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The Land Question;

Containing Remarks on the Right of Property in Land, on Land Tenures, Large and Small Farms, Peasant Proprietors, Cottiers, the Laws of Primogeniture and Entail, the Land Transfer Act, and other Matters Relating to Landed Property.

BY G. R.

"The Land of every country belongs to the people of that country. The individuals called landowners have no right, in morality and justice, to anything but the rent, or compensation for its saleable value. With regard to the land itself, the paramount consideration is, by what mode of appropriation and of cultivation it can be made most useful to the collective body of its inhabitants."—*Principle of Political Economy*, by JOHN STUART MILL, M.P.

"The man who can secure the application of free trade to land and to labour, will do for the English poor more than we have been able to do by the application of free trade to commerce."—*Speech at Rochdale*, by RICHARD COBDEN.

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The following short essay on the land question has already appeared, as a series of articles, in the *National Reformer* for May and June, 1862. I have thought it advisable to reprint them in a collected form, on account of the extreme importance of the subject, and, more especially, in the hope of contributing in any degree, however slight, to the abolition of the present laws of primogeniture and entail. As Mr. J. S. Mill, the most eminent social philosopher of the age, shows in his work on Political Economy, the two great remedies for poverty and low wages are, in the first place, a careful restraint on population; and secondly, a change from the present system of hired labour to that of independent and co-operative industry, both in agriculture and manufactures. In order to effect the latter object, it is evidently of the utmost importance that every legal facility should be given to enable the working classes, by fair competition, to obtain possession of the land and the capital. Facilities for the formation of co-operative societies and also, to a certain extent, for the sale of land, have already been afforded under the "Limited Liability" and the "Land Transfer" Acts; and the great obstacle still to be overcome—the obstacle which almost entirely excludes the people from the possession of the land, and keeps the whole soil of the country in the hands of a few thousand proprietors—is the laws of primogeniture and entail. If these laws were abolished, the land would be thrown open to free competition, the over-grown estates would soon be broken down, and a great portion of the soil would gradually come into the possession of the working classes. Such a reform would be in itself a revolution; and it seems to me that scarcely any measure could be mentioned which is more worthy of attention and combined effort on the part of all true friends of the people.

Property in Land.

FEW questions in political economy are so extremely important to the interests of the working classes, as those relating to the tenure and division of landed property. There are few also which have been more keenly debated, or on which more widely different opinions are still entertained.

One great reason of the warmth and pertinacity with which these questions have been discussed, is that they have a most important *political*, as well as economical and social bearing. The main support of a hereditary aristocracy in this country is undoubtedly the laws of primogeniture and entail, which lead to the accumulation of vast estates in the hands of a few individuals; the influence derived from this source being the most solid foundation of their political power. Indeed, so closely are monarchy and aristocracy connected with primogeniture and entail, that if any one of them were removed, it is very doubtful whether the others could long maintain their ground in modern society. M. Louis Blanc remarks, in his work on the French Revolution of 1848, that Montesquieu lays it down as a political axiom, "No monarch, no nobility—no nobility, no monarch;" and also that "according to Montesquieu a monarchical government is simply impossible, if not combined with the law of primogeniture." Hence M. Louis Blanc infers that monarchy or imperialism, though temporarily existing in France, cannot long continue, as there has been no hereditary House of Peers in that country since 1789, and the law of equal division of inheritances has led to a wide distribution of the land among the people. "In France," he says, "the principle which goes on dividing property so as to pulverise the soil, leaves political hereditary power without social foundations." It is not surprising, therefore, that the advocates of aristocracy are usually at the same time the zealous defenders of primogeniture and entail; and that political partisanship, on

these and other questions relating to landed property, has operated powerfully to obscure and distort the real facts of the case.

In considering this subject, it will be advisable to examine, firstly, the nature of the right of property in land and the reasons by which it can be justified; secondly, the various kinds of land tenure existing in different countries, and the comparative advantages and disadvantages of each; and thirdly, the causes which have led to the present unjust and unequal division of the land in Great Britain and Ireland, and the means by which it best admits of being remedied. These questions comprehend the principal topics relating to landed property, and those on which it is most desirable that there should be a clear understanding and agreement among reformers.

In the first place, with regard to the right of property in land, although little or no distinction is commonly made between it and the right of property in other things, it is in reality, as shown by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and after him by Mr. Mill, and others, of a very different nature, and requires a different set of reasons for its justification. The great principle upon which private property rests, consists in the right which a person has to what has been produced by his labour or saved by his abstinence. Now it is evident that this principle cannot apply to that which is not the produce of labour—namely, the raw material of the earth. This is the gift of nature, and belongs originally to the whole human race; and it would be neither just nor necessary that it should be owned by individuals, if the produce which it yields were wholly of spontaneous growth. But although the land itself is not the product of industry, most of its valuable qualities are. Not only is much labour needed to obtain each annual crop, but many improvements of a permanent kind—such as clearing the ground of wood or heath, draining bogs and marshes, irrigating meadows, putting up fences and farm-buildings, &c.—have generally to be made, before the soil becomes fit for use or can be brought to its highest fertility. No one would undertake these improvements, if he thought that other people, and not himself, would reap the benefit of them. Accordingly, a certain length of occupancy is absolutely needed, in order to hold out a sufficient motive for the improvement of the soil; and to make this motive as strong as possible, a permanent right of ownership is granted; seeing that perpetuity is a stronger stimulus to improvement, and exerts a more powerful influence on the mind, than even the longest lease. Thus, while property in other things is a part of natural justice, depending on the fact that they have been produced by human industry, property in land is wholly a matter of expediency, and is justifiable only as an inducement to, and a reward for, the *improvement* of the soil.

"These are the reasons," says Mr. Mill, "which form the justification in an economical point of view, of property in land. It is seen, that they are only valid in so far as the proprietor of land is its *improver*. Whenever, in any country, the proprietor, generally speaking, ceases to be the improver, political economy has nothing to say in defence of landed property, as there established. In no sound theory of private property, was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of land should be merely a sinecurist quartered on it."

On these grounds Mr. Mill condemns in strong terms the system of landed property, as it exists at present in this country, and more especially in Ireland. The English landlords, although not unfrequently improvers of their estates, cannot be said to be generally so; and in the majority of cases they grant leave of cultivation on such terms as to prevent any adequate improvements from being made by other people. In the southern counties, for example, it is the usual practice to grant no leases, so that these districts, in comparison with the North of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, are very badly cultivated. Moreover, even where there are leases, the hands of the tenant are often tied, and improvements prevented, by means of clauses and covenants grounded on an old and obsolete practice of agriculture. "Landed property in England," says Mr. Mill, "is thus very far from completely fulfilling the conditions which render its existence economically justifiable. But if insufficiently realised even in England, in Ireland those conditions are not complied with at all. With individual exceptions (some of them very honourable ones), the owners of Irish estates do nothing for the land but drain it of its produce. What has been epigrammatically said in the discussions on 'peculiar burthens' is literally true when applied to them; that the greatest 'burthen on land' is the landlords, Returning nothing to the soil, they consume its whole produce, minus the potatoes strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of famine; and when they have any purpose of improvement, the preparatory step usually consists in not leaving even this pittance, but turning out the people to beggary, if not to starvation.

In a note to this passage, in the fifth edition of his work on "Political Economy," Mr. Mill remarks, "I must beg the reader to bear in mind that this paragraph was written fifteen years ago. So wonderful are the changes, both moral and economical, taking place in our age, that without perpetually re-writing a work like the present, it is impossible to keep up with them." Since 1847, when Mr. Mill's work first appeared, the circumstances of Ireland (though still extremely bad in many places) have greatly improved, in consequence of the emigration, the sale of encumbered estates, and the partial abolition of that most miserable of all systems of land tenure, the cottier system.

When landed property has placed itself on this footing, it ceases to be defensible, and the time has come for making some new arrangement of the matter."

The above considerations with regard to the nature of the right of property in land, are not merely

speculative, but lead to important practical consequences. They show that landed property ought to be regarded, by its possessors as well as by the rest of society, in a different light from other kinds of property, and as carrying with it peculiar duties and responsibilities. It is, in fact, as Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Mill have pointed out, of the nature of a *trust*, held by the landowners, not solely for their own benefit, but also for that of the community at large. The same cannot be said of property in other things. A man who produces a commodity by his labour, does not prevent others from doing the same; his ownership is not to the exclusion of any one else, for, without him, the commodity would not have existed at all; and, as he was not bound to produce it for the benefit of other people, so neither is he bound to use it for their benefit when produced. But the proprietor of land, by the very nature of the case, excludes some one else from it; his title to the soil is not a matter of natural justice, but only of public expediency; and, therefore, he is morally, and may be legally, bound to use the land in such a manner as shall tend to the general advantage. Society is far too deeply interested in the proper cultivation of the soil, to leave this matter wholly to the discretion of the landowners, without retaining, in its own hands, a power of control over them. Accordingly Mr. Mill holds that while there should be an *absolute* right of property in things which are the product of labour, in land there should only be a *qualified* right, or, in other words, a right limited by certain conditions. "To me," he says, "it seems almost an axiom that property in land should be interpreted strictly, and that the balance in all cases of doubt should incline against the proprietors. The reverse is the case with property in moveables, and in all things the product of labour; over these the owner's power both of use and of exclusion should be absolute, except where positive evil to others would result from it; but in the case of land, no exclusive right should be permitted in any individual, which cannot be shown to be productive of general good." Thus, although an exclusive right of cultivating the soil, and enjoying its rents and profits, is granted to the proprietors, Mr. Mill holds that they should not be allowed the sole right of *access* to the land, except in so far as is necessary to protect the produce from injury or their own privacy from invasion. Another very important consequence which follows from these principles is, that the state has a right of interference in the case of landed property, which it could not warrantably exercise in regard to moveable goods. Property in land has not the same inviolability, or "sacredness," as property in other things. Even if the interference of Government were carried so far as to dispossess the existing proprietors of their estates (in the same way as they are now dispossessed of a part of them when a railway bill is passed), such a measure, however impolitic, would not exceed the just powers of the state, or violate the rights of property; provided always that a full compensation were paid to the owners, either in the form of an annuity, or, if they preferred it, of the market price of their estates. "The principle of property," says Mr. Mill, "gives them no right to the land, but only a right to compensation for whatever portion of their interests in the land it may be the policy of the state to deprive them of." To such a compensation they have an indisputable claim, since the land has either been bought by themselves or inherited from those who have bought it; or, even if originally acquired by violence and injustice, is theirs now by right of prescription. Indeed, in all cases where individuals are deprived of property which they have held under the laws and sanction of the state, they are entitled to a fair compensation for it. Supposing this condition to be complied with, however, it should be clearly recognised that government has a right to deprive the landowners of a part, or even, if need be, of the whole of their estates; as well as to make any other alterations in the laws affecting landed property, which are necessary for the happiness and well-being of the people.

LAND TENURES—PEASANT PROPRIETORS, METAYERS, COTTIERS, AND LARGE TENANT FARMERS. COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF LARGE AND SMALL CULTIVATION.

We now come to the second great question connected with this subject; the question, namely, as to the various forms of landed property and tenure existing in different countries, and the comparative advantages and disadvantages of each. The principal agricultural systems, or forms of land tenure, to be met with in Europe, are those of the peasant proprietors, the metayers, the cottiers, and the large tenant farmers; or, as they may be called from the countries in which they are (to a great extent, though not exclusively) prevalent, the French, the Italian, the Irish, and the English systems. In the first, the land belongs to the working classes themselves, and is owned by them in small independent properties, or freeholds, which they cultivate with their own labour and capital; in the second and third, the land belongs to a landlord, and is cultivated by small farmers with their own labour, the division of the produce being determined in the one case by custom, and in the other by competition;

in the fourth, the land belongs to a landlord, and is cultivated by large farmers with the aid of hired labourers, the division of the produce being determined by competition. The first system prevails very widely, not only in France, but also in Norway, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, the Channel Islands, &c., as well as in the free states of North America; the second is to be found in most parts of Italy, and in some districts of France; the third is principally exemplified in Ireland; while the fourth prevails throughout Great Britain, and in some parts of Holland and Belgium. The wide difference between these systems may be seen from the fact, that in France there are about five millions of lauded proprietors, while in England there are not more than fifty or sixty thousand. Few questions are so important to the labouring classes, or have given rise to keener discussion, than the comparative merits of these different systems. On the Continent, the advantage of having a large body of landed proprietors is held by the people, and by the great majority of economists and politicians, almost as an axiom. In this country, on the other hand, it has been the fashion, especially since the writings of the celebrated agriculturist, Arthur Young, towards the end of last century, to decry the Continental systems, and to represent the English as the only one compatible with good farming or national prosperity; but the facts and arguments brought forward by Mr. William Thornton, in his "Plea for Peasant Proprietors," and the powerful defence of the same system by Mr. Mill, have produced in impartial minds a very different view of the subject.

In estimating the merits of different agricultural systems, we have to consider their effect not only upon the production, but also on the distribution of wealth; we have to inquire, which system yields the largest produce? and also, which is most favourable to the physical and moral well-being of the peasantry? It is in regard to the first of these points especially, that the superiority of the English system has been so loudly and confidently asserted. It is said that labour is much more efficient when its operations are carried on upon an extensive scale; that the large farm, like the large factory, has many advantages over the small one, owing to the division of labour and other causes; that but few cattle can be kept on small farms, and hence that there is a deficiency of manure; and that the small farmers are wanting in education and intelligence, and have neither the capital nor the spirit which are needed for the introduction of expensive machinery and of improved practices of agriculture. Hence (it is argued) the produce is much greater on large farms, and therefore the English laws of inheritance, which keep the land in the hands of a few proprietors, are the best for agriculture; whereas the French law leads to an extreme subdivision of the soil, by which its productiveness is greatly diminished. This is one of the commonest arguments in favour of primogeniture and a hereditary landed aristocracy, and has been repeated again and again by their defenders. Some writers, in their zeal for the cause of aristocracy, have not scrupled to assert that the French law is ruinous to agriculture, and has reduced, or is tending to reduce, the people to beggary by the subdivision of the land. An examination of the facts of the case, however, will show that such extravagant statements are wholly without foundation; that even as a question of production, the superiority of the English system cannot be considered as by any means established; while with regard to the far more important question of distribution, and the condition of the labouring classes, the peasant proprietary system is greatly superior to our own.

It may be observed, in the first place, that the advantages derived from the division of labour are not nearly so available in agriculture as in manufactures, since the same person cannot always be employed in ploughing, sowing, or reaping. The kind of combination of labour most usual in the former, is what has been called simple co-operation—namely, where several persons are engaged together at the same work; and for this a single family is generally sufficient. Wherever, indeed, the land is too much subdivided so that the cultivators have not enough to occupy their time, there is a decided loss of productive power; and up to this point the size of farms is a matter of great importance. Beyond it, however, the advantages of large farms over small ones are by no means so marked. The tools and implements commonly used in husbandry are not expensive; and even those costly machines which have been lately introduced, may be bought by combination among the small proprietors, and let out to each in turn. On large farms, there is a saving in the matter of buildings, as well as in the cost of carriage, and in buying articles in large quantities; but although these advantages must undoubtedly count for something, they ought not, it would seem, to count for very much. As to the objection so often urged against small farms, that they cannot maintain a sufficient stock of cattle, it applies only to the cases where the subdivision of the land is extreme, and the peasants consequently too poor. Otherwise the fact is the very reverse. The small proprietors of Flanders, as shown by M. Passy, in his "Systems of Agriculture," and also by the author of the treatise on "Flemish Husbandry," in the library of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, have long been noted for their abundance of cattle and copious use of manures. "It appears astonishing," says the latter writer, "that the occupier of ten or twelve acres of light arable land should be able to maintain four or five cows, but the fact is notorious in the Waes country." Nor is it true that peasant proprietors, as a class, are deficient in skill, or without the intelligence to recognise, and the spirit to introduce, improved practices of agriculture. In science and theory they may doubtless be wanting, but they have often extraordinary practical knowledge. Such improvements as the rotation of crops and a judicious economy of manures, were practised by the Flemish peasants for centuries before they were introduced in England; and

their agriculture is even now admitted by good judges to be probably the best in Europe. Experiments and improvements which require a great outlay of capital, or which have to be made on a large scale and over an extensive district, cannot indeed be undertaken, generally speaking, except by wealthy proprietors or farmers; although instances to the contrary are by no means wanting. Mr. Laing, in his "Journal of a Residence in Norway," and M. Reichensperger in his work on "The Land Question," show that the most costly and extensive systems of artificial irrigation are carried out in Norway, Germany, Italy, and France, by bodies of peasant proprietors, acting in co-operation with each other.

But whatever may be the inferiority in these respects on the part of the small proprietors, it is more than compensated by one circumstance—namely, by the far greater ardour of industry which men display when working for themselves, and not for a master or employer. This is seen especially where the peasantry are themselves the owners of the land; and indeed it is from this system, and not from that of the cottiers, or even the metayers, that conclusions as to the capabilities of small farms should be drawn. So striking are the effects of this superior industry, that Mr. Mill, and many other writers, hold it as an established fact that, with anything like equal skill and knowledge, the gross produce is greatest under small cultivation. As one of many proofs of this, he instances the enormous produce which English labourers, even without any fixity of tenure, extract from their little allotments. No large farmer could find it his interest to raise such a produce, or anything approaching to it, from the same piece of ground; and the reason is, that the labour which the allotment-holder, or the peasant proprietor, expends upon the land, is his own and that of his wife and children, whereas all the labour employed by the large farmer has to be paid for. It is true that the increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase of labour, owing to the natural laws of the soil; and this, according to Mr. Mill, is the real explanation of the fact, that the net produce (or the surplus which remains after feeding the cultivators) bears a less proportion to the gross produce in the small than in the large system of farming, and hence that the latter is generally most advantageous as a mere investment for profit. It is not from any superior efficiency in the system, but simply because the land is not farmed so highly. The question of net produce, however, is one on which a common fallacy exists. One of the objections most frequently made to the small system of cultivation is, that even although the gross produce, and consequently the total population, of a country may be greater under it, yet the net produce, and the non-agricultural part of the population, are less. In proof of this, it is said, that in France about two-thirds of the whole population are agricultural, and in England at most one-third. In this argument, however, as pointed out by M. Passy and Mr. Mill, the conclusion does not follow from the premises. It is quite possible that the net produce may be greater relatively to the gross produce in one country as compared with another, and yet not be greater absolutely. We might suppose, for example, that the same extent of land which in France supported six people by the labour of four, in England supported three people by the labour of one: in which case the net produce would be as great absolutely in the former country as in the latter, though it would bear a smaller proportion to the whole produce. It is not, of course, meant that the actual state of things is so. As a matter of fact, it is well known that the average produce per acre, and also the net produce, and the non-agricultural population, in proportion to the extent of her territory, are much greater in England than in France; but this could not be inferred from so simple a test. Neither does Mr. Mill admit, as a general principle and apart from individual cases, that the net produce is less under small cultivation, although he grants that it bears a smaller proportion to the whole. "As a question, not of gross, but of net produce," he says, "the comparative merits of the *grande* and the *petite culture*, especially when the small farmer is also the proprietor, cannot be looked upon as decided. It is a question upon which good judges at present differ. The current of English opinion is in favour of large farms; on the Continent the weight of authority seems to be on the other side." Professor Kan, of Heidelberg, who has carefully investigated the subject, lays it down as a settled truth, that both the gross and the net produce are greatest on small or moderately-sized farms; but considers that an admixture of wealthy proprietors to lead the way in improvements, is a great advantage. M. Passy, speaking of net produce, gives it as his opinion that large farms are the best for grain and forage, but small ones for those plants which require much care and attention, such as the vine, the olive, flax, hemp, roots, kitchen-vegetables, &c. With regard to the inferior productiveness of the French, as compared with the English agriculture, Mr. Mill holds that this inferiority (which, he says, "taking the country as a whole, must be admitted to be real, though much exaggerated") is not due to the small cultivation, but mainly to the lower general average of industrial skill and energy in the former country: and also partly to the fact that the land is very frequently *too* much subdivided, and even when belonging to the same owner, is often broken up into a number of detached and inconveniently-situated patches.

On the whole, then, Mr. Mill's opinion on the vexed question of the comparative merits of the peasant proprietary, and large farming systems, considered as a question of *production*, is this—that, with anything like equal skill, the gross produce is greatest under the former; that the net produce is probably quite as great, if not greater, absolutely; and that, although it bears a less proportion to the gross produce, this is not owing to the superior efficacy of the large farming system, but simply to the fact that the land under it is not so highly

cultivated.

The most signal advantages of peasant properties, however, are to be found in their influence on the *distribution* of wealth, and on the physical and moral well-being of the labourers. Indeed, every intelligent reader of Mr. Mill's work will recognise in them one of the most powerful of all means for the elevation of the people. Their good effects on the industry, the intelligence, and the moral qualities of the peasantry are equally conspicuous. The marvellous and indefatigable industry of peasant proprietors has been a theme for the admiration of all observers. "On this point at least," says Mr. Mill, "authorities are unanimous. Those who have seen only one country of peasant properties, always think the inhabitants of that country the most industrious in the world." Late and early they are ever at work on their little farms—sowing, reaping, pruning, watering, and tending every plant with the most assiduous care. The "magic of property" is the secret of these unwearied exertions. They know that they are labouring for themselves, and that every addition they make to the produce will increase their own comforts or give them greater means of saving, instead of merely contributing to swell the profits of an employer. Labour expended in this way loses half its irksomeness, and becomes to the small proprietor more like the gratification of a favourite pursuit or even a ruling passion. As an instrument of popular education too, peasant properties are of inestimable value. They call forth and develop the powers of the mind, and teach the agricultural labourers to think, to plan, and to execute for themselves. Education does not consist in book-learning only, or in the lessons taught at school, but also in the training received in the daily occupations of after life; and no pursuits are so valuable to this end, as those in which a man has to think and act for himself, and not merely to carry out the biddings of another. An objection, indeed, has been made to peasant properties, that, by the risk of losses attendant upon them, the cares and anxieties of the labourers are increased—the same objection which has so often been made to co-operation, and to the proposal that workmen should be admitted to a share in the profits and losses of their employers. But the day-labourer, who depends for his subsistence on the favour and fortunes of a master, has his own cares and anxieties no less than the peasant proprietor; and the difference between them is, that the day-labourer has many of the anxieties which depress, and few of those which stimulate and elevate the mind. "The position of the peasant proprietor of Flanders," says Mr. Mill, "is the reverse. From the anxiety which chills and paralyses—the uncertainty of having food to eat—few persons are more exempt; it requires as rare a concurrence of circumstances as the potatoe failure, combined with an universal bad harvest, to bring him within reach of that danger. His anxieties are the ordinary vicissitudes of *more* and *less*; his cares are that he takes his fair share of the business of life; that he is a free human being, and not perpetually a child, which seems to be the approved condition of the labouring classes according to the prevailing philanthropy. He is no longer a being of a different order from the middle classes; he has pursuits and objects like those which occupy them, and give to their intellects the greatest part of such cultivation as they receive." Nor is the situation of a peasant proprietor less favourable to the moral virtues of prudence, temperance, and self-control. The recklessness of day labourers, and their want of care to lay by any provision for the morrow, even when their wages are high enough to admit of it, have often been a subject of regret. Peasant proprietors, on the other hand, are, if anything, rather apt to be too penurious. They are content to deny themselves many an indulgence, to live on the humblest fare, and wear the coarsest clothing, until, by the gradual accumulation of their little hoards, they can gratify their most cherished object—the purchase of more land. English travellers, hastily passing through the Continent, have often mistaken these signs of providence and frugality for signs of poverty. In Switzerland, in Flanders, in France, almost every one saves who has any means of saving. Nor is this disposition confined to the small proprietors; the hope of one day possessing land operates powerfully, as a motive for saving, on the whole rural population, including the day-labourers, and even, in no small degree, on the work-people in the towns. Another admirable effect of property in land is to increase the sense of dignity and self-respect among the peasantry. The small proprietor is his own master, and is independent of the good-will or the ill-will of a landlord or an employer. He stands, too, in an intermediate position, and forms as it were a connecting link between the hired labourer and the wealthy farmer or landowner. Peasant properties have thus a powerful tendency to do away with the present unjust distinctions of rank and class, and to promote that equal mutual respect which should exist between all men, whatever be the texture of their coat or the nature of their employment, provided it be an honest and a useful one. There is still another advantage, arising from the same source, which ought not to be omitted; and that is, the happiness derived from the possession of landed property, and the peculiar, and even affectionate interest it inspires. No kind of property appeals so strongly to the feelings, or calls forth so deep an attachment, as property in land; and agriculture, when pursued by the owner of the soil, is not only pursued to the best advantage, but has always been regarded as among the most delightful occupations of mankind. "A small proprietor," says Adam Smith, "who knows every part of his little territory, who views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who upon that account takes pleasure not only in cultivating, but in adorning it, is generally of all improvers the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most successful." The historian, Michelet, speaks of the French peasant's little property as "his mistress," and

describes the feelings with which he regards it as forming "his innermost thought, his fervent passion." Such, too, were probably the feelings of the English "yeomen" of former times, whose disappearance from the soil and replacement by the "un-wieldly wealth and cumbrous pomp" of the large proprietors, have been so deeply mourned by our poets. In a country where the peasantry are not to a great extent the owners of the soil they cultivate, it may truly be said that one of the greatest and most unfailing sources of national happiness is wanting.

A large number of passages are quoted by Mr. Mill, in favour of peasant properties, from writers who have seen and studied the system in different parts of Europe, and describe its effects both on the productiveness of the agriculture and the condition of the peasantry. The subject is so extremely important to the labouring classes, and, moreover, the facts relating to it are so little generally known in this country, and have been so much misrepresented, that I think it may be advisable to give here several extracts from the passages and authorities cited by Mr. Mill.

We may first take the case of Switzerland. Of this country M. de Sismondi, the eminent historian, says in his "Studies on Political Economy"—"It is Switzerland, above all, which must be visited, which must be studied, to judge of the happiness of peasant proprietors. It is Switzerland which we must learn to know in order to be convinced that agriculture, when practised by the same persons who enjoy its fruits, suffices to procure a great abundance for a very numerous population; a great independence of character, the result of the independence of conditions; a great interchange of commodities, the consequence of the well-being of all the inhabitants, even in a country whose climate is rude, whose soil is but moderately fertile, and where the lingering frosts and the inconstancy of the seasons often destroy the hope of the labourer. One cannot see without admiration these wooden houses of the humblest peasant, so large, so well built, so covered with carved ornaments. Within, large passages separate each chamber of the numerous household; each room has but one bed, abundantly provided with curtains, coverlets, and with the whitest linen; around it are well-preserved pieces of furniture; the presses are full of linen, the dairy large, airy, and of an exquisite cleanliness; beneath the same roof are to be found great stores of corn, of salted meat, of cheese, and of wood; in the stalls are seen cattle, the best tended and the finest in Europe; the garden is planted with flowers; both men and women are warmly and decently clothed, the poorest among them adhere with pride to their old national costume; all bear in their faces the marks of vigour and of health. Let other nations boast their riches, Switzerland can always proudly oppose to them her peasants." In another place, speaking of the system generally, Sismondi says, "Wherever we find peasant proprietors, there we find also that comfort, that security, that confidence in the future, that independence, which assure at once the happiness and the virtue of a people. The peasant feels strongly the sense of happiness attached to the condition of a proprietor. Therefore is he ever eager to buy land at any price. He will give for it more than it is worth, more perhaps than it will return to him; but how many reasons has he to prize highly the advantage of having always in future a good investment for his labour, without being ever compelled to sell it cheap; of finding always his bread in time of need, without being ever obliged to buy it dear! The peasant proprietor is of all cultivators the one who makes the most of the soil, because it is he who thinks most for the future, and he, too, who has been most enlightened by experience; he is the one who makes the best use of human industry, because, in sharing his occupations among all the members of his family, he distributes them throughout the year, so that there is no slack time for anyone; of all cultivators he is the happiest, and moreover, on a given space, the soil never nourishes and gives occupation to so many inhabitants as when they are proprietors; in fine, the peasant proprietor is of all cultivators the one who gives the greatest encouragement to commerce and manufactures, because he is the richest." In his "New Principles of Political Economy," Sismondi says, "In travelling through nearly the whole of Switzerland, through several provinces of France, of Italy, and of Germany, we have no need to ask, in regarding each part of the soil, whether it belongs to a peasant proprietor or to a tenant farmer. The intelligent care, the enjoyments prepared for the labourer, the ornamentation which the fields have received from his hands, very soon indicate the former." From this description, Sismondi excepts Savoy, where the peasants, although mostly proprietors, are extremely poor, in consequence, he says, of the mal-administration and oppressive fiscal exactions of the government. Another writer, Mr. Inglis, in his work on "Switzerland, the South of France, and the Pyrenees, in 1830," describes the cultivation of the country round Zurich as elaborate and painstaking in the highest degree; and says of the peasantry that "in the industry they show in the cultivation of their land I may safely say they are unrivalled." Of the Engadine, a remote valley of the High Alps, where the peasants own the whole of the land, and live mostly upon their own produce, he says, "The country is incapable of greater cultivation than it has received. All has been done for it that industry and an extreme love of gain could devise. There is not a foot of waste land in the Engadine, the lowest part of which is not much lower than the top of Snowdon. . . In no country of Europe will be found so few poor as in the Engadine. In the village of Suss, which contains about six hundred inhabitants, there is not a single individual who has not wherewithal to live comfortably, not a single individual who is indebted to others for one morsel that he eats." In some other parts of Switzerland, however,

there is not the same absence of pauperism. Berne, the largest and richest canton, has a numerous pauper population, owing to the workings of a very bad system of poor laws; although in that part of the canton which is occupied by peasant proprietors, they are as flourishing as elsewhere. Statistical accounts have been drawn up of the different Swiss cantons, from which it appears that the subdivision of the land is often extremely minute, and that the small properties are in many places more or less deeply mortgaged. "Yet the general conclusion deducible from these books," says Mr. Mill, "is that since the beginning of the century, and concurrently with the division of many great estates which belonged to nobles or the cantonal governments, there has been a striking and rapid improvement in almost every department of agriculture, as well as in the houses, the habits, and the food of the people. The writer of the account of Thurgau goes so far as to say, that since the subdivision of the feudal estates into peasant properties, it is not uncommon for a third or a fourth part of an estate to produce as much grain, and support as many head of cattle as the whole estate did before."

Mr. Laing, in his "Journal of a Residence in Norway," speaks highly of the results of peasant properties in that country; where the small proprietors are of older date, and more numerous in proportion to the population, than in most other parts of Europe. In his "Rural and Domestic Life of Germany," Mr. Howitt says, in speaking of the Palatinate, one of the many flourishing districts of Germany where peasant properties prevail—"The peasants are the great and ever-present objects of country life. They are the great population of the country, because they are themselves the possessors. The country is, in fact, for the most part, in the hands of the people. It is parcelled out among the multitude . . . The peasants are not, as with us, for the most part, totally cut off from property in the soil they cultivate, totally dependent on the labour afforded by others—they are themselves the proprietors. It is, perhaps, from this cause that they are probably the most industrious peasantry in the world. They labour busily, early and late, because they feel that they are labouring for themselves . . . The German peasants work hard, but they have no actual want. Every man has his house, his orchard, his roadside trees, commonly so heavy with fruit, that he is obliged to prop and secure them all ways, or they would be torn to pieces. He has his cornplot, his plot for mangol-wurzel, for hemp, and so on. He is his own master; and he, and every member of his family, have the strongest motives to labour. You see the effect of this in that unremitting diligence which is beyond that of the whole world besides, and his economy, which is still greater. . . The English peasant is so cut off from the idea of property, that he comes habitually to look upon it as a thing from which he is warned by the laws of the large proprietors, and becomes, in consequence, spiritless, purposeless. . . The German bauer, on the contrary, looks on the country as made for him and his fellow-men. He feels himself a man; he has a stake in the country as good as that of the bulk of his neighbours; no man can threaten him with ejection, or the workhouse, so long as he is active and economical. He walks, therefore, with a bold step; he looks you in the face with the air of a free man, but of a respectful one." Professor Rau, in his treatise "On the Agriculture of the Palatinate," bears a similar testimony to the industry and intelligence of the peasant proprietors; and describes their agriculture as excellent, and as having already undergone great and progressive improvement. Such, too, is the case in all other parts of Germany. Mr. Kay, in his work published in 1850, on "The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe," a work in which he has collected a mass of evidence in favour of peasant proprietors, says, "In Saxony, it is a notorious fact, that during the last thirty years, and since the peasants became the proprietors of the land, there has been a rapid and continual improvement in the condition of the houses, in the manner of living, in the dress of the peasants, and particularly in the culture of the land. I have twice walked through that part of Saxony called Saxon Switzerland, in company with a German guide, and on purpose to see the state of the villages and of the farming, and I can safely challenge contradiction when I affirm, that there is no farming in all Europe superior to the laboriously careful cultivation of the valleys in that part of Saxony." In another place he says, "Reichensperger, himself an inhabitant of that part of Prussia where the land is the most subdivided, has published a long and very elaborate work to show the admirable consequences of a system of small freeholds in land. He expresses a very decided opinion that not only are the *gross* products of any given number of acres held and cultivated by small peasant proprietors, greater than the gross products of an equal number of acres held by a few great proprietors, and cultivated by tenant farmers; but that the *net* products of the former, after deducting all the expenses of cultivation, are also greater than the net products of the latter. . . . He mentions one fact, which seems to prove that the fertility of the land in countries where the properties are small, must be rapidly increasing. He says that the price of the land which is divided into small properties in the Prussian Rhine provinces, is much higher, and has been rising much more rapidly, than the price of land on the great estates. He and Professor Rau both say that this rise in the price of the small estates would have ruined the more recent purchasers, unless the productiveness of the small estates had increased in at least an equal proportion; and as the small proprietors have been gradually becoming more and more prosperous notwithstanding the increasing prices they have paid for their land, he argues, with apparent justness, that this would seem to show that not only the gross profits of the small estates, but the net profits also, have been gradually increasing, and that the net profits, per acre, of land when farmed by small proprietors, are greater than the net profits per acre

of land farmed by a great proprietor. He says, with seeming truth, that the increasing price of land in the small estates cannot be the mere effect of competition, or it would have diminished the profits and the prosperity of the small proprietors, and that this result has not followed the rise. Albrecht Thaer, another celebrated German writer on the different systems of agriculture, in one of his later works expresses his decided conviction, that the *net produce* of land is greater when farmed by small proprietors than when farmed by great proprietors or their tenants This opinion of Thaer is all the more remarkable, as, during the early part of his life, he was very strongly in favour of the English system of great estates and great farms." Mr. Kay adds, "The peasant farming of Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and Switzerland, is the most perfect and economical farming I have ever witnessed in any country."

The country, however, which shows in the most striking manner the power of peasant properties, to reclaim and fertilise even the barrenest soils, is Belgium. The soil of a great part of Belgium was originally little better than a loose sand, and is now one of the most productive in Europe. "The provinces of East and West Flanders, and of Hainault," says Mr. McCulloch in his Geographical Dictionary, "form a far-stretching plain, of which the luxuriant vegetation indicates the indefatigable care and labour bestowed upon its cultivation; for the natural soil consists almost wholly of barren sand, and its great fertility is entirely the result of very skilful management and judicious application of manures." "It is not pretended by our agricultural writers," says Mr. Laing, "that our large farmers, even in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, or the Lothians, approach to the garden-like cultivation, attention to manures, drainage, and clean state of the land, or in productiveness from a small space of soil not originally rich, which distinguish the small farmers of Flanders, or their system." The author of the treatise on "Flemish Husbandry," published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, says, "The cultivation of a poor light soil, or a moderate soil, is generally superior in Flanders to that of the most improved farms of the same kind in Britain." As to their mode of living, he says, "The Flemish farmers and labourers live much more economically than the same class in England: they seldom eat meat except on Sundays and in harvest; buttermilk and potatoes with brown bread is their daily food." This homely fare, however, is not the result of greater poverty, but of economy and a strong desire to save money. "Accordingly," says the writer, "they are gradually acquiring capital, and their great ambition is to have land of their own. They eagerly seize every opportunity of purchasing a small farm, and the price is so raised by competition that land pays little more than two per cent, interest for the purchase money. Large properties gradually disappear, and are divided into small portions which sell at a high rate. But the wealth and industry of the population are continually increasing, being rather diffused through the masses than accumulated in individuals."

In the Channel Islands, the admirable effects of small properties in land are particularly conspicuous. Mr. William Thornton, in his "Plea for Peasant Proprietors" (a book which, Mr. Mill remarks, "by the excellence both of its materials and its execution, deserves to be regarded as the standard work on that side of the question"), says of the peasants of Guernsey, "The satisfactoriness of their condition is apparent to every observer. 'The happiest community,' says Mr. Hill, 'which it has ever been my lot to fall in with, is to be found in this little island of Guernsey.' 'No matter,' says Sir George Head, 'to what point the traveller may choose to bend his way, comfort everywhere prevails.'" "Literally, in the whole island," continues Mr. Thornton, "with the exception of a few fishermen's huts, there is not one so mean as to be likened to the ordinary habitation of an English farm labourer. 'Look,' says a late bailiff of Guernsey, Mr. De L'Isle Brock, 'at the hovels of the English, and compare them with the cottages of our peasantry.' . . . Beggars are utterly unknown. . . . Pauperism, able-bodied pauperism at least, is nearly as rare as mendicancy. The Savings Banks accounts also bear witness to the general abundance enjoyed by the labouring classes of Guernsey. In the year 1841, there were in England, out of a population of nearly fifteen millions, less than 700,000 depositors, or one in each twenty persons, and the average amount of the deposits was £30. In Guernsey, in the same year, out of a population of 26,000, the number of depositors was 1920, and the average amount of the deposits £40." In Jersey and Alderney the state of the peasantry is equally flourishing. With regard to the gross and net produce, and the numbers of the agricultural and non-agricultural population, of the islands, as compared with England, Mr. Thornton says, after producing ample evidence—"Thus it appears that in the two principal Channel Islands, the agricultural population is, in the one, twice, and in the other, three times, as dense as in Britain, there being in the latter country only one cultivator to twenty-two acres of cultivated land, while in Jersey there is one to eleven, and in Guernsey one to seven acres. Yet the agriculture of these islands maintains, besides cultivators, non-agricultural populations, respectively four and five times as dense as that of Britain." This greater density of population, agricultural and non-agricultural, does not arise from the superior fertility of the soil, which is naturally rather a poor one, but from the industry and skill of the husbandmen, and the copious use of manures. As to the comparative yield of wheat, and rent of land, per acre, Mr. Thornton says, "In the year 1837, the average yield of wheat in the large farms of England, was only twenty-one bushels, and the highest average for any one county was no more than twenty-six bushels. The highest average since claimed for the whole of England is thirty bushels. In Jersey, where the average size of farms is only sixteen acres, the average produce

of wheat per acre was stated by Inglis in 1834 to be thirty-six bushels; but it is proved by official tables to have been forty bushels in the five years ending with 1833. In Guernsey, where farms are still smaller, four quarters per acre, according to Inglis, is considered a good, but still a very common crop." "Thirty shillings an acre would be thought in England a very fair rent for middling land; but in the Channel Islands it is only very inferior land that would not let for at least £4."

In no part of Europe, perhaps, have the benefits of peasant properties been more strikingly displayed during the present century, than in France. And yet France is the country in which, above all others, the system is accused of having led to the most calamitous results. It is of France that we hear it so constantly asserted, that small properties have been the ruin of her agriculture, and have reduced, or are threatening to reduce, her people to beggary by the subdivision of the land. "It is difficult," says Mr. Mill, "to account for the general prevalence of impressions so much the reverse of the truth." Previous to the Revolution, when peasant properties were, comparatively speaking, few in number, and the land was mostly in the hands of the nobles and other wealthy proprietors, the French agriculture was miserable, and the people wretchedly poor. Such is the account given by Arthur Young, who made an agricultural tour through nearly the whole of France, in 1787, 1788, and 1789. The only parts of the country where he found any remarkable exceptions to the general poverty and backwardness, were certain districts in which the land was occupied by peasant proprietors. On the great majority of small properties, indeed, the agriculture was as bad, and the cultivators as indigent, as elsewhere, in consequence, he says, of the land being too much subdivided; but in French Flanders, Alsace, Beam, and some other places where the properties were of larger size, he describes the cultivation as "equal to our own," and the peasant proprietors as enjoying a remarkable degree of comfort. Though himself a strenuous advocate of the large farming system, Arthur Young repeatedly notices the great stimulus to labour which *property* gives, and alludes to this "omnipotent principle" as capable of fertilising any soil, however rugged and barren. "The magic of property," he says, "turns sand to gold." "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." In summing up his opinions, he says, "It is necessary to impress on the reader's mind, that though the husbandry I met with, in a great variety of instances on little properties, was as bad as can well be conceived, yet the industry of the possessors was so conspicuous, and so meritorious, that no commendations would be too great for it. It was sufficient to prove that property in land is, of all others, the most active instigator to severe and incessant labour."

Since the revolution, however, when primogeniture and entail were abolished, and a large proportion of the great estates broken up into peasant properties, the progress of France, both in agriculture and in the well-being of her people, has been most remarkable. "A mighty change for the better in the condition of the lower orders of the French people," says Mr. Thornton, in his work on Over-Population and its Remedy, "was wrought by the revolution of 1789. Not only did all arbitrary exactions and all feudal privileges cease, but the division of extensive tracts of common land, and the confiscation and sale, at a very low price, of the vast estates of the nobility and clergy, enabled almost every cultivator to become a proprietor. At this moment one-seventh of the whole nation are land-owners, a much larger proportion probably than in any other part of the world. Most of the properties are of course very small; but, cultivated as they are with the minute and assiduous attention which are never bestowed but by small occupiers, they are sufficient to furnish their owners in general with a comfortable maintenance, or at least to contribute very materially towards it. That the French people in general are at present very well off, is remarked by every one who passes through the country; and it is important to observe, that their happiness is partly the effect of very recent improvement." Mr. Mill, in the lately published edition of his work on Political Economy, says, in referring to the statements he had already made in previous editions on the growing prosperity of France, "I little knew how much stronger my language might have been without exceeding the truth, and how much the actual progress of French agriculture surpassed anything which I had at that time sufficient grounds to affirm. The investigations of that eminent authority on agricultural statistics, M. Leonce de Lavergne, undertaken by desire of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute of France, have led to the conclusion that since the revolution of 1789, the total produce of French agriculture has doubled; profits and wages having both increased in about the same, and rent in a still greater ratio. M. de Lavergne, whose impartiality is one of his greatest merits, is, moreover, so far in this instance from the suspicion of having a case to make out, that he is labouring to show, not how much French agriculture has accomplished, but how much still remains to do. 'We have required' (he says in his 'Rural Economy of France,') 'no less than seventy years to bring into cultivation two million hectares (five million English acres) of waste land, to suppress half our fallows, double our agricultural products, increase our population by 30 per cent., our wages by 100 per cent., our rent by 150 per cent. At this rate we shall require three quarters of a century more to arrive at the point which England has already attained.'

"After this evidence," continues Mr. Mill, "we have now surely heard the last of the incompatibility of small properties and small farms with agricultural improvement. The only question which remains open is one

of degree, the comparative *rapidity* of agricultural improvement under the two systems; and it is the general opinion of those who are equally well acquainted with both, that improvement is greatest under a due admixture between them." M. de Lavergne says that the average daily wages of an agricultural labourer, which Arthur Young estimated at nineteen sous, have risen to thirty sous, but that, from the greater constancy of employment and other causes, his annual earnings "must have doubled;" while the price of the principal necessities of life has altered but little, and that of manufactured articles, especially clothing, has sensibly diminished. With regard to the peasant proprietors, Mr. Mill says, "Of five millions of small proprietors, three millions at least, according to that high authority (M. de Lavergne), pay less than ten francs of taxes, and possess, on an average, only one hectare (two and a half acres). Two millions pay from ten to fifty francs, and possess, on an average, six hectares, or fifteen acres. 'These last,' says M. de Lavergne, 'enjoy sometimes a real affluence. Their properties are divided by inheritance; but many of them are continually making new acquisitions by purchase, and on the whole their tendency is more to rise than to descend in the scale of wealth.'" In his "Rural Economy of England, Scotland, and Ireland," M. de Lavergne bears the following high testimony to the skill and industry of the peasant proprietors in many parts of France. "In the rich plains of Flanders," he says, "on the banks of the Rhine, the Garonne, the Charente, the Rhone, all the practices which fertilise the land and increase the productiveness of labour, are known to the very smallest cultivators, and practised by them, however considerable may be the advances they require. In their hands, abundant manures, collected at great cost, repair and incessantly increase the fertility of the soil, in spite of the activity of cultivation. The races of cattle are superior, the crops magnificent. Tobacco, flax, colza, madder, beetroot, in some places; in others, the vine, the plum, the mulberry, only yield their abundant treasures to a population of industrious labourers. Is it not also to small cultivation that we are indebted for most of the garden produce obtained by dint of great outlay in the neighbourhood of Paris?" Mr. Mill adds, "it is a striking fact, stated by the same eminent writer, that the departments which have the greatest number of small *cotes foncières* are the Nord, the Somme, the Pas de Calais, the Seine Inferieure, the Aisne, and the Oise; all of them amongst the richest and best cultivated, and the first of them the very richest and best cultivated, in France." Many other passages, bearing a similar testimony to the excellent agriculture of the peasant proprietors, are to be found in M. de Lavergne's "Rural Economy of France;" a work which, on the other hand, contains equally abundant evidence of the injurious effects of subdivision, when carried too far, or when the nature of the soil and of its products is not favourable to it.

The general conclusion, then, to be drawn from the above facts, is this—that peasant properties are attended with the most admirable results, when they are not *too small*, or, in other words, when the land is not *too much subdivided*. This is the conclusion to which the testimony, even of Arthur Young himself, the most renowned advocate of the large farming system, may be said to lead. He recommends, accordingly, that there should be a legal *limit* to the subdivision of properties: a proposal which Mr. Mill holds to be by no means indefensible in extreme cases, and which has been carried into effect by the governments of Bavaria and Nassau. The undue subdivision of properties, again, arises in the main from the partition of inheritances among large families of children: so that we are thus brought to the population principle, which will invariably be found, on careful analysis, to be the real cause of poverty, in every country and under every industrial system, throughout the old world.

"The benefits of peasant properties," says Mr. Mill, "are conditional on their not being too much subdivided; that is, on their not being required to maintain too many persons, in proportion to the produce that can be raised from them by those persons. The question resolves itself, like most questions respecting the condition of the labouring classes, into one of population. Are small properties a stimulus to undue multiplication, or a check to it?"

On this most important point, as on so many others relating to peasant properties, opinions are by no means agreed. Most of the English political economists who have written on the matter at all, as, for example, Mr. M'Culloch, Mr. Jones in his "Essay on the Distribution of Wealth," and Arthur Young, assert that peasant properties have a strong tendency to lead to over-population, and consequently to a miserable and degraded state of the labouring classes. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, who enters much more fully into the subject, holds that the possession of land by the people, so far from leading to over-population, tends in a most remarkable manner to *prevent* that evil. "Against over-population," he says, "though not infallible, it is the best preservative yet known;" and he gives ample and satisfactory reasons (in addition to the indirect evidence afforded by the passages already quoted), in proof of this assertion. It is much easier for the peasant proprietor than for the day labourer, to see the evil effects of a numerous family, and to understand, as Mr. Buckle says, that "the question of wages is a question of population." He can tell at once that his little farm, if divided among more than a certain number of children, will be unable to maintain them in comfort; but in the case of the hired labourer, the prospect of employment for his children is vague and indefinite, and he is thus tempted to rely on chance, and to bring into the world a large family without any certainty of being able to provide for them. For these and many other reasons, Mr. Mill holds that the situation of a peasant proprietor is much more favourable than that

of a hired labourer to a careful restraint on population, and therefore to the removal of poverty; and the same view is strongly urged by Sismondi, Mr. Laing, and others who are well acquainted with the two systems. "There never has been a writer," says Mr. Mill, "more keenly sensible of the evils brought upon the labouring classes by excess of population, than Sismondi, and this is one of the grounds of his earnest advocacy of peasant properties. He had ample opportunity, in more countries than one, for judging of their effect on population." Mr. Laing, after pointing out that the peasant proprietor has far better means of knowing whether or not he can support a family than the day-labourer, remarks that "it is the depending on chance, where judgment has nothing clearly set before it," which "produces among us the evils of over-population; and chance necessarily enters into every man's calculations, where certainty is removed altogether; as it is where certain subsistence is, by our distribution of property, the lot of but a small portion instead of about two-thirds of the people." Mr. Mill gives the fullest confirmation of this view, by showing from statistical evidence and the testimony of various writers, that the countries of Europe where population increases most slowly, and where prudential motives in this respect are found to operate most powerfully and most generally, are countries of peasant proprietors. Among these he instances especially Norway, Switzerland, and France; in the last of which countries, population, as shown by the census returns, has of late years been almost entirely stationary.

In summing up his opinions on the whole subject of peasant properties and their effects, Mr. Mill says, "As a result of this inquiry into the direct operation and indirect influences of peasant properties, I conceive it to be established that there is no necessary connection between this form of landed property and an imperfect state of the arts of production; that it is favourable in quite as many respects as it is unfavourable, to the most effective use of the powers of the soil; that no other existing state of agricultural economy has so beneficial an effect on the industry, the intelligence, the frugality, and prudence of the population, nor tends on the whole so much to discourage an improvident increase of their numbers; and that no existing state, therefore, is on the whole so favourable, both to their moral and their physical welfare. Compared with the English system of cultivation by hired labour, it must be regarded as *eminently beneficial to the labouring class*. We are not on the present occasion called upon to compare it with the joint ownership of the soil by associations of labourers."

METAYERS.

In the preceding pages we have considered two very different systems of agricultural economy, those of the peasant proprietors and of the large tenant farmers. In the first, there is no division of the produce, but the whole belongs to the small proprietors themselves; in the second, it is divided among three separate classes, of landlords, capitalist farmers, and hired labourers. We may now turn our attention to the other two forms of land tenure at present existing in Europe, those of the Italian metayers, and of the Irish cottiers. In both of them the produce is divided between two parties, the labourer or small farmer, who rents and tills the soil, and the landlord who owns it. In the case of the metayer, the capital by which the farm is stocked and cultivated is furnished either in whole or in part by the landlord, but in the case of the cottier, by the tenant. The essential difference between the two systems, however, does not consist in this, but in another circumstance; namely, that in the metayer system the rent is determined by *custom*, and the labourer has virtually a *fixed tenure* of his farm; while in the cottier system, the rent is determined by *competition*, and there is no *fixity of tenure*. This difference in regard to the fixity of tenure, is a point of the very highest importance. So important is it indeed, that while the metayer system is considered by those who are best acquainted with it, to be, upon the whole, very favourable to agriculture, and still more so to the condition of the peasantry, the cottier system is ruinous to both. Mr. Mill holds that "the very foundation of the economical evils of Ireland is the cottier system," and that its total abolition is "the only real, permanent, and radical reform in the social economy of that long-suffering country."

In the metayer system, which we may first consider, the rent paid by the small farmer is not a fixed sum, but a certain proportion of the produce, after deducting what is considered necessary to keep up the stock. This proportion is usually one-half, as the name *metayer* denotes; but in several parts of Italy, as for instance, in some provinces of Naples, it is two-thirds. Whether one-half or two-thirds, however, it is always the same in the same district; being fixed not by law, but by long-established custom or usage. No landlord in these districts ever thinks of asking more, nor any tenant of offering less, than the usual rent; and as long as this is paid, the tenant is considered to have a title to retain his farm. This virtual fixity of tenure, like the amount of the rent, is the effect of custom and not of law. "Usage," says M. de Sismondi, speaking chiefly of the metayers of Tuscany, "governs alike all these engagements, and supplies the stipulations which have not been expressed; and the landlord who attempted to depart from usage, who exacted more than his neighbour, who took for the basis of the agreement anything but the equal division of the crops, would render himself so odious, he would be so sure of not obtaining a metayer who was an honest man, that the contract of all the metayers may be

considered as identical, at least in each province, and never gives rise to any competition among peasants in search of employment, or any offer to cultivate the soil on cheaper terms than one another." In like manner M. de Chateauevieux says, in speaking of the metayers of Piedmont, "They consider their farm as a patrimony, and never think of renewing the lease, but go on from generation to generation without writings or registries." In some parts of Italy, however, as in certain provinces of Naples, and in Lucca, there is not the same fixity of tenure; and it is to this that Sismondi attributes the present state of these provinces, where, though the cultivation is excellent, the people are miserably poor.

The effects of the metayer system, in its best form, are in some respects similar to those of peasant properties, though less advantageous, both as regards the agriculture and the physical and moral well-being of the labourers. "In both these particulars," says Mr. Mill, "the metayer system has the characteristic advantages of peasant proprietors, but has them in a less degree." The metayer has not so strong a motive for exertion as the peasant proprietor, for the one obtains only half the produce, while the other obtains the whole; but he has a stronger motive than the hired labourer, or even than the tenant-farmer who has no lease, for the latter is liable to have his rent raised, or, as an alternative, to be ejected from his farm, if he increases its produce in any marked degree. The metayer is his landlord's partner, assisted by his capital and advice, and sharing equally with him in their common gains; and where custom gives him a permanent right to his farm so long as the usual engagements are fulfilled, he has much of the feeling of a proprietor, and of the happiness, security, and affectionate interest in the soil, naturally arising from it. Moreover, the situation of the metayer is almost as favourable as that of the peasant proprietor, to a prudent restraint on population—the circumstance with which, in this as in other systems, the happiness and prosperity of the people are most inseparably connected. Whether the half produce of their farms is sufficient to support the metayers in comfort, "depends," says Mr. Mill, "in any given state of agriculture, on the degree of subdivision of the land; which depends on the operation of the population principle. A multiplication of the people, beyond the number that can be properly supported on the land or taken off by manufactures, is incident to a peasant proprietary, and of course not less but rather more incident to a metayer population. The tendency, however, which we noticed in the proprietary system, to promote prudence on this point, is in no small degree common to it with the metayer system. There, also, it is a matter of easy and exact calculation whether a family can be supported or not. If it is easy to see whether the owner of the whole produce can increase the production so as to maintain a greater number of people equally well, it is a not less simple problem whether the owner of half the produce can do so." While these are the advantages of the system, it has one characteristic defect, pointed out by Adam Smith and other writers, and which is not found in the case of peasant properties, or of large farms under long leases—namely, that the metayer can never be expected to lay out any of his own capital on the land, or to make any improvements at his own expense, since the landlord would obtain an equal share of the profits. All improvements, therefore, which require an outlay of capital, must be made with the capital of the landlord. Where the landlords are wanting in spirit and enterprise, or the metayers have a dislike to innovation, this defect in the system is undoubtedly, as even its advocates seem to admit, a serious hindrance to improvement.

The metayer system has been condemned in the strongest terms by most English authorities. "Wherever it has been adopted," says Mr. McCulloch, "it has put a stop to all improvement, and has reduced the cultivators to the most abject poverty." The same opinion is expressed by Arthur Young, and also by Mr. Jones, in his "Essay on the Distribution of Wealth." Mr. Mill, however, holds that the impressions of all these writers have been taken chiefly from the experience of France before the Revolution; at which time the great bulk of the French peasantry were metayers, but differed in the most essential respects from the same class in Italy. They had no fixed tenure of their farms, but were looked upon as little better than menial servants, removable at pleasure, and obliged in all things to conform to the will of the landlords. Moreover, while in Italy it is a necessary part of the agreement that the proprietor pays all the taxes, in France before the Revolution the nobles were exempt from direct taxation, and the whole burden was thrown upon the peasantry, who were ground down by the most oppressive fiscal exactions. So miserable a state of things, it is evident, can furnish no argument against the metayer system in its better form.

A very different picture is given by the most accurate observers, of the results of the system in Italy. In Lombardy and Piedmont, according to M. de Chateauevieux in his "Letters from Italy," the farms are seldom above sixty acres in extent, or less than ten, and are all occupied by metayers at half profit. They uniformly display "an extent and a richness in buildings rarely known in any other country in Europe." The cultivation is excellent, and the net as well as the gross produce very large, as is shown by the number and size of the towns. "The number of cities is prodigiously great. . In no part of the world are the economy and the management of the land better understood than in Piedmont, and this explains the phenomenon of its great population and immense export of provisions." With regard to the condition of the metayers themselves, Chateauevieux says, speaking of the valley of the Arno, that their houses are well built and decorated with vases of flowers, the women neatly dressed, and that "almost every farm maintains a well-looking horse, which goes in a small

two-wheeled cart, neatly made and painted red; they serve for all purposes of draught for the farm, and also to convey the farmer's daughters to mass and to balls." In some other points, however, his testimony is not so favourable. "I have thus far, indeed," he says, "exhibited a delightful country, well-watered, fertile, and covered with vegetation; I have shown it divided into countless inclosures, which, like so many beds in a garden, display a thousand varying productions; I have shown that to all these inclosures are attached well-built houses, clothed with vines and decorated with flowers; but on entering them we find a total want of all the conveniences of life, a table more than frugal, and a general appearance of privation." It must be remembered, however, that the true standard with which the condition of the metayers is to be compared, is not that of the farmers of other countries, but that of the agricultural day-labourers. Not with-standing the above statement, Chateaufieux's opinion is given in favour of the system, at least in respect to Italy. "It occupies and constantly interests the proprietors," he says, "which is never the case with great proprietors who lease their estates at fixed rents. It establishes a community of interests and relations of kindness between the proprietors and the metayers; a kindness which I have often witnessed, and from which result great advantages in the moral condition of society. The proprietor, under this system, always interested in the success of the crop, never refuses to make an advance upon it which the land promises to repay with interest. It is by these Advances and by the hope thus inspired, that the rich proprietors of land have gradually perfected the whole rural economy of Italy." The testimony most favourable to the system, however, is that of M. de Sismondi, who had abundant opportunities of knowing it in all its details, having been himself a resident proprietor in Tuscany. He notices, like Chateaufieux, the friendly relations between landlord and tenant, and between the tenantry themselves, resulting from the system, and the good effects thus produced on the moral condition of society. "People have often spoken," he says, "of the gentle and benevolent character of the Tuscans, but the cause which has above all contributed to preserve this amiability, has not been sufficiently remarked; it is that which has withdrawn the peasantry, forming more than three-fourths of the population, from almost every occasion for dispute." As regards the material condition of the metayers in that part of Italy, Sismondi says that their houses are always at least two, and sometimes three, stories high, and contain two, three, and often four bed-rooms, besides a kitchen, store room, and stabling for two cattle, on the ground floor. The stock of cooking utensils and other necessary articles, though rude, is "sufficiently complete," and the beds well provided with sheets, coverlets, and mattresses both of straw and wool. The food of the peasantry "is wholesome and various; its basis is an excellent wheaten bread free from bran and from all mixture." The linen and working clothes of the family are all woven by the women, and the supply of them for each member of the household is most ample. "One could scarcely imagine," says Sismondi, "what a quantity of linen and of coarse stuffs the peasant women are able to accumulate by their assiduous labours; what a number of sheets are to be found in the common store; how abundantly the several members of the family are supplied with under-linen, and with waistcoats, trousers, petticoats, and gowns." In marriage, it is usual for the bride to bring with her as dowry not only a very large wardrobe of dresses and linen, but a sum of money, which, in the case of a family in his neighbourhood described by Sismondi, amounted to 300 francs, or £12. "The most common dowry," he says, "for the peasant women in the rest of Tuscany where the farms are larger, is 100 crowns, or 600 francs."

"Is this poverty or consistent with poverty?" says Mr. Mill, after quoting the above passages. "When a common, M. de Sismondi even says *the* common, marriage portion of a metayer's daughter is £24 English money, equivalent to at least £50 in Italy and in that rank of life; when one whose dowry is only half that amount has the wardrobe described, which is represented by Sismondi as a fair average, the class must be fully comparable, in general condition, to a large proportion even of capitalist farmers in other countries; and incomparably above the day-labourers of any country, except a new colony or the United States." "I do not offer these quotations," he says again, "as evidence of the intrinsic excellence of the metayer system; but they surely suffice to prove that neither 'land miserably cultivated' nor a people in 'the most abject poverty' have any necessary connection with it, and that the unmeasured vituperation lavished upon the system by English writers, is grounded on an extremely narrow view of the subject. I look upon the rural economy of Italy as simply so much additional evidence in favour of small occupations with permanent tenure." Mr. Mill, accordingly, gives it as his opinion, that although the metayer system is not one which we should seek to introduce where it has not naturally established itself, yet neither is it one which we should be eager to abolish, merely from an *a priori* view of its disadvantages, in places where it already exists, and is found in practice to be attended with beneficial results.

COTTIERS.

WE may now consider the system of land tenure which prevails so widely in Ireland, and which, as we have seen, Mr. Mill declares to be the "very foundation of the economical evils" of that country—namely, the cottier

system. In it, the land belongs to a landlord, and is let out to small farmers, or "cottiers," who cultivate it with their own labour and capital; and the rent is settled by competition, so that there is no fixity of tenure beyond the duration of the lease. Until a few years ago, it may be said that nearly the whole agricultural population of Ireland were cottiers, except in so far as the Ulster tenant-right constitutes an exception. There were, indeed, a numerous class of labourers who were unable to obtain any farm, however small, from the landlords, and were obliged therefore to support themselves by working for hire; but even these were usually paid by the cottiers and larger farmers who employed them, not with money, but with a piece of ground called "conacre," which was sublet to them for the season, and for which they nominally agreed to pay a money rent, but in reality worked it out by so many days' labour. In one way or another, therefore, nearly all the peasantry lived by renting small pieces of land, which they cultivated with their own labour and that of their families, with or without the occasional help of others, and of which they had no permanent or secure possession.

In the cottier system, the produce being divided between two parties, the labourer or small farmer and the landlord, it is evident that the share of each must depend upon that of the other. The condition of the labourer, therefore, depends upon the amount of the rent. Now the rent, being settled by competition, depends on the relation between the demand for land and the supply of it; or (since the demand depends on the number of competitors, and the competitors are the whole rural population) on the proportion between population and land. If population be too numerous, the competition for land will be intense, rents will be forced up, and the people extremely poor; if population bear a due proportion to the land and to the agricultural skill, rents will be low, and the people will enjoy abundance. Even under a cottier system, there could be no poverty if population were sufficiently restrained. "If we could suppose cottier tenancy to exist," says Mr. Mill, "among a people to whom a high standard of comfort was habitual; whose requirements were such, that they would not offer a higher rent for land than would leave them an ample subsistence, and whose moderate increase of numbers left no unemployed labourers to force up rents by competition, save when the increasing produce of the land from increasing skill would enable a higher rent to be paid without inconvenience: the cultivating class might be as well remunerated, might have as large a share of the necessities and comforts of life, on this system of tenure as on any other."

It is not, however, under a cottier tenancy that a high standard of comfort is to be looked for. "A cottier system," says Mr. Mill, "has the disadvantages of the worst metayer system, with scarcely any of the advantages by which, in the best form of that tenure, they are compensated." Many causes, indeed, contribute to render this system of tenure in the highest degree ruinous, both to the agriculture and to the condition of the peasantry. Under it there are all the disadvantages of a want of capital and education in the cultivators, and none of the benefits derived from a fixed possession of the soil. The cottier has not, like the metayer, the assistance of his landlord's capital, nor has he the security and independence of the peasant proprietor, or of the metayer to whom custom gives a permanent right to his farm so long as the usual engagements are fulfilled. His motives for exertion and the improvement of his little holding, are far less than theirs; for any increase in the value of the land would only expose him to have his rent raised after the termination of the lease. The only protection against this would be the growth of some custom, which would have the effect of limiting the rent, and preventing any rise in it except such as might happen to be sanctioned by the general feelings of the community. The Ulster tenant-right is a custom of this kind. In Ulster, it is usual for a tenant, even without any lease, to receive a considerable sum, amounting not unfrequently to as much as from ten to sixteen years' purchase of the rent, or even more, for the goodwill of his farm. This sum is given in the full confidence that the rent will not be raised, and is, in the great majority of cases, not a compensation for improvements, but a mere life insurance or purchase of immunity from outrage; and it is to the want of a similar tenant-right and the settled determination to obtain it, that the agrarian outrages which have so long desolated other parts of Ireland, and from which Ulster has been comparatively free, are mainly to be attributed. "The disorganised state of Tipperary, and the agrarian combination throughout Ireland," says the author of the "Digest of Evidence taken before Lord Devon's Commission," "are but a methodised war to obtain the Ulster tenant-right." "Even in Ulster, if the tenant-right be disregarded, and a tenant be ejected without having received the price of his goodwill, outrages are generally the consequence." A right of this kind, however (which in Ulster is entirely the effect of custom and not of law), has great difficulty in establishing itself: for the interests of the landlords are decidedly opposed to it, since rent, if not restricted, has a constant tendency to increase in a country advancing in wealth and population. Without some such protection for the tenant, cottier agriculture can scarcely fail to be of the poorest kind; and although the peasantry themselves might be in easy circumstances if population were kept within proper bounds, yet there are many things in the system itself, which render it, like the system of hired labour, by no means favourable to prudence in this most important point. In both, there is an uncertainty with regard to the means of providing for children, and a temptation to rely on chance, which are among the most fruitful causes of over-population. Moreover, whilst the peasant proprietor, or the metayer with fixed tenure, cannot be injured except by their own improvident increase, the cottier and the day-labourer are liable to

be injured by the improvident increase of other people also, which of course materially diminishes the motives for restraint.

Such are the evils and uncertainties of the cottier system, even in the most favourable circumstances. But in over-peopled countries, there is another evil superadded, which may be looked upon as the grand and characteristic vice of the system, and has the effect of reducing the peasantry to the very lowest depths of poverty and wretchedness. This is, the evil of *nominal rents*; or, in other words, rents so extravagantly high, that it is impossible for the tenants to pay them, and, therefore, after giving up all they can, they remain habitually indebted to the landlord. Such rents are almost a necessary consequence of the cottier system, where over-population exists and the competition for land is excessive. "While rents are fixed by competition," says Mr. Mill, "and the competitors are a peasantry struggling for existence, nominal rents are inevitable, unless the population is so thin that the competition itself is only nominal." A large farmer, who farms for profit, will not offer a higher rent for land than will leave him the ordinary rate of profit on his capital; but the labourer, who farms for subsistence, and whose only chance of obtaining it with any certainty is to have a piece of ground, will offer any rent, although quite conscious of his inability to pay it, even by the utmost exertions. If he does not succeed in obtaining a farm, he is ruined, and he cannot be worse than ruined if he does. How naturally and inevitably the evil of nominal rents springs from the cottier system, and how extensively this evil prevailed in Ireland before the thinning of the labour-market by the recent emigration, may be seen by the following passage, quoted by Mr. Mill from a pamphlet on the "Evils of Ireland, their causes and remedy," by Mr. Revans, the Secretary of the Irish Poor Law Commission. "As it may be fairly said of the Irish peasantry," says Mr. Revans, "that every family which has not sufficient land to yield its food has one or more of its members supported by begging, it will easily be conceived that every endeavour is made by the peasantry to obtain small holdings, and that they are not influenced in their biddings by the fertility of the land, or by their ability to pay the rent, but solely by the offer which is most likely to gain them possession. The rents which they promise, they are almost invariably incapable of paying; and consequently they become indebted to those under whom they hold, almost as soon as they take possession. They give up, in the shape of rent, the whole produce of the land with the exception of a sufficiency of potatoes for a subsistence; but as this is rarely equal to the promised rent, they constantly have against them an increasing balance. The peasant remains constantly in debt to his landlord; his miserable possessions—the wretched clothing of himself and of his family, the two or three stools and the few pieces of crockery, which his wretched hovel contains, would not, if sold, liquidate the standing and generally accumulating debt. The peasantry are mostly a year in arrear, and their excuse for not paying more, is destitution. Should the produce of the holding in any year be more than usually abundant, or should the peasant by any accident become possessed of any property, his comforts cannot be increased; he cannot indulge in better food, nor in a greater quantity of it. His furniture cannot be increased, neither can his wife or children be better clothed. The acquisition must go to the person under whom he holds. The accidental addition will enable him to reduce his arrear of rent, and thus to defer ejection. But this must be the bound of his expectation." As an extreme instance of the height to which rents are forced up by competition, Mr. Hurley, the Clerk of the Crown for Kerry, mentions the following fact in his evidence before Lord Devon's commission:—"I have known a tenant bid for a farm that I was perfectly well acquainted with, worth £50 a year; I saw the competition get up to such an extent, that he was declared the tenant at £450."

"In such a condition," says Mr. Mill, "what can a tenant gain by any amount of industry or prudence, and what lose by any recklessness? If the landlord at any time exerted his full legal rights, the cottier would not be able even to live. If by extra exertion he doubled the produce of his bit of land, or if he prudently abstained from producing mouths to eat it up, his only gain would be to have more left to pay to his landlord; whilst, if he had twenty children, they would still be fed first, and the landlord could only take what was left. Almost alone amongst mankind, the Irish cottier is in this condition, that he can scarcely be either better or worse off by any act of his own. If he were industrious or prudent, nobody but his landlord would gain; if he is lazy or intemperate, it is at his landlord's expense. A situation more devoid of motives to either labour or self command, imagination itself cannot conceive. The inducements of free human beings are taken away, and those of a slave not substituted. He has nothing to hope, and nothing to fear except being dispossessed of his holding, and against this he protects himself by the *ultima ratio* of a defensive civil war. Rockism and Whiteboyism are the determination of a people who have nothing that can be called theirs but a daily meal of the lowest description of food, not to submit to being deprived of that for other people's convenience."

The result of this most miserable of all systems, was a state of poverty, beggary, and degradation, which for its extent and continuance can scarcely find a parallel in the history of civilised nations. It may be worth while to give a few additional facts in order to show more clearly what the state of Ireland was previous to the famine of 1846 and 1847, when the cottier system was almost universal. According to the report of the Irish Census Commissioners in 1841, the subdivision of the land was extremely minute; the number of farms (exclusive of small holdings of less than an acre) being nearly seven hundred thousand, of which about half were between

one and five acres in extent, and about five-sixths between one and fifteen acres. Besides the small farmers, there was a still more numerous body, amounting to upwards of a million, of agricultural labourers, who lived by "conacre," by wages, and not unfrequently by reclaiming small patches of land from the bogs and waste. Altogether the number of families engaged in agriculture was between two and three times as great, in proportion to the arable land, as in England, and the rural inhabitants formed nearly seven-eighths of the whole population. The rate of wages, as ascertained by the Commissioners appointed in 1834 to inquire into the condition of the poor in Ireland, was miserably low, varying from a shilling a day in some parts of Ulster, down to tenpence and eightpence a day in Leinster and Munster, and only sixpence a day in Connaught, in which province, especially in the county of Mayo, the condition of the peasantry was most wretched. "The whole world," says Mr. Thornton, in his work on Over-population and its Remedy, "can scarcely furnish a parallel to the desperate condition of Mayo." Even these miserable wages could be earned, in general, for only about six months of the year, in consequence of the immense over supply of labour in proportion to the demand; so that Mr. Inglis, in a passage quoted by Mr. Buckle, estimated the average wages of agricultural labourers throughout Ireland, as amounting only to fourpence a day. In summer and winter—the seasons when little or no employment was to be had—they subsisted on the produce of their little plot of conacre land, and when that was finished, and there was no employment, as was usually the case in the summer months, they were put to the most desperate straits to obtain a living. Those who could afford it migrated to England in search of harvest work, while the unfortunate poor who remained behind were reduced to the brink of starvation. As there was no poor-law in Ireland until 1838, their only resource was to send out their wives and children to beg, or to support themselves by eating wild plants, such as nettles and corn kale, on which they often lived for weeks together. There were instances in the evidence collected by the Commissioners, of persons who had repeatedly remained without any food at all for twenty-four and even forty-eight hours. In the north-eastern parts of the island, the labourers (or at least those of them who had anything like regular employment) were better off than elsewhere; in the south-eastern and midland counties their condition was decidedly inferior; while the western districts were the worst of all. The state of the small farmers or cottiers was very little better than that of the labourers. "In fact," says Mr. Thornton, "they are only nominally superior to the labourers, and they are constantly falling into the exact position of the latter, when, as happens to numbers of them every year, they are dispossessed of their little holdings." As to the dwellings of the peasantry, they were usually wretched hovels, built of stone or of mud, and sometimes divided into two compartments, but never having a second story; with a floor consisting merely of the bare ground, a roof of straw without any ceiling, and sometimes a pane or two of glass for a window, but not unfrequently only a square hole which was stuffed with straw at nights and in cold weather. In such cabins or in single rooms of larger houses, about five-sixths of the whole number of Irish families were lodged at the time of the census of 1841. Half of the cottages in the province of Munster had no bedsteads, but the inmates lay on straw spread out on the floor, without blankets or any other covering than the clothes they wore in the day-time. In Connaught the destitution was still greater; indeed in one parish in Mayo it was ascertained that there were only four hundred beds to a population of upwards of ten thousand persons, and in a village containing two hundred and six persons there were just thirty-nine blankets. The clothing of the people was of the poorest and coarsest kind, and often consisted merely of rags and the cast-off garments of others. In one parish of Connaught, there were found to be more than three thousand persons who had not bought a single article of dress worth speaking of for five years. As to their food, it consisted, in some parts of Ulster, of meal, potatoes, and milk; but in Kerry, Connaught, and generally throughout the west of Ireland, it was confined almost solely to the potato.

The above description may help to convey an idea of the miserable condition of Ireland previous to 1846, and of the sufferings and disorders which made that country for so many years the chief difficulty of the British Government. Nothing, however, was done by Parliament to remedy the system of land tenure which lay at the root of the evils, but an attempt was made to palliate its effects and to alleviate the worst cases of destitution, by means of a poor law, enacted in 1838. The help, however, which government was unwilling to afford, came from another and an unexpected source. After the potato failure and famine of 1846 and 1847, in which such miseries were endured, the people, hopeless of better things in their own country, began to emigrate in vast numbers to America, those who went before sending over money to pay the passages of their friends at home; and to such an extent did this emigration proceed, that the census of 1851, as compared with that of 1841, showed a diminution of the Irish population amounting in round numbers to a million and a half. It is no doubt possible that the stream might continue to flow, and that, however much the employment for agricultural labour may hereafter be diminished by the general introduction throughout Ireland of the large farming system, the superseded people might seek a refuge in other lands as so many of their countrymen have done before them. "Those," says Mr. Mill, "who think that the land of a country exists for a few thousand landowners, and that as long as rents are paid, society and government have fulfilled their function, may see in this consummation a happy end to Irish difficulties.

"But this," he continues, "is not a time, nor is the human mind in a condition, in which such insolent pretensions can be maintained. The land of Ireland, the land of every country, belongs to the people of that country. The individuals called landowners have no right, in morality and justice, to anything but the rent, or compensation for its saleable value. With regard to the land itself, the paramount consideration is, by what mode of appropriation and of cultivation it can be made most useful to the collective body of its inhabitants. To the owners of the rent it may be very convenient that the bulk of the inhabitants, despairing of justice in the country where they and their ancestors have lived and suffered, should seek on another continent that property in land which was denied to them at home. But the legislature of the empire ought to regard with other eyes the forced expatriation of millions of people. When the inhabitants of a country quit the country *en masse*, because its government will not make it a place fit for them to live in, the government is judged and condemned. It is the duty of Parliament to reform the landed tenure of Ireland. There is no necessity for depriving the landlords of one farthing of the pecuniary value of their legal rights; but justice requires that the actual cultivators should be enabled to become in Ireland what they will become in America—proprietors of the soil which they cultivate."

Mr. Mill, accordingly, in the four earlier editions of his work, recommended in the strongest terms that immediate steps should be taken by Government to convert the cottier tenantry of Ireland into peasant proprietors, with a fixed possession of their farms. "Rent paid by a capitalist," he says, "who farms for profit, and not for bread, may safely be abandoned to competition; rent paid by labourers cannot, unless the labourers were in a state of civilisation and improvement, which labourers have nowhere yet reached, and cannot easily reach under such a tenure. Peasant rents ought never to be arbitrary, never at the discretion of the landlord; either by custom or by law, it is imperatively necessary that they should be fixed; and where no mutually advantageous custom, such as the metayer system of Tuscany, has established itself, reason and experience recommend that they should be fixed by authority; thus changing the rent into a quit-rent and the farmer into a peasant proprietor." The most direct and obvious way of doing this would have been by an Act of Parliament, fixing the rents throughout Ireland at a fair valuation, and thus converting the tenants into copyholders—who are virtually equivalent to freeholders; a proposal which formed one of the demands of the Repeal Association and of the Tenant Right League, and was long and zealously advocated by Mr. Conner, under the name of "a valuation and a perpetuity." Such a measure, however, although it would have been no violation of property, if the landlords had been allowed the option of giving up their lands at the full market-value, was open to serious objections in various respects, as it would have dispossessed of their estates the whole body of Irish landlords, the good as well as the bad, and, moreover, it is not desirable either for the agriculture or the people themselves, that all the land of a country should belong to peasant proprietors, without any large farms or wealthy capitalists to lead the way in improvements; and accordingly Mr. Mill recommends that the object in view should rather be sought by other and milder measures. Of these he proposes the two following. One is, to enact that any person in Ireland who reclaims a piece of waste land shall become its possessor, at a quitrent calculated on its mere value as waste: a necessary part of which enactment would be, that the landlords should be obliged to give up any portion of waste land (not of an ornamental character) which was required for the purpose of reclamation. The other measure (which is of particular value and importance, as it might be carried out by private individuals or societies, not only with immense advantage to the people, but with profit to themselves) is to buy up as much as possible of the land offered for sale, and sell it again in small portions. The operation might be repeated as often as the funds were set free. A Society with this object was at one time projected under the auspices of the Tenant Right League, on similar principles to those Freehold Land Societies which have been so successfully established in England, with a view chiefly to electoral purposes.

After making the foregoing remarks and proposals, Mr. Mill adds in the fifth edition of his work—"Thus far I had written in 1856; I have not changed any of the opinions I then expressed. But I feel that they are no longer susceptible of practical application. The new state of things created in Ireland by the vast decrease of her population, and by the effects of that greatest of boons ever conferred on her by any government, the Encumbered Estates Act, has rendered the introduction, on a large scale, of the English agricultural system for the first time possible in that country. The present population of Ireland is now not greater than can be supported on that system in a state of comfort probably equal to the average lot of English farm labourers. The general improvement in agriculture is already most striking; and the improved scale of subsistence which is now becoming habitual to the people, together with the familiarity they have now acquired with the resource of expatriation, will probably prevent them for a considerable time from relapsing, through improvident multiplication, into their former degraded state. Ireland therefore is not in a condition to require what are called heroic remedies. The benefits to that country of peasant proprietorship would be *as great as ever*; but they are no longer indispensable; a prospect has opened to her of making a great advance in civilisation without that aid. But though she can now do without peasant proprietors, she cannot do without the total extinction of cottier tenancy. Unless that is rooted out, the whole fruits of the improvement now in course of being effected, will be

and remain precarious. The lapse of another generation will show, whether the landlords of Ireland, now weeded of the reckless and bankrupt portion who formerly held so much of the land, and recruited by the substitution of a more moral and intelligent class, will improve the opportunity by the successful accomplishment of this the only real, permanent, and radical reform in the social economy of that long suffering country."

In the sixth edition of his work, and in the people's edition taken from it, Mr. Mill modifies the opinion here expressed. He observes that, notwithstanding the improvement which has taken place in Ireland of late years, the agricultural labourers and displaced cottiers are still extremely poor, the cost of living having increased as well as the rate of money wages; and he strongly urges the necessity for creating a class of peasant proprietors. In his powerful pamphlet lately published, on "England and Ireland," Mr. Mill goes much further than this; the crisis in Ireland appears to him so exceedingly grave, and the embitterment of feeling towards this country, arising from the long continuance of the iniquitous land system, so full of danger, that he thinks the strongest measures necessary, and proposes at once to bring the whole soil into the possession of the tenantry in the manner above described—namely, by commuting the present variable into a fixed rent.

I have entered somewhat more fully into the above momentous subjects in a little pamphlet on "the Irish Land Question" published last year (1867). It first appeared, like the present one, in the columns of the *National Reformer*, whose editor, Mr. Bradlaugh, has lately issued an admirable pamphlet on "The Irish Question," and has rendered most valuable service by numerous addresses delivered throughout the country on the great and pressing subject of justice to Ireland.

PRIMOGENITURE, ENTAIL, AND EXPENSES OF TRANSFER.

We have now considered two out of the three questions relating to landed property which we proposed to examine; namely, first, the nature of the right of property in land, the grounds which justify it, and the conditions by which it should be limited; and secondly, the different systems of land tenure existing in Europe, and the comparative advantages of each. We now come to the third and remaining question; namely, to the causes which have led to the unjust and unequal division of the soil in Great Britain and Ireland, and the means by which it best admits of being remedied. An idea of the immense size of estates in this country, and of the workings of a system which keeps the land in the hands of a few thousand proprietors, to the almost complete exclusion of the labouring class from any share in its benefits, may be gathered from the following passage in Mr. Emerson's "English Traits." "The Marquis of Breadalbane," says Mr. Emerson, "rides out of his house a hundred miles in a straight line to the sea, on his own property. The Duke of Sutherland owns the county of Sutherland stretching across Scotland from sea to sea. The Duke of Devonshire, besides his other estates, owns 96,000 acres in the county of Derby. The Duke of Richmond has 40,000 acres at Goodwood, and 300,000 at Gordon Castle. The Duke of Norfolk's Park in Sussex is fifteen miles in circuit. These large domains are growing larger. The great estates are absorbing the small freeholds. In 1786, the soil of England was owned by 250,000 corporations and proprietors; and in 1822, by 32,000." Such a state of things does not arise from any natural tendency in landed property to collect in such masses, but has been brought about chiefly by the laws of inheritance, and the difficulties in the way of the purchase and sale of land. It may be traced, in the main, to three causes—the expenses in the transfer of land, the law and custom of primogeniture, and the law of entail, which we may now briefly consider.

The expenses in the transfer of land consist partly in a tax, or stamp duty, of 10s. per cent, (or, in other words, 2s. 6d. for every £25 of the price of the land) which is levied by Government on the deed of conveyance: and also, in a far greater degree, in the difficulty of proving a title, together with other obstacles arising from the defective state of the law. With regard to the Government duty, all taxes of this kind, which impede the free transfer of land or other instruments of production, are strongly condemned by Adam Smith and by Mr. Mill, since they prevent property from passing into the hands of those who are likely to make the best use of it. "All taxes must be condemned," says Mr. Mill, "which throw obstacles in the way of the sale of land or other instruments of production. Such sales tend naturally to render the property more productive. The seller, whether moved by necessity or choice, is probably some one who is either without the means, or without the capacity, to make the most advantageous use of the property for productive purposes; while the buyer, on the other hand, is at any rate not needy, and is frequently both inclined and able to improve the property, since, as it is worth more to such a person than to any other, he is likely to offer the highest price for it. All taxes, therefore, and all difficulties and expenses annexed to such contracts, are decidedly detrimental; especially in the case of land, the source of subsistence, and the original foundation of all wealth, on the improvement of which, therefore, so

much depends. Too great facilities cannot be given to enable land to pass into the hands and assume the modes of aggregation or division, most conducive to its productiveness. If landed properties are too large, alienation should be free, in order that they may be subdivided; if too small, in order that they may be united. All taxes on the transfer of land should be abolished."

The great obstacle to the easy transfer of land, however, is not the Government duty, but the defective state of the law, in matters relating to real or immovable property. "The imperfections of the law, both in its substance and in its procedure," says Mr. Mill, "fall heaviest upon the interests connected with what is technically called *real* property; in the general language of European jurisprudence, immovable property. With respect to all this portion of the wealth of the community, the law fails egregiously in the protection which it undertakes to provide. It fails, first, by the uncertainties, and the maze of technicalities, which make it impossible for any one, at however great an expense, to possess a title to land which he can positively know to be unassailable. It fails, secondly, in omitting to provide due evidence of transactions by a proper registration of legal documents. It fails, thirdly, by creating a necessity for operose and expensive instruments and formalities (independently of fiscal burthens) on occasion of the purchase and sale, or even the lease or mortgage, of immovable property. And fourthly, it fails by the intolerable expense and delay of law proceedings, in almost all cases in which real property is concerned." These legal ex- penses, in proving the title, drawing out deeds, &c., as well as the stamp duties, fall principally on the seller of land, and have the effect of diminishing its value; for land in old countries is seldom parted with except from reduced circumstances or other urgent need, which forces the seller to dispose of it, even at a disadvantage; whereas the buyer is influenced in his offer by the interest which he could obtain for his money in other investments, and will not, generally speaking, give in addition a sum for which he has no return. Besides injuring the seller, the uncertainty of the title and other legal difficulties and expenses must often prevent capital from being laid out in the improvement of the soil, and are a most serious obstacle to the transfer of land, especially in small portions. "The expense of making transfers," says Mr. Mill, "operates to prevent land from coming into the hands of those who could use it to most advantage; often amounting, in the case of small purchases, to more than the price of the land, and tantamount, therefore, to a prohibition of the purchase and sale of land in small portions, unless in exceptional circumstances. Such purchases however, are almost everywhere extremely desirable, there being hardly any country in which landed property is not either too much or too little subdivided, requiring either that great estates should be broken down, or that small ones should be bought up and consolidated. To make land as easily transferable as stock, would be one of the greatest economical improvements which could be bestowed on a country; and has been shown, again and again, to have no insuperable difficulty attending it." It is to be hoped that this great improvement will speedily be effected, since a bill for facilitating the transfer of land, by granting a secure title, and other provisions, is now (June, 1862) before Parliament. Such a measure, if passed into law and found sufficient for its object, will be one of the very greatest boons which Government could confer on the people.

This most important measure has since passed, and came into operation in October, 1862. The objects of the Land Transfer Act, as stated in the preamble, are threefold: in the first place, to give a secure title to landed property; secondly, to facilitate the proof of the title; and thirdly, to diminish the expenses of transfer or mortgage. The first of these objects is effected by the establishment of a Land Registry Office, where the title deeds to estates are examined by a registrar and others, and an indefeasible or unassailable title granted if they are found to be valid. After the title-deeds have been examined and approved, the applicant must furnish to the registrar an exact description of the land, of the persons having an interest in it, and of the debts or incumbrances (if any) upon it; and if, after public notice has been given of the intention to register, no objection is made, these are respectively entered in three books, called "The Register of Estates with an Indefeasible Title," "The Record of Title to Lands on the Registry," and "The Register of Mortgages and Incumbrances." By this registration the title becomes indefeasible. The entries are made in the shortest form consistent with accuracy, a deed of several pages being usually compressed into the space of a few lines. On application, the owner of a registered estate is furnished with a land certificate, containing copies of the entries in the registry books; and any incumbrancer can in like manner have a certificate of his incumbrance. The second object—namely, to facilitate the proof of the title—is effected not only by the above measures, but also by a provision of the Act, whereby any interest or incumbrance, of any kind whatsoever, arising in an estate after its registration, must be entered either in the Record of Title or Register of Incumbrances, as the case may be. To insure this being done, it is expressly enacted that no unregistered interest or incumbrance shall prevail against the title of any subsequent purchaser for value, registered under the Act. The entries in the registries, therefore, form in fact an abstract of title, by which any intending purchaser or mortgagee is enabled to learn, almost at a glance, the title to the land, as well as any debts which may exist upon it. The third object—to diminish the expenses and delays attendant on the transfer or mortgage of land—is effected by the ease and rapidity with which the title to registered land can be proved; and also by rendering the mode of conveyance as short and

simple as possible. In the schedule to the Act, forms are provided for the transfer of registered land, for its transfer by endorsement on the land certificate; for its mortgage; and for the transfer of mortgage; all of them in the shortest possible form. No equitable mortgage on registered land can be created by a deposit of the title-deeds, but only by a deposit of the land certificate. Registered land may also be conveyed by any deed, will, or other instrument by which land not registered may now be conveyed or dealt with.

The Act also provides for the registration of estates *without* an indefeasible title. For this purpose it is only necessary that the applicant should have been in receipt of the rents, as owner of the fee simple, for ten years continuously prior to the date of application, and that he produce to the registrar the last deed or will (if any) under which he derives title. The advantages of registration without an indefeasible title, are, that it will evidence all subsequent dealings with the land, just as in the case of registration with indefeasible title; so that after an estate has been on the registry for a few years, purchasers or mortgagees may possibly accept the title without further investigation; and, moreover, the registrar is empowered to fix a time when the title will become indefeasible.

It should be observed that under the Land Transfer Act, only freehold estates, or long leaseholds, can be registered, but not copyholds; and also that registration is entirely *optional* on the part of the landlords, who can register their lands or not, as they please, and can at any time withdraw them from the registry. Moreover, although any proprietor having the necessary qualifications can register his estate with an indefeasible title, the title will in reality only be indefeasible in the hands of purchasers for value and mortgagees, and persons claiming through them; but the actual proprietor at the time of the registration, cannot obtain *for himself* an indefeasible title under the Act. Persons who have contracted for the purchase of land, and who have the vendor's consent, may apply to have it registered with indefeasible title. The advantage of registering land with an indefeasible title, even in cases where there is no immediate intention of selling it, is that its sale at any future period will be facilitated, and a better price almost certainly obtained for it, from the security of the title in the hands of a purchaser. As the public notices of the intention to register (which must be served on all persons who have any interest in the land, as well as on all the adjoining tenants and landowners) are only issued after the applicant's title has been approved by the registrar, the rejection of a title by the latter on the ground of its not being marketable, will not be a matter of any publicity. Moreover, as a further means of guarding against publicity, no one will be permitted to inspect the registry books, except the owners of the registered estates, or incumbrancers, or mortgagees, or their solicitors or agents, or except by an order of the Court of Chancery.

Although the transfer of land has been greatly facilitated by the creation of the Land Registry Office in this country, and of the analogous institution, the Landed Estates Court, in Ireland, there seem to be two things still needed for the further improvement of the system; namely, first, that transfer should be made even less expensive, and secondly, that registration, instead of being optional, should be made compulsory, so as to include the whole land of the country. Professor Cairnes, in a letter quoted in the sixth edition of Mr. Mill's "Political Economy," remarks that one great cause which prevents the Irish tenantry from buying land is that the expenses of transfer, even in the Landed Estates Court, are still high enough to form a very considerable part of the purchase money, when land is bought in small portions. "The cost of transferring land in small portions is," he says, "relatively to the purchase money, very considerable, even in the Landed Estates Court. The cheapest conveyance that could be drawn in that Court, where the utmost economy, consistent with the present mode of remunerating legal services, is strictly enforced, would, irrespective of stamp duties, cost £10—a very sensible addition to the purchase of a small peasant estate; a conveyance to transfer a thousand acres might not cost more, and would probably not cost much more." A still more serious impediment to the sale of land in small portions, according to Professor Cairnes, is the complicated state of the ownership of land arising from intricate wills and settlements, "which renders it frequently impracticable to subdivide a property into such portions as would bring the land within the reach of small bidders." Again, it is evident that the immense advantages connected with an indefeasible title and a public registry of contracts affecting land, can only be obtained in a very minor degree so long as registration is left optional; for in this case a comparatively small number of estates are entered on the registry. It seems to me that registration might be made compulsory and universal, by enacting that all estates, which their owners do not wish to register immediately with an indefeasible title, should be registered *without* an indefeasible title, and that after a certain number of years (during which a record would be kept of all dealings with the land) the title, if unquestioned, should become indefeasible.

Of all the obstacles to a satisfactory distribution of landed property, however, the most important are the laws of primogeniture and entail. These laws are the grand causes of the unequal division of the soil and over-growth of estates, and exercise an influence, both economically and politically, which can hardly be over-estimated. Their effect in preventing the subdivision of land, and leading to its accumulation in large masses, is easily understood. According to the English law of primogeniture, when a man dies without a will, the land and other immovable property go to the eldest son, or, if there be no sons, are divided equally among

the daughters; while the movable or personal property (deducting the widow's portion, if there be one) is divided equally among all the children, the eldest son included. It is true that this law applies only to cases of intestacy, and that an individual is free to dispose of his property, whether real or personal, in any other way that he pleases. But although the law itself comes into operation in comparatively few cases, it has a most powerful effect in keeping up the *custom* of primogeniture, and rendering it nearly universal; for the example set by the legislature tends to maintain a feeling and a habit in society, and to excite expectations in the heir-at-law which few parents are willing to disappoint. Moreover, it is in the power of any proprietor, by entailing his estate, to prevent its alienation by his successors; so that the right of bequest is, to a very great extent, more a name than a reality.

The system of primogeniture is opposed to all natural feelings of justice, and is condemned in the strongest terms both by Adam Smith and Mr. Mill. The latter objects also, though on very different grounds, to the French law of inheritance; according to which law (enacted in 1791) all property, whether real or personal, is divided equally among the children, and the parent has no power of bequest, except over a portion of it equal to the share of one child. "Neither of these systems, I apprehend," says Mr. Mill, "was introduced, or is perhaps maintained, in the countries where it exists, from any general considerations of justice, or any foresight of economical consequences, but chiefly from political motives: in the one case to keep up large hereditary fortunes, and a landed aristocracy; in the other to break these down, and prevent their resurrection. The first object, as an aim of national policy, I conceive to be eminently undesirable; with regard to the second, I have pointed out what seems to me a better mode of attaining it." The means to which Mr. Mill here alludes, and which he recommends in another part of his work, is to limit, not the right of bequest as in France, but the right of inheritance, so that no one should be allowed to inherit more than a certain sum, to be fixed at a moderate competence.

The reasons generally given in defence of primogeniture are partly of an economical character, and partly political. Among the arguments of the former class, the most frequently brought forward are the two following. Primogeniture, it is said, is an advantage to society, because, by limiting the fortunes of the younger children, it forces them to exert themselves, and prevents them from falling into habits of idleness and dissipation: or, as Dr. Johnson, himself a high Tory, expressed it, because it "makes but one fool in the family." This argument, however, as Mr. Mill remarks, tells rather in favour of limiting the eldest, as well as the other children, to a moderate provision, and thereby saving them from the evils and temptations which too often make large hereditary fortunes a curse instead of a blessing to the possessors themselves. Mr. McCulloch (who, like Dr. Johnson and Edmund Burke, is a zealous defender of the system) puts the same arguments in a somewhat different form. According to him the advantages of primogeniture consist in the contrast it gives rise to between the eldest and the younger children: the great wealth of the former acting as an object of ambition and stimulus to exertion on the part of the latter, and having a tendency at the same time, to raise the standard of living amongst all classes of society, "who never think their fortunes sufficiently ample unless they will enable them to emulate the splendour of the richest landlords; so that the custom of primogeniture seems to render all classes more industrious, and to augment, at the same time, the mass of wealth and the scale of enjoyment." But though it may be true that many people are urged to more active exertions in amassing wealth, by the hope of rivalling the large fortunes of others, it is by no means necessary for this purpose that the fortunes should be hereditary. Those which have been acquired by individuals themselves, by their own honest industry and intelligence, answer the purpose quite as well, and indeed far better. In America there is no primogeniture, and yet no one accuses the Americans of want of energy or insufficient ardour in pursuit of wealth. Neither does this pursuit, among the civilised nations of modern times, by any means stand in need of factitious stimulants; on the contrary, the thirst for inordinate riches, for mere purposes of ostentation and display, is one of the passions which most requires to be moderated, and to have its place supplied by other and higher aims and interests. "As to the deeper consideration," says Mr. Mill, "that the diffusion of wealth, and not its concentration, is desirable, and that the more wholesome state of society is not that in which immense fortunes are possessed by a few and coveted by all, but that in which the greatest possible number possess and are contented with a moderate competency, which all may hope to acquire; I refer to it in this place only to show how widely separated, on social questions, is the entire mode of thought of the defenders of primogeniture, from that which is partially promulgated in the present treatise."

The other economical argument commonly used in defence of primogeniture is one to which I have already alluded in speaking of peasant properties; namely, that the equal division of inheritances among the children leads to an excessive subdivision of the soil, which is ruinous to agriculture as well as the condition of the peasantry. "This argument," says Mr. Mill, "eternally reproduced, has again and again been refuted, by English and continental writers." It assumes that people will habitually act in a manner opposed to their immediate pecuniary interests. When the value of an estate would be diminished by subdivision, it is evidently the interest of those who inherit it, either to hold it in common, or to make it over to one of the coheirs, charged with

mortgages in favour of the others; or to allow it to be rented by a neighbouring farmer or proprietor; or, finally, to sell it, and divide the proceeds. All of these methods, and especially the last, are commonly practised in countries of peasant proprietors. In Flanders, for example, Professor Rau says, that "the habit of not dividing properties, and the opinion that this is advantageous, have been so completely preserved, that even now, when a peasant dies, leaving several children, they do not think of dividing his patrimony, though it be neither entailed nor settled in trust; they prefer selling it entire, and sharing the proceeds, considering it as a jewel which loses its value when it is subdivided." A similar feeling must prevail very widely in France, as is shown by the great frequency of the sales of land, amounting in ten years to one-fourth of the whole soil of the country. When we add to these considerations the remarkable effect of peasant properties, already noticed, in preventing over-population, we have the best grounds for concluding that there is no necessary connection between an equal partition of inheritances and an undue subdivision of the soil; a conclusion which is fully borne out by the rapid progress in wealth and in agricultural improvement, and above all, by the flourishing condition of the small proprietors in those countries of the continent where primogeniture and entail have been abolished.

"Unless a strong case of social utility can be made out for primogeniture," says Mr. Mill, "it stands sufficiently condemned by the general principles of justice; being a broad distinction in the treatment of one person and of another, grounded solely on an accident. There is no need, therefore, to make out any case of economical evil *against* primogeniture. Such a case, however, and a very strong one, may be made. It is a natural effect of primogeniture to make the landlords a needy class." In almost all countries of great landowners the majority of estates are deeply loaded, with debt, partly from the custom of mortgaging them in favour of the younger children, and partly from the expensive habits of the proprietors, whose real are seldom equal to their apparent means, and who are therefore constantly tempted to live beyond their incomes. Hence not only are the proprietors without the means of improving their estates, but they would, in numberless cases, be ruined by their own and their predecessors' extravagance, and be obliged to part with the land, were it not for the contrivance of entails.

By an entail, the order of succession to an estate is irrevocably fixed in a certain line, so that each proprietor has only a life-interest in it. He is therefore unable to sell the land, or even permanently to burden it; but, however deeply he may himself become embarrassed, the estate passes free of debt to his successor. "The economical evils arising from this disposition of property," says Mr. Mill, "are partly of the same kind, partly different, but on the whole greater, than those arising from primogeniture alone." When an estate is entailed, the proprietor can no longer ruin his successor, but he can still ruin himself, so as to be without the means of improving his property; while, even if he has the means, he is much less likely to use them for this purpose, since he cannot burden the estate with provisions for the younger children, but is obliged to provide for them in other ways. Moreover, as the heir of entail cannot be disinherited, he is in a great measure emancipated from parental control, and has more than the ordinary chance of contracting habits of idleness and dissipation.

In former times, entails could be created in perpetuity, and even now they are much more rigorous in Scotland and most other places where they exist, than in England. In the latter country, a landowner has the power of settling his estate upon any number of persons successively who are living at the time, and upon one unborn person, on whose attaining the age of twenty-one, the entail expires, and the estate becomes his absolute property. If not prolonged, therefore, the average duration of English entails might perhaps be estimated at about fifty or sixty years. It has been found necessary, moreover, to relax by statute the rigor of entails, so as to allow not only of long leases and the execution of improvements at the expense of the estate, but also of mortgages, in favour of widows and younger children. Many have contended that English entails, thus modified, are not injurious; but the truth is, that even in England, entails very rarely expire, since the first heir of entail, when of age, usually joins with the existing proprietor in resettling the estate for a further term of years. When we consider the immense number of landed properties which are tied up in this way—the entailed estates in Scotland, according to Mr. McCulloch, amounting in 1847 to one-half or more of the whole soil of the country—we can see how extremely powerful an engine is entail, together with primogeniture, for keeping, the land in the possession of a few, and preventing its diffusion among the great body of the people. Primogeniture is a remnant of the feudal system, and at one time prevailed in almost every part of Europe; but both it and entail have been abolished in several continental countries, including Norway, Switzerland, Prussia, and France. In the States of North America, too, they were abolished at or soon after the Revolution. In some countries, such as France and Prussia, the law of compulsory equal division of inheritances has been adopted. The great objection to this law, as Mr. Mill remarks, is that it deprives parents of the right of bequest, and entails all property on the children collectively; thus converting into a legal claim what should be only a free gift, and postponing a real to an imaginary right of property. While the English law is unjust to the younger children, and especially to the daughters, the French law is unjust to the parent. In other and minor points, too, it is open to serious objections, for cases not unfrequently occur in which an exact equality of division is not desirable, or cannot well be effected by the inflexible rules of the law; and besides, the system leads to frequent

legal interferences in the affairs of individuals, not only on the occurrence of a death, but even during the lifetime of the parents, to prevent them from frustrating the legal claims of the children, by giving away the property to others. The plan which Mr. Mill considers to be in itself the best and the most desirable, is to limit the right of inheritance, and not the right of bequest; so that every person should have the power of bequeathing the whole of his or her property, but no one should be allowed to inherit more than a certain sum. However, as a measure of this kind is too far removed from ordinary ideas to be likely to be taken into consideration for a long time to come, he recommends, as an intermediate course, that the three following changes should be made in the present laws of inheritance. He proposes, in the first place, that the law of primogeniture in cases of intestacy, should be abolished; secondly, that collateral inheritance should cease—or, in other words, that in cases where there is no will, and no heirs either in the descending or ascending line, the property should not go to collateral relatives, as at present, but to the state; and thirdly, that the power of entailing property on unborn persons should be abolished, but that in other respects the right of bequest should remain, as at present, unlimited. "As an intermediate course," he says, "I would recommend the extension to all property of the present English law of inheritance affecting personal property (freedom of bequest, and, in case of intestacy, equal division); except that no rights should be acknowledged in collaterals, and that the property of those who have neither descendants nor ascendants, and make no will, should escheat to the state." All owners of property, he holds, "should have power to dispose by will of every part of it, but not to determine the person who should succeed to it after the death of all who were living when the will was made. Under what restrictions it should be allowable to bequeath to one person for life, with remainder to another person already in existence, is a question belonging to general legislation, not to political economy. Such settlements would be no greater hindrance to alienation than any case of joint ownership, since the consent of persons actually in existence is all that would be necessary for any new arrangement respecting the property."

If these great changes were effected, the present monopoly of the soil would soon come to an end. When once the legislature had ceased to favour the eldest sons, the custom of primogeniture would lose its chief support, and would be gradually abandoned; and even if it were for a time kept up by individual proprietors, there would no longer be a power of entailing estates, so as to preserve them for generations in the same family, in spite of any recklessness or extravagance on the part of their owners. In this way the land would be thrown open to free competition, the great estates would be broken down, and the soil would gradually assume the forms of aggregation or division, most favourable to its productiveness. More and more, in the course of time, both the land and the capital would tend to become the property of the working classes themselves; in consequence of the great principle pointed out by Mr. Mill, that all instruments of production have a tendency, in the long run, to come into the possession of those who can use them with the greatest advantage. The system of agriculture which Mr. Mill regards as the best, and as likely in the end to prevail, is not that of peasant proprietors—though he considers the latter to be "greatly preferable in its aggregate effects on human happiness, to hired labour in any form in which it exists at present"—but the joint ownership of the soil by co-operative associations of labourers. "A people," he says, "who have once adopted the large system of production, either in manufactures or in agriculture, are not likely to recede from it; and when population is kept in due proportion to the means of support, it is not desirable that they should. Labour is unquestionably more productive on the system of large industrial enterprises; the produce, if not greater absolutely, is greater in proportion to the labour employed; the same number of persons can be supported equally well with less toil and greater leisure; which will be wholly an advantage, as soon as civilisation and improvement have so far advanced, that what is a benefit to the whole is a benefit to each individual composing it." For these reasons, and also for its great moral benefits in promoting public spirit, generous sentiments, and ideas of justice and equality, Mr. Mill regards the co-operative system as the one which is to be aimed at, and which is ultimately destined to prevail, in agriculture as well as in manufactures; although he holds that peasant properties are of the utmost value in the meantime, especially when combined with a due admixture of large farms managed by wealthy capitalists, who can lead the way in experiments and improvements. "It is the general opinion of those who are equally well acquainted with both," he says in comparing the large and small systems of cultivation, "that improvement is greatest under a due admixture between them."

The abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, is, it seems to me, the very greatest reform, of an economical kind, which could at present be effected in the laws of the country; and no effort should be spared in order to obtain it. These laws are the chief support of a hereditary aristocracy, and are the greatest of all legal obstacles to the happiness and well-being of the people. Their removal would be an act, not only of the highest utility, but of the clearest and strictest justice; and would, I believe, be of far greater importance to the interests of society, and especially of the labouring classes, than even the abolition of the corn laws, and other measures founded on the beneficent principle of Free Trade.

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The Dawn of Animal Life:

A Lecture

Delivered in

The City Hall, Glasgow,

March 2nd 1875;

Under the Auspices of

The Glasgow Science Futures Association.

By Professor W. C. Williamson, F.R.S.,

The Owens College, Manchester.

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The Dawn of Animal Life.

I AM not quite sure that the title of the lecture may not in some degree mislead you. It speaks of the dawn of life. At the first glance you might suppose that I was going to take you back into those mysterious ages, about which our excellent friend, Sir William Thomson, gave us a few hints of his own at Edinburgh, when life in any form first made its appearance upon earth. But that is not the subject which we are going to study; though were we to do so, I will venture to say that it would yield to no other in importance and interest.

I want rather to lead you to that particular part of our inquiry which has reference to objects that we see living under our own eyes, whose life-history we can trace, and yet which are entirely different from the things with which we are more usually familiar; they constitute the one pole of life of which man, the summit of all organisation, constitutes the opposite and highest pole.

You cannot have paid any attention to your own individual condition without feeling alive to the fact that your physical frame is an exceedingly complicated one. You know you have a number of organs, and a number of functions are performed by these organs. You have, in fact, a separate organ for every function, and every separate organ has a function of its own, that cannot be interchanged with the function of any other organ. In

social life you may get your friend to do your work for a day or a week; but when you ask the eye to do the work of the mouth, the tongue the work of the nose, or the nose the work of the ear, you know that such an interchange is impossible.

But when we go to the opposite pole of animal life, what do we find? Have we there the same complex structure, or the same division of duty? Do we find separate parts, which can be distinguished under the microscope, and in which we can trace this corresponding division of functions? I propose to give you the answer to this question to-night; and I think I shall be able to shew you, before we have finished our evening's work, that the lowest animals are the very opposite of man in the points to which I have referred; that there is none of this difference of organisation—none of this speciality of part—none of this isolation—this separation of organs for the fulfillment of particular work; but that every part of the animal can do equally well what any other part of the animal can [unclear: do.]

We scientific men are frequently accused of using [unclear: hard] words. I venture to admit the charge, and justify it in very simple and intelligible way, by proving that there [unclear: in] another black as black as our own. I will ask you [unclear: a] take up any ladies' crotchet-book, and if Sir [unclear: William] Thomson or any of our learned friends on the platform behind me can tell you, unless they receive special [unclear: feminizing] instruction, the meaning of the marvellous symbols in the book, I will give them credit for possessing even [unclear: more] genius than I already do. What do I mean by this? mean there are certain special ideas which have to [unclear: be] represented by certain figures, letters, or words; the symbols, when employed in the crotchet-book, are designed to shew you to lift up your needle here and put it through there. Technical movements must be performed in order to produce the wonderful crotchet patterns, and there [unclear: at] particular symbols made to represent these different moments. A lady learns to understand the symbols [unclear: the] moment she sees them, and conceives it natural anybody else should do the same; but when she comes to botanical or zoological terms, she thinks there is something wrong the invention of all the hard names, though they are necessary to science as her own technical terms are needlework.

But I promise you to use as few such as possible, and this I shall be better able to do because the objects about which I have to speak are limited in number.

Let me tell you in the first place what you must do. Go to some water-tub that may be standing near your house, scoop up a little fluid from the inner surface of the cask, and in all probability you will find that the water there contains more minute jelly-like objects than elsewhere. Or take a similar drop of water from an old neglected flower-pot that has been standing in the rain for weeks. If these fail, get a drop of water from the bottom of some pond. If you examine it under the microscope, you are sure to find in it some little spots, as if drops of diluted gum had been introduced into the water. What are these gum-like substances? I will tell you, and in doing so use the first of my big words. Fortunately this word is one you all know something about. It is one that some five or six years ago almost seemed to frighten England from its propriety. I mean the word protoplasm. You all, I daresay, remember my friend Professor Huxley's celebrated Essay on Protoplasm. Now, I am going to talk to you to-night almost exclusively about this Protoplasm in one form or another. This same little drop of jelly is neither more nor less than a speck of protoplasm. But what is protoplasm? The very name signifies that it is the primary raw material out of which other things are organised. You have blood circulating in your veins. If you examine a drop of it under the microscope you will find it filled with little red granules; red corpuscles, as they are called. Each one of these is essentially a little granule of protoplasm; if you examine that blood a little further, you find moving amongst these red particles a few white and somewhat larger ones. Note these latter particles well, and you will see that they are very similar things to my little drops of gum or jelly that you find in the water. Not only so, but you will see that these two things agree in one important point—viz., they frequently change their shape. Now they are round, now oval, and indeed now pushing out little projections from their margins. These atoms of protoplasm in the blood differ extremely little in their essential features from the simplest form of animal life with which we are acquainted. What is the condition of this earliest form?

In fig. 1 you have one of the smallest forms of this little animalcule, called the Protamoeba, the first and earliest form of the Amoeba, which latter, in plain English, is called the Proteus animalcule, because, like the mythic Proteus of old, it is perpetually changing its shape. Like the white globule in our blood, it is round now, oval five minutes hence, and in ten minutes more it may become altogether different.

What does he do when about to feed? There is near him a little tempting morsel, and he contrives to come into contact with it. He does not bite it, because he has no teeth. He does not take it into his mouth, for he has no mouth. He does the next best thing. He just edges himself up to it, and having done that, he contrives to imbed the morsel in his body. There is no aperture into his body, and whichever side he brings into contact with the food is equally efficient. He contrives to bury the particle in his substance, and so long as it is there he is extracting some amount of nourishment from it, after which he ejects it. It is a simple sort of proceeding, but efficient for the accomplishment of its end.

How does he multiply himself? By a process equally simple—viz., he splits himself in two. A simpler process than that you cannot find. When you were children, and wanted to share your cake with a younger brother, you divided it in two; but mark the difference between the Protamœba and the cake. When you divided the cake, you had only the two halves left. There was no increase of growth in each half of the cake to reward your virtue. But when the Protamœbæ have divided, simple as they are in structure, they contrive to extract some nutriment out of the water, so that in a short time each of the two halves becomes as big as the original creature was. This little act, performed by the simplest and most lowly of all animal organisations, shews that in them there resides that all-important power which we call vitality, and the possession of which, as I think, I shall be able to prove to you before I have done, distinguishes the organic from the inorganic world, and demonstrates the *existence* of life.

Let me now take you a step farther. Fig. 2 is a little fellow similar to the one already described. Observe that he differs in having a little speck, *a*, in his interior which looks as if it meant little, but it means a great deal. We have here made an advance in the complexness of organisation. We have put our foot on the first rung of the ladder which will gradually lead us up to that summit which man occupies. Here is an organ of which we do not know the exact nature, but which we trace in an infinite variety of shapes both in animal and vegetable life. It has important functions of some kind or other to perform, otherwise it would not be so widely diffused. This little object is called the nucleus.

Fig. 1.

Protamœba.

Fig. 2.

a. Nucleus.

Fig. 3.—Amœba.

a. Nucleus, *b*. Contractile Vesicle, *c*. Vegetable objects upon which the Animal is Feeding, *d*.

Pseudopodian Extensions of the Protoplasm.

Let us now advance from the Protamœba to the Amœba itself. Fig. 3 represents one of the varied forms that it assumes. We have here, at *a*, a nucleus, like that in fig. 2. We find also at *b* a little transparent spot, and as that is always present we may be sure we have here an additional organ. This transparent spot expands for a few minutes, is filled with a colourless fluid, and then probably bursts; at all events it disappears. It is a Contractile Vesicle; but what its function is we do not know. We do know that when it has contracted in the way I have described, it re-appears in the same spot, and in this way goes on expanding and contracting almost as regularly as your heart contracts and expands, but with very much longer intervals. Possibly it concentrates some nutritive essence, and every time it contracts or bursts, diffuses this essence through the system. I will not vouch for the correctness of this explanation, but here is undoubtedly a second organ, indicating an important advance in the complexness of the organisation. So far as nourishment is concerned, we find no change. The letters *c, c, c*, indicate objects which we know to be plants, upon which the creature is feeding. It has buried them in its substance, and is extracting nourishment out of them.

Thus we see that, though we have made this amount of progress in the development of the organism, we have not really attained to anything materially new in the physical or physiological history of the animal. It multiplies in the same way as the Protamœba, dividing into two; or sometimes poking out a little bit of an arm, as at *d*, it pinches off a bit of its tip, which floats away, and starts life as a new independent creature. At the same time, notwithstanding these successive subdivisions, the creature itself grows, maintaining its original size, and undergoes its usual variations of form.

Such is the history of the Amœba or Proteus animalcule—a history simple, it is true, but which gives us a clue to a very large number of other histories very much more complicated. At the first glance you may be disposed to say, What is the use of studying a little object like this? The same question might be applied to the minute forms of vegetable life, upon which I have no time to enter. If we had time to study all these minute plants, it would not be unprofitably spent, as they exhibit similar phenomena, demonstrating how universal are the laws upon which nature is built up, and by which she acts. Such studies *are* of real use, because they throw a light even upon the constitution of man.

We must now turn to one of the most mysterious objects with which I am acquainted; one to which our attention was originally directed—as our attention is frequently directed—by the friend, whose name I was delighted to hear you cheer so heartily a few moments ago—I mean Professor Huxley. Examining some of the sediments brought up from the deep sea, and with which I shall have something to do in a few minutes, he discovered that the mud so brought up had a slimy character about it. He found that when portions of it were put into water in a fresh state, a sticky substance diffused itself in the water but with a definite outline, just as if you had dropped thick gum into the water, and the two refused to mix. He noticed the fact that imbedded in this gum-like substance there were numerous minute, organised points, which he called Cocoliths. He came to the conclusion, which I have no doubt was strictly correct, that this gum-like material, to which he gave the name of Bathybius, was an animal substance very similar to that of the Amœba, or Proteus animalcule, but with this difference, that whilst the Proteus animal was capable of being put under the microscope, being an almost invisible speck, the Bathybius substance extended for hundreds and perhaps for thousands of miles along the sea-bottom. Wherever certain materials formed the sea-bed, there you had this Bathybius. Whether we may speak of it as one animal, or an almost worldwide aggregation of minute animal points, I cannot say; but I agree with Professor Huxley in regarding this Bathybius as a condition of animal life in its very lowest form.

Dr. Dawson, of the Macgill College, Montreal, Dr. Carpenter, and two or three others, have investigated the earliest form of animal life yet found in a fossil state; this peculiar structure, called the Eozoon, has built up calcareous masses at the bottom of the sea on a very gigantic scale. These masses seemed to the above observers—and I think they are correct—to be the products of an animal having had a very wide diffusion, the nature of which has been something like that of the Amœba. Now, it gives a strong probability to these views, that we have at the bottom of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and in various parts of the Pacific, at the present day, also on a very gigantic scale, a similar animal substance to that which Dr. Carpenter and others believe to have existed in ages gone by, and which Constructed the calcareous Eozoon.

I will next direct your attention to some other curious forms. If you take up a little sand from favourable localities on the sea-shore, you will find that it frequently contains large numbers of exquisite, minute shells. Hooke, a celebrated microscopist in the days of Charles II., noticed the existence of these shells in sea-sand. From that time to the present, they have, at intervals, been made the objects of special study. They have at different times been put into all sorts of classes, and no wonder, since being so exquisitely beautiful and symmetrical, it is difficult to suppose they ever could have been formed by animals so low in the scale of organisation as the creatures that really did form them. They are now known by the name of Foraminifera, and the majority of them are so small as to be like dust. Unless the vision is aided by the microscope or the magnifying glass, you would not suppose them to be organised objects. They are so exquisite in texture and outline, and so variable in form, that Nasmyth, the engineer, always insisted that one little group which I keep in a microscopic slide, should be called "The School of Design." He said it contained more ideas for patterns and designs than he ever saw within so small an area. In most of these shells there are numerous chambers. Sometimes, as in fig. 4, these chambers are arranged in a straight line; in other cases they zigzag backwards and forwards, right and left alternately, as in fig. 5; and in others again they are spiral, as in figs. 6 and 7. These chambers represent so many successive growths. The shells, in many instances, are

Fig. 4.

Nodosaria.

Fig. 5.

Textillaria.

perforated with numerous holes, as in fig. 6. The name of Foraminifera has been given to these objects because of these little holes. What do these perforations mean? I will tell you. The shells are made up of lime, which the creatures obtain from the sea in which they live. The animals that tenant these shells are objects very like the Proteus animal. Fig. 8 represents one of these creatures with the animal inside. Notice streaming from its shell numerous delicate threads, which often blend together. Now, these threads are prolongations of the animal protoplasm exactly similar to those of the Amœba. They are much finer and more delicate, but in other respects are the same thing. These threads are called Pseudopodia, which means false feet; but they do more than act as feet, for they evidently collect from the sea the nourishment upon which the creatures subsist. When the shell has become too small to hold the growing protoplasm, a new joint or segment is formed at the end of those already

Fig. 6.—Young shell of *Discorbina Turbo*, shewing the foraminated walls of the chambers.

Fig. 7.—Young shell of *Peneroplis planatus*, with a non-foraminated shell, *a.* Primary segment, *b.* Aperture, *c.* Series of segments. *d.* Septa separating the successively added segments, *e.* Canals connecting the different segments, and once forming the orifice, like *b*, when each segment was in turn the outermost one. The same letters of reference apply to Fig. 6.

existing. The new ones grow out of the old ones like buds. Their arrangement is endlessly diversified.

The point that I next wish particularly to impress upon you is, that these shells have played, and are still playing a very important part in the physical history of the globe. It was remarked by Dr. Buckland thirty years ago, that these microscopic creatures, or similar ones, have played a far more important part than elephants, lions, or tigers, in the history of the globe. I will now prove to you that they have done so.

Fig. 8.—The same shell as fig. 6 with the soft animal projecting its numerous pseudopodia, *a*, through the foramina in the shell-wall.

Fig. 9 represents a round Foraminifer, consisting of a single joint with a little aperture serving as a mouth. This is the *Orbulina*. We find it in mud dredged up from our own North Sea,

Fig. 9.—*Orbulina* in its common condition. *a.* Oral aperture.

Fig. 10.—Upper surface of shell of *Globigerina bulloides* as usually found, *a.* The newest segment.

Fig. 11.—Under surface of fig. 10. *a*. The newest segment. *b*. The oral aperture.

between the Scotch coast and the Shetland isles. It early became plain to me that this little animal was a deep-sea form. I always found it associated with the shell, figs. 10 and 11, and which is so minute that it looks, when you view a lot of it with the naked eye, like the finest dust. A breath will suffice to blow it out of the box in which I keep it. This latter shell is the little object which has been the chief agent in modifying the crust of the globe.

When Ehrenberg, the great Prussian microscopist, was pursuing his investigations, and shewing the power of his genius by working with tools for which you would not give twenty shillings (it was not the tools, but the eye he contrived to put behind them that did the work) amongst other things he put under the microscope a little bit of powdered chalk. He found, to his perfect astonishment, and the astonishment of all of us, that the white Chalk, which runs in an almost unbroken line of elevated Downs from Flamborough Head to Dover and Beachy-head, and other points on the south-east coast of England, and which is generally about 500 feet in thickness—is neither more nor less than a vast accumulation of these minute shells. Not only so, but many of the shells of which that chalk consists are either the identical species represented by figs. 10, 11, or a variety of it, very slightly modified. The forms I am now describing to you are found at various localities, from the North Pole to the South Pole, and from the Red Sea to the middle of the Pacific Ocean. These shells underlie the deep sea, not universally, but in detached masses of vast extent. It is difficult to realise that the mass of chalk which, after having undergone a variety of chemical changes and been subjected to immense pressure, reducing its volume, could ever have been produced by such minute agents.

When the bed of the Atlantic was surveyed, preparatory to carrying out those great works with which your distinguished townsman, Sir William Thomson, was so intimately associated, it was found that a great part of the bed upon which the electric wire was to be laid consisted of these shells. We know now that a great part of the sea bottom between us and America consists of such shells, with a few minute, siliceous objects mixed with them, and which combination in all probability constitutes a mass hundreds of feet in thickness. We have no means of ascertaining its exact depth, but it is permeated through and through with Huxley's *Bathypus*. It is in virtue of this peculiar foraminiferous accumulation, forming a soft bed for the reception of the cable, that the success of Anglo-American telegraphy is largely due.

We have recently obtained some very important information about these little objects from the "Challenger." A variety of investigations have been carried on, and different conclusions arrived at by different individuals, as to where these shells live. Some, like Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys, insisted that they live near the surface of the water, and that the deposits are merely accumulations of dead shells which have sunk to the bottom. Others contend that they live at the sea bottom and die there—that being their home. But the very last information we have had from the "Challenger" has thrown a wonderful light, not only upon the position in which at least some of these creatures live, but upon the extraordinary appearance they present when living.

It appears that when these creatures are living at the surface, both the *Globigerina* and the *Orbulina* are armed with innumerable delicate, flexible, calcareous spines, as represented in figs. 12, 13. When the animals perish these spines fall off, and the shells descend to the bottom of the ocean. Such spiny investments probably characterise the younger states of the animal.

Fig. 12.—*Orbulina* as living at the surface of the sea. *a*. Calcareous spines projecting from the shell.

We advance now to another group of objects. When, in the days of Hooke, of whom I have already spoken, attention began to be directed to the microscope, it was found that if a little vegetable matter was allowed to stand for a few days in water—in other words, to form what the druggists call an infusion—minute living objects appeared in it. Finding these objects in such infusions, and not being aware that they were to be found elsewhere, naturalists gave them the name of Infusoria. These became the special study of Ehrenberg; but he mixed up with this common group an enormous number of objects that were really plants. He was a magnificent observer, and had a wonderful genius for classification; but, unfortunately, he was not a

physiologist; consequently he gave to these vegetable forms eyes, stomachs, teeth, and a whole host of other organs, which it is not usual for plants to have. About one-half of the things called Infusoria proved to be animals, but the other half turned out to be plants. His labour, however, was not thrown away. Investigations which were pursued into the history of these creatures demonstrated that they were closely allied to the Amœba, but with a decided advance in organisation. The animal consists of a mass of protoplasm, but in the interior we have a nucleus (figs. 14, *a*, to 16, *a*), a contracting vesicle (figs. 14, *b*, to 16, *b*); in addition to these organs we find, in the first place, that each animalcule is clothed with an external skin, which the

Fig. 13.—Globigeriua. *a*. Clusters of spines projecting from each segment of the shell.

Amœba does not usually possess. Not only so, but we find that, in one part or another, there is a mouth—that is, an opening—where the skin is inverted into the interior of the animal for a very short distance like a tube, and that this is the inlet through which the food enters. The skin is furnished with innumerable minute moving threads, called cilia, resembling the vertical threads forming the *pile* of velvet, which are everlastingly at work, yet what moves them we do not know.

Figs. 14 and 14*.—A flask-shaped infusorial animal, *a*. Nucleus, *b*. Contractile vesicle. 14* is preparing to undergo fission transversely.

Figs. 15 and 16.—Paramecium. *a*. Nucleus, *b*. Contractile vesicle, *c*. Mouth. Fig. 16. is undergoing fission longitudinally.

Fig. 17.—Carchesium. A flexible branched infusorian animal, *a*. An animalcule beginning to subdivide. *b*. Another, in which subdivision has reached the flexible peduncle.

But these ciliary movements acting in a variety of ways enable the animal to swim, which is their ordinary function.

Fig. 17 represents a fixed cluster of similar objects growing like a tree; a condition produced by a process of fission which allies these creatures to the Amœba. They multiply by splitting themselves into two, the process being effected in varying directions, and with different degrees of completeness. Sometimes the division will be lengthways, as the animal represented in fig. 15 is separating into two lateral halves in fig. 16; but sometimes they take a fancy to split in the opposite direction, as fig. 14 is doing in fig. 14*. In the Infusoria generally this splitting is done effectually; but fig. 17 is a creature which has done the splitting ineffectually. One individual of this cluster originally attached itself to a fixed object, and then elongated the footstalk by which it so attached itself. It then split into two, as just described, the divisions extending into the footstalk, but not reaching its base. Similar processes were repeated again and again, as at *a* and *b*, until the organism attained to the tree-like form represented in fig. 17.

Here you have something like what I daresay you people in Glasgow understand very well, viz., practical co-operation. To a certain extent independent, each animalcule obtains its own food, but they are all acting in

harmony, nourishing the common structure of which they form mutually dependent parts. I take it something like that is the true mission of human society. No one can do without the other, any more than these animals are independent of each other. In social life we recognise that the rich are necessary to the poor, and the poor are necessary to the rich. Each have their own appropriate work to do in the world. The young require the experience of the old, and the old frequently require the energy and active force of the young. All are mutually dependent upon each other; and though it is perfectly true of any one, that society can do without us, yet, viewed as a whole, we are mutually dependent one upon another.

Fig. 18.—Cercomonad. *a*. Granular portion. *b*. Cilia.

I will now call your attention to some objects of which the history has been worked out by two gentlemen at Liverpool—Dr. Drysdale and the Rev. Mr. Dallinger. They have devoted their energies to the investigation of a very minute species of Infusoria, fig. 18, which was furnished with two large and very peculiar cilia, *b*, at one end. They noticed that when these animals multiplied they divided after the old fashion of protoplasmic structures. The protoplasm enclosed within the outer skin divided into two, these again became four, and so the divisions went on, until the bag was full, when the outer skin burst, and the enclosed objects were liberated; each of these liberated objects soon became like the parent from which they sprang.

But these observers noticed another mode of reproduction in the creatures. The lower half of each Infusorian consists of a granular substance, *a*, very different from the upper part. They found that the skin enclosing this granular part burst, and all these little granules were set free. Each of the granules soon became a new animal like the parent one.

If I had time to dwell upon the matter, I could shew you that the Amœba, the Foraminifera, and the Sponges pass through similar conditions. I wish you to note in your memory the fact, that as we descend from larger forms to forms only the one-eleven-hundredth of an inch in length, we trace precisely the same conditions of growth, of life, and of multiplication. You will see the importance of this in its bearing upon another question I will bring before you in a few minutes.

Fig. 19. Siliceous skeleton of a Polycystinean.

I will now call your attention to these curious objects from the deep sea called Polycystineæ, because they have many cysts or cavities in them. They are siliceous, or made of something very like flint. These siliceous skeletons when living are covered with a sarcode or protoplasmic substance. Figs. 19 and 20 represent two elaborate skeletons of these Polycystinæ deprived of their sarcode. They are objects belonging to the same group, and having the same low organisation as those already described.

Fig. 20.

Siliceous skeleton of a Polyeystinean.

We will pass from them to the Sponges. If time permitted I could shew you that the history of Sponges is quite as interesting as that of any of the other animals we are acquainted with. You are all familiar with the sponge of commerce—that elastic horny substance. When that Sponge was growing in the sea it was covered with slime. It is washed before it comes into your hands; if it were not, you would find it had a slimy, repulsive, nasty feeling, like that you experience when you lift up a snail. Now, this Sponge, with its horny skeleton, has a very curious history. If you notice closely you will find little punctures scattered all over its surface. When the sarcode or flesh invests it, these little pores absorb water. You will observe that at some points there are large apertures. Very generally these larger apertures form the summits of conical projections like the craters of miniature volcanoes. The water absorbed by the smaller openings passes out at the large ones.

Fig. 21 is a diagram, copied from one of Professor Huxley's, and which will illustrate what I mean. The black tint represents the substance of the Sponge, the skeleton, and the sarcode or protoplasm included. The arrows indicate the direction in which the water flows through these canals, and then emerges through the larger volcano-like apertures (fig. 21, *a*). It has long been a perplexing question how the water is forced through, but it lately has been discovered how this is done. It is found that some of the canals expand into little chambers, *c*, which are lined with cilia, or little appendages like those which enable the Infusoria to move. These are in

constant action. The interior of the human mouth, as well as the interior of the bronchial tube and lungs, are lined with these cilia, which are constantly moving in such a peculiar way that the movement appears to be always in one direction. Their action resembles that of a field of corn when a breeze is blowing over it. We see wave after wave going from one side to the other, but we know very well that although the heads of corn appear to be travelling in that direction, the corn does not go, but that this appearance is caused by the sudden bending down of the corn in one direction, and the slower restoration of it to its old position. The quick movement strikes the eyes, but the slow movement is not noticed. Something of the same kind exists in these cilia. The consequence is that in the Sponge these little cilia keep up a movement in one direction, just as those in the interior of the lungs keep up a movement from within towards the

Fig. 21.—Diagrammatic representation of a section of a Sponge. *a.* Exhalant aperture, *bb.* Inhalant apertures, *c.* Ciliated chambers, *d.* Surface tissue.

throat. But for this movement we should be in danger of choking. The action causes an outward flow of mucus, and brings it up through the windpipe towards the throat where, by a vigorous cough, we can throw it out. Just in the same way the cilia of the Sponge produce currents in the sea water, which is drawn into the Sponge at the points *b, b*, and is being expelled again at the larger aperture *a*.

I have now shewn you the life-history of the Sponge, so far as mere nutrition is concerned. But Sponges will die like other folks, and their place has to be refilled; before shewing you how this is done, let me describe some other features of their internal structure.

First, observe that, in addition to the horny substance that forms the skeleton of the Sponge, we have spicula—little spines. Sometimes they are like pins with heads to them, and sometimes like needles. Sometimes the spikes are adorned with all sorts of fringes, constituting some of the most beautiful objects that you can purchase from dealers in microscopic curiosities. These spicula form additions to the skeleton. We find in one group that they consist of carbonate of lime. In such instances they are triradiate, like the three legs of the coat-of-arms of the Isle of Man. When three points radiate from a common centre you may be sure they are calcareous, but when they are like needles you may generally conclude that they are siliceous.

One new form of Sponge has been brought to us within the last few years, the first specimen of which is now in the British Museum. For this specimen £30 was paid. Then a few more came to England, and they were sold at prices ranging from ten to fifteen guineas. One day a friend of mine connected with the custom-house in London, was at the custom-house, when another of the officers said to him, "Come here and I will shew you something that will astonish you." He pointed to one box in which there were hundreds of these costly objects, then to a second which contained a similar number. Nobody could find out whose they were, or to whom they were consigned; nor, up to the present day, has it been discovered, so far as I know, where they went to. Now and then an odd one came out, and was sold for ten guineas; now, however, they are to be bought for a few shillings each. The Euplectella, as this Sponge is called, is the loveliest object ever produced either by nature or art, and in saying that I am aware I am saying a very strong thing. It is sometimes called the Venus's Flower-basket, and is composed of delicate threads of silica, like spun glass, arranged in regular geometric patterns. It is almost incredible that so exquisite a design could be produced by a mass of jelly-like substance similar to the Amœba, and which is not one bit more highly organised than I have shewn that animal to be.

Fig. 22.—Diagrammatic representation of a section of a Hydra, *a.* Tentacles, *b.* Digestive cavity, *c.* Foot attached to a plant, *d.* A young offshoot, *e.* A similar offshoot of the third generation.

What gives that mass of jelly the power of constructing these elaborate skeletons, arranged in such geometric forms? It is the wonderful force which we recognise under the name of *Life*. When men tell me that by bringing together certain combinations of inorganic elements, they can produce gelatine and albumen, and various other animal substances with which we are familiar—seeking to make me believe they have taken the first step in producing life, I challenge them to produce anything like what I have just described. I do not deny they may succeed in getting something like albumen or gelatine, but it is essentially *dead*—it possesses none of the powers of living protoplasm.

We may next go to the Hydra, the fresh-water Polype found in the ponds of our own neighbourhood. There is a decided break between the animals I have just been describing and this Polype. Fig. 22 exhibits a much more elaborate construction than we have hitherto seen. We find arms, called tentacles, at *a*, a true stomach or digestive cavity at *b*, and a foot at *c*, by which the object attaches itself to fixed bodies. Not only so, but there are sprouts growing out of its side which are chips of the old block. These offshoots grow precisely as the bud grows from the side of a young tree. You sow the seed of the oak, and know that in due season it will spring up as a single shoot with a couple of leaves. Watch its development, and you will see that leaf forms after leaf; by and by the stem begins to throw out buds from its side, forming a branching structure. These buds are produced in a perfectly intelligible way. If I had time, I could demonstrate that the process of their formation is very much the same as that by which the branch *d*, of the Hydra has been formed. The latter shoots out from the side of the parent animal like the vegetable bud; not only so; this second generation is often seen throwing out a third one, *e*. When the organism reaches this stage, the young growths usually become detached, and pursue life on their own account. By and by similar buds form both on them and on the parent animal, repeating the same history as before. These fresh-water Polypes exhibit a life-history which gives us the clue to that of numerous animals which we find on the sea shore. You are familiar with the corallines—the northern representatives of the corals found abundantly in tropical seas. These corallines are flexible, horny, and branch very elaborately. But when we examine their mode of growth we find it to be just like that of the Hydra, with this difference—in the Hydra, the young branches become detached from the parent stem; the coralline animals, being encased in a horny coat of mail, are unable to detach their young shoots; hence they go on branching until they develop into complicated structures, often sustaining thousands and tens of thousands of Polypes upon a single stem.

Associated in the same infusions with the Infusoria about which I have been speaking, we often find another extraordinary group of creatures. Figs. 23 and 24 represent the most common of these Rotifera, as they are termed, in two states. Fig. 24 exhibits him in a somewhat quiet condition, anchored by his toes, as they are sometimes termed, to a twig of an aquatic plant. When he chooses he can extend his snout, *a*, and throw out two round wheels, as at fig. 23, *b*. When we watch the action of these wheels, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they are spinning round and round. But they are not. Round the edge of each of these circular discs there is a circle of cilia. When these cilia are in extremely quick and active motion, they give to the two discs an appearance of revolving in opposite directions, whereas, in fact, they are merely creating currents in the water which move in the directions indicated by the two arrows.

Figs. 23 and 24.—Two animals of *Rotifer vulgaris* adherent to a plant. 23 has his ciliated discs, *b, b*, fully expanded and in action, *a*. Mouth, *c*. Stomach, *d*. Longitudinal and circular muscular bands, *e*. Brain. In fig. 24 the discs have been drawn back into the anterior part of the body.

These currents are really two whirlpools which meet in the middle, and convey such particles as the water contains straight to the animal's mouth. Thus his food is brought to his very door. All he has to do, when he sees a tempting morsel, is to make a snap at it, or if it is not tempting, he lets it go by.

When I hear of a man making £100,000 honestly, I consider there is usually something more in this than mere chance. I do not much believe in luck in this world. What is termed such, is often the union of a good head, self-denial, and industry. It is the combination of these qualities that raises one man above another. The

qualities may not be of the highest intellectual order, but they are qualities worth having, provided they are honestly used. Such a man sets *his* wheels to work, and produces currents which converge at one point—his pocket. If there are any of the class of operatives present, let me remind them that the study of nature ever teaches us the necessity for mutual dependence. Remember that whilst our wealthy friend is setting these streams in motion, and they are flowing legitimately to the fixed point I have indicated, every one of them is passing your mouths, and each operative who aids in producing these currents takes his snap at the good things which they convey. He gets his share; and if he is sober and diligent, and exhibits the same qualities as his master does, he will not only rise higher and higher in the social scale, but sooner or later may be a master himself, when we may hope the streams will meet in *his* pocket.

These Rotifera have a digestive system, *c*, longitudinal and circular muscular bands, *d*, and a true brain, *e*. The bodies of these animals are so transparent that we can see everything going on within them.

The study of these Rotifera is an extremely interesting one, since there are some curious points in their history. Dr. Carpenter tried an experiment, which has also been tried by others. He froze a number of these objects in a watch glass; on thawing them again he found that whilst some had perished several were still living. He then froze the living ones a second time, when a few more were killed. A third freezing destroyed them all. These Rotifera are common in the spouts and gutters on the tops of houses. Sometimes these gutters are filled with water, when the animals are lively; but in the heat of the summer season they are often dried up, when the Rotifera are reduced to particles of mere dust. Some time ago the Rev. Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, the well known S. G. O. of *The Times*, sent me some Rotiferous dust in a pill-box. He had had it in his possession for months; but when I put a little of it into water, in less than five minutes the animals which it contained were all in full action. I first saw little specs of jelly, which in a few minutes expanded into perfect Rotifera. They had been in the dormant state in which I received them for months; but when they fairly got into the water they put their wheels to work, and looked as if they were uncommonly hungry. It was quite amusing to see how readily they took to their work of feeding. I kept some of the dry dust in my possession for seven or eight months, and at the end of that time, when a little drop of water was brought in contact with them, they were as active and vigorous as ever. Here are creatures of high organisation, yet so endowed with peculiar qualities, that whether, on the one hand, we freeze them, or on the other dry them up, they still live.

This subject of vital endurance leads us to the consideration of an allied, though different problem. You are all, probably, aware that within the last few years an old question has again come to the front and attracted the attention of both the wise and the unwise, the learned and the unlearned. I mean that of spontaneous generation.

Our forefathers two centuries ago knew little of the inner secrets of nature. They supposed that frogs and other highly organised creatures were brought into existence by spontaneous generation—meaning by that that they were formed in some mysterious way, out of dead, inorganic, slimy earth, without the previous intervention of living creatures. When investigation proved that these higher animals had not been formed in this way, men applied the same hypothesis to other creatures of a lower order. Throughout the history of this subject the advocates of this doctrine have always retreated from position to position, from the known to the unknown—in the same way that witches, races of pigmies, and anthropophagi with heads under their shoulders, were always described as existing in remote places about which little was known.

The progress of zoological knowledge having shewn that none of the higher creatures were produced by spontaneous generation, the Infusoria, of whose life-history very little was known until within the last twenty years, were confidently referred to as illustrations of the doctrine; but later investigations have shewn that none of the higher forms of these minute creatures are exceptions to the general rule that life alone produces life; and consequently the supporters of the doctrine are now compelled to fall back upon the lower Infusorial types—creatures which are so minute that the study of their life-history becomes in the greatest degree difficult, and the results of that study obscure and doubtful. Let it be distinctly remembered that wherever we have been able clearly to ascertain how their reproduction was effected, it has proved to be in the strictest accordance with that of creatures of higher organisations than themselves.

Dr. Bastian, of London, the modern advocate of the disputed doctrine, makes certain infusions, and he finds that certain minute objects appear in them, which he declares to have been produced by spontaneous generation. He heated the fluids in which these things are developed, raising them to such a temperature as, in his opinion, must necessarily kill all the germs of life. The experiments, we are assured by him, were conducted under such precautions that no such germs could re-enter the infusions from the surrounding air. Yet these infusions still exhibited, in a short time, minute forms of animal and vegetable life. On the other hand, a very distinguished naturalist in Paris, M. Pasteur, declares that if such experiments are properly conducted so that the heat is equally diffused, every germ being actually killed, and no new germs admitted, this result will not be obtained. It is necessary for you to understand that the air is literally filled with such germs; you inhale them with every breath you take; whether or not they produce disease, as some suppose them to do, I will not venture to say.

In these cases the question resolves itself into one of accuracy of observation. My friends, Dr. Roberts, of

Manchester, Professor Huxley, and others, have gone over the same ground as Dr. Bastian has done, and their conclusions are more in accordance with those of Pasteur than of Bastian. They say that when the observations are properly carried on, and care is taken to exclude life from the bottles, no germs re-appear.

I venture to affirm that in cases of this kind one positive observation is worth a hundred negative ones. If Dr. Bastian tells me he has taken all needful precautions, and yet he invariably gets these germs, I venture to ask whether it is not possible there has been some undetected loophole through which the germs may have entered the infusions. But, on the other hand, when I find that a man like Dr. Roberts conducts experiments again and again, and obtains positive results, the opposite of those obtained by Dr. Bastian, and this too, after his infusions have been kept for months, I say, one such observation is worth a hundred negative ones.

Within the last few weeks some important observations, bearing upon this subject, have been made by the Rev. W. H. Dallinger and Dr. Drysdale. Owing to some remarkable peculiarities in the aspect of the minute Infusorian which was the subject of their study, they were enabled to follow its life-history with considerable success. This result was obtained through persevering observations, during the continuance of which the two observers successively relieved each other at the microscope. Fig. 18 represents a common form of the Monad, as the minute Infusorian in question is called. They found that it multiplied through various modes of mechanical subdivision, or fission, as in the animals described in an earlier part of this lecture; but the portion of its history which bears in the most important manner upon the question of spontaneous generation is connected with the peculiar structure of the posterior half of the body of each Monad. As shewn at fig. 18, *a*, this portion of the organism consists of a more granular form of protoplasm than its opposite extremity. Under special circumstances the skin enclosing the granular part becomes ruptured and the granules are liberated. The observers found that each of these liberated granules developed into a perfect Monad in the course of a few hours.

These facts shew us that the process of Fission occurs amongst these very minute forms, which are not more than 1/1100 of an inch in length, just as in the Sponges, and in the larger Infusoria. Remember that we are now considering creatures so minute that fifty years ago it was almost beyond the powers of existing microscopes to make any trustworthy study of them possible. The lens of the microscope used was 1.50th of an inch focal length, while few persons are in the habit of using lenses of higher power than the 1.8th or the 1.12th of an inch in searching out the hidden secrets of nature. Yet, on applying this power of 1.50th of an inch to these minute objects, we find the same laws of organisation and reproduction prevailing amongst them as exist amongst the more conspicuous of these early forms of animal life.

These gentlemen exposed the above animals on seven occasions to a dry temperature of 121° centigrade, which is considerably above the boiling point of water, and found that it killed all the parent and mature animals, but in two instances it did not kill the granular germs. They found the latter still living, and watched their development into the well-known mature forms. They thus obtained the proof, supposing that these experiments were accurate, of what we long before believed to be true, viz., that the temperature which killed the parents left the germs possessed of life.

That this was the true explanation was shewn to be probable by their next experiment. They raised the temperature of the fluid in which the animals lived to 66° C., and found that this sufficed to kill all the adults, whilst the germs survived even after that temperature had been raised to 127° C.

If I were asked to believe that a man walked through the streets of Glasgow with his head under his arm, I should obviously want a very strong amount of evidence before I believed the statement, and so would you. So it is with any alleged facts that run counter to the known history of protoplasm; we demand unusually strong evidence before we accept such allegations. We have seen what protoplasm does on a large scale in the larger animals, and as we trace it downwards amongst the minuter forms of life, we see that in its nourishment, its growth, and its multiplication it exhibits certain phenomena that have a common existence in all organisms from man down to these lowest Monads. The little atoms of protoplasm contained in the human blood multiply by subdivision in the same way as the protoplasm does amongst these creatures. The Protoplasm which fills the cells of all animal bodies, as well as those universally diffused throughout the vegetation of the world, are multiplied in the same way by successive fissions as in those I have described to you. We thus see that when we trace the highest vegetable organisms down to their simplest states, we find precisely similar phenomena to be of universal occurrence.

Hence we have every reason to suppose, judging from analogy, that if we succeed in effectively studying forms yet more minute than those with whose life-history we are already acquainted, we shall find the same processes still in action. When Newton and the older astronomers turned their telescopes to the stars, they knew nothing of the remote systems which modern astronomers have succeeded in discovering. Newton shewed us how the nearer planets and the remoter stars obeyed the same law of gravitation. Have our modern astronomers, as they discovered yet remoter planets and newer nebulae, found the law of gravitation reversed? No; they see the same mysterious force regulating the movements of the most distant as well as the nearest suns. They find

everywhere in the heavens unity in the forces of nature; in like manner when we have traced these vital processes down amongst these minute atoms, and found no material change in their nature, we are fairly justified in assuming that as we trace them yet lower, we shall discover a similar continuity of known vital actions. If this be true, we are landed in a position which makes me utterly fearless in relation to the investigations of science. I know I have nothing to do herewith questions of theology. But in admitting the possible correctness of some scientific doctrines which to you may appear to have dangerous tendencies, do not imagine from my making such admissions that I am *a priori* hostile to that Christian faith which I cherish in common with most of yourselves. It may be true that my remote ancestor was a monkey. I do not care if he was; he has done me no harm, and may have handed down to me some vigorous activity of body, the result of his woodland life. Neither do I care if evolution proves to be true—if every living organic thing that now appears in nature once emanated from one solitary germ of life. I do not fear, because, instead of such a theory enabling us to dispense with the God of nature, the recognition of a creative Power is as necessary to explain the origin of that one primary germ, as to explain the existence of the world itself. If it be true, as I have been teaching you, that no life appears, except as the product of pre-existing life, it is equally true that there has been an unbroken continuity of life from the beginning down to the present time.

I believe that the philosophy of the evolutionists embodies a vast amount of truth, and that their inevitable recognition of the fact that organic life had a beginning upon the earth, and had not existed throughout eternity, is not the least important of the conclusions involved in that philosophy. The high-priests of the evolutionist school tell us that organic life is now a much more complex thing than it once was, and that the more complicated organisms have been gradually evolved out of others that were less complex. We are thus led back to a point of time when the first germ of life dawned upon the earth; this is important, because we have not the same proofs that the *inorganic* universe had such a beginning. Those who argue in favour of the eternity of matter are not so easily answered as are those who contend for the eternity of life and organisation. But if there was a time when so important an element of the world's being as life was non-existent, and yet another time when it began to exist, it becomes somewhat probable that the inorganic world had a beginning likewise. Be that as it may, the truth of which I am speaking accords, as far as it goes, with the first of our great scriptural beliefs—viz., that there was an origin and a Creator of all things.

The advocates of spontaneous generation may however admit this much. They may contend that they only connect creation with its Creator at an earlier stage of His work, and that He who endowed the first germ with its marvellous functions displayed a yet mightier power when He endowed the dust of the earth with similar potentialities. This is doubtless true; but I contend that we yet lack all proof that dead, inorganic matter can be converted into living matter, save through the agency of preexisting life; and it is my firm conviction that no such proof will ever be obtained. The chemist may so combine atoms as to obtain products like *dead* albumen and similar animal substances, but he has hitherto failed to endow them with life. They cannot imbibe nourishment from without, multiply by dividing and subdividing, ever growing as they do so; in a word, they lack *vitality*.

If any who now listen to me think that I am lowering their grand conception of a Deity by thus possibly reducing part of His creative work to the production of a solitary germ, I confess I cannot agree with them. If such a germ contained within itself the potentiality of development into the entire living creation, I confess I cannot conceive of a higher manifestation of creative power than is involved in its production. The being who originated such a germ must at least correspond with our feeble conceptions of Him whom we reverently call God. If so, I think we cannot avoid going a step further, and exclaiming with one of England's noblest intellects—

*"If there's a Power above us,
And that there is, all nature cries aloud
Through all her works, He must delight In virtue."*

Is Man An Automaton? A Lecture

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Is Man an Automaton?

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In introducing to you the question which is to be the subject of my address this evening—the question, Is Man an Automaton?—it is perhaps well that I should define, at the commencement, the sense in which I intend to use these words; and it will be more convenient to take the second first—What do I mean by an Automaton? The word automaton is derived from two Greek words, which mean self-moving. Well, of course, man is a self-moving being, and in that sense he is an automaton. But the word automaton, as we use it, has a different signification. It means a structure which moves by a mechanism, and which can only move in a certain way. I might take as illustrations various automata which are exhibited from time to time—I remember to have seen in my boyhood many remarkable collections. But I will draw my illustration from this very hall in which we are met. The great organ behind me is blown, I understand, by water power. You know, I daresay, that formerly organs were blown by manual or human power. The bellows-blower had before him what is called a "tell-tale," a little weight so hung as to indicate the amount of wind in the organ; and his business was to work the bellows so as always to keep the "tell-tale" below a certain point. On the other hand, by a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose with a great deal of skill, the organ is now blown by water-pressure. The water-pressure so acts, that when the organist requires a large supply of wind, as when he is playing loud through a great many pipes, the bellows move faster and supply that wind; while, on the other hand, when he plays softly, and little wind is required, the bellows move more slowly. If that apparatus were incased in the frame of a human figure, and made to work the bellows-handle up and down, we should call it an automaton.

Now, let us see on what the working of that automaton depends. It depends, in the first place, upon its structure. The mechanist who has constructed that apparatus has so arranged the play of its various parts, that it shall work with the power communicated to it, in accordance with the organist's requirements. Then its working depends upon the force supplied by the water-pressure; that force being made, by the construction of the machine, to exert itself in moving the bellows at the rate determined by the playing of the organist. Without a sufficient water-pressure the machine will not work; and when the organist ceases to touch the keys, the movement of the bellows comes to a stand. There you have then a machine which is moved, on the one hand, by a certain power, and the action of which is regulated by another set of circumstances external to itself. Now that is, I think, what we mean by an automaton—a machine which has within itself the power of motion, under conditions fixed *for* it, but not *by* it. A watch, for instance, is an automaton. You wind it up and give it the power of movement; while you make it regulate itself by its balance, which you can so adjust as to make it keep accurate time. Any piece of mechanism of that sort, self-moving and self-regulating, is an automaton. But then all these machines are made to answer certain purposes, and cannot go beyond. They are entirely dependent, first, upon their original construction, secondly, upon the force which is applied to them, and thirdly, upon the conditions under which that force is made to act. The question then is, whether Man is a machine of that kind?—his original constitution, derived from his ancestry, in the first place, shaping the mechanism of his body; and in the second place, the circumstances acting upon him through the whole period of his growth, and modifying the formation of his body, also, in the same manner, determining the constitution of his mind. Are we to regard the whole subsequent life (mental as well as bodily) of each individual, with his course of action in the world, as a necessary consequence or resultant of these conditions—as strictly determined by his inherited and acquired organisation, and by the external circumstances which act upon it?

We must now consider what we understand by Man. I do not mean Man according to the zoologist's definition—a Vertebrate animal, belonging to the class *Mammalia*, order *Bimana*, genus and species *Homo sapiens*; but Man as he is familiarly known to us, and as we have to regard him in our present inquiry—the bodily man and the mental man. We cannot help separating these two existences in thought, although my own course of study has been directed to the investigation of the nature of their relation. The metaphysician considers man simply in his mental aspect; but he cannot help dealing with the organs of sensation, and the mode in which man acquires his knowledge of the external world through those organs; nor can he help dealing with the subject of voluntary action, and with the movements which express mental emotions. The physiologist, on the other hand, looks simply at the body of man; and yet he cannot help dealing with the physiological conditions of mental activity—the way in which we become conscious of the impressions made upon the organs of sense, and the mode in which the mind acts upon the muscular apparatus. A little consideration will shew that we may justly regard the body of man as the instrument by which his mind comes into relation with the external world. We all know that "I" means something distinct from the external world; and it is found convenient to call that personality by the Latin term *Ego*. This *Ego*—which feels, thinks, reasons, judges, and determines—receives all its impressions of the external world through the instrumentality of the body. Again,

all the action of the Ego upon the external world—including in that term the minds of other men—is exerted through the instrumentality of the body. What am I doing at the present time?—endeavouring to excite in your minds certain ideas which are passing through my own. How do I do so?—by means of my organs of speech, which are regulated by any nervous system; that apparatus being the instrument through which my mind expresses my ideas in spoken language. The sounds I utter, transmitted to you by vibrations of the air falling upon your ears, excite in the nerves with which those organs are supplied certain changes which are propagated through them to the sensorium, that wonderful organ through the medium of which a certain state of consciousness is aroused in your minds; and my aim is, by the use of appropriate words, to suggest to your minds the ideas I desire to implant in them.

Such is the aspect under which I would have you consider Man's body this evening. I do not say it is the only aspect: but it best suits our present discussion to consider the body as the instrument by which the mind of each individual is made conscious of what is taking place around him, and by which he is able to act upon the external world; thus becoming the instrument of communication between one mind and another. To illustrate what I would have you keep before you strongly—that the Mind is the essential Ego—I will ask your attention to one or two facts of very familiar experience. It must have happened to most of you to have formed impressions of other individuals without any knowledge of their bodily appearance. We do not know them in the flesh at all, but we know them intimately, or think we do, in the spirit. I remember, in the year 1851, the year of the first great Exhibition, being told that a number of the Telegraph establishments in the country having given their clerks a free ticket to London, to enable them to go up and see the world's fair—as it was called—in Hyde Park, almost every clerk on first coming to Town, before going to the great Exhibition, went down to the telegraph office in the city to fraternise with his chum. You probably know that telegraph clerks very soon find out who is at the "other end." Several clerks occasionally work a particular instrument, and each comes to know in half a dozen signals who has "gone on." They recognise the style of telegraphing, just as you would recognise the handwriting of a friend. After a little there is some one whom each comes to like better than others; A communicates individually with B, and B with A; and beginning with the exchange of little friendly messages at odd times, intimacies, I have been assured, of the most fraternal kind, frequently spring up between those who have never seen each other. I daresay, now that young ladies are employed in telegraphing—and a most fitting employment it is for them—some more tender relations may spring up in the same manner.

Take again another illustration—the way in which our sympathies are aroused with an author, when we come to know his mind as presented in his writings. A great many of you felt when Dickens died, as if you had lost a personal friend—one with whose mind your own had grown into close relation, whose thoughts had exercised a most valuable influence on yours, and whom you felt to be nearer to you than many so-called friends.

Let me give you an instance from my own experience. I have been for some years a great admirer of an American writer, whose books I have read with the deepest interest, because I found in these books expressions of some of my own best thoughts, a great deal better put forth than I could put them forth myself—the products of a similar course of scientific inquiry, worked out with the aid of great poetic insight and a great fund of human sympathy,—a largo human capacity altogether. In his writings I have felt as if I had one of my nearest and truest friends. Circumstances lately drew forth a letter from him to myself, in which he did me the honour to say that I had been his teacher in science; but I felt he was completely my master in everything that gives the best expression to scientific thoughts. Now if I were to go to America, the first man with whom I should seek to make acquaintance, with the certainty that we should meet as old personal friends, is Oliver Wendell Holmes.—I do not speak of Ralph Waldo Emerson, because we have long been personal friends. In the preface to a book I have lately received from him, he sums up all I have been now saying in these pregnant words—"Thoughts rule the world."

Thus it is the mind that reciprocates the mind, much more than the body reciprocates the body. The body is the symbol of the mind, just as spoken or written words are symbols of ideas; and when we think of a friend whom we know personally, we combine with the conception of his personality our whole knowledge and conception of his character. When you say, "I met my friend so and so in the street," you do not mean you met simply his body, but that you met the man—the whole man. But when you say that you know a man "by sight" only, you mean that you know his outside body and nothing more.

In considering the body as the instrument of the mind, I shall shew you, first, the large amount of automatism in the human body, as to which I want you to have clear ideas. I do not wish, for any purpose whatever, to lead you away from this truth. I wish that you should be in the position yourselves to appreciate facts, so as not to be led away by one-sided statements. I desire particularly that my statements should not be one-sided; and so far as time will allow, I will place before you the whole of the most important considerations relating to this subject.

We must separate our body into two parts; and shall first consider the part that is most important as the instrument of our mind—that which physiologists call the *apparatus of animal life*. This takes in the nervous system—the recipient of impressions made by the external world upon our organs of sense, the instrument through which these impressions are enabled to affect our conscious minds, and conversely the medium through which our minds express themselves in action on our bodies. Then, again, there is the muscular apparatus, which is called into action through the nervous system, and the framework of bones and joints by which this muscular apparatus gives movement to the several parts of the body.

But this "apparatus of animal life" cannot be maintained in its integrity, and cannot perform the actions which it is adapted to execute, without certain conditions. It must be maintained by nutrition, because it is always wearing and wasting by its very action, and is in constant need of repair; and the material for this repair must be supplied by the blood-circulation. Again, the power it puts forth is dependent upon the operation of oxygen on the material of its tissues or of the blood which circulates through them; and this is as essential a condition as the pressure of water is upon the bellows of the organ.

Then the circulation of the blood involves the preparation of the blood from food, and its exposure to the atmosphere in the lungs, so as to get rid of the carbonic acid which is the product of the chemical change that generates nervo-muscular energy, and may take in a fresh supply of oxygen; and hence there is required an *apparatus of organic life*. This apparatus consists of all the organs which take in the food, which digest it, prepare it, and convert it into blood, those which circulate the blood, and also those which subject the blood to the influence of the air. The working of this apparatus in man involves the action of certain nerves and muscles; though it is not so with many of the lower animals, which are provided with a much simpler mechanism. In the case of man we have the need of muscles to take in and swallow the food, and of muscles to move the coats of the stomach in the process of its digestion; and we require a powerful muscle—the heart—to circulate the blood through the body by the alternate contraction of its several chambers; while powerful muscles of respiration alternately fill and empty the lungs.

Now, the first point I would lay stress upon is, that all these actions are essentially and originally automatic. When I say originally, I mean from the very beginning—from the moment when the child comes into the world, or even before. We know that the first thing the new-born infant does is to draw a long breath; and from that time breathing never ceases,—the cessation of breathing being the cessation of life. The heart's action has been going on for months before birth; and its entire suspension for a very short time, whether before or after birth, would bring the whole vital activity of the body to an end.

These motions are executed by the nervo-muscular apparatus, in a way that does not involve our consciousness at all. We do not even know of our heart's action unless it be very violent, or we be in such a position that we feel it knocking against our side. But still it is going on regularly and tranquilly, though it may not be felt from one day's end to another. We cannot stop it, if we would, by any effort of the will; but it is affected by our emotional states.

So, again, we do not know that we are breathing, unless we attend to it. The moment that we direct our attention to it, we become aware of the fact; but if we are studying closely, or listening to a discourse, or attending to some piece of music, or, indeed, doing anything that engages our consciousness, we are no more aware of our breathing than we are during sleep. This shews you, then, that when breathing goes on regularly the action is purely automatic. But we have a very considerable control over our muscles of respiration. If my respiratory movements were as purely automatic as those of an insect, I could not be addressing you to-night; because the whole act of speech depends upon the regulation of those movements. We must have such power over the muscles, as to be able to breathe forth successive jets, as it were, of air, which, by the apparatus of articulation, are converted into sounding words. Though we have power over the respiratory organs to a certain extent, we cannot "hold our breath" many seconds. In the West Indies the overworked negroes used formerly to try to commit suicide by holding their breath, but could not do it, except by doubling their tongues back so as to stop the aperture of the glottis; for the impulse and necessity for breathing became so imperative, that they could no longer resist the tendency to draw in a breath. Thus, whilst we have a certain voluntary control over this act of breathing, so as to be enabled to regulate it to our purposes, we cannot suspend its automatic performance long enough to interfere seriously with the aeration of the blood.

Let me briefly notice some of our other automatic actions. In the act of swallowing, which properly begins at the back of the throat, the "swallow" lays hold of the food or the drink brought to it by the muscles of the mouth, and carries this down into the stomach. We are quite unconscious of its passage thither, unless we have taken a larger morsel or something hotter or colder than ordinary. This is an instance of purely automatic action. If you carry a feather, for instance, a little way down into the "swallow," it is laid hold of and carried down involuntarily, unless drawn back with your fingers.

Take as another instance, the act of coughing. What does that proceed from? You may have allowed a drop of water or a crumb of bread to "go the wrong way," and get into the air-passages. It has no business there, and

will excite a cough. This consists, in the first place, in the closure of the glottis—the narrow fissure which gives passage to the air—and then in a sort of convulsive action of the expiratory muscles, which sends a blast of air through the aperture, that serves to carry away the offending substance. Nothing can be more purpose-like than that action, yet it is purely automatic. You cannot help it. You may try to stifle a cough for the sake of the audience or the lecturer, but the impulse is too strong for you. You see, then, the purely involuntary nature of this action. The person who feels inclined to cough may endeavour to overcome the automatic tendency by an effort of his will. He may succeed to a certain degree, but cannot always do so.

Now, although we cannot voluntarily stifle a cough when it is strongly excited, we can cough voluntarily, with no excitement at all. You can cough, if you choose, to interrupt the lecturer, as in the House of Commons coughing is sometimes used to put down a troublesome speaker; and little coughs are sometimes got up to give signals to some friend privately. Or, again, the lecturer, who may feel his voice husky in consequence of some little mucus in his throat, wishes to clear it away; its presence does not excite the movement, but he coughs intentionally to get rid of it. Now, I would have you fix your attention on these two points: in the first place, coughing as an involuntary movement excited by a stimulus in the throat; and in the second place, as a voluntary movement executed by a determinate effort. This distinction is the key to the whole study of the nature of the relation between the mind of man and his muscular apparatus.

The automatic movements of which I have been speaking depend upon a certain part of the nervous centres, which does not enter into the structure of the brain properly so called; namely, the *medulla oblongata*, or the upward prolongation of the spinal marrow—the spinal cord, as physiologists call it—into the skull (a, figs. 1, 2).

The effect of the stimulus or irritation in the windpipe may not be felt as tickling; for coughing will take place in a state of profound insensibility. An impression is made upon the nerves which go to the *medulla oblongata*, and in that centre excites a change. It is the fashion now to call this change a "movement of molecules;" but it is nothing more than a name for the action excited there, of the nature of which we know very little. I do not think that this expression is really very much better than the old doctrine of "vibrations" put forth by Hartley more than a century ago. The change thus excited produces a converse action in the motor nerves which go to the muscles, and thus calls forth the combined muscular movement of which I have spoken. This is a typical example of what the physiologist terms "reflex action."

Fig. 1.—UNDER SURFACE OF BRAIN.—a. Medulla oblongata, cut off from the spinal cord; b, pons varolii; c, infundibulum; d, portion of the convoluted surface of the cerebrum; e, portion of the same laid open, shewing the difference between the grey or ganglionic substance of the convolutions, and the white or fibrous substance; f, cerebellum; 1, olfactory ganglion; 2, optic nerves; 3-9, successive cranial nerves.

The whole Spinal Cord is a centre of "reflex action," in virtue of the grey or ganglionic matter it contains, in addition to the white strands which form the connection between the spinal nerves and the brain; and this grey matter is present in different parts of the cord in different amounts, in proportion to the size of the nerves connected with each. Each ordinary spinal nerve contains both sensory and motor fibres, bound up in the same trunk, but these are separate at its roots (fig. 3); and a part of each set of fibres has its centre in the grey matter of the spinal cord itself, whilst another part is continued into its white strands. Although, however, we speak of "sensory" fibres, we do not mean that impressions on them always call forth sensations. For in the case of many involuntary acts, a certain impression is made on the sensory nerve, and a reflex influence excited by this acts

through the corresponding motor nerve without calling forth any sensation. An impression is conveyed towards the ganglionic centre, which possesses a power of *reflexion*—not reflection in the mental sense, but in the optical sense of the reflection of rays from a mirror. If we break any part of this "nervous circle," as Sir Charles Bell called it, its action is destroyed. Cut the sensory nerves, and no reflex action can be excited. Cut the motor nerves, and no muscular contraction can be called forth. Destroy the centre, and you will not have the reflexion. The complete nervous circle is necessary for the performance of every one of these reflex actions.

Fig. 2.—VERTICAL SECTION OF BRAIN THROUGH ITS MIDDLE PLANE; shewing the relation of the Cerebrum A and the Cerebellum B, to the Sensori-motor Tract, which may be considered as the upward extension of the medulla oblongata, *a*, and includes the parts lettered *d*, *e*, *f*; at *h* is shewn in section the corpus callosum, or great transverse commissure uniting the two cerebral hemispheres; and at *g* the longitudinal commissure, connecting the front and back parts of each; *i*, optic nerve.

What I want first to impress upon you is, that the reflex movements immediately concerned in the maintenance of Organic life all take place through this lower portion of the nervous system, which has no necessary connection with either sensation or will. That is to say, that if there were no higher part of the nervous system than the spinal cord, we should still have reflex action without the Ego having anything to do with it.

I may illustrate this by the act of sucking, which involves a curious combination of respiratory movements with movements of the lips. This act can be performed without any brain at all; for infants have come into the world without the brain, properly so-called—with nothing higher than the prolongation of the spinal cord—and have sucked, breathed, and even cried for some hours; and all the true brain has been removed experimentally from newborn puppies, which still sucked at the finger when moistened with milk and put between their lips. This shews how purely automatic these actions are.

Fig. 3.—TRANSVERSE SECTION OF SPINAL CORD; shewing its grey or ganglionic core, enclosed in its white strands; *a*, *r*, anterior or motor roots; *p*, *r*, posterior or sensory roots.

But we now come to that other class of movements—namely, those properly belonging to the apparatus of Animal life—which are concerned in the obtaining of food and in carrying on ordinary locomotion. I have to shew you to what a large extent, among some of the lower animals, these movements are originally automatic; and, on the other hand, to inquire into their nature in Man.

Fig. 4.—GANGLIATKD NERVOUS CORD OF CENTIPEDE.

We will go to the class of Insects and their allies the Centipedes, as giving the best illustration of the primary automatic movements of animal life. Here (fig. 4) is a diagram of a Centipede. Every child who has dug in the ground knows the "hundred-legs," and is pretty sure to have chopped one in two, and noticed that each half continues to run. This is in virtue of the ganglion existing in every joint of the body, which is the centre of the reflex action of the legs belonging to it, and which keeps each joint in motion even after it is separated from the body. If one of these creatures is cut into half a dozen pieces, every one of them will continue to run along. But, again, if we divide the nervous cord which connects the ganglia, the sight of an obstacle may cause the animal to stop the movement of its fore legs, yet the hind legs will continue to push it on. If you take out the middle portion of the chain of ganglia, the legs of that part will not move; but the legs of the front part will move or not, according to the direction of the ganglia of the head, which seem to control the action of the other ganglia in virtue of their connection with the eyes; and the legs of the hind part will continue to move as before.

When one of these creatures goes out of the way of an object before it, we may assume that it sees the object; for although we have no absolute proof that insects do see anything, I cannot see that there is any disproof of a conclusion to which all analogy points. Certainly it seems to me that if I try to catch a fly, and if it jumps or flies away, or if I go out and try to catch a butterfly with a net, and it flies off, it does so because it *sees* the net. Those who have watched bees, when a storm is coming on, flying straight down from many yards' distance to the entrance of the hive, can scarcely help concluding that they *see* the entrance. At any rate, it is not proved that they do not.

Well, then, the Centipede avoids an obstacle. A visual impression is made on the eyes, and by their agency is communicated to the large ganglia in the head; the reflex action of which controls that of the other ganglia, and *directs* the movement of the body.

We find that the size of these cephalic ganglia in flying Insects has a very close relation to the development of their eyes; the eyes being most highly developed in the most active insects, and the ganglia connected with them the largest; while the general movements of these insects are most obviously guided by their sight. Here is a clear case of original or primary automatism; because these actions are all performed by the insect almost immediately that it comes forth from the chrysalis or pupa state; as soon as its wings have dried, it begins to fly; and obviously sees and avoids obstacles just as well as if it had been practising these movements all its life.

Then, in the case of Insects, we notice that very remarkable uniformity of action, which we characterise as "instinctive." They execute most remarkable constructions after a certain plan or pattern, with such extraordinary uniformity and absence of guidance from experience, that we infer that they must have inherent in them a tendency to perform those actions.

We see this in the case of hive bees, which are distinguished for their elaborate architecture, and for their remarkable domestic economy. I do not say that there is no rationality in insects, and that there is nothing done with conception and purpose; because some of their actions seem to indicate this, especially those which are described in recent accounts of ants given by Mr. Belt in his "Naturalist in Nicaragua." Sir John Lubbock's experiments also certainly do seem to indicate a power of adaptation to changes of circumstances that were not likely to have frequently occurred naturally in the history of the race, so as to have become habitual—changes brought about by human agency, so foreign to the ordinary habits and instincts of the creatures, that we can scarcely attribute their consequent action to anything but a conscious adaptation to these ends. But this is a matter to be still cleared up—how far experience modifies the actions of insects. As a general fact, I may say that they carry Automatism to its very highest extreme.

To give another illustration—the *Mantis religiosa* (fig. 5), an insect which is allied to the crickets and grasshoppers, but which does not habitually either jump or fly. It is a very savage insect, and lies in wait for its prey like a tiger. You can see the curious form of the long fore-legs, which act as arms, and are waved about in the air; and it rests on the two hinder pairs of legs. Now, observe that the front pair are supported upon a very long first segment of the thorax; the two other segments bearing the wings and the two other pairs of legs. Each of these divisions has a ganglion, which is the centre of the movements of the limbs attached to it. The insect is always

Fig. 5.—MANTIS RELIGIOSA.

lying in wait; and if any unlucky insect comes sufficiently near, the arms close round it and dig-in a pair of hooks, with which the feet are furnished. By this act the unfortunate victim is soon put out of existence. Now if the head of this Mantis be cut off, the arms still go on moving about in the same way; and if anything is brought within their reach, they impress the hooks upon whatever they grasp. The eyes simply direct their action, the action itself being dependent on the ganglion from which the nerves of these members proceed. Further, if we cut off that division and separate it from the hind part of the body, the same thing will go on. If anything is put within its grasp, the arms close round it and impress the hooks with just the same automatic action as we see in the Venus's fly-trap. Not only this, but if you try to upset the body, it will recover its balance, and rise again upon the hind legs.

This shews you how completely automatic the movements are. The name of *Mantis religiosa* is derived from the curious attitude in which this insect habitually lives—as if raising its arms in prayer. We have not this insect in Great Britain; but the French call it the *Prie Dieu*, which is equivalent to *religiosa*.

We now come to the lower Vertebrate animals, of which we may take the Frog as the best illustration. Its Spinal

Fig. 6.—BRAIN OF TURTLE, with diagrammatic representation of the increased development of the Cerebrum in higher Vertebrata;—A, Olfactory ganglia; B, Cerebral hemispheres; C, Optic ganglia; D, Cerebellum; E, Spinal cord; *olf* Olfactory nerve; *op*, Optic nerve.

Cord may be considered as the representative of the chain of ganglia in the centipede; the principal difference being that its ganglionic matter forms a continuous tract, instead of being broken up into distinct segments. But we find in the head, instead of the one pair of ganglia connected with the eyes, a series of ganglia connected with the several organs of sense, together with two masses of which we have no distinct representatives among the lower animals—namely, the *cerebrum* and the *cerebellum*. The relation of these to the other ganglionic centres is shewn in fig. 6, which represents the brain of the Turtle; A being the olfactive lobe, or ganglion of smell, from which proceed the olfactory nerves; B the cerebrum; C the optic lobe or ganglion of sight, from which proceed the optic nerves; D, the cerebellum; and E, the spinal cord. In most fishes the cerebrum is actually smaller than the optic lobes; but as we ascend in the series towards man, we find it becoming relatively larger and larger; so that it covers-in and hides the series

Fig. 7.—DIAGRAM OF BRAIN, shewing the relations of its principal parts:—*a*, spinal cord; *b, b*, cerebellum divided so as to lay open the fourth ventricle, 4, which separates it from the medulla oblongata; *c*, corpora quadrigemina; *d*, optic thalami; *f*, corpora striata, forming the sensori-motor tract, *g, g*, cerebral hemispheres; *h*, corpus callosum; *i*, fornix; *l, l*, lateral ventricles; 3, third ventricle; 5, fifth

ventricle.

of ganglionic centres lying along the floor of the skull. These *sensori-motor ganglia*, (fig. 7, c, d, f), though commonly regarded as appendages to the cerebrum, really constitute the fundamental portion of the brain; they may be regarded as an upward continuation of the spinal cord; and I have been accustomed to designate this whole series of centres (excluding the cerebrum and cerebellum) as the *axial cord*. In this all the nerves of sense terminate, and from it all the nerves of motion arise, the cerebrum having only an indirect connection with either.

The proportional size of the Cerebrum in different animals, as compared with that of their axial cord, corresponds so closely with the manifestations of intelligence (that is, the *intentional* adaptation of means to ends, under the guidance of experience) as contrasted with blind unreasoning instinct, that there can be no doubt of its being the instrument of the reasoning faculty. The cerebrum attains its *maximum* size and complexity in Man; on the other hand, in the frog it is relatively much smaller than in the turtle; and it would seem that the actions of this animal are provided for almost entirely by the reflex power of its automatic apparatus—namely, the spinal cord with the ganglia of sense. Suppose that we divide the spinal cord in the middle of the back, between the fore legs and the hind legs, what happens? We find that the animal can no longer move the hind legs by any power of its own, but that they can be made to move by pinching the skin of the foot. If acid is put on one leg, the other will try to wipe it off; and a number of movements of that kind are called forth by stimuli of various kinds. Yet we feel justified in saying the frog does not feel them. We know, as a matter of experience, that if a man receives a severe injury to his back—as has happened very often in London, and also, I suppose, in Glasgow, among the shipping in the docks—through his striking some projecting object in falling, his legs are completely paralysed. He has no feeling in them, and no power of moving them. But after the first shock of the accident has passed off, if you tickle the soles of his feet, or apply a hot plate to them, the legs are drawn up. The man will tell you he feels nothing whatever, and would not know what had taken place if he did not see the movement. A case of this kind occurred to the celebrated surgeon, John Hunter, who asked a man, "Do you feel this in your legs?" "No, sir," he replied, "but my legs do." That was not scientifically correct, because his legs could not be properly said to feel that of which the Ego was unconscious; but it expressed the fact that the irritation called forth a respondent motion.

There is only one other mode of explaining this action; namely, that by dividing the spinal cord we have made a second Ego—a new centre of sensation—in the lower part of the cord. In that case we make as many Egos in the centipede as we cut the body in pieces; and we might make three separate Egos in the frog—the head, the upper part of the trunk with the fore-legs, and the lower part with the hind legs, each acting independently. This seems to me inconceivable; I entirely go with those who maintain that these actions are provided for by a purely automatic mechanism.

A still more remarkable fact is, that if we remove the higher nervous centres, leaving only the Spinal Cord, and with it the Cerebellum (which appears to have the power of combining or coordinating the movements), we find that the general actions of locomotion are performed as in the uninjured animal. Thus the frog will continue to sit up in its natural position; and if we throw it into the water it will strike out with its limbs and swim, just as if the whole nervous system was intact. This is the case also with the *Dytiscus marginalis*, a water-beetle, which, when the ganglia of the head have been removed, will remain upon a hard substance without any movement; yet, if dropped into water, will begin to strike out, swimming in the usual way, but without any avoidance of obstacles. So the frog, if a stimulus is applied, will jump just as if the brain had been left. If put on the hand it sits there perfectly quiet, and would remain so unless stimulated to action; but if the hand be inclined very gently and slowly, so that the frog would naturally slip off, the creature's forefeet are shifted on to the edge of the hand until he can just prevent himself from falling. If the turning of the hand be slowly continued, he mounts up with great care and deliberation, putting first one leg forward and then the other, until he balances himself with perfect precision upon the edge; and if the turning of the hand is continued, over he goes through the opposite set of operations, until he comes to be seated in security upon the back of the hand. All this is done after the brain proper has been removed, shewing how completely automatic this action is. Another remarkable fact is, that if you stroke one particular part of the skin, the frog will croak.

Precisely parallel experiments were made by Flourens. By removing the brain of a Pigeon he found that the animal retained its position, and would fly when thrown into the air. If the optic ganglia were left, he found evidence that the animal either saw, or that its movements were guided by impressions received through its eyes. The head of the pigeon would move round and round if a light was moved round in front of the eyes. So in the frog it was found that, if the optic ganglia were left, it would avoid obstacles placed in front of it, when excited to jump.

Thus we see how completely automatic these movements are, and how entirely they are dependent on the

reflex action of the axial cord, the Cerebrum not being necessary for their performance. The removal of that organ, however, seems to deprive the animal of all spontaneity; it remains at rest unless excited to move, and seems to do nothing with a purpose.

Let us now go to Man, and examine the nature of his movements. You have all seen a child learning to walk. You know that it does not get upon its legs to walk all at once, like a newly-dropped lamb; but that its muscles have to be trained, and this training is a very long process. The child learning to walk, as Paley says, is the greatest posture-master in the world. It requires a long course of experience to acquire the power of moving its limbs in a proper manner to execute the successive steps; but far more training is required in balancing. This balancing of the body is one of the most curious things in our mechanism. No automaton has ever been made to walk. I once saw an automaton that professed to walk; but it had only a gliding motion; and upon looking at the feet I found some concealed springs beneath, so that neither foot was ever really lifted.

The act of walking requires a continual shifting of the centre of gravity from side to side, so as to keep it over the base during every step; and it is this shifting from side to side, that constitutes the great difficulty in the act of walking. Almost every muscle in the body is in action in the maintenance of our balance and in the forward movement. The muscles of the eyes, even, are in operation in keeping our gaze fixed upon what is before us, and thus guiding our onward movement. But when this movement has been once acquired, it goes on unconsciously. If you are walking with a friend and engaged in earnest conversation, you may walk a mile and not be the least conscious all the time of your having been successively advancing one leg after another; and you do exactly the same thing while walking in a state of mental abstraction. So, again, you are guided by your sight, when you have once set out, along the line you are accustomed to take. I am in the habit of walking down the Regent's Park every lawful day, as you call it in Scotland, to my office at the University of London. I frequently fall into some train of thought—as lately about this lecture; and I follow on that train of thought, not only unconscious of the movements of my legs, but unaware of the directing action of my vision. Yet I know that my eyes have been directing me. When I have come into the crowded streets, I have not run against my fellow passengers, or knocked myself against a lamp-post. My legs have been moving the whole time, and have brought me to my destination, sometimes to my surprise. This must have been the experience of all of you who are accustomed frequently to walk along a certain line. It has even been the case that when you have set out with the intention of departing from your accustomed line, for some little business or other, and have fallen into a train of thought, through preformed association you keep in the habitual line. After getting half way down a street you suddenly find that you have not gone out of your way, as you intended to do. I regard such habitual action as purely automatic; not primarily, but *secondarily* automatic, the automatism not being original but *acquired*. This is the most universal of all forms of acquired automatic action in Man—not only the motion of the limbs, but the direction of their movements by the sight.

The act of walking may become so automatic as to be performed during sleep. Soldiers fatigued by a long march continue to plod onward when sound asleep. If there are no obstacles they go steadily onwards, just like the centipede when its head has been cut off. The Indian punkah-pullers—men who are engaged the whole day pulling a string backwards and forwards, to move the great fan which produces a current of air in every room—often go on as well when they are asleep as when they are awake.

These are two instances of acquired automatism; and I might add a great many more, because everything that becomes habitual to a man is occasionally performed automatically in the state called absence of mind. Thus when a gentleman goes up to his dressing-room to dress for a party, the first thing he commonly does is to take out his watch and lay it on the table. The next thing he often does—I have done it myself—is to wind up his watch, as if he was retiring for the night. I have known a case in which the gentleman completed his undressing and then went to bed; so that when his wife came in search of him, he was comfortably resting from his day's work. That was a case of pure automatism; and I could relate many more instances of the same kind, but you must all have noticed such things in your own experience. A particular manual operation can be done, if it is one not requiring the constant direction of the mind, quite automatically. A man can plane a board, for instance, or work his loom, while his mind is entirely occupied in another direction. A musician will play a piece of music, and yet maintain a continuous conversation at the same time.

There is a very amusing and suggestive book which I recommend you to peruse, "The Autobiography of Robert Houdin, the Conjurer," who describes the training by which he prepared himself for the performance of various of his feats of dexterity. Amongst other things, he tells us that he devoted a great deal of time and attention in early life to the acquirement of the faculty of being able to read a book continuously, and at the same time to keep up balls in the air. He brought himself to be able to keep up four balls in the air, without detaching his mind from his book for a moment. He could continue the train of thought that the book suggested, without giving his attention at all to the keeping up of the balls; this action being only a more elaborate form of the trained automatism that I have spoken of. The thought occurred to him, when writing his autobiography, that he would try whether, after thirty years' cessation from this performance, he could still execute it. He stops,

and then continues his memoir: "I have tried this, and find I can keep up three balls." There, I believe, the nervo-muscular combination that was required, had come by early training to be a part of his physical constitution, and had been kept up by nutrition. Whatever, in fact, we learn to do in the period of growth, we can continue to do without practice after the growth has been completed; whilst acquirements that we make subsequently are more easily lost when we are "out of practice." I think all experience shews that; and I believe it is for this physiological reason—that the bodily and mental constitution acquired during the period of growth becomes "a second nature," and is maintained throughout life; whilst any modification it may undergo afterwards is something superadded to that basis, and is the first to decline when the habit of action ceases.

We now pass to the other part of our subject—the relation between the higher part of our nature, the Ego, and these automatic actions. What I shall endeavour to shew you very briefly is this, that the whole of the nervo-muscular apparatus concerned in executing the mandates of the mind acts as a trained automaton. Anything which we mentally determine to do "we will," as we say. In using the word "will" I do not mean a separate faculty, I mean the Ego in a state of action. The Ego determines to do a certain action, and commands the automaton to do it. The will does not, as physiologists used to believe, throw itself into a particular set of muscles; but says to the automaton, "do this," and it does it. There are many things which the Ego desires to do, but which he cannot make the automaton do for want of training. For instance, many of you may strongly desire to be able to play a musical instrument. You may be able to read the music, and by watching a performer may see precisely how to do it, but you cannot do it, simply for want of training. The same is the case with a great many other actions which we can only acquire by practice. Again, you may wish to do something physically impossible. The Ego may earnestly desire and intend to make some great effort—to take a great leap, for instance, to save his life. He may will to hang on to a cord as long as may be necessary to prevent his falling from a height. The Ego wills this with all his energy; but his muscles will not obey him, because it is not in their nature to maintain their tension for longer than a certain period.

Let me give you a little experiment that I think every one will find instruction in performing on himself; it occurred to me while lecturing on physiology as suited to conduct my students exactly to the idea I wished to impress upon them. There happened to be a bust opposite me, and I said, "Now, I will to look at that bust, and I will at the same time to move my head from side to side." I told them to watch my eyes, and they could all see them rolling from side to side in their sockets,—as you can see for yourselves by looking at your own eyes in a looking-glass, and turning your head from side to side. You do not feel that you are using the slightest exertion, and would not be aware of the motion of your eyes unless you knew it as a matter of fact, or some one else told you that you were doing so. You have said to your automaton, "Look at it" (whatever it may be), and at the same time "move your head round;" and the automaton rolls its eyes in the contrary direction, and thus keeps the image on the same part of the retina.

That is what I maintain to be the general doctrine of the automatism of the body, directed and controlled by the will;—the Ego willing the result, and leaving it to the automaton to work it out; as when I set my automaton to walk to a certain place, and direct my thoughts to something altogether different.

We have now, in the last place, to consider how far the Mind of man acts automatically. This is a subject confessedly of very great difficulty. There are those who consider that the mind of man is essentially and entirely dependent upon his bodily organisation, although they may still hold the separate existence of the mind. They find it, indeed, very difficult to conceive that there can be anything else than automatic action; because they see to what a very large extent our mental activity is conditioned by the physical constitution of the body.

The Physiologist can have no more doubt that there is a mechanism of thought and feeling, of intellect and imagination, of which the Cerebrum is the instrument, than that there is a mechanism of instinct of which the Axial Cord is the instrument. When one idea suggests a second, in accordance with a preformed association, the second a third, and so on, constituting what we call a "train of thought," without any order from ourselves, we seem fully justified by a large body of evidence in affirming that this is the mental expression of a succession of automatic changes, each causing the next, in the ganglionic matter which forms the convoluted surface-layer of the Cerebrum. These changes may or may not result in bodily motion. What we call the "movements of expression," are the involuntary signs of the state of our feelings; and so the movements executed by sleep-walkers are the expressions of the ideas with which their minds are possessed. So great talkers, like Coleridge, sometimes run on automatically, when they have got patient listeners; one subject suggesting another, with no more exertion or direction of the will than we use in walking along a course that has become habitual. All this may be regarded, physiologically, as the "reflex action of the cerebrum," the physical mechanism of which is partly shaped by its inherited constitution, and partly by the training to which it has been subjected, whether by intentional education, or by the education of circumstances—the brain "growing to" the mode in which it is habitually worked, just as the mechanism of our bodily movement shapes itself to the work we habitually call on it to perform. We constantly see that mental faculties are inherited, as well as bodily

powers; that children brought up after the parents' death, shew most remarkably the mental tendencies of one or both of them. They do a number of things in exactly the same manner that the parent did, have the same moral and intellectual tendencies, and present an extraordinarily striking resemblance in general character. This principle of the hereditary transmission of faculties through the physical organisation is now generally admitted; and what is more, I think it is clear that many of these faculties and tendencies have been acquired and superinduced, as it were, in the constitution of the parent, upon what it originally possessed. There is one very remarkable and too common example of this hereditary transmission, namely, the tendency to alcoholic excess. I remember a friend telling me he had known a man who for forty years got up every morning with the strong apprehension of being unable to resist that craving, which was an essential and inherent part of his nature, inherited from the unhappy indulgence of his father. That man fought a most heroic fight every day of his life. Every now and then he fell, but recovered himself; and, to my mind, fall as he did, his recovery shewed him to possess a far higher moral nature than that of the man who never yields because he is never tempted. I cite this merely as one example of acquired tendency hereditarily transmitted; all of us are familiar with cases more or less resembling it.

But the question is, whether the Ego is completely under the necessary domination of his original or inherited tendencies, modified by subsequent education; or whether he possesses within himself any power of directing and controlling these tendencies? It is urged by some that as the physical structure of his Cerebrum at any one moment is the resultant of its whole previous activity, so its reflex action, determined by that physical structure, must be really *automatic*; the only difference between a *voluntary* or *rational*, and an *involuntary* or *instinctive* action, lying in the complexity of the antecedent conditions in the former case, as distinguished from their simplicity in the latter. And it is held, in like manner, by many who look at the question from the mental side, and who do not trouble themselves at all about the physiological aspect of it, that a man cannot act in any other way than in accordance with his character; and that his character at any one moment is the general resultant of his whole previous mental life. But even John Stuart Mill, the most able and conspicuous advocate of this doctrine, felt that in making every man entirely dependent upon his inherited constitution, and his subsequent "circumstances," it excluded all possibility of real *self-direction*, all hope of *self-improvement*; and this, he tells us in his autobiography, weighed on his existence like an incubus. "I felt," he says, "as if I was scientifically proved to be the helpless slave of antecedent circumstances, as if my character and that of all others had been formed for us by agencies beyond our control, and was wholly out of our own power." The way out of this darkness he found in what seems to have struck him as a new discovery, although it was familiar enough to many who had previously studied the action of the mind,—that we have real power over the formation of our own character; that our will, by influencing some of our circumstances, can modify our future habits or capacities of willing."

Now, this I hold to be accordant with the experience of every one who has thought and observed, without troubling himself with philosophical theories. We all perceive that in the earlier period of our lives, our characters have been formed *for* us, rather than *by* us. But we also recognise the fact, that there comes a time when each Ego may take in hand the formation of his own character; and that it thenceforth depends mainly upon *himself* what course its development shall take,—the most valuable result of early training being that which prepares him to be *his own master*, keeping in subjection his lower appetites and passions, and giving the most favourable direction to the exercise of his higher faculties. And I shall now explain to you what seems to me the process by which this is effected.

Every one knows that he can determinately *fix his attention* upon some one object of sense, to the more or less complete exclusion of all others. In looking at a picture, for instance, he can examine each part of it separately; or, if he has a "musical ear," he can single out any one instrument in an orchestra, and follow it through its whole performance. Now, just in the same manner we can fix our attention upon one state of consciousness (a thought or feeling) to the exclusion of others. Supposing that you are endeavouring to fix your mind upon a certain object of study, or are reading a book that requires much thought to follow it, or are trying to master a mathematical problem, or are desiring to work out a certain question as to the conduct of your own lives, and you are attracted by the coming-in of a book or a newspaper which you would like to look at, or are distracted by noises or the playing of a musical instrument, you feel that it is in your power to fix and maintain your attention by a sufficient effort. That determinate effort is what we call an act of the will; and I believe that the power of so fixing our attention is the source of all that is highest and best in our intellectual self-education, as, in another direction, it is the source of all our moral self-improvement.

The automatist will say that your doing so is merely the result of the preponderance of one motive over the other,—the desire to go on with your study being stronger than the attractive or distracting influence. But if this be the whole account of the matter, why should we have to "make an effort,"—to struggle against that influence? We choose, as it seems to me, which is the thing that we deem preferable; and we then throw the force of the Ego into the doing of it, just like a man who makes a powerful muscular exertion to free himself

from some restraint. And I hold that just as the Ego can turn to his own account the automatic action of his nervo-muscular apparatus, regulating and directing his bodily movements, so he can turn to his own account the automatic activity of his cerebrum, regulating and directing the succession of his thoughts, the play of his emotions. That succession is in itself automatic; you cannot produce anything, otherwise than by utilising what may spontaneously present itself; and you do so by the *selective attention* of which I have spoken, intensifying your mental gaze so as to make the object before you call up some other, until you get what you are seeking for. This you may readily trace out for yourselves if you will observe your own mental experiences, in trying to recollect something. And what shews the essentially automatic action of the cerebral mechanism in this familiar operation, is that after you have been for some time trying in vain to recall some forgotten name or some recent occurrence which has "escaped your memory," it will often flash into your mind some little time afterwards, when you have turned your attention to something else. In the same manner many important inventions and discoveries have proceeded from the automatic working of the Cerebrum, set going in the first place by the determinate fixation of the attention on the object to be attained; the success of the result being due to the whole previous "training" of the organ.

The act of fixing the attention, in my belief lies at the foundation of all education, and is one to be fostered and encouraged in every child. It is better to begin with only a few minutes at a time; gradually, by encouragement, the child comes to feel that it has a power of its own to prolong its attention; and at last the encouragement is no longer needed, for the child that has been judiciously trained will exert all its determination to learn its lesson, in spite of temptations to go out and play or to amuse itself in any other mode. But if this determination were simply the expression of a preponderance of motive, I do not see why an *effort* should have to be made. If the motive to fix the attention be stronger than the attraction of any other object, or the prospective influence of the good to be gained be more powerful than the distracting influence, the mere preponderance of the one over the other would produce the result. But we know and feel that the making such a determinate effort, involves more expenditure, "takes more out of you," than the continuous sustained attention when there is no distracting influence; therefore, I say there is something here beyond the automatic preponderance of motive—the mark and measure of the independent exertion of the will.

Now this power, call it what we may, is capable of being strengthened by exercise—no power more so; neglected children being generally most deficient in it, and most carried away by their own impulses. No doubt a greater power of concentration is natural to some, and a greater mobility to others. But still I believe there is no healthy mind in which this power is not capable of being developed by training, just like the power of the limbs in walking. Its possession is the foundation of all intellectual discipline; without it we can do nothing good in intellectual study.

Look, now, at the moral side, and see how it operates there. We begin by saying, "I ought not" to do so and so,—assuming a moral standard. Take the case, which is unfortunately so common a one, of a man who has a strong temptation to alcoholic indulgence. He knows perfectly well that an habitual yielding to that temptation will be his ruin. I have heard of a man who said that if a glass of spirits was put before him, and he knew that the pit of hell was yawning between, he *must* take it. This is an instance of the overpowering attraction it has for some individuals; but this generally results from habit; and it is over *the formation of habits* that the will can exert its greatest power, by fixing the attention on one set of motives to the exclusion of other motives. I do not say that a man can *bring* motives before his mind. He cannot do that—we can only take what comes into our minds; but he can direct his thoughts in a certain line, as it were, so as to find them. He can think of his family or the future, and so exclusively fix his attention on the consequences, as to withdraw it from the immediate attraction. That I take to be the best mode. A struggle goes on in the mind of many a man subject to temptation; but if he has strength of principle enough to resist the immediate tendency to wrong action, and so gets time to deliberate, he may thus nerve himself for the conflict. Many good resolutions are formed—we know what place is said to be paved with them—and we hope to realise them. We determine in ourselves that we will avoid particular indulgences. We may have some strong disposition to apply our powers to ill uses, to play some mean trick, or something of that kind. Most of us have temptations of self-interest—not less strong because not pecuniary,—as to gain credit that does not belong to us, and so on. We hold back—"pull ourselves together" is the phrase of the present time—and summon all our resolution and determination not to yield. There is something more, here, than mere preponderance of motive; for we determinately direct our attention to the reasons why we should or should not do the particular act. I believe that in such cases the mind is best withdrawn from the temptation, by *fixing the attention upon something else*. That is the real secret of victory. By fixing our mind upon the object, and saying "I won't do it," the temptation still keeps haunting us. I have known many a struggle of this kind relieved by the determination to follow an entirely different course. We know that in cases of insanity, where a man is led by physical disorder to take a miserable view of everything relating to himself, the medical man sends him abroad, where he is attracted by a new set of objects—something which prevents his mind from brooding over his gloomy thoughts; and in that way, as his

physical health improves, the man comes to feel that he can voluntarily transfer his attention from them to objects of interest round him. This, I believe, is the manner in which we should distract our minds from anything we feel and know to be unworthy of our attention;—we should find out something more worthy, and pursue it with determination.

I ask you to take as your guiding star, as it were, in the conduct of your lives, these four words—"I am," "I ought," "I can," "I will."—"I am" is the expression of reflection and self-consciousness, the looking-in upon our own trains of thought. If we do not feel "*I am*," we do not think of ourselves and our own nature—we surrender ourselves. "*I ought*"—expresses the sense of moral obligation. By steadily fixing our attention on the "I ought," the course of action is first directed right, and its continuance in that path becomes habitual. "Turn to the right and keep straight on," and you will find the doing so easy in proportion. Every right act, every struggle of the will against wrong, is the exercise of a power which strengthens with use, and will make the next act easier to you. On the other hand, every time you surrender your will to the temptations of self-interest, or sensual gratification, or anything that turns you from the straight path, there is a loss of power which makes the next effort more difficult. Then, "*I can*"—the consciousness of power, is the foundation of all effort. And, lastly, it is not enough to say, "I ought to do it, and I can do it," but we must *will* to do it. The "I AM," "I OUGHT," "I CAN," "I WILL," of the Ego, can train the mental as well as the bodily Automaton, and make it do anything it is capable of executing.

Cobden Club logo

Report of the Proceedings At the Dinner of The Cobden Club,
July 11, 1874.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. BAXTER, M.P.,
In the Chair.

With the

Report of the Committee

Adopted at the General Meeting, June 4, 1874,

And List of Members.

London, Paris & New York. Cassell, Better & Galpin: 1874

N.B.—All communications for the Hon., Sec., THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, M.P., should be addressed to him at the Reform Club, Pall Mall, London.

The Bankers of the Club are the London and Westminster Bank, Westminster Branch, 1, St. James's Square, London, S.W., where Subscriptions should be paid on the 1st of January in each year.

It is suggested, for the convenience of Members, that they should leave with the Secretary their usual Address, and also an order on their Bankers to pay their Subscription on the 1st of January in each year to the Bankers of the Club, to whom all cheques should be made payable. Blank forms may be had on application to the Secretary.

George C. Warr,
Secretary.

5, MILLMAN STREET, BEDFORD ROW, W.C.

The Cobden Club.

THE ninth dinner of the Cobden Club was held on the 11th of July, at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich. The company numbered a hundred and forty-five, and included numerous guests, from the United States and other foreign countries, whose names will be found below. The majority went to Greenwich by a special steamer from the House of Commons' stairs, Westminster.

The Right Hon. W. E. BAXTER, M.P., took the chair at six p.m. Among those by whom he was supported were M. Leon Say, late Prefect of the Seine, and Reporter of the Financial Committee of the French Legislative Assembly for the present year, Baron G. von Overbeck, Consul-General for Austria, Dr. Julius Faucher, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, Mr. Mahlon Sands, Secretary of the Free Trade League, New York, the Right Hon. A. S. Ayrton, Sir Louis Mallet, C.B., Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman, M.P., Lord Arthur Russell, M.P., Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P., Mr. W. C. Cartwright, M.P., Mr. E. A. Leatham, M.P., Sir G. Balfour, K.C.B., M.P., Mr. G. Osborne Morgan, Q.C., M.P., Serjeant Simon, M.P., Mr. John Holms, M.P., Mr. William Holms, M.P., Mr. E. Jenkins, M.P., Mr. James Caird, C.B., Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers, Mr. W. H. Ashurst, Mr. Richard Baxter (Treasurer), Mr. Edmond Beales, Sir John Bennett, Mr. A. C. Humphreys, Mr.

William Agnew, Mr. James Heywood, Mr. B. Leigh Smith, Herr J. Willerding (Consul-General for Sweden and Norway), Herr Leopold Güterbock (Germany), Mr. Joseph S. Ropes, President of the Boston (U.S.) Board of Trade, Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, late Secretary of the National Board of Trade of the United States, Mr. M. Halstead, Editor of the Cincinnati "Commercial," Dr. Isaac Hayes, and Mr. R. G. Haliburton (Canada).

Mr. THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, M.P., occupied the vice-chair. Mrs. Ashburner, Mrs. and Miss Baxter, Miss Cobden, Miss Pellew, Miss Potter, and Mrs. Wells, were present during the delivery of the speeches.

The CHAIRMAN, who received a very cordial welcome on rising to propose the first toast, said:—I ask you to drink to the health of a Sovereign Lady whose political knowledge and prudence are as great as her domestic and social virtues are conspicuous. "The Health of Her Majesty the Queen" is a toast which is always received with enthusiasm in every assembly of true-born Britons throughout that Empire on which the sun never sets. I am delighted to find that the birthday of our gracious Sovereign has been celebrated this year in many parts of the United States. Any one who has travelled in that great country is aware how immensely popular the Queen is in America. I beg to propose "The Health of Her Majesty the Queen." (Loud cheers.)

The toast was drunk with immense enthusiasm, the foreign guests distinguishing themselves by their hearty concurrence in the feelings of their English friends.

The CHAIRMAN then rose to propose the toast of the evening—"Prosperity to the Cobden Club."

He said:—Gentlemen, it was with feelings of great surprise that I received from the hon. secretary, Mr. Potter, the founder, manager, and upholder of this Club, an intimation that the Committee had done me the distinguished honour of asking me to take the chair on this occasion. The post has hitherto been occupied by statesmen of mark whom an assembly of this kind would at all times be delighted to hear; and I am most acutely sensible of my utter inability to speak as powerfully as they did, or to do adequate justice to the toast which I am about to propose. Gentlemen, the Committee no doubt chose me because, although a very humble, I have ever been a very sincere admirer and disciple of the late Mr. Cobden, and a loyal adherent of those great principles of which, if not the first, he was certainly the most influential expounder. There were those who thought that he was a man of one idea, and Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, in an unhappy moment, said something to this effect. Never was there a greater mistake; and now that some of the many grand thoughts which from time to time he threw out for the consideration of his countrymen are receiving a little more development, men are beginning to see how far-sighted and comprehensive were his views. (Hear, hear.) His was a rich, prophetic mind, despising mere popularity-hunting and the political whims and caprices of the hour, thoroughly patriotic in the sense of desiring to preserve all those privileges and liberties which in this highly-favoured country we enjoy, but at the same time keenly alive to the dangers and difficulties of our social state, and fearful lest an overweening attachment to modes of thought and action no longer in accord with modern ideas should prevent us from leading the van of advancing civilisation. (Cheers.) The apostle of Free Trade was a pioneer of progress, and his conversation, like his speeches and writings, was full of references to a great future, when there would be fewer class and national jealousies, and the words of the angelic host would be more fully verified—"On earth peace, goodwill towards men." (Hear, hear.)

It has sometimes occurred to me that speakers at gatherings of the Cobden Club have a little lost sight of the leading doctrines of that eminent politician's creed. Those of his intimate friends who are present will, I think, bear me out when I say that he gave prominence, especially in his latter years, to four subjects in particular—economy in our national expenditure, reform of our land laws, the extension of Free Trade measures throughout the world, and international amity. (Cheers.) Now, without any attempt at an oration—for I have a perfect horror of long speeches after dinner—let me say a few practical words on each of those heads. I have in my possession, and very much value, letters from Mr. Cobden urging me, when entering upon political life, not to forget the importance of a wise economy in our great spending departments; and I have never addressed my constituents since without endeavouring to impress upon them how desirable it is to husband our resources in times of profound peace, and so set free the springs of industry and lessen the burdens of the people. (Hear, hear.) I need not dilate to this enlightened assembly upon the dangers to nations from profuse and reckless expenditure of the public money. History tells us in many a melancholy page how much such a policy has tended to the decline and fall of States. We all admit the theory. There may, however, be differences regarding the practice; but I think that, if Mr. Cobden were now alive, he would probably address his fellow-countrymen in words like these:—"Happily, your foreign policy has entirely changed. You have given up meddling in every petty dispute which breaks out on the Continent of Europe; you have ceased to talk of the balance of power; you have got quit of nearly all those wretched provisions, in the Treaty of 1815, which provided merely for dynasties, without reference to nationalities or the wishes of the people. You have seen the establishment of a free Italy—(cheers)—and a compact, powerful Fatherland in Germany. (Hear, hear.) You have withdrawn the troops from your own colonies; you have re-arranged your military system, so as to make it more efficient for defensive purposes. You have become the workshop and the shipbuilding yard of the world; your people are wealthier, more prosperous, more contented than they ever were before. Why should you keep

up a standing army, more numerous in this island than it ever was in any period of our history, and a navy which the Secretary of the Admiralty said the other day, in the House of Commons, would be able in a fight to give a good account of herself against many combined fleets?"

Gentlemen, you all recollect Mr. Cobden's desire that some one should take up the question of the Land Laws, as he had done that of the Corn Laws. We have made a little advance since that time, and the tendency of recent legislation has been in the right direction; but there is a great danger of our progress being too slow, rather than too fast. I have always been much impressed by, and often have given utterance to, the sentiment that the aggregation of large properties—especially when situated in different parts of the country, in the hands of one proprietor—is a serious evil and a social danger. (Cheers.) Every statute which tends directly or indirectly to foster such a state of things, in my judgment, ought to be repealed. (Cheers.) Laws of entail and primogeniture are relics of the past. The land should be bought and sold with as great facility and as little expense as any other article of merchandise. (Hear, hear.) There is a communistic feeling seething among the masses which mild Land Transfer Bills will touch very little, but which it would be wisdom to meet with a vigorous alteration of all those laws, affecting both the owner and the farmer, which are a mere ancient inheritance, and not founded on the principles of justice. (Hear, hear.)

My third point is—and this is the main mission of the Cobden Club—that every means should be taken to circulate Free Trade publications and promote Free Trade measures in other countries. That work has only just begun. We ourselves have not yet got the free breakfast-table, though, thanks to the Anti-Corn Law League and the splendid financial administration of Mr. Gladstone—(cheers)—we are very near it. But comparatively little has been done in other countries. In some of our own colonies we all know there is a tendency to retrograde. In Australia it was especially so; but it is a matter of sincere congratulation that New South Wales, under the leadership of Mr. Parkes, has broken the chain; and every one who knows anything of the geography of the country and the state of the boundary-line question will see that Victoria, if she wishes to escape financial ruin, must follow suit. (Cheers.)

I shall have the pleasure of reading to the club a letter which the secretary has received from Mr. Parkes. The committee voted him last year the gold medal for distinguished services rendered to Free Trade principles, and he writes thus:—

"Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

May 8, 1874.

"Sir,—

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 6, informing me that the Committee of the Cobden Club have been pleased to elect me one of their honorary members, and have decided to offer for my acceptance the gold medal of the club, in recognition of my 'services to the cause of Free Trade in Australia.' Since the receipt of your letter, I have received the medal from his Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson.

"I cannot but be sensible that any service I may have rendered in this colony to the cause of the free intercourse of nations is very slight, and the recognition of that service by the body of distinguished men who constitute the Cobden Club is an honour which derives additional value from the unexpected and spontaneous manner in which it has been conferred.

"It may not be without interest to state that in the year 1862 I was for a short time the guest of Mr. Cobden, at Dun-ford, and that it was the force of his arguments, in a long conversation I had with him on Australian affairs and the Protective views entertained by many persons in the colonies, based upon the difference between young countries and old nations, which, more than any other influence, confirmed me in the opinions which I have since held on questions of commercial legislation.

"In accepting the gold medal and the position of honorary member of the Cobden Club, I beg you to assure the Committee of my high sense of the honour conferred on me.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"HENRY PARKES.

"The Secretary of the Cobden Club."

Every gentleman present will, I am sure, be glad to hear that I have also a letter from our distinguished friend, M. Chevalier. (Cheers.) Indeed, he has shown himself so interested in our proceedings that he has written to no less than four gentlemen who are present in this room. I, however, will read only one of his letters, which is as follows:—

"27, Avenue de l'Impératrice, Paris,

July 9, 1874.

"Monsieur le Président,—Pressing business prevents me from joining the Cobden Club at their annual dinner, although it would give me great pleasure to meet a number of friends with whom I have common feelings, not only in deep regret for the premature loss of our much lamented friend, Richard Cobden, but also in the hope that the principles of Free Trade must make indefinite progress, and counterbalance, at least to a certain extent, the deplorable tendency to war.

"Allow me, Mr. President, to add that among the various affairs which at present detain me in Paris there is one which I hope, if it succeed, will not fail to be welcomed by all enlightened Englishmen, and all Free Traders of both countries—I might say of Europe. I speak of the submarine tunnel between Calais and Dover.

"This plan, which ten years ago appeared visionary, is being approved more and more every day by practical men and by great financiers in France, and the probability is that, if our feelings be reciprocated in England, it will soon pass from a fiction into a reality.—Believe me, Mr. President, with renewed regrets, faithfully yours,

"MICHEL CHEVALIER.

"The Right Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P."

We have distinguished strangers here to-night. I know no man who has done more—ay, as much—to promote the views of the late Mr. Cobden as our illustrious friend, Mr. Cyrus Field. (Cheers.) He has crossed the Atlantic times without number, and travelled, shall I say millions of miles, as a messenger of peace. But his countrymen are yet woefully behindhand in their understanding and acknowledgment of those Free Trade doctrines which eventually must be universally received. There is no man in this country who admires the United States more than I do, and who has oftener given expression to his sentiments in that respect. I have travelled much in the Great Republic, and been an eye-witness of the marvellous material, mental, and moral energy of its people; I have carefully studied the admirable system of common schools, which may be termed the safety-valve of democracy, and have seen the whole land, even in the far West, covered with Christian churches erected and sustained on the voluntary principle. (Hear, hear.) But the fiscal legislation of the United States is all wrong, and has done more than anything else to injure, almost to destroy, American shipbuilding, and to drive the star-spangled banner from the seas. We were favoured last year with the presence of Mr. Wells, who is, perhaps, the leader of American Free Traders. (Cheers.) You all heard his sentiments; but there is one passage from his Report for 1871 so important that, though it has been read many times before, I will venture to read a few sentences again, because they contain a very remarkable commentary on American fiscal legislation. Mr. Wells states that "in 1869 an enterprising citizen of the North-West visited England for the purpose of contracting for an iron vessel suitable for the grain trade of the upper lakes. As foreign-built ships are not admitted on the American register, it was proposed to take over the vessel in sections, simply to serve as a pattern, and at the same time it was intended to import skilled workmen, and to establish an iron shipbuilding yard in the vicinity of Chicago. But when the duties, varying from 38 to 66 per cent. on the various articles employed in the construction of the vessel, came to be calculated, they were found to amount to so much that the project had to be abandoned. Thus Chicago and its neighbourhood are still without an iron shipbuilding yard." The whole population is taxed in the attempt to protect the interest of a few hundred American ironmasters. To such circumstances as that just narrated the Commissioner attributes the decline in American shipping which has caused so much discussion in the States. Mr. Wells says that in America the cost of living is increasing in a greater ratio than the rate of wages and salaries, and he complains, not so much that comforts are curtailed, but that the power of saving is diminished. "The rich are becoming richer, and the poor poorer." "Small accumulations of capital are stopped." (Hear, hear.) I hope the gentlemen from that country who have favoured us with their company to-night will be successful in their endeavours to bring about a change of policy, and get quit of those Protective duties which so injuriously affect the American people. (Hear, hear.)

"International amity"—Mr. Disraeli dislikes the adjective—I, on the other hand, rejoice to think that the old, narrow kind of patriotism, which confined our sympathies to our own country, looked with a jealous eye on the prosperity of other nations, and talked of our natural enemies, is passing away, and giving place to a nobler and more enlarged—shall I say a more Christian-like?—feeling, which, placing England first, as a matter of course, in our affections, is anxious also to promote the weal of all other nations on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) I am quite aware that we are not living in Utopia—that the time has not come for hanging up the shield in the hall—(hear, hear)—that neither we nor our children's children will see the millennium, that as long as crime and ignorance and evil passions prevail there will be jealousies and misunderstandings and quarrels between

States: but it seems to me that there is less desire to foment and magnify them than there used to be, and that a disposition is growing, it may be slowly, but still growing, to have recourse, between nations, as well as between individuals, to the commonsense plan of reference to arbitration, rather than the bloody arbitrament of war. (Cheers.) The highest tribute we can pay to the memory of Mr. Cobden is severally and collectively to do all that lies in our power to promote the principles to which he was so much attached, some of which were regarded as chimeras and dreams at the period of their enunciation, but which are being received with more and more acceptance as time rolls on. (Renewed cheers.)

The toast was drunk with all the honours.

Sir LOUIS MALLET then proposed "Our Foreign Guests." He said:—

It is the distinctive feature of the policy which we are met to commemorate, that it is one in which all the nations of the world have a common interest. The policy of Free Trade absorbs and reconciles conflicting interests and nationalities, and, rising above local and traditional prejudices, affords the only solid hope for the future of civilisation.

It is this which gives to these gatherings an international character, and procures us the honour of seeing at our board so many distinguished representatives from other countries of the cause which we cherish.

We are to-night not less fortunate than on former occasions in this respect, for we have with us, as our Chairman has told you, M. Leon Say, Dr. Julius Faucher, and Mr. Cyrus Field.

M. Say bears an inherited name dear to all economists, while his personal services as a public man in France give him an additional title to our respect. I may add that his efforts to maintain at a time of peculiar danger—now happily averted—the Commercial Treaty, associated with the names of Cobden and Chevalier, call for our thanks to-day. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Julius Faucher is, in more senses than one, an international man. Himself a distinguished German, though born of a French family, gifted with much of the genius and fire of the race from which he springs, and trained under Cobden as an English journalist in the best school of economic thought, he has fought the battle of Free Trade through the length and breadth of Germany, and I am happy to have this occasion of thanking him for the advice and assistance which he gave in negotiating the Commercial Treaty with Austria. (Hear, hear.)

As to our friend Mr. Cyrus Field, our Chairman has already called your attention to the services which he has rendered to our cause. His name is identified with the grand work of ocean telegraphy. We all honour the public spirit, faith, and energy which he devoted to the wonderful enterprise which has, so to speak, annihilated time and space between England and America; and which, by multiplying transactions and quickening intercourse, has enlisted in the cause of Free Trade those material agencies which for the time have even eclipsed the lustre of the great moral principle which inspires and animates our policy.

Gentlemen, I propose to you with all my heart, "The Health of our Foreign Guests," and I couple with the toast the names of M. Leon Say, Dr. Julius Faucher, and Mr. Cyrus Field. (Cheers.)

M. LEON SAY, who was very warmly cheered, spoke in French to the following effect:—

Gentlemen,—Pray excuse me if I speak in French; but it seems to me that your society will be all the more disposed to indulgence because the principles of Richard Cobden are true in every country, and in every language. I have deeply felt the evidences of sympathy which you have given me, and the compliments which Sir Louis Mallet has been good enough to address to me. But I cannot forget that France presents at this moment a spectacle which must grieve the true friends of economical science. We must especially regret it, those of my friends and myself who have been compelled, both in the Government and in the Chambers, to yield to necessity, and to surrender principles. In France we have no "free breakfast-table." From the time we get up to the time we go to bed, we pay, it may be said, for our slightest movements. Yes, my friends and I were compelled to take the responsibility of deplorable measures because we had no choice of means. Reduced to the most cruel extremities, we had to obey necessity. We were like a traveller surprised by a storm, who is obliged to provide himself with shelter with the first materials that come to hand. These harsh sacrifices were not confined to our financial organisation; we had to abandon for our circulation the metallic basis so dear to France since the melancholy experience of the assignats. Our coin went abroad, and we could count the number of twenty-franc pieces which were melted down in Germany. The value was more than a milliard. In order to replace that milliard we issued notes, and notes with a forced circulation. Hitherto the forced currency has led to no inconvenience; and the course of exchange shows that the franc is at par compared with the pound sterling. I cannot refrain, however, from thinking upon what my father, Horace Say, said in 1848, at a period when specie payments had also ceased. "I am frightened," he said to me, "by the small amount of injury the forced currency causes." My sentiment is identical now; and seeing how little we have suffered, I ask myself whether the theory of the forced currency might not acclimatise itself in our country, which would be a great misfortune. The time, moreover, has come when we might reform, step by step, the provisional system of taxation we have adopted. The taxes upon articles of consumption appear to have reached their utmost limits. Those taxes produce about

900,000,000 francs a year. At the end of the year 1873 the taxes in question were divided into two categories, of about equal importance as revenue. Upon the former of these categories a supplementary tax of four per cent, was established. On the 30th of June of this year—that is to say, six months afterwards—we were able to estimate that the augmented taxes showed a diminution in their yield, while those which had not been touched showed an increase. It is an experimental trial, which shows that raised tariffs do not always give increased revenue. We shall by degrees replace these materials, collected almost at random, by materials of good quality in our financial edifice. Time and effort will be necessary; but, notwithstanding all the obstacles we have to overcome, I beg you to believe that there is in France a small body of men faithful to the principles of Richard Cobden, who will make them triumph in the end. (Loud cheers.)

Dr. JULIUS FAUCHER, who was cordially received, said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am not in the happy position of being allowed to address you as my predecessor has done—in my own vernacular tongue—but will attempt to address you in English. I do not know whether I shall succeed. I have left this country now some fifteen years, and in the meantime, naturally, my own country, where I have lived, has had the preference in the matter of language.

My somewhat awkward position here to-night reminds me of a circumstance which occurred a year ago, when I myself made myself guilty of placing others in the same awkward position. At the annual dinner of German Economists, at Vienna, last August, we drank the health of the foreign guests, as you have just done, and it fell to my lot to propose the toast. There were present one Englishman, one Dane, two Dutchmen, and one Turk. (A laugh.) I gave the names of all those gentlemen to the company, and asked them to show us the way in which foreigners speak German, and they were all ready to do so. Mr. White, the English Consul at Dantzic, took the lead, and delivered a most remarkably good German speech, leading me again to think that the English always speak German the best. Then followed the Dane, Professor Fredericksen, who is, I believe, an honorary member of this Club, and the others succeeded, except the Turk, Abdullah Bey, Professor of Natural History at Constantinople, who turned out to be no real Turk, but a Viennese.

Now, sir, the conclusion I am drawing from this experience is, that we ought not to have just one and the same language on earth, as an institution under which Free Trade and goodwill among men would advance more rapidly than at present. In every country, now, sometimes you have men—as, for instance, the late Sir John Bowring—who can speak even a very great number of languages. There should be everywhere only more study of foreign living languages, to promote a better approach between man and man. (Hear, hear.) When I lived in England, I was well acquainted with the lamented great man in whose honour this banquet is held, and he once congratulated me upon the great benefits I enjoyed in being able to read, speak, and write two other languages beside my own, and he complained that the cause of peace and international Free Trade, which he had at heart, was so much hindered by the diversity of tongues, and the yet everywhere insufficient means to disseminate the knowledge of living foreign languages, French excepted.

I spoke just now of Vienna, and of the exhibition there. This was the first international exhibition ever held on what I still may call German soil, and we may take heart from this; for there has always been a close connection between these great universal exhibitions of industry and the advance of Free Trade. (Hear, hear.)

It has just been said by the Hon. Mr. Baxter that we have not yet succeeded in introducing cutting tariff reforms in the direction of Free Trade into Germany. But to a great extent this has taken place, and there are still better days in store for us. I feel quite sure that already the four last international exhibitions of London and Paris have, by the exhibition of German manufactures, furthered the cause, and have won over to it even the hitherto protected German manufacturers themselves. By far the majority of them have now joined the agricultural and the shipping interest, as well as the general consumer, in shouting for Free Trade. There have been many peculiar difficulties in our way, connected with political federal questions, but I think I am to-night entitled to say that the battle is as good as won. There are some strongholds of protection yet, and we may be sure that the relics of protection will be dislodged but slowly; but it will be done. For I am happy to tell you that there are in Germany, as there are in France and Russia, and Austria now, a band of men who will never cease their efforts until the full victory is achieved. (Cheers.) There are many thousands of thorough Free Traders in my country who will with much eagerness read the report of this interesting meeting, and I give you their friendly greetings. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. CYRUS FIELD said he had to thank the proposer of the toast for the kind words he had spoken of the United States and of himself, but he protested that it was not fair—and the English people were known to be lovers of fair play—to arrest a poor Yankee on his way from California to Iceland—(laughter)—without notice, to address so distinguished an audience. Richard Cobden had been his friend for many years, and his guest in America. In 1852 Mr. Cobden urged upon the late Prince Consort the propriety of appropriating the profits of the Great Exhibition of 1851 to the establishment of telegraphic communication between England and America. (Cheers.) He was in Egypt when he received a telegram informing him of the death of Mr. Cobden. When he read that telegram he was dining at a festive table, at which were more than a hundred gentlemen from all parts

of Europe, M. de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, being in the chair. He should never forget the scene which then occurred. On receiving the telegram he handed it to M. de Lesseps—the company had been twelve days together, winding up each evening with a ball, but on M. de Lesseps reading the telegram to the assembly and making a few appropriate remarks, every man—though all the nations of Europe were represented—left the table, feeling as if he had lost a personal friend. (Cheers.) No other death in Europe had ever produced so deep a feeling in America as did that of Richard Cobden. (Hear hear.) During their recent civil struggle he had been constantly in the society of Mr. Cobden, and he well remembered the sagacity and great powers of mind with which he had predicted what would be the end of that civil war. In Mr. Field's library there hung on one side a portrait of Richard Cobden, signed with his own autograph, and on the other that of John Bright. (Cheers.) Recently, crossing the prairies of Colorado, he inquired of the friend who was driving him the population of the place they were approaching, and his friend replied that he did not know, for he had not been there since the previous Monday. (Laughter.) Some of the gentlemen present might expect him to say a few words about the Free Trade movement in America, but as he left there on the 17th of June, twenty-four days ago, and as there was at the table a gentleman who had just landed from the United States—Mr. Halstead—he would, with their permission, ask that gentleman to state what was the present feeling in America in regard to Free Trade. (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. HALSTEAD said that, some three weeks ago, while in the heart of America, he had agreed with Mr. Cyrus Field to meet him in England, for the purpose of going with him to Iceland, but had not promised to make his after-dinner speeches on the way. If, however, he could be permitted to go on for a few moments in all the peculiarities of American speech—(a laugh)—it was possible that, as he had left America only a fortnight ago, he could impart some information as to what was going on at the other side of the Atlantic, though Mr. Field's perversity in uniting the continents by telegraph reduced the interest of rapid personal locomotion. First, as to the matter of currency, finances, and taxation, exterior and interior, he believed the people of the United States had proceeded in recent legislation upon a false principle. There were, however, excuses for it. They had, for instance, been contending with the Home Rule doctrine at home in an aggravated form, for certain States had claimed the right to leave Union men to go about their own business, and to set up for themselves. They had further been obliged to contend with the doctrine that certain men of one complexion had the right to hold certain men of another complexion to service without paying them for their labour. (Hear, hear.) And even that was hardly the worst of it, for by virtue of holding men of another complexion they claimed to dictate to those who did not hold any of their fellow beings in bondage what their political duty was. They of the United States had only recently got through those preliminary questions by deciding them in favour of the doctrines that each citizen ought to own himself, and that the people of the States constitute a nation—(cheers)—and now they were prepared to go into questions of revenue and currency, and that sort of thing. (A laugh.) They were stimulated to do it by the fact that they had accumulated during the recent war a considerable national debt upon which they were paying high interest. He would not go into the history of that at length, but in the matter of financial legislation, he was afraid they had not proceeded upon an intelligent principle.

He hoped that they would make allowance for any freedom of manner, because he could not bring himself to feel that he was a stranger—certainly not a foreigner—among friends of Richard Cobden—(cheers)—whose name was as well known on the banks of the Ohio as on those of any English river, and was never mentioned without respect and honour; and he might be permitted to add that there was another name similarly regarded in America, and that was that of John Bright. (Cheers.)

Tariff legislation in the United States did not mean either revenue or protection distinctly, but it was the product of a combination of selfish interests. Salt had a few votes, iron a few votes, leather had a few, grindstones a few—(laughter)—and so on, and they all combined together to set up a system of taxation of the many for the benefit of the few. (Cheers.) His home was on the Ohio, which river was remarkable for having been for a thousand miles the boundary line between the slave and free States of the Union. Cincinnati, where he resided, was the largest of the central cities of the country, and the change of public sentiment there indicated in an unusual and suggestive degree what was going on throughout the United States. There were, he might say, no Protectionists there; he did not know of half a dozen persons in the city who believed in the doctrines of Protection. (Cheers.) Their political trouble on the question of Protection had arisen from the fact that the great State of Pennsylvania—the only State which had in national affairs a pronounced and distinct public policy—was in favour of Protection. In the American political system Pennsylvania was known as the keystone State—the keystone of the arch of all the States. Now, it was remarkable that that State, which was most full of valuable minerals and of natural resources of all kinds, should have accepted the delusion that it was necessary, on account of her enormous internal riches, to be protected. (Laughter.) They hoped before long to convince Pennsylvania of the error of her ways. (Hear, hear.) The Grangers would see to it that the agricultural interest should not want direct representatives in Congress; and the Trades' Unionists, by the application to labour of the principle of Protection claimed for capital, were demonstrating its absurdity. He

was quite within the mark in saying there had been a great change in public sentiment in the New England States on this question. Many remarkable evidences of that change were in possession of the members of the Cobden Club. He trusted that the English-speaking nations, having taken the foremost place in the establishment of free political institutions, might also come to the front in the matter of the adaptation of political economy as a science to general affairs. He was certain that all English-speaking nations would profit by that policy, and that in his own country, on those immense rivers which seamed the continent with navigable waters, its adoption would hasten the creation of cities which would surpass Palmyra and Alexandria of old, and rival even the majestic metropolis of the English Empire, whose flag in peace and in war shone on every sea (Cheers.)

Mr. AYRTON, who was loudly called for, and on rising was received with cheers, proposed the next toast. He said that on most of the previous occasions of the dinners of the Club the Liberal party had been in the ascendant, and had been charged with the administration of the affairs of the country. (Hear, hear.) One could not but remember that on those occasions their tables had been adorned with many men who were preeminent in the ranks of the Liberal party. Having had the pleasure of dining there when Liberalism was in the ascendant, he had thought it his duty especially to come on the first occasion when Liberalism seemed for the moment to have given place to what might be considered as a combination of all the Protectionist interests in the country. (Hear, hear.) He could not help thinking that the consequences of the recent General Election had been due in a great degree to the common effort made by every one who imagined that his own personal interests were threatened for the benefit of the nation at large. (Cheers and laughter.) There was a very great resemblance in the tone of the country at the recent election to that which, singular in its coincidence, had placed Sir Robert Peel at the head of affairs, and had for the moment depressed the Liberal party in the estimation of the country. That statesman had by a career of transcendent ability succeeded in persuading the nation that every interest was threatened, that every one was likely to be injured by the progress of Liberalism, and that he alone would be able to conduct public affairs upon such Conservative principles that every one's interest would be preserved, and that the nation at large would be benefited by the preservation of every thing which the party of progress had deemed an abuse. (A laugh.) That might have been a great and generous aspiration on his part, but it was exactly the reverse of the principle of the Cobden Club; for if Free Trade had for itself any special mission, it certainly was that of carrying on war against the special interests of particular classes which were adverse to the interests of the nation at large, and therefore it appeared to him that it was pre-eminently the duty of all those who cherished the principles of Richard Cobden to take an interest in the maintenance of Liberal principles. (Hear, hear.) They should attend the meeting of the Club at those annual gatherings, and should be conspicuous by their presence, and show a desire to take an active part in the conduct of affairs, rather than be conspicuous by their absence. (Cheers.) Objections had been sometimes raised to the practice of the members of the Club meeting at dinners like the present, which were accomplished by the indefatigable energy and exertions of their Honorary Secretary; but the dinners were by no means inappropriate, for Mr. Cobden was not a professor of political economy as an abstract science. His mind was eminently practical, his object was to provide more abundant and cheaper food for the people, to promote their industry and their welfare. Mr. Potter, by his successful efforts, reminded them of the purpose for which Mr. Cobden struggled, whilst he afforded them an opportunity of stimulating one another to renewed efforts to advance the views of the Liberal party, to enlarge the industry and comfort of the people, and to promote for them the happiness which they were themselves enjoying. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to propose the health of Mr. Potter, the hon. secretary, and one of the originators of the Club.

Mr. T. B. POTTER, who was received with prolonged cheering, said:—

Permit me to thank you for the hearty manner in which you have received the too kind mention of my name by Mr. Ayrton. It is a compliment which causes me all the greater pleasure because I admit that I have been blamed not unfrequently, and have been told that the dinners given by the Cobden Club have been inconsistent with the Cobdenic character of our Association. (No, no.) I have heard it said that our good friend, whose memory we so much revere, would not have approved of such gatherings. This I certainly am not prepared to acknowledge; for a more happy, congenial, and convivial companion, never lived. (Cheers.) The Cobden Club has, at any rate, been successful and useful. It has been in existence about eight years, and the dinners have been the means of bringing together political economists of all nations, who might not otherwise have met. They have also afforded an opportunity to many in our own country of meeting those who take a prominent part in connection with the government of the country, and who occupy high positions in the State. These meet here on friendly terms, and all parties learn to know each other a little better than they did before. This object, it is well to remember, was one of the earliest aims of the Cobden Club, and no one can doubt that a considerable benefit has been the result. (Cheers.) We have expended large sums on publications which have done much good to the cause we all have at heart, and I am satisfied that the Cobden Club, as a literary and political society, has disseminated knowledge all over the world, and has done good service in the cause of progress.

(Cheers.) There are some in this country who think that because the Cobden Club is regarded with coolness, perhaps with jealousy, here, it has no influence; but on the other side of the world it is thought more of, and it is the same throughout the colonies and amongst foreign nations. We are, in fact, the principal, if not the only nucleus of Free Trade intercourse with all parts of the world. It has been no slight satisfaction to me to know that we have such an associate and correspondent as Mr. Parkes in the city of Sydney, in the great colony of New South Wales. The resources of these colonies in the South Pacific are very great; they are in their youth, and Free Trade principles are taking a firm hold of their politicians. (Cheers.)

For myself, I may say without egotism, gentlemen, that I have worked hard to secure for the Club a local residence; and I congratulate you on the fact that a new organisation has been established, to which all members of the Cobden Club have access, which, though it does not bear the name of the Cobden Club, but is called the Liberal Club, is based on the broadest platform of political and Free Trade principles. The new Club will, I hope, have an international character; and under the auspices of such men as the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Westminster, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright, I feel confident that it will be a social as well as a political success. You have now, gentlemen, offered to you what I predicted and advocated a few years ago; and, therefore, I think to-night I have a right to congratulate myself, and you, that another of the objects of the Cobden Club has been attained. The Cobden Club has other objects which must not be given up, and which are of a distinctive character. We are now proposing to endeavour to educate the people on the subject of Local Government and Local Taxation—a question which occupies the mind of every statesman, both in this country and elsewhere. We think that the experience of other nations may throw light on this subject, and we are therefore preparing a series of essays, by foreign writers, as well as our own countrymen, which we hope may be useful, and which will be published early in 1875. (Cheers.)

The unexpected compliment of drinking my health, which you have paid me for the first time during my connection with the Cobden Club—(loud cheers),—has made me almost forget the duty which has been entrusted to me. I have to propose the health of the Chairman. (Cheers.) We were most anxious that our friend Mr. Baxter should take the chair this evening, as we knew that a more Worthy exponent of the principles of Mr. Cobden could not be found. The right hon. gentleman is one of the very few who assisted in the foundation of this Club, and his loyalty to the principles of Cobden is such that we owe him gratitude for his past services, and, at the same time, confidently expect from him great assistance in the future. (Cheers.) I am sure it was the feeling of the committee, when they asked Mr. Baxter to preside to-night, that they were placing in the chair one around whom the members of the Cobden Club could rally as a leader, not merely at this gathering, but in his place in the country and the House of Commons. I ask you, therefore, to drink the health of Mr. Baxter. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said:—

Mr. Potter and Gentlemen,—I regard it as one of the most distinguished honours of my life that I have been asked to take the chair at the annual dinner of the Cobden Club, because I have been all my life a great admirer of Mr. Cobden. I feel that there are many of the principles so ably enunciated by him which will yet have to be discerned in the future political history of this country. My friend, Mr. Potter, said that this Cobden Club was the nucleus of free trade sentiments all over the world. Gentlemen, there is no other nucleus. It is all very well to laugh at the Cobden Club, and to make jokes about dining at Greenwich; but depend upon it, you have founded an organisation here that will leave a name in history, and you may depend upon it that Mr. Potter, who is really the author—the Alpha and Omega, I may say—of the Institution, made his mark, too, when he founded a club of this important kind. (Cheers.)

Guests present at the Dinner:

Mr. J. F. E. Barrett-Lennard, Mr. A. Bonham-Carter, Captain Gossett (Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms), Herr Leopold Güterbock, Mr. R. G. Haliburton (Canada), Dr. Isaac Hayes (United States), Mr. M. Halstead (United States), Mr. Hamilton A. Hill (United States), Mr. Lionel J. Robinson, Mr. Joseph S. Ropes (United States), Mr. William Sale, Mr. Thomas Wells.

Appendix.

(From the Times, July 14, 1874.)

The Canada and United States' Reciprocity Treaty. to the Editor of the *Times*.

SIR,—It may be that you will favour me with space to supply an omission that you have pointed out in the remarks which I made at the Greenwich banquet of the Cobden Club.

Permit me to say that there was no purpose on my part to "avoid all reference" to the Reciprocity Treaty. I simply did not then see that it was my duty, as a stranger casually called upon, to attempt the enlightenment of England on so large and grave a subject as the Treaty. So far as one fact will go in diffusing useful knowledge, I desire now to place it at your service.

The proposed Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Canada was not presented in season to be acted upon, after the full consideration its importance demanded, by the American Congress in the session of that body recently concluded; but its reception by the country, especially by the Press, was most cordial, and I am sure it will be taken up in December next, and adopted. It certainly will receive the support of the representatives of the Central States of the nation.

The Reciprocity Treaty which we of the United States had with Canada, and which lapsed through a mistaken and regretted policy, was profitable to us; and the fact that the pending treaty comes from Canada is proof that our neighbours, as well as ourselves, find the removal of restraints from commerce beneficial to all the interests that are legitimate.

M. HALSTEAD.

St. James's Hotel,

July 13.

PROSPECTS OF FREE TRADE IN THE BRITISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.—The Hon. David A. Wells—whose speech, delivered before the Cobden Club last year, on the results of Protection in the United States, has since been effectively circulated in all the colonies through the medium of the Club—has undertaken to contribute a series of papers on the same subject to the *Melbourne Argus*, which will be republished with a view to assist the Free Trade movement recently inaugurated in Australia by the Legislature of New South Wales, under the direction of Mr. Parkes. With reference to the United States, Mr. Wells, in a letter addressed to Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P., as Hon. Secretary of the Cobden Club, states his belief that after the defeat of the Protectionist interests in the last session of Congress, another Bill increasing duties will never again become law. "My predictions of last year," he adds, "concerning the rapid progress of Free Trade are being more than verified. The next Presidential election will show Free Trade as one of the great political elements, and I think we shall elect a President and a Congress that will give Protection its death-stroke." Mr. Wells was this year elected by the French Institute to fill the place of the late Mr. John Stuart Mill in the Department of Moral and Political Science.—London *Daily News*, July 18, 1874.

Mr. Wells was also nominated this year by the Senate of the University of Oxford for the honorary degree of D.C.L., but was unable to be in England to receive the honour which it was proposed to confer upon him.

FREE TRADE IN AUSTRALIA.—Mr. William Downie has just received a very gratifying letter from Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, M.P., Hon. Secretary of the Cobden Club of London, having reference to the good effect of a Free Trade policy in Australia. W. H. Duncan, Esq., Collector of Customs, Sydney, writes to Mr. Potter as follows:—"I do myself the honour to thank the Committee of the Cobden Club, through you, for a copy of the excellent speech of the Hon. David A. Wells, delivered before the Club, June 28, 1873. This admirable exposure of the workings of Protection in America will be of immense service in the Australian colonies, in some of which protective duties still prevail. In accordance, therefore, with what I assume to be the wish of your Club, I have taken measures to have this speech widely circulated."—*Boston Post*, July 1, 1874.

"To the Secretary of the Cobden Club.

SIR,—

That the position contended for by the Chamber of Commerce in this city, and now successfully embodied in our tariff, may be known by your members, I enclose copy of our Report of 1871, in which are recorded the principles which guided our action in pressing Free Trade on the Legislature.

"The Reports of your last Meeting have been read with much interest by all our members here.

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN B. WATT.

"Late Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. "Sydney,

Extracts from the Above-Mentioned Report.

New Tariff.

In February last the new tariff retaining "ad-valorem duties" proposed by the Government was carefully discussed at several meetings of the members. The tariff as proposed was based on the principle of discriminating duties; in other words, involved the principle of protection; and willing as the members of the Chamber were to assent to any taxation that might be necessary to defray the expenses of Government and maintain the public credit, they felt strongly that a tariff based on protectionist principles must fail as a source of Revenue in exact proportion as it served its purpose of protection, and that industries created by protection could not tend to the permanent prosperity of the colony, but would lead to an increasing demand for further protection, not only to the industries created, but, in common fairness, to all other industries, which would inevitably feel the pressure of the protection granted to the industries intended to be favoured in the first instance.

During the discussion on this subject the following Resolutions were adopted by the Chamber, and a Petition embracing these views was presented to the Legislative Assembly:—

- *This Chamber affirms the opinion it has repeatedly expressed, that ad-valorem duties are—1st, demoralising in their operation; 2nd, unequal in their incidence; 3rd, expensive in their collection; 4th, oppressive to the consumer to a degree far beyond the revenue they yield; and 5th, injurious to the trade of the port.*
- *That this Chamber deprecates the introduction into the fiscal policy of this colony of protective duties, as tending to bring into existence industries unsuited to the present state of the colony, thus imposing a double burden on all other industries—1st, by the increased cost of the protected articles; and 2nd, by the increased taxation necessary to compensate for the duty lost on the protected articles.*
- *That the attempt to stimulate industries unsuited to the colony, and such as would not naturally spring up under free trade, can only result in loss and disappointment, unless the duty be so high as to be absolutely prohibitory; inasmuch as the competition will be with countries where labour and capital cost about one-half what they are in the colony, consequently the cost of manufacture is about one-half what it is here.*
- *That one industry, or several industries, protected at the cost of all other industries, is a gross injustice to all others, and a loss to the community. The protected industry being carried on at a loss which is only made good by the loss of the community, their labour and capital are wasted in producing at a loss what could be more cheaply imported.*
- *That however specious may be the arguments in favour of protection in manufacturing countries, where, by a universal system of protection, it may be attempted to protect each industry against the other, these wholly fail in their application to a country whose staple industry is in the production of exported raw material—such as wool, tallow, coal, copper, and grain—the cost of production of which may be greatly increased by a protective tariff, but by no conceivable legislation, short of a bonus on exportation, can the value of such products in the market of the world be increased, so as to compensate for the increased cost of production caused by protective duties.*
- *That a tariff partaking in any degree of a protective character cannot be of long duration, for in as far as it serves its part as protective, it fails to produce revenue, and renders further taxation necessary.*
- *That it is most desirable a tariff should be of a permanent character, so as to avoid the disturbance of commerce inseparable from repeated changes.*
- *That the necessary revenue should be raised by specific duties on as few articles of general consumption as possible, and such as will not come into competition with articles produced in the colony, and by this means the revenue will be raised with the least expense in collection, at the least inconvenience to the tax-payer and will steadily increase as population increases.*
- *That raw materials of every kind, forming as they do the basis of every industry, should be admitted free of duty, and thus fair play will be given to the colonial manufacturers; and the industries developed under a system of free trade will be such as are suited to the circumstances of the colonists, and will be raised on a sound and healthy foundation.*
- *That this Chamber is of opinion that the Government should, by a comprehensive system of retrenchment, by improving the land laws so as to encourage the outlay of capital, by passing an Act to encourage immigration, by the extension of the municipal system so as to relieve the central Government, and by a*

complete change in the fiscal policy of the colony, reduce taxation and give a stimulus to trade and manufactures."

Following up the principles thus enunciated, the Chamber used its influence to obtain the substitution of specific duties for those levied ad-valorem, and to eliminate protectionist principles from the tariff; and the Committee are gratified to be able to report that the action of the Assembly was in accordance with the views of the Chamber, causing the adoption of specific duties to a much larger extent than formerly, and abandoning the discriminating rates of ad-valorem duty.

Intercolonial Free Trade.

In the month of June this subject was revived by a communication from the Chamber of Commerce, Hobart Town, transmitting copies of Acts of the Legislatures of Tasmania and New Zealand, to facilitate the establishment of Free Trade between the colonies; the Chamber gave their best consideration to the suggestions, but holding the Free Trade views which the Chamber does, it appeared to them that the proper mode of ensuring Intercolonial Free Trade would be by extending the Free List of each colony, so as to admit all articles which are produced in either colony, free of duty. Any scheme which should continue to impose duties on such articles when imported from Great Britain or else- where, while relieving them of duty when imported from other Colonies, it appeared to your Committee, is rather Intercolonial Protection than Intercolonial Free Trade. The following reply was therefore made to the communication from the Chamber of Commerce, Hobart Town:—

"Sydney Chamber of Commerce, "Sydney,

July 24, 1871.

"To the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Hobart Town.

"SIR,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 18th June, which has been laid before, and considered by, the members of the Chamber, at their Quarterly General Meeting.

"The subject of Intercolonial Free Trade has frequently occupied the attention of the Chamber, but more especially during the Conference of colonial Chambers of Commerce held in Sydney, in May, 1869, and I beg to recall to your notice the second resolution passed at the Conference, and subsequently adopted by the Chamber, namely—

"That a Customs Union, with one uniform tariff, is, in the opinion of this Conference, not only desirable, but the most practicable mode of giving effect to the principles of commercial federation. That a free interchange of colonial products (for which a general desire has been expressed) is unattainable except by means of a Customs Union, inasmuch as the Constitution Acts of the various colonies and the instructions to Governors prohibit the imposition of differential duties, and the Home Government, through the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, explicitly stated in his despatch to the Governor of New South Wales, dated 7th January, 1868, that the Imperial Parliament would only be willing to assent to the removal of such prohibition in favour of a 'Customs Union' providing for the importation of goods from colony to colony, for an equitable division of the Customs duties, and for a uniform tariff as between other countries and places.

"The practical difficulty here pointed out continues in full force, namely, that a free exchange of intercolonial products can only be attained by means of a Customs Union, so that the Customs laws of the colonies may be in accord with those of the mother country.

"This Chamber is thoroughly impressed with the importance of free trade between the colonies, but they look for the attainment of this object in the extension of free trade principles rather than in special legislation, which would only be a further departure from the principles of free trade.

"While a large portion of the revenue of each colony must be derived from Customs duties, these duties must be levied in accordance with the circumstances of each colony, and with a special regard to the products of each colony; thus the production of sugar in Queensland promises to be very large, and in this colony will be considerable, and this being an article on the consumption of which a large revenue has hitherto been raised, its production will necessitate a readjustment of Customs duties, and a like readjustment will be necessary as new products are developed—a process which this Chamber hopes will steadily continue.

"The *two bills*,

Tasmanian Act, entitled, "An Act to make Better Provision for the Interchange of Colonial Products and Manufactures between the Colonies of Australia." New Zealand Act, entitled, "An Act respecting Reciprocity with the Australian Colonies and Tasmania as to Customs Duties."

of which you have been good enough to transmit copies, show at once the difficulties that must arise in

attempting to carry out the scheme they are intended to favour.

"Thus, while the Tasmanian Act is intended to allow the admission of all articles *the product or manufacture* of the other colonies, the New Zealand Act limits its operations to products or manufactures of other colonies, *the raw material being the produce of such colonies*, showing an important distinction, and one that in the case of New Zealand would practically confine its advantages to the raw material of other colonies, while the Tasmanian Act would admit all articles made in the colony, although the raw material were *the produce of foreign countries*.

"In the Tasmanian Act the colony surrenders its right to interfere with the Act during the period that may be agreed on to the colony with which the agreement is made, while New Zealand retains the right to withdraw from the agreement at six months' notice; thus, on the one hand, an element of unfairness in the relative positions of the contracting colonies is introduced, and, on the other, an uncertainty in the duration of the Act that would render it impossible for the other colonies to frame their fiscal policy on an agreement liable to be terminated on short notice. This Chamber can hardly hope that the Governments of the various colonies will be induced to adopt the unselfish policy of the Tasmanian Act, in giving to the other contracting party alone the power to terminate the agreement.

"In both Acts, spirituous liquors and tobacco are specially excluded from the benefits of the arrangement; it is a question how far this would apply to wine containing a certain proportion of spirits; and Victoria, South Australia, and this colony, being large producers of wine, might feel they were placed at a disadvantage in their wines being excluded from the benefits of the arrangement, while the products of other colonies would enter their ports free. In the same way, tobacco is an article of large production in this colony, and its exclusion from the proposed agreement might come to be looked on as invidious.

"These remarks are made in no unfriendly spirit to the proposed agreement, but as illustrating the practical difficulties that now suggest themselves; and other difficulties of a like character must increase as new industries develop themselves in colonies ranging over such a variety of climates, and embracing such a variety of soil and products as do the Australian colonies and New Zealand.

"This Chamber is most anxious to see as free an interchange of colonial products as possible, but it is the opinion of the members that this can best be accomplished by extending the free list in each colony, and steadily adhering to the principle of free trade.

"I venture to enclose a copy of a series of resolutions recently adopted by this Chamber, and to express the hope that your Chamber will concur with this in advocating the principles therein expressed, and in pressing their adoption on your Legislature, and thus tending to promote, on the most sure and permanent basis, the free interchange of colonial products and manufactures.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"JOHN B. WATT,
Chairman."

Report of the Committee Of the Cobden Club,

Report of the Committee of the Cobden Club,

As adopted at the General Meeting held in the room of the Century Club, 6, Pall Mall Place, S. W., on June 4th, 1874.

IN accordance with an intimation made last year to the Club, that a general meeting of the members would be held to take into consideration its future action, the Committee now submit a statement of their proceedings from the commencement, and an account of receipts and expenditure up to the present time.

The idea of forming a Club, to be called the "COBDEN CLUB," the object of which should be to encourage the growth and diffusion of those economical and political principles with which Mr. COBDEN'S name is so inseparably connected, occurred to two or three gentlemen in the month of March, 1866.

At the first Meeting, which was held at the Reform Club on the 15th of May, 1866, it was resolved that the Annual Subscription should be Three Guineas, and that a Dinner should take place in the following June or July, at which the future arrangements should be considered.

In accordance with this Resolution the first Dinner took place at the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond, on the 21st July, 1866, the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., in the Chair, and, at a General Meeting held before the Dinner, it was proposed and carried unanimously that the management of the Club, together with the election of Members, should be entrusted to a Committee then nominated, three of whom should form a

quorum.

In the course of the year 1867 there were two Dinners, one on the 2nd March at Willis's Rooms, presided over by the Right Hon. Lord HOUGHTON; and the other on the 3rd July at the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Earl RUSSELL, K.G.

In 1868 a Dinner was held at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, on the 24th June, at which the Right Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P., took the Chair; on the 10th July, 1869, His Grace the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T., and on the 23rd July, 1870, the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., presided at the same place.

The Annual Dinner for the year 1871 was also held at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, on the 24th June, under the presidency of the Right Hon. EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

In the year 1869 the Committee distributed the Political Writings of COBDEN, in 2 vols. 8vo, and published an Essay on that work by Sir LOUIS MALLET, C.B., besides a Prize Essay by Dr. LEAVITT, of New York, on "The Best way of Developing Improved Political Relations between Great Britain and the United States of America." During 1870 they published and distributed the following works:—A volume of Essays on "Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries," contributed by the Right Hon. M. LONGFIELD, CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P., GEORGE CAMPBELL, Esq., M. EMILE DE LAVELEYE, R. B. D. MORIER, Esq., C.B., T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE, Esq., Dr. JULIUS FAUCHER, and C. M. FISHER, Esq.; the Speeches of COBDEN, in 2 vols. 8vo; a reprint of the Official Report by the Hon. DAVID A. WELLS, on the "Revenue of the United States of America for 1869;" a reprint of four letters upon "Commercial Treaties, Free Trade, and Internationalism," by a "Disciple of RICHARD COBDEN," which had appeared in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*; and the report of the proceedings at the Annual Dinner presided over by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

In 1871 the Committee published and distributed a translation, by Colonel OUVRY, C.B., of Professor NASSE's well-known "Treatise on the Village Community of England in the Sixteenth Century;" a reprint of the "Report of the Commissioners (the Hon. DAVID A. WELLS, the Hon. EDWIN DODGE, and the Hon. GEORGE W. CUYLER), to revise the Laws for the Assessment and Collection of Taxes in the State of New York;" the "Report of the Proceedings at the Annual Dinner presided over by the Right Hon. EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.;" a pamphlet upon "The Commercial Policy of France and the Treaty with England of 1860," which, having been translated by Mr. MURRAY, was, at the instance of M. MICHEL CHEVALIER, published in Paris, and extensively circulated throughout France; a Spanish translation of the same pamphlet was independently published at Madrid, by Senor GABRIEL RODRIGUEZ.

At the close of the year the Committee published a second volume of Essays, of which a second edition was issued, upon various subjects of great international, social, and economic importance, viz.:—"The Causes of War, and the Means of Reducing their Number," by M. EMILE DE LAVELEYE; "The Law and Custom of Primogeniture," by the Hon. GEORGE C. BRODRICK; "The Present Aspect of the Land Question," by WILLIAM FOWLER, Esq., M.P.; "Financial Reform," by T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE, Esq.; "A New Commercial Treaty between Great Britain and Germany," by Dr. JULIUS FAUCHER; "The English Coinage Question," by Herr JOHN PRINCE SMITH; "Trade Unions, and the Relations of Capital and Labour," by JOSEPH GOSTICK, Esq.; "The Colonial Question," by Professor JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS; "The Recent Financial, Industrial, and Commercial Experiences of the United States, a Curious Chapter in Politico-Economic History," by the Hon. DAVID A. WELLS, LL.D.; and in the same volume the pamphlet upon the "Commercial Policy of France and the Treaty with England of 1860," is incorporated.

During 1872, a reprint of Mr. GRANT DUFF's speech at Elgin, upon "The Teachings of RICHARD COBDEN," and the "Second Report of the Commissioners (the Hon. DAVID A. WELLS, the Hon. EDWIN DODGE, and the Hon. GEORGE W. CUYLER), to revise the Laws for the Assessment and Collection of Taxes in the State of New York" were distributed, together with an essay by Lord HOBART on "The Mission of RICHARD COBDEN."

In 1873 the dinner, which was postponed from the previous year, was held at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, when the chair was occupied by the Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson.

A report of the proceedings on this occasion, including the speech on the Results of Protection in the United States, delivered by the Hon. David A. Wells, with a preface by Sir Louis Mallet, also a separate report of Mr. Wells' speech for the United States and the Colonies, and an abstract of the same speech in French and German, for the Continent, have been very widely circulated. The Committee have reason to believe that this publication has been of material service to the cause of Free Trade, both in the United States and in the Colonies, especially in Australia, where a signal success has recently been achieved, under the guidance of the Hon. Henry Parkes, in the almost entire abolition of protective duties by the Legislature of New South Wales, which, it is believed, will necessitate a similar policy being adopted in the other Australian colonies.

During the present year the Committee have distributed among the members of the Club, the public libraries, and in other channels, Professor Thorold Rogers' work on "Cobden and Political Opinion," and they have assisted in the circulation of the "Financial Reform Almanack for 1874." They have also presented an English translation of a selection of Bastiat's Essays on Political Economy to libraries and other institutions

where it will be of special service to working men.

The number of copies of each publication distributed by the Committee from the commencement, together with the entire amount expended under this head, will be found recorded, with other items, in the Appendix.

The Committee have at all times sought for the most useful channels, both public and private, through which to impart information to all parts of the world, especially where the English language is spoken.

The number of libraries throughout the world, and the various associations and public institutions with which they are in communication will be found in the Appendix.

Mr. Cobden's letters are in course of collection by Mr. Richard, M.P., with a view to publication. They will be published independently of the Club, but the Committee will consider it a duty to afford every assistance in their circulation.

In 1868, to meet the wish of several members, the Committee procured the use of rooms in Pall Mall for weekly social gatherings, but gave them up in the following year, as the attendance disappointed their hope.

The Committee have endeavoured from time to time to encourage the advocacy of Mr. Cobden's principles by the award of medals.

A gold medal was presented in 1869 to Dr. Leavitt, the author of the Prize Essay already mentioned; and medals in bronze were presented for various services to persons both in England and abroad. In 1870, silver medals were awarded to the writers of the Essays on Systems of Land Tenure, to Sir Louis Mallet, and to Mr. Lieber of New York. In the present year, a gold medal has been presented to the Hon. Henry Parkes, for his distinguished services in promoting Free Trade in New South Wales.

In 1870, the first decided steps were taken towards procuring new club-house accommodation for the Liberal party in London, the want of which has been long felt. It had been an object of the Cobden Club from the commencement to meet this want, and the Committee undertook to render their best services in the promotion of the undertaking. A memorial was received by them last year, numerously signed by members of the Cobden Club, strongly urging the same subject upon their consideration.

While the Committee will cordially assist in this object, they are far from recommending that the Cobden Club should be merged in an ordinary Club, or converted into that form, as its functions are, and should continue to be, literary and political, according to the objects of its founders. They hope, however, by co-operating in the organisation of a new Liberal Club, to secure for their members facilities for entering the Club when formed,

The Club Committee of the Central Liberal Association passed the following resolution on July 3rd:—"That any gentleman now a member of the Cobden Club, who may be willing to become a member of the proposed new Liberal Club, be admitted as an original member, provided a notification to that effect be received by the Committee on or before July 31st."

and an official habitation for themselves. They hope also to obtain privileges for occasional entertainments, and for the hospitable reception of their foreign honorary members visiting London, which would greatly increase the usefulness of a national Liberal Club having international as well as party political objects. In the meantime the Committee recommend that rooms or an office should be obtained for their own use.

The Committee have been desirous from the commencement to perpetuate and extend the international influence which Cobden commanded during his lifetime, and therefore made it an essential part of their programme to enrol amongst their honorary members eminent men of all countries, and to associate them in the work of promoting amity and improving the commercial and political relations between nations.

The number of foreign honorary members is now very considerable, and if, in connection with a new Club-house, the Committee are able to offer substantial hospitality in addition to the interchange of ideas through letters and publications, their hands will be greatly strengthened in their foreign work.

Early in 1870 the Committee considered the expediency of an international Conference of English and foreign free-traders, to be held in London, under the auspices of the Cobden Club, and a programme for such a Congress was drafted, but the scheme was interrupted by the outbreak of the European war in that year. The project has since been under the consideration of the Committee, but has not yet been matured.

The Committee came to the decision some years ago that it was not desirable that an annual dinner of the Club should be held as a matter of course, but that, when possible, an entertainment or gathering of some kind should be given on the occasion of the visit of some distinguished foreigner, or in honour of some eminent statesman of this country.

In accordance with this view they hope that an opportunity for such a gathering may be offered the Club during the present year.

With regard to the future action of the Club, the Committee, in accordance with recent resolutions, submit the following proposals:—

To publish in a cheap form a selection from Mr. Cobden's speeches and works, and books and pamphlets calculated to further the cause of Free Trade, for circulation in Great Britain, the United States, and the British

Colonies.

To assist in promoting lectures and publications on Political Economy, and instituting rewards for essays in accordance with Mr. Cobden's views.

To communicate with friends in other countries with a view of circulating Free Trade publications and helping on measures likely to promote international amity.

The Committee have immediately in view the preparation of a new volume of Essays on Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom and other countries. They have entrusted the choice of Writers to the Literary Committee, whose services, so often rendered since 1869, they most cordially acknowledge. They trust that, as the subject is one of great and immediate importance both in our country and abroad, the forthcoming publication will be opportune and useful, and as highly appreciated as were the two previous series of essays.

While thus submitting proposals for future action to the collective opinion of the Club, the Committee hope that full discretion will be accorded to them, as heretofore, in their endeavours to direct the policy of the Club in accordance with its original objects.

The Committee will take such measures as they may find desirable for an Annual Meeting of the Members of the Club, for the election of the Committee, and for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it on notice.

The COBDEN CLUB now consists of 509 Ordinary Members, and 185 Honorary Members.

The following Gentlemen form the Committee:—

- Mr. WM. HENRY ASHURST.
- Right Hon. W. E. BAXTER, M.P.
- Mr. RICHARD BAXTER, *Treasurer*.
- Mr. SOMERSET A. BEAUMONT.
- Mr. JACOB BRIGHT.
- Mr. ALEXANDER H. BROWN, M.P.
- Mr. JAMES CAIRD, C.B.
- Mr. H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, M.P.
- Mr. W. C. CARTWRIGHT, M.P.
- Sir C. W. DILKE, Bart., M.P.
- Mr. M. E. GRANT DUFF, M.P.
- Mr. RICHARD C. FISHER.
- Mr. C. WREN HOSKYNS.
- Lord HOUGHTON.
- Mr. A. C. HUMPHREYS.
- Mr. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH.
- Mr. JOHN LAMBERT, C.B.
- Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Bart., M.P.
- Mr. E. A. LEATHAM, M.P.
- Mr. T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE.
- Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P.
- Sir LOUIS MALLET, C.B.
- Mr. R. B. D. MORIER, C.B.
- Mr. T. BAYLEY POTTER, M.P., *Hon. Sec.*
- Mr. J. W. PROBYN.
- Professor J. E. THOROLD ROGERS.
- Lord ARTHUR J. E. RUSSELL, M.P.
- Mr. PETER RYLANDS.
- Mr. G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P.
- *Secretary*—Mr. GEORGE C. WARR,
- 5, Millman Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.

Cobden Club.—INCOME and EXPENDITURE

from March, 1866, to 31st December, 1873.

List of Libraries, Public Institutions, Associations, &c., with which the Cobden Club is in communication.

Free and Public Libraries of the United Kingdom.

Public Libraries on the Continent (73).

Public Libraries in the United States (256).

Libraries and Clubs in Australia, Canada, the West Indies, Cape of Good Hope, &c. (63).

Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.

- Those comprised in the list of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union.
 - Lancashire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.
 - Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.
 - Co-operative Associations connected with the Central Co operative Board, and Equitable Pioneers' Association, Rochdale.
- Royal Colonial Institute.
 Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.
 Chambers of Commerce in the Colonies.
 Association of Chambers of Commerce in Germany (Dr. ALEXANDER MEYER, *Secretary*).
 Chambers of Commerce in France.
 British Chamber of Commerce in Paris (K. B. MURRAY, Esq., *Secretary*).
 Congress of German Economists (Dr. KARL BRAUN, *President*).
 Free Trade League, New York (MAHLON SANDS, Esq., *Secretary*).
 Young Men's Free Trade Association, Boston (W. DOWNIE, Esq., *President*).
 Reform Union, Manchester.
 Financial Reform Association, Liverpool.
 Trübner & Co., for foreign distribution.
 Edward Wilson, Esq., of the *Melbourne Argus*, for Australian circulation.
 News Papers, London and Provincial in number, 147.
 News Papers, on the Continent, in number, 55.
 News Papers, in the U.S.A., in number, 20.
 Foreign Embassies and Legations.
 Chief Magistrates in United Kingdom, in number, 224.
 Honorary Members of the Club, on the Continent, in the United States, &c.

List of Members.

*Names in Italics are those of Honorary Members. * Present at the Annual Dinner.*

Arranged under Their Respective Countries.

General Laws

For the Government of The
 New Zealand Central District
 (No. 85)
 Independent
 Order of Rechabites
 (Salford Unity)
 Friendly Society,
 AND THE
 District Bye-Laws.
 1872.

REGISTERED UNDER THE "FRIENDLY SOCIETIES' ACT, 1867."

Wellington: Published and Sold by the District Secretary, DISTRICT CHAMBERS, MANNERS STREET.
 MDCCCLXXV.

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Motto:

"We Will Drink No Wine."

hives

"We will drink no wine; for Jonadab, the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us. saying. Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever."—Jer. xxxv. 6.

"And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying. Do not drink trine nor strong drink, thou nor thy sons will, thee, when ye no into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die; it shall be a statute for ever through-out your generations."—Lev. x. 8, 9.

"Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until

night till wine inflame them."—Isaiah v. 11.

"Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink."—Isaiah v. 22.

"Woe unto him, that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayest lock on their nakedness."—Hab. ii. 15.

"For while they be folden, together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry,"—Nah. i. 10.

Independent Order of Rechabites.

hand shake

"Mercy and Truth are Met Together.

This is to Certify that Brother _____ was Initiated a Member of the _____ Sent,
No _____ on the _____ day of _____ 18 _____
_____ C. R.
_____ sec.

Opening Hymn

EACH effort to redeem our race,
Who by Intemperance are made slaves,
To lead them back to paths of peace,
The blessing of our God receives.

And if our labour He approve,
Success upon it will attend;
And we, in this employ of love,
Our happiest hours on earth shall spend.

Closing Hymn

SWIFTLY our moments pass away,
And soon they all will disappear:
May we endeavour, while 'tis day,
To stop the drunkard's mad career.

Soon will the final hour arrive,
When all our care and toil will cease:
O, may we each with ardour strive
To dry the springs which banish peace.

Address to the Members of Total Abstinence Societies and Temperance Friends in New

Zealand.

DEAR FRIENDS—Whilst commending the claims of the Independent Order of Rechabites to your support, we consider it advisable to give you a brief sketch of the Institution and its objects.

The Order was established at Salford, Manchester, in the year 1835, and rapidly extended over England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Soon afterwards it was introduced into the United States of America, where it achieved great success, and has been largely instrumental in doing good, and now numbers over 19,000 financial members, and a large number of great and good men as honorary members. Its total funds show it to be worth over £6 per member, making it richer, in proportion to numbers, than any other affiliated Order. In the year 1847 it became acclimatised in Australia; and at the present time there are no less than eight Districts, each containing a number of branches or tents. The Order was established in Auckland, New Zealand, in the year 1863. Since that time considerable progress has been made in the spread of the Order, principally in the northern portion of the colony; but very little has been done in the south, owing to the distance from the head-quarters of the District in Auckland, and the consequent difficulty experienced in the opening of new Tents. This difficulty is now obviated, the Board of Directors in England having granted a dispensation for the formation of a District in Wellington. The necessary steps for the registration of the New Zealand Central District have been taken, and the General Laws are so framed as to secure all the advantages of co-operation.

Space forbids our going at length into the subject of the constitution of Friendly Societies existing under the various names of Odd Fellows, Foresters, Druids, &c.; beside, their advantages and benefits are so well known and appreciated that it would be a work of supererogation to dwell upon them. But there is one evil attached to them which too often neutralises the good they effect—viz., the *drinking customs* which are almost inseparable from societies whose meetings are held in public-houses. An endeavour has been made in some instances to provide places of meeting apart from public-houses, but the evil still exists in this colony to an alarming extent, and we fear that numbers who were once sober men and good citizens have reason to deplore their connection with societies whose meetings are held in public-houses. One Order unblushingly proclaims to the world its love and veneration for the great curse of the day in the following paragraph:—"Besides uniting to render less trying the vicissitudes of human existence, we assemble to promote the social happiness of our brethren, and *relieve our minds from the pressure of care by temperate conviviality.*" The statement is unmistakable—comment would be superfluous.

While much good has been accomplished by some of the Orders alluded to, every candid mind must admit that, as at present constituted, they are unfavourable to the promotion of Temperance. We have no desire to cry down other institutions in order to enhance the advantages derivable, from an association with our own, but, in all soberness and truth, we are bound to assert that we not only possess superior advantages to other Orders, but that we are free from their most manifest imperfections.

The name of our Order is taken from a body of people called "Rechabites," referred to by the Prophet Jeremiah (see chap, XXXV.), who were commanded by their great forefather "not to drink wine;" and amongst other injunctions were directed to "live in tents;" and as our members drink "neither wine nor strong drink," the founders of the Order thought the name a very appropriate one. Our Order is composed of Districts, and Branches called "Tents;" hence another similarity to the ancient Rechabites. So much for our distinctive appellation.

Our members are bound by a solemn undertaking "firmly to unite and inflexibly to stand by each other in sickness and in health, in prosperous and in adverse circumstances." We are pledged not only to spread the principles of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, but also to discountenance their use, manufacture, and sale.

We seek to improve the moral tone of society, to promote brotherly love amongst men, to relieve the poor and distressed, to lessen the sorrow of the sick bed, to smooth the ruggedness of the path to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns," and to comfort, sympathise with, and relieve the wants of the widow and the orphan.

We earnestly desire to see the Order spread and flourish through-out New Zealand; we are resolved, with the blessing of Almighty God, to spare no exertion to accomplish that end; but our efforts will be comparatively powerless unless we receive the active co-operation of the members of Total Abstinence Societies, and more especially of the office-bearers of our several Tents. We appeal to every Christian minister and Sabbath-school teacher to consider our objects and principles, the evils we propose to remedy, and the means at our and their disposal to promote sober and provident habits amongst the people, and. we cordially invite them to help us. Especially, we appeal to the members of Bands of Hope throughout the colony to enrol themselves as Rechabites, and co-operate with us in advancing the objects of the Order.

That the Order may be speedily increased an hundredfold in numbers and in usefulness, and that it may prove a blessing to this our adopted land, and the whole human family, is the heartfelt prayer of

—Yours faithfully,

The District Officers, I.O.R.

Every information respecting the Order, and the formation of new Tents, may be obtained by applying by letter to the Secretary of any Tent, or to the District Secretary, District Chambers, Manners-street, Wellington.

General Laws.

Government of the District.

THE Board of directors of the Independent Order of
Preamble

Rechabites (Salford Unity) Friendly Society having granted a dispensation for the formation of a District in Wellington New Zealand: Be it hereby enacted that these Law shall be acknowledged as the General Laws of the New Zealand Central District of the Independent Order of Rechabites Friendly Society in the Colony of New Zealand, immediately on their being certified in accordance with the provisions of the "Friendly Societies Act, 1807."

1. *Name and Constitution.*—This Society shall be called
Name

"THE NEW ZEALAND CENTRAL DISTRICT INDEPENDENT ORDER OF RECHABITES FRIENDLY SOCIETY," in connection with the Salford Unity Friendly Society; and shall consist of associated branches, called Touts, having a General Board or
Constitution

Committee of Management (hereinafter styled the District Council) composed of representatives appointed by Tents, as hereinafter provided for; four officers called the District Chief Ruler or D.C.R., the District Deputy Ruler or

Officers

D.D.R., the District Secretary or D.S., the District Treasurer or D.T., and one past-officer, namely, the P.D.C.R., who shall be a member *ex officio* of the Council for a period of twelve months after having retired from the office of D.C.R. All members shall, at their initiation, sign the following pledge:—"I hereby declare that I will abstain

Pledge

from all intoxicating liquors, except in religious ordinances, or when prescribed by a legal medical practioner during sickness which renders mo incapable of following my employment, and that I will not give nor offer them to others. I will not engage in the traffic of them, but in all suitable ways will discountenance the use, manufacture, and sale of them; and I will endeavour to spread the principles of abstinence from all intoxicating liquors."

2. *Objects of the Society.*—The objects of the Society are
Objects

as follows:—To raise a fund by entrance fees, subscriptions of members, levies by District Council, fines, donations, and by interest on capital, for insuring a sum of

Funeral Allowance Sick Pay Medical, Attendance Life and Annuity Insurance Temporary Assistance
Classification of Members

money to be paid on the death of a member, and also for insuring a sum of money to be paid to a member on the death of his wife; for the relief of members in sickness and old age; for providing medical aid and medicine to members, their wives and children; for the formation of an Assurance Branch; for the formation of an Annuity Branch; for granting temporary assistance to the widows and children of deceased members; for providing members with assistance when travelling in search of employment; and for assisting members in distressed circumstances. Members shall be classified as follows:—Full benefit mem- bers, half-benefit members, honorary members, assurance members, and annuitants.

District Council Officers

3. *The District Council* shall be composed of the four officers named in General Law No. 1, and one past

officer who shall have one vote each, and the District Chief Ruler,

Representatives Number of Votes.

or presiding officer, a casting vote also; and one representative from each Tent numbering less than 50 good members at last quarterly return; above 50 and under 100, two representatives; and above 100, three representatives each. Representatives of Tents at an inconvenient distance from

Proxies

Wellington may, if they think fit, appoint proxies to act for them, but no brother either as representative or proxy

Powers of District Council'

shall represent more than one Tent. The duty of the District Council shall be to open new branches or Districts, divide Districts already formed, or to otherwise add to, take from, or alter boundaries of Districts formed or to be formed; to approve, alter, amend, or reject laws to be submitted for the Council's approval by branches called Districts or Tents; to make levies upon members (payable through the Tents) for payment of contingent expenses and other purposes; to receive the Auditors' Report; to hear and finally determine all cases of appeal; and to transact all and any other business relating to the Order that may from time to time be brought before it.

District Officers' Duties

4. *District Officers' Duties.*—The District Officers shall attend all District Meetings, and see that the General Laws are strictly adhered to. They shall receive all applications for opening new Tents,

For form of application, see page 37.

provide the necessary material, and make all arrangements for opening same. They shall carry into effect the General Laws, and all alterations made therein from time to time, and generally supervise

Visit Tents

the conduct of Tents. They shall visit the Tents as often as convenient, and shall take the chair in any Tent they officially visit. They shall have power to attach and receive

Collect Moneys

the funds of any Tent dissolved in accordance with Law 34, in whosoever possession the same funds may be, by a resolution passed by them, certified under their hands, and signed by the D.C.R. and D.D.R., and countersigned by the D.S., and sealed with the seal of the District; such funds to be appropriated as hereinafter

Password

provided. They shall procure and issue the quarterly password. Their decision upon all questions of law shall be binding, unless disallowed by the Annual Meeting as provided for in General Law No. 108. They shall demand from Tents such sum as may be due according to the last returns to Funeral Fund, or for contingent expenses.

Call Special Meetings

They may call a District Meeting at any time when they conceive one to be required. They may grant clearances

Grant Clearances

to any members who may wish to withdraw from any Tent about to secede from the District, or to break up, and to any members unjustly expelled; but such clearances when lodged in any other Tent shall not be hold to entitle the brother to sick benefit until he has been twelve months a member thereof.

Nomination

5. *District Officers, how chosen.*—The nomination for District Officers shall take place at the October District Meeting in each year, and the election shall take place at the Annual Meeting. The nominations shall be made openly by members of the District Council, each nomination being moved by one officer or member and seconded by another officer or member. The election shall be taken

Election, how conducted

by ballot, the names for each office being written or printed upon cards, one card to be handed to each officer and member present, who shall erase the names of those for whom he does not intend to vote, leaving one name only upon the card for each office. The District Chief Ruler shall take the poll, and may select two scrutineers

Poll

to assist him; cards with more names than one left for each office shall be rejected in every case in which two names shall have been left for an office. The District Chief Ruler shall declare the poll, and declare the members thus chosen duly elected. In the event of an equality of

Equality of Votes

votes for any office, the District Chief Ruler shall draw lots, and the member whose name shall be so drawn shall be declared duly elected. No candidate for office shall be declared duly elected unless a clear majority of votes are recorded in his favour. The term of office shall commence

Term of Office

from the 25th day of March immediately following the election, and prior to all officers taking their seats of office they shall take the obligation prescribed for such officer, which obligation shall be administered by the retiring D.C.R., or, in his absence, by the retiring D.D.R., or any past District Officer. If it shall so happen that one candidate

One Candidate, no Ballot

only shall be proposed for any office, the District Chief Ruler shall at the Annual Meeting declare such one candidate duly elected without proceeding to a ballot. In the event of a vacancy occurring, it shall be filled by the

Vacancies, how filled

remaining District Officers appointing a brother to the office until the next District Meeting (prior to which the D.S. shall send an intimation of such vacancy to each Tent), when nominations shall be received, and a ballot taken. Any member having filled the office of Chief Ruler

Qualification of Officers

or Secretary in any Tent shall be eligible for any office in the District.

6. Proxies.—Should the D.C.R., D.D.R., or P.D.C.R. reside

Proxies.

more than twenty miles from Wellington, he may appoint a member duly qualified (see General Law 5) to act as his proxy: Provided, however, that the proxy so appointed shall be a full-benefit member of the Order.

7. District Chief Ruler.—The District Chief Ruler shall

D.C.R.'s Duties

preside at all District Meetings and meetings of the District Officers. he shall have the oversight of the entire working of the District, shall take precedence of all officers, and shall take the chair in any Tent he officially visits. He shall open all Tents, or appoint, by writing under his hand, some duly-qualified member to act in his stead. He, or his proxy, shall sign conjointly with the District Secretary all official circulars issued from the District, and all orders for payment upon the District Treasurer.

8. District Deputy Ruler.—The District Deputy Ruler,

D.D.R.'s Duties

or his proxy, shall assist the District Chief Ruler, or his proxy, at all District Meetings, and shall fulfil all the functions of the District Chief Ruler, or proxy, during their absence or illness.

D.S.'s Duties

9. *District Secretary*.—The District Secretary shall attend all the meetings of the District and District Officers, take minutes of all business transacted, and (unless a Corresponding Secretary be specially appointed) shall carry on

Keep Books, Minutes, &c.

the correspondence, keep the books, and transact all the business of the District. He shall receive all correspondence

Custodian of Goods

and file same, and be sole custodian of all books, goods, and other personal property of the District, and shall deliver up same on demand to District Chief Ruler, or any person duly authorised by resolution of the District Officers or District Council to receive the same. He shall cause all written communications and documents forwarded by

District Seal

him to be stamped, and bear the impression of the District seal. He shall procure, under direction of District Officers,

Procure Goods

all goods necessary for the efficient working of the District, and shall superintend the forwarding of same. He shall

Procure Returns

procure from all Secretaries of Tents the Annual Returns required by the "Friendly Societies Act, 1867," sec. LII., and shall transmit same to the Registrar-General. In all cases where the funeral allowance is claimed, he shall procure from the Secretaries of Tents the certificate according to Schedule of Forms, No. 6. The salary of the

Salary

District Secretary shall be fixed by the Annual District

Give Security

Meeting. He shall give security for the money and property in his possession in accordance with the "Friendly Societies Act, 1867," sec. XIX.

D.T.'s Duties

10. *District Treasurer*.—The District Treasurer shall receive all moneys from the District Secretary, and give receipts for same. All cash shall be placed in one of the

Cash, where placed

banks to the credit of the District Council, to be thereafter invested in accordance with the provisions of the "Friendly

Furnish Accounts

Societies Act, 1867," sec. XXI. He shall, when required, balance his cash accounts, supply the District Secretary with a duplicate thereof, and allow that officer and the Auditors to inspect his accounts at all reasonable times. Before taking upon himself the duties of his office, he must give security in accordance with the "Friendly

Moneys paid by Cheque

Societies Act," sec. LII. All accounts to be paid by cheque, signed by D.C.R., D.S., and D.T.

11. *District Trustees*.—There shall be three Trustees of

Names and Dates

the District, and Henry Bowater, Gilbert Carson, and John Bock, all of the city of Wellington, in the colony of New Zealand, shall be the present Trustees, and shall remain in office during the pleasure of the District Council. They shall lay out and invest the moneys so lodged in their names in the bank as aforesaid, in accordance with a resolution passed by any quarterly or special Meeting of the District, a copy of such resolution being first received by them, signed by the District Chief Ruler and District Secretary.

Resolution appointing Trustees deposited with Registrar

Every resolution appointing a Trustee shall be signed by such Trustee, and countersigned by the District Chief Ruler, District Deputy Ruler, and District Secretary, and such resolution, so signed and countersigned, shall be transmitted to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, to be by him deposited with the rules of the Order. In the event of

Removal from office

a Trustee being removed from his office and refusing or neglecting to assign or transfer any property of the Order, such Trustee, if a member of the Order, shall for such refusal or neglect be expelled from and cease to have any claim upon the Order on account of any contributions paid by him.

12. *District Guardian*.—The District Chief Ruler shall

D.G.'s Duties

from time to time appoint a member of one of the Tents to act as Guardian, whose duty shall be to keep the door at District Meetings, prevent the entrance of strangers, and remove any person from such meeting when so directed by the District Chief Ruler.

13. *Auditors*.—There shall be two Auditors appointed at

When appointed Duties

the Annual Meeting in each year, whose duties shall be to examine and check the accounts of the District, see that the books are properly kept and balanced, and that a correct balance-sheet is prepared half-yearly. They shall be satisfied that all moneys, deeds, and securities are in safe keeping, and shall report half-yearly upon the state of the accounts and books; such report and balance-sheet to be printed and circulated among the members as soon as convenient. They shall be paid by the District, for their services as Auditors, such sums as may be voted by the Annual Meeting. Candidates for the office of District Auditors shall be nominated in the same manner as District Officers, and the Auditor who has held office for the longest period shall not be eligible for nomination or re-election for the space of one year from the date of the termination of his office.

14. *District Meetings*.—The District Meetings shall take

Quarterly Meetings

place quarterly, that is to say, in the months of April, July, October, and January in each year, and the time for holding the Annual Meeting shall be fixed by the January Quarterly Meeting. The Quarterly Meetings shall be held

Where held Annual Meetings Adjournments Tent in Arrears

in the city of Wellington, and the Annual Meeting at such place as shall be determined upon at the preceding Annual Meeting. All meetings may be adjourned from time to time until the business on the paper be disposed of. No representative from any Tent more than three months in arrears to the District shall be allowed to take part in the proceedings of the District Council, or vote, or hold office. All meetings of the District shall be open to

Open to Members

members of the Order, except when otherwise ordered by the District Officers; but visiting members shall take no part whatever in the business of such meeting.

15. *Annual Meeting*.—The Annual Meeting shall be held

Where held

at such place and time as shall be fixed for holding same, as directed by the 14th General Law, at which the business

Business at Annual Meetings

set down upon the business paper shall be considered. All alterations of General Laws shall be made at this meeting. The officers of the District shall be elected, and all other matters directed to be done at Annual Meetings, and especially the matters set out in the 3rd General Law, shall be then determined. All the District Officers shall attend that meeting, and Tents shall elect representatives, who shall attend in person or by proxy. No member shall represent more than one Tent. The District Secretary shall not represent any Tent.

16. *Attendance of Members*.—Each Officer and Representative shall attend all meetings and adjournments of meetings of the District at the proper time and place.

Fines for non and late Attendance

Any Officer, Representative, or proxy being absent when his name is called, shall be fined 2s. 6d., and if absent during the whole of the meeting he shall be further fined 2s. 6d., unless a satisfactory apology in writing be sent, when one or both fines may be remitted. Fines for non-attendance to be paid into the District Contingent Fund,

How re-covered

and recovered from the defaulting brother by the Tent to which he belongs.

Representative's Certificate

17. *Certificate of Appointment*.—Each Tent shall provide its Representative with a certificate of appointment

For form of Certificate, see page 39.

signed by C.R. and Secretary, and bearing the Tent Seal.

Fine not providing Certificate

Any Tent not providing its Representative with a certificate, or not appointing a Representative or proxy,

For form of Certificate of Appointment of Proxy, see page 39.

shall be fined 10s. for each District Meeting the Tent shall be so unrepresented.

Law of Debate

18. *Conduct of Members*.—Officers and Representatives shall in all cases, when speaking, address the D.C.R. They shall speak once only on the same subject, except by way of explanation, and with consent of the D.C.R. The mover shall have the right to reply. Should any Officer

Violation of same

or Representative violate this rule he shall be called to order, and should he persist he shall be fined 2s. 6d., and should he still persist he shall be further fined 5s., and be compelled to withdraw from the meeting. Fines to go to the District Contingent Fund, and be collected by offending brother's Tent.

19. *Officers or Representatives Resigning*.—Should any Officer or Representative resign his office before the expiration of the term for which he shall be elected, or be

If satisfactory reason not given, to be fined

absent from two successive meetings—except a reason satisfactory to the District Council be assigned for such resignation or absence—he shall be fined 10s. and his office declared vacant, which shall be filled up according to law. Provided, nevertheless, that Representatives may be removed by their own Tent, as provided by the 107th General Law.

Special Meeting upon requisition

20. *Special Meetings*.—The District Chief Ruler, upon request of not less than one-third of the representative members of the District Council, shall have power to call a Special meeting; such request to be in writing, and the subject of such meeting to be clearly set forth.

Quorum, how constituted

21. *Quorum*.—No business shall be transacted at any meeting of the District unless two of the Officers be present, and the Representatives of not less than one-third of the number of Tents in connection with the District.

22. *Funeral Fund*.—The District Council shall establish a Funeral Fund for the interment of deceased members, and the deceased wives or widows of members (if insured),

Contribution

to which every member shall contribute the entrance fee according to General Law 43, and such other sum as the District Officers shall at the end of each quarter deem necessary to keep said fund at an amount equal to £1 per member for every member returned to the District the

Fund kept separate

previous quarter. All moneys received on account of this fund shall be kept separate and distinct from all other funds, and no payments shall be made from the fund except for Funeral purposes.

23. *Contingent Fund*.—The expenses of management of the District shall be paid from a Contingent Fund, raised

Raised by Levy

by an equal levy upon each member of the District; and the District Council shall have power to apportion and call for such levy quarterly or otherwise as they may determine. All payments by District Council (except funerals) shall be made from this fund; and the proceeds of sale of

Sale of Goods

goods, &c., and fines not otherwise disposed of, shall be credited to same.

24. *Quarterly Returns to District*.—A return of all members

Member Moneys

good upon the books of each Tent, with the moneys paid for entrance, the contributions to the Funeral Fund, and the levies for contingent expenses, according to form

Levies

to be provided by the District Officers, shall be sent to the District Secretary every three months, signed by the Chief Ruler and Secretary of the Tent; and if an incorrect return

Fine for incorrect Return Returns, when made

be made with a view to defraud, the officers making the return shall be fined £1 each. The Quarterly Returns must be made within fourteen days of the 25th of March, June, September, and December.

25. *Funeral Allowance*.—Upon the death of any member

Certificate

who has been twelve months in the Order, and whose payments and name have been returned in the last Quarterly Returns, and the production to the D.S. of the Certificate, according to Schedule of Forms, No. 6, the D.T., upon the order of the D.C.R. and D.S., shall pay to the Stewards of

Amount of Benefit

the Tent to which such deceased member shall have belonged the sum of £20 if insured for full benefit, or the sum of £10 if insured for half benefit; and upon the death of any member's wife, or widow, who has been registered

Member's Wife

twelve months, and returned as aforesaid, the D.T. shall pay, in like manner, the sum of £15.

26. *Relief Contingent Fund*.—The District Council shall

Assist Tents Insure Sick Pay

establish a Relief Contingent Fund to assist those Tents which are unable to meet the legitimate demands of their members, and to insure sick pay to members of Tents dissolved

Funds, how sustained

in accordance with General Law 34, to which fund 6d. per member per annum shall be paid from Sick and Funeral Fund; when said fund shall have the sum of £500 to its credit, all contributions on its behalf to cease. Provided that, when the sum shall be under the amount of £500, the Annual Meeting shall have power to make a levy not exceeding 6d. per annum per member to make up deficiency, said levy to be paid as before provided.

27. *Female and Juvenile Tents*.—The District Council

How established

shall establish Female and Juvenile Tents upon application duly signed by not less than ten candidates, and countersigned by the Chief Ruler and Secretary of the Tent under the auspices of which such new Tent is to be established; such Female and Juvenile Tents, together with their

Payments and Benefits

entrance fees, payments, and benefit, to be regulated by laws adopted and confirmed by the District Council.

28. *Assurance Branch*.—The District Council may establish an Assurance Branch for insuring a sum to be paid on the death of a member to the person nominated in writing, to be deposited as provided by the "Friendly Societies Act;"

How managed

such branch to be governed by Bye-laws and Regulations to be approved by the Annual Meeting. The payments and

Payments and Benefits

benefits shall be regulated by tables, which shall be approved by the Officer appointed under the "Friendly Societies Act."

How insured

29. *Assurance Member*.—Any full-benefit, half-benefit, or honorary member may become an Assurance Member, upon making application to the District Secretary, and upon his conforming to the requirements of said branch.

How established

30. *Annuity Branch*.—The District Council may establish an Annuity Branch for the purpose of securing to members deferred annuities in old age upon their making certain annual payments, which branch shall be governed by Bye-laws and Regulations to be approved by the Annual

Payments and Benefits

Meeting; and the payments and annuities shall be regulated and defined by tables, approved and certified as directed by the "Friendly Societies Act."

How insured

31. *Annuitants*.—Any full or half benefit or honorary member may become an Annuitant Member upon making application to the District Secretary in the same manner and form as prescribed by General Law No. 28, for admission to the Assurance Branch.

32. *Benevolent Fund*.—The District Council may establish a Benevolent Fund for the relief of Widows and Orphans, or Members in distressed circumstances through sickness,

Contributions

accident, or other misfortune, to which fund twopence per quarter per member from Tent Contingent Fund shall be

Applications approved by Tent

appropriated. All applications for assistance from this fund shall be made to the District Officers, such application to have the sanction of the Tent of which the applicant is a member, and be signed by the Chief Ruler and Secretary; and the District Officers shall have full power to inquire

Amount of Relief

into the merits of such application, and grant any sum not exceeding £5 on such conditions as they may determine.

33. *Travelling Relief Fund*.—The District Council may establish a fund for the relief of members travelling in search of employment, and District Meetings may levy upon each member in the District to meet the required expenditure.

To produce Certificate

Any member applying for aid when travelling must produce a certificate from his Tent, signed by the officers, certifying that he had sufficient reason for leaving his home; and no member shall be entitled to a travelling certificate until he is a full member, and shall at the time be good upon the books.

34. *Dissolution of Tents*.—Any Tent or Branch of the Order which has been established twelve months, and is not in a position to fulfil all the requirements of the dispensation granted at the opening, and of the General Laws of the

How to be Dissolved

Order, the District may dissolve such Tent or Branch in manner following, that is to say, by a resolution passed by the District Council, certified, signed, countersigned, and sealed, as provided in Law No. 4, and a copy thereof published three consecutive times in some one newspaper published in or nearest to the locality or district in which such Tent or branch shall be usually held; immediately whereupon such Tent or branch shall be dissolved, and to all intents and purposes cease to be a Tent or branch; and the production of the original resolution, and the several issues of the newspapers in which such published resolution shall appear, shall be conclusive evidence in all places and to all parties that such Tent or branch cannot fulfil all the requirements of the dispensation granted at the opening and of the General Laws of the Order, and that such Tent or branch has been duly dissolved, and ceased to be a Tent or branch, and without the production of any other evidence whatsoever. And the District Officers may grant

Grant Clearances

clearances to the members to join some other Tent, and such clearances shall have the same effect as if granted from one Tent to another. All moneys, goods, and other property

Disposal of Moneys

belonging to said Tent shall become the property and be placed to the credit of the District Relief Contingent Fund.

35. *Complaint against District Officer*.—In the event of a complaint being preferred against any District Officer, of breaking the pledge, violating the laws of the Order, improper conduct in the discharge of his official duties, or the committal of any civil crime or offence, such officer

How Suspended

shall be suspended from the exercise of his functions by resolution assented to by a majority of the

members of the District Council in ordinary or special meeting assembled, until such time as the District Council have investigated the complaint, and decided upon same. Provided, however, that such investigation and decision shall not be delayed for any longer period than four weeks, calculated from the time when the complaint was preferred; and that such officer shall not be suspended without first having been duly summoned to answer the complaint.

36. *District to provide Goods.*—The District Council shall provide General Laws, Books, Returns, Bashes, and all material necessary for the working of the Order, from which stock Tents shall obtain their supplies. Any Tent obtaining

Penalty

any such General Laws, Books, Returns, Sashes, material, &c., &c., otherwise than through the District, shall be deemed to have committed an offence, and shall forfeit and pay for every such offence the sum of five pounds.

37. *District may be Divided.*—Tents desiring to withdraw from the District for the purpose of forming a new District, shall give three months' notice in writing, signed by the

How accomplished

C.R., D.R., and Secretary of each Tent, with the Seal affixed, such notice to be addressed to the D.C.R., to be given in at one District Meeting and to expire at the next District Meeting, up to which last-named time the Tents shall pay all returns, arrears, dues, and levies. It shall thereupon be lawful for the District Officers, by and with the sanction of the representatives of the remaining Tents, to take the necessary steps, prepare the documents, and proceed to open the new District. The new District shall receive from the parent District the amount of moneys contributed by the several seceding Tents to the Funeral Fund, less the amount chargeable to such Tents for funerals, and all other expenses incurred and losses occasioned in the management of the District. The same rule shall apply in the case of a Tent desiring to secede for the purpose of joining a new District. Any Tent leaving contrary to this rule, or in any

Penalty

manner infringing thereupon, shall be fined five pounds, to be paid into the District Contingent Fund, and be suspended.

38. *District Bye-Laws.*—The District Council may from time to time make Bye-laws for its own guidance, and for the better management and conduct of Tents and members, provided nothing therein contained shall be contrary to or

Submitted to Tents

opposed to any General Law, or to the provisions of the "Friendly Societies Act." Provided further that no such Bye-law shall take effect unless copies thereof be furnished to each Tent at least two months prior to a quarterly meeting of the Council, and a majority of votes of the members present at such meeting be recorded in favour of such Bye-law.

39. *Dissolution.*—Should the Order in the New Zealand Central District at any time be reduced to a less number

Special Meeting to be called

than twelve good members, it shall be lawful for such members to dissolve or determine the Society by consent, at a meeting to be specially called for that purpose, provided that it shall not be dissolved or determined without obtaining the votes of five-sixths in number of the then-existing members thereof, including Honorary Members (if any), to be ascertained in the manner directed by the "Friendly Societies Act," sees. XXXVII., XXXVIII., XXXIX., and XL., nor without the consent of every person (it any) then receiving, or entitled to receive, any relief or

Division of Funds

other benefit from the funds thereof, to be testified under his hand. On the duly satisfying of the claim of every such person, the funds to be equally divided amongst such members, or paid in part or in whole to any one or more of the charitable institutions of the colony, as may be determined by a majority in numbers of such then-existing members.

Government of the Tents.

Qualification

40. *Admission of Members.*—Persons of any religious persuasion, of good moral character, free from disease, not under fifteen and not above fifty years of age, and having abstained from all intoxicating drinks fourteen days previous to initiation, may become members of this Order. All

Sign Pledge

candidates must, at their initiation, sign the pledge as set forth in the Constitution (General Law No. 1), and Medical Certificate must produce certificate of health from the Tent Surgeon (if any), or from some other legal medical practitioner; and any member insuring his wife in the Funeral Fund shall produce a certificate of health from the Tent Surgeon, or from some other duly-qualified medical practitioner.

Proposition

41. *Mode of Admission.*—Candidates must be proposed and seconded by members belonging to the Tent, on a regular Tent night, their proposition money deposited by the proposer, and the name, age, occupation, and residence of each candidate inserted in the Proposition Book by the Secretary. They shall, if required, appear and produce

Proof of Age

satisfactory documents as to their age, and if approved, may be admitted next Tent night. Propositions must not remain on the books longer than two months. If a candidate

Proposition Money

be rejected, his proposition money must be returned; but if he break the pledge, or fail to visit the Tent Surgeon, or (after having done so) does not present himself for initiation within the time above stated, the money will be forfeited. No person shall be admitted a member who is

Health and Character

in ill-health, except as an honorary member; nor shall any person be admitted (either as an honorary or benefit member) who bears a bad character or leads an immoral life. The proposer and seconder of a candidate shall be

Responsibility of Proposer and Secunder

responsible for the previous character of the person proposed. Should they knowingly introduce a person who is unhealthy or inadmissible as aforesaid, they and the person introduced shall be expelled, or suffer such other punishment as the Tent shall award. The vote for the admission

Ballot for Candidates

of candidates shall be by ballot, and one negative vote in five shall exclude the candidate.

42. *Candidates Previously Initiated, &c.*—If a candidate has been previously initiated in any Tent in the Australasian colonies, he shall not be admitted without the permission of the Tent of which he was last a member. If a candidate be

Rejection of Candidates

rejected by one Tent and received into another, the Tent by which he was rejected shall not be compelled to receive him under any circumstances. If a candidate is prevented

Special Meeting to initiate

attending for initiation on a regular Tent night, the officers may call a special meeting for his initiation; any expenses incurred to be paid by the candidate.

43. *Charge for Entrance.*—The charge for entrance shall be according to age, as follows:—

NOTE—*Members may enter for Full or Half Benefits.*

Member's Wife

The Entrance Fees for a member's wife in the Funeral Fund (if entered) shall be as follows:—

Should any doubt arise as to the age of a candidate proposed,

Proof of Age

or the age of a member's wife, proof may be required by the Tent; and should a wrong age be given with a view to defraud, the offending member shall, upon satisfactory proof thereof being given, be immediately expelled, Half-benefit members may (with the consent of their Tent)

Increase from half to full Benefit

increase their payment from half to full payments, and be entitled to corresponding benefits, upon paying the additional entrance fees at their age at the time of such increase, and obtaining Tent Surgeon's certificate of health, but they shall not be entitled to full benefit until twelve months next after such increase. Full-benefit members

Reduce from full to half Benefit

may reduce to half-benefit upon receiving sanction of Tent, but no allowance or rebate shall be made for money paid on account of full-benefit.

44. *Manner of Payment.*—All candidates must pay two shillings and sixpence on the night of proposition, and at least one-half of the balance of the entrance money on the

Purchase Laws and Certificate

night of admission; the remainder to be paid within six months. Every candidate shall purchase one copy of these Laws, and a certificate of membership.

45. *Contributions to Sick, Funeral, and Continent Funds.*—The Sick, Funeral, and Contingent Funds shall be raised

Contribution

as follows:—Each member shall contribute not less, per quarter, than 6s. 6d. to the Sick Fund, 1s. 8d. to the Funeral Fund, and 10d. to the Contingent Fund, for full benefit; and not less, per quarter, than 3s. 3d. to the Sick Fund, 10d. to the Funeral Fund, and 11d. to the Contingent Fund, for half benefit; and entrance fees according to General Law 43. Any Tent expending any of its Sick or Funeral Fund for other than sick or funeral purposes shall

Penalty for illegal Expenditure of Funds

forfeit and pay the sum of £5 to the District, to be appropriated to the District Relief Contingent Fund (General Law 26), and be suspended until such fine be paid; provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall apply to the opening of Tents, when all charges made by the District for goods and other expenses shall be paid out of the General Fund of the Tent. Each member insuring his

Member's Wife must be Pledged Abstainer

wife shall contribute not less than 1s. per quarter to this fund, and entrance fees according to General Law 43, and no member's wife shall be allowed to insure in the Funeral Fund unless she be a pledged total abstainer.

46. *Contingent Fund.*—The Secretary's salary, rent of room, and other necessary expenses of Tent not otherwise provided for, shall be paid from this fund, to which contributions

Contributions, &c.

and entrance fees of honorary members, fines, forfeitures, profits on goods, and all receipts whatsoever (except otherwise stated), shall be appropriated, and to which may be added one-eighth of the Sick Fund, with the consent of the District.

47. *Payments to Sick Members.*—Any member who has

Sick Benefit

been admitted twelve calendar months, whose initiation money has been paid within the time fixed by the 44th General Law, and who is not suspended as hereinafter provided, if he become sick, lame, blind, or infirm, and incapable of following any employment, if such incapacity is not occasioned by immoral conduct (notwithstanding he may continue to carry on or conduct his business, trade, or

Full Pay for one year

occupation by his wife, children, or servants; shall be entitled to receive fifteen shillings per week for

Half Pay

full benefit, or seven shillings and sixpence per week for half benefit, for the first twelve months (but Tents may pay twenty shillings per week for full and ten shillings per week for half benefit, with the consent of the District); and if the sickness or infirmity shall continue for a longer period, he shall be entitled to receive the sum of ten shillings per week for full benefit, or five shillings per week for half

Quarter Pay

benefit, for the further period of six months; and should the member still continue sick or infirm as aforesaid, he shall be entitled to receive the sum of five shillings per week for full benefit, or two shillings and sixpence per week for half benefit, so long as such sickness or inability to follow his employment shall continue.

48. *Requiring Sick Pay.*—If a member require assistance

Notice to be given

from the Sick Fund, he shall give notice

See form of Notice, page 38.

to the Tent Secretary, in the manner required by the Tent, and produce

Surgeon's Certificate

the Tent Surgeon's certificate

See form of Tent Surgeon's Certificate, page 38.

(if within his visiting district, otherwise from some other legal medical practitioner), and the Secretary shall thereupon direct the Stewards to

Stewards to Visit and Pay

visit and pay him according to rule; and he shall periodically give such proof of his inability to labour as the Tent

Declaring off Fund

may require. When a member declares off the Fund, he shall forward a notice,

See form of Declaration off Fund, page 38.

in writing, to the Tent Secretary, of such his intention, such notice to be accompanied by the Tent Surgeon's certificate

See form of Surgeon's Certificate off Fund, page 38.
(if within his visiting district,

Surgeon's Certificate
otherwise from some other legal medical practitioner), and in default shall forfeit and pay the sum of two shillings and sixpence. When a member declares on or off the Sick Fund, should he obtain the services of any legally-qualified medical practitioner other than the Tent Surgeon, it shall be optional with the Tent to receive such surgeon's certificate.

49. *Recovering from Sickness.*—If a sick member deems himself capable of resuming his employment, he shall, with the consent of the Tent Surgeon, signified in writing to the Secretary, be allowed to try work for two or three days,

Trying Work
but no sick pay shall be allowed for the time he has been at work. When a member has received one week's sick pay,

Certificate of Health required Relapses
he shall not declare off until he produce a certificate of health from the Tent Surgeon; and should sickness cease, and a relapse take place within three months, such relapse shall be deemed a continuance of the same sickness, and be calculated as a portion of the time for which he is

Leaving Residence
entitled to receive pay. No member in receipt of such pay shall be allowed to leave his place of residence without first depositing with the Secretary the Tent Surgeon's

Penalty for working when receiving Sick Pay
certificate and consent to such removal. Should any member follow any occupation while in the receipt of the sick allowance, on its being proved before the Judicial Committee, he shall for the first offence be fined £5, and be suspended from all benefit for twelve months, and for second offence be immediately expelled: Provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall prevent any member working two or three hours daily, if the Tent Surgeon should consider such work likely to promote his recovery.

50. *Suspension for Non-Payment.*—Every member shall pay his contributions and fines to the Stewards, and any member owing sixteen weeks' contributions, inclusive of

Nature of Suspension
fines, money for goods purchased, and balance of initiation money (if any), shall be suspended from sick pay for one month, and from all other benefit for two weeks after he has reduced his arrears to less than thirteen weeks' contributions. While suspended he shall be allowed to visit his own Tent for a period not exceeding twelve weeks, but he shall not use the password, nor hold office, vote, or visit any other Tent; and when owing twenty-eight weeks' contributions, he shall cease to be a member, but his Tent

Tent may re-admit
shall have power to re-admit him on payment of all money owing by him, or as a new member according to rule; but if re-admitted on payment of all that he owes to the Tent,

Suspension after Re-admission
he shall be suspended twelve weeks from the date of such payment. A person who has ceased to be a member shall obtain Tent Surgeon's certificate before being re-admitted.

51. *Funeral Allowance.*—When a member is removed by death, from whatever cause his death may arise, if he has been twelve months in the Order, and is good upon the books, and has been returned good in the last quarterly return to the District Secretary, his wife, or if there be no wife then his next of kin or representative, shall be entitled to the funeral allowance. Notice of death must be

Notice to Secretary Certificate
given to the Secretary of the Tent, who shall, after receiving the certificate, according to Schedule of Forms, No. 6,

For form of Medical Certificate claiming Funeral Allowance, see page 39.
authorise the Stewards to receive the funeral allowance from the Officers of the District, as directed by General Law 25. The Stewards, having received the money, shall without delay pay to the wife, or if there be Stewards to pay, and to whom

no wife then to the nearest relative or representative of the deceased, two-thirds of the amount, and shall give notice to such wife, relative, or representative, that if any kind of intoxicating liquors are introduced while the body of the deceased remains in the house, or if intoxicating

Intoxicating Drinks at Funerals
drinks are in any way connected with the funeral, the remainder shall be withheld and disposed of according to General Law 52. The Stewards shall see that a good and sufficient coffin is provided, and shall attend the

Stewards to superintend Funeral
funeral to see that it is conducted with propriety and decorum; and if so conducted, they shall immediately pay the remaining third of the funeral money to the wife, or if there be no wife then to the relative or representative. Upon the death of a member's wife, if she be insured for benefit, and if returned good in last quarterly returns, such

Member's Wife's Funeral
member shall be entitled to receive the funeral allowance in the same manner, and subject to the same regulations, as in the case of a deceased member.

52. *Intoxicating Liquors at Funerals.*—If the wife,
Penalty for introducing intoxicating drinks
relative, or representative of a deceased member introduce any intoxicating liquor while the body of the deceased remains in the house, or if such liquors are in any way connected with the funeral, the Stewards shall not pay the remaining third of the funeral money, but they shall immediately inform the Chief Ruler of the Tent, who shall lay the case before the Judicial Committee; and if it shall be decided that such intoxicating liquor was introduced without the consent or approval of the wife, relative, or representative, the remainder of the funeral money shall be paid, but if it be proved that the liquor was introduced with the consent of the wife, relative, or representative,

Money returned to District
the remainder shall not be paid, but shall be returned to the funds of the District. The same rule to be observed on the death of a member's wife.

53. *Sailors Dying Abroad.*—If any sailor, good upon the books, go to sea and die while upon the voyage, unless there be evidence to prove that he has forfeited his claim, his widow or relative shall be entitled to his funeral allowance. All arrears due to the Tent to be deducted. If a

Arrears deducted
member return from sea, and neglect for three weeks to pay up his arrears, he shall have no claim to the privileges

Neglect to pay Arrears
of the Order.

54. *Disputes of Claimants.*—Should there be a dispute as to who is entitled to receive the funeral allowance of any

Stewards to manage Funerals
member, the Stewards shall take the entire management of the funeral into their own hands; and if there be any overplus after all expenses are paid, the Judicial Committee of the Tent shall decide to whom the remainder shall be paid.

55. *Doubtful Marriages.*—Should a doubt arise respecting
Marriage Certificate to be produced
the marriage of a member claiming the funeral allowance for his wife, he shall produce a marriage certificate, or such other evidence as the Tent may consider satisfactory.

56. *Widows;*—The widow of a member may remain a member of the Funeral Fund by paying her contributions; but if she break the abstinence pledge, or be two quarters' contributions in arrears, she shall cease to have any claim

Breaking Pledge, and Arrears
upon the Order. The widow of a member may retain the services of the Tent Surgeon for herself and family so long as she remains a total abstainer and pays the Surgeon's fee.

Honorary Members.

57. *Honorary Members.*—Persons above fifteen years of age may be admitted honorary members upon payment of not less than ten shillings when initiated, and they shall afterwards pay the sum of one shilling and threepence

Contributions
per quarter, payable in advance, both payments to go to the Tent Contingent Fund. They will not be entitled to any sick or funeral allowance, but may have the services of the Surgeon by obtaining from him a certificate of health, and paying the amount granted to the Surgeon by the Tent to which he belongs, and sixpence per quarter towards the Contingent Fund. They will not be entitled to vote upon

Privileges

any motion affecting the Sick or Funeral Fund; but they may hold office in any Tent, if elected thereto by

two-thirds of the members present at any meeting. Full or half benefit members of Tents (not more than sixteen

Benefit may become Honorary Members

weeks in arrear) may become honorary members of the Tents in which they have been benefit members, without payment of any entrance money, upon giving notice of their intention upon any one Tent night. The Secretary shall, on or before the next Tent night, enrol such members as honorary members, and their payments as honorary members shall commence from date of such enrolment.

When fineable

Honorary members shall not be fineable for not attending special or quarterly meetings, unless they hold office.

Duties and Privileges of Members.

Conduct

58. *Duties of Members.*—Every member in Tent shall behave himself as becometh a Rechabite, and whenever he addresses the Chief Ruler he shall be standing. He shall also address the past and present officers by their respective titles, and shall obey the Chief and Deputy Ruler when called to order. He shall not insult any officer, nor introduce any religious or political discussion, nor interrupt another while speaking upon any subject before the Tent, nor vote on the night of his initiation. No smoking shall be allowed at any meeting of the Order. Members, when

Salute C.R.

entering and retiring from the Tent, shall salute the Chief Ruler in a respectful manner, and obtain his permission before retiring.

59. *Changing Place of Residence.*—Any member changing his place of residence shall give notice thereof in writing to the Secretary of his Tent, within one month from the time of his removal. Should he neglect or fail to do so, he shall

Penalty

be fined two shillings and sixpence.

60. *Clearances.*—Any member clear on the books, who has been twelve months a member of any Tent, either from the date of his initiation or from the date of lodging his clearance, and who is in good health, shall be allowed to draw a clearance, which he may lodge in any Tent more

Where Clearance may be lodged

than three miles from his own, if it be nearer his place of residence; but such Tent shall not be liable for his sick or funeral allowance until he shall have belonged to it for twelve calendar months. Nevertheless such Tent shall provide in case of sickness or death as if in his own Tent, but the Tent from which he drew his clearance shall repay, on demand, any liabilities occurring within the period of twelve months; and if he die, the contribution he has paid shall be returned to the Tent from which he drew his clearance. A clearance must be granted at a

When granted

regular or special meeting of the Tent, and be deposited in another Tent or returned within forty-two days of its date (except as hereinafter provided), or the member will not be entitled to the benefits of the Order. A clearance deposited shall not be withdrawn under a period of twelve

Coming from parts beyond seas

months. Provided, nevertheless, that any clearance member coming from parts beyond the seas (except the neighbouring colonies) shall be allowed twenty-eight days to lodge his clearance after arriving in the district; but such member shall be required to pay the whole of his arrears, due from the date of his clearance, into the Tent where he may lodge the same, and be considered a member from

Coming from Australasian Colonies

that date; and in the case of clearance members from the Australasian colonies, fourteen days shall be Allowed such member to lodge his clearance.

61. *Clearances which Tents may Reject.*—Members may present and Tents accept clearances from other Tents not complying with the financial arrangements of this District, or within the distance of three miles;

Members desirous of joining Tents within the distance of three miles of their own Tents should obtain the consent of their own Tent, and of that which they intend to join, before applying for their clearances.

but they are not compelled to do so. Members so depositing their clearances shall, if accepted, conform to the financial arrangements of the Tent accepting the clearance. No

Tents within Three Miles

member shall deposit his clearance in a Tent within three miles without the consent of the Tent to which he belongs; but Tents shall not refuse to admit any member bringing a legal clearance from any Tent, in

compliance with the Laws of the Order, at a creator distance than three miles, unless such clearance member shall have been rejected by such Tent as provided for by General Law 42. All members

Must pass Surgeon

depositing clearances must be approved by the medical advisor of the Tent to which they intend to belong, and

Payment for Certificates and Expenses

Tents shall have the power to reject the clearances of un-healthy members. Persons applying for admission by clearance shall pay for obtaining the certificate, and all other expenses incurred. If a Tent dissolve, the District Officers may grant clearances to such members as may desire to remain in the Order.

Payments to nearest Tent

62. *Removal without Clearance.*—Should a member remove to any place where there is a Tent, he shall within twenty-eight days give to that Tent his name and place of abode, and be under their cognisance. His subscriptions, levies, and fines must be regularly paid into the Tent, and be remitted by the Secretary to the member's own Tent within five days of the 25th March, June, September, and December in each year—the cost of remitting to be paid by the Tent to which such member belongs; and in case of sickness he shall be entitled to the same benefits and privileges as from his own Tent; but first he must send to the Chief Ruler of his Tent a just account of his health, certified by the Tent Surgeon and Chief Ruler of the nearest Tent; but if there be no Tent in the vicinity, the certificate of a respectable surgeon or of a minister of religion shall be deemed satisfactory.

63. *False Accusation.*—Should a member make a charge against any other member, so as to bring or cause the same to be brought before any tribunal, and the charge be disproved, or if the complainant cannot prove the same, he

Penalty

shall be fined any sum, not exceeding two pounds, determined by the Judicial Committee.

64. *Illegal Motions.*—Any member who shall move that any Tent mooring be held in a house where intoxicating liquors are sold, or who shall move that the pledge of abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, as set forth in the Constitution, be dispensed with, or who shall propose or second a motion that any Tent separate from the District to which he belongs, so as to disconnect itself from the Order, or to divide the funds of the Tent or District, or to apply them to any other purpose than that for which they were raised, shall be immediately expelled the Order, and

Expulsion from Order

the District Officers shall enforce the law.

65. *Breaking the Pledge.*—Any member breaking the

First Offence

pledge, as described in the Constitution, shall cease to be a member; but it shall be in the power of a majority at a Tent meeting to re-admit him on his re-signing the pledge and paying a fine of five shillings. For the second offence

Second

they may re-admit him upon signing the pledge and paying a fine of ten shillings. For the third offence they

Third

may re-admit him on his signing the pledge and paying a fine of one pound. For the fourth offence the Tent shall

Fourth

have power to re-admit him as a newly-proposed member only. Any person re-admitted under this rule shall be re-examined

Re-examined by Surgeon Suspension from Benefits Officer breaking Pledge Members to give information by the Tent Surgeon, and shall not be entitled to any benefit until one month after his re-admission, and as a new member shall not be entitled to any benefit until one year after his re-admission; but Tents shall have power to dispense with re-examination by the Tent Surgeon for the first offence. Any past or present officer breaking the pledge shall forfeit his degree, and if readmitted, shall not be eligible to fill any office for twelve months. Any member knowing of another having broken the pledge must inform the Chief Ruler of the Tent to which such member belongs, or be fined one pound. The Tent may deal with cases of pledge-breaking in open Tent,

How dealt with

or refer same to the Judicial Committee, if circumstances call for such a step. Provided, nevertheless, however, that if it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Tent or Judicial Committee that a member has systematically broken the pledge, or has continued violating the pledge for a longer

Aggravated Cases

period than twenty-four hours, or that he has broken the pledge upon more than one occasion without having been reported to his Tent, his case shall not be dealt with as above directed, but he shall be held to have

committed an aggravated offence, and he shall be fined for every such aggravated offence a sum of not less than one pound, nor more than two pounds, and if the Tent shall so determine

Suspension from Privileges and Benefits

be suspended from all privileges and benefits after such fine be paid for any period not exceeding twelve months, or, at the option of the Tent, be expelled. In the event of a member's wife who is insured breaking the pledge, she shall

Member's Wife

be dealt with in the same manner as provided for a member so breaking the pledge.

66. *Clearance Members Breaking the Pledge.*—If a clearance

Tent to take Cognisance

member break his pledge, the Chief Ruler of the Tent shall direct the Secretary to write to the offending member's former Tent to ascertain if he has broken the pledge previously, and if it be satisfactorily shown that he has, he shall be dealt with according to the number of times he has broken the pledge. Any Tent dealing with a clearance member's case of pledge-breaking without first writing to his former Tent, shall be fined five pounds.

Penalty

67. *Divulging Private Affairs.*—Any member divulging the name of another who has voted against any candidate for admission, or who makes known or misrepresents the discussions in Tents, Committees, or District Meetings, so as to cause disturbance or angry feelings among the members, or reveals the private affairs of the Order to any person not a member, shall be fined such sum as may be determined

Penalty

upon, not exceeding the sum of two pounds.

68. *Injuring Property.*—If any member damage, destroy, or take away any property belonging to the Order, he shall be brought to trial, and if found guilty shall make such recompense, not exceeding the value of such property, as the Judicial Committee may determine, or be expelled.

Penalty

69. *Felony and Immorality.*—If any member be convicted of fraud, felony, or any other disgraceful crime, or follow any wicked practices, or use any unlawful means in procuring a livelihood, or in any way defraud the Order, or any member of the Order, if proof be made thereof to the Tent of which he is a member, he shall be expelled.

Penalty

70. *Feigned Sickness.*—Should any member impose upon the Tent, by stating himself sick and incapable of following any employment when he is able to or is actually following such employment, if the case be proved, he shall be immediately expelled.

Penalty

71. *Mode of Expulsion.*—Before any member shall be expelled, the following rule must be observed:—If he be present, the presiding officer shall order him to retire, after which the question of expulsion shall be put from the Chair, to be decided by ballot if demanded, and if carried the member shall not again be admitted.

Notice thereof

Notice to D.S.

shall be sent to the District Secretary, and be by him duly notified, unless within seven days notice be given that the decision will be appealed against.

72. *Neglecting to Appear.*—Any member charged with an offence, and who shall not appear when called upon to answer the charge, due notice of such attendance being required having been given, shall be proceeded against as if present, unless a satisfactory reason for such absence be

Witnesses

given to the Judicial Committee; and any witness (being a member of the Order) who shall neglect or fail to appear when called upon to give his evidence, may be fined for such

Penalty

neglect by the Judicial Committee in any sum, not exceeding ten shillings, as they may determine, and such fine shall be collected by and paid into the funds of the Tent to which such witness may belong.

73. *Members Expelled Re-admissible.*—No member expelled by any Tent shall be re-admissible into his former or any other Tent until twelve months have elapsed from the time of his expulsion, nor without the consent of the District Officers first had and obtained.

Qualification for, Election of, and the Duties

and Privileges of Officers.

P.C.R.

74. *Qualification of Officers.*—The Past Chief Ruler shall have filled the office of Chief Ruler, and shall exercise the duties of Past Chief Ruler until the next change of officers.

C.R.

To qualify a member for Chief Ruler, he must have heard the lectures, and served two inferior offices, or one inferior office for twelve months, or the office of Secretary for six months, or the office of Deputy Ruler, and one inferior

D.R.

office; and for Deputy Ruler one inferior office, and be in other respects properly qualified. Any member properly

Treasurer Secretary

qualified may be elected Treasurer or Secretary without having served any inferior office. The retiring Chief Ruler, Deputy Ruler, Treasurer, and Secretary shall be eligible

Retiring Officers eligible for Re-election

for re-election; and should the retiring Chief Ruler be reelected, the retiring Past Chief Ruler shall retain his office until the next change of officers, or some other past officer may be elected in his stead. This law not to apply to now Tents.

Elections by Proposition

75. *Mode of Election of Officers.*—Propositions for the office of Chief Ruler, Deputy Ruler, and Secretary must be received at previous Tent meeting to election, which

Ballot if more than one Candidate

shall be by ballot; provided, nevertheless, that in all cases where one candidate only is proposed, the Chief Ruler shall declare such candidate duly elected without proceeding to a ballot, unless it be demanded. The Chief Ruler and Secretary shall take the poll, and in the event of the votes

Equality of Votes

being equal for any of the offices, the Chief Ruler shall decide the election by drawing lots. The election of the

Elections by Nomination

other officers (except Guardians, hereinafter provided for) shall be by nomination and open voting, except a ballot be

Exemptions

demanded. No member shall be exempt from nomination, members living at a distance of two miles and upwards, or those absent through illness, only excepted. There shall be a general election of Tent Officers every six months, and

When Elections take place

those newly appointed shall take their seats on the night of their appointment, with the exception of the Secretary and Treasurer, who shall not take their seats until the following Tent night, the outgoing Secretary and Treasurer retaining office until receipt by the Tent of the Auditors' report. The election of officers shall take place on the general quarter-night nearest 25th June and 25th December in each year.

76. *Duties of Past Chief Ruler.*—The Past Chief Ruler

P.C.R.

shall assist at the initiation of candidates, and advise the Chief Ruler whenever requested by him so to do. He shall

Precedence

also take precedence in the Tent immediately after the D.R., and shall fill the office of C.R. in the absence of Chief Ruler and Deputy Ruler.

77. *Duties of Chief Ruler.*—The Chief Ruler shall preside

C.R.

over all Tent or Committee meetings, enforce the fines according to law, see justice done between the members, and have the power of convening special Tent meetings on being requested by any two officers or any six members of the Tent. Such special Tent meetings to be convened by circular, addressed to each member: such circulars to be prepared and posted by the Tent officer required so to do by the District Officers. he shall sign all orders for payment, except sick pay. He shall ascertain the eligibility of all candidates, and, previous to admission, shall read aloud the name, age, occupation, and residence of the person proposed; and if

elected according to General Law No. 40, the C.R. shall direct the Levite to admit him for initiation.

Questions

He shall ask once on each Tent night the four following questions, viz.:—"Are any of the members sick?" "Has any member broken the pledge?" "Has any member anything to communicate that will tend to promote the good of the Order?" "Has any member any friend to propose as a proper person to become a member of our honourable Order." he shall see that the quarterly

Returns

return to District is prepared and forwarded to D.S., in accordance with the 97th General Law, and that a duplicate is laid upon the table of the Tent on the first night after each quarterly meeting.

78. *Giving the Password.*—The Chief Ruler shall not deliver

Password

the password to any officer or member except those of his own Tent, and not to them except they are good upon the books, and conduct themselves with propriety. He shall enjoin every officer and member to whom such password is given not to give it to any one except to the Guardian in legal possession of the door, or to the Levite previous to opening the Tent. Any Chief Ruler giving the password to an unqualified member shall be fined five shillings.

Penalty

79. *Deputy Ruler.*—The Deputy Ruler shall assist the

D.R.

Chief Ruler in keeping order during Tent hours, shall see that the Guardians perform their duties, and shall discharge the duties of Chief Ruler in cases of necessity. In the

Taking the Chair

absence of the Chief Ruler and Deputy Ruler, the chair shall be taken by the Past Chief Ruler, and in his absence by any past officer.

80. *Secretary.*—At the opening of the Tent the Secretary

Secretary

shall call over the names of the officers, duly note the absentees, announce the receipts and disbursements previous

Accounts Minutes

to closing each Tent night, and in all respects keep correct accounts and minutes of the proceedings of the Tent. he shall receive the notices from the sick members, and direct the Stewards to visit them. The Secretary

Returns

shall make the annual returns as required by the "Friendly Societies Act," such returns to be sent to the District Secretary, whose duty it shall be to forward same to the Registrar-General. He shall also forward to the District Secretary, in the last week in December in each year, a correct account, according to a form provided by the District Secretary, of—1st, the number of members; 2nd, amount of sickness; 3rd, duration of each case of sickness; 4th, names of the diseases; 5th, ages of such as may have been sick or may have died; 6th, the receipts of the Sick Fund; 7th, the disbursements of those funds; 8th, the total amount of Sick and Contingent Funds; and shall also prepare and forward such other documents and papers as may from time to time be required by the District Secretary.

Summonses

He shall prepare all summonses and post same (except as provided for in General Law 77), or cause same to be delivered, and attend the Auditors to explain the

Balance-sheet

accounts, and prepare the Quarterly Balance-sheet. he shall be paid such sum for his services as the Tent may, at each General Election of Officers, determine; and he

Give Security

shall give securities for the moneys and property in his possession, in accordance with the requirements of the

Custodian of Tent Property

"Friendly Societies Act." The Secretary shall be the custodian of all movable property of the Tent, and shall deliver up same on demand to the C.R., or to any other person duly authorised by resolution of the Tent to demand and receive the same. He shall lay upon the table of the Tent, upon the next Tent night after each quarterly meeting, a duplicate copy of the return for preceding quarter

Members returned in Arrear

forwarded to D.S., and he shall read out the names of all members returned in arrears, or run out, upon the books of the Tent.

Treasurer receive and lodge Moneys

81. *Treasurer*.—The Treasurer shall be appointed at the General Election of Officers, and be eligible for re-election. He shall receive the Tent moneys from the Stewards, give receipts for same, pay all accounts, and, when required by the Tent so to do, shall lodge the whole or any part of the moneys in his hands in some Bank, to the credit of the Trustees. He shall produce to the Chief Ruler, Secretary, and Auditors, the bank-book and book of accounts whenever demanded. Provided, nevertheless that he shall not hold at any one time in his hands a greater sum than £10,

Give Security Duties

and that he shall give security to the Tent in the same manner and form as referred to under the head of Secretary.

82. *Surgeon*.—The Tent Surgeon shall examine all candidates, and furnish them with a certificate of health, attend the sick members returned upon his list, their wives and children, and provide them with proper and necessary medicines (accouchements excepted), and also treat with surgical skill all cases of broken or dislocated limb, or other accidental injuries. The Tent shall make arrangements with the Surgeon as to the ages of children to be kept on his list, the distance to which he may be called to attend cases, the hours of attendance, and whether the patients shall attend at the surgery or be waited upon at their residences. He shall receive for his services

Payment

such sum for each good member returned upon his list, residing within his visiting district, as may be determined upon by the Tent and himself, which sum shall be charged to, and be paid and be payable by, each member within the distance as aforesaid, in addition to his contribution to the Sick, Funeral, and Contingent Funds. He will be expected

Report Imposition

to report to the Tent at once any case of imposition, or attempt at imposition, on the part of any member. No member shall bring any charge for neglect or otherwise against the Surgeon, without having first given at least fourteen days'

Notice of Charges

notice of his intention so to do, and no such case shall be gone into without proof being given that seven days' notice at least has been given to the Surgeon to attend and answer the charge. The Tent may investigate the matter in open Tent, or refer the same to the Judicial Committee. No person shall be permitted to act as Medical Officer of any

Qualification

Tent who is not in possession of a Certificate from the Medical Board of New Zealand. Any Tent violating this rule shall be fined £2, which shall be paid into the District Contingent Fund. Provided further, that a member of any

Members may obtain Services of Surgeon of another Tent

Tent, whether residing within the Surgeon's visiting district or not, who shall be desirous of obtaining the services and medicines of the Surgeon of some other Tent, shall be at liberty to do so upon obtaining the sanction of both Tents, and the approval of the Surgeon under whose care he desires to place himself, having first given notice to the Secretary of his Tent, on the first night of any quarter; and the certificate of such Surgeon (anything to the contrary notwithstanding) shall have the same effect as the certificate of the Surgeon of the Tent to which such member

Power to appoint two Surgeons Number

belonged. Any Tent numbering seventy-five members shall have power to appoint two Surgeons.

83. *Trustees*.—Each Tent shall appoint three Trustees, who shall do and execute all the functions required of them by the "Friendly Societies Act," whenever directed by the Tent by a resolution thereof in writing, signed by the Chief Ruler, Deputy Ruler, and Secretary, and bearing the Tent seal. Every resolution appointing a Trustee or Trustees shall be signed by such Trustee or Trustees and three members of the Tent, and be countersigned by the Secretary. Such resolution, so signed and countersigned, shall be forwarded to the District Secretary, to be by him transmitted to the Registrar, to be deposited with the Laws of the Order. In the event of any Trustee being removed

Removal from Office Refusing to Transfer

from his office, and refusing or neglecting to assign or transfer any property of the Order, such Trustee shall be expelled the Order, and cease to have any claim on account of any contributions paid by him.

Vacancies shall be filled

Vacancies

up at a regular or special meeting of the Tent. No Trustee of any Tent shall hold the office of Treasurer of that Tent.

84. *Auditors*.—There shall be two Auditors duly appointed at each Quarterly Meeting of the Tent, whose

duties shall be to examine and check the accounts of the Tent, see that the books are properly kept and balanced,

Quarterly and Annual Balance-sheets

and that a correct balance-sheet is prepared for each audit. They shall be satisfied that all moneys, deeds, and securities are in safe keeping, and shall report upon the state of the accounts and books. The Chief Ruler, Secretary, Treasurer, and Writing Steward shall attend the Auditors' meeting, and give all necessary information.

85. *Stewards*.—The Stewards shall be chosen by the Tent

Receive Money

at each general change of officers. They shall receive all moneys on Tent nights, which they shall deposit with the

Visit Sick Members

Treasurer within twenty-four hours thereafter. They shall visit and pay the sick members, and keep them good upon the books of the Tent, and see that no imposition of any kind be practised upon the Tent.

86. *The Levite* shall be chosen by the Tent at each election of officers. Previous to opening the Tent, the Collect Password, &c.

Levite shall ascertain whether every member present has the password; shall introduce all candidates for initiation, and attend to the orders of the Chief Ruler.

87. *The Guardians* shall be taken in rotation from the Tent books, provided they are not in office, or confined to their residence by illness, or reside two miles and upwards from place of meeting of Tent. Tents may dispense with the Outside Guardian; in that case the Inside Guardian

Keep Door, demand Password, &c.

will perform the duties of both officers. They shall keep the door, and demand the password from each member previous to his entering the Tent. They shall not admit any one while the Tent is being opened or closed, during initiation, or while any member is addressing the Tent. They shall not leave the door, nor admit any strangers.

88. *Supporters*.—The Chief Ruler and Deputy Ruler shall each choose two Supporters as soon as conveniently may be after taking their seats of office; such Supporters shall,

Ex-officio Officers

after taking the usual obligation, be *ex-officio* officers of the Tent; in the absence of the D.R., the right-hand Supporter of the C.R. shall take the chair of such absent officer.

May be dispensed with

Provided, however, Tents may, if they think fit, dispense with the office of Supporters.

89. *Officers' Attendance*.—Every officer shall attend the Tent at the time and place appointed, or send an apology satisfactory to the members then present, or in default

Penalty

shall be fined for non-attendance. If any absent officer neglect to send his key, he shall be fined. If any officer be absent three successive Tent nights without assigning sufficient

Vacation of Office by Non-attendance

reason, he shall vacate his office, and another be appointed. The officer so vacating shall not be eligible for re-election for a period of twelve months, and his fines for neglect of duty shall be levied up to the time of his successor being appointed. Such successor shall be entitled to the whole of the time served by his predecessor, so as to entitle him to compete for the higher honours. If the vacant office be an elective one, the plan for election laid down in the 75th General Law shall be followed. If non-elective, the election to take place immediately upon the vacancy being declared.

90. *Improper Conduct of Officers*.—Any officer of the Tent who shall leave his chair, or conduct himself in an improper

Penalty

manner, shall vacate his office, forfeit his degree, and be ineligible for the same or any other office for a period of twelve months.

91. *Sick Watch*.—A Watching Sick Committee, to consist of two members, shall be appointed, who shall visit and attend each sick member for one night, if requested so to do, provided the disease be not contagious. Each member

How chosen

of the Tent to serve in rotation according to roll. The Secretary shall furnish the Stewards with a complete roll for this purpose, and they shall notify to members as to time and places of duty. Any member, if in good health and resident within two miles of the sick member's residence, neglecting or refusing to perform this duty, shall be fined two shillings and sixpence for every such neglect or

Penalty
refusal.

Tent Meetings, Tribunals, Rights, &c.

92. *Opening and Closing Tent.*—All Tents shall be opened at the time and place appointed, and shall not be kept open later than ten o'clock, unless the Chief Ruler be requested

Extension of Time

by a majority of the members present to extend the time, but such extension shall not exceed eleven o'clock.

93. *Tent Box.*—Each Tent may provide itself with a box, chest, or other piece of furniture, in which shall be deposited the books, Tent paraphernalia, and other property and goods not required by the Secretary to be in his own custody. This box, chest, or piece of furniture shall have

Officers' Keys

one lock only, to be fitted with triplicate keys, to be held by the C.R., D.R., and the Secretary respectively. Should all the officers neglect to send or bring their keys at any meeting of the Tent, the lock may be forced, the expense

Penalty

of repairing same to be borne by the negligent officers.

94. *Changing Night and Place of Meeting.*—No Tent shall change its night or place of meeting without first obtaining the consent of the District Officers through the District Secretary. Provided, nevertheless, that should any

Holidays

Tent night fall on Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, or other special public holiday, the Tent may, by resolution passed at previous meeting, appoint any night previous to the usual regular Tent night on which to hold the meeting.

95. *Tent Quarterly Committee.*—All Tents shall, on the 25th days of March, June, September, and December in each year, or within seven days before or after the above date, hold a General Quarterly Committee of the whole Tent, to appoint two Auditors (vide General Law 84), hear

Proceedings at Quarterly Meetings

appeals from the Judicial Committee, consider propositions for improving the Rules, and transact the general business of the Tent. All members shall be summoned to attend

Members to be summoned

those meetings, and if resident within two miles of place of meeting shall be fined for non-attendance. All parties concerned in appeal cases shall have special notice to attend.

96. *Mode of Voting.*—In all cases where a vote of the Tent is to be taken, except where otherwise in these laws provided, it shall be decided by the usual exclamation, "Aye" or "No;" and if a division be called for, it shall

Divisions

be taken by the "Ayes" going to the right of the Chair

Tellers

and the "Noes" to the left. The C.R. may appoint one teller from each side, who shall report to him the result, and he shall immediately declare the numbers for and against.

Penalties for not sending Moneys and Returns to District

97. *Quarterly Returns to District.*—Should any Tent omit or neglect to pay to the District the amount of moneys due to Funeral Fund, or the moneys due for levies or fines, or the amount of account for goods supplied by the District, for more than fourteen days after each quarter-day, except special permission to omit complying be first obtained from the District Officers, the District Officers, upon the same being reported to them, may suspend such Tent from all benefit or participation in any of the funds of the Order until the law be strictly fulfilled; and, in addition thereto, may fine the Tent for such neglect or omission in any sum not exceeding Two Pounds, which fine must be paid before the Tent be relieved from the suspension. Provided

Officers of Tent responsible

further, that any Tent fined under this law may recover the amount of such fine from the Officers of the Tent responsible for the neglect.

98. *Illegal Meetings.*—Any Tent, officers, or members who shall call or authorise to be called a meeting of members contrary to these Rules, so as to disturb the peace and good government of the Order, shall be fined Ten

Penalty How constituted

Pounds, and in default of payment be expelled the Order.

99. *A Judicial Committee* shall be appointed, to consist of the Chief Ruler, Deputy Ruler, Secretary, and eight members appointed by the Tent; five shall have power to act. The four senior members shall retire every three months, and four others be appointed in their stead. The Secretary (unless he be an interested party) shall attend all meetings of the Committee, and take minutes of the proceedings. The Chief Ruler shall preside, and have a casting vote, except he be a party concerned, in which case the Deputy Ruler shall

Powers

preside. The Committee shall decide upon all matters of dispute between the members of the Tent and between members and the Tent, or persons claiming on account of members, and shall investigate all charges of pledge-breaking referred to them by the Tent. Such Committee shall also have power to investigate charges of immorality, bad conduct, and other offences charged against members, and, if

Members of different Tents

proved, to fix the penalty in each case. If any dispute arise between members of different Tents, such dispute shall be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Tent to which

Complaints, &c., to be in writing

the accused member belongs. All complaints or appeals must be specified in writing, and a copy of the charge forwarded to the member accused, so as to afford reasonable time for his defence. If any dispute arise in a Tent which

Reference to superior Courts

the Judicial Committee cannot settle, it may be referred to the Quarterly Committee of the whole Tent; and if the Quarterly Committee cannot settle the matter, it may be

Non-members may give Evidence Proceedings private

referred to the next District Meeting. Any person, whether a brother or not, shall be allowed to give evidence in any case of dispute or trial brought before the Judicial Committee. No member of the Order other than those directly interested shall attend the meeting of the Judicial Committee except specially summoned.

100. *Appeals*.—If any member appeal to the District Meeting, he shall deposit with the District Secretary the

Deposit on Appeals

sum of one pound. The decision of the District Council shall be final, and the member who loses the case shall pay all expenses attending the appeal; such expenses to be taxed by the District Council. No appeal will be received unless forwarded at least one month previous to the meeting at which it is to be heard. Should any member

Deposit may be dispensed with

appealing to the District be unable to make the deposit, he may petition the next District Meeting to hear him without such deposit being paid. Before an appeal can be made to a higher court, all fines inflicted by the court below must be paid to the officers of the higher court. The District Chief Ruler, upon application being made to

Appearing by Counsel

him through the District Secretary, shall allow any member of the Order (not a sitting District Officer) to appear and act as Counsel in any case of appeal heard at the District Council; and the Chief Ruler of any Tent shall, upon request being made to him, permit any member (not being a sitting Tent elective officer of the same Tent) to appear as Counsel in any case heard before the Judicial Committee or Quarterly Committee of the Tent. Provided, however, that such Counsel, when appearing at any meeting of the District Council or Judicial Committee, shall retire from such meeting whenever requested so to do by the presiding officer of such Council or Committee.

101. *Complaint against Tent Officer*.—In the event of a complaint being preferred against any Tent officer, of breaking the pledge, violating the laws of the Order, improper conduct in the discharge of his official duties, or the committal of any civil crime or offence, such officer shall be suspended from the exercise of his functions by

Suspension

resolution assented to by a majority of the members of the Tent, in ordinary or special meeting assembled, until such time as the Judicial Committee have investigated the complaint, and decided thereon. Provided, however, that such investigation and decision shall not be delayed for any longer period than four weeks, calculated from the time when the complaint was preferred; and that such officer shall not be suspended by them without first having been duly summoned to answer the complaint.

Miscellaneous Tent Laws.

102. *Seal*.—Each Tent shall be provided by the District Officers with a seal, and no document, clearance, return, or correspondence shall be deemed to be of effect or legal except the impression of the seal be affixed or attached thereto.

103. *Tents Advancing Money, &c.*—If any Tent advance

Illegal Expenses

or become security for money advanced for music, banners, or things of that nature, and thereby become involved, or shall spend any portion of its Sick Funds save in strict accordance with the 45th General Law, such Tents shall have no claim upon the Order for assistance; and any member, treasurer, or other officer sanctioning such appropriation of the funds, shall be fined one pound, and suspended

Penalty

from all benefit until such fine be paid.

104. *Inspection of Books*.—Any Tent shall be permitted to inspect the District books of accounts with Tents through the medium of their Chief Ruler, Secretary, or representative.

105. *Opening of New Tents*.—No new Tent shall be

Number of Candidates

opened with less than ten candidates, and each new Tent shall pay one pound ten shillings for opening, and such

Expenses

reasonable sum for expenses and loss of time of the officiating officer as the District Council shall determine. The

D.C.R. to attend or appoint Substitute

District Chief Ruler shall be present at the opening of new Tents, or appoint a qualified member to attend, and, if necessary, he may take an officer from any Tent to assist him in the opening. In country districts, and wherever a past officer or other suitable person can be procured, the District Officers shall authorise, under the seal of the District, such officer or person to open new Tents.

106. *Admission of Members for New Tents*.—Tents may admit members with a view of their withdrawing to form a new Tent in the same or adjacent neighbourhood, upon their notifying their intention so to do at the time of their

Transfer of Entrance Fees

initiation. Upon or at the formation of such new Tent the entrance fees to both funds shall be transferred, upon application of such members, to the new Tent, the charge for goods supplied to the members being retained by the parent Tent. For the purpose of opening new Tents, members admitted under this law shall be held to be candidates for such purpose, and within the meaning of the 105th General Law.

107. *Election of District Representatives*.—Every Tent shall, as soon as conveniently may be after each District Annual Meeting, elect a representative to the District Council; and the representative thus appointed, if unable to attend the District Meetings, shall at once appoint, by

Representative may appoint Proxy

writing under his hand, a proxy to represent him at such meetings; and the Tent Secretary shall, within seven days after such appointment of representative and proxy (if any), forward to the District Secretary certificate of such appointment of representative and proxy as required by the 17th General Law. Provided, nevertheless, that Tents may, at a special meeting convened for that purpose,

Tent may remove Representative

remove such representative if they conceive him to be acting in opposition to the interests of his Tent; but no representative shall be thus removed except he has received through the Tent Secretary, at least fourteen days prior to such meeting, an intimation in writing of the intention to propose his removal, and a clear statement of the grounds upon which such motion is based. A representative

Change of Proxy

may change his proxy upon sending notice in writing to such proxy, and appointing his successor; notice of such change to be given in writing to the District Secretary at least fourteen days before the District Meeting following.

District Officers to interpret

108. *Construction of Laws*.—In all cases of doubt or dispute occurring in any Tent as to the construction of any General Law or District Bye-law, or as to the usages and practice of the Order, the same shall be referred to the District Officers, whose decision shall be final.

No decision under this law can be binding unless it be forwarded under seal by the District Secretary. Provided, however, that any Tent, being dissatisfied, may appeal

Appeal

against such decision to the next Annual Meeting, upon giving at least one month's notice in writing to the District Secretary of its intention so to do, at which meeting such decision shall be either confirmed or disallowed.

109. *Appropriation of Fines.*—All fines, other than those
Fines how made

levied by and payable to District Council, shall be payable to the Tent Contingent Fund. Any Tent or member breaking a law for which there is no specific fine, shall be fined at the discretion of the District, Tent, or Judicial Committee, as the case may be. The District, Tent, or Judicial Committee, as the case may be, may inflict any of the fines contained in the Schedule of Fines attached to these Laws, notwithstanding same may not have been previously provided for, and in all such cases they shall be recovered in the same manner as other fines provided for in these Laws.

110. *Tent Laws.*—Any Tent may, at the Quarterly Committee

Tent Bye-laws to be approved by District Council

of the whole Tent, make laws necessary for the proper government of the Tent, provided such laws are in strict accordance with the General Laws.

A copy of Model Bye-laws for Tents may be obtained on application to the District Secretary.

All Tent laws must be approved by the District Council, and without such approval no such law shall be binding.

111. *New Laws.*—Should any Tent be desirous of altering,
New Laws

amending, or making a new General Law, or of making any alteration in the Initiation Book or the Appendices thereto, the proposition shall be taken into consideration by the Quarterly Committee of the Tent; and if approved by a

How passed

majority it shall be transmitted to the District Secretary, by whom it shall be laid before the next meeting of the District Council; if approved by them, a copy of same shall be forwarded to each Tent, and the question be formally put at the next Annual Meeting whether such proposition shall pass. If two-thirds of the members then present vote in the affirmative, then such proposition shall, after having been first perused, examined, and certified as required by the "Friendly Societies Act," become law, and be taken as part of these General Laws. Provided also

D.S. may place Alterations on Business Paper

that the District Secretary, by and with the advice of the District Officers, may also place upon the business paper, before same be transmitted to Tents, proposed alterations in General Laws or in the Initiation Book, and the same shall be considered at the next Annual Meeting.

112. *Regalia.*—No member shall wear Regalia of any kind other than that fixed and determined upon at the Annual Meeting hold in the year 1872. Any member wearing Regalia, emblems, or distinctive marks to which he is not entitled, shall be fined.

Penalty

113. *Interpretation Clause.*—Whenever the word "month"

"Month"

occurs in these Laws, it shall be deemed and taken to mean a "calendar month;" the words "elective officers" shall

"Elective Officer"

mean the C.R., D.R., Treasurer, and Secretary; the words "inferior office" shall mean the office of Levite, Steward, Guardian, or Supporter; the words "full" or "free member"

"Full Member"

shall mean a member of any Tent clear upon its books, and

"Tent Surgeon"

who has been a member thereof for twelve months; the words "Tent Surgeon" shall be held to mean and be read as if after the words "Tent Surgeon" the words "(if any) or other legal medical practitioner" followed immediately thereafter; and in the case of Tents numbering seventy-five members and upwards, the words "Tent Surgeon" shall be held to mean and be read as "Tent Surgeons," and as if preceded by the words "one of the."

- Gustaf Janson Members.
- George C. Sage Members.

- David Robertson Members.
- Francis Eraser, District Secretary.

Schedule of Fines.

District.

Members of Tents.

Tent and Miscellaneous Fines.

Schedule of Forms.

No. 1.—Form of Application for Dispensation for Opening New Tents.

To the Chief Ruler of the New Zealand Central District.

We, the undersigned, pledged total abstainers, residing at _____ hereby make application for a Dispensation to open a Tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites, to be held at _____ to be called the _____ Tent, to be opened on the _____ day of _____ 18 _____, and we request that you will provide the necessary material for such opening and for the proper conduct of such Tent.

[Here follow the names, ages, professions, and places of residence of the candidates, The application must be forwarded under cover to the District Secretary, and should be accompanied with a remittance of not less than thirty shillings.]

The following Rules should be adopted with reference to the opening of New Tents:—

- A greater number than ten candidates should, if possible, be procured, in order to provide for the unavoidable absence of one or two candidates, as it is not considered expedient to open a Tent with a lesser number than ten members.
- No candidate can be initiated into the order unless he produce a certificate of health from a medical practitioner; hence the candidates should endeavour to arrange with a Surgeon in their neighbourhood to examine them and furnish them with certificates. It is recommended that the candidates select for this purpose the medical practitioner whom they intend to elect as their Tent Surgeon.
- The candidates should meet together, and decide as to the place and night of meeting, and the candidates they intend to select for officers of the new Tent—the principal officers being Chief Ruler, Deputy Ruler, Secretary, and Treasurer.
- All candidates must, at their initiation, pay at least half their initiation-money. The tables at pages 17-18 will give the exact figures.
- Upon any doubtful matter, consult the District Secretary.

No. 2.—Form of Notice to Secretary when claiming Sick Pay.

Tent, No.

Dated day of 18

To Bro. Secretary.

I hereby claim the Sick Allowance to which I am entitled under the General Laws, being unable to follow my employment.

Name

Address

NOTE.—This Notice to Secretary, and the Tent Surgeon's Certificate underneath, must be forwarded to the Secretary in accordance with Bye-law of Tent.

No. 3.—Form of Surgeon's Certificate on Fund.

Dated day of 18

I certify that the above-named _____ is afflicted with or suffering from _____ and is not able to follow his employment. _____ Tent Surgeon.

No. 4.—Form of Declaration off Fund.

Tent, No.

Dated day of 18

To Bro. Secretary.

I hereby declare myself off the Sick Fund of the Tent, being now able to return to my occupation.

Name

Address

No. 5.—Form of Surgeon's Certificate off Fund.

I certify that the above-named _____ is now able to resume his occupation. _____ Tent Surgeon.

NOTE.—The 48th General Law requires this Notice to be forwarded Immediately to Tent Secretary.

No. 6.—Medical Certificate claiming Funeral Allowance.

I, _____ hereby certify that _____ aged _____ years, late of _____ died on the _____ day of _____ 18 _____, and that I consider his (or her) death to have been caused by _____ (or the verdict was, as the case may be). _____ Dated this _____ day of _____ 18 _____ Tent Surgeon (or legally-qualified Medical Practitioner, residing at _____, or Coroner, as the case may be).

No. 7.—Certificate of Appointment of Representatives to District Council.

To the District Secretary.

This is to certify that Brother _____ was duly elected to represent this Tent in the District Council. _____

Dated at _____ Tent, No. _____, this _____ day of _____ 18

(Tent Seal.) C.R.

Secretary.

[If the representative cannot attend personally, he must give his proxy an appointment according to following form, which must be forwarded by the Secretary to the District Secretary.]

No. 8.—Certificate of Appointment of Proxy.

This is to certify that I have appointed Brother _____ of _____ Tent, No. _____ to act as my proxy at the meetings of the District Council.

Dated this _____ day of _____ 18 .

Tent Representative.

No. 9.—Form of Receipt or Acknowledgment to be endorsed on Mortgages or further charges.

We, the undersigned, being the Trustees for the time being of the within-named [New Zealand Central District Independent Order of Rechabites; or _____ Tent, No. _____ of the New Zealand Central District Independent Order of Rechabites, as the case may be], do hereby acknowledge to have received of and from the within-named Mortgagor, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, all moneys intended to be secured by he within written deed or instrument.

Witness our hands the _____ day _____ 18

Witness,

District Bye-Laws.

District Officers.

- The District Officers shall meet at such time and place as may be mutually agreed upon. Three shall form a quorum.
- The chair shall be occupied by the officer present who may be highest according to rank in the Order; the order of precedence being as follows:—D.C.R., D.D.R., P.D.C.R.
- When a quorum is not present within a quarter of an hour after the time fixed for any meeting, or adjournment thereof, the officer or officers present shall not have power to transact any business beyond recording their attendance; and, if he or they think fit, adjourning the meeting, of which adjournment due notice shall be given to each officer not then present.
- No officer of the District shall be allowed to leave any meeting without the consent of such meeting.
- The presiding officer shall have a casting vote only.
- Any subject that may be once settled by vote at any meeting of District Officers cannot be again entertained at the same meeting.
- No documents from Districts or Tents shall be received without the seal of such District or Tent being impressed thereon.
- Communications forwarded to the District by private members, relating to the business of their Tents, must have the Tent Seal affixed. Provided the impression of the Tent Seal be refused, the document may be forwarded accompanied by a statement to that effect.
- In every case in which a question of law or practice is submitted for the consideration of the District Officers, the circumstances under which such question has arisen must be briefly stated, for the information and guidance of the District. If the question is one of law, the number of the law referred to must be stated.
- No District Officer shall appear as an advocate for or against any appeal from the decision of the District Officers or District Council.
- The D.S. shall record all the decisions of the District Officers on questions of law in a book to be kept specially for that purpose, and classify such decisions in the form found to be most convenient for reference.
- If, during the intervals of the District Officers' meetings, any questions are received in reference to which the D.S. is fully convinced, from previous decisions, what the opinion of the District Officers would be, he shall be at liberty to at once return an official answer to such questions.
- The D.T. shall submit the Bank Book of the Order at the first meeting of District officers in every month, such book to be made up to date.
- All accounts and other documents to be submitted to quarterly or annual meeting shall be previously submitted to the District Officers, for approval, or report thereon.
- Abstracts of the Quarterly Returns, and a report to be submitted to the District Council, shall be prepared once in each quarter, such report to contain a general summary of the progress of the District during the preceding three months.
- A half-yearly balance-sheet and statement of accounts, duly audited, shall be submitted by the District Officers at the June quarterly meeting of the District Council.

Quarterly Meetings.

- The Quarterly Meetings of the District Council shall be held in the months of July, October, January, and April, commencing each evening at half-past seven o'clock.
- The quorum shall be as provided for in General Law.
- The business of the Quarterly Meeting shall be conducted as follows:—
 - Password collected.
 - Meeting opened as in Tents, by Presiding Officer.
 - Representatives take obligation of office.
 - Roll called, and fines recorded for non-attendance unless satisfactory apology submitted.
 - Minutes of preceding meeting read and confirmed.
 - District Officers' report, balance-sheet, and Auditors' report, laid on table, and printed copies supplied each Tent Representative. All printed documents to be considered as read.
 - Accounts for payment considered and ordered upon.
 - Correspondence read and considered.
 - Business arising out of minutes of previous meeting dealt with; postponed business to take precedence.
 - General business.
 - Consideration of appeals.
 - Meeting closed as in Tents, by Presiding Officer.
- No Officer or Representative shall be allowed to leave the meeting without the consent of the Presiding Officer, and obtaining the retiring password.
- All Officers and Representatives shall wear the distinctive regalia to which they are entitled by their rank in the Order, or be fined 2s. 6d. for each day's sitting.

Order of Debate at Quarterly Meetings.

- No discussion shall take place except upon a motion or amendment moved and seconded, and in writing, with the names of proposer and seconder attached.
- Only one amendment can be entertained at one time. If the amendment be carried, it shall take the place of the original motion, and there will be no necessity to put the original motion to the meeting. It is competent, whether the amendment is carried or not, to receive other amendments, one at a time, to be disposed of in like manner and decided on, until the subject is finally disposed of.
- No member shall propose more than one amendment upon a motion, and no member shall speak more than once upon either motion or amendment, except the mover of the motion first proposed, who shall be entitled to reply. The seconder of a motion or amendment shall not be held to have spoken thereon if he has only seconded same without remark. In the case of proposed amendments being lost, the presiding officer shall put the original motion to the vote.
- Any Representative may, by consent of the Presiding Officer, offer an explanation of any particular expression used by him, but must confine himself strictly to the explanation.
- In all cases where a vote is to be taken, it shall be decided by the usual exclamation "Aye" or "No," and if a division be called for, it shall be taken by the "Ayes" going to the right of the Chair, and the "Noes" to the left. The Presiding Officer may appoint one teller from each side, who shall report to him the result, and he shall immediately declare the numbers for or against. No division shall be taken unless called for by six members.
- No Representative shall leave the meeting whilst a vote is being taken, and all Representatives must vote.
- Any subject that may be once settled by vote or division cannot be again entertained at the same Council Meeting.
- An amendment to proceed with next business (which shall take precedence of all matters before the meeting), upon which no discussion shall be allowed, shall, if carried, supersede the original motion, and every amendment thereon.
- The Presiding Officer shall have a casting vote only.
- On all questions, and during all discussions, the member speaking shall address the meeting through the Presiding Officer, and shall be standing.
- In all cases where a point of order is raised, the member raising same shall state his point of order clearly and distinctly; and if a member be speaking, such member shall take his seat until the point of order is decided; the Presiding Officer to decide the matter promptly, and not allow a discussion.
- Any member violating any of the above rules shall be fined for every such violation two shillings and

sixpence. A repetition of the offence, or continuing disorderly, having been first called to order by the Chair, to be deemed a separate offence. Any member refusing to retract any offensive expression, having been first directed to do so by the Chair, shall be fined two shillings and sixpence, and be debarred from taking part in any discussion until such retraction be duly made.

Order of Conducting Appeal Cases.

- At the meeting of the Quarterly District Council, after notice of appeal has been read, the Presiding Officer shall call upon the person appearing on behalf of the appellant, and also on the person responding, to name any personal evidence they wish to produce in the case, and who may have given evidence at the Tent meeting, when such persons, if present, must retire.
- The appellant shall then be called upon to sustain his appeal, and after hearing the case, and previous to discussion upon any resolution, all persons interested as appellant and witnesses, and respondent and witnesses, shall retire.
- Representatives may, through the Presiding Officer, cross-examine all parties giving evidence.
- The Presiding Officer, after the parties interested have retired, shall call upon the meeting to decide upon the merits of the case.

Annual Meetings.

- The Annual Meetings of the Order shall be held at such place as may be fixed upon at the previous Annual Meeting, and on such day or days in the month of February as may be decided upon at the Quarterly Meeting next subsequent to the close of the December quarter.
- The chair shall be occupied by the District Chief Ruler, or, in the event of the absence of such officer, by the officer present who may be highest according to rank in the Order, the order of precedence being as follows:—D.C.R., D.D.R., P.D.C.R.
- The quorum shall be as provided for in General Law.
- The business of the Annual Meeting shall be conducted in the following order:—
 - ~~P~~assword collected.
 - ~~M~~Meeting opened.
 - ~~R~~Representatives take obligation.
 - ~~R~~oll called and fines recorded.
 - ~~P~~residing Officer's address.
 - ~~R~~eports, balance-sheets, and other printed documents laid upon table.
 - ~~C~~orrespondence.
 - ~~D~~istrict Officers' report, accounts, committees' reports, &c., considered and ordered upon in the order of their arrangement on Business Paper.
 - ~~S~~alaries and allowances considered and ordered upon.
 - ~~L~~evies for ensuing year fixed.
 - ~~E~~lection of Office-bearers for ensuing year.
 - ~~B~~usiness from Tents considered.
- All reports, statements of accounts, and other printed documents, shall be furnished to or be prepared by the District Officers at least ten days before the time fixed for the Annual Meeting, and copies of the same furnished to each Tent Representative (through the Tent Secretary) or other member of the Annual Meeting, at least four days previous to the date of such meeting being held.
- No Officer or Representative shall be allowed to leave the meeting without the consent of the Presiding Officer, and obtaining the retiring password.
- All Officers and Representatives shall wear the distinctive regalia to which they are entitled by their rank in the Order, or be fined 2s. 6d. for each day's sitting.
- No document shall be received from any District or Tent without the seal of such District or Tent being duly affixed thereto.
- No standing order shall be altered or repealed, unless notice thereof shall have been inserted in the Business Paper. Any one or more of the standing orders may, however, be suspended pro tempore, in case of emergency, provided that a majority of the members present shall deem such suspension necessary.

Order of Debate at Annual Meetings.

- It shall not be competent for any member to propose any alteration of the General Laws of the Order, unless notice of such intended alteration shall have been previously inserted in the Business Paper

supplied to the Tents; nor shall any amendment of the Laws be effected otherwise than in the spirit of the alterations specified in the Business Paper.

- No discussion shall take place except on a motion or amendment moved and seconded, and in writing, with the names of proposer and seconder attached.
- Only one amendment can be entertained at one time. If the amendment be carried, it shall take the place of the original motion, and there will be no necessity to put the original motion to the meeting. It is competent, whether the amendment is carried or not, to receive other amendments, one at a time, to be disposed of in like manner and decided on, until the subject is finally disposed of.
- No member shall propose more than one amendment upon a motion, and no member shall speak more than once upon either motion or amendment, except the mover of the motion first proposed, who shall be entitled to reply. The seconder of a motion or amendment shall not be held to have spoken thereon if he has only seconded same without remark. In the case of proposed amendments being lost, the Presiding Officer shall put the original motion to the vote.
- Any Representative may, by consent of the Presiding Officer, offer an explanation of any particular expression used by him, but must confine himself strictly to the explanation.
- In all cases where a vote is to be taken, it shall be decided by the usual exclamation "Aye" or "No," and if a division be called for, it shall be taken by the "Ayes" going to the right of the Chair, and the "Noes" to the left. The Presiding Officer may appoint one teller from each side, who shall report to him the result, and he shall immediately declare the numbers for or against.
- Any ten members may call for a division upon any question, when the same is put to the vote; and every member then present, unless otherwise disqualified, shall vote.
- No Representative shall leave the meeting whilst a vote is being taken, and all Representatives must vote.
- Any subject that may be once settled by vote or division cannot be again entertained at same Annual Meeting.
- An amendment to proceed with next business (which shall take precedence of all matters before the meeting), upon which no discussion shall be allowed, shall, if carried, supersede the original motion, and every amendment thereon.
- The Presiding Officer shall have a casting vote only.
- On all questions, and during all discussions, the member speaking shall address the meeting through the Presiding Officer, and shall be standing.
- In all cases where a point of order is raised, the member raising same shall state his point of order clearly and distinctly; and if a member be speaking, such member shall take his seat until the point of order is decided, the Presiding Officer to decide the matter promptly, and not allow a discussion.
- Any member violating any of the above rules shall be fined for every such violation two shillings and sixpence. A repetition of the offence, or continuing disorderly, having been first called to order by the Chair, to be deemed a separate offence. Any member refusing to retract any offensive expression, having been first directed to do so by the Chair, shall be fined two shillings and sixpence, and be debarred from taking part in any discussion until such retraction be duly made.

Order of Conducting Appeal Cases.

- No Tent or District Officer, or Member of District Council, shall be allowed to appear as an advocate in any appeal from the decision of such Tent, District Officers, or District Council.
- At the Annual Meeting, after a notice of appeal has been read, the Presiding Officer shall call upon the person appearing on behalf of the appellant, and also on the person responding, to name any personal evidence they wish to produce in the case, and who may have given evidence at the Tent or District Council meeting, when such persons, if present, must retire.
- The appellant shall then be called upon to sustain his appeal; and after hearing the case, and previous to discussion upon any resolution, all persons interested, as appellant and witnesses, and respondent and witnesses, shall retire.
- Representatives may, through the Presiding Officer, cross-examine all parties interested.
- The Presiding Officer, after the parties interested have retired, shall call upon the meeting to decide upon the merits of the case.

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MASON, FIRTH AND M'CUTCHEON, PRINTERS, MELBOURNE.

Orcadian Rhymes; Or, Verses from the Far North.

"For a' that, and a' that, It's coming yet, for a' that,— That man to man the warld o'er, Shall brithers be, for a' that" *Burns*.

Kelso: Printed by J. & J. H. Rutherford. MDCCCLXIV.

To
The Right Honourable
The Earl of Caithness,
This Small Volume of Verse
Is respectfully inscribed.

Contents.

Orcadian Rhymes.

Dear Jean.

YESTREEN i' the gloamin I gaed tae a frien's,
To crack and to pass the hour by;
The house was deserted, not one to be seen,—
Wee Bessie was aff for the kye.

I sat mysel' doun at the side o' the wa',
By a fireside sae neat and sae clean;
I scarcely had sitten a minute or twa,
Till wha should step in but dear Jean!

She cam and sat doun on a chair in the room,
Gude L—d! how my heart loupit then;
I stammer'd some words' bout the crops an' the rain,
What more I said noo I scarce ken.

She Mister'd me too, the sly thing that she did,

And then she would speak unco dry,
And lectured me on the fine life that I led,
And scolded—I canna tell why.

She wondered how I, wi' sic sense and sic head,
Should listen to naeboddy's caution;
I tell'd her I cared na what a' body said,
And never went into a passion.

I said there were twa in the toun I should heed,
And respect the advice they might give;
And one I admired, nay adored her indeed,
And should do so as long as I'd live.

"Oh, one o' them weel do I ken wha he is;
It's Johnie that stays by the sea;
But whatna young lassie ye worship like this,
I wonder noo wha it 'ill be?"

I laughed, and I joked, and I teased her a while,
But what was *her* name wad I tell;
She guessed a' the lasses within a roun' mile,
But never ance mentioned *hersel'*!

A Prayer.

WITH faith unfeigned and meek humility,
Almighty God, I wish to worship Thee;
Not with loud disputes, or vain party strife—
Religion's form without its inner life;
But, with the free-will worship of my heart,
I offer up to Thee the better part.

Too long my mind has been a lumber-room—
A dark chaotic mass of night and gloom;
But, as at the beginning, by thy might,
Thy word but spake, and straight shone forth the light;
So hast Thou, Lord, even in my darkest hour,
Sent forth Thy mighty Spirit's quickening power,

My guard in infancy, my guide in youth,
The three in one—the Way, the Life, the Truth;
Throughout my future years, O Lord! I pray
That Thou wilt guide me in the narrow way;
Help me to keep Thy truth, from sin abstain,
And so at last eternal life to gain.

Isabel and Mary-Ann.

IN our superb Cathedral town,
There does not live, I'm sure, a man,
Whose neighbour-love exceeds my own
For Isabel and Mary-Ann.

A slender form, dark loving eyes,
How deeply tender, few can tell;
A sunny smile hearts to surprise—
Is something like fair Isabel.

With soft blue eyes, and flaxen hair,
That dropping into ringlets ran;
With gentle unassuming air
Comes lovely blooming Mary-Ann.

The public so egregious wise,
Must laugh and jeer a married man,
For looking with admiring eyes
On Isabel and Mary-Ann.

What ill is done why I am old,
Gone is one half my narrow span;
And then what harm can love untold
Do Isabel or Mary-Ann.

These scorners should their Bibles read,
And reading think how rather than
We ought to love whom God has made—
Not hate a maid or fellow-man.

Why we prefer, would take to tell

A greater and a wiser man:
Why I should admire Isabel,
Or fancy little Mary-Ann.

'Twas good old rule in Israel,
To love our neighbours all we can;
If so we ought, I must and shall
Love Isabel and Mary Ann.

A Morning Orison.

O GRACIOUS Heavenly Father!
Grant that I still may find,
Thy peace which passeth knowledge,
To keep through Christ my mind.
Though worldly cares encumber,
And daily grieve my heart,
Yet may I still remember,
To choose the better part.

What though the Adversary
Sow tares while men do sleep;
Give, Lord, thy holy angels
Charge o'er my soul to keep.
To guard my every footstep
From falling through the day,
Lest anything should tempt me
To leave the narrow way.

O wondrous loving kindness!
O miracle of grace!
That man should enter boldly,
Where angels veil the face.
They offer no petitions,
But worship and adore;
While man is still receiving,
And ever asking more.

O Father! high and holy,
I bow before thy throne;
O Saviour! meek and lowly,
I wish to be Thine own;
To feel myself encompassed
By Thy ne'er-ceasing love;

Secure Thou art preparing
My place with Thee above.

A Jewish Band of Hope.

The good alone are great.—*Beattie*.

WARM was the weather, and the sun was bright—
The lake lay ruffled by a gentle breeze;
Flowers were a-bloom in valley and on height,
And birds were warbling wild among the trees.

While Jewish mothers stood with anxious looks,
Watching the ranks of a young Naz'rite band:
As through the streets they marched to leafy nooks,
That fringed the bay above its pebbly strand.

Unto the cymbal's clash and timbrel's sound.
Merrily went they from the dusty town,
All through sweet orange groves, and orchards round
To thy my banks where each sat quiet down.

Then dainties rare were passed on every hand,
In painted baskets, lovely to the sight;
And fruits, the produce fair of many a land,
Were shared to please the youthful Nazarite.

The feasting over, up the merry bands
Arose and rambled round the sunny shore;
Some, mermaid-like, upon the yellow sands, [o'er.
Waded, and splashed, and sprayed each other

Others as gleesome, clomb the mossy rocks,
And, hid in pleasant harbours out of reach,
Were soon discovered by their flowing locks,
And dragged' mid laughter to the shingly beach.

Sated with mirth, with play nigh overdone,
They gather, listening to a leader true;
An ancient Rabbi, head-bare in the sun,
Descants on drinking to the wearied crew:

How Noah fell, and Eli's hopeful race
Belied the promise of their early youth;
How drinking ever leaves its baneful trace,
And lures its victim far from Love and Truth.

The speaker done, up rose a joyful shout
From many a youthful throat upon the grass;
And many a rock the echo bore about,
And carried far beyond the mountain pass.

Apart, a Boy from Nazareth silent stood,
And seemed to ponder on the glorious scene;
Then slowly, sadly, walking to the wood,
As homeward went the Youth, he passed unseen.

To find Bethsaida now we vainly strive,
The town's a ruin, all the people gone;
Yet four of her young Naz'rite band survive—
St. Andrew, Peter, James, and loving John.

To A Friend in Edinburgh.

HERE'S a trifling tribute to thee, dearest May,
Thou tender and true-hearted maiden,
To each childish joy of our life's early day
And memory of hours pleasure-laden.

Though poor be our fortune and hard be our lot,
And this life seems but labour and sorrow;
Let the home of our youth be never forgot,
Till night comes that bringeth no morrow.

New claimants for my heart's love have been given,
And old ones from thine ta'en for ever;
Yet both is the will of a merciful heaven.
And Him who forsaketh us never.

Move cheerily onward and never despair,
Though small be the fruit of thy labour;
Lift up thy heart's voice to the hearer of prayer—

Serve truly thy God and thy neighbour.

The Father of our Lord.

COME let us now with grateful hearts,
Unite in sweet accord,
To praise, with all our tuneful arts,
The Father of our Lord.

We are His offspring, for we were
In His own image made;
And ever since, His tender care,
Provides our daily bread.

In midst of trouble He is near,
When we are sore dismayed;
He comes our drooping hearts to cheer,
And renders timely aid.

But more than all, O! wondrous Love,
His only Son He gave,
That we might reach the realms above—
Our precious souls should save.

Each blessing upon us bestowed,
His Heavenly stores afford;
For He is our Almighty God,
The Father of our Lord.

The Channel Fleet at Kirkwall.

The days have fled when Vikings bold
Around our coasts held sway,
And prowled along Orcadia's shores,
Like lions for their prey.
Now peace and plenty crown each home,
And oh, what gladsome news to some—
Old England's wooden walls have come,
And anchored in our Bay.

Men throng the streets from morn to eve,
The gallant and the brave;
How strange and small our town appears
To their homes o'er the wave.
They climb our ruinous old tower;
Stern faces, with the will and power,
When comes our nation's danger hour,
To perish or to save.

From hoar St. Magnus' far-famed bells,
In merry peal bursts forth
Good wishes from a thousand hearts,
And welcome to the North.
While heard around on every hand,
In music from the *Hero's* band,
"God save the Queen," who rules our land—
All bless the woman's worth.

Among the visitors who pace
The old Cathedral aisle,
Is one who walks with steady step,
And visage kind and hale.
Yet from the echoing vaults beneath,
Where ages past lie hid with death;
A voice tells of the fleeting breath,
And dirge's solemn wail.

Scarce one short week has swiftly fled,
When sweeps along our street,
The mournful sound of muffled drums,
And the march of martial feet.
With flag around the coffin thrown—
With guns reversed, and bayonets down:
That visitor of our old town,
A corpse came from the fleet.

The white-robed priest, with solemn awe,
Bends o'er the lifeless clay,
And tells of his Great Master's law—
"Be ready, watch, and pray:"
He who amidst temptations rife,
Was ever victor in the strife—
The Resurrection and the Life,
The new and living way.

In that secluded lonely place,
Beneath the willow's shade,
With all the honours of his race,
The mortal part is laid,
With humble faith and loving trust,
Knowing that this frail body must
Lie, earth to earth and dust to dust,
Till trumpets wake the dead.

Far from his kindred and his friends,
Far from his childhood's home,
Where never loved, or loving ones,
In mournful guise may come,
With slow and lingering steps, to trace
Their pathway to his resting-place,
Where now that once familiar face
Lies in a stranger's tomb.

To a Lady.

ONCE to your little town I came,
And wandering as my fancy led,
I met in you the fairest dame
That rough Dunbar had ever bred.

You shew me in your father's hall,
Two skilful paintings rare and old—
Our beauteous Queen admired of all,
And Scotia's son, Belhaven bold.

And now whene'er I try to trace
These famous people of the past,
I seem to gaze upon your face,
As in that room I saw you last.

For what are ablest pictures worth—
Though each may be an artist's pride—
When youth and health in pensive mirth
Stand sweetly blooming at one's side.

You know, dear Lady, that to some,
Even in this later grovelling time,

Whene'er a better thought will come,
It yearns to struggle into rhyme.

Then let us both a lesson take,
From those who lived in times of strife;
And out of each occasion make
Some firm resolve for after life.

I still shall walk, howe'er belied
The path that bold Belhaven trod,
And serve through life, whate'er betide,
My country always next my God.

And you, I'm sure, well warned by one,
That was not half so fair as you,
Will cleave to right, all evil shun,
And evermore be kind and true.

So shall we in that distant spot,
Where neither cares nor sorrows stay.
Enjoy our happy blessed lot,
In endless everlasting day.

Rosabelle.

THE bright orb of day
Was sinking to rest,
His last rays adorn'd
The glorious West;
And gently were stealing
The shadows of even,
When a soul was passing
From earth to heaven.

Sickness had never,
With withering breath,
To her forshadowed
The approach of death.
The cold slimy rocks
Formed her chilly bed,
When the dark deep waters
Closed over her head.

Some flowerets hung over
The margin above,
That spoke to her young heart
The first thoughts of love;
And her own sweet image,
So heavenly fair,
Seemed like a bright angel
That beckoned her there.

No eye was near her
To witness her fall,
Nor a listening ear
Could have heard her call;
And night's sable curtain
Drew closely around,
Concealing each trace
Where she might be found.

But mourners were many—
Even yon blue sky,
With tears did bedim
The fair day's bright eye;
And the soft winds sighed
Her sad fate to tell;
While the loud thunder rung
Her funeral knell.

They searched her o'er hill
And o'er valley lone,
Till the busy world
To their rest had gone.
No words can describe
The poor mother's pain,
As she reads in their looks
That their search was vain.

Though her love was shared
Among more than one,
Her heart was so fond
She could part with none;
And her eyes oft turn
To an empty chair,
When she thinks of one
Who will ne'er sit there.

On a First Love.

Go leave me, I am tired of chat,
I care not what you say;
I wish to muse the livelong night
On her I met to-day.

Once more I see her on the walk,
So modest looking down—
Of bright surpassing loveliness,
The beauty of the town.

Brown eyes, black hair, and rosy cheeks,
A form of queen-like grace;
With all the charms of womankind
Concentred in her face.

My thoughts flow back to that sweet time
When first she met my view;
A girl at school with winning ways,
That charmed all she knew.

And I a thoughtless wayward youth,
A stranger from afar,
Wishing myself once more at school,
To learn along with her.

To gaze across the schoolroom,
When her eyes were on her books,
And be taught a deeper lesson
From her fair and lovely looks.

This world is robed in shadow,
We are riddles to each other;
The dearest ties of kindred,
What are they—sister, brother?

Or that dearer tie than all the rest,
That kindles like a flame,
And makes the very heart leap up
At mention of a name.

Those thoughts, desires, and feelings,
That we know by name of Love,
Are surely emanations
From Infinitude above.

But why should I still think of one;
What silliness to fret;
I may find some other maiden,
Who will make me happy yet.

Let them cluster round about her,
Let them share her talk and mirth;
To see her I was happier
Than any king on earth.

But why was I deserted,
When my need was more than ever;
Like a shatter'd bark whose pilot's lost
When sailing down a river.

O! God, those gushing tears are hot,
My brain begins to swim;
Come, come once more and chase away
This twilight dark and dim,

That gathers o'er my spirit now,
And burdens my sad breast,
And evermore shall till I'm where
The weary are at rest.

Again her fairest form appears,
And fills me with delight.
As in the spring-time of my youth
She rose upon my sight.

And now she'll never more depart,
But still be at my side,
In the sorrow-laden years to come
A comforter and guide.

And ever at the Throne of Grace
She'll pray that I may stand,
With the blessed saints and angels,
In the happy Spirit Land.

In sweet vision I shall see her,
As I draw my latest breath,
And I close my heavy eyelids
In the long last sleep of death.

And when I'm quite forgotten,
In the low and silent grave,
She will sometimes waste a thought on him
She tried so hard to save.

Lines Written under Pressure of Severe Affliction.

FATHER of all, to Thee
I lift mine eyes;
I bow to Thy supreme decree,
And counsel wise.
Though dark Thy purpose seems
To my sad soul,
Send Thou Thy light in living streams,
And make me whole.

When trials round me stand
On every side,
Beneath Thine own Almighty hand
Myself I'll hide.
And when temptations dire
My soul affright,
Be Thou still near a wall of fire
To check their might.

When fears perplex my mind,
And doubtings chill,
Again, as to the waves and wind,
Say, "Peace be still."
And be my compass o'er
This life's rough sea,
Pointing towards a heavenly shore,
From sorrow free.

To A Neighbour, with A Portrait of the Author.

IN token of sincere respect,
I send this tribute small;
Grateful if you, without neglect,
Accept the gift at all.

Though here ill tongues can separate
The loving and the good;
In other lands, despite their hate,
I'll yet be understood.

Where ribald jests are not poured forth
To vex a maiden's ear;
Where Virtue feels her boundless worth,
And harbours not a fear.

And when I leave—I shortly may,—
At thought of your fair face,
I'll often wish you too away
From this vile tattling place.

And out of this, if late or soon,
We e'er each other see,
I'll tell you what a precious boon
Your presence was to me.

Woman's Rights.

WILD the wintry winds were raging,
And the rain fell most severe;
Still the fire kept warm and cosy,
And my babes were playing near.

Slowly crouching by our window,
Passed a thing in woman's form;
Used to life—long degradation,
Trampled like her sister worm.

With her bare feet, worn and weary,
And her garments torn and thin;
While her back was bowed down sorely,
With a load of hawker's tin.

Why in this, the land of freedom,
Boasted free as ocean wave;
Why should woman look on woman,
And behold her born a slave.

It would be a grander mission—
Much more glorious by far,
Than our schemes for burning India,
Or benighted Calabar—

If the charity that searches,
Far for objects ere they come,
Would but strive to clear its own eyes,
By beginning first at home.

In the hard oft-trodden pathways,
Through life's weary pilgrimage:
We should teach our fellow-traveller,
How to rest at every stage.

Though our heartless priests and Levites,
On the other side pass by;
Let us like Him of Samaria,
Up and help them ere they die.

When our blessed Master wandered
Through this sinful earth below,
Came—forced by vile foes before him,
Marked by deepest guilt and woe—

A poor woman, weak, and heart-sore,
Charged with crimes of darkest die;
While the clamorous crowd like madmen,
Rav'd with voices loud and high.

And their cry was, stone her, stone her—
Stone the shameless and accurst;
But the Just One answered gently,
Let the sinless throw the first.

With His judgments, mercy ever
Goes united hand in hand;
Let us then with firm endeavour,
Seek the lost ones of our land.

While with open arms the Shepherd
Still is waiting to receive;
Mong'st the highways and the hedges,
Let our cry be, "Turn and live."

Yet within our little city,
Some there are whose frowning brow,
Wears the self-approving saying,—
"I am holier than thou."

Midst the glorified in Heaven,
Will the saintly bosom shrink,
When its white robes come in contact
With the rescued from Hell's brink?

No; each selfish angry passion,
Caused by sin and death shall cease;
Nought can enter that defileth,
There is still eternal peace.

With the good land still before us,
Ere we reach the river's brink;
Brethren, heirs of life immortal,
Sisters, let us pause and think.

Let us lead our suffering sisters,
In the pleasant pathways too;
Though possessing but one talent,
Women, let us up and do.

Let us on their hearts' deep bruises,
Pour in gently oil and wine;
What but God's grace makes the difference,
'Twixt their lot and yours and mine.

The Human Bird of Passage.

ONWARD, onward be thy flight,
Upward soar, nor once alight;
Bird of earth, to thee is given,
Strength to reach the highest heaven.

Forward, forward, swift as wind,
Spare no time to look behind;
Dreary regions thou hast past,
And thou can'st not fly too fast.

Life's dark winter soon comes on,
Faded flowers and verdure gone;
Ere its snows thy brow come o'er,
Migrate to a better shore.

Summer waits thee in that clime,
Blasted ne'er by ruthless Time;
Floods of light unmixed with gloom,
Flowers of everlasting bloom.

With a Valentine Having a Lyre and the Flower Heart's Ease.

THIS mimic token that I send,
Will shadow forth some mightier lyre,
That love when kindled by thy charms,
Shall strike with all a poet's fire.

And by the flower is faintly shown—
That when your lover's ill to please,
Or like some others jealous grown,
'Tis best to set his heart at ease.

Anticipation.

AROUND the window-lattice hung
The naked leafless trees;
And howling through the branches came
The chill November breeze.

And thick and fast the shadows flew,
Like ghosts about the room,
As if no happy thought should break
The wintry twilight's gloom.

Beside a cheerful glowing hearth,
A woman sat and smiled;
While bright before her vision rose
What was to be her child.

And still she thought of what its lot,
Or course in life might be,
Long, long before its infant smile,
Had lighted up her knee.

She thought of joys and gladnesses
Connected with its life;
And then of sin and suffering,
Of peril, pain, and strife.

The pleasures of its infancy,
The cares of riper years,
And all the host of human ills
That throng this vale of tears.

How graciously our Saviour once,
Assumed a form of clay,
And lived a life of suffering here,
'Midst creatures of a day.

And died a shameful death, that when
Our last day here was come,
We, formed in God's own image, may
Share in that purchased home.

Thus far and wide her thoughts did roam,
Through realms of empty space;
But still her mind's eye seemed to rest
On one sweet childish face.

And 'midst those spirits bright that wait
Their summons from the throne,
One still seemed fairer than the rest,
Her own expected one.

At midnight, mingled sounds were heard
Of weeping and of mirth;
One more was added to the list
Of mortals here on earth.

Already she begins to feel
A mother's anxious care;
And for her first-born offers up
Her inmost soul in prayer.

The Rulers of the Land.

(Not from *Blackwood*.)

I'm very sorry for the rich; would ne'er with envy look
Upon their lot, nor rail at them with loud prolonged rebuke;
Yet for us both, I should not say 'twas either good or kind,
To let them *always* govern us as if we had no mind;
For uncles, cousins, nephews, have office on demand,
Whene'er the brainless rich become the rulers of the land.

I venerate a good rich man—a gift as sent from heaven—
Dispensing without stint the wealth that Providence has given;
But alas! the good and rich are few, the bad and rich increase,
Who drive the poor to other lands to end their days in peace.
Where men were bred, now sheep are fed and roam on every hand,
To please our great aristocrats—the rulers of the land.

To hunt the fox and hare all day may meliorate the heart,
Yet the Gospel, one would think, might tend to teach a better art;
To spend the riches God them gave—to use the tongue and pen
In labours for the public good, with love for fellow-men.
The blessing of the poor and weak they always may command,

When the purse-proud rich are changed, and walk as Christians in the land!

With generals in their dotage, and captains proud of blood,
They think to meet America, and sweep the angry flood:
Vain hope! brave British men must be by braver generals led,
To fight and conquer, or to sink into their gory bed.
The greatest empire in this world much longer cannot stand,
If thoughtless men of rank remain the rulers of the land.

On My Daughter's First Birth-Day.

LITTLE can I give my loved one,
Small attention can I pay;
Though in spirit always willing,
Flesh doth fail me every day.

Yet as time so swiftly passing,
Brings again thy natal morn,
I would pay this simple tribute
To my only, my first-born.

May His arms who once enfolded
Little children when on earth,
Be thy guardian and preserver,
As He has been since thy birth.

Ere thy soul by sin is hardened,
Ere thine eyes with tears grow dim,
Set thy mind on things abiding,
And devote thyself to Him.

Should life's path be long and dreary,
Rough and thorny on each side,
Lean on Him who through the desert
Safely doth His chosen guide.

Or should milk and honey pastures
Ever be thy favoured lot
May His hand who gives the manna,
Never be by thee forgot.

Should it be our Father's pleasure,
Health to give and length of days,
Be thy life-time spent in working
For His glory and His praise.

And if in His all-wise goodness,
He should call thee early home,
Help me, Lord, with meek submission,
Still to say, "Thy will be done."

Though my fondest heart's affections
With thy being are entwined:
That thou art but lent, not given,
May I ever bear in mind.

Earthly moths and rust do ever
Spoil our treasures laid up here;
Death's fell hand is sparing never,
Stealing all we hold most dear.

On the Death of A Friend.

WHEN the bustling throng on the streets did cease,
And silence reigned o'er night,
Then her weary soul found a glad release,
And on the inward sight
Came a parting ray of heavenly peace,
To gild the spirit's flight.

How cheering to every Christian's eye,
Though all around seem dark,
Is the beacon that shines from yonder sky,
A never failing mark,
That tells of the shore we will soon be nigh,
Where safe we moor our bark.

Long, long the heaving bosom struggled sore,
To hold the parting breath,
Which quicker came, and fled when all was o'er
Life yielded unto death:
And the frail house of clay shall clog no more
The better part beneath.

When the nearest, dearest of earthly bands
Are bursting round the heart;
When each grasp of the tender trembling hands
Tells that we soon must part,
The spirit wings its way to other lands,
Beyond affliction's smart.

Another friend has passed away from earth,
'Mid Autumn's fading bloom;
And a shade has fallen on our household hearth,
Darker than midnight gloom;
But she's welcomed above with holy mirth,
Triumphant o'er the tomb.

She whom we always loved so well to meet,
And fondly thought our own,
Worships with joy around the mercy seat,
In strains of sweeter tone;
And casts her crown down at the Saviour's feet,
Before the Great White Throne.

The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.

REVELATIONS, chaps, ii. and iii.

O! THOU who bendest 'neath temptation's load,
Yet faintest not, to thee is freely given
The Tree of Life—the choicest fruit of heaven,
The centre of the paradise of God.

Though storms and tempests round thy sky may lower,
Yet be thou ever faithful unto death;
Hear what the whisperings of the Spirit saith—
On thee the second death shall have no power.

Behold life's wilderness how thickly strewn
With hidden manna, angel's food for thee;
And with thine eyes of faith look up and see
Thy new name written on the large white stone.

To him that overcometh shall be given
Power over nations, ruling like a king,
Breaking to pieces every earthly thing;

And his shall be the morning star of heaven.

Robed in pure white, behold thy humble name,
Writ in the Book of Life before thy God;
And He who shed for thee His precious blood,
Before His Father will confess the same.

A pillar in God's temple thou art now;
Hold that thou hast; let no one take thy crown;
Heed not the world's vain smile, nor fear its frown,
For God has set His seal upon thy brow.

Throughout life's journey if thou dare to own
Thyself Christ's follower, then despise the shame;
Endure the cross with those who bear His name,
And He will share with thee His blood-bought throne.

Jamie and Annie.

THE cauld winds were blawin', the white hail was fa'in',
The trees by the river were leafless and bare,
When Annie went over to look for her lover,
Her heart overflowing wi' sorrow and care.

She gaed up the hill, and there she stood still,
And gazed while the tears nearly covered her e'en;
The waves in commotion rose wild o'er the ocean,
But on a' the wide waters no ship could be seen.

Hame, hame she came slowly, her head drooping lowly,
Like a lilly in summer when a shower's newly faun;
O hope maist bereaved! fu' sairly she grieved,
And she wist when she slept she might ne'er see the dawn.

The neighbours were laffin, and said in their daffin,
There goes the puir broken-hearted wee bairn;
She couldna weel cry, but she gaed a bit sigh,
For she thought, O, their hearts must be cauld as the aim.

She loosened her stays and took off her claes,
Sadly, O! sadly she went to her bed;
Her mither descried her and crept in aside her,
And laid her saft arm 'neath her lassie's sair head.

"Lass, why lie ye cryin', and sabbin', and sighin',"
And wasting yersel' for a wild reckless boy;
Noo end a' this strife, be some cannie man's wife,
And gi'e yere auld mither joost ae blink o' joy.

There's many a lad that gaes far better clad,
And shaws a guid purse when he tooms out his cash;
But Jamie has naething scarce mair than his claitthing,
So an' I was you, yon lad I'd never more fash."

"Tho' lads I hae plenty, I'm sure more than twenty,
He lo'es me far better than ane o' them a';
O! speak nae mair, mither, I care no a feather,
If I canna get Jamie I'll ha'e nane ava.

There's Maggie he vext, Bonnie Jean was the next,
He telt them lie lo'ed them, but that was a whim;
When he had so many and left a' for Annie,
O, what can I do but just leave a' for him.

In Mary-Ann's praise maistlins naething he says—
'Wi' dear little Annie she canna compare;
I've sailed the world over, from Boston to Dover,
But never hae met wi' a beauty so rare.'

And Jessie o' Deeside that goes aye sae gaucie,
Fu' glad wad she be tae hae Jamie again;
But he ca'ed me his 'bonnie wee kind-hearted lassie,'
And vowed that when spring came he'd make me his ain.

A' night in her nest the lintie 'll no rest,
But wishes for morning her young birds to see;
And I maun be weary and canna be cheery,
Till the lad that I loe comes to gladden my e'e."

Lang, lang she had mourned when Jamie returned,
How happy' was Annie when he came ashore;
Her puir heart was beating, in his arms she ran greetin',
When he ca'ed her his bonnie wee lassie ance more.

Song of the Farmer's Wife.

WE'VE braved awhile the gale of life,
And struggled on together;
And still we hope the storm may calm,
And end in fairer weather.

What though our foreheads are bedewed
With sweat of honest labour;
Our choicest maxim e'er has been—
"To love our God and neighbour."

Like leaves around each other twined,
With heart and hand united,
The promise of our younger years
Shall surely not be blighted.

Now in the noontide of our day,
With budding flowers beside us,
Let us be lovely in our lives,
That death may not divide us.

And as our setting sun wears low,
Life's Autumn drawing nearer,
Like ripening grain with age bent down,
Our value will be dearer.

Death, the great Reaper, will not spare—
Spares neither youth nor beauty;
But yet he fails to wound their hearts,
Who live for love and duty.

Epistle to Davie.

O SHADE of Burns! whose songs endear
Thy name to every Scottish ear,
Wer't thou on earth in this sad age,
Thy heart would glow with bitter rage,
To see thy heaven-inspired vocation
Enduring such base profanation.
In this far North each prosing sinner
Sits down to rhyme as to a dinner;
Cuts up and mangles English metre,
Thinking than his none can be sweeter;
Avoids the vowels, choosing words
With consonants as stiff as swords;
Goes three months to the parish school,
Completes his training for a fool;
Then settles down to mending watches,
While wild-goose dreams he fondly hatches;
Tries to improve the Kirkwall time,
By making clocks to strike to rhyme;
Finds motes into his neighbour's een,
Thinks beams in his will ne'er be seen;
Has aye twa irons i' the fire,
And makes himself a fool and liar.
Puppies like him are always yelping,
And needing whiles a friendly skelping;
Think Orkney fame is but a bone
Thrown out to every scribbling drone.
Brought up on 'tatoes and sau't herring,
Looks like ane never had his sairing:
He talks of mutton too, alas!
Such braying only marks the ass;
His barren brains have long been lost,
And now he finds it to his cost.
'Tis vain to seek poetic zeal
In what at first was meant for veal;
But beastly natures love to bite,
So doggrel Davie rhymes for spite.
I would advise him to tak tent—
Else when ower late he may repent—
Gae hame and sip his herring broo,
And steek henceforth his bletherin' moo;
For though he whine and even bark,
Sic dogs as he leave nae tooth-mark.
His native isle, 'tis said, has plenty
Of those whose wits are rather scanty.
Let him wha's stor'd in auld Scotch saws,
Keep his ain guts to his ain maws;
Spend ither three months at the school,
And play nae mair the rhyming fool.

Thoughts on Seeing A Vain Girl Gaudily Drest.

THE rose hath faded from thy cheek,

Though one blooms in thy hair;
And costly gems thy bosom deck,
While thorns are stinging there.

O! what has bought these worthless toys,
Or what exchange been given;
Thy peace of mind, thy honour lost,
And blessed hope of heaven.

Now thou may'st sit and wring thy hands,
And curse thy natal day,
For straying from the narrow path
Into the smooth broad way.

Thy breast may boast the diamond's blaze—
The price of shame and sin;
But will it quiet the still voice,
Or worm that gnaws within.

And smiles may play upon thy face,
And mirth dance in thine eyes;
Yet hollow laughter bears the trace
Of many secret sighs.

And when thy weary day is done,
And fitful sleep succeeds,
Thou dar'st not with such sin-stained lips
Ask what thy spirit needs.

Yet Pity's arms are open still,
Still open Mercy's door;
The same kind Saviour bids thee "Go
In peace, and sin no more."

The Juvenile Sceptic.

(An incident of the Commemoration of the Tricentenary of the Scottish Reformation, 20th December, 1860.)

"MAMMA, dear, what induced papa
To shut his shop to-day,
And go away to church to hear

The parson preach and pray?"

"Hush! dear, it all was done because
John Knox, that holy man,
Three hundred years ago, was bent
To rule on Calvin's plan."

"Calvin, the cruel wretch that burnt,
With piles of willow-wood,
A man who did not think with him!
Call Calvin great and good?"

"Yes, dear, we must—at least we're told
He had enough to do,
To keep the Catholics down, and bring
The Reformation through."

"But, dear mamma, just now suppose,
When Johnny there gets wild,
You take and fling him in the grate—
Your darling little child!

What would papa and parson say,
What stories would go round;
The policemen that walk about
Would beat you, I'll be bound."

"Emanuel, you naughty boy,
Why speak such things as these;
The Minister says Calvin's right,
And Him *we've* got to please."

The minister tells lies, mamma;
He's told me o'er and o'er,
That I'd have run up Calvary,
And cried like those of yore:

And that I would have striven too
To kill the blessed Lord!

A man to teach such lies as these.
And call them *Holy Word!*"

"When you grow up, you'll understand
What minister has said;—
But now take Johnny in your hand,
And off you go to bed."

Enigma.

AN author, whose illustrious name
Ranks highly on the lists of fame.
Who claims Orcadian descent,
Though born and bred, his life-time spent
In that fair country far away,
Yclept by us America.
The names of two great Jewish kings,
Who ruled a while the tide of things;
And both were raised from lowly stations,
To sway the sceptre over nations;
But in the first ill passions raged,
As heaven and earth had warfare waged;
The second gently moved along,
Breathing his soul in sacred song:
Striving to quench that hellish fire,
Would strike anew his deep-toned lyre:
And his sweet songs were of such merit,
As charmed away the evil spirit.
The name of all those isles in one,
Where first our young life was begun—
Small speck upon the northern sea,
May heaven bless and prosper thee!—
Thy storm-wrapt hills and valleys lone
Were for a time the humble home
Of him, thy darling soldier-poet;
Whose name, if you can clearly show it,
Compared with those above will shew
What it concerns you to know;
As something prized by him of old
Above long life or mines of gold:
From these initials you may guess
What all require, but few possess.

"When First I Went Courting."

WHEN first I went courting to bonnie Bell Towers,
She used me, I think, most unkindly;

Yet over my heart she still held the sole power,
For I fear I lo'ed her most blindly.

She told me right off that her heart and her hand
Were plighted to somebody ither;
Then she bade me good night, and put-to the door,
And left me alane wi' her mither.

Says minnie—"A spruce-looking chap like yersel'
Might get twenty wives for the speering;
And never ye mind yon daft lassie Bell—
Ye're naething the waur o' her jeering.

She's only just noo in the end o' her teens;
But ance on the wrang side o' twenty,
Her luck will be then but a'e chance to ten,
And her lovers will no be so plenty.

She has five strapping sisters as gude as hersel',
Smart hizzies as e'er had a mither;
And my counsel is, gin ye canna get ane,
Just gang ye and try at anither."

"Deed, minnie, I think I'll just tak your advice,
And screw up my courage for trial;
Should anither be first I shall soon ken the worst—
It will be but anither denial!"

The New Year

HURRAH! hurrah! for the good New Year,
And happy may it be!
And far away with the old year's care,
And grief it brought to me.

My heart doth bound at the joyful sound
Of merry Christmas bell!
While tears do flow—alas! why so?
To hear the old year's knell.

Do not men mourn when a friend is torn
By death's rude hand away?
Then here's a tear for the good old year,
Whose death takes place to-day.

For the blessings lent and time misspent,
And talents mis-improved,
It is not right that this very night
All thought should be removed.

Ought we to be gay on such a day?
Let graver thoughts find room;
For our new-found friend before his end,
May see us in our tomb.

The Flower O' the Shore.

O! DOWN the last night, at the pier a short race,
And coming up street I saw Annie's sweet face;
A'e kind look she gae made my heart beat so sore,
For bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

The lads were admiring her sweet winning ways,
The winds 'bout the corners were sighing her praise;
There was something I said, and I thocht something more,
O' bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

O had ye but seen her twa pawky een!
As brown as a berry and glancing sae keen;
With these she steals hearts—sure, she's gotten a score,
Has bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

The honey frae flowers the bee sometimes sips,
Is nought to the honey on Annie's sweet lips;
I ance stole a kiss, but I'll never steal more
Frae bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

That a'e sweet sweet kiss gie'd my heart sic a stoun",
I didna get better till years had gane roun';
I cou'dna been worse had I stolen a score,

Frae bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

There's Maggie goes neatly, and Mary goes braw,
But put on their best there is ane beats them a';
There is ane beats them a', and she'll beat many more,
Will bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

O ance I lo'ed Annie, and lo'ed her sae weel,
The thocht o' auld days aften gars my heart feel;
Folk may say what they like, but I still shall adore
My bonnie wee Annie, the Flower o' the Shore.

Reply to A Wish.

YOUR wish was cordially expressed,
And gratefully received—
That pitying Goodness yet might grant
The health for which I grieved.

Alas! it now has been withdrawn
These two long years and more;
Yet what His justice first denied,
His love can still restore.

Whate'er His wisdom judges best,
O may I ne'er repine;
Lord, teach my soul on Thee to rest,
And make Thy pleasure mine.

The Forsaken.

DOES he in my heart still find a place,
And his once loved form my mem'ry trace,
When all is vanished of pure and fair,
That my foolish fond heart cherished there?

Does my bosom swell, my pale cheek flame,
If I do but hear them speak his name;
When he thus betrayed my loving trust,

And has crashed my bright hopes all to dust?

Her form is lovelier far than mine,
And paid his vows at a grander shrine;
His hand he gives to a richer dame,
But his heart's first love is still the same.

Why gain a heart if that heart you break—
Why plight your troth if you must forsake;
I poor and despised, my love must be
Sacrificed to her pride and to thee.

Like wandering bee man has the power
To suck the sweets from each blooming flower
And if he seem but with one to rest,
'Tis only to sting that faithful breast.

When the wintry wind howls loud and drear,
Round my lonely grave in the twilight clear,
You will laugh and sing—a happy pair—
While your slighted one sleeps soundly there.

To A Child.

YES, little child, 'twas one like thee,
Meet emblem of humility!
That Jesus in the midst did place,
To shew how sweet is childish grace:
Whose bright eyes speak a soul within,

Yet undefiled by actual sin;
Whose little bosom, pure and fair,
Ne'er harboured evil passion there.

Be Israel's Shepherd still thy guide,
And shadow of His wings thee hide
From every blast of cankering care,
That human life is doomed to share.

When all earth's joys have changed to gloom,
And life's bright sun sinks in the tomb,
Dear Jesus! grant that she may hold
A place among thy heavenly fold.

On the Marquis of Bredalbane.

HE drove the children of the soil abroad,
Who lov'd their country and their country's God;
Then childless died, and left his wealth and grounds
To fatten lawyers and some English hounds
Who seeks a moral, let him gen'rous live,
And to the poor and needy freely give.

A Bachelor's Soliloquy.

PITY a poor old bachelor,
Who nightly sits alone,
Without a wife and two-three weans,
To cheer his lonely home.

His hands are round his auld snuff-box,
His fingers hold the pen;
But what is passing through his mind—
Noo wad ye like to ken?

"I'm weary o' this joyless room,
And o' this cheerless hearth;
It is not meet that man should be
Alone on this wide earth.

"I might hae been a great-grandsire,
My boys around my knee,
Instead o' living three-score years,
Just like the cursed fig tree.

"Alas! I'm auld and near aff-gaun,
An' canna hope to win
The young heart o' some sweet bit lass,
Whose life's yet to begin.

"I'll e'en gae try some rich widow,
Whose love is well nigh spent;
And pity for my lonesome lot,
May cause her to relent.

"She'll say her firm resolve has been
On no account to wed;
An' oh! how can she e'er forget
The mem'ry of the dead?

"But still I'll persevere with her,
Though first she seem unkind,
For I've something in my kist-neuk
May make her change her mind.

"It is not youth, nor beauty's charms,
Nor fortune I require;
Nor handsome shape, nor loving eyes,
That speak the heart's desire:

""Tis a sociable companion,
For life's remaining years;
One single human being, who
Could share my hopes and fears."

Byways.

WE seek through numerous byways
Our Father's house to find,
Each thinking that his brother,
Is far, far left behind;
Not knowing that himself is poor,
And miserable and blind.

One man is of Apollos,
Another is of Paul,
Another is of Cephas—
When Christ should be his all.
Each cares not how his neighbour fare,
Whether he rise or fall.

Parting.

AND now they have parted to meet no more,
And you need not ask if their hearts were sore;
Their past life had been that of summer flowers,
Whose growth has been nourished by tender showers.

His father lived in a stately manor,
Her's had nothing to boast of but honour;
So parents' commands must needs be obeyed,
And the squire's son leave the poor village-maid.

When the gloaming gray stole over the west,
And the toil-worn peasant came home to rest,
They met in the vale 'neath the hawthorn shade,
To cancel the vows which once they had made.

They had met in the bloom of early youth,
And pledged to each other their faith and truth;
Yet better to sever the soul and mind,
Than sunder hearts the Creator hath joined.

Jerusalem.

CURSED of God and of all good men,
Thy splendid temple shall one day fall;
Thy lofty towers shall tumble again,
Down to the dust like a broken wall.

For 'gainst thee the word of God's gone forth,
And his angels on errands have sped;
Soon vengeance will come from south and north,
That will fill all thy people with dread.

"This haughty city is drunk with the tears
Of weeping saints," saith the Lord Most High;
"Crush her to earth, nor regard her fears
That would heed not a Christian's sigh.

"My sons she abused, drove from her gates,
And my daughters with babes at the breast
Were forced to go with their sorrowing mates
In search of bread and somewhere to rest.

"Let fire from Heaven consume the place,
All the unrighteous utterly slay;
They've forsaken me, and turned their face
To their priests and rulers, day by day."

If shapeless ruins now mark the land,
Where the foolish bigots once did reign,
And found the height of His heavy hand,
Who destroyed the cities of the plain—

We should watch and pray, for night or day
The Judge of all to this world may come;
And to some shall say "Depart away,
Ye shall not enter my blessed home."

But others He'll set on heavenly thrones,
Where sorrow comes not, tears cannot dim;
For these who gave to His little ones,
A cup of cold water gave to Him.

A Fragment.

THESE butterflies roam through our garden fair,
And oh! but their colours are bright;
And they gem the wastes of the trackless air,
With their robes of the rainbow light.

How quickly they skip o'er the daisied grass,
And fly o'er the blossoming brae,
As if there were not a happier class,
Or creatures so pretty and gay!

They have slept through the cold dull wintry days,
And the chill of spring's sleety showers;
But now they'll bask in the sun's cheering rays,

For summer has come with her flowers.

Victoria.

VICTORIA! fit theme for loftiest lyre—
Let mighty poets say "what's in a name;"
We know that thine is in itself empire,
A vict'ry gained, kindling the filial flame
In many a heart for her who fills the throne
Of that fair sea-girt isle we fondly call our own.

Even in thy cradle, Peace, the meek-eyed dove,
Bound thy fair forehead with an olive wreath;
In blissful token of that peace and love,
We feel around us in the air we breathe,
Freedom of person, thought, and deed, and word,
Beneath the gentle rule of one who fears the Lord.

Around thy knees thy youthful children gather,
The ripening manhood of our future king;
Fair hopeful son of an illustrious father,
Albert the Good, whom poets yet shall sing;
While nations at our loyalty repine,
And witness our affection still for thee and thine.

We know thee as a princess, wife, and mother,
Now as a widow, but in duty still;
The same unchanged—"the dearer than a brother,"
With joy unspeakable thy soul doth fill;
For whoso's faithful even unto death,
Shall have a crown of life as the reward of living faith.

Round Britain's shores whene'er a household hearth
Sends up the prayer, "Give us our daily bread,"
And all oppressed people on this earth
Bless her who long has been our nation's head—
Defend her armies, grant her all success,
And with eternal life at last her bless.

Finis.