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INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM:

A Study in Pol

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BY

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*Sometime Attorney-General of New South Wales, and Honorary
Member of the Cobden Club.*

"War and Tariffs—these are the two great enemies of mankind
JOHN BRIGHT.

"Because right is right, to follow the right is wisdom, in the
scorn of consequence."—TENNYSON.



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To

SIR HENRY PARKES, G.C.M.G., ETC. ETC.

AN HONOURED CHIEF AND FRIEND.

PREFACE.

DURING the years 1880-82, a few Oxford graduates and undergraduates, who had been brought together by the influence of the late Arnold Toynbee, used to meet once a month during term time, alternately in Oxford and London, for the purpose of discussing in detail, and with complete frankness, some specified political or social question.*

One of the subjects frequently referred to at these meetings was the attitude of the working classes towards Free Trade; and it was agreed that some member of the Society should prepare a paper, under Toynbee's supervision, on the best means of fixing popular attention on the relation of political economy to fiscal questions.

The execution of this idea was allotted to the present writer, and an outline of a pamphlet was prepared and submitted to Toynbee for criticism in 1882. Toynbee in that year was engaged upon the London lectures which led to his last illness, and was, consequently, unable to carry out his plan of a conjoint work. He did, however, discuss very fully with the writer, in several conversations, the scheme of the intended work, and suggested many modifications of that which had

* The members of this Society, which had no name, were Arnold Toynbee; Alfred Milner, New College, Editor of Toynbee's posthumous work, "The Industrial Revolution"; P. L. Gell, Balliol College; F. C. Montague, Balliol College; E. T. Cook, New College; D. G. Ritchie, Jesus College; J. A. Hamilton, Balliol College; J. D. Rogers, Balliol College; Hon. W. Bruce, Balliol College; and B. R. Wise, Queen's College. Mr. Ritchie's essay on "Darwinism and Politics," in Swan Sonnenschein & Co.'s "Social Science Series," and Mr. Montague's book on "The Limits of Individual Liberty" (Kegan Paul & Co., 1884), both originated in these meetings.

been originally proposed. The result was that, in 1883, the manuscript of a pamphlet of about fifty pages, of which the spirit was Toynbee's, although the words were not, was submitted to the Cobden Club for publication. By a series of mischances, this manuscript, of which no copy had been kept, was lost, and the loss was not made known to the writer until after the lapse of twelve months, when it was too late to recall even the form of the argument which Toynbee had suggested. The original idea was not, however, left unexecuted. In 1885, the writer embodied something of Toynbee's opinions in a pamphlet published in Sydney under the title of "Free Trade and Wages," which is now out of print.

The present work was first intended as a new edition of this pamphlet; but as it proceeded, and the stress of controversy with Protectionists compelled attention to other aspects of the fiscal question, it gradually assumed a new and distinct form, until there is now left in it nothing of Toynbee, save some traces of his influence, and the pious feeling which acknowledges that, as the inception of the work was due to him, so its execution should be taken as a tribute to his memory. The writer's best hope is that those who knew Toynbee, and those who trace no small portion of their better selves to the influence of his luminous enthusiasm, may not think the tribute altogether unworthy.

One word more upon the scope and method of the work. Written, as it has been, at intervals during the rare and busy leisure of an active professional and public life, it cannot lay claim to either literary or scientific completeness. Its merit, if any, lies in the directly practical character of its arguments and illustrations. For seven years the writer has been engaged by the side of Sir Henry Parkes in the forefront of an active political controversy with the Protectionists of his native

country, until he has gained an exceptional familiarity with the modes of thought and expression that win favour for Protection among voters. The aim of the work is to make use of this special knowledge of Protectionist arguments to put together a complete and scientific statement of the Free Trade case, from the point of view of one who is addressing himself to the voters of a Democratic country: There is thus no intention to rival or supplant other well-known text-books of Free Trade, but rather to write a work which shall be complementary both to Professor Fawcett's carefully tabulated index of arguments, and to the elaborate rhetorical presentment of the case by Mr. Henry George. If the writer has in places gone beyond this aim, or departed from his proper method, his excuse is offered in the language of a fellow-student who, defending himself by anticipation from the same charge, urges as follows:—"I cannot," he says, "think that any man with open and attentive eyes, and with confidence in his own impartiality, as based upon a rational view of life, does wrong in uttering the best reflections he can make on the way in which things are going, or the way in which he thinks they should go." *

* "Essays and Addresses," by Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1889), p. vi.

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INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM:

A STUDY IN POLITICS.

SUMMARY.

Part I.

THE PROTECTIONIST REVIVAL.

CHAPTER I.

ITS NATURE.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MODERN PROTECTIVE SPIRIT *Page 1*

MODERN Protection differs from the old form of that policy—
(a) In the composition of the party who support it.
(b) In its objects.

In consequence of this difference, English Free Trade arguments are not necessarily applicable to the present dispute.

CHAPTER II.

ITS CAUSES.

CAUSES WHICH HAVE AIDED THE REVIVAL OF PROTECTION. *Page 7*

THE revival of Protection has been assisted by a misconception of the nature of Free Trade, arising from several circumstances, viz. :—

(a) The mistake of Free Traders in directing their arguments principally to the effect of Free Trade upon the production of wealth, instead of to the question of its effect on wages.

- (b) The supposition that Free Trade is hostile to the working classes.
- (c) The supposition that Free Trade requires a general adoption of the principle of *laissez faire*.
- (d) The supposition that Free Traders are indifferent to the evils of the competitive system.
- (e) The growing discontent with existing social conditions.

Summary.

CHAPTER III.

ITS SIGNIFICANCE Page 19

1. The Protectionist revival is often exaggerated, both
 - (a) In its extent.
 - (b) In its significance.

2. The mere fact of Protection creates no inference against the wisdom of Free Trade. The truth is that Protection has been adopted for varying reasons of a special, local, and temporary character. There has been no general revolt against Free Trade, and no deliberate rejection of the policy.

THE REVIVAL OF RESTRICTION.

CHAPTER IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

SECTION I.—GREAT BRITAIN. . . . Page 23

1. Protectionists treat the example of Great Britain in two ways : either, they admit that Free Trade is proved to be a success for her ; or, they say it is a "one-sided Free Trade," and not the Free Trade that was desired.

2. The success of Free Trade in Great Britain is an incontestable historical fact.

3. Summary of investigation of the subject: Mr. Giffen's researches on the magnitude of the general advance in prosperity since Free Trade.

4. The Protectionist assertion that this increase has been caused entirely by railways and other mechanical improvements is improbable, because—

(a) A sudden or (except on the hypothesis that it is due to Free Trade) an inexplicable advance in trade has taken place after every dose of Free Trade legislation.

(b) The mechanical factor, when working without Free Trade, has produced a less result.

5. Examination of the statement, that England adopted Free Trade under the mistaken belief that other nations would follow her example.

6. The statement is not historically true. Conclusion: The significance of the Anti-Corn Law agitation, and the arguments by which it was supported, are in no way weakened, either by the experience of forty-five years, or by inquiries into the motives and anticipations of the Free Trade leaders.

Notes on the condition of England under Protection:—

NOTE A.—Extract from Martineau's History of the Peace.

NOTE B.—Extract from Paper by George W. Medley.

SECTION II.—THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE . . . Page 42

1. When England adopted Free Trade, the general belief in the peaceful tendencies of the age caused an over-sanguine anticipation of the universal triumph of Free Trade.

2. This anticipation was to some extent shared by Cobden.

3. Owing chiefly to the spirit of Nationalism, the period of peace came to an end.

4. Lord Sandon's Return of Tariff changes, since 1850,

shows, that until the effects of the Franco-German War were fully felt, there was a steady movement throughout Europe in the direction of Free Trade.

5. The modern revival of Protection in Europe is intimately connected with the growth of militarism, which is the chief reason why European nations have ceased to follow in the Free Trade footsteps of Great Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

SECTION III.—THE UNITED STATES Page 48

1. Difficulty of studying tariff movements in the United States.
2. The revolt of the American Colonies was largely a revolt against Protection.
3. The tariffs from 1789 to 1861.
4. Connection between tariffs and prosperity.
5. Conclusion : High tariffs have generally been the result of some morbid industrial condition. The recent growth of Protection is directly traceable to the Civil War.

CHAPTER IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

SECTION IV.—THE BRITISH COLONIES Page 56

1. The most deliberate repudiation of Free Trade has occurred in the British Colonies.
2. This is largely owing to the influence of Victoria,
3. Which is now decreasing, owing to a decline in the comparative importance of the colony. Protection in the other

colonies is mainly traceable to a desire to retaliate upon Victoria.

4. Protection in Canada originated partly in retaliation on the United States, and partly

5. As a revenue measure, owing to the difficulty, with such a scattered population, of devising any acceptable system of direct taxation.

6. The Revenue Question in Australia. The tendency is for the rich men to become Protectionists in order to escape direct taxation. The struggle is becoming one between the classes and the masses.

7. This was not the case in the Victorian struggle of 1866 and onward, which began as a Democratic struggle against the large land-owners. Characteristics of the struggle.

8. Summary.

NOTE.—Extract from "The Tariff on Trial," by Sir Richard Cartwright, *N. Am. Rev.*, May, 1890.

Part II.

PREPARING THE ARENA.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITION OF FREE TRADE . . . Page 73

1. The revival of Protection not being the result of a new economic doctrine, but of indifference to the old, it is necessary to re-state the Free Trade case.

2. Free Trade may be used in several senses; but in this controversy it bears the limited meaning of "the absence of duties of a protective character."

3. Illustrations of this from Mr. Cobden's speeches.

4. Necessity for so limiting the meaning of the term.

CHAPTER II

DIVISION OF THE ARGUMENT . . . Page 77

1. The issue between Protectionists and Free Traders is often obscured by neglect to observe the distinction between the political and the economic arguments, which may be adduced on either side.
2. Nature of the distinction between political and economic.
3. The political argument considered and illustrated.
4. Application to the tariff controversy. Economic arguments deal solely with the effect of a policy on the production of wealth ; while the political arguments suggest other tests of its merits.
5. The economic argument ought to be considered before the political, both because most of the political arguments in favour of Protection tacitly assume an economic basis, and because the economic result of a policy is always an important, and often the only, test of its political soundness.

CHAPTER III.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS ; OR, THE VALUE OF THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT. . . . Page 87

1. The validity of any economic argument in a political discussion is sometimes denied. It is therefore necessary to consider the relation between politics and economics.
2. The nature of economic assumptions.
3. The assumption of the universality and dominance of self-interest is said to be unreal.
4. Consideration of this criticism. It is partly true ; but it does not affect the validity of economic arguments when these are applied to discussions upon the best means of increasing natural productiveness.

5. Secondly, it is said "the term wealth is incapable of definition."

6. This criticism ignores the distinction between the provinces of politics and economics. Moreover, it is not quite correct. Political economy does take some account of the differences in the kinds of wealth.

7. Conclusion. Economic conclusions must be applied cautiously, and have only a limited range; but inasmuch as they concern the production of material wealth, no politician can discard them. Importance of wealth to a modern industrial community.

CHAPTER IV.

ECONOMICS AND THE TARIFF . . . Page 97

1. Since a tariff is intended to directly affect national productiveness, the economic conclusions as to the best methods of production cannot be ignored, if the circumstances are such as to allow of economic conclusions being applied at all. Do the assumptions of political economy square with the facts of a tariff controversy?

2. The first postulate of economics as to the predominance of self-interest is not unreal in tariff discussions. A tariff is concerned directly with the production of wealth, and appeals entirely to the motive of self-interest.

3. The second postulate of economics, as to the equality of the competing units, is also sufficiently true to facts, when the matter of consideration is the production of wealth.

4. Nor does it lie in the mouths of Protectionists to evade economic conclusions by asserting that the acquisition of wealth is of little importance as compared with its right use. This may be true, but when the material advancement of a country is the thing aimed at, the degree of national productiveness is of primary importance. Besides, the political

arguments in favour of Protection really postulate an economic basis.

5. Summary. Full weight may be given to the objections against political economy without weakening the economic argument in favour of Free Trade.

CHAPTER V.

NATIONALIST ECONOMICS . . . Page 105

1. The consensus of scientific opinion against Protection has led to an attempt to frame a new system of economics.

2. It must, however, be remembered that the term "economic," as used by nationalists, no longer connotes exclusively material wealth, but includes everything which has any relation to national well-being. This leads to the result that

3. Economic investigation becomes historical and not deductive, and the tests of economic conformity alter.

4. A science of this nature cannot answer the individualist conclusions. It may justify the passing of them by, but it does not meet them on the same plane, because it does not propose to consider the effect of a tariff upon wealth production.

5. The fundamental difference between the new and the old system is that the former adopts the nation as the industrial unit instead of the individual.

6. The "science" tested by reference to its scope and method. No *scientific* results are possible from a "science" whose subject is "the comfort and happiness of a nation."

7. The "science" further tested by its practical maxims.

(a) National self-dependence :—Impossible in point of fact and not theoretically desirable.

(*b*) The duty of developing the productive powers of a nation, rather than increasing its wealth.

8. Conclusion. The study has no claim to be considered a science, but is useful in its historical investigations and political suggestions.

NOTE.—On the Characteristics of Nationalist Writers.

CHAPTER VI.

NATIONALIST ECONOMICS AND THE TARIFF . . . Page 129

1. Further test of the so-called "science," by applying it to the tariff dispute. Materials.

2. The argument stated.

3. It rests on two assumptions—

(*a*) That manufacturing excellence is more productive than rural skill of national intelligence and character.

(*b*) That manufacturing excellence cannot be attained without Protection.

But (*a*) is beside the mark at present, because—(i.) No country to-day is without a high degree of manufacturing skill, and (ii.) Under present conditions, country pursuits are more favourable than manufacturing to the cultivation of character and intelligence.

4. (*b*) rests on the assumption that self-interest cannot be relied upon to establish profitable manufactures. The alleged reasons for this stated and considered.

5. Conclusion: The so-called "economic" case for Protection is really a series of doubtful political propositions.

NOTE.—On Nationalists and Protection.

CHAPTER VII

FREE TRADE AND LAISSEZ FAIRE Page 138

1. Protection and Free Trade are almost always discussed with reference to their cognate political theories of socialism and Laissez faire.

2. Historical reasons of this : The negative character of Adam Smith's work was not at first perceived, and his doctrine of "natural liberty" was perverted to their own purposes by the opponents of all remedial legislation.

3. Laissez faire, however, is not a part of economic teaching.

4. Free Traders, who believe in Laissez faire, have a logical advantage in arguing about Protection ; but no arguments which are based upon this maxim will ever convince.

5. The extension of a rule of practice justified by Free Trade within its own province to another department of human activity is neither sound in theory nor possible in practice. The maxim of Laissez faire can never be applied within the field of the distribution of wealth, both because

(a) The postulate of equality of the competing units is unreal.

(b) The political considerations would overwhelm any economic conclusions.

6. The recognition of these truths was very slow. But practical necessities gradually broke down the opposition which was founded upon "Laissez faire."

7. Conclusion : The Free Trade argument is independent of any political theory.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROTECTION AND SOCIALISM . . . Page 159

1. The political arguments in favour of Protection are at bottom socialistic.
 2. Some Free Traders (*e.g.*, Professor Sumner) consider this to be condemnatory of Protection. Many Protectionists are inconsistent enough to denounce socialism.
 3. On the other hand, many Free Traders are ready to support socialistic measures under certain circumstances, *viz.*, provided that—(i.) The end desired is on a balance of advantages and disadvantages found to be good. (ii.) That State action can achieve it. (iii.) That private enterprise cannot.
- Protection fails to satisfy these three conditions of legitimate State action.

NOTE.—The limits of State interference.

 Part III.

THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT.

CHAPTER I.

FREE TRADE AND PRODUCTION . . . Page 165

1. The material prosperity of a country must in the long run depend upon its capacity to produce wealth.
 2. Free Trade increases national productiveness by applying the principle of division of employment on a large scale.
- Under Free Trade, men choose their own occupations. If, then, some industries are not followed, this is a sign that they are believed to be less profitable than others.

CHAPTER II.

PROTECTION AND PRODUCTION . . . Page 167

Protection lessens the power to produce in three ways :—

- (i.) Under Protection men are attracted by the promise of State aid from the industries they would naturally follow if left to themselves, into others from which, if left to themselves, they would hold aloof.

Protection, therefore, diminishes natural productiveness by attracting capital and labour from the more to the less profitable occupations.

This source of loss, however, will be avoided if the new industries are started with imported labour and capital.

- (ii.) A second cause of diminution in the national productiveness arising from Protection is the loss of wealth which is occasioned by the necessity of providing a fund, out of which the profits in the protected industries may be made equal to those of the national industries.

- (iii.) A third loss arises from the decrease in the purchasing power of the customer, arising from the increase of prices occasioned by protective duties.

CHAPTER III.

FREE TRADE AND PRICES . . . Page 173

1. The complaint against Free Trade of causing an excessive cheapness is due to a misconception of the effect of low prices on production.

2. A low level of prices may be due to one or more of three causes, viz. :—

- (i.) To a lessened cost of production.

- (ii.) To a decreased power of consumption.
- (iii.) To a scarcity of gold.

The cheapness which was the chief characteristic of the recent industrial depression arose from all three causes.

3. Free Trade lowers prices by cheapening the processes of production; of this sort of cheapness there can never be too much, because every fall in prices arising from this cause only, must stimulate demand.

4. Free Trade, besides lowering prices, also steadies them :

- (a) By widening the area of production.
- (b) By widening the area of consumption.
- (c) By giving a more accurate knowledge of the state of markets.

5. Free Trade cannot, however, prevent commercial crises, or the disastrous falls in prices which accompany commercial crises.

CHAPTER IV.

PROTECTION AND PRICES . . . Page 181

1. The argument of the preceding chapters rested on the unexpressed assumption that Protection raised prices.

2. Although this is sometimes denied, Protection must raise prices or else it fails to protect.

3. Protection may have been supposed not to raise prices owing to—

- (i.) The fact that prices generally have fallen all over the world .
- (ii.) That a later effect of Protection is often to reduce particular prices by encouraging an excessive internal competition.

4. The tendency of Protection to lower prices when the supply has exceeded the demand of the home market generally checked by trusts, pools, and other forms of combination.

CHAPTER V.

FREE TRADE AND WAGES . . . Page 187

1. Wages are the labourer's share of the product.
2. Free Trade acts on wages by improving the efficiency of labour.
3. First objection to this view—*That competition between a country of high wages and one of low wages, tends to depress the rate of the former to that of the latter.*
4. The fallacy of this lies in comparing the rate of wages with the labour-cost of production.
5. Second objection—*That Free Trade depresses wages to the profit of rent.* This can only be the case when Free Trade acts as a discouragement of industrial variety. The case of Ireland considered.
6. The objection is theoretically sound under some circumstances, but these circumstances are in practice non-existent. Free Trade does not, in fact, discourage industrial variety; nor, if it did, is Protection the best remedy.
7. Free Trade also steadies wages. Importance of this.

CHAPTER VI.

PROTECTION AND WAGES . . . Page 204

1. Protection affects wages by diminishing the efficiency of labour.
2. The allegations to the contrary refer to the influence of Protection in encouraging new industries. Consideration of this deferred.

CHAPTER VII.

DO HIGH PRICES MAKE HIGH WAGES? . . . Page 207

1. Consideration of the Protectionist argument that employment is better than cheapness.
2. This really rests on the assumption that "high prices make high wages."

3. This assumption is unlikely to be true on *à priori* grounds.

4. It is also unsupported by evidence, and is contradicted by the records of six centuries of English industrial history, and by a comparison between wages in New South Wales and Victoria.

5. If Protection were limited to one trade, it might cause a temporary rise of wages in that trade.

6. Even if a rise occur in nominal wages, real wages may remain unaltered.

7. Protectionists, however, advocate "all-round" Protection.

8. This is impossible.

9. The argument that "high prices make high wages" is inconsistent with the argument that Protection lowers prices.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOES MORE WORK MEAN MORE MONEY? Page 221

1. Statement of the Protectionist argument, which is really rather an allegation of fact.

Whether employment is better than cheapness is a question of evidence. Protectionists make the statement, but fail to support it by facts.

2. Discussion of the Protectionist theory of the importance "of employment." The question is not "Whether Protection causes an increase of employment in this or that trade?" but "Whether it causes an increase all round?"

Now, since the admitted object and effect of Protection is to cause something to be made in one country which, in a state of freedom, would be made in another, Protection must cause a waste of labour.

3. But labour which is wasted cannot be a source of wealth.

The question to be considered, is not whether Protection gives employment, but whether the employment which it gives is more productive than that which it destroys.

Illustration from the kerosene industry of New South Wales, showing that Protection is a most costly form of outdoor relief.

4. The fallacy of the Protectionist argument lies in the assumption that the persons who are employed in protected trades would be unemployed, if there were no Protection.

This assumption, however, cannot be true, generally ; since in so far as Protection causes unnecessary labour, must it diminish the labour available for productive employment.

Protection changes the nature of employment, but does not increase the total.

Illustration from Canadian trade.

5. The foregoing conclusions are conceivably open to qualifications in practice ; it is, however, most questionable whether under any circumstances Protection is a good means for giving State assistance to the labour market.

Whatever employment is given by Protection must be given at the expense of others.

Protection is thus only a form of legalised plunder, and those who benefit by it are, in reality, the recipients of public charity.

Part IV.

THE POLITICAL ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF PROTECTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARGUMENTS CLASSIFIED . . . Page 237

1. All the political arguments are reducible on analysis to one of four, viz. :—

(a) The Infant Industry Argument.

(b) The Variety of Industry Argument.

- (c) The Home Market Argument.
- (d) The Pauper Labour Argument.

2. These have had a distinct historic sequence and connection, both in America and Australia.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFANT INDUSTRY ARGUMENT Page 241

1. The argument stated.
2. Its assumption is, that a time will come, when the young industry can stand alone.
3. Test of this assumption by the tariff changes of the United States, with special reference to the cotton and iron industries.
4. And by the tariff changes of Victoria.
5. These tests lead to the conclusion of fact, that the infants never grow up.
6. The assumption tested by theory : It ignores the weakness of human nature, and overlooks both the natural and the artificial inter-dependence of trades.
7. Conclusion : Protection can be established only for a time ; nor can it be limited to specific industries.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIVERSIFICATION OF INDUSTRY ARGUMENT . . . Page 259

I.—THE ARGUMENT STATED.

1. The origin of the argument is partly the sentiment of national sufficiency, and partly the economic conditions of a young country.

2. The assumptions of the argument are—(i.) That there is in fact no sufficient diversity; (ii.) That sufficient diversity cannot be obtained without Protection; (iii.) That Protection is a less evil than want of diversity.
3. Admission that diversity of industry is desirable.
4. Method of argument. What has to be proved.

II.—THE ARGUMENT TESTED BY FACTS.

5. Has any country in fact suffered from want of diversity?
6. Instance of America under the Colonial system.
7. Instance of the industrial growth of the Western States.
8. Instance of the industrial growth of Victoria.

III.—THE ARGUMENT TESTED BY THEORY.

9. It is theoretically most improbable that any country should suffer from industrial uniformity, if capital accumulates and population increases.
10. The conditions of manufacturing success are—
 - (a) A large and concentrated population, which Free Trade is at least as likely to give as Protection.
 - (b) Abundance of capital, which Free Trade is more likely to give.

IV.—THE OTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION.

11. There are certain natural limits to diversification, which cannot be passed without great risk.
12. The cost of diversification may be excessive.
13. The argument can never be used as a general defence of protective policy.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOME MARKET ARGUMENT . . . Page 286

1. The economic basis of the argument is the fallacy that home trade is more profitable than foreign.
2. Political supports to the argument are—
 - (a) The dread of war, which is the only logical basis of Protection.
 - (b) The idea that foreign trade is more precarious than home. List's views stated and examined.
 - (c) The idea that the home market causes land to be profitably put to new uses.
 - (d) The idea that a home market increases the number of customers. This is really an appeal to the farmer to subsidise persons to buy his products.
 - (e) The idea first propounded by Mr. Hoyt, that the home market enables the requirements of a community for manufactured goods to be fully supplied. This ignores the danger of an over-supply.
3. The theory of the argument is opposed at every point by facts.

CHAPTER V.

THE PAUPER LABOUR ARGUMENT. . . Page 302

1. Increasing importance of this argument.
2. What is "pauper" labour? Difficulty of getting accurate information about wages: necessity of limiting comparison to specific trades in specific places.
3. Nevertheless, for the sake of argument, it may be admitted that wages are higher in a young than an old community.
4. The argument can only apply to those industries which are exposed to foreign competition. These are chiefly handicrafts.

5. The price of goods does not depend upon the rate of wages, but upon the cost of labour.

6. Since the "cost of labour" depends upon the natural and the acquired efficiency of the labourer, and since a labourer is both more intelligent and more assisted by nature and machinery in a young than in an old country, the cost of labour is likely to be less in the former than the latter, except in the lowest and most degrading forms of handicraft, which it is undesirable to introduce into a young country.

7. The argument is also inconsistent with the theory that Protection lowers prices.

8. It is incapable of any just application, because a scale of duties would be required varying according to the rate of wages paid in every competing community.

9. Protection is generally demanded against high-waged countries.

10. But a low labour cost makes a high rate of wages.

11. Free Trade is more favourable than Protection to a low labour cost.

12. Protection hastens a fall in wages.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COST OF PROTECTION . . . Page 323

1. The only way to completely meet Protectionist arguments is to treat the question as one of expediency; granted that Protection will do all that is claimed for it, is not the price too high?

2. Protection is an economic evil, because it is always a waste of productive power.

3. It is a political evil, because it causes inequality and corruption, and destroys the value of self-reliance.

4. It is a social evil, because it is antagonistic to progress.

5. It is a moral evil in its operation both abroad and at home.

6. Conclusion.

APPENDICES

- I. Rates of wages in the cotton, woollen, worsted, and iron industries of Great Britain since 1830 . . . *Page* 337
- II. Examination of Mill's Defence of Protection in young countries *Page* 343
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APPENDIX I.

TABLES OF WAGES IN THE ENGLISH COTTON, WOOLLEN, WORSTED, AND IRON TRADES.

IN order to illustrate the statements in Chapter IV., Part I., relating to the diffusion of wealth in Great Britain, some tables are sub-joined, exhibiting the fluctuations in the wages of the four principal English Industries—the Cotton, Woollen, Worsted, and Iron manufactures—since 1830. The figures are extracted from the Reports issued by the Board of Trade, under the title “Miscellaneous Statistics of the United Kingdom.” Unfortunately, these reports contain very little evidence upon which positive conclusions can be based. They contain, it is true, a good deal of miscellaneous information about wages; but they appear at irregular intervals, and their information is exhibited on miscellaneous principles of inconvenience and confusion. In one report an industry is scheduled by itself, which in the next is lost among a mass of details of the state of trade in certain districts. Sometimes wages are estimated by the hour, sometimes by the week, and sometimes by the piece. Upon occasions the employments of workmen are distributed; while upon others an industry is treated as a whole, and its rate of wages is expressed in averages; and, not unfrequently, an important trade, the condition of which has been described for several years with a most useful fulness, drops out entirely from the record, never to appear again.¹

But, in spite of the impaired value of such ill-arranged statistics, the figures are useful up to a certain point for purposes of comparison; and, in respect of the four great industries already named, they have been presented with some approach to an uniform method. These trades together give employment to about one-half of the working-class, so that the varying rate of wages paid in them during the last thirty years will indicate an approximate answer to the question—“Whether wages in England have on the whole risen or decreased?”

A.—WAGES IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The wages paid in the Cotton industry are particularly valuable indications of the rates in other trades, both because for the last

¹ These deficiencies have been remedied of late years; but the remarks apply to the years over which these figures have been taken.

forty years that industry has maintained the same position of importance, and because it has also, during that time, been singularly free from any disturbing fluctuation in the number of hands employed.¹ This is mainly owing to the gradual introduction of machinery, by which, in spite of the great increase in the production of cotton goods, the necessity for employing more labour has been avoided.

In examining the fluctuations, it is convenient to adopt a rough division of the Cotton operatives into four classes, according to the degree of skill required in their several occupations.

In the first class would come the overlookers and superior artisans in each department, together with those spinners who, according to the number of spindles each man can manage, would be classed above No. 100 in the technical language of the factory. The bulk of the adult males would fall into the second class, as being spinners and weavers of average skill. Women should be ranked alone as a third class; and, for greater clearness, the wages of children under sixteen should also be considered separately.

The subjoined Tables are an attempt to carry out this principle of division.

TABLE SHOWING THE FLUCTUATIONS IN THE AVERAGE RATE OF WEEKLY WAGES PAID TO PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE COTTON TRADE DURING THE YEARS 1839-77 IN MANCHESTER AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD:—

Occupation.	1839.			1849.			1859.			1874.			1877.		
1ST CLASS.															
Superior Operatives.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
(i.) Overlookers	24	0	25	0	28	0	28	30	0	45	30	0	45	0	
(ii.) Skilled spinners, above No. 100	40	0	45	0	36	0	40	40	0	45	0	50	45	0	
(iii.) Engineers	24	0		28	0		30	42	0		58	3			
2ND CLASS.															
Unskilled Operatives.															
(i.) Spinners below No. 100	23	0	25	0	21	0	23	25	42	0	40	0			
(ii.) Bleachers	21	0		18	0		18	24	0	28	0				
(iii.) Strippers and grinders	11	0	13	0	12	0	13	12	0	13	22	0	23	21	
(iv.) Labourers	15	0		15	0		15	19	6		18	9			
3RD CLASS.															
Women.															
(i.) Carding Department	6	6	7	6	6	6	8	6	7	9	11	0	16	16	
(ii.) Doublers	7	0		7	6		9	10	0	13	12	0	18	7	
(iii.) Weaving	9	0	17	0	9	0	16	10	0	20	12	0	24	0	
Weekly hours of labour ..	69			60			60			59			56½		

¹ The number of hands employed in all branches of the Cotton trade is given at 420,000 for 1874, and in 1840 it was estimated at 400,000.

It appears from these Tables that in the year 1839 the wages of the highest paid overlooker, in any department, was 25s. for a week of sixty-nine hours, which is twelve hours a day, with nine hours on Saturday for a half-holiday. Ten years later—after Free Trade—his wages had risen to 28s., and his hours of work had been reduced to sixty in the week. Since that date there has been a steady improvement in wages, together with a further reduction in the hours of work. The lowest paid overlooker now gets more for fifty-six and a half hours' work than the best paid overlooker received in 1849 for sixty hours; while the remuneration of the more skilled overlookers has increased more than fifty per cent. in the same period. The increase in the wages of the engineers is even more remarkable. They have more than doubled in the last thirty years. The skilled spinners—after a temporary fall, through the introduction of machinery—are also better off than they were. Those who are the least skilled among them are paid higher for less work, and the rewards open to them for a higher exercise of skill are considerably increased. Even the class of unskilled labourers, whose progress, as already noted in the text,¹ is generally slower, have, in some cases, doubled their wages in the same thirty years; although, with reference to this class, it should not be forgotten that many of its members are constantly pushing forward into better paid employments, and that it is also being constantly recruited from below by those who, in former days, would have lived as paupers or vagabonds.

The figures which show the wages paid to women need no further explanation. They will show, with sufficient clearness, how low is the market value of woman's labour, and how little has been done to raise that value by intelligent and powerful combination. Unlike men, women are not yet paid by reference to any standard of class comfort, but are content with any pittance which may increase the family resources, however insufficient that may be, by itself, to keep one person in a position of health and decency. By such ill-judged economy, they only depress the general labour market, without obtaining for themselves independence or security; so that they tempt men, who are heedless of the impossibility of bringing women back to a state of subjection, to clamour for their exclusion from male employments.

¹ See page 305.

TABLE OF WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN THE WOOLLEN TRADE AT LEEDS AND HUDDERSFIELD. THE FIGURES FROM 1855 TO 1861 ARE OF THE WAGES PAID AT LEEDS, THOSE FROM 1866 TO 1879 OF THOSE PAID AT HUDDERSFIELD.

	1855 to 1857.	1856 to 1858.	1859.	1861.	1866.	1867-8.	1874.	1877.
SKILLED PERSONS.								
1st Class—Overlookers ...	30/- to 35/-	35/- to 40/-	30/- to 36/-	30/- to 36/-	See note.	See note.		
2nd Class—Mule spinners ...	22/-	28/-	28/-	28/-	18/- to 30/-	18/- to 30/-	28/-	35/-
3rd Class—Sorters ...	19/-	24/-	24/-	24/-	22/- to 32/-	22/- to 32/-	28/-	26/-
LABOURERS OR OPERATIVES.								
1st Class—Scourers ...	15/9 to 28/-	16/- to 20/-	16/- to 20/-	16/- to 20/-	16/- to 21/-	16/6 to 21/-	21/-	24/-
Dyers ...		16/- to 18/-	16/- to 18/-	16/- to 18/-	15/- to 22/-	15/- to 22/-	21/-	24/-
2nd Class—Weavers ...	15/-	15/-	15/-	15/-	18/- to 23/6	18/- to 23/6	26/-	26/-

NOTE.—The wages of overlookers are not given beyond 1861. The highest skilled labour in the trade after that date is paid between 50s. and 60s.

TABLE OF WEEKLY WAGES PAID AT BRADFORD IN THE WORSTED MANUFACTURE.

Occupation.	1835-7.	1858.	1860.	1861.	1863.	1866.	1867-8.	1874.	1877.
CLASS 1.									
Overlookers	18/- to 27/-	21/- to 27/-	28/- to 40/-	28/- to 40/-	28/- to 40/-	35/-	30/-		29/- to 34/-
Warehousemen	14/- to 27/-	14/- to 27/-	15/- to 35/-	15/- to 35/-	15/- to 35/-				
Heads of Departments of Dye Houses	20/-	20/-	Average	Average	Average	50/- Average	30/- to 50/-		
Engine Tenters	30/- to 36/-	30/- to 36/-	32/-	32/-	32/-	40/-	28/- to 35/-	28/- to 35/-	30/- to 40/-
CLASS 2.									
Weavers	14/- to 24/-		12/- to 16/-	12/- to 16/-	12/- to 16/-	18/-		20/- to 21/-	18/- to 22/-
Dyers	14/- to 24/-	14/- to 24/-	20/-	20/-	20/-	18/-	20/-		18/- to 26/-
Wool Sorters	15/- to 25/-	18/- to 27/-	20/- to 24/3	20/- to 24/3	24/- to 24/3	28/-	28/-		31/-
CLASS 3.									
Wool Washers	11/6 to 18/-	14/- to 18/-	14/2 to 18/-	15/- to 18/-	15/- to 18/-	16/6	17/6	16/- to 18/-	17/- to 19/-

APPENDIX I.

TABLE OF WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN THE IRON TRADE OF SHEFFIELD.

—	1840.	1850.	1860.	1861.	1863.	1866.	1868.	1871.	1874.
Table Knives (fine)	40/-	40/-	42/-	42/-	42/-				
Scissors (fine)	23/-	28/-	24/6	24/6	24/6			32/-	
Edge Tools (best)	29/-	32/6	36/-	36/-	36/-	31/- to 36/-	31/- to 36/-		
Table Knives (common)	22/-	27/-	18/- to 24/-	Reduced to 30 per cent. in consequence of American War.	Advance of 8 to 10 per cent.	28/-	28/-	35/-	
Scissors (common)			22/6 to 25/6			20/- to 30/-	20/- to 30/-	20/-	
STEEL MAKERS.									
Converters		36/-	37/-			28/- to 40/-	28/- to 40/-	30/- to 35/-	
Converters' Labourers		18/-	18/-			18/- to 21/-	18/- to 21/-	19/-	20/-

No figures are given for Sheffield wages beyond 1874.

APPENDIX II.

J. S. MILL AND PROTECTION.

THE idea that the abnormal economic circumstances of a young country justify the imposition of Protective duties is sometimes supposed by Protectionists to have approved itself to no less eminent a thinker than John Stuart Mill. Indeed, much of the Protectionist argument from natural difficulties is professedly adopted from one passage in the writings of this economist. As this passage has been so much misunderstood, it will be well to quote it in full before entering upon any criticism of Mr. Mill's views.

"The only case," says he, "in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation) in hopes of naturalising a foreign industry in itself perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire may, in other respects, be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field; and, besides, it is a just remark that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals, at their own expense, or, rather, at their certain loss, would introduce a new manufacture, and bear the burden of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes are traditional. A protecting duty continued for a reasonable time will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But the Protection should be confined to cases in which there is good ground of assurance that the industry which it fosters will, after a time, be able to dispense with it; nor should the domestic producers ever be allowed to expect that it will be continued to them beyond the

time necessary for a fair trial of what they are capable of accomplishing."

As this passage has been so often misinterpreted to convey an approval of the Protective policy in America and Australia, it may be well to set out clearly at starting what are the conditions under which Mill thinks Protection might be justifiable. They are four in number :—

- (1) Where the tariff is imposed to *start* a new industry.
- (2) Where such industry is plainly *suitable* to the country.
- (3) Where it is only the *want of experience* on the part of either labourer or capitalist which deters individuals from running the risk of establishing the industry.
- (4) Where there is good reason to believe that the fostered industry will soon be able to stand alone.

It is not an excessive admission that in such a case "Protection might be one mode" in which a nation could tax itself in support of an industrial experiment. - Mill's error lay in thinking that it could ever be "the least inconvenient mode" of raising such a tax. The error of those that quote Mill lies in not perceiving that his observations only apply to the cases in which the conditions which he requires are present, and that in these cases he only contemplates giving Protection during that short interval in the history of an industry between the first production of an article and the time when the home manufacturer is able to compete with his foreign rival both in quality and quantity. In the whole history of the Protective movement in America and Australia it is, I believe, impossible to cite a single industry, the circumstance of which would have justified Protection according to the canons laid down by Mr. Mill.

Even, however, if it be granted that the condition of things conceived by Mr. Mill is theoretically possible, it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that Protection is the most wasteful, unjust, and inconvenient method of Government assistance.

In the first place, whatever aid it gives comes too late ; because it cannot be of service in starting an industry, whatever advantages it may give after the industry is set going. Take, for instance, Mill's imaginary case of an industry which is delayed by want of skilled labour. This labour must either be imported from abroad or created at home by instruction : and in neither case is the

object sought for immediately furthered by Protective duties. It would be better for the Government either to pay the passages of the imported labourers, if immigration were necessary, or to bear the cost of giving the required instruction to a sufficient number of home labourers. Either of these methods of aid would be directed immediately to the object aimed at, and would be free from the grave objection to which Protection is open, of placing difficulties in the way of every industry which requires to make use of the Protected article. In fact, it must be plain that Protective duties can be of no advantage until the producers have begun to make the article ; but none the less they lay a heavy burden on the community from the first day on which they are collected ; while the benefits which they confer at a later stage in the history of an industry—after it has been started, but before it is able to hold its own—are open to the further objections that they come too late and are scattered indiscriminately upon those who may deserve them and those who certainly do not.

The founder of a new industry in a young country does undoubtedly confer a benefit upon the whole community at his own personal expense and risk ; so that it may be sometimes desirable, in the cases which Mr. Mill has put, that Government should encourage men to make experiments in new industrial ventures. But of all modes of giving this encouragement, Protection is the most ill-advised, being at once unjust and unsuccessful. The help which it gives comes after the time of difficulty has gone by, and is given with equal readiness both to the enterprising originator of the industry and every one who rushes into the business upon the strength of his experience. By this competition prices are certain to be reduced, until the originator of the industry may lose the advantages of the monopoly, which was created as his reward. If Government aid is really required, either as a stimulus to new experiments or a reward for successful ones, it ought to take a form which will give the benefit with as much discrimination as possible to those who deserve it, and with as little hardship as possible to the mass of the consumers. Either the payment of a money sum by way of bonus for the first production of the required article at home, or the granting of an allowance to the originator of an industry to enable him to sell his goods at market rates during his temporary inability to compete with the foreigner, or the letting of a Government contract at a non-competitive rate—would serve the double purpose of reward and encouragement

without much inconvenience to the mass of consumers. Any of these methods of aid, moreover, has the advantage that it can be easily withdrawn ; while a Protective tariff, once imposed, remains an incubus which can only be removed by serious civil strife. The essential ingredients in any form of Government assistance should be that it was terminable at a fixed period, and that both the persons who receive it and the amount which each receives should be easily ascertainable. Protection does not satisfy either of these requirements.

No form of Government aid, however, is free from objection. Bonuses, bounties, special contracts, or any other form of subsidy, are in the long run demoralising both to the recipients and to the public life of the country, both as being premiums on laziness and occasions for fraud. It is so easy for all concerned to receive and pay money according to the terms of some agreement, that neither can a manufacturer be expected to shorten this period of gratuitous assistance nor a civil servant to watch very closely all the details of a manufacturing process or check the figures of a ledger. In any bargain of this kind with the State the manufacturer is sure to get the best of it.

Fortunately, experience proves that Government assistance is not required to start new industries in a young country. If there is a risk of failure in a young country owing to the inexperience of all concerned, the conditions of the country soften the failure very much. In a small country new industries must be on a small scale ; and no large expenditure, whether Government assistance be extended or withheld, would be required to embark upon the experimental stages of a new industry. Consequently, we may watch every demand for State aid with more than ordinary suspicion, without being haunted by any sentimental fear lest in protecting the State purse against the raids of interested persons we are delaying the development of our country. Healthy enterprises and profitable trades are sure to be developed without assistance ; while if there be any natural industry which ought to start at once, and is prevented by the want of Government assistance, the question must be still answered whether it is not better to lose the industry than to enter on the perilous path of State aid.

APPENDIX III.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE RATES OF PROGRESS OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIA SINCE 1866.

§ 1. THE risk of pressing too far any argument, which rests upon a comparison between the condition of different countries, has been already alluded to in these pages, and attention has been called to the passage in which Mr. Giffen points out, with admirable lucidity, the requisites under which alone any such comparison is admissible. These requisites exist more nearly as between New South Wales and Victoria than between any other countries, so that, if the argument from comparison is ever admissible, it will be in their case. Both of them are young countries, and are inhabited by men of the same race, speech, and training : capital and labour oscillate freely between them : both use substantially the same methods and forms of government : while, against the larger territory of New South Wales may be set the superior climate and easier development of its southern neighbour. Whatever may be the balance of the natural advantages, whether of climate or population, is on the side of Victoria, whose compact, fertile, and well-watered territory gained for it, on its first discovery, the well-deserved title of *Australia Felix*. The striking and ultimate point of difference between the two countries is their fiscal policy. Since 1866 Victoria has lived under a system of gradually increasing Protection, while the policy of New South Wales has been, in the main, one of Free Trade. According to all Protectionist theory Victoria should be prosperous and New South Wales distressed ; there should be variety and growth in the one country, stagnation in the other. At least the progress of Victoria ought to have been more rapid than that of New South Wales, because she has added to the natural advantages which she already enjoyed, the artificial benefits which are claimed for a Protective tariff.

If, in fact, neither of these conclusions is correct, and, while both countries have been phenomenally prosperous, New South Wales has prospered the most, one of two conclusions is inevitable—namely, either that certain special influences have caused the more rapid progress of New South Wales which were not felt

in Victoria, or that Protection has retarded instead of assisted the development of Victoria's natural superiority.

§ 2. Writers of all schools admit that activity in certain departments of national life is a fair indication of prosperity and progress. It is, for instance, generally allowed that an increase in population, a development of agricultural and manufacturing industry, a growth of foreign commerce, an increase in shipping, or an improvement in the public revenue, are all signs of health and well-being; and that a concurrence of such symptoms over a lengthened period indicates an increase in material wealth.

Accepting these tests of progress, our comparison proceeds thus: first, we examine the position of the two Colonies as regards population, foreign commerce, shipping, agriculture, manufactures, and revenue, at the time when both of them adhered to Free Trade; from which we find that, according to all these indications of prosperity, Victoria was then very much the better off: In 1866 she outnumbered New South Wales in population by 200,000 souls: her foreign commerce was larger by £8,300,000: she had a greater area of land under cultivation: her manufactures were well established, while those of New South Wales were few and insignificant: she was ahead in shipping, and her revenue was greater by one-third.

Passing next to the years which follow 1866, we observe that New South Wales gradually bettered her position in every province of national activity, and that, as the fetters of Protection became tighter, Victoria receded in the race. She gave way first in the department of foreign commerce, next in population, shipping, and revenue, until, in 1887, she maintained her old superiority in agriculture alone.

From this accumulation of facts—and not from any one of them—we infer that the rate of progress in New South Wales under Free Trade has been greater than that of Victoria under Protection; and we use this fact (without at present claiming the credit of it for Free Trade, or seeking for its explanation) as one, which, whatever its explanation may be, is proof by itself that the Protectionist dogma as to the inability of a young country under any circumstances to make rapid progress without Protection is contrary to experience. “Either prosperity in a Free Trade country, or distress in a Protectionist country, is,” as

Professor Summer has said, "fatal to the Protectionist theory."

§ 3. Having established our facts, we next seek to explain them; and in doing so have first to consider the various explanations offered by Protectionists. These are three in number. First, they say that the comparison between New South Wales and Victoria ought not to be made, because the conditions of the two countries are not similar; and they specially insist upon the earlier foundation and the larger territory of the Free Trade Colony. This argument we meet by a plea in confession and avoidance, to drop for a moment into the apt language of the lawyer's art; the facts may be admitted, but the use which is made of them must be contested. We shall have to show that whatever advantages the circumstances referred to may give to New South Wales are more than compensated for by other advantages peculiar to Victoria.

The second argument by which Protectionists attempt to depreciate the significance of the New South Wales superiority is by insisting that her growth is due to certain special causes—such as the expenditure of borrowed money, and the sale of public lands—which have no connection with the fiscal dispute. Here, again, the facts will be admitted, and it will be conceded that both these and other causes have contributed most materially to the rapid progress of New South Wales. But it will also be shown that whatever influences besides Free Trade have aided New South Wales, have also aided Victoria with even greater intensity. Thus, the very facts which are advanced as a disparagement will be used as further evidence of the efficacy of a Free Trade policy.

Having thus sketched the outline of the argument which follows, we are in a position to enter upon the details with less risk of confusion.

POPULATION.

The first element of greatness to a young country is population. A new land needs to be developed by strong arms, and everywhere cries aloud for men. It is true that congestions in the labour market occur at times in Australia as elsewhere, but they must not be taken as an indication of over-population. Every new country contains a residuum of criminals and ne'er-do-weels who, from one cause or another, are unfit for work; while Australia possesses, in addition, a

class of genuine *lazzaroni*, whose dislike of any steady occupation is encouraged by a genial climate and a reckless system of public and private almsgiving. During the greater part of the year the shelter of a roof at night is neither requisite nor comfortable; while for the inclement season, food and lodging can be had in every capital either gratuitously or for a minimum of work. Besides this voluntary pauperism, there is in every Colony a certain element of casually employed persons, consisting of artisans and clerks, who experience real suffering in times of depression, from inability or unwillingness to leave the cities and seek new kinds of occupation in the country. Still, after making every allowance for temporary dislocations of industry, it is safe to say that the danger of over-population is not within the limits of practical Australian politics; and that, even in times of greatest depression, thousands of able-bodied men could always obtain work in any Colony at good, and even high, wages. The growth of population is thus a crucial test of Australian prosperity, which can be applied without qualification to all the Colonies, because none has any pre-eminence in "unemployed." The class of the "unemployed" contains the same elements in all, and passes freely from one to the other, as political agitation or other causes makes its existence notorious.¹

In 1866, the year in which Protection was introduced, the

¹ An illustration of this occurred in Sydney towards the close of 1886, when a Protectionist Government gave indiscriminate relief, without any labour test, shortly before a general election. The natural consequence was that the floating population of all the Colonies drifted to Sydney, where 6,000 men were at one time being lodged and fed by the Government. After the elections, during which this body of "unemployed" was freely used as an argument against Free Trade, Sir Henry Parkes, who had succeeded to power, found himself unable to disband so large an army in the streets of Sydney, and adopted the plan of creating employment on Crown lands for all who wished it, while at the same time he stopped the indiscriminate relief in Sydney. It was more than a year before the labour market—which had become quite disorganised by the inducements offered to country labourers to throw up their work, either to enjoy a visit to Sydney, or to earn (as good workmen could) more than their usual wage by piece-work on the Crown lands—resumed its normal condition. An incident occurred during this period which illustrates in an amusing fashion the popular view of the "right to employment" as it finds expression in Australia. In June, 1887, the "unemployed," who were then working at the Field of Mars for 5s. a day, petitioned the Cabinet to be allowed "a day's holiday to celebrate the Jubilee," so completely had they come to regard themselves as a State institution.

population of Victoria amounted to 636,982 human beings, as against 431,412 in New South Wales. In 1881, the relative numbers were 862,346 and 751,468. In 1886 the numbers were estimated in both Colonies at a million. Victoria then gained a little during the Exhibition year in 1888, but in 1889 New South Wales again took the lead with 1,122,200, as against 1,118,077, and has maintained it to the present time. During the period from 1865-89, the increase was only 75 per cent. for the Protected Colony, while it was 140 per cent. for the Free Trade Colony. The increase from 1871 to 1881 was 30·91 per cent. in New South Wales, and only 18 per cent. in Victoria; and from 1881 to 1888 it was 44·43 per cent. in the former, and only 26·50 per cent. in the latter Colony. While in the former decade the difference in the rate of increase was 12·91 per cent., it was 18·43 per cent. during the latter period, thus proving that the increase of Protective duties is not necessarily accompanied *pari passu* by an increase in population.¹

Popular prejudice, anxious to minimise as much as possible this rapid growth in the numbers of a Free Trade Colony, where, according to all theory, no man ought to be able to get a living, has attributed it to State-assisted immigration. There were, however, during the period from 1881-87, when the increase in population was most rapid, only 32,744 assisted immigrants; while the whole number of State-assisted immigrants between 1866 and 1889 only amounted to 59,000, as against a total increase of 690,788 souls. Assisted immigration can accordingly account for only 8·5 per cent. of the whole increase.

The real reasons must be sought elsewhere, and will be found in the greater attractiveness of New South Wales as a place of residence, in its higher marriage rate, and its higher birth rate—three causes which, either separately or together, indicate a higher range of material prosperity. We will treat of each separately.

The most noticeable fact which is disclosed by the Victorian Census of 1871 and 1881, is that, next to the little island of Tasmania, Victoria has the greatest proportion of females to males of any Australian Colony, which is the more remarkable when we recall

¹ I am indebted for these calculations, which are taken from the official records, to a pamphlet by W. Max Hirsch, entitled, "Protection in Victoria" (Melbourne: Echo Publishing Company, 1891)—see p. 10.

the circumstances of her origin in the gold fever of the early fifties. Victoria in those days had an enormous excess of males. Further, we find that this unhappy disproportion between the sexes is growing rather than diminishing in the Protected Colony. The following table shows the figures as compared with those of New South Wales :—

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION.

Year.	New South Wales.	Victoria.
1881	45·8	47·5
1888	44·3	46·6
1891	46·5	47·8

Pursue the investigation a little further.

The census returns for 1881 showed that Victoria—like the exhausted countries of Europe—was actually not sustaining her own population ! During the ten years, 1871 to 1881, the returns show that 53,000 persons emigrated to Victoria, but that 68,000 persons left. In other words, during these ten years of active Protection, adopted professedly in order to “give employment,” Victoria not only lost all her immigration, but also 15,000 of her natural increase ! The figures of the last census in 1891 will be awaited with much interest.

More significant still is the change in the quality of the Victorian population. The class of citizen which every country wishes most to keep is that of the “soldier’s age,” from 20 to 40. Yet in 1881, in spite of her much larger population, Victoria was found to possess about 18,000 fewer men at this desirable range of age than New South Wales. On this point, Mr. Hayter, who certainly cannot be accused of giving undue prominence to any fact which tells against Victoria, makes the following remarks in his “General Report” on the Census :—“It will be noticed that the contingent available from Victoria is smaller by 18,000 than that from New South Wales, and a simple calculation will show that relatively to the total population, males at the soldier’s age are fewer in Victoria than in any of the other Australasian Colonies. In fact, it may be stated that the deficiency of males, at this important period of life, is the weakest point in the Victorian population.” Upon this passage Mr. Edward Pulsford, who was the first to investigate the bearing of the Victorian population returns upon the fiscal controversy, remarks as follows :—“The cream of the ‘effective’

population of a country may be said to be the males between 25 and 45. The changes in this portion of the people in the two Colonies during the decade were simply extraordinary. New South Wales showed a gain of 32,716, whilst Victoria showed a positive loss of 35,916. In 1871, Victoria was 52,138 ahead; in 1881, she was 16,494 behind—a change against Victoria in the relative position of no less than 68,632.”

The following two tables will bring out more clearly still the greater attraction which New South Wales exercises on men in the prime of life, and the loss which Victoria sustains through the emigration of this economically most valuable section of its population:—

MALES IN 1881.			
	Victoria.		New South Wales.
Up to 25 years old	257,069 = 56·86 per cent.	...	229,342 = 55·78 per cent.
From 25 to 45 years old	99,497 = 22 " "	...	115,991 = 28·22 " "
45 years old and over	95,579 = 21·14 " "	...	65,816 = 16 " "
	<hr/> 452,143	...	<hr/> 411,149

MALES BETWEEN THE AGES OF 25 AND 45 YEARS.			
	Victoria.		New South Wales.
1871	135,413 = 18·1 per cent.	...	83,275 = 10·7 per cent.
1881	99,497 = 11·5 " "	...	115,991 = 15·4 " "
Loss	35,916	...	Gain . 32,716

Mr. Hirsch makes the following remarks upon these figures:—
 “ In the first of these tables the percentages are those of the male population; in the latter, the percentage of the males in their prime to the total population is given. The first table shows the result, viz., the greater percentage of men in the prime of life in New South Wales; the latter table shows that the shifting took place in the years during which Victoria *enjoyed* Protection; that on account or in spite of Protection young men are avoiding and leaving the Protected Colony in which, if Protectionists are right, they ought to find it easiest to make a living—are flocking into the Colony in which they ought to find it most difficult to make a living. In estimating the significance of these figures, it must not be forgotten that, according to the general increase of population, we ought to have had [in Victoria] in 1881 20,987 more males of from twenty-five to forty-five years than in 1871, making our total

loss of men in the prime of life 56,903—surely a most disastrous retrogression in one decade. There is, however, nothing new in these tables; they are merely a confirmation of what has long been generally known. Every traveller remarks upon the number of Victorians engaged in trade and agriculture in New South Wales and other Colonies, and the paucity of natives or former inhabitants of New South Wales similarly engaged in Victoria. A more significant fact by which to measure the result of Protection can scarcely be asked for, for if the Protective policy had added to the natural advantages of Victoria, then surely Victoria would have powerfully attracted the workers in the prime of life from every Colony, and even from over-sea. But the opposite is the case; the strong, the hopeful, the energetic, leave the Protected Colony, and flock into the Free Trade Colony instead, proving conclusively that there it is easiest for them to gain a comfortable livelihood.”

But gain by immigration is not the only cause of the more rapid increase of population in New South Wales, which is due also to a higher marriage rate and a higher birth rate.

Now, as Mr. Hirsch points out, “it is one of the most firmly established facts in the science of statistics that under present social and economic conditions the numbers of marriages and births rise and fall with any fall in the nation’s prosperity; that steady employment at decent wages especially has the invariable result of increasing the number of marriages and births. And it must be held as similarly true that in two nations of similar origin, the members of which are constantly intermingling, the social and political institutions of which are the same, the more prosperous nation, the one in which employment is more constant and effective, wages higher, will show the greater number of marriages and births.” Tried by this unerring test, New South Wales again holds her superiority over her Protected neighbour.

The mean annual marriage rate per 1,000 during the years 1866-1889 was, for Victoria, 6.90; for New South Wales, 8.00. While the annual birth rate for the same period was, for Victoria, 34.54, and for New South Wales 38.90.

The excess of births over deaths tells the same tale: its mean per 1,000 of the population for the ten years from 1878-87 being 1.12 for Victoria, and 1.48 for New South Wales.

Indeed, from whatever standpoint the movements of population and the vital statistics of the two Colonies are considered, it is clear that under Free Trade New South Wales has gained upon

Victoria, not only by immigration, but by a more rapid increase in the number of her native-born—a significant commentary indeed upon the theory that “Protection gives employment.” Why did it not give employment to those thousands of young men, within the soldier’s age, who emigrated from her borders into New South Wales? Is it that New South Wales is the more attractive because she has a larger territory? But had she not just the same extent of territory in 1866, when Victoria, under Free Trade, was able to feed her own sons? Or is Victoria, with its 87,884 square miles of territory, not able to find employment for more than a million people? When Victoria is over-populated it will be time enough to raise the cry that New South Wales is drawing young Victorians to her territory because their own land does not give them so good an opportunity of earning a livelihood. It is “Protection” that was to have given the employment! It has done so! It has made every one who stayed in Victoria work longer for what he wants, and has driven the cream of Victorian youth out of the Colony to earn honest livings in a Free Trade country! But was that the kind of employment which was so fraudulently promised?

The truth is manifest to all who will not refuse to see it—that the labour-market has been better in New South Wales than in Victoria, and that the Free Trade Colony has offered the most employment. One would as soon expect water to run uphill as labour to leave a country of good wages and steady work for one of inferior attractiveness from either point of view. Accordingly, if New South Wales has gained upon Victoria in population, both by voluntary immigration and by natural increase, since the latter adopted Protection, the reason must be that the Free Trade Colony has been more prosperous, and better able to offer work at good wages; and further evidence in support of the fact should be superfluous. It may, however, be useful to pile up testimony upon this crucial point, and to show by other tests that Victorians have gone to New South Wales for one very good reason—that they were better off there than they would have been at home.

First, as to the respective rates of wages in the two countries. So far as any comparison can be made between these—and the difficulty of such a comparison has been already pointed out¹—it is

¹ See above, p. 337.

in favour of New South Wales. Mr. Hirsch has compiled a table from the Victorian Year-Book, showing the fluctuations in the nominal wages of 121 trades, as returned by the Government statist. This table shows that between 1878 and 1888, during which period new duties were imposed to the annual amount of £180,000, no change in wages had taken place in 58 of these 121 industries. The alteration in the rates of wages for the remaining 63 employments classify themselves as follows :—

	Increase.	Decrease.
Protected trades	13	26
Unprotected trades	16	9

showing that, while there has been, on the whole, a decline rather than a rise in wages during the decade, the fall has taken place more in the protected than in the unprotected trades. The rise in wages has occurred chiefly in the farm pursuits, owing to the scarcity of this kind of labour. It should also be remembered that the official wage rates make no disclosure of the condition of the large number of home-workers, who, as recent revelations have shown, are working in Melbourne dens for 1s. 6d. and 2s. a day under conditions which the *Age*, the leading Protectionist journal, has described as being "as bad as anything to be found in London."

It is true that wages have also fallen in New South Wales from the highest point which they reached since 1866; but the Free Traders have never claimed to be possessors of a patent system for keeping wages high. Besides, so far as comparisons are possible, they are higher in New South Wales than in Victoria. There is a special difficulty in the way of making any such comparison in this case, owing to the different methods of collecting the returns in the two Colonies, and the different designations of many trades. Still, Mr. Hirsch has collected twenty-nine trades—all which it was possible to collect—and found that in 1888 wages in four of these were equal in the two Colonies, were higher in Victoria in ten, and lower in Victoria in fifteen instances. As he properly remarks, "If the assertion that Protection increases wages were well founded, no such result of even a partial comparison would be possible." But perhaps the best guide to the average wage rate of the two Colonies is furnished by the wages paid by the Governments of each. In each Colony the Government owns the railways, post-office, telegraphs, roads, forests, and carries on a great quantity of

public works. In all the Government departments the wages are from sixpence to a shilling a day higher in New South Wales than in Victoria. It is impossible to believe that the highly organised trades in Victoria would allow railway servants, for example, to receive a shilling a day less than the same class of labour was receiving in New South Wales, unless they were conscious that the lower rate fairly represented the average wage rate of the Colony. In addition to these sources of information must be added private experience. It is matter of common observation that the wages paid to miners are higher in New South Wales than in Victoria, and the writer verified the same fact by personal inquiry in regard to the building trades for the year 1889-90.

All other possible sources of information point to the same conclusion.

The consumption of working-class luxuries, such as tea, coffee, sugar, currants, raisins, beer, spirits, and tobacco, is larger per head in the Free Trade country, showing the obvious truth that men who receive more have more to spend.

The following are the figures for the year 1884-5, which is taken as a normal year, being before the boom in Victoria and after that in New South Wales:—

CONSUMPTION OF LUXURIES IN 1884-5 PER HEAD.			
	New South Wales.		Victoria.
Tea	127	ozs.	110
Coffee	11	„	16
Sugar	102	lbs.	92½
Currants, raisins, etc.	111	ozs.	98½
Spirits	20½	gills.	18½
Beer	16½	gals.	16
Tobacco	46	ozs.	35½

Pointing, again, in the same direction are the figures which show the quantity of postal and telegraphic communication in the two Colonies.

In 1866 Victoria received and despatched nearly two million more letters than New South Wales, the figures being 8,631,133 as against 6,678,371. In 1885 the positions were reversed, and New South Wales received and despatched three million more letters than Victoria, the figures being : New South Wales, 39,351,200, or 40 per head of the population ; and 36,061,880, or 36 per head, for Victoria.

The number of telegrams sent in Victoria in 1866 was 277,788, as against 143,523 in New South Wales. In 1885, New South Wales sent 2,625,992, against 1,634,666.

In fact, to whatever test of progress we look, we arrive at the same conclusion—namely, that since Victoria adopted Protection, New South Wales has been steadily gaining upon her. But some of the tests are of sufficient importance to demand a detailed consideration. Chief among them is the progress in either Colony of the manufacturing industry.

MANUFACTURES.

No young country can pass from the agricultural or pastoral to the manufacturing stage of its existence until it has obtained a sufficient density of population to enable production to be carried on with that effective cheapness which comes from the subdivision of employments and the establishment of subsidiary industries for using up bye-products. In 1866 the population of Victoria was already concentrated in the mining centres; while that of New South Wales was scattered over a wide area, through which the means of communication were few and primitive. As a natural consequence Victoria became a manufacturing Colony earlier than New South Wales. It is true that New South Wales has better facilities for manufactures in her rich deposits of coal and iron; but the advantage of these may be easily overestimated, unless it is remembered that the coal goes to both capitals by sea, and that the cost of 500 miles longer sea carriage is not a serious item in these days of fuel economy. It is accordingly not surprising to find that, while there were 869 manufactories and works in Victoria in 1866, exclusive of 114 flour mills, the manufactories and works of New South Wales were at that date too insignificant to be counted.

Since 1866 the whole energy of Victorian legislation has been directed to the development of manufactures; while, except as to a few industries, such as the kerosene and candle, which have benefited by duties originally imposed for revenue purposes, the development of manufactures in New South Wales has taken a natural growth. The figures speak for themselves.

In twenty-five years of Free Trade the pastoral Colony of New South Wales had made so good an entrance into the manufacturing stage of its existence that in 1890 it employed 46,135 hands, or more than one-tenth of its adult population, in one or other of the 120 distinct varieties of manufacturing industries, in which the plant and machinery was valued at £4,526,821, and worked

to a horse-power of 24,662. Surely this would not be a bad record, either of growth or diversity, even for a Protected country!

The record of Victoria is also good, but certainly not better than, if, indeed, it is equal to, that of New South Wales. It is difficult, however, to decide this question, because the method of classification, and the dates of making the returns of manufacturing statistics, do not correspond in the two Colonies. The subjoined table, however, will show the respective rates of progress of each.

YEAR.	1880.		1885.		1889.		1890.	
	Victoria.	N. S. W.	Victoria.	N. S. W.	Victoria.	N. S. W.	Victoria.	N. S. W.
Number of hands employed ...	33,247	28,259	49,066	41,669	59,169†	46,135	58,175†	46,525†
Value of machinery, plant, and land ... (Thousands omitted)	6,711	—*	10,166	—*	15,612	11,603	—*	—*
Number of establishments †† ...	2,239	—*	2,841	—*	3,137	2,926	—*	2,183
Horse power... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Where blank spaces are left the figures are either untrustworthy or at present unattainable. The method of collecting New South Wales figures was radically altered after 1886, when the present statistician, Mr. Coghlan, was first appointed.

† These figures are from an estimate made by Mr. Hayter, the statistician of the Victorian Government, as published in the *Argus* of December 30th, 1891.

†† Many of these employ very few hands. Thus over three hundred of the works included in the Victorian returns employ less than six hands, and more than one thousand employ less than ten.

The above table puts the case of the Victorian manufactories in the most favourable light. Not only are some 2,300 hands included in the Victorian returns which are excluded from those of New South Wales,¹ but these also include between four and five thousand more females, whom the harder conditions of life in the Protected Colony have driven from the home to the factory.² Further, the later Victorian figures are for a time of high prosperity consequent upon the lavish expenditure of imported and borrowed capital, while during the same period New South Wales was experiencing the pangs of a period of economy, and was also

¹ Namely, employees in chaff-cutting and corn-crushing establishments, in flour mills, in cheese factories, and the Royal Mint.

² There were 902 females included in the New South Wales returns for 1890.

recovering from the most severe drought known in her history. The figures for 1891 would show an increase for New South Wales and a decrease for Victoria. Let us, however, pass by all these considerations, and grant a superiority (and, if it be desired, even a substantial superiority) to Victoria in manufactures : two questions will still remain to be answered—first, Whether this superiority is as great now as it was in 1866, having regard to the increase of population ? and, secondly, Whether, if it be so, such a superiority has been worth the expenditure required to obtain it ? Let no deductions be made on any score, and even count it a good thing that women should be forced to leave their homes to seek employment in a factory ; let us, in short, admit that Victoria has an excess over New South Wales of fully 12,000 manufacturing hands ; yet at what cost has this excess been gained ? The Customs duties levied on Protected articles have by themselves amounted during the last twenty-five years to twenty millions of pounds, without taking into account the increase in the price of the home-made article, which is consequent upon the tariff. May not Free Traders fairly ask whether, if it was really necessary to Victorian prosperity that she should confine 12,000 of her population (of whom one-third are females) within the four walls of factories in order to be by that number superior to New South Wales in the tale of manufacturing employees, twenty millions of pounds sterling is not a high price to have paid for this questionable advantage ? Twenty millions of pounds would have pensioned those 12,000 working hands, men, women, and children (and children, too, are being driven with their mothers to enter the Protected factories, so hard is the stress of life becoming in this Victorian paradise !), many times over, at more than the rate which they are now receiving in wages from the afflicted consumer ! If only the recipients of Protective charity could be compelled to receive their alms, as honest beggars, in a public manner !

Nor is an inside view of the condition of Victorian manufactures any more encouraging. On the contrary, while the number of employees is declining, and women and boys are taking the place of men, the exports of manufactured produce show a steady annual decline, and the imports of foreign goods a steady increase. The limit of consumption within the Colony has long ago been reached, and although an outlet was afforded for several years into the neighbouring Colonies by means of an elaborate system of fraud, under which the drawbacks were manipulated in such a way as to

become a bonus upon exports,¹ the productiveness of the Protected industries is steadily decreasing. Year by year, Mr. Hayter, who certainly cannot be accused of giving undue prominence to facts which tell against Victoria, has pointed out the ominous decrease in the value of Victorian exports, and the equally ominous increase in Victorian indebtedness. The figures from 1880 are subjoined.

EXPORTS OF ARTICLES MANUFACTURED OR PRODUCED IN VICTORIA
FROM 1880-90.

YEAR.	Total Value, omitting Thousands.	Value per Head of the Population.		
	£	£	s.	d.
1880	11,220,000	13	3	11
1881	12,480,000	14	7	3
1882	12,570,000	14	2	5
1883	13,292,000	14	11	9
1884	13,155,000	14	1	8
1885	12,452,000	12	19	10
1886	9,054,000	9	3	6
1887	8,502,000	8	6	9
1888	10,356,000	9	15	0
1889	9,776,000	8	17	1
1890				
1891				

In this table the exports of manufactured articles and of home produce are lumped together. If the former were dealt with separately, the decline would be still more apparent. On p. 131 of vol. ii. of the "Victorian Year-Book" for 1889-90, Mr. Hayter gives a list of thirty-five lines of Victorian articles of export. The majority of these are raw materials, which are not affected by duties. More than half of the value in the list is provided by the two articles of wool and gold, although more than one-half of the wool exported as Victorian produce is grown in New South Wales and shipped from Melbourne—either because of its proximity, or because "Port Phillip" wool commands a traditionally high price. Taking out from this list all articles which may, with a

¹ Public attention was first called to this system of fraud in 1886 by Mr. Edward Pulsford, Secretary of the Free Trade Association of New South Wales, and Honorary Member of the Cobden Club. His assertions were at first denied and ridiculed; but ultimately, after an official investigation, his charges were verified. Many of the first firms in Melbourne were found to be implicated, but no prosecutions followed. There could hardly be a better illustration of the demoralisation which a tariff causes.

stretch of the term, be classified as manufactured products, we get at the following result :—

EXPORTS OF ARTICLES THE MANUFACTURE OF VICTORIA SINCE 1883.

ARTICLES.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	Increase + ; De- crease -
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Stationery ...	23,300	22,100	17,900	14,300	13,200	15,400	16,000	- 7,300
Agricultural Im- plements ...	14,100	10,300	11,000	11,700	15,600	15,600	22,000	+ 7,900
Machinery ...	138,000	98,000	73,000	48,000	90,000	56,000	62,000	-76,000
Saddlery, Har- ness	22,000	14,000	13,000	9,800	7,100	10,000	6,800	-15,200
Furniture and Upholstery ...	46,800	43,700	39,000	24,000	20,000	22,000	17,600	-29,300
Drugs, Chemi- cals	15,000	12,000	17,000	13,000	10,600	7,000	4,700	-10,300
Woolen Piece Goods	12,000	10,600	4,100	2,700	1,800	9,000	2,600	- 9,400
Apparel & Slops	246,000	257,000	242,000	155,000	117,000	121,800	98,000	-148,000
Boots and Shoes	40,000	37,000	25,000	21,000	23,000	21,000	16,000	-24,000
Corriage	27,600	29,000	20,600	9,000	5,000	4,000	4,600	-23,000
Preserved Meats	76,000	116,000	99,800	88,000	41,000	16,000	16,000	- 60,000
Confectionery ...	15,700	13,000	11,000	6,700	3,700	2,800	2,700	-13,000
Biscuits	27,600	40,000	45,000	37,600	26,800	20,900	20,600	- 7,000
Bone dust... ..	8,900	11,300	14,400	9,600	5,200	11,300	11,000	+ 1,100
Candles	300	3,600	7,000	5,000	1,600	500	300	-
Glue Pieces ...	600	1,000	1,000	1,700	1,700	1,500	900	+ 300
Leather	359,000	338,000	342,000	254,000	207,000	181,000	190,000	-289,000
Soap	12,700	15,500	18,000	13,000	10,000	10,000	9,000	- 3,700
Stearine	13,000	6,000	-	5	96	500	85	-12,900
Tallow	232,000	256,000	155,000	121,000	85,000	157,000	49,000	-
Oil	8,000	9,000	7,600	7,000	3,600	2,000	1,800	- 6,200
Hardware	28,000	24,000	19,000	20,800	16,000	15,800	15,000	-13,000
Oilmen's Stores	13,000	15,000	14,000	11,800	13,600	11,000	9,000	- 4,000
All other Articles	410,700	439,000	375,000	324,000	265,000	222,000	234,000	-170,000
Total	1,790,300	1,824,100	1,570,800	1,206,705	983,596	934,100	819,685	-1,110,300 + 0,300

The same conclusion as to the decline of Victorian manufactures is given by another table in Mr. Hayter's book (p. 133), in which the total increase or decrease of exports of all articles of home produce, as between 1889 and 1888, is given in detail, with the result of showing a nett decrease on the year of £579,963. It is noticeable, however, that this nett decrease is kept down to this comparatively low figure by reason of an increase of £1,438,593 in the value of wool exported, and of £129,498 in the value of the export of gold bullion. Deducting these two items, the nett decrease in the year would be £2,148,054; while if the nett decrease on manufactured products only were considered, it would amount to the large sum of £2,256,395.

These figures have a double significance. First they show that the export of Victorian manufactures has not been anything to

boast of during the last eight years, and that, in spite of every effort to force manufactures, eleven-twelfths of the exports from Victoria consist of food-stuffs and raw materials. They also show, in the plainest manner, the withering influence of Protection upon the aggregate of national industry. The export trade of a country is a generally accepted test of the vigour of its national productiveness. Consequently, a fall in eight years from £14 11s. 9d. per head to £8 17s. 1d. in the total export trade—which is equivalent to a fall of 39·303 per cent.—and a fall of 32·925 per cent. during the same period in the exports of manufactured produce, ought to shake the confidence of the most infatuated believer in the infallibility of the Protectionist dogma! Further, when this decline in exports—which are the only means by which a borrowing country is able to discharge its indebtedness and pay its interest on loans—is accompanied by a rapidly increasing excess of imports, no one who remembers that the excess of imports over exports represents in a young country—which does not receive much from foreign investments, or for shipping, or other services rendered by its citizens in other countries, or by immigration—the amount of new capital which it has borrowed—can view the present condition of Victorian commerce without alarm. Unless the tariff is altered in such a way as to give the natural industries of Victoria a better opportunity of growth, or unless the irrigation experiments, which are being pushed with so much vigour, falsify the predictions of many experts and provide new articles of exports in the shape of fruit and wine, it is certain that the task of dealing with the finances of Victoria will tax the capacity and ingenuity of her rulers for many years to come.¹ The combination of Protection and borrowing must result in a serious crisis.

¹ The following figures show the excess of imports over exports since 1881, omitting figures below five hundred:—

1881	...	...	...	£ 466,000	
1882	...	...	...	2,554,000	
1883	...	...	...	1,344,900	
1884	...	...	...	3,151,000	
1885	...	...	...	2,492,800	
1886	...	...	...	6,735,000	
1887	...	...	...	7,671,000	
1888	...	...	...	10,118,000	
1889	...	...	...	11,668,000	
Total	...	...	...	46,200,700	

Of this sum, £11,219,000 represented an increase in the public indebtedness, not taking into account redemption loans, amounting to £5,800,000.

Since 1873 the exports have only once exceeded the imports—namely, in 1880. Bearing in mind that between three and four million pounds' worth of wool which is the product of New South Wales is shipped annually from

AGRICULTURE.

The boast of Victorians is, rightly enough, in their agriculture ; and in this great department of national activity their country has maintained her lead over New South Wales, although she has not succeeded in increasing it. Even this partial success cannot be attributed to Protection, because Victoria was an exporter of food-stuffs even in her Free Trade days, but is owing partly to the fact that in the variable climate of New South Wales the land that is good for crops is not near the markets, and the land that is near the markets is not good for crops, and partly to the early alienation of the best agricultural lands to large proprietors, who have not yet shown themselves inclined to use it for any but pastoral purposes. Even in this direction, however, there are already signs of decline,¹ and while the area of cultivation is increasing in New South Wales it is declining in Victoria. Fortunately, the farmers have at last realised their position, and during the years 1890-91 every "Farmers' Protection Association" has omitted the word Protection

Port Phillip, and therefore included among the exports of Victorian produce, it will be seen that the nett annual value of Victorian exports is between eight and nine millions, as against an importation of nearly twenty-four millions for the year 1889. Of the imports a certain sum—which cannot, on the most liberal estimate, exceed £500,000—must be allowed for freight due to Victorian ship-owners ; an allowance must also be made for interest on Victorian capital invested abroad. It is difficult to ascertain how much this should be ; it is, however, a rough but perhaps a fair estimate to take the value of New South Wales wool shipped from Melbourne as equivalent to the value of the returns to Victorian capital invested abroad. Most of the wool which comes to Melbourne from the other Colonies is sent there because the stations are owned by Victorians. The wool which is sent to Melbourne by New South Wales station owners, may be set off against the proceeds of Victorian investments in Queensland properties. But, after all these allowances are made, the fact remains that during recent years the indebtedness of Victoria has increased more rapidly than its exports. This increase has continued through 1890 and 1891, although the official returns are not available at the time of writing.² It is this enormous expenditure of borrowed money, both by the Government and by private persons, which has maintained the rate of wages in Victoria, and successfully disguised from the multitude the evil influences of Protection.

¹ The official figures for 1890-91 are not yet published, but unofficial returns show a decline of more than 50,000 acres in the area of cultivation during the last two years.

	Exports.	Imports.	The increase in exports in 1890 and 1891 will probably be found due to an increase in the shipments from Melbourne of New South Wales wool.
	£	£	
² 1890 ...	13,256,000	22,953,000	
1891 ...	15,679,000	21,622,000	

from its title, and declared in favour of Free Trade. It is one of the most amazing instances of the power of words over unthinking men that the farmers in any country should ever advocate Protection. The maxim that "the farmer pays for all" can never be more plainly illustrated than by farmers who hope to get rich by paying customers to buy their crops. If a young country exports food, Protection can be of no use to the farmers, who have to buy everything they want at Protective prices, and sell everything they produce at Free Trade prices. If, on the other hand, a young country requires to import food, the farmers have already the best market they can desire, viz., one which is short supplied. For example, the average price of wheat in Sydney has been for many years 6d. a bushel more than in Melbourne. The following are the figures relating to agriculture :—

AREA OF LAND IN CULTIVATION IN ACRES.

	1866.	1870.	1880.	1885.	1888.	1889.	1890.
Victoria	592,915	909,015	1,997,943	2,405,157	2,564,742	2,627,262	—
New South Wales	451,223	426,976	710,337	868,093	999,298	1,64,475	1,241,419

COMMERCE.

The figures which follow as to commerce, revenue, and shipping, require no comment. They all point the same moral—that Victoria has not only failed to hold her superiority over New South Wales, but has fallen far behind :—

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIA.

Colony.	Year.	Imports.		Exports.	
		Total Value.	Value per Head.	Total Value.	Value per Head.
Victoria.	1866	£ 14,771,000	£ s. d. 23 9 7	£ 12,889,000	£ s. d. 20 9 9
	1880	14,556,000	17 2 4	15,954,000	18 15 3
	1885	18,044,000	18 16 6	15,551,000	16 4 6
	1888	23,972,000	22 11 5	13,853,000	13 0 11
	1889	24,402,000	22 2 0	12,734,000	11 10 8
	1890	22,953,000		13,256,000	
	1891	21,622,000 (estimated)		15,679,000 (estimated)	
New South Wales.	1866	9,403,000		9,913,000	
	1880	13,950,000	19 4 6	15,525,000	21 7 11
	1885	23,365,000	25 2 0	16,541,000	17 15 4
	1888	20,885,000	19 12 6	20,859,000	19 12 0
	1889	22,863,000	20 14 2	23,294,000	21 2 0
	1890				
1891					

SHIPPING.

Colony.	Year.	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
		No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.
New South Wales...	1866	2,099	730,354	2,259	784,381
Victoria	1866	2,078	649,979	2,203	675,741
New South Wales...	1889*	3,254	2,632,081	3,229	2,689,098
Victoria	1889	2,855	2,270,827	2,886	2,328,351

* The year 1889 was one of great depression in New South Wales. Later years would show a wider difference between the two Colonies.

REVENUE.*

Colony.	1866.	1889.	1891.
New South Wales ...	£ 2,012,079	£ 9,063,397	£ 10,079,000
Victoria	3,079,160	8,675,990	(estimated)

* The excess of revenue in New South Wales is due to the elasticity of her returns and not to the weight of taxation. The charge of taxation per head in 1889 in the two Colonies was as follows:—Victoria, £3 9s. 1d.; New South Wales, £2 8s. 6d. Thus, although every citizen of Victoria pays £1 os. 7d. more in taxes than his Free Trade neighbour, the revenue of Victoria is about two millions less than that of New South Wales.

The figures which have been set out in the preceding pages have been treated by Protectionists in various ways at different times. For a long period they were ignored; then, after Mr. Edward Pulsford, of Sydney, brought them into public notice, their accuracy was denied, and the Statistical Office of New South Wales was assailed with scurrilous abuse. Finally, after Mr. Hayter, the Victorian official statist, had verified their substantial correctness, every effort was made to depreciate their significance. It was alleged that the greater success of New South Wales was owing to special causes—such as her larger territory, her greater expenditure of borrowed money, and her larger land revenue—which had not operated in Victoria to the same extent. Here, again, however, the Protectionists were foiled. Mr. Pulsford—and this is not among the least of the services which he has rendered to the cause of Free Trade—undertook an elaborate series of investigations into the statistical returns of the two colonies, and

demonstrated even to the satisfaction of Protectionists that the "special causes" of prosperity, so far from being peculiar to New South Wales, had operated with even greater intensity in Victoria during the period under review. It is chiefly due to Mr. Pulsford's untiring industry and clearness of exposition that the example of Victoria is never cited now in the neighbouring colonies as an instance of the benefits of a Protective policy. As, however, the energy of Victorian *réclame* has not exhausted itself in other fields, it may be well to indicate very briefly the heads of the answer to Protectionist disparagements of the progress of New South Wales.

First, it is said that New South Wales owes her success to her earlier foundation. It is a sufficient reply to this that, in spite of her earlier foundation, she was far behind Victoria in 1866, when both colonies were Free Trade. The development of the Colony was so slow in the transportation days, which ended in 1856, that Victoria, in 1866, had gained from her active population of gold diggers more of the advantages of roads, bridges, and other incidents of civilisation, in ten years than New South Wales had by two generations of convict labour.

Next it is said that New South Wales owes her more rapid progress to her larger territory. To a certain extent this is true ; but it is the merit and object of Free Trade to make use of natural advantages. A large territory, however, is not altogether an advantage to a young country. There is a power in concentration, and a weakness in scattered forces. "Wealth," as Mr. Pulsford has well remarked, "grows richer by population than by square mile, and, as a rule, it will be found that the most important and wealthy countries are of limited area. A larger area is often a great weakness." Certainly this has proved to be the case in New South Wales, whose rural population is badly served in all local requirements, and grievously handicapped by the difficulty of providing for the wants of so vast a territory. The greater advantages which a settler enjoys in the compact territory of Victoria become immediately apparent to any one who looks upon a railway map of the two Colonies. In New South Wales the railways stretch in three long lines, each to a distance of about 500 miles from the city to the sea-board. In Victoria the railways divide the country into small rectangles and unite every little township with the capital ; and where railways fail the Southern settler, rivers play their part and give him that assurance of a return to his annual

labour which the resident in the more variable climate of New South Wales is never able to anticipate.

Indeed, in physical and climatic advantages, Victoria is vastly the superior of New South Wales. Not only does its compactness make the former cheap to govern and easy to develop, but its fertile and well-watered lands lie close to the markets. In New South Wales, on the contrary, except a narrow strip upon the coast of Ilawarra, the good land lies beyond the coastal ranges at a distance of at least 200 miles from Sydney and the sea-board. There are, moreover, in New South Wales no large mining townships (except that of Broken Hill, which is, for practical purposes, part of South Australia) where the farmers are able to find a market. Moreover, even the best lands in New South Wales are subject alternately to droughts and floods. Further, while the lands of New South Wales are heavily timbered, so that the expense of preparing them for the plough is very great, most of the arable land in Victoria was naturally clear. In fact, it is difficult to exaggerate the natural advantages which are enjoyed by the fertile, extensive, open, well-watered lands of Victoria, over those of its larger, but more variable, neighbour. Nor does this complete the catalogue of the natural superiorities of the favoured province. Victoria has a distinct advantage in the character of its early settlers. The renown of her gold-fields attracted the very pick of the world, for energy, enterprise, and power. Through their aid she gained a start in wealth and population, which, but for the folly of her rulers, she would not have lost for many generations. The richness of her alluvial gold-fields, and the character of her early population, caused the easy establishment and rapid growth of great cities, whose position rendered her singularly fitted to be the seat of manufactures; while the extent of fertile land, which was immediately available, made her from the outset rich in the more durable elements of natural prosperity.

What wonder that in such a country progress has been rapid? The matter rather for remark is, that it has so soon ended. Of all the lessons which Australia has given to the world in politics, not the least instructive is to be drawn from the rise and decline of the Colony of Victoria! The "might-have-beens" of history are notoriously unprofitable matters of speculation; but no one can read the history of Victoria, with impartial mind, without being moved to wonder what her fate

might have been, if she had been left to expand to her natural growth unhindered by the cruel restrictions of a cramping tariff.

Another strangely perverted argument is that New South Wales owes her more rapid progress to her greater production of coal and wool, which, it is said, are two raw materials, the production of which could not be affected by any fiscal policy. Supposing this were so, it is in the eyes of a Free Trader precisely a reason why the Colony of New South Wales should make as much profit as it can out of its natural industries instead of diverting its capital and labour into less productive channels. As the facts stand, however, Victoria has produced a larger quantity of raw materials than New South Wales during the period under review. The aggregate production of wool and gold in Victoria from 1866 to 1885¹ was £27,410,950 more than in New South Wales. The following are the figures:—

GOLD AND WOOL.—TOTAL PRODUCTION 1866-1885.

	Victoria.		New South Wales.	
	£		£	
Gold raised	85,819,216	...	15,763,365	
Wool produced *	67,891,880	...	110,536,781	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	153,711,096	...	126,300,146	

* The figures representing wool are the aggregate of the exports after deducting the imports.

The total value of the coal raised in New South Wales from the foundation of the colony does not equal the excess of Victoria in her production of the two articles of wool and coal during the twenty years, 1866-1885, being only £23,891,629. The production of coal during that period amounted to £11,282,325.

The Protectionist theorist, driven to explain the, to him, astounding fact that New South Wales has prospered more under Free Trade than Victoria under Protection, finds his last refuge in the assertion that New South Wales owes her more rapid

¹ The year 1885 is taken to avoid errors on either side on account of the disturbing influence either of the New South Wales good seasons or the Melbourne "boom."

progress to a more lavish expenditure of borrowed money. "A spurious prosperity," says the *Age*, in 1886, "or the appearance of prosperity, has been kept up for some eight or ten years past by a monstrosly lavish expenditure of public money, which has either been borrowed or obtained from the sale of land." Upon this passage Mr. Pulsford ("Freedom in New South Wales *v.* Oppression in Victoria," p. 49) makes the following observations:—

"Believing that, perhaps, after all, New South Wales might not be so black as she is painted, I have carefully investigated the subject of the money obtained by sales of land, and by public borrowing in the two colonies. The result of my investigations will, I venture to say, be a surprise to all. I find that, for many years, Victoria led the way in both sales of land and public borrowings. That, in point of fact, Victoria for many years borrowed more rapidly than New South Wales, and also sold land much more rapidly. I confess I was very much surprised myself to find that, up to the year 1883, the aggregate of the moneys obtained by loans and land sales in New South Wales had always been exceeded in Victoria. It is perfectly obvious that the colony that obtained the lead in the construction of useful public works had a great advantage. I find that in the year when Victoria entered upon her policy of Protection, she had received twenty-one million pounds from the sources named, against only eleven millions in New South Wales. The early expenditure of so much money in Victoria represented a great advantage over this colony. It was not till 1875—that is, nine years later—that New South Wales reached this sum of twenty-one millions, and then the Victorian total had risen to thirty-one millions, or still the ten millions ahead. In 1880 Victoria was six millions ahead. In 1885 the tables were turned, so that New South Wales was eight millions in advance of Victoria.

"When I come to take the totals of these twenty years—1866–1885—I find that Victoria has had the use of capital equivalent to *thirty-four* millions for the whole period, against only *twenty-eight* millions on the part of New South Wales. I claim, therefore, that Victoria, and not New South Wales, is the colony that has received the greatest impetus towards prosperity from the expenditure of moneys obtained by loans and land sales." A full table of these moneys is subjoined.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Year.	Loans.	Land Sales.	Total.
	£	£	£
1860 to 1865 } Average	5,212,771 ...	4,061,732 ...	9,274,503
1866 ...	6,418,030 ...	4,781,653 ...	11,199,683
1867 ...	6,927,630 ...	5,046,313 ...	11,963,943
1868 ...	8,564,830 ...	5,311,563 ...	13,876,393
1869 ...	9,546,030 ...	5,631,176 ...	15,177,206
1870 ...	9,681,130 ...	5,882,019 ...	15,563,149
1871 ...	10,614,330 ...	6,143,420 ...	16,757,750
1872 ...	10,773,230 ...	6,575,793 ...	17,349,023
1873 ...	10,842,415 ...	7,421,203 ...	18,263,618
1874 ...	10,516,371 ...	8,532,244 ...	19,048,615
1875 ...	11,470,637 ...	10,292,814 ...	21,763,451
1876 ...	11,759,519 ...	12,806,218 ...	24,565,737
1877 ...	11,724,419 ...	15,774,075 ...	27,498,494
1878 ...	11,688,119 ...	17,850,086 ...	29,538,205
1879 ...	14,937,419 ...	19,236,773 ...	34,174,192
1880 ...	14,903,919 ...	20,618,799 ...	35,522,718
1881 ...	16,924,019 ...	23,102,137 ...	40,026,156
1882 ...	16,721,219 ...	25,557,178 ...	42,278,397
1883 ...	21,632,459 ...	26,826,657 ...	48,459,116
1884 ...	24,601,959 ...	28,190,150 ...	52,792,109
1885 ...	30,064,259 ...	29,414,372 ...	59,478,631
Average 1866 to 1886 }	13,515,097 ...	14,249,732 ...	27,764,829

We are now in a position to appreciate the whole significance of the tale which the preceding figures have disclosed.

Every Protectionist argument, either expressedly or impliedly, assumes that no country can develop under natural conditions, but that a home market, a diversity of industries, a high rate of wages, and all other ingredients of prosperity, can only be secured by means of a Protective tariff. It is not that Protectionists claim a mere superiority for their policy over the policy of Free Trade as an instrument of national development, but they insist that Free Trade is a positive evil that prevents development. Consequently when we find that a country, which is also one of those young countries in whose case Protection is declared to be most plainly demanded, has, while faithfully adhering to Free Trade, developed its resources, diversified its industries, maintained a high rate of wages, given its farmers a profitable market for their produce, and steadily advanced in prosperity in every path of progress, we are entitled to question the truth of the assumptions which Protectionists invariably take for granted. If we can go further, and show that another country which has enjoyed greater natural advantages, and where the other influences which make for national welfare have

operated with greater intensity, has advanced much more slowly under Protection than our first example has under Free Trade, the conclusion is irresistible that Protection, not Free Trade, is the clog upon national progress. At the same time, no sensible Free Trader would rest his case upon the records of any country during the short period of twenty-five years. The example of New South Wales is of importance in a Free Trade argument, not so much on account of the support which it gives to Free Trade, as because it pushes the rude thrust of fact into the cobweb of a Protectionist theory. It has also this more limited value—that it makes it impossible for restrictionists to make use of the undoubted progress of Victoria since 1866 as an illustration in their favour, without also attributing the still greater progress of New South Wales to the opposite policy of Free Trade.

THE END.



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