives on a general ticket, will be likely to have a majority coincident with that of the whole state, or of the section of the country to which they respectively belong. Thus most of the counties of Massachusetts would generally furnish majorities of the same complexion with that of the State; while the individual towns could many of them choose minority representatives. Thus, too, it almost always happens that, of two legislative chambers, the smaller and higher is much more nearly homogeneous in opinion than the larger and lower; and we have known at least one instance in which a senate of twelve consisted wholly of members of a single political party, while one-third of the members of the lower house were in opposition. We deem this subject of so great importance in theory, and so sure to become, at no great distance of time, a matter of practical discussion, that we make no apology for quoting at length the solutions of the problem suggested by Mr. Mill."

[Here follows an extract from Mr. Mill's *Considerations on "Representative Government*, pp. 151—155. 3rd edit. 158—162]

In the *New York Social Science Review*

Published 84, Nassau Street, New York.

for October, 1866, an article, entitled "Representative Government and its Reform," is directed to a consideration of the advantages of personal representation as contrasted with election by local majorities. It points out, as the consequence of the latter, that it is always the object of the party in power so to form the electoral districts as shall best promote their party interests. This, the writer quoted in the *Review* says, "is a party measure peculiar to our country, invented, it is said, by one of the early democratic governors of Massachusetts, from whom it has its appellation, Gerrymandering. A more unprincipled scheme, and one more opposed to the true principles of democracy, never was imagined or put in practice; its object being so to

arrange the electoral districts as to neutralize the votes of the opposing party, massing their votes together in some places, where their ascendancy cannot be disputed, detaching counties, townships, or wards from their natural connection, to destroy an existing majority, or to create it where wanted to maintain party ascendancy; and all this without any regard to territorial connection, common interests, or any other consideration but the control of votes. This is so notorious, and of such constant practice, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it to my American readers; it is one of the monstrous evils arising out of our mode of electing by local majorities which cries for reform."

After adverting to the case of the advocates of free trade, who are unrepresented in Congress, the Reviewer says: "There are many other questions, perhaps of equal importance, which should be mooted and represented in Congress, but which cannot be properly heard, adjudged, or passed upon, simply because those who hold them are not in sufficient numerical strength to form a majority in any particular Congressional district. We say, therefore, that while an improved system of representation would not enlarge the sphere of government, and we should oppose it if it did, it simply gives a fuller, freer, and better expression of the popular will upon all subjects that, for the time being, occupy the public mind. Under this improved system of representation even our no-government theorists will combine and send some one of their number to Congress, who would show to the assembled wisdom of the nation the philosophy of letting social questions take care of themselves, and that the session should be devoted exclusively to the negative duty of abolishing laws theretofore enacted.

"The representative system proposed by Mr. Hare, and which, with slight modifications, we would approve, will effect all this, and more, instead of the artificial district system of representation as we now have it. We should enjoy a system which would enable men to district themselves as they see fit. The electoral districts, in short, would not be geographical but intellectual ones."

## Appendix F.

### *Switzerland.*

The following account of the "Association Réformiste" of Geneva is the translation of an extract from the latest publication of the Society :—

*"Exposition et Défense du système de la liste Libre, publiées par le bureau de l'Association Réformiste." Genève, Librairie H. Georg. Corrairie 10.*

The events of the 22nd August, 1864, attracted great attention to the state of Geneva. The universal expression of the press of Switzerland pointed to our electoral system as one of the causes of the evil, and Mr. Jæger, President of the National Council, as the organ of the general opinion of the Confederation, declared in his opening speech (September, 1864) that "the political organization of Geneva creates systematically the periodical return of excessive agitation," and that such a state of things creates "a real danger, not for the canton of Geneva only, but for the whole of Switzerland." Reform was urgently required, but how to accomplish it? It was indispensable that it should have an impartial basis, and this seemed impossible, considering the violent division of parties. Every proposition made by one side was in danger of rejection by the other without examination. The Federal Commissioners sent to Geneva can describe the depth of the wound which they examined with such great anxiety. The founders of the Reform Association undertook to solve this difficult problem, and they have perfectly succeeded. Men of all opinions assisted in the attempt to discover a system of elections, the character of which should be just and true. The 15th January, 1865, they drew up a programme which laid down the following principles:—

*"Representation of all; government by the majority.*

*"The electors are equal. Citizens of a sufficient number to be represented have all the same right to representation.*

*"The election of deputies should be an equitable and peaceful manifestation of the true state of the country, and not a struggle, the result of which is to deprive a part of the electors of their right to representation."*

*This programme was immediately signed by citizens of both parties, and the Association rapidly increased in numbers; reform had been initiated upon an impartial basis.*

*On the 15th of February, 1865, a statute was made by the Association, explaining its precise end and means of action. "The Reform Association is a free society; the purpose of which is to enlighten public opinion on the necessity of electoral reform, and to study the principles of this reform and their practical application." It repudiated all intention of interfering in its character of an associated body with the constituted authorities, and renounced all pretension of representing public opinion or the will of the people, or of using any pressure on the Grand Council. Its wish was to establish a representative system on its right basis, not to overthrow its foundations. "The members of the Association may present petitions to the Grand Council, making use, as citizens, of the prerogative which Article 12 of the Constitution confers on them, but the representatives of the Association cannot presume to address the Grand Council as envoys of a constituted body exercising a*

*collective action*"(Article 5).

The Association, thus founded, elected a committee of forty-four members, charged with preparing and directing its deliberations. This Council worked actively, and on December 18th, 1865, submitted a detailed report to a general meeting. This report has been published under the title of "*Reform of the Electoral System*"

Réforme du Système Electoral, rapport présenté au Conseil de l'Association, le 21 Novembre, 1865, et discuté dans l'Assemblée du 18 Décembre, 1865.

The present system of elections is therein declared to be wanting in justice and truth, contrary to the liberty of the electors and deputies, and encouraging dissension among the citizens. After this critique follows a study of different proposed remedies. The system of "listes incomplètes," and that of electoral districts (arrondissements) are rejected after serious examination, and the remedy is shown to be in a change of the principle of the election itself. At present, the deputies for all are chosen by the majority only. This is the root of the evil. The principle to be adopted is this: there is one deputy to a certain number of electors. This number (electoral quotient) is obtained by dividing the number of electors by that of the deputies. Let us call that number of electors of the same opinions an electoral group. The electoral group has a right to a representation,—this is the essential principle at the root of the programme of the Reform Association.

The general meeting of the 18th December, 1865, unanimously declared, after a long debate, that the new system was worthy of serious consideration, and directed the attention of the Council to the method of accomplishing it.

The Council conscientiously acquitted itself of its task. On April 3rd, 1866, it submitted a detailed plan for the application of the new system to the General Assembly. Their plan has been published under the title of "The Practical Method of the New Electoral System."

Pratique du Nouveau Système Electoral (Système pour du Quotient) rapport présenté au Conseil de l'Association, le 20 Mars, 1866.

This plan was prepared according to the ideas of M. le notaire Rivoire, and much resembles the proposal of an English writer, Mr. Hare, whose works are more and more attracting the attention of European publicists.

Matters had reached this point when the scenes of November 11th, 1866, disclosed once more the consequences of our electoral system. The Reform Association met under the excitement of these events, and on the 26th November determined to present a petition immediately to the Grand Council. This petition requested the legislative authorities to appoint a special commission to consider a constitutional reform of the elections. "Appoint a commission charged with this important investigation. Let its members obtain all the information within their reach; let them invite and welcome the expressions of opinion from all honest men on the subject; let them work patiently and deliberately, and let them bring to you at last the mature result of their labours, which, after having been subjected to your deliberation, may at length be proposed as worthy of the sanction of the highest authorities." The petition requested that the system proposed by the Reform Association should first be investigated. "New ideas upon a really just system of representation have been springing up in various parts of Europe, and have attracted special attention in our country. We beg to call your serious consideration to this subject, and entreat you not to reject prematurely reforms which might place us at the head of the Confederation in the excellent work of realizing a true representative system."

In the second place, and in case of insurmountable obstacles being found to this proposition, the petitioners desired the Council to turn its attention on the institutions of Switzerland. "If these ideas are too novel to be admitted at once, and if they appear impracticable, we hope that you will at least confer on our canton an electoral system analogous to that which shall appear to be the best among the institutions of the rest of the Confederation."

The different publications of the Reform Association were presented at the same time as the petition to the Grand Council, and laid upon the table. The petitioners amounted to 2,290 in number. There have been more largely signed petitions; but when it is considered that it had not the support of any newspaper or influential political circle—that no energetic means were employed for obtaining signatures—that the directors of the enterprise were even accused of being wanting in zeal in their efforts to propagate their opinions, it will be seen that there has seldom been a more significant manifestation.

The Grand Council considered these proposals during its sittings of the 29th of December, 1866, and 7th of January, 1867. The speeches of some of the deputies, and their complaints of the Reform Association, seemed to show a want of precise knowledge of the facts of the case, and a misunderstanding of the feeling of respect for the constituted authorities, which dictated the form of the petition. The Grand Council itself gave a striking proof of respect for the petitioners by appointing a commission of nine of its members to examine into their demands, and make a report on the subject.

Either from the speeches of some of the deputies, or from the attitude of the Press or of general opinion, the result was that the pure system of electoral quotients was rejected as being contrary to our habits. Nothing was easier than to introduce the new principle into the frame of our institutions. The Council of the Reform

Association directed its attention to this object, and presented in the system of free lists (*listes libres*) the realization of the principle as applied according to the present forms. It prepared a formal draft of the system to be introduced into the articles of the Constitution. The free list contains perfectly the fundamental principle of reform; the electoral group has a right to a representative, and is certain to obtain it. It is only necessary that the votes be given no longer for one name, but for a list. As compared with the pure quotient, the result limits the liberty of the individual, but this limit is the necessary consequence of voting by list, and voting by list is a concession to existing habits.

The Grand Council has therefore presented to it for its consideration, with a view to the reform of the system of elections,

1st. The pressing demand of 2,290 citizens, who pray the Council to give their earnest study to the question, and to take as the basis of such study, in the first place, the principles advocated by the Reform Association.

2ndly. The two practical methods for realizing these principles, of which the first is more theoretically complete, and the other more in accordance with our habits, and has been entirely framed even in detail. Nothing can be clearer than the requisitions addressed to the legislative authorities,—nothing more precise than the grounds upon which they are founded.

After a detailed comparison of former existing and proposed methods of election with that ultimately recommended by the Association, the exposition concludes with the following passages :—

*"We have answered all the objections which have come to our knowledge. We shall continue to receive with true gratitude any serious remarks which may throw light on our way. The Reform Association asks only for more knowledge and for a discussion of its ideas at once profound and loyal. It wishes to fight only with the weapons of reason, and to attract only by the seductions of truth. It has avoided, with scrupulous care, all that might irritate or offend,—all manifestation other than the manifestation of its principles. Its statutes impose upon it respect for established authorities, and the propagation of a spirit of justice and equity in the relations of citizens to one another. It is faithful to these wise restrictions, and we entertain a firm hope that, if called to continue its work, its future will be worthy of its past. United at first by patriotic sentiment, by the spectacle of the ills of Geneva, and the earnest desire to do some good to our small but loved country, we have seen our horizon widen; we have understood increasingly the universal and supreme importance of the electoral question to all representative states, we have recognized more and more clearly that the reform we desire concerns in the highest degree the establishment of moral and social order in modern civilization. How happy should we be if we could succeed in kindling in our country a light, the rays of which should extend afar ! The elections of Geneva ! These words now awaken only bitter remembrances and dark forebodings. May the day arrive when all repressed opinions, all citizens whose liberty has been outraged, and whose dignity has been offended by vicious electoral systems, shall find expression for their aspirations in the same words, then become the symbol of ideas of justice, peace, and liberty—the elections of Geneva!*

*"Our legislators have a favourable opportunity for setting all party struggles at rest. Let them study with care and in earnest, in a pure spirit of patriotism and love of right, the great and noble question presented to them. Let them do so, and the public gratitude will not fail to be their reward."*

The following is a complete catalogue of the different publications of L'Association Réformiste :—

*La Patrie et les Partis, discours prononcé le 15 Février, 1865, par le Directeur Provisoire de l'Association Réformiste (M. E. Naville)—suivi du Programme de l'Association et de son Statut.—50 cent.*

*Rapport de M. Amberny à l'Assemblée Générale du 17 Mars, 1865, suivi d'une Pétition au Grand Conseil pour la Réforme des Procédés Electoraux. (Epuisé.)*

*Circulaire du Comité d'Administration, du 1er Septembre, 1865, relative à la réforme des procédés électoraux. (Epuisé.)*

*Réforme du Système Electoral, rapport présenté au Conseil de l'Association, le 21 Novembre, 1865, et discuté dans l'Assemblée Générale du 18 Décembre, 1865.—50 cent.*

*Pratique du Nouveau Système Electoral (Système pour du Quotient), rapport présenté au Conseil de l'Association, le 20 Mars, 1866.—30 cent.*

*Pétition au Grand Conseil pour la Réforme Electorale, texte de la pétition; discours et discussions de l'Assemblée Générale du 20 Novembre, 1866.—30 cent.*

*La Liste Libre, ou In Libre Concurrence des Listes, plan pour la Réforme des Elections du Grand Conseil, en maintenant les trois collèges actuels.—20 cent.*

*Tableau Comparatif du Système Actuel et du Système Nouveau.—20 cent.*

*Exposition et Défense du Système de la Liste Libre, suivies d'objections et de réponses.—1 fr.*

Among other works from the Swiss press on the same subject, see :—

*Des Systèmes Electoraux dans les Démocraties. Par M. Ed. Tallichet, Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse, LXXII. année. Mars, Avril, 1867. Lausanne.*

In other countries the following works have appeared—

In Belgium :—

*Etude Politique—Système Electoral proposé par M. Th. Hare. Par Ph. Bourson, Bruxelles. Imprimerie de C. Lebouf, Rue de Commerce, 25. 1864.*

*De la Réforme Electorale. Par M. Rolan-Jacquemyrs. Nurquardt, Bruxelles. 1865.*

In Germany :—

*Methode bei jeder Art von Wahlen sowohl der Mehrheit als der Minderherthon die ihrer Stärke entsprechende Zahl von Vertretern zu sichern. Dargestellt von Dr. Gustav Burnitz und Dr. Georg Varrentrapp. Frankfurt-a-Maine. 1863.*

Reports of Debates :—

*Die Zeit, Frankfurt. 10 Dec., 1801; Frankfurter Reform, 15 May, 20 May, 24 May, 31 May, 1863. The Frankfurter Reform contains an article, by Gustav Getz, on the application of the system to the elections to their then Legislative Body (Gesetzgebenden Versammlung) of that city.—(Quoted in the Treatise on Élection of Representatives, by Thomas Hare; 3rd ed., Longmans, 1865, p. 328.)*

In Sweden :—

*Representation för Minoriteterna genom Val-Lag, Föreslagen af Thomas Ilare, Esq. Ofversättning jemte förord af E. L—d. Upsala. Kongl. Akad. Boktryckeriet. 1866.*

Henderson, Rait, and Fentor., Printers, Berners Street, Oxford Street.

### Proportional Representation

By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P. and H. O. Arnold-Forster

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## Proportional Representation.

The Reform Bill which Mr. Gladstone has introduced is welcomed almost unanimously by the Liberal party, because they believe that the admission of 'capable citizens' to the franchise will add to the strength and prosperity of the country.

The Conservative party, on the contrary, oppose the Bill, mainly, I think it may be said, because they fear that the result would be to place all political power in the hands of one class, the others being silenced and excluded.

Is there any way by which we can reconcile these views,—by which we can secure for the majority the power which is their right and at the same time preserve for the minority that fair hearing to which they are justly entitled ?

The solution of the problem is to be found in the adoption of Proportional Representation. This explains to a great extent the very remarkable fact that, though the Proportional Representation Society has been in existence for only a few weeks, it has already been joined by more than 170 members of Parliament, of whom more than 90 are Liberals, but representing every section of the House of Commons—with one significant exception; that, namely, which follows the lead of Mr. Parnell. It comprises prominent members of the Government and of the front Opposition bench, strong supporters of the Government, independent Conservatives, staunch Radicals, and last, not least, the great majority of both Liberal and Conservative members from Ireland. Moreover there are many other members—I need only mention Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen—who have spoken strongly in favour of the principles animating the Society, though they have not formally joined its ranks.

What is it, then, which brings together so remarkable an assemblage of members, who would perhaps agree on no other single question of practical politics ? It is because proportional representation would give us a system under which the electors as a whole, and not merely a majority, would be represented; under which the minority would always have a hearing, while the majority would be sure of their just preponderance. These advantages the present system does not and cannot give, and I shall endeavour in the present article to show—

Firstly, that injustice in one constituency is not counteracted by corresponding inequality in another;

Secondly, that the present mode of voting does not secure a majority of representatives to the majority of voters; and

Thirdly, that there is a simple system by which it is possible to obtain a fair hearing for the minority and secure their just preponderance to the majority.

The present system of mere majority voting is, even under existing circumstances, uncertain and defective in its operation. I believe indeed its supporters are generally under the impression that, though rudely, still

surely, it secures to a majority of the electors a majority of the representatives. This is, however, by no means the case, and, as already mentioned, I shall hope to prove that, while it by no means obtains for minorities that representation in the Legislature to which their numbers justly entitle them, it altogether fails to secure to majorities that preponderance to which they are justly entitled. Even, therefore, under existing circumstances, the present system is very imperfect; but these drawbacks would, if mere majority voting be generally adopted, be intensified under the new Bill, which moreover will also tend to extinguish that variety in the representation which has hitherto been considered essential to the constitution of the House of Commons.

It is of course clear that additional members will be given to our large cities. Liverpool, for instance, would be entitled to, say, eight representatives. But if Liverpool is to remain an undivided constituency returning eight members, it is of great importance that we should know how the votes are to be given.

If every elector is to have a number of votes equal to the number of members, with no form of proportional representation, then it is obvious that the slightest majority on either side would return the whole eight members. We know that in Liverpool the two great parties are very evenly balanced, and the result would be that a majority of a few hundreds, perhaps of even only a few units, would return the whole eight members, counting sixteen votes on a division in the House of Commons.

The journal published by the Electoral Reform Association of Belgium gives a striking illustration of such a case. In the 1882 elections the Liberals carried their election in the city of Ghent by a majority of 40 only. Now Ghent returns 8 members to the Chamber, out of 138. If, therefore, 21 electors had gone over to the other side, Ghent would have returned 8 Roman Catholics, counting 16 on a division, and there would have been a Roman Catholic instead of a Liberal majority in the Chamber, which would have led to a complete change of government.

Even with the present distribution of seats the system is very unsatisfactory and imperfect. In my own county of Kent we polled in the three divisions at the last election over 13,000 votes, against 16,000 given to our opponents, and yet they have all the six seats. Taking all the contested seats in the county, we polled 32,000 votes against 36,000, and yet the Conservatives carried sixteen members and we only two.

If we draw a line across England from Lincolnshire to Devonshire, there are on the south-east side 99 county seats. In many of these the Conservatives had no contest, but the majority of the seats were fought, and the Liberals polled 96,000 votes against 116,000 given to the Tories. On this basis therefore we ought to have had, say, 40 seats and the Conservatives 59. As a matter of fact, however, we only secured 15 against 84. Moreover of our 15, 5 were minority seats; so that but for the introduction of the principle of minority representation, limited though it was, we should have only had 10 seats in the whole district, while we were fairly entitled to 40.

Out of 60 members from Scotland and 28 from Wales, only 9 and 2 respectively are Conservatives.

The Roman Catholics are a very large and respectable portion of the nation; yet in the whole of England and Scotland they have never, I believe, for years past secured more than a single seat at any one time.

The case of Ireland is the most serious of all. Certainly one-third of the population is moderate, loyal, and desires to maintain the integrity of the Empire. But we are told on high authority that under this Bill, unless some system of proportional representation be adopted, the Home Rulers will secure over 90 seats out of 100, leaving only half-a-dozen to the Liberals and Conservatives together, whereas it is clear that under any just system of representation they ought to have over 30. The result of such a system would be that Ireland would be entirely misrepresented, and that we should gratuitously create serious and unnecessary difficulties for ourselves.

To adopt a system by which we should exclude from the representation of Ireland one-third of the electors, and give the whole power to two-thirds, would, under any circumstances, be unjust; but to do so when the one-third comprise those who are moderate and loyal, while the two-thirds are led by men not only opposed to the Union, but in many cases animated by a bitter and extraordinary hatred of this country, would be an act of political madness.

To tell the Liberals of Kent and Surrey that they are represented by the Liberal members for Scotch and Welsh counties is just the old and exploded argument which used to maintain that the people of Birmingham and Manchester were really represented by the Liberal members of some other borough. We are glad, no doubt, that Scotland and Wales send us such admirable colleagues; it is a consolation, but it is not the same thing. Perhaps the one question about which our fanners in Kent care most is the subject of extraordinary tithes. Mr. Gladstone will sympathise with us, because he has so powerfully advocated the cultivation of vegetables and the growth of fruit. He has raised the question of jam to a dignity which it never before attained. But while the extraordinary tithe question remains in its present position I fear it will long be with us a case of jam every other day. But the farmers of Kent cannot expect the Liberal members from Scotland to help them as regards extraordinary tithes. It is conceivable that they do not even know what extraordinary tithes are.

It would not then be satisfactory, even if it were true, that inequalities in one district are made up for by



those in another. But it is not true. Let us look for instance at the elections of 1874 and 1880. In the former, as Mr. Hay ward has shown in this Review, the Conservatives had a majority of 50 over the Liberals and Home Rulers put together, while in 1880 the Liberals had a majority over the Conservatives and Home Rulers of more than 50. Of course if this change were due to a corresponding alteration in public opinion, then, however much each side of the House might regret its defeat in the one case and rejoice over its victory in the other, there would be nothing to be said as regards the system.

But what are the facts? In 1874 the Conservatives polled 1,200,000 votes against 1,400,000 given to the Liberals and Home Rulers; so that, though they were in a majority of 50 in the House of Commons, they actually polled 200,000 votes in the country less than their opponents. Perhaps I shall be told that this was due to the small boroughs. But the experience of 1880 proves that this was not so, or only to a certain extent. In 1880 Liberals and Home Rulers together polled 1,880,000 votes against 1,420,000 given to Conservative candidates. The proportions ought then to have been 370 Liberal and Home Rule members to 280 Conservatives, whereas they really were 414 to 236. In 1874 therefore the Liberals and Home Rulers had 56 members too few in relation to their total poll, while on the contrary in 1880 they secured 43 too many. The difference between the two elections was therefore enormous—namely, 99 out of a total of 650.

The present system, then, renders the result of a general election uncertain, and to a large extent a matter of chance; it leads to violent fluctuations in the balance of political power, and consequently in the policy of the country. In fact the present system may be good or may be bad, but it is not representation; and the question is whether we wish for representation in fact or in name only.

The adoption of proportional representation moreover would raise and purify the whole tone of political contests. What do we see now when there is a contest in any of our great northern cities? The majority of the Irish electors, instructed by the honourable member for Cork, withhold their votes. They do not consider the prosperity of the Empire as a whole, but what they regard as the advantage of Ireland. I do not blame them. They do not seem to me wise: yet I can sympathise with their devotion, mistaken though I think it is, to their own island. Then some deputy in the confidence of the Home Rule party has more or less clandestine and secret interviews with the candidates or their leading supporters. We hear the most opposite accounts of what has occurred. Each side accuses the other of truckling to the Home Rule party and selfishly imperilling the integrity of the Empire. It must be very unsatisfactory to all concerned; and it would be far better if Liverpool had eight votes, and the Home Rulers there are sufficiently strong to return a Home Rule member, than that they should extract doubtful pledges from reluctant candidates.

Moreover the geographical differentiation of political views tends to become more and more accentuated, and might, I think, constitute a real danger. At present Scotland is overpoweringly Liberal, while the south-eastern counties of England, with scarcely an exception, are represented by honourable members sitting on the opposite side of the House. It is but a small consolation to the unrepresented Liberals of Kent to be told that the Conservatives of Scotland share the same grievance, and are as badly off as they are.

But further than this, it will be a great misfortune to the country if one part becomes and continues overwhelmingly Liberal and another Conservative—if their distinctive differences become questions of geography and locality rather than of opinion. The different portions of our Empire are not yet so closely fused that we can afford to despise this danger. In my own county we look on the shires as distinctly lower and less civilised than we are.

America might have been spared a terrible civil war if the principle of proportional representation had been recognised in the composition of the House of Representatives. This was forcibly pointed out in the report unanimously adopted by the Committee of the United States Senate appointed in 1869 to consider the question of representative reform.

*The absence (they say) of any provision for the representation of minorities in the States of the South when rebellion was plotted, and when open steps were taken to break the Union, was unfortunate, for it would have held the Union men of those States together, and have given them voice in the electoral colleges and in Congress. But they were fearfully overborne by the plurality rule of elections, and were swept forward by the course of events into impotency or open hostility to our cause. By that rule they were shut out of the electoral colleges. Dispersed, unorganised, unrepresented, without due voice and power, they could interpose no effectual resistance to secession and to civil war.*

We shall ourselves make the same mistake and run the same risk of civil war if we neglect all warning, and allow the loyal minority in Ireland to be altogether silenced and excluded. This is in my humble judgment perhaps the greatest danger with which England is now threatened.

The reasons hitherto given against proportional representation are based on an entire misapprehension of its effect. For instance, the Liberal Conference at Leeds resolved almost unanimously

*That, in the opinion of this Conference, the attempt to secure the representation of minorities by special legislative enactments is a violation of the principle of popular representative government.*

This was of course a severe and unexpected blow to the friends of proportional representation. But they did not despair. It is obvious indeed from the very terms of the resolution that it is based on an entire misapprehension. One of the ablest supporters of mere majority election, in advocating the resolution, expressed himself as follows:—

*What they desired was to remove the anomaly whereby the minorities in the counties and boroughs really ruled the majority. By a notorious artifice the House of Lords' territorial majority adopted the minority clause for the avowed purpose of acting as a brake upon the democracy. Any attempt to place the minority in possession of the power of the majority was treason to the principle of popular representation.*

But who has proposed anything of the kind? The argument clearly shows that the speaker entirely misunderstood the object and effect of the system which we advocate. Another leading opponent of proportional representation once characterised it as 'a pernicious restriction on free voting,' when in fact the very reverse is the case. It would increase the power of free voting; what it would diminish would be the power of wirepullers.

But then it is often said that the minority system, as adopted, say, in Liverpool, reduces that great city to the level of a town returning a single member. Well, but that is only because parties are evenly balanced there. If one-third of the voters are Conservatives, why should they not have one-third of the members? Why should two-thirds of the constituency monopolise the whole of the representatives? Birmingham and Glasgow, where the Liberals are strong enough to do so, return, we know, three Liberal members. We shall give Liverpool, say, eight members because it has 63,000 electors, of whom perhaps 30,000 are Liberals, 30,000 Conservatives, 2,000 Irish Home Rulers, and 1,000 without distinctive political opinions; and I do not understand how any one can really wish that these 3,000 should practically return all the members. We know that generally they join the Conservatives, and the result would be that 30,000 Liberals would be unrepresented. But if it were not for the 30,000 Liberals, Liverpool would have had only four members. It comes, therefore, to this: that because there are 30,000 Liberals in Liverpool you give the Conservatives twice as many members as they would otherwise have had. If we are told that any proportional system is objectionable because it might reduce Liverpool to a single vote, then I ask, How far are you going to carry this principle? In Lancashire at the last general election the Conservatives polled 38,000 votes, the Liberals 36,000, and the members are four to four. This seems as it should be. The votes were nearly equal, and the members are equal. But shall we be told that Lancashire is unrepresented? Would any one propose that the 36,000 Conservative electors should have returned the whole eight members, and the 34,000 Liberals none at all? Yet this is what we are told is the just system in great cities such as Liverpool and Manchester.

It is possible that her Majesty's Government may propose to divide our cities into wards or districts, and there is much to be said in favour of single seats. I will not now discuss that system, but while no doubt it tends to the protection of minorities it does so very imperfectly; the districts themselves, moreover, soon become very unequal and require continual rectification, giving a great temptation to 'gerrymandering.' Indeed, the Committee of the United States Senate which reported on this subject states that 'there is hardly a State in our Union in which the Congressional districts are not gerrymandered in the interests of party.'

*Single districts (they continue) will almost always be unfairly made. They must be formed in the interest of party, and to secure an unjust measure of power to their authors, and it may be expected that each successive district apportionment will be more unjust than its predecessor. Parties will retaliate upon each other whenever possible. The disfranchisement suffered through one decade by a political party may be repeated upon it in the next with increased severity; but if it shall happen to have power in the Legislature when the new apportionment for the State is to be made, it will take signal vengeance for its wrongs and in its turn indulge in the luxury of persecution.*

Nor, again, would a division into wards by any means secure a majority of members to a majority of electors. Suppose, for instance, that a constituency of 18,000 electors, 10,000 Liberal and 8,000 Conservatives, is divided into three wards, each containing 6,000 electors. It is quite possible that in one ward you might have 5,000 Liberals with 1,000 Conservatives, and in each of the others about 2,500 Liberals and 3,500 Conservatives, the result of which would be that the latter, though in a minority, would return two members out of three.

By the constitution of 1842 Geneva was divided into six colleges, each returning one member. The result was that the Liberal electors, being massed in two wards, only returned two members, and the Conservatives, though in a minority, secured six; and the extreme dissatisfaction thus created greatly contributed to the violent revolution of 1846. In fact, though it sounds a paradox, a majority of electors in each constituency is by no means the same thing as a majority in all the constituencies.

I do not deny that the three-cornered constituencies are somewhat awkward and cumbersome. The system there adopted is, I think, not the most convenient application of the principle. But it must be admitted that they have given a fair and just result, though perhaps in a rather troublesome way. But shall we abandon the

principle of just representation because it gives us some inconvenience ? Is it not worth a little trouble ? For my part I cannot abandon the substance of justice to the shadow of simplicity; to do so would be to sacrifice the end to the means.

There are, I know, some who, while admitting the justice of our principle, think there is no simple method by which it can be brought into practical operation. But this is not so: on the contrary, there are several. The cumulative vote and the limited vote are already in operation. Mr. Westlake has recently described the Free List system. On the whole, however, the system known as the single transferable vote has perhaps the largest number of advocates. So far from not being simple, it is even simpler than the mere majority plan of voting would be in large constituencies.

Suppose, to take an example, some borough returning three members and containing 20,000 electors, of whom 12,000 were Liberals and 8,000 Conservatives, and that Mr. Gladstone and a generally acceptable, but less known, Liberal candidate were opposed by two Conservatives. If every elector had one vote, but untransferable, it is clear that the two Conservatives might be elected. Every Liberal would naturally wish to vote for Mr. Gladstone, so that the second Liberal candidate might receive very few votes.

This result, however, might be avoided if the vote were transferable; that is to say, if the elector were allowed to indicate on his paper the order of his preference. In that case we may assume that the Liberal elector would mark his voting papers as follows :—

Voting papers, then, marked as above would be counted for Mr. Gladstone until such a number of votes as would secure his election had been recorded for him. After that the papers so marked would be counted for the second Liberal candidate. The result of course would be that the two Liberals and one Conservative must come in. If the Conservatives divided their votes equally, the numbers would be—

Let us take one other case, that of a borough returning six members. Let us suppose the electors to be 72,000, of whom 42,000 were Liberal and 30,000 Conservative. The Liberals would probably start four candidates, and the Conservatives three. In this case it is clear that under any circumstances a candidate receiving 10,286 votes must be elected, because  $10,286 \times 6 = 61,716$ , leaving only 10,284 for any other candidate or candidates. Each Liberal elector would place on his voting paper against the names of the Liberal candidates 1, 2, 3, and 4, in the order of his preference.

The returning officer would count each vote for the candidate against whose name the number I was placed, until a sufficient number were recorded for him, after which they would be transferred to the second, and so on. It is of course obvious that four Liberals and two Conservatives would be elected.

Under this system all necessity for interference or dictation by any caucus or agent is entirely obviated. The elector can freely vote for whom he pleases, without any fear that his vote will be thrown away. The most eminent and trusted leaders would be sure of election, and we should not see Cabinet ministers in difficulties about a seat.

Of course it would be possible to leave each elector in possession of several votes. This could perfectly be done, but it would obviously give him no more power, and would therefore introduce an unnecessary complexity.

So far as the elector is concerned nothing could be more simple.

No doubt, to provide for cases where the number of candidates is more in excess of the number of seats, some further instructions to the returning officer are needed, about which, however, there is no difficulty.

The quota which would elect a member would be the number next greater than that found by dividing the number of votes given by one more than the number of vacancies. Suppose, for instance, an election at which 24,000 votes were given for three candidates. 24,000 divided by 3 + 1 is 6,000, and the quota will accordingly be 6,001. It is clear that any candidate receiving 6,001 votes must be elected, because  $6001 \times 3 = 18003$ , leaving only 5,997 votes for any other candidate or candidates.

Every candidate whose voting papers equal or exceed the quota would be elected. When any candidate had secured the quota, the remaining voting papers would be transferred to the next candidate (if any) first designated on them, and counted for him after and in addition to the voting papers originally given for him; and any candidate whose voting papers are by this means raised to the quota would be elected.

The objection still remains that a party putting forward too many candidates would run the risk of defeat. This difficulty, we know, exists at present. Under the single transferable vote it might be obviated by enacting further, that if after all the surplus votes of the successful candidates have been thus transferred any vacancy still remains unfilled, then the name of that candidate who has received the smallest number of votes would be cancelled, and the votes given to him would be transferred to, and counted for, the first of the remaining candidates designated thereon; and this would be repeated until there were left no more than the number of candidates to be elected.

These suggestions are mainly taken from the Bill introduced in 1872 by Mr. Morrison, with some modifications suggested by Mr. Droop and Mr. Parker Smith : they may be said to be Mr. Hare's celebrated

scheme applied within the constituency. I suggest them not as President of the Proportional Representation Society, but merely in my individual capacity.

The Proportional Representation Society has indeed hitherto confined itself to the adoption as the basis of its constitution of the following resolution : ' That without prejudging how far the principle may be subsequently carried out, it is indispensable, as a first step towards securing the true representation of the electors, that whenever a constituency returns more than two members some form of proportional representation should be adopted.'

I regret that this question has been so often argued as if the great or even the main reason for it was to admit representatives of small minorities. Indeed, it is often said that any such system would merely admit members who are in favour of crotchets. It is no doubt difficult to say what is really a crotchet. When Mr. Grote brought up the question of the Ballot was that a crotchet? When Mr. Villiers brought forward Free Trade was that a crotchet ? Many and many of the opinions now generally entertained were regarded as crotchets when things first made their appearance. Everything must have a beginning, and almost everything, even proportional representation itself, has been at first regarded as a fad and a crotchet.

But in my humble judgment the representation of small sections is a very small part of the question. Whether small minorities represent the temporary delusion of the moment, or a great, although as yet unrecognised truth, the House of Commons is scarcely the proper sphere for their exertions. What I am much more anxious about is that the great parties in the State should be adequately represented in the different districts of the Empire.

Those who object to the fair representation of minorities do not seem to realise the difference between an executive government and a representative assembly. A government of course must be as far as possible homogeneous and of one mind, but a representative assembly should be a mirror of the nation. The exclusion of the minority, which is a necessity in the one case, would be tyranny and injustice in the other. We are told by those who have not studied the question that we wish to give to minorities the power which rightly belongs to majorities. The very reverse is the case. An untrammelled system of proportional representation is, as Mr. Mill has truly said, 'not only the most complete application of the democratic principle that has yet been made, but its greatest safeguard.' I trust that under the new Bill we may secure for the new voters, as well as those already on the register, the right not merely of recording a vote, but of doing so in such a manner as may give to it all just and reasonable effect. If this be done, the Parliament of 1880 will have given effect to a great principle, and we shall have for the first time a really representative assembly. I venture to recommend the system of proportional representation to the House of Commons and to the country because it would give its just political weight to the vote of every elector; it would insure the return of leading and trusted states-men, as well as of those who are most favourably known in their own districts; it would elevate and purify the whole tone of electoral contests; would obtain for the minority a fair hearing; and last, not least, because it is the only mode of securing for the majority that preponderance to which of course they are justly entitled.

The following Members of Parliament have already joined the Proportional Representation Society :—

- C. T. Dyke Acland
- Henry Gr. Allen
- R. L. Allman
- Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett
- John E. F. Aylmer
- Arthur Jas. Balfour
- Thomas C. Baring
- Col. Barne
- The Earl of Bective
- Michael Biddulph
- Rowland P. Blennerhasset
- Thomas William Boord
- Charles Bradlaugh
- Henry A. Brassey
- J. Brinton
- Hon. St. John Brodrick
- Alexander Brogden
- M. Brooks
- Sir H. Hervey Bruce
- James R. Bulwer
- Francis Wm. Buxton
- James A. Campbell

- William C. Cartwright
- Lord E. Cecil
- Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P.
- W. L. Christie
- Edward Clarke
- Arthur Cohen
- Sir E. Colebrooke
- Eugene Collins
- Thomas Collins
- Colonel Colthurst
- James Porter Corry
- Alderman Cotton
- George Courtauld
- Leonard Henry Courtney
- Joseph Cowen
- Hon. H. F. Cowper
- Ralph Creyke
- Viscount Crichton
- James Cropper
- C. Dalrymple
- David Davies
- James Dickson
- Thomas A. Dickson
- Hon. John Charles Dundas
- Viscount Ebrington
- Henry Edwards
- Lord Elcho
- Hon. A. D. Elliott
- George Errington
- T. W. Evans
- Wm. Ewart
- Archibald Orr Ewing
- Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett
- William Findlater
- Sir W. H. B. Ffolkes
- Viscount Folkestone
- R.N. Fowler (Lord Mayor)
- D.F. Gabbett
- Right Hon. Edward Gibson
- Sir A. Gordon
- Daniel Grant
- William Grantham
- T. Greer
- G. B. Gregory
- Albert H. G. Grey
- Montague John Guest
- Robert Thornhagh Gurdon
- Lord G. Hamilton
- Mitchell Henry
- The Hon. Sidney Herbert
- J. M. Maxwell Heron
- Lord A. Hill
- Sir H. T. Holland
- Lieut.-Col. D. Milne Home
- William H. Houldsworth
- E. Stafford Howard
- William Lawies Jackson
- Sir J. J. Jenkins

- Hubert E. H. Jerningham
- Coleridge J. Kennard
- Colonel Kennard
- Sir John Kennaway
- Edward R. King-Harman
- Colonel Kingscote
- Dr. Kinnear
- K. Winn Knight
- Sir Rainald Knightley
- Samuel Laing
- Hon. F. W. Lambton
- Sir J. Clarke Lawrence
- Thomas Lea
- Sir E. A. H. Lechmere
- Hon. G. Leigh
- Sir Baldwin Leighton
- Stanley Leighton
- Lord H. Lennox
- Lord Lewisham
- Sir Robert Loyd Lindsay
- Morgan Lloyd,
- Robert Loder
- Rt. Hon. J. Lowther
- Hon. W. Lowther
- J. W. Lowther
- Sir John Lubbock
- Sir Andrew Lusk
- Sir W. McArthur
- Sir Thos. McClure
- James Carlile M'Coan
- Sir J. McGarel-Hogg
- David Maclver
- Colonel Makins
- R. B. Martin
- T. W. Master
- Charles Henry Meldon
- Sir Charles Henry Mills
- Sir F. G. Milner
- F. Monckton
- Samuel Morley, M P.
- Arthur Moore
- J. Mulholland
- P. H. Muntz
- E. Noel
- J. S. North
- Charles Morgan Norwood
- Colonel O'Beirne
- R. H. Paget
- Robert William C. Patrick
- Arthur Pease
- Sir Henry Peek
- E. L. Pemberton
- John Pender
- Frederick Pennington
- Earl Percy
- Lord Algernon Percy
- Rt. Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair
- Rt. Hon. David R. Plunket

- Hon. W. Henry B. Portman
  - Gr. E. Price
  - John Henry Puleston
  - Pandeli Ralli
  - Sir John Ramsden
  - James Rankin
  - William Rathbone
  - Sir E. J. Reed
  - Sir Matthew W. Ridley
  - Chas. Campbell Ross
  - J. Round
  - Lord Arthur Russell
  - Thomas Salt
  - Bernhard Samuelson
  - Chas. Seeley
  - William Shaw
  - Henry B. Sheridan
  - Sir J. G. T. Sinclair
  - Rt. Hon. Wm. H. Smith
  - P. J. Smyth
  - Marquis of Stafford
  - C. H. Strutt
  - Henry Villiers Stuart
  - Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley
  - Christopher Sykes
  - John Gilbert Talbot
  - John Pennington Thomasson
  - W. E. Murray Tomlinson
  - W. T. M. Torrens
  - Colonel Tottenham
  - Sir Richard Wallace
  - Sir S. H. Waterlow
  - Sir E. Watkin
  - Benjamin Whitworth
  - E. W. Brydges Willyams
  - Chas. H. Wilson
  - Henry De Worms
  - R. J. Yorke
- John Lubbock.

## II. A Test Election.

AMONG the assertions which do duty as arguments against the adoption of proportional representation, none is more plausible, or is more frequently used, than that which declares that the inevitable complication of the system must be a fatal bar to its use in popular elections. Being anxious to test the real value of this contention, I recently made an experiment, the result of which may, I think, be of interest to readers of this Review, and which certainly goes some way to prove that the argument referred to is about as conclusive as most others put forward by the advocates of pure majority representation. It occurred to me that if it could be shown that the system of proportional voting might be easily understood and made use of by children under fourteen years of age, and if the process of counting the votes recorded could be successfully and rapidly conducted by persons of ordinary intelligence, unaided by previous practice or mechanical appliances, a great step would have been made towards proving that the plan might be attempted on a large scale with a fair hope of success. I admit, at the outset, that the average intelligence of children in the upper standards of a good elementary school is probably higher than that of a large number of voters at the present time. Still, inasmuch as the scholars of to-day must be the voters of to-morrow, the comparison cannot be said to be unfair. The following is a brief account of the experiment I made:—By the kind permission of the Rev. William Sinclair, of St. Stephen's, Westminster, I was permitted to conduct a test election in the elementary school attached to his

church. I selected seven candidates whose names were likely to be familiar to the children. The following is the order in which they were placed upon the voting paper:—King Charles I., Queen Elizabeth, King Henry VIII., Mary Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell, the Duke of Wellington, and William the Conqueror. The electors numbered 184, of whom 131 were boys, and 53 girls.

Three members were to be elected. It was plainly necessary to supply a certain amount of information to take the place of common knowledge. The work of newspaper articles, political agencies, and current conversation had to be taken into account. In order, therefore, to put the children upon a level with the ordinary voter, Mr. Sinclair in a few words explained to them the following facts :—

- That they were supposed to be voting for members of Parliament.
- That each voter had only one vote, which, however, might be transferred according to the numbers marked upon the voting papers.
- That there were two parties, Liberal and Conservative. The boys were to be Liberals, with the following candidates, Henry VIII., Oliver Cromwell, the Duke of Wellington, and William the Conqueror. The girls were to be Conservatives, and their candidates were to be Charles I., Elizabeth, and Mary Queen of Scots.
- Anybody might vote for one of the other party if he or she very much wished it.

As a supplement to the verbal explanation, a placard to the following effect was posted in the room :—

## ***Instructions to Voters.***

- Each voter has *one* vote.
- That vote will be given first to the candidate against whose name you put 1.
- If that candidate has enough votes to secure his election without your vote, it will be given to the candidate against whose name you put 2.
- If the candidate against whose name you put 2 has enough votes without your vote, it will be given to the candidate against whose name you put 3. And so on.
- It is not necessary to put numbers against more names than you wish.

This form of instruction, for which I am indebted to a friend, appears to me an almost ideally concise and complete formula for the purpose. The voting was conducted by Mr. Blennerhasset, M.P., and myself, first in the boys' schoolroom, then in that of the girls. There were two polling stations, and the votes were recorded with perfect order and in a very short time.

At first the boys' votes were received at one polling station only; about halfway through the process a second was added. The operation took about thirty-five minutes. The fifty-three girls voted in twelve minutes. There seemed no hesitation nor difficulty on the part of any of the voters. No questions were asked, and no help was given. The children belonged to the three upper standards, and varied in age from ten to fourteen years.

For the sake of perfect clearness I here reproduce four specimens of the actual voting papers, as filled up in various ways :—

The next process was the examination and counting of the votes. This was done by Mr. Bompas, Q.C., and myself, the results being recorded by Mr. White, secretary to the Proportional Representation Society.

Two methods of counting were adopted—the first that suggested by Mr. Bompas; the second, I believe, by Mr. Parker Smith. Mr. Bompas' plan is as follows:—The votes are kept in their registered order as received from the polling stations, and the first votes of each candidate are then sorted and placed in separate heaps or files. This done, and the spoiled votes rejected, the quota is calculated, and any candidate who has already more first votes than the quota is declared elected. The exact number of votes required is then deducted from the file of the successful candidates, the lowest registered numbers being first removed. The surplus votes are then distributed according to the preferences marked upon them. When these votes are exhausted the candidate lowest on the list is declared 'not elected,' and his votes are in turn distributed among any candidates still requiring them. This process of elimination is carried on until all the vacancies have been filled. Mr. Parker Smith's plan of counting differs from that just explained merely in this one particular, that no attention is paid to the registered numbers, but the votes forming the quota of an elected candidate are deducted merely in the order in which they happen to have been collected after the papers have been mixed and sorted. It is contended that the first plan has some advantages in case of a scrutiny being necessary, though probably by a very simple method the second plan might be made to afford the same facilities. This, however, is a question of detail.

As a matter of fact we counted our votes in both ways. The first counting gave the following results. First votes—Charles the First, 32; Elizabeth, 16; Henry the Eighth, 6; Mary Queen of Scots, 1; Oliver Cromwell, 15; the Duke of Wellington, 112; and William the Conqueror, 0; making a total of 182. Two votes were rejected, the names of the candidates having been written upon them as well as the numbers. All the other papers were clearly and correctly filled up. One or two votes were plumpers. Several of the girls had given a second vote to



a boys' candidate—Henry the Eighth and the Duke both receiving support in this way. One or two boys had also gone outside party lines to vote for Charles the First. One girl had numbered her vote up to seven, but nearly all the other voters had been contented with three or four transfers.

The quota was now calculated according to the rule, dividing the number of good votes by the number of seats plus one, and taking the next integer above the quotient obtained. Thus  $182 \div 4 = 45 + 1 = 46$ .

This calculation looks complicated. It is not so in fact. The quota is simply the number which, if obtained by any single candidate, will leave a remainder which, however divided, will not admit more additional members than there are vacancies. A simple example will show this. Suppose there are 12,000 voters and three seats. Apply the rule given above :  $12000 \div 4 = 3000 + 1 = 3001$ . Brown obtains 3,001 votes; Smith, Jones, and Robinson, the remaining three candidates, have 8,999 votes to divide between them. There are only vacancies for two of them, and it will be seen that only two of them can get the quota. For it is impossible to divide 8,999 into three equal parts, each part to be equal to or more than the quota given, namely 3,001. Thus  $8999 \div 3 = 2999$ . It is true that Smith and Jones may get more than 3,001, but then Robinson must get less; and accordingly it is true to say that a candidate who gets 3,001 votes must be elected. Q. E. D.

Forty-six was thus the quota required to insure election. The Duke having more than the required amount was declared elected; and the forty-six votes received by him bearing the lowest registered numbers were removed. His remaining votes were then distributed according to the second preferences marked on them.

On the second counting William the Conqueror came to the front, receiving no less than twenty-six votes. Mary Queen of Scots still having only one vote was then declared 'not elected,' and her vote was transferred to Charles the First. Henry the Eighth having only fifteen was the next to go, and his votes were in turn transferred. Queen Elizabeth now went out of the competition, and Oliver Cromwell having obtained the quota and been declared elected, the struggle lay between William the Conqueror and Charles the First. The latter, a Conservative candidate, was evidently most popular, and almost all the second votes of his party were given to him, the result being his final election by forty-seven votes, or exactly one more than the quota, his opponent failing with thirty-three.

It will thus be seen that the two Liberal candidates, the Duke and Oliver Cromwell, were elected; the minority, by sticking to their candidates and voting solid, succeeded, as they were entitled to succeed, in returning one member. A second counting was made, according to Mr. Parker Smith's directions. It is not necessary to follow it in detail. The same candidates were elected, and on the whole it seemed a somewhat more expeditious process than the other. In neither case was there the slightest difficulty in counting and apportioning the votes. In fact, I may say that the whole experiment succeeded perfectly. I do not profess to attach much value to it as far as the counting of the votes is concerned. How far this process will present any difficulties when the number of votes is very great can only be decided by a trial on a much larger scale. It is intended shortly to make such a trial with 20,000 votes.

But one point of the first importance I do claim to have established, namely, that the idea of proportional representation and the method of recording transfer votes may be easily understood by children in an elementary school. The instruction given to our voters was conveyed in a few sentences.

If the plan be tried throughout the country, there are a hundred sources from which information of the same kind will be forthcoming. I entirely refuse therefore to believe that proportional representation can with any show of reason be rejected on the ground of its being too complicated for the electorate. The apologists for our existing plan of misrepresentation must fall back upon other arguments not yet made public for the defence of the inequitable system to which they are pledged.'

H. O. Arnold-Fobster.

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*Proportional Representation A Practical Proposal*

By John Westlake, Q.C.

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## **Proportional Representation :**

### **A Practical Proposal.**

I Do not intend on this occasion to repeat the arguments in favour of proportional representation, which

have been urged with conclusive force by so many writers, from Mr. Hare to Mr. Seebohm's article in the December number of this REVIEW. The actual situation is this: First, that while the greatest interest centres in the parliamentary question, in which the principle is under controversy, a minor, but important, application of the principle to School Board elections is well established, but needs reform in detail; secondly, that if such reform can be effected in the minor case, the spectacle of its working must influence the controversy as to the parliamentary application.

I have ventured to say that in School Board elections the proportional principle is well established, for just consider what are the alternatives. There are but two. One is that the members of each School Board out of London, and those for each London division, should be elected in one list by the majority. But no one will seriously propose that the working of the boards should be handed over bodily, as the majority in any place sways to and fro—for three years to the partisans of secular education and for the next three to those of religious; for three years to Churchmen and for the next three to Dissenters; for three years to the friends of industrial schools and for the next three to those who disapprove of them or who think they should be disconnected from the School Boards, and so forth. The other alternative is that each London division, and each other large town, should be divided into districts electing single members. But whatever may be the chances of the one-member system for parliamentary elections, there is a fatal difficulty in its way for School Board purposes. The task of dividing, and of remodelling the scheme of division as the rapid expansion and shifting of population within town areas would continually require, would have to be entrusted to the Education Department. Now neither Lord Carlingford, nor Mr. Mundella, nor any other man enjoying common sanity, would undertake to meet the howl which any possible scheme of division would excite. Imagine the outcry which would be raised on all sides that the boundaries had been gerrymandered in order to swamp this church, that chapel, this rich district, that poor district! Parliament might make such a division, and for the purposes of parliamentary elections, for which such frequent remodelling would not be necessary, it perhaps may; for Parliament would disperse and leave no one in particular to face the odium. But that the head of a department should consent to offer himself up as the sacrifice is inconceivable.

Assuming then that the proportional principle will have to be maintained for School Board elections, let us consider what, as now applied in them, it has done, and what it has failed to do. At this point it will be worth while to quote the rule for the cumulative vote as it stands in the Elementary Education Act, 1870:—

*"At every such election every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of members of the School Board to be elected, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit"(sect. 29). There is a similar rule in sect. 37 (5), for the election of the members for the London divisions.*

The cumulative vote, applied even with this rudimentary simplicity, has furnished each large School Board with a representation of all shades of opinion held by any numerous body of electors. Taking the frequent case of parties, AB and AC, more like each other than either is to party D, and of which, though all are numerous, we will suppose AC to be less numerous than AH, the mere majority system has one of two results. If party AC is weak in spirit, it is effaced, being dragged at the heels of AB to make up the majority over D. But if party AC is strong in spirit, it imposes its candidates on AB as the price of its aid in making up the majority over D, and it is AB that is effaced. The cumulative vote has given separate representation to all three, and on the boards AB and AC have acted together so far as they agreed, which is as far as it was right or desirable for them to act together. Under the cumulative vote there has been no lack of committees which have run candidates, as, indeed, it would be a pity that there ever should be a lack, for co-operation in such committees is a necessary feature of healthy public opinion. But there has been also another no less healthy feature, which must otherwise have been very rare—namely, candidates who have originated committees—persons who have come forward in the belief, justified by the event, that large bodies of opinion would rally round them, which would not have found adequate expression in the usual committees. And the net result has been that the working of the School Board system has been much more stable than it could have been if the shifting majority of every three years had had its way uncontrolled.

Let us turn now to what the rudimentary cumulative vote has failed to do. Each shade of opinion held by a numerous body of electors, though represented, has not had its proportional representation. It is evident that a party which runs more candidates than in proportion to its numbers risks returning fewer candidates than in proportion to its numbers, and not only has this risk been often realized, but often also the fear of it has prevented a party from running its due number of candidates. Again, even when the due number, and that only, has been run, all have not been returned, because the votes of their supporters have not been evenly divided among them. It would seem as if those who established the cumulative vote had greater faith in the power of organizing than the event has justified. I will give a few instances of the waste of votes, drawn from the last two general elections for the London School Board, because nine years' practice had preceded even the first of the two, and it may therefore be supposed that the power of organizing had reached as full a development as can be

expected. In order to appreciate them thoroughly, it is necessary to explain what is meant by a quota. If 10,000 votes are given at an election, and three members are to be elected, the proportional principle requires that any candidate who has received 2,501 votes should be elected because the remaining 7,499 votes cannot be so distributed as to give as many as 2,501 to more than two others. A little reflection on this example will show the truth of the following rule:—Divide the number of votes given by the number of members to be elected, plus one : the quotient, plus one, is the quota, that is, the number of votes which on the proportional principle will entitle a candidate to be elected. If the quotient is fractional, the quota is the next higher integer.

Now, in the City of London, in 1879, there were four members to elect, and 23,591 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 4,719; but the highest on the poll got 7,153 votes, and one member was elected with 2,089, or considerably less than half the quota.

In the Hackney division, in 1879, there were five members to elect and 60,992 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 10,166; but the highest, on the poll had 13,727 votes, and one member was elected with 4,728, or again less than half the quota.

In the Lambeth division, in 1882, there were eight members to elect, and 153,142 good votes were given. Therefore the quota was 17,010, but the highest on the poll had 34,896 votes, or more than twice the quota, while two members were elected with 8,888 and 8,190, or about half the quota.

It is important to observe that the wasteful accumulation of votes on some candidates leads to the election of others with a very small number of votes, because this is the second point in which the working of the actual School Board system is open to objection. It is desirable that each shade of opinion held by a numerous body of electors should be represented, but it is not desirable that very small bodies should have the power of returning candidates. If a very small group is composed of the partisans of a real shade of opinion, their exclusion will not shake public confidence in the representative assembly, as that of a large group would do, and they can still propagate their views in the press and at meetings. More often, however, a very small group is composed of the partisans of a candidate; and he, again, is often one whose personal qualifications have not recommended him for selection to the great body of those with whom his opinions, so far as he has any, would connect him. Now few who know anything of the working of assemblies will doubt the importance of keeping bad members out, if possible. Their power for mischief is increased by their election tenfold more than the power of an average candidate for good is increased by his election, while an exceptionally good candidate can generally impress himself on a large body of supporters. It is therefore an additional evil, incidental to the wasteful accumulation of votes on some candidates, that it facilitates the success of small combinations in favour of others. I must not be misunderstood as hinting that all members who have been returned to School Boards by small fractions of quotas, or even most who are in that case, have proved themselves to be objectionable members. Many worthy candidates, who represented considerable bodies of opinion, have been left with small fractions of quotas through the undue accumulation of votes on other "representatives of the same opinions; and in the instances I have quoted I have had no reference at all to the worthiness or otherwise of the persons concerned. I have selected them only to show, by striking examples, that election by too few votes is the necessary accompaniment of election by too many; and then I leave it to every one's knowledge of human nature to assure him that, among the elections made by too few votes, many must be such as he would regret.

The direction, then, in which the actual School Board system of election has to be improved is that of giving some assistance to the power of organizing, which has been found insufficient, while adding as little as possible that is novel to a system which has the great advantage that all are now familiar with it. Let the reader imagine that the rule of cumulative voting, which has been quoted on page 2, from the Elementary Education Act, 1870, is numbered (1), and, without changing it at all, let him consider the following rules proposed as additional :—

- Any two or more candidates may be nominated together as a list, in which their names appear in a certain order. The name of no candidate can appear on more than one list.
- Any voter may give all or any of his votes to any list so formed, and may also give all or any of his votes to any candidates on any list, just as if they had stood separately.
- The number obtained by dividing the whole number of good votes given at the election by the number of members to be elected, plus one, and increasing the quotient, or the integral part of the quotient, by one, shall be called the quota.
- The votes given to any list shall be attributed to the first candidate on it until thereby, together with any votes given to him singly, he has obtained the quota. They shall then be attributed to the second candidate on the list, until he has similarly obtained the quota, and so on.
- Any residue of the votes given for a list which is insufficient to make up the quota for the last candidate on it reached under the preceding rule, shall be attributed to the next lower candidate on the list, if any, for whom it can make up the quota, until his quota is made up, and so on. Any final residue, which is insufficient to make up the quota for any candidate remaining on the list, shall be attributed to the

candidate remaining on it to whom the most votes have been given singly, and, in case of equality, to the first such candidate.

- Those candidates shall be declared to have been elected to whom the largest numbers of votes shall have been given or attributed.

To illustrate these rules, suppose that nine members are to be elected, and that 100,000 good votes are given. Then the quota is 10,001, and every candidate who gets that number of votes is entitled to be elected, because not more than eight others can get as many each out of the remaining 89,999. We may suppose that there are the three parties or bodies of opinion which have been above designated as AB, AC, and D; and that on behalf of each a list is nominated containing the full number of nine names, while there are other candidates who stand singly. Each elector will have nine votes, which he may dispose of in a great variety of ways. He may give them all to any one of the lists. If his predilections are not only confined to one of the lists, but do not even extend to all the candidates on that list, he may give his votes to those alone of the candidates on it of whom he approves. He may divide his votes among certain candidates on different lists, and indeed it is probable that many will select candidates from each of the two cognate lists, AB and AC; or he may give all or any of his votes to one or more candidates standing alone.

In whatever way an elector votes, the returning officer will have to perform no operation on his voting paper but that of counting it. All the operations necessary for bringing out the result of the election will be arithmetical ones, performed, after the counting, on the numbers of the votes given for the several lists and candidates. They will therefore be performed in a few minutes, and may always be easily verified.

For example, suppose that 30,000 votes have been counted for the list AB, and 1,000 separately for the first candidate on it. That candidate requires 9,001 of the list votes to make up his quota, and 20,999 of them are left. The second candidate may have no separate votes, and the third 500, so that these two take between them 19,502 of the list votes, and 1,497 are passed on, which we will suppose are insufficient to make up the quota for the fourth name. But the fifth name may be that of a candidate who has received a large number of separate votes, either for personal reasons, or because his opinions may verge on those designated as AC, and many electors may consequently have split their votes between him and certain names on the list AC. He may therefore require only 1,000 votes to make up his quota, and these he will get under rule 6. The remaining 497 we will suppose to be the final residue mentioned in the same rule, which cannot make up a quota for any of the five candidates who remain on the list—namely, number 4 and numbers 6 to 9. Clearly they must be attributed to that one of the five who has the most separate votes, in order that they may have the best chance of not being thrown away. If numbers 4 and 6 have the most separate votes, and are equal as between themselves, number 4 will get the 497 from the priority of his position on the list. And when this process has been gone through with all the lists, the members remaining to be elected will be taken, by the simple majority of votes, from those candidates who stood alone, and those candidates on the lists who have not obtained quotas.

The amendment thus proposed, which may be described as *combining free lists with the cumulative vote*, appears to secure that each great body of opinion shall have a representation nearly proportional to the number of its adherents, as tested by the total number of votes given for the list nominated on its behalf and for the several candidates on that list. It frees parties from the necessity of running fewer candidates than there are members to be returned, on pain of missing their due share of representation, and consequently also from the uncertainty attending the estimate of the number they should run. And it does this while preserving the liberty of any candidate to stand alone, and the liberty of every elector to vote only for those candidates of whom he approves. The list, for those electors who approve it, operates as a mode of transferring their votes to those who need them, in accordance with Mr. Hare's principle. With regard to the election of the remaining members by simple majority, after the quotas have been made up, this will be confined within narrow limits by the completeness with which the several parties will be able to make up the quotas they are entitled to. There will seldom, in any constituency, be more than one or two members to be so elected. And since the independent candidates will have to compete for those places with the remaining names on the lists, for which all the list votes will have been given, in fact, though it may not have been possible to attribute many to them, the combination of a small number of electors in favour of an objectionable individual will rarely succeed.

The necessary adaptation of the voting-paper is of the simplest kind. We all know its present form, a column of names with ruled spaces on the right for the numbers of votes given to them respectively. This may remain unaltered, but the names composing each list must follow one another and be united by a bracket on the left, with a space on the left for the number of votes given to the list. All the figures written by an elector, whether on the right or on the left of the column of names, must not together exceed the number of members to be elected, just as is now the rule for the figures which he places on the right only.

I will close this paper as it was begun, by pointing out that if the amendment is found to work well in School Board elections, for which I conceive it to be necessary, the scheme it embodies will also enable large parliamentary constituencies to elect all their members without the gerrymandering of boundaries, and the loss

of a large public spirit, which must accompany the one-member system.

J. WESTLAKE.

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