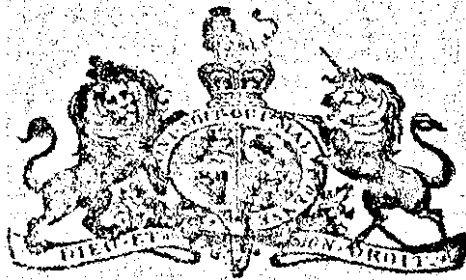


FOREIGN REPORTS.

Volume VIII.

ITALY.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.  
June 1893.



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1893.

#### NOTE.

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*On the 19th May 1891 a letter was addressed by the Chairman of the Commission to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, requesting that instructions might be given to Her Majesty's Representatives in the principal European countries and in the United States to forward for the use of the Commission any publications which might have been recently issued in those countries bearing upon certain specified questions connected with the inquiry of the Commission, together with Reports containing such information as Her Majesty's Representatives might be able to supply.*

*In accordance with this request the Foreign Office obtained and forwarded to the Commission a large number of books, documents, and Reports drawn up by Her Majesty's Diplomatic or Consular Officers.*

*Some of the Reports last mentioned have been published as part of the Foreign Office series, but in order to arrange upon a systematic plan the information obtained from the Foreign Office and that derived from other sources, the Secretary of the Commission was directed to prepare Reports compiled from all these materials. These Reports are published in connection with the proceedings of the Commission, but the Commission is in no way responsible for the statements of fact or opinion which they contain. Nor are Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Officers responsible for any statements contained in them except in so far as their own Reports are quoted.*

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR.

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FOREIGN REPORTS.

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Volume VIII.

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ITALY.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR.

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44, Parliament Street, London, S.W.,  
October 5th, 1893.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE the honour to submit to you the Report which I have been directed to draw up on the Labour Question in Italy.

I have paid special attention to questions such as the Secret Societies, the Migration of Labour, and Co-operation, the development of which peculiarly distinguishes the Labour Question in Italy from the Labour Question in other countries.

I may be permitted here to express my warmest thanks to Commendatore Luigi Bodio, Director-General of Statistics in the Ministry of Commerce at Rome, who has supplied me with valuable information on such subjects ever since I studied in Italy. There is hardly a section in this Report for which Signor Bodio has not directly or indirectly supplied me with materials, or in which his influence cannot be traced.

My thanks are also due to Professor Ugo Rabbeno, of the University of Bologna, and Professor Loria, of the University of Padua, for details on certain special subjects.

I am,

Your Grace's obedient Servant,

GEOFFREY DRAGE,

Secretary.

To

His Grace The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,  
Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour.

**REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN ITALY.**

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## NOTE.

The Statistics published in this Report have been derived directly from the sources mentioned in the references to the text. They will be found, in some instances, to differ slightly from the corresponding figures given in the Foreign Office Reports.

TABLE OF ITALIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Money	-	100 centimes	=	1 lira.
		25 lire	=	1l. sterling.
Weight	-	1 kilogramme	=	2·2046 lbs. avoirdupois.
		1 myriagramme	=	22·0462 " "
		1 quintal	=	220·4621 " "
		1 ton	=	2204·621 " "
Land	-	1 metre	=	1·0936 English yds.
		1 kilometre	=	0·62138 " mile.
		1 sq. metre	=	1·196 " sq. yds.
		1 hectare	=	2·471 acres.

# MAP OF ITALY.

*Showing Division into  
Departments and Provinces.*





# REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN ITALY.

## DIVISION I.—TRADE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

a. General introduction.  
a. Two-fold aspect of the Italian labour question.

The Italian labour question has a two-fold aspect. From one point of view it appears as a survival from a former state of society, from another it seems a sign of the beginning of a new social order. Italy is at the same time one of the most ancient and one of the most modern of European countries and in this contrast lies the peculiar interest of her history. The political and economic problems of the present day are closely connected with a feudal, and even with a classic past. The agrarian difficulties of the times of the Gracchi, though complicated by the slave question, were not unlike those of the nineteenth century. Then, as now, complaints were heard of the evil influence of capitalists and the ruin of the small farmers by the growth of vast landed properties. The *messadri* and *villani* who now fight against poverty and debt in the country districts, are but a few degrees removed from the Roman freeholders and agriculturists who, in the first century B.O. were "crushed by the competition with transmarine and slave grown corn"<sup>(1)</sup> and the *latifondi* or large estates of the northern and southern provinces trace their descent through the mediæval manor, back to the *latifundia* of the Empire. The cities that once took the lead in the struggle for municipal liberty, Milan, Bologna, Florence, now stand forth as the champions of industrial freedom, while the "two Sicilies," which centuries ago bowed before a Franco-Spanish despotism, still linger in the wake of the movement of progressive civilisation. A long and splendid historical record, a varied succession of political and economic experiments, complex forms of property and of social relations, all indicate, but not decay, for in the burst of intellectual, moral and political energy which followed the establishment of her national independence, Italy has renewed her youth, and has proved by the great development of industry, commerce and the means of transport during the last thirty years, the strength of the vital force that has lain dormant within her.<sup>(2)</sup>

b. Variety of local conditions in Italy.

And yet in spite of this great and undeniable progress, social problems have already begun to assume grave dimensions in the Italian Kingdom. According to Signor Villari, the late Minister of Public Instruction, the re-construction of the State was perhaps a little precipitate, and the country was "plunged into a political revolution before it had succeeded in effecting a social transformation." Political uniformity could not hide that extreme variety of local conditions which, in the words of a report recently published by the Italian Labourers' Party, still "often causes one district to be almost a century behind another," while "successive and contradictory periods elbow each other in the same nation."<sup>(3)</sup> There were long-standing differences, physical, racial and historical which could not be reconciled in the course of one generation. Italy, only "yesterday a mere geographical expression,"<sup>(4)</sup> is still the country in which "ethnography is the most complicated."<sup>(5)</sup> A deep line of division separates the independent, industrial Lombard North, proud of its civic and republican traditions, from the semi-tropical, half-oriental South, where the effects of Bourbon autocracy are still felt. The Italians need a common ideal to counteract their natural tendency to extreme individualism. Such an ideal they might once have found in religion, but now to quote Signor Villari again, "religion may be said to be almost worn out in Italy; where it is not superstition, it is traditional habit, not living faith, while as to patriotism, who can tell what form it is about to take, or in what direction it will ultimately tend?" It was when the general enthusiasm which the revolution of 1860-1870 called forth, had spent itself in the formation of the kingdom,

that, according to the same writer, corruption and party spirit began their work of disintegration, and the social question became a matter for serious anxiety.<sup>(6)</sup>

As has been often pointed out, the Italian revolution was essentially a triumph for the middle classes, the bourgeoisie, and the labouring classes, properly so-called, had but little share in its immediate benefits, while, on the other hand, they shared to an undue extent in its attendant disadvantages and sacrifices.<sup>(7)</sup> "A large army and navy have had to be created, public works to be carried out regardless of cost, a system of national instruction to be promoted, and an immense administration to be maintained. Ready money being required to effect these objects, loans have had to be raised on the public credit. To support these burthens heavy taxes have been imposed which, owing to previous conditions, have pressed unequally on the different regions of the country, and the resources of the nation have been seriously crippled. The communes have had various charges, including the maintenance of primary instruction, thrown on them, to lessen the responsibilities of the State. New wants have arisen; cities, towns and even villages have vied with each other in effecting costly improvements, until the communal expenditure forms a further burden of no inconsiderable moment on the people's purse, independently of the separate expenditure of the provinces." When to these various causes of expense are added the cost of war, the loss occasioned by the abolition of the forced paper currency, the commercial, industrial, and agricultural crises of the last few years, inundations, earthquakes, epidemics, and the present "well-nigh desperate condition of the Banks of Italy," it must be admitted that the grievances of which the socialist writers complain are not wholly unfounded. The country is, indeed, suffering from the usual evils which attend a state of transition.<sup>(8)</sup>

c. Results of the Revolution of 1860-1870.

d. Industrial condition of Italy.

"Before the union," according to Sir Dominic Colnaghi, "the manufacturing industries in Italy were small, and, generally, of local importance only. The mills and factories nestled in valleys, where they found a cheap and ready motive power in the torrents and streams which traversed them. The hands were chiefly peasants, often possessing some little property of their own; wages were small, and strikes practically unknown. There was no agglomeration of workmen in the large cities. Customs barriers were erected at the frontiers of each separate state, and free and unrestricted communication between the inhabitants was discouraged for political motives." After the revolution of 1860-1870, however, this condition of affairs was entirely changed. "The barriers between state and state disappeared, and the industrial classes had, at once, to face all the consequences entailed by suddenly becoming members of a free and enlarged kingdom." The result was, on the whole, favourable to the development of Italian trade. Home industries are now everywhere giving place to large manufacturing centres, and workmen tend more and more to congregate together in great cities. Factories, though still comparatively small according to English ideas, have increased in size, and have moved, or are moving, townwards, while with the introduction of improved machinery, the old water power has had to be supplemented by steam.

e. General attitude of employers.

Under these circumstances, the general relations between manufacturers and operatives are, to some extent, in a state of tension, and the issue of the labour question depends greatly on the attitude now taken up by the employers. On the other hand, the struggle between capital and labour, can hardly, as yet, be said to have become critical. The great manufacturing centres are still few and far between, disputes between employers and employed are less marked than elsewhere, and, as Sir Dominic Colnaghi points out, "there is still time to settle the labour question in Italy," and the task

(1) Mommsen. History of Rome. Popular Edition. 1881.  
 (2) Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 2.  
 (3) Lettiera Meridionali. P. Villari, 1888, pp. 237-38. Parti des Travailleurs Italiens Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich, (1893), p. 18.  
 (4) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, vol. XV., Fasc. I., (Relazione Finale), 1884, p. 78.  
 (5) "Quest ce qu'une nation?" E. Renan, 1882, p. 18.  
 (6) Lettiera Meridionali. P. Villari, 1888, pp. 67, 101, 117, 127, 128, 132, 147, 148, 242.

(7) Parti des Travailleurs Italiens. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich, (1893), p. 1. Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 2.  
 (8) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 1-2. "Times," July 10th, 1893, "The Italian Government and the Bank Bill."

will be rendered all the easier by the character of the Italian workmen, vivacious and imaginative in the south, stronger and more energetic in the central and northern provinces, but everywhere distinguished by quickness of intelligence, and a remarkable power of adaption to circumstances. The larger manufacturers, moreover, have already shown themselves mindful of their duty towards their operatives. In some factories co-operative stores have been established; at others, stores are opened at which the necessaries of life can be purchased by the hands at moderate prices. Lodging, soup, and firing, is sometimes provided for the young unmarried women who come from a distance, and Benefit Societies, elementary schools and workmen's houses are often started, under the patronage, and with the assistance of, the masters. Much however, still remains to be done in this direction, and according to the almost unanimous testimony of Italian economists, it is in the closer union of the various social grades in Italy that the best hope for the future lies. It is in this connection that the efforts to overcome the Italian tendency to isolation by means of co-operation, organised emigration, or socialist propaganda, possess a peculiar interest and significance.<sup>(1)</sup>

In his eloquent *Lettere Meridionali* Signor Villari declares that he is persuaded that the guidance and government of Italian society in the present day are in the hands of the *bourgeoisie* but that it is essential for them, if they wish to retain this power, to base their influence upon moral as well as material forces, and to prove themselves worthy of their position by their own uprightness and cultivation. The peasantry have been taught to read books and newspapers; they have been instructed in the rights and duties of humanity; they have been disciplined and taught their own value by compulsory service in the Army; it is impossible for them to return to the life which they led before. A political revolution must be accompanied by a social revolution. At present, the production of wealth in Italy is not increasing proportionately to expenditure. The remedy seems to lie in the fuller development by education and improved social conditions of the productive capacity of the working classes. Rulers and ruled have now but little sympathy with each other, they must be brought closer together, that the Government may learn how best to forward the interests of the people, and that the people may be taught how to govern themselves.<sup>(2)</sup>

Events move rapidly in Italy, and in view of the recent development of the political and economic situation, it may be well to add a few words to this brief sketch with regard to the present attitude of the various political parties towards the labour question. As the following report abundantly proves, there can be no doubt that considerable discontent exists among the Italian working-classes, especially in the country districts, and that this discontent is fast finding articulate and formidable expression in strikes and riots. The condition of the Italian labourer, his poverty and unremunerative employment, and the heavy taxation which oppresses him, offer political capital of which at least three parties have not been slow to take advantage. The Republicans or Radical Democrats, who are represented by the Federation of Workmen's Societies called the *Patto di Fratellanza* (below, p. 11), may perhaps derive their strength too much from the smaller *bourgeoisie* to be fully in harmony with the labouring class. The Anarchists are, if turbulent, comparatively insignificant both in numbers and influence. The Socialists, on the other hand, appear to be growing daily in power and in definiteness of organisation, as is shown by the events of the Congress of Reggio (below, p. 15), and it seems possible that they will succeed in winning the support of some at least among that large section of the people who, in the present crisis are looking for a leader in whom they can repose confidence.<sup>(3)</sup>

No traces of permanent coalitions of Italian employers appear between 1860 and 1878, with the exception of the purely defensive associations which were formed by the manufacturers of the district of Biella. (See below, p. 28.)<sup>(4)</sup> From time to time, indeed, employers have

formed temporary alliances to enable them to hold out against some particular strike, but these have ended with the causes which provoked them.

Organisations of employers, on the other hand, which were instituted for the protection of the interests of the trade, have sometimes assumed the character of defensive associations against operatives on strike. A notable instance of such a change of front is found in the history of the disturbances among the silk weavers of Como. (See below, p. 31.)<sup>(5)</sup>

At Comacchio, though there is no general association, the proprietors of the fish-curing establishments enter into private agreements, on their own account, and make arrangements with the municipal authorities as to the minimum wages they will offer, and the number of workmen they will employ. In other industrial centres, as at Milan, the manufacturers, though not bound by any permanent rules, unite in case of need in regulating work and wages. An association among master printers, with its head-quarters at Rome, and a master bakers' union at Milan are also mentioned.<sup>(6)</sup>

The organisation of labour for protective purposes is still in a state of transition in Italy. "In the present conditions of Italian industrial life it is, perhaps, natural that trade unions should not have attained general development, and that there should be some difficulty in obtaining full and precise information with regard to the organisation of such societies of resistance as may exist."<sup>(7)</sup> Signor Bodio, writing in 1892, states that organisations for arranging, adjusting, or avoiding strikes, are as yet of slight importance in the country. Such organisations however, tend to increase in number and influence. "In 1871, 356 non-federated societies appear to have existed in Italy. Ten of these were agricultural and aimed specially at maintaining the claims of labour against the abuses of capital." The exact number now established has not been precisely ascertained, but it is considerably in advance of this, while fresh associations are constantly affiliated to the various federations.<sup>(8)</sup>

In some cases societies originally established for mutual help in sickness have begun to take an interest in trade disputes. "Many Friendly Societies occasionally become centres of agitation for the purpose of actuating strikes, while a large number, from class sympathy, support a strike with which they have no direct connexion. An organisation "ad hoc" is, however, wanting, and therefore it cannot be said that Benefit Societies have resistance for an object." The most important workmen's associations are those formed by printers and hatters.

The Commission on Strikes of 1878 published a detailed account of the Printers' Association, which has been amplified and carried down to date by Signor Bodio in his report upon Italian Strikes.<sup>(9)</sup> The Pious Union of Journeymen Printers was founded in Turin in 1710, and in 1738 selected St. Augustine for its patron. At first simply a friendly society, it developed, in 1849, into a society of resistance, for the establishment of a normal wages' tariff. Other associations, based, in some cases at least, on existing friendly societies, and with the same object in view, rose in Florence in 1865, in Rome in 1870, and in Milan in 1874, the movement gradually extending to other cities. It was not, however, until 1878, at a Congress held at Siena, that a general association of Italian working printers was formed, to which the then existing societies, about 28 in number, adhered. This association is composed of the various societies of working printers and compositors, which have sprung up since 1873, with centres (*Sedi*) in the chief Italian cities. These separate sections form a federal society, with common aims and regulations. Though not primarily benefit Societies, they provide for the welfare of their members by imposing a normal tariff of wages, limiting the number of apprentices admitted, and giving assistance to the unemployed. Disobedience is punished by expulsion from the society, and the offender's name and crime are proclaimed in the Assembly and published in the journals of the association. Indemnity, on the other hand, is given to members who lose their work in consequence of adhering to the tariff, and even to those who are dismissed for other reasons.

(3.) Labour organisations.  
(4.) Employers' associations.

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 2-3, 22-25. *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, 1884, pp. 29-33. *Il Movimento Socialista in Italia*. Ugo Rabbino, 1892, p. 3. *Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria*, vol. XV., Fasc. I. (Relazione Finale), 1884, pp. 17-18, 78.

(2) *Lettere Meridionali*. P. Villari, 1885, pp. 28, 37, 54, 103.

(3) *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*. III. Jahrgang No. 30, September 26, 1892. "Der gegenwärtige Stand der italienischen Arbeiterbewegung." Prof. Dr. Werner Sombart.

The Guardian, September 18th, October 18th, 1893.

(4) *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, 1885, pp. 29, 32. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 27.

(5) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 17.

(6) *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, 1885, p. 24. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 35.

(7) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 20.

(8) *Id.* Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211. "Emancipazione Economica della Classe operaia," p. 378.

(9) *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, p. 31 et seq. *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 7 et seq. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 30, 31.

(5.) Workmen's associations.

Printers

All the societies are managed by a central committee residing in one of the chief typographical centres, and removing every four years to another centre, so that each region may benefit in turn by its presence. To this committee each society pays a yearly subscription of 10 lire for every 50 members to defray the expenses of administration.

The objects of the committee may be summed up as follows:—

- (1.) Maintaining relations between the various affiliated societies.
- (2.) Caring for the moral and economic interests of the local associations.
- (3.) Sanctioning modifications in tariffs and regulations.
- (4.) Providing that apprentices shall only be admitted when duly qualified by age and education.
- (5.) Intervening in cases of dispute.
- (6.) Preventing strikes from spreading simultaneously into many districts.
- (7.) When one society is involved in an economic crisis, imposing proportionate contributions on the sister societies.
- (8.) Fixing a normal tariff of wages for the whole of Italy, having regard to the peculiar conditions of each locality.

"The administration of the central committee is controlled by delegations from the several centres. . . .  
 "The centres are managed by local committees.  
 "Twenty working printers residing in the same locality may form a centre, if below that number, they are annexed, as a section, to the nearest centre."

The society has always acted openly, and has never resorted to violence or intimidation against workmen refusing to recognise its authority. In 1882 and 1887 Congresses were held at Naples and Venice respectively, in which the general aim of the Society was declared to be "the promotion of the well-being of the members by watching over their interests, and providing for the advancement of their trade," while its special aims were formulated as:—

- (1.) The arrangement of a normal wages' tariff.
- (2.) Assistance to members unemployed, travelling, sick, or infirm, and to widows and orphans of deceased members.
- (3.) Providing for the improvement of the technical instruction of the operatives, and more especially of the apprentices (*allievi*).

To carry out these objects, each daughter society has a special fund, into which particular contributions are paid for the unemployed, the sick, and widows and orphans respectively. Subscriptions to the funds for the sick and for widows and orphans are voluntary, but every member is obliged to contribute to the fund for the unemployed, and to the journal of the society, *Il Tipografo*. These contributions form a single fund (*cassa unica*), which is administered by the Central Committee. The members pay at the local centres, and the local committees send the subscriptions up to the Central Committee every six months, after deducting all expenses incurred in helping the unemployed. In 1887 the society had 31 centres. Twenty-seven of these were centres of compositors (*compositori*). The remaining four (at Rome, Turin, Milan, and Naples), were centres of pressmen (*impressori*). There were 47 sections and 3,752 members (2,804 compositors, 487 pressmen, and 361 apprentices). "The total number of compositors, pressmen, and apprentices working in the cities and towns in which the centres of the Association were established was 4,596, so that 81 per cent. of the working printers were connected with the Association."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 "In 1882 societies of propaganda were added to the principal centres, with a local office at Naples. These societies have been active in preaching the gospel of union in the country districts, and in towns where the spirit of association, which is still weak in most parts of Italy, has not yet penetrated." The central committee has entered into relations with similar associations in France, Belgium, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway, and the Argentine Republic. These associations give pecuniary aid, and prevent foreign labour from flowing into Italy to fill the posts left vacant when the native workmen are out on strike.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 10. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 31.*

Thus, the Italian Association "raised a subscription for Vienna on the occasion of the printers' strike in that city at the end of 1882," and in the same year Vienna, Stuttgart, Strasburg, Geneva, and Madrid assisted the strike of the Roman compositors. Between 1882 and 1887 the association "took part in several general strikes, the most important of which were those of Rome, Como, Naples, and Caserta."

The proceedings of the Central Committee are published in the journal of the Association, *Il Tipografo*, which is at the same time a means of spreading the doctrines of the society. The General Italian Association of Working Printers, though less perfect in organisation than the English trade unions, has thus many points of contact with them.<sup>(2)</sup>

Further details concerning the Printers' Association have been furnished to Signor Bodio by Doctor S. Alloghio, a notary of Milan, who has twice acted as president of committees appointed to regulate printers' wages. Since 1887 the association has developed considerably. In September 1892, though the number of centres had fallen to 26, the total number of members had risen to 4,236. Between 1887 and September 1890 about 176 temporary suspensions of work occurred, but the greater number of these were too insignificant and of too short duration to be dignified by the name of strikes.

The following strikes, however, are of sufficient importance to deserve particular mention:—

- (1.) The strike at Turin in 1887, for an increase of wages, which lasted 64 days, involved 482 compositors, cost 45,669 lire, and was terminated by a compromise.
- (2.) The Milanese strike of 1888 for the introduction of a certain tariff, which involved 124 pressmen and some compositors, lasted two months, cost 17,800 lire, and was terminated by the proprietors accepting the tariff in dispute. This strike was not authorised by the Central Committee, and was maintained by voluntary contributions and by the funds of the Milanese centre alone.
- (3.) The strike which occurred in 1890 in Venetia, and extended to Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, and Udine. The cause of the dispute was here also a question of tariffs. The struggle ended favourably for some of the centres involved in it, unfavourably for others. 357 men out of the 682 members of the association in that district took part in the disturbance. It lasted from 15 days to 2 months, and cost about 42,000 lire.

In 1880, and again in November 1892, a very serious agitation broke out among the Milanese pressmen and compositors, who demanded a reduction of working hours and an advance of wages. Up to 1880 the tariff had not been fixed, and the compositors had suffered from the competition of the proprietors amongst themselves. The payment per 1,000 letters varied from 18 to 30 centimes. The tariff was fixed by the Milanese centre but the proprietors would not accept it. On the 16th of February 1880 the association, supported by the Central Committee, gave orders for a general strike. 7,000 compositors, many of whom held good positions, gave up work and were maintained for several months by the funds of the Association at a cost of about 100,000 lire. A mixed committee of workmen and employers was then nominated, which succeeded in settling a tariff acceptable to both parties, and the strike came to an end. Twelve years later (1892) another dispute of like nature arose between the proprietors and the operatives, but this too was settled amicably by the arbitration of a committee.<sup>(3)</sup>

The following details of the expenses incurred by the General Association of Working Printers are derived partly from the Foreign Office Report on Italy for 1891 and partly from Signor Bodio's report upon strikes:—

*Obligatory Payments.*

1. Indemnity to members out of work on account of tariff:—

Compositors: 15 centimes per week in first-class centres; 10 centimes per week in second-class centres.

In cases of extraordinary need the subscription may be increased 5, 10, or more centimes.

Pressmen: The subscription is based on the weekly rate of wages.

<sup>(2)</sup> *F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 31-32. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 11.*

<sup>(3)</sup> *Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, pp. 11-14.*

2. Grant to members out of employment for want of work. Amount to be fixed by each centre, taking into account that a weekly subscription of five centimes entitles the member to a grant of 40 centimes per diem (2·40 lire per week).
3. Subsidy to travelling members in search of work, three centimes per week.
4. Every member must subscribe two centimes per week for the *Tipografo*, the journal of the Association.

#### Voluntary Payments.

1. Assistance to sick members.
2. Assistance to infirm persons, and pensions.
3. Subsidies to widows and orphans of deceased members.

All these are regulated by the centres according to their special requirements. From the funds thus collected, every member out of work on account of the tariff receives 16 lire per week in first-class centres, and 12 lire per week in second-class centres. After two months, these allowances are reduced to four lire and three lire respectively, and at the end of four months, the member receives only the usual subsidy for those out of work, 2·40 lire (240 centimes) per week for every weekly payment of five centimes.

The travelling members receive five centimes for every kilometre of their journey from one centre to another. "At the Roman centre each member pays 60 centimes per week to the obligatory funds, thus distributed."<sup>(1)</sup>—

TABLE A. 1.

	Currency.
	Cents.
General tariff, travelling members' fund and <i>Tipografo</i> - - - - -	20
Fund for unemployed - - - - -	25
Expenses of management - - - - -	5
Special tariff fund of centre - - - - -	10

"The average general annual income of the Central Committee for the five years 1882-1886, amounted to 23,772 lire, the expenditure to 24,038 lire. Taking the details for the same period, the tariff fund averaged 9,689 lire ordinary income; 9,530 lire extraordinary income; total 19,219 lire. The expenditure from 1882-1886 averaged 16,694 lire per annum. The extraordinary income is composed of surtaxes and offerings from the Italian centres and foreign associations. It varies considerably according to circumstances. In 1883 and 1884 no extraordinary sources were required. In 1886, the year of the strikes at Naples and Turin, they amounted to 36,579 lire. For the account of subsidies to travelling members the income averages 2,523 lire per annum, with an expenditure of 1,213 lire. The journal of the Association, *Il Tipografo*, between 1882 and 1885, cost, on an average, 4,689 lire, which could only be covered with difficulty after considerable delay. The administrative account averaged during the same years 1,627 lire, against an annual expenditure of 1,354 lire."<sup>(2)</sup>

The total expenses of the Association between 1887 and September 30th, 1892 amounted, to 184,340·28 lire distributed in the following manner:—<sup>(3)</sup>

TABLE A. 2.

	Lire.
Expenses incurred in maintaining tariff - - - - -	186,942·74
Subsidies to travelling members in search of work - - - - -	20,207·30
Publication of <i>Il Tipografo</i> - - - - -	17,000·08
Administration of Central Committee - - - - -	10,190·16
Total - - - - -	184,340·28

The Foreign Office Report on Italy for 1893 states that: "Of typographical societies there appear to be some 50 in all Italy. They are to be met with in most of the principal cities. The typographers are naturally among the best educated workmen, but even among them there have been failures." Seven new

societies were founded among Italian printers in the years 1890-91.<sup>(4)</sup>

"The Federation of Hatters is more ancient in origin than the Association of Printers, and retains some traces of the mediæval institution of *compagnonnage*.<sup>(5)</sup> Societies among working hatters have indeed, long existed in Italy. The Pious Institute of Silk and Felt Hat Makers of Turin was founded in 1736; but these Associations were primarily Benefit Societies and were independent of each other. Of late years, however, these societies including some outside Italy, have "entered into a species of Federation for trade purposes."<sup>(6)</sup> The tie between the various sections is not very close, and is maintained chiefly by the spirit of class loyalty, and by the force of custom. There is no central committee embracing all the societies, and no general statutes have as yet been drawn up. Each society is autonomous and self-dependent, they help one another in emergencies, and every society assists the members of another, when they are travelling in search of work. The societies are divided into "recognised" associations which form part of the Federation, and "unrecognised" associations, which are simply benefit societies. "Recognition is obtained as follows:—When a society is formed, a circular, with statutes annexed, is forwarded to all the existing societies. If the statutes conform to those generally received, and especially if the new society has adopted the rules relating to the wages tariff, it obtains provisional recognition as a member of the Federation.<sup>(7)</sup> From time to time the societies meet in congress, when it is decided whether or no the provisional recognition of the societies shall be maintained. Each society fixes a tariff of wages, in accordance with local conditions. Hatters generally work by the piece, and the tariff determines the price to be paid for making every kind, size, and quality of hat. No member may work at lower rates, and non-members may not work in a factory in which members are employed. If an operative not belonging to a recognised society be admitted, the members must leave the factory, or be struck off the roll of the society. Those who leave the factory receive an indemnity (at Rome, 2 lire per diem) from the society during the strike. To prevent non-members from entering factories, the societies have organised a system of passes (*carte di riconoscimento*), a member who cannot find work in the commune in which his own society has its centre, may obtain an allowance to enable him to seek work elsewhere. He also receives a pass (*carta di riconoscimento*) which accredits him to all the federated societies. When he arrives at a place where one of these societies is established, he receives an allowance for a certain number of days, and another pass, which he has to present at the factories which he visits. If he is unprovided with such a pass, the proprietors cannot give him work without incurring the risk of a strike. "Should he fail to obtain employment, the travelling member returns the local pass receives back his original credentials, and with a fresh travelling allowance proceeds on his way. In the place where he finds work, the travelling hatter is admitted a full member of the local society without paying an entrance fee. This form of mutual assistance is extended to foreign brethren of the craft." The violation of the wages tariff is not the only motive for a strike. According to an article in the statutes, no master not employing more than 10 hands can have more than one apprentice; the workmen who allow this rule to be broken without reporting it to the society are liable to a fine of five lire. "The society communicates on the subject with the master, and if their representations are not attended to, a strike may be ordered by the general meeting."

The funds of the societies are provided by weekly subscriptions. At Rome, each member pays 60 centimes a week. There is no common fund for maintaining strikes. In cases of strikes when the reserve fund of any society runs low, a circular is sent round to the federated societies soliciting assistance, which it appears is never denied. In the last resort, when funds are wanting, indemnities are reduced, contributions from members at work are increased, and as the President of the Roman society writes "sacrifices are demanded from all, for the sake of maintaining the tariff, and preserving the dignity of the craft."

At the Congress of Intra (September 1885) it was proposed to institute a common strike fund, and a

(1) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 31, 32. *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, pp. 9-10.

(2) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous series, 1891, No. 211, p. 33.

(3) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 12.

(4) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 274, p. 33.

(5) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 14 *et seq.*

(6) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 33.

(7) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 33-34.

cheme of regulations was also brought forward, which would have constituted a true *Society of resistance*, formed on English models. Both motions, however were lost, as the workmen were in favour of continuing the former system, which had worked well. "In general it would seem that wages are satisfactory; in Rome, an average hand at piece work can earn from 40 to 45 lire per week in the winter, and from 20 to 25 lire in the summer, or dead season." The recognised societies of working hatters in Italy are said to number 85, and to contain about 5,000 members. The Roman society alone, which is not one of the largest, includes 120 operatives.

Other attempts to form working men's associations for the furtherance of strikes, have been less successful. The Commissioners of 1878 notice one such attempt among the silk weavers of Milan in 1860 and another at Valle Trompia in 1867, where the defensive association was eventually changed into a benefit society.

The carpenters of Sestri Ponente in Liguria formed an association in 1874 to proscribe piece-work, and to demand increased wages. Strikes ensued, but eventually the associates were persuaded to give up their aggressive organisation. Another association, the *Textile Society (confederazione dell' arte tessile)* of Milan was founded by the Ribbon Makers' Society in 1878. It has an out-of-work fund, and a fixed tariff which it forces on the employers resorting to strikes, if it cannot otherwise carry out its objects. The universal and simultaneous adoption of this wages' tariff, however, is not insisted on. It is presented to each manufacturer singly, in order to win them over gradually, and to avoid a general strike.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Foreign Office Report for 1891 mentions a syndicate (*società sindacale*) formed by the working silk weavers of Milan "with the object of maintaining a permanent wages' tariff, and of determining any labour questions that may eventually arise." "At Como, where the silk weavers have been out on strike, it appears that no permanent organisation exists, but temporary agreements among the workmen have been come to under special circumstances."<sup>(2)</sup>

Various workmen's associations have also been formed during the last few years among the railway operatives of several Italian towns.

Signor Bodio, in his report upon strikes published in 1892, says that with the exception of the printers' and hatters' associations, there are no permanent organisations in Italy which act directly and effectively upon the labour market, though several attempts have been made to form working men's associations having this object in view. He mentions a proposal to form a society of resistance among the Milanese mechanics, and a similar society of carpenters at Palermo, which was organised as a benefit society, numbered 66 members, and possessed a capital of 1,610 lire. He believes, however, that there are few other local societies of this kind in the country. Though *societies of resistance* properly so-called, that is to say, societies which collect funds for the express purpose of influencing the conditions of labour, are as yet rare in Italy, many associations, founded primarily as Benefit Societies, have eventually taken part in the struggle between labour and capital, while others have been formed with the temporary object of organising some particular strike, and have been dissolved when the strike came to an end. Thus the strikes in the Biellese district (1861-1877) were probably fomented by the Benefit Society of the weavers of Croce Mosso, and the agrarian strikes in the district of Mantua were organised by the numerous peasant societies, which combined with their nominal objects of mutual aid and contracting for public works the less openly avowed purpose of uniting the labourers by socialist agitation. The societies of productive co-operation, specially those among day labourers (*braccianti*), also fall under this category.

In the Foreign Office Report for 1893 Sir D. Colnaghi states that "the movement tending to the formation of societies for the protection of labour against capital is certainly on the increase," and describes "some of its principal phases from the date of the formation of the Kingdom of Italy." From this description the following account is almost verbally derived.

In 1861 an association, under the name of *Fratellanza Artigiana* (Artisan Brotherhood) with which the name of Mazzini is intimately connected, was started at Florence. This association was intended to embrace

in a general union all the working men throughout the kingdom. The organisation was based on the trade college, with a minimum of 30 members belonging to the same craft. When a sufficient number of colleges had attained 3,000 members, the artisan commune was formed. This was to have been followed by the artisan region, composed of the communes of a particular region, and the edifice was to have been crowned by the Grand Council of Primates with residence in the capital.

Difficulties, however, soon arose on the political question, and, as a matter of fact, the only artisan commune of the brotherhood existing in Italy is that of Florence, which numbers 3,000 members, distributed in 60 colleges, belonging to various parts of Tuscany.

The Florentine brotherhood is organised as a Benefit Society, granting aid in sickness to its members. It possesses a patrimony of 130,000 lire, and its annual income averages from 30,000 lire, to 40,000 lire. Among the institutions in favour of its members established by the association may be mentioned a store for the distribution of tools, sewing machines, furniture, stuffs, &c., payable in weekly rates; a small artisan bank, a co-operative building society; co-operative provision stores in several of the colleges; and a refuge for sick and infirm members, which is now being carried out. As a principal object of the association is to educate the operatives to a sense of their rights and duties, a bi-monthly journal is published, and a circulating library of about 1,000 volumes, containing the works of Mazzini, and others on history and political economy, has been formed.<sup>(3)</sup>

The scheme of a universal artisan brotherhood proved unsuccessful. A fresh departure therefore was taken at a general Congress of working men's societies, held in Rome in 1871, in the form of a fraternal pact (*Patto di Fratellanza*), to which all the democratic societies were invited to adhere. The general principles enunciated by the pact, which were drawn up under the auspices of Mazzini, were the assertion of the rights of the individual and of the family, and of liberty in harmony with the social system, with the practical object of improving the moral and intellectual conditions of the labouring classes by means of union and of co-operation. This phase of the movement is therefore not socialist, politically it follows the doctrines of Mazzini. The Committee of Direction of the United Working Men's Associations has its residence in Rome. The societies affiliated to the *Patto di Fratellanza* held their eighteenth general Congress at Palermo, in June 1892 (below, p. 14).

At the present time the total number of societies adhering, more or less strictly, to the programme of the pact of Rome, may approximately number 600, but precise figures on the subject have not been obtained. It must also be borne in mind that the societies are of very various degrees of importance, and that they are usually ruled by small committees, who do not always represent the opinions of the majority of the members.

In the course of time a second party arose among the labouring classes, the development of which runs parallel with the later history of Italian Socialism (below, p. 21).

An association, under the title of *Partito Operaio Italiano* (Italian Labour Party), was founded at Milan in 1885. It was dissolved by Prefectoral decree in 1886, as subversive of law and order, and the leaders were prosecuted before the tribunals. The Central Committee subsequently took up its residence at Alessandria in Piedmont, but appears to have returned to Milan in 1889. In 1891 the Association is stated to have comprised 120 sections in different parts of Italy, but principally in the north, with, it is said, from 8,000 to 10,000 adherents. One of the principal sections was the *Fascio dei Lavoratori* (Labour Union), belonging to Milan and its neighbourhood, which then numbered between 3,000 and 4,000 members.

In August 1891, a Congress of associations adhering to the *Partito Operaio* was held at Milan, when a fresh federation, under the title of *Partito dei Lavoratori* (Labourers' Party) was formed. (See below, p. 13, "labour congresses.")

Between August 1891 and August 1892 the programme and rules of the new association, which is based on the

Artisan  
commune of  
Florence.

Its organiza-  
tion.

Patto di  
Roma, or  
Patto di  
Fratellanza.

Societies ad-  
hering to the  
Roman pact.

Italian la-  
bour party.

Partito dei  
Lavoratori.

Fratellanza  
artigiana.

(1) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1895, pp. 22-24.  
(2) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 16.

(3) La Fratellanza Artigiana, Periodico del Comune Artigiano che ha sede in Firenze. Anno VIII. (Serie III), No. 26 Firenze, 2 Luglio, 1886. Appunti Storici sulla Fratellanza Artigiana. (L. Minuti.)

principles of socialism, were formulated. This programme may be briefly summarised as follows:—

Programme  
of new  
party.

"Two classes only exist in modern society, the proletariat and the capitalist. All human beings, provided that they contribute, according to their strength, to create and maintain the benefits of social life, have a right to share in them. The redemption of the proletariat or wage-earning class, can only be effected by the nationalisation of the factors of labour (land, mines, factories, railways, &c.) and by a common administration of production. To enable this end to be obtained the proletariat must be organised as an independent class party developing its action under a double aspect.

"(1.) As an industrial contest for the immediate improvement of the condition of the working class (working hours, wages, regulations of factories, &c.) committed to the labour chambers and other associations of crafts and trades.

"(2.) As a movement of a more extended nature, intended to acquire political power (State, communes, public administrations, &c.) which is no longer to be used as an instrument of pauperisation (*sfruttamento*) and of oppression, but as a means of obtaining the economic and political expropriation of the dominant class."

In carrying out the second part of the programme the assistance of all friends of the proletariat, although they do not belong to its ranks, is willingly accepted.

Statutes.

The party unites under its statutes all the federations and societies, rural or urban, that fully adhere to its programme. All trade societies are, as far as possible, to be organised in sections of crafts and trades. The collective action of the party is developed by means of a general Congress to be held from time to time, as occasion requires, of regional Congresses for local interests, and of a central committee, composed of seven members, who are invested with the executive power, and remain in office from one general Congress to another. There is also an international secretary, by whom the relations with foreign labour parties are to be maintained.

Funds.

The funds for supporting the action of the party are derived from annual subscriptions of 2 lire for any society numbering less than 100 members, and of 5 lire for the societies numbering 100 members and upwards, an annual fee of 10 lire levied on each federation, in addition to the subscription paid by the separate societies, and a fee of 2 lire to be paid by every society, not affiliated to the party, which desires to intervene at the congresses. Subscriptions may also be received, in special cases from societies, whether affiliated or not, and from members and non-members of the party, provided that the liberty of action and the dignity of the party receive no prejudice. A special fund is established for assisting all the victims of judicial, of Government, and of capitalist persecutions on account of the action and propaganda of the party.

In September 1893 the party held a second Congress at Reggio (*Emilia*) when it assumed a distinctly socialist attitude, and adopted the name of "Italian Labourers' Socialist Party" (*Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani*). The reports of the Central Committee to this Congress and to the International Congress at Zurich (1893) give some further interesting details concerning the development and present position of the party, which may be added to the above account. Owing to the remissness of the affiliated Societies in furnishing the Committee with returns, it has not been found possible to publish perfectly satisfactory statistics, but it is probable that the party includes at the present time not less than 200,000 active members, and almost 300 affiliated Societies, among them the agricultural federations of Mantua with about 11,000 peasant members. Several new societies have been founded and federations have been established in various districts, particularly in Piedmont and Tuscany, and a few local conferences have been held. Support, moral and material, has been given to workmen on strike, including the spinners of Bergamo and Cremona, the Sicilian peasants, the miners of Carmaux, and the English miners (September, 1893), while the general demonstrations which took place among Italian workmen on May 1st 1893, appear also to be largely due to the action of the *Partito dei Lavoratori*.

On the whole, the recent development of the party seems to confirm the conclusions arrived at by Sir Dominic Colnaghi with regard to the future prospects of the labour movement in Italy. As the events of the Congresses of Genoa, Palermo, and Reggio show, con-

siderable jealousy still exists between the Socialists and Anarchists, while the old opposition of the Republicans to the Socialists, which dates back to the days of Mazzini (below, p. 20) has not yet entirely died out. In spite of internal dissensions, however, the labour party shows a general tendency to develop on socialist lines and to treat strictly party questions as of secondary importance while aiming at the acquisition of political power as a means of carrying through social reforms.<sup>(1)</sup>

"The strength of the labour movement, in which the rural population have now begun to take part, is to be found in the most industrial regions of the kingdom. That it is extending to other parts may be deduced from the fact that a Sicilian federation of recent origin, the *Fascio dei Lavoratori* (Labour Union), had, in the course of a few months, obtained about 8,000 adherents." This union has since decreased in strength, owing to internal dissensions, and can only be considered to have taken root in one city, Catania.<sup>(2)</sup>

During the last few months (October-November 1893), however, Sicily has been the scene of alarming social disorders. The following details, drawn from newspapers and other current sources, give some idea of the extent of the movement, but it is still too recent for its real significance to be fully appreciated. The whole of the island was lately placed under martial law and garrisoned with 12,000 regular troops, ostensibly for the purpose of repressing brigandage. The *Comandante Senesale* was also sent to Sicily as director-general of public safety, with a considerable military force at his disposal, and it appears probable that these unusual precautions were called for at least as much by the prevalence of agrarian and industrial agitation as by the increased activity of the professedly lawless classes. The predisposing causes of this agitation were doubtless the poverty of the peasant population and the sufferings they endure under the present system of land tenure, which places them at the mercy of unscrupulous intermediaries or middlemen (*gabellotti, sub-gabellotti*) who "under cover of ancient rights and usages, and in the name of the landowners, starve the proletariat, and rob the farmer of the fruit of his labour," and also the recent increase in the taxes on sulphur mining, which forced many employers to close their mines, and threw a large number of workmen out of employment.<sup>(3)</sup>

The immediate cause appears to have been the discontent occasioned by the burden and unequal distribution of the local taxes, specially those on agricultural stock and the necessaries of life.

"Widespread discontent" is now said to exist "among the agricultural population of the island, and they are rapidly enrolling themselves into labour unions, the objects of which are not yet plainly stated, but which unquestionably aim at a radical change in the condition of their members."<sup>(4)</sup> These labour unions (*Fasci dei Lavoratori*) which with their branches numbered from 200,000 to 300,000 members at the end of October 1893, include associations both of men and women, and are all connected by a common bond, though they have different ostensible ends and figure as distributive societies, friendly societies, or insurance societies, as the case may be. They form "a rude sort of socialist and co-operative system which has established a network all over the island, with 130 lodges and 320,000 members,"<sup>(5)</sup> and which, according to information received by the *Tribuna*, is now (November 1893) beginning to spread into Calabria.<sup>(6)</sup>

There are 30 Unions in the province of Palermo, one of which (*Fascio di Palermo*) has 63 sections. The province of Catania has 35 Unions, Girgenti has 22, Caltanissetta 12, Trapani 9, Messina 14, and Syracuse 8. The general federation is administered by a committee of nine members, three of whom represent Palermo, while the remaining six are elected in the six other provinces. The leader of the movement, Garibaldi Bosco, bookkeeper of the people's bank at Palermo, has apparently taken the Parisian *Bourse du Travail* and the *Ligue des Patriotes* as his models in organising the federation. The members of the various *Fasci*, each of which has its own banner, lecture-hall, and club-room, are grouped according to trades, but they all have a common object, the assertion of the rights of labour,

(1) *Parti des Travailleurs Italiens Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich* (1893). *Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani. II Congresso di Reggio Emilia* 8, 9, 10, Settembre 1893. *Il Primo Anno del Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani* 1893.

(2) *F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 278, pp. 14-15, 18-21.*

(3) *"Pall Mall Gazette,"* November 4th, 1893.

(4) *"The Standard,"* October 26th, 1893.

(5) *"The Guardian,"* October 15th, 1893.

(6) *"The Standard,"* November 25th, 1893.

and are ready to obey orders from headquarters at a moment's notice.

The annual subscription of each member is fixed at 1.50 lire, but larger contributions are easily obtained in cases of special emergency. The connexion between the Sicilian *Fasci* and the working men's associations in the Peninsula, does not, according to the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, appear to be very close,<sup>(1)</sup> but it is worth remembering that many Sicilian societies are affiliated to the Italian Labourers' Party (*Partito dei Lavoratori*) (above, p. 12), and that one of the recent Labour Congresses was held at Palermo (below, p. 14). The socialist party, moreover, seems to have found support in Sicily during the local elections of 1893 (below, p. 21.)<sup>(2)</sup> The leaders of the rising, notably the head of the Federation of Unions, Garibaldi Bosco, who presided over the recent Socialist Congress at Reggio (*Emilia*), profess socialist doctrines and the members of the Unions also often call themselves socialists, but the actual relations between the movement and the socialist party are not very clear. The statements made by Dr. Schöner in the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* on this subject may probably, however, be accepted. He believes that the Sicilian organisation contains germs of socialism, but that the peasants are not yet sufficiently educated to grasp the full bearing of the socialist teaching. They simply desire higher wages and better conditions of life, improved land-contracts and lighter taxation, and they are willing to follow any leader who promises to obtain these things for them. It is probably partly owing to the industry with which certain socialists have, during the past year, stirred up the feeling of the Sicilian labourers on these points, which came home to them, and which they could understand, that the disturbances have broken out with which the Government is now called on to deal.<sup>(3)</sup>

A correspondent of the "Guardian" writing on October 5th, 1893, stated that the condition of Sicily was then becoming grave in connexion with socialism. In some districts the women had given up religious observances for attendance at the meetings of the *Fasci*, hailing the movement as a new gospel to bring about a better state of things, for the misery everywhere was great among the sulphur miners and the *contadini*. An outbreak had already taken place and the town hall of Piana dei Greci had been sacked. The forcible intervention of the Government, who at first treated this new demonstration on the same footing as the secret societies, only inflamed the passions of the rioters. Several local unions were dissolved without legal cause, meetings were broken up, leaders and members of the *Fasci* imprisoned, the flags of the unions confiscated, and legal proceedings instituted against many of the members. Strikes and intimidation on the part of the workmen followed, and many of the sulphur miners, armed with guns and pickaxes, fled into the open country. By the end of October, the total number of labour unionists was said to have reached 300,000, including artisans, sailors, agricultural labourers, small landed proprietors, tradesmen, and miners. The movement had many supporters among the upper classes, and though it was not as yet political, it was feared that it might easily become so, as the excited peasants formed "ready and ductile material" for the arts of the agitator and the revolutionist. "Italians," says a writer in the "Standard," commenting on these events, "who cannot be suspected of sympathising either with revolution or with socialistic theories, write in bitter terms of the backward condition of agricultural life in Sicily, where the owners of land are content for the most part to live on the proceeds of the farms they leave in the hands of *fattori* or middlemen, themselves playing at Palermo, Naples or Rome, the idle part of incurious absentees. It is to be feared that the Italian Government has before it in Sicily an exceedingly difficult problem to deal with."<sup>(4)</sup> The *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, however, asserts that neither the leaders nor the members of the labour unions are disposed to support their cause by violent measures, and that the fears of the Government are unfounded, if they are prepared to grant without further delay the reforms in wages,

land contracts, and taxation which the oppressed peasants justly demand.<sup>(5)</sup>

"The internationalisation of labour, or the combination of the labour classes in different countries for the regulation of working hours and of the rates of wages, as well as, perhaps for other objects, is beginning to attract attention in Italy, as elsewhere, and it is needless to add, is greatly facilitated by the rapid means of communication and of correspondence which now exist throughout the civilised world.

Internationalisation of labour.

In this connexion, the influence of the "International" in the strikes in the Biellese district may be noted. (See below, p. 28), and also the friendly relations between the Italian Printers' Association and the International Congresses of Paris and Berne in 1889 and 1892 respectively.<sup>(7)</sup>

The growing custom of holding general Congresses to which all labour associations may send representatives, is a further indication of the tendency to community of feeling among Italian workmen, and their inclination to make common cause with one another. These Congresses are recognised as an important factor in the development of the socialist movement in Italy.<sup>(8)</sup> Some of the most recent among them deserve, therefore, to be mentioned more particularly.

(c) Labour Congresses.

In August 1891, a Congress of associations adhering to the *Partito Operaio* was held at Milan, when, as described above (p. 11), a fresh labourers party (*Partito dei Lavoratori*) was formed. "The Congress was attended by representatives of about 200 societies or associations belonging to various parts of Italy, but chiefly established in Lombardy."

Congress of Milan.

The subjects under discussion were international labour legislation, the right of coalition, and "militarism," and an order of the day was approved in favour of collective property, and of the enforcement of protective labour laws. A committee was also appointed to draw up the programme of the new Labourers' Party, and to act as a central committee until the next Congress. It was decided that delegates should be sent to the International Congress at Brussels (1891), and it was further proposed to establish a central journal for the Party. In July 1892, the *Lotta di Classe* (Class-Struggle) or Italian Labourers' Journal was started by private subscriptions, and in the following month (Aug., 1892), the second National Congress met at Genoa. "Its proceedings were interrupted by a violent minority professing Anarchical opinions, to such an extent, indeed that the Socialist majority, leaving their antagonists in possession of the field, retired in a body from the place of meeting and proceeded to open another Congress in a hall placed at their disposal by a local society."<sup>(9)</sup> "This separation," says Professor Ugo Rabbeno, "has a great significance, by it Italian socialism has clearly indicated that it means to be a practical movement (*Partito Pratico*), and not to content itself with chimeras and barren protests."

Congress of Genoa.

The *Lotta di Classe* (Class Struggle), the official organ of the party, mentions 192 federations and associations as represented at Genoa, the number of separate societies included in them being estimated at 1,000.<sup>(10)</sup> "The associations were of all colours—benefit societies, general and special trade associations, associations of agricultural labourers, co operative societies, radical, democratic, and socialist organisations. Many of these societies, however, were very small, both in numbers and importance. The large majority of the associations belonged to Lombardy and Emilia, then followed Piedmont, Venetia, Tuscany, Liguria, with, in minor proportions, the southern provinces and Sicily. Sardinia appears to have sent one representative. Of the numerous working men's societies of Liguria, not more than 19 seem to have been represented, and the Florentine *Fratellanza Artigiana* was also absent. Expressions of sympathy with the objects, of the Congress were received from France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Austria, Roumania, and from one large British union. The programme of the new party, which was settled at the Congress, has been given elsewhere. (See above, p. 12.)

Associations represented.

(1) *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, III., Jahrgang No. 5, October 30th, 1893. "Die Arbeitervereine in Sizilien" Dr. R. Schöner. *Journal des Economistes*, November, 1893, *Les Fasci Socialistes de la Sicile* (Independence Belge).

(2) *Parti des Travailleurs Italiens Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich*, (1893) pp. 12-13.

(3) *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* III., Jahrgang. Nos. 5, October 30th, 1893.

(4) The "Guardian," October 18th, 1893.

(5) The "Standard," October 25th, 1893.

(6) *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* III., Jahrgang No. 5, October 30th, 1893.

(7) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 12.

(8) Ugo Rabbeno, *Il Movimento Socialista in Italia 1892*, p. 14.

(9) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 16 of seq.

(10) *Lotta di Classe*, *Giornale dei Lavoratori Italiani*, Anno I, Nos. 2 to 6, August 6-7 to September 3-4, 1892. Published weekly at Milan, quoted in F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 16.

Professor Ugo Rabbeno notes also the pacific action of the Congress in refusing to insert in the official programme of the party a statement that "revolution" might be found to be necessary, and its practical action, in helping on the co-operation of agricultural labourers.<sup>(1)</sup>

Congress of  
Palermo.

In June 1892, two months before the Congress of Genoa, "a general Congress of working men's societies affiliated to the *Patto di Fratellanza* at which about 689 societies were represented, was held at Palermo," which is interesting from an animated discussion which arose between the representatives of the Mazzinian-Republican, and of the Socialist parties, with regard to the advisability of nationalising the instruments of production.<sup>(2)</sup> Finally, an order of the day of a conciliatory nature was unanimously carried, to the effect that in the federated societies there was room for all those who admit that the most efficacious means of solving the social question lies in the political organisation of the State on the basis of the sovereignty of the people, and that all the institutions founded on privilege must be transformed until a thorough politico-social emancipation has been acquired. The principle of the class-struggle (*lotta di classe*) was also affirmed, and the advantages to be derived from a general federation of working men's societies fully recognised. To this Congress, also, the *Fratellanza Artigiana*, of Florence, declined to send a representative.

In an article in the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, Dr. Werner Sombart regards the events of this Congress as a decided victory for the Collectivists, and believes that the adoption of "collective socialism" by the Republican *Patto di Fratellanza* is only a question of time. He states that the editor of the *Emancipazione*, the chief Mazzinian newspaper, does not despair of a future possible reconciliation between the doctrines of Mazzini and those of the Collectivists. In any case, the conclusions arrived at by the Congress emphasise the desire for united action in the pursuit of common social objects, and the dread of schism, which, theoretically at least, characterise all sections of the Labour Party, and seem to indicate that the antagonism between the various schools of thought is somewhat diminishing.<sup>(3)</sup>

Congress of  
Cremona.

A most important Congress of working men's societies was held at Cremona in September 1892.<sup>(4)</sup> The following account is drawn up from the summaries of its proceedings given by Professor Ugo Rabbeno, who was present at its meetings, and by the Foreign Office Report for 1893.<sup>(5)</sup>

The Congress, in which the first speech was made by a woman, Signorina Barricelli, was presided over by the Commandatore Luigi Luzzatti, late Minister of the Treasury in the Rudini Ministry, and the promoter of people's banks in Italy. The two great parties of Liberals (*borghesia liberale*) and Socialists were fully represented, great numbers of working men's associations in Emilia, Romagna, Lombardy, and Venetia sent delegates, and some of the leading members of the co-operative movement were invited. The Socialists appear to have been in the majority, and the resolutions passed had a socialist tendency, though they were expressed with moderation.

Professor Ugo Rabbeno, while confessing his poor opinion of Congresses in general, acknowledges that this particular meeting exerted a beneficial influence by bringing men of culture and liberal opinions face to face with the leaders of the Socialist movement.

The Congress discussed legislation for labour co-operation; working men's dwellings; federations of co-operative working men's associations; pensions for old age; legislative, agricultural, and banking provisions for co-operative labour and against want of employment; improvement of the laws relating to Mutual Aid Societies, and recognition of societies of resistance.

"It was resolved that obligatory instruction should include the fifth elementary class, that professional and popular schools should be established by the working men's associations, that the members of these societies

should be divided in sections according to their own crafts and trades, that the principle of arbitration should be adopted, and the legal equality of the female sex recognised. Further, that on the approaching opening of Parliament, the Luzzatti Bill, entitling co-operative labour societies to tender for contracts of public works exceeding 100,000 lire should be re-introduced, and that these societies should unite in pressing on the Government the necessity of adopting measures in favour of the rural population, such as the cultivation of waste lands, and the abolition of useless middlemen."

After a long discussion on working-men's dwellings, it was proposed and carried that the present building societies, and in their default, the labour associations, with the support of the communes, and the assistance of competent authorities in hygiene, building, and in social studies, should be invited to undertake an inquiry into the actual conditions of the dwellings of the labouring classes, both urban and rural, in Italy. At the same time benefit societies, labourers' associations, the communes, provinces, and the State were to be moved to promote and aid, in the urban and country districts, the institution of co-operative societies for the improvement of the insanitary conditions now existing, and for the construction of new houses, either cottages or flats according to the need of the several localities. Always, however, keeping three objects steadily in view hygiene, economy, and the participation of the working men in the ownership of the houses they inhabit, which houses are to become the collective and inalienable property of the members of the building societies. Resolutions were also passed in favour of the establishment of public dormitories for workmen, who might be homeless or on tramp. The Congress declared itself in favour of the federation of Benefit Societies having the same objects, locally in the first place, and gradually extending their sphere of union, so that the labour movement might attain to unity of action.

With reference to a pension fund for infirm workmen, it was voted that the State should recognise the obligation of its foundation, and that the fund should receive an endowment from the public revenue.

In order that the State may be enabled to assist in the organisation of labour by diminishing the number of the unemployed, and liberating labour from the bonds of capital, the Congress accepted the proposition that labour syndicates should be established in every province; that the existing legislation should be modified; that minimum rates of wages should be established, that antiquated feudal privileges should be abolished, and that a labour bank should be instituted.

With regard to the legal position of recognised benefit societies, as laid down in the circular of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce of December 19, 1891, and to the steps to be taken to prevent their being considered as corporations in the sense of the law of June 10, 1850, and of articles 932-1060 of the Civil Code, the following order of the day was unanimously carried:—

- (1.) That artisan Benefit Societies should, on the basis of the law of April 15, 1886, repeal, as illegal, the requirements of the Ministerial Circular of December 10, 1891.
- (2.) That corporate rights should be legally conferred on societies of resistance as well as on Benefit Societies.

The Congress finally recommended that in order to obviate the dangers of decadence, which are said to threaten Benefit Societies, especially in the smaller centres, more friendly relations should be established between the managers of the societies and their members, and that the division of the members into sections of crafts and trades should be carried out.

The president's address wound up the proceedings of the Congress. While fully recognising the value of open discussion, Signor Luzzatti frankly and unhesitatingly declared that, in his opinion, the resolutions carried were, in their entirety, impracticable of realisation under the present conditions of the country. "Let," he is reported to have said, "the good be taken wherever it may be found, and let the advance be made step by step, in order that at least some certain progress may be made."<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) Ugo Rabbeno, *Il Movimento Socialista*, 1892, p. 15.  
 (2) From summary of report in the "Nazione" of Florence, June 2, 1892. F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 18.  
 (3) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 18. *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*. I. Jahrgang, No. 30.  
 (4) *La Co-operazione Italiana*; anno VI., No. 78. Milano Settembre 30, 1892, pp. 163-166.  
 (5) *Il Movimento Socialista in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 16. F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 18.

(6) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 18-20.



gress of  
two  
milla).

A Socialist Congress was held at Reggio (*Emilia*) in September 1893, at which 262 affiliated societies were represented by 250 members. The chair was taken by Garibaldi Bosco, the present leader of the labour agitation in Sicily. Anarchists were not admitted, and it is worth noting that the Society of Bakers and Confectioners of Bologna refused to send a representative on account of the "exclusiveness" of the chairman and the committee. After some discussion, the following resolution was passed by 103 votes to 62:—

"The Congress . . . affirms that the propaganda and organisation of the labourers' party (*partito dei lavoratori*) ought constantly to aim at maintaining against the capitalist class the rights and interests of the working class, organised as an international class party (*partito di classe*), having regard to the conditions of life and labour in different localities." It therefore declares that the political action of the party for the purpose of winning power in public matters ought to indicate its intention of acting independently of other parties, bringing forward both in general and provincial elections its own candidates, who belong to the labourers' party, and have accepted its programme without reservations, repudiating those combinations and compromises which do not agree with the principles and line of conduct adopted by the supporters of the claims of labour. An order of the day, based upon this resolution, was subsequently approved, in which it was determined that the Socialist party in Parliament should do their utmost to promote the success of strikes and labour agitations, and that they should maintain an attitude of determined opposition to the Government.

Professor Francesco Nitti, commenting on the events of this Congress in a local Italian paper, sees in them an indication that "the Italian Socialists are separating completely from the Democrats and the Liberal Socialists, and are trying to form an independent party;" while "Italian socialism is rapidly losing the character of a peaceful evolution, and is tending to become a violent and revolutionary movement." He notes also the great preponderance of the *bourgeois* element in the Congress, and states his belief that the socialist movement in Italy is essentially and almost exclusively *bourgeois* in character, and that the real supporters of revolutionary and Jacobin doctrines are to be found among the *bourgeoisie*, since the peasantry "from poverty and atavism" tend rather to peace and union.<sup>(1)</sup>

This conclusion, however, probably requires to be considerably modified, if it is to be accepted at all, in view of the other statements made in this report, and of the evidence of class-hatred given by the resolutions of the Congress. In Italy, as in other countries, the *bourgeois* element properly so called is in favour of the maintenance of existing institutions. It is rather the *petit bourgeois*, and men of the intellectual proletariat who disseminate revolutionary doctrines, and, having little to lose and much to hope for, in a changed social order, promote "progress at any price."

) Labour  
ambors.

"The agitation," writes Sir Dominic Colnaghi in his report upon Italy for 1893, "which began nearly four years ago, in favour of the establishment of labour chambers or exchanges in Italy, has been so far successful that chambers have been provided at Milan, Turin, Piacenza, Macerata, Venice, and Bologna, while at Rome, Genoa, Florence, Verona, Brescia, Pavia, Spezia, and Como active steps are being taken towards their organisation, with, however, varying success. In other centres, also, preparatory committees are stated to have been formed to study and promote the same object." The report of the Central Committee of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* to the Zurich International Congress mentions further that Labour Chambers have been started at Parma, Cremona, and Padua, while efforts are being made to found others at Naples and at Bergamo.

The chambers aim at—

- (1.) The organisation of the working classes in sections according to their different trades.
- (2.) The promotion of the technical and general education of the operatives.
- (3.) The formation of committees of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed.

(1) Il Resto del Carlino-Giornale di Bologna, Sept. 9, 10, 16, 1893. Il Congresso di Reggio Emilia, 8, 9, 10, Settembre, 1893.

They also act as labour registries, and procure work for the unemployed. At present, they confine themselves to industrial functions, and do not concern themselves with political questions. "But if, with the advance of the labour movement, greater power should be thrown into their hands, it may become doubtful how long this position of political neutrality will, or perhaps can, be maintained." Indeed, the programme of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* shows that they are already beginning to desire political power<sup>(2)</sup>. (See above, p. 12.)

The Labour Chamber of Milan is by far the most important of those already established. In March and April 1890, the various working men's associations of Milan discussed and approved the statutes of a proposed Labour Exchange, to be composed of all the Milanese societies that gave in their adhesion, formed in separate sections of crafts and trades. All artisans, whether associated or not, might avail themselves of the advantages of the Exchange, which was to be managed by an executive committee of working men. The Exchange was intended to act as an intermediary between labour and capital, and to protect the interests of workmen. Its chief functions were to be the organisation of a labour bureau for the collection of information on the conditions of the labour market both in Italy and abroad, the promotion of protective laws with regard to the labour of women and children, and the establishment of a registry office. It was also to facilitate the re-admission of released prisoners into factories and workshops, to form syndicates for all crafts and trades with a view to their assisting the Exchange in the compilation and application of the wages' tariffs, to promote arbitration between masters and men for the settlement of labour disputes, to support the development of the co-operative system, and to organise professional instruction for every craft and trade. In questions of politics and religion the Exchange was not to interfere. In January 1891, Signor Gnocchi-Viani, one of the promoters of the social movement, raised a question in the Communal Council of Milan, of which he is a member, as to the steps which should be taken by the municipal administration in view of the recurring operative crises. The matter was referred to a committee, and among other points, the question was discussed whether it would be advisable for the Municipal Council of Milan to encourage the foundation of a Labour Exchange in the city. "The committee viewed the establishment of the Exchange with favour. On their proposal the municipality granted a subsidy of 15,000 lire, to be voted annually, and placed at the disposal of the Exchange a wing of the castle, containing about 80 rooms and a large hall."<sup>(3)</sup>

The proposed Labour Chamber was actually started at Milan towards the end of September 1891, and the first report of the provisional executive committee was published in June 1892. The President, Signor Giussani Filippo, states that the progress of the Chamber has been hindered by the suspicions and incredulous attitude of the workmen, by the selfishness of the upper classes, by the want of common organisation among the associations of arts and crafts and by financial difficulties. He believes, however, that the Chamber is "an indispensable institution with regard to the relations between labour and capital," and that it is destined to be an important factor in raising the condition of the working classes in helping them to help themselves and to form a labour party in the communal councils. He concludes with a hope that the day is not far distant on which the Labour Chambers of Milan, Turin, Rome, Piacenza, Macerata, and Pavia will unite in a federation of Italian Labour Chambers as a step towards a future international Labour Chamber federation.<sup>(4)</sup>

The trade associations, generally, that are affiliated to the Chamber have transferred their offices to the central office in the old castle of Milan. Others, as the general association of working men, the societies of *Sons of Labour* and of *Talent and Labour* (*Genio e Lavoro*), and the *Independent Society*, which are already provided with suitable offices, "have con-

(2) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 22-27. La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, p. 3. Parti des Travailleurs Italiens. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich (1893) p. 14.

(3) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 76-77.

(4) La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, pp. 1-4. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 23.

"tributed by their propaganda to the success of the movement, and many of their members are entered in the various trade sections of the Chamber." "The members of the Labour Chamber are regarded as individuals, and not as forming the component parts of any association." Thus, though the section of masons may be composed entirely of the Masons' Union, the members are entered on the books of the Chamber as individual units. On the 1st October 1891, the following societies had established their official centres at the office of the Labour Chamber:—

1. Typographers (compositors).
2. Typographers (pressmen).
3. Stereotypers.
4. Bookbinders.
5. Lithographers (Federal Union).
6. Employés in commercial and private establishments (*amministrazioni*).
7. Cooks and waiters.
8. Workers in wood (Society of Abraham Lincoln).
9. Shoemakers.
10. Glovers and dyers of glove skins.
11. Tailors (male and female).
12. Masons, manual labourers, apprentices (*garzoni*), and day labourers (*badilanti*).
13. Combmakers.
14. Bakers' League.
15. Stonecutters (*scalpellini*).
16. Silkweavers (syndicate).

Between October 1st, 1891, and May 26th, 1892, the following additional sections were organised:—

Table A.

TABLE A. 3.

Date.	Name of Section.
1891, October 4	- Metal workers.
" " 7	- Bakers (3 distinct societies).
" " 14	- Vermicelli makers.
" " 19	- Dressmakers. Basket-makers.
" November 1	- Messengers ( <i>fattorini</i> ) and door-keepers.
" " 15	- Guilders and varnishers. (Society of Benjamin Franklin.)
" " 27	- Workers in marble.
1892, February 2	- Matmakers.
" March 2	- Co-operative society of newspaper vendors ( <i>giornalai</i> ).
" April 17	- Paviers ( <i>suolini</i> ).
" " 24	- Curriers ( <i>pellattieri</i> ).
" May 26	- Barbers and hairdressers ( <i>parrucchieri</i> ).

The Partito dei Lavoratori Italiani and the Consiglio Operaio of Milan, joined the movement soon after it was started.

Labour registries.

One of the chief objects of the Labour Chamber is to establish free registries (*uffici di collocamento*) for men and women, and by thus connecting the supply of labour with the demand, to do away with the middlemen who exacted heavy fees from the operatives for whom they found work. Four such offices were in regular working order in June 1892.

1. For cooks, waiters, and barmen (*cantinieri*).
2. For bakers and vermicelli makers.
3. For masons, manual labourers, apprentices, and day labourers (*muratori, manuali, garzoni e badilanti*).
4. Metal-workers (*metallurgici*) and workers in wood.

For other trades the secretary provides, with the help of the respective sections.

By May 12th, 1892, these registries had found work for 1,379 persons, distributed according to the following table:—

1. Cooks, waiters, and barmen	-	-	259
2. Bakers and vermicelli makers	-	-	481
3. Masons and bricklayers	-	-	354
4. Metal-workers and workers in wood	-	-	132
5. Printers (compositors)	-	-	70
6. Bookbinders and stationers ( <i>cartolai</i> )	-	-	30
7. Printers (pressmen)	-	-	25
8. Tailors (male and female)	-	-	14
9. Messengers ( <i>fattorini</i> )	-	-	4
10. Various trades	-	-	10
Total	-	-	1,379

The masons and bricklayers formerly waited to be hired on a bridge crossing the Naviglio, but in November 1891 they resolved in a crowded meeting that this custom was "a constant insult (*offesa*) to the civil character" (*civiltà*), the dignity, and the interests of workmen." It was, therefore, abolished, and in February 1892 a labour registry for masons was opened in connection with the Central Labour Chamber. The president of the provisional executive committee specially notices the good service done by the system of telephonic communication which the municipality placed at the disposal of the registries.

From further statistics, Sir Dominic Colnaghi has been enabled to add the following details to the above account:—From May 15th to November 30th (1892), employment had been found for 1,561 persons (570 temporary and 991 permanent). Amongst these were 173 waiters and cooks, 415 bakers and vermicelli makers, 465 masons, bricklayers, and labourers, 201 mechanics, 104 carpenters, 104 printers (compositors and pressmen), 48 whitewashers and workers in marble, and 51 boot and shoe makers, tailors (male and female), and bookbinders.<sup>(1)</sup>

"The Chamber does not guarantee the character of the workmen, but no members are accepted who cannot produce good testimonials from a recent employer. The *fedina criminale*, or a legal certificate, delivered by the Courts of Justice, to the effect that the bearer's character has never brought him within reach of the law is, however, not exacted, as the Chamber desires its abolition, on the ground that, after failure, everyone should be allowed a fresh start in life."<sup>(2)</sup> Five members have been expelled for misconduct from the Chamber, all of whom belonged to the section of bakers.

Members expelled

A system of correspondence has been arranged between the Milanese Labour Chamber and those of other centres, Italian or foreign, in order to obtain all important statistics and notices relating to the labour market. The committee, under an article of the statute, resolved to arrange a course of popular conferences on professional subjects, and on hygiene. The section of masons opened a course of Sunday lectures on geometry. "On November 15th, says Sir D. Colnaghi, "the following classes for the instruction of the artisans were opened under competent teachers, who, as far as appears, render their services gratuitously. Higher arithmetic and elementary algebra, plane and solid geometry and trigonometry, design applied to machinery, writing, book-keeping, and French and German, sufficient for the use of artisans going abroad; the civil and labour rights of working men. Lectures will also be given on mechanics, physics, history, political economy, and hygiene. A library is in course of formation at the Chamber for the use of all its members."

Correspondence will other Labour Chambers. Instruct

"After some difficulty and delay, an inquiry office for the poor has been opened at the Chamber, which, in a city like Milan, so rich in charitable institutions, will, it is believed, be of great utility."

Charity

(1) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 23-24. La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, pp. 5-7, 9.

(2) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 24.

In the winter of 1892, thanks to a subscription raised by the *Secolo* newspaper, the committee were enabled to distribute 175 baskets (*canestre*) of food to poor artisan families, and to give a Christmas dinner to 70 unemployed workmen without homes or families.

**Arbitration.** The committee have been successful in settling by arbitration several disputes between employers and operatives.

**Finance.** "The Chamber is supported by an annual subsidy of 15,000 lire, from the municipality of Milan, which also provides spacious premises for its offices; by the annual subscriptions of its members at the rate of 50 centimes per head, and by some small donations. Its total income from September 1891 to May 1892 was 19,053.30 lire while the total expenditure amounted to 10,532.79 lire, including over 3,000 lire for the expenses of first establishment." The position of the Chamber, then, if not prosperous, is at least secure. (1)

**Number of members.** The subjoined table shows the distribution of the 8,061 members, who constituted the 33 sections of the Chamber in May 1892. At this date the sections had held 144 meetings, and the executive committee had met 35 times. The total capital possessed by the sections amounted to about 150,000 lire. It was destined to be employed for purposes of mutual aid and improvement and as a provision for old age.

Table A. 4. TABLE A. 4.—SECTIONS AND TRADES included in the LABOUR CHAMBER of MILAN.

Sections.	Description.	Number of Members.
1	Masons, bricklayers, and labourers ( <i>badilanti</i> ).	1,631
2	Stone cutters ( <i>scalpellini</i> )	103
3	Marble workers	183
4	Paviors ( <i>suolini</i> )	46
5	Painters, decorators, whitewashers	80
6	Gilders and varnishers	195
7	Metal workers, mechanics, smiths, founders, tin smiths.	461
8	Workers in bronze	44
9	Goldsmiths, engravers on metal	6
10	Workers in wood, cabinet makers, carpenters.	257
11	Basketmakers	42
12	Matmakers	32
13	Bakers	803
14	Vermicelli-makers	53
15	Cooks, waiters, coffee-house keepers, barmen.	754
16	Tailors (male and female)	56
17	Dressmakers	37
18	Silk weavers (syndicate)	76
19	Shoemakers, binders (female)	173
20	Glovers, dyers of glove skins	144
21	Printers (compositors)	707
22	Printers (pressmen)	314
23	Stereotypers	49
24	Lithographers (Federal Union)	216
25	Bookbinders, rulers ( <i>rigatori</i> ), stationers.	161
26	Vendors of newspapers	25
27	Employés in private establishments ( <i>amministrazioni</i> ).	941
28	Messengers and doorkeepers	140
29	Carters and porters	30

(1) La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, pp. 7-12. F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1892, No. 274, pp. 24-25.

Sections.	Description.	Number of Members.
30	Curriers	58
31	Combmakers	57
32	Barbers and hairdressers	62
33	Detached members	133
Total		8,061

The societies of workers in furnaces (*fornaciari*) glaziers, hatters, pipe-makers, workers in sandpits (*cavatori di sabbia*), stick-makers and ribbon-makers have not yet transferred their offices to the Labour Chamber. Between the date of the committee's report and the end of October 1892, four further sections were added to the Chamber, including zincographers, the manufacturers of electrical and geodetical apparatus, working furriers and day-labourers (*braccianti*), while the engravers on metal, previously included with the jewellers, appear to have been formed into a separate section. The total number of new members was estimated at about 500, but it was probably still further increased during the last two months of the year (1892). The report of the Central Committee of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* to the International Congress at Zurich further states that in 1893 the Milan Labour Chamber included 40 trade sections and about 10,000 members. (2)

The work of the Milanese chamber is stated to have been carried on by the provisional executive committee in perfect union, although among its members were to be found men of various shades of political opinion. Steps are now being taken by the executive of the Chamber to unite the Italian Labour Chambers in a federation. (3) According to the Foreign Office Report for 1893, "it seems probable that the Labour Chamber of Florence will be opened early in 1893, and the Chambers of Brescia and Padua in the course of the year." (4) This expectation has since been realised, and at the First Congress of Labour Chambers, held in June, 1893, no less than 12 Chambers were represented. (5) With reference to the Labour Chamber at Macerata, Sir D. Colnaghi has not been able to obtain any information. Of the chambers of Turin, Piacenza, and Venice, he has published an account, which is here reproduced. (6)

The Labour Chamber at Turin was opened in March, 1892. In the following October it contained from 800 to 1,000 members, and had, during the first three months of its existence found employment for some 500 working men in different localities. It was also about to send 150 labourers abroad. The Chamber, however, has had to suffer from internal dissensions. The annual subsidy of 5,000 lire, with a place of residence, is stated to be insufficient to cover expenses, as the subscriptions of the members, even when they are regularly paid, do not exceed 50 centimes per head per annum. It is then probable, that the Chamber will be totally reorganised.

The new institution at Piacenza bears the name of *Borsa del Lavoro*, or Labour Exchange. From the report of its first year's proceedings, it appears to be doing well, though it is naturally on a smaller scale than the Milanese Chamber. The first proposal for the establishment of the Exchange came from the local society of typographers. The municipality of Piacenza supported the movement, and promised an annual grant of 1,500 lire for five years. The local savings bank also made a grant of 500 lire for the first year, and 300 lire for the second year.

The following six societies were affiliated to the Exchange from the first:—

1. Typographers.
2. Tailors and working tailors.

(2) La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, p. 11. F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 275, pp. 23-24. Para des Travaillleurs Italiens Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich, (1893), p. 14.

(3) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 275, p. 25.

(4) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 275, p. 22.

(5) *Id.*, p. 22. La Camera del Lavoro, 1892, p. 4, below. Appendix B., p. 97.

(6) F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 25 of seq.

affiliated societies.

3. Barbers and hairdressers.
4. Cooks and waiters.
5. Federation of the Sons of Labour.
6. Improvement League of Bakers and Vermicelli-makers.

The Popular Society of Mutual Aid and Instruction, and the co-operative societies of typographers, masons, day labourers, and carpenters subsequently joined the movement. In July 1892 six other associations were in process of organisation, the co-operative societies of Varnishers and Milkmen, the Cooks and Waiters' Club, the League of Working Tailoresses, the Independent Clerks' Club, and the Federation of the Co-operative Societies of Labour and Production belonging to the city and province of Piacenza.

Number of members.

The Society of Cooks and Waiters withdrew from the Exchange in April 1892. If this society be excluded, the first 11 associations number 350 working men members. With the six associations in course of formation, it is estimated that 950 new members will join, 700 of whom belong to the Co-operative Federation. To obtain these results, more than 100 meetings were held, in addition to oral and written propaganda.

Labour registry.

From June 25th, 1891, to July 1892, places were found for 325 members, of whom 185 were cooks and waiters, 90 were masons, 10 labourers, and 80 porters, while 15 followed various trades.

Instruction.

Popular lessons in French were given during the winter season, as well as a short course of history.

Arbitration.

The Committee, named jointly by the Chamber of Commerce and the Labour Exchange, met several times to settle disputes between employers and workmen.

Finance.

The total income of the Exchange amounted to 3,071 lire. Of this the municipality and savings bank of Piacenza granted 2,962 lire, partly paid in advance. The subscriptions received from the sections for 7 months did not exceed 86 lire. The expenditure amounted to 2,981 lire, of which 1,920 lire was paid to the permanent employés.

Action of the Exchange.

"The Exchange has endeavoured to make its influence felt by bringing forward several questions of interest to the working classes, such as the condition of the workers in the rice fields, the establishment of a public dormitory in Piacenza during the winter months, Sunday rest, and the formation of a society for the protection of released prisoners. Numerous applications have been received at the Exchange from persons of all ranks for information on points of law, and with reference to the conditions of the labour market, as well as to obtain recommendations "or subsidies." A representative of the Exchange was present at the Italian Labour Congress held at Milan in 1891 (see above, p. 13). He only, however, took part in the discussions on the eight hours' question, and on the foundation of a national working men's journal.

Some of the affiliated societies sent delegates to the Congress of Genoa, but the Exchange was not represented in its official capacity.

Venice.

The Venetian Labour Chamber has only recently been organised. The movement in favour of it began about a year ago (1892), when 14 benefit societies of working men engaged in various industries were affiliated to the Central Chamber. At the present time (1893) it is divided into 20 sections of crafts and trades, 12 of which have been fully organised. The statistics of the Chamber are drawn up on the lines of those of the Labour Chambers of Milan and Turin, with some slight modifications, rendered necessary by the different conditions of Venetian industry.

Finance.

The municipality of Venice has granted the Chamber an annual subscription of 10,000 lire, and has also allowed it to use the old Church of the Misericordia for its meetings. The annual subscription of the members is fixed, as in the other chambers, at 50 centimes per head.

The annexed table gives the number of sections into which the Chamber was divided on November 30th, 1892, with the number of members. Since this list was drawn up, however, the number of members has increased, and now probably exceeds 5000. (1)

TABLE A. 5.

Table A. 5.

Sections.	Description.	Number of Members.
1	Building trade:—Masons, stone cutters, and labourers.	293
2	Mechanical arts:—Mechanics, copper-smiths, blacksmiths, founders, &c.	829
3	Printing trade:—Compositors and pressmen, lithographers, stereotypers, photographers, bookbinders, &c.	194
4	Government and private employés, and commercial agents.	143
5	Working bakers:—Vermicelli-makers and millers.	184
6	Waiters, cooks, &c., employed at hotels, eating-houses, and cafés.	569
7	Workers in wood:—Carpenters, cabinet makers, and modellers.	430
8	Decorative arts:—Wood-carvers, workers in stucco and marble, gilders, painters and decorators, workers in mosaic, upholsterers.	320
9	Workers in leather, and boot and shoe makers.	162
10	Tailors	120
11	Naval constructors:—Riveters, ship's carpenters, caulkers, &c.	399
12	Various arts	70
13	Labourers, porters, &c.	246
14	Maritime arts:—Sailors, bargemen, gondoliers, &c.	109
15	Textile arts:—Males, 120; females, 29	149
16	Licensed guides	84
17	Salesmen, corn chandlers, and tavern keepers ( <i>osti</i> ).	77
18	Jewellers and allied arts	37
19	Barbers and haircutters	21
20	Females belonging to various crafts	83
	Total	4,311

The following account of the recently established Labour Chamber at Bologna has been derived from details communicated by the courtesy of Professor Ugo Rabbeno, a member of the Executive Committee, and of Signor Gaetano Benzi, secretary to the Chamber.

Bologna.

In 1889, certain Bolognese operatives, who had visited the Paris Exhibition, and had studied the working of the Bourse du Travail, suggested that a similar institution might be founded in their native town. The Bologna Labour Society, which had already endeavoured to establish labour committees among its members, warmly supported the scheme, which was carried out on strictly economic lines, with no religious or political bias. The help and countenance of the local Chamber of Commerce was accepted, but the direction and management of the undertaking were kept in the hands of the Labour Society. In January 1893 the Bologna Chamber was formally inaugurated as "an instrument of labour, not a weapon of warfare." Its working and constitution closely resemble those of the other Chambers which have already been described.

The administration of its affairs is entrusted to an Executive Committee of 10 members elected by the affiliated labour societies and by a central office composed of delegates from the various groups of arts and crafts belonging to the Chamber. A committee of arbitration is also appointed by the same method. The Executive Committee nominates a secretary, an under-secretary, a treasurer, and a steward (*economo*). The central office appoints from its own members a committee of labour statistics which studies the general aspect of the labour movement both at home and abroad, and a committee of finance, which controls the action of the Executive Committee.

Constitution.

The annual expenses of the Chamber are estimated at 5,000 lire, which is collected in the following manner: subscriptions, 3,000 lire from the municipality; 1,500 lire from the provincial authorities (*Deputazioni provinciali*); 500 lire from the local People's Bank; donation of 140 lire from the labour societies.

Finance.

On May 17th, 1893, the Chamber was started in buildings rented by the Bologna Labour Society. By October 1893, 20 regularly organised groups of arts and crafts, with a total of 6,821 members, had established centres in the Bologna Chamber. On September 24th, a fresh group of masons, with 240 members, was instituted at Medicina. 54 benefit societies, co-opera-

Working of the Chamber.

(1) F. O. Report Miscellaneous Series, 1892, No. 276, pp. 27-28.

five societies, associations of working men, with 27,975 members, had also been affiliated to the Chamber, and on the 1st of October, a daughter chamber (*Suocursale*) was opened at Medicina.

logistics. Six registries had been started by the Bologna Labour Chamber in September 1893 for the benefit of the following groups:—

1. Cooks and waiters.
2. Bakers.
3. Vermicelli makers (*pastai*).
4. Confectioners.
5. Clerks.
6. Sick nurses.

Correspondence with other Labour Chambers. A system of correspondence with other labour chambers, both Italian and foreign, has been established, and the Chamber has joined the Federation which the first Congress of Italian labour chambers resolved to found. The executive committee has held 72 ordinary and 30 extraordinary meetings since January 1893, and has sent a delegate to the first Congress of Italian Labour Chambers which was held at Parma in June-July 1893.<sup>(1)</sup>

Congress of Parma. Although at first the Labour Chamber was not altogether warmly welcomed by the Bologna operatives, it appears now to have obtained a firm footing in the city. Its organisation is still hardly complete, but it has many new projects under consideration, such as the institution of an official circular (*Bollettino*), a board of arbitration (*Probi Viri*), a library, a public beneficent society, and a league of co-operative labour associations.

Sections of the Bologna Labour Chamber. On October 2nd, 1893, the Bologna Labour Chamber included the following sections, each divided into groups, according to differences of occupation:—

1. Masons and cognate trades.
2. Metal workers and cognate trades.
3. Workers in wood.
4. Printers and lithographers.
5. Bakers and cognate trades.
6. Tailors and cognate trades.
7. Clerks.
8. Cooks and waiters.
9. Sick nurses.

Twenty-two other groups were also in course of constitution.<sup>(2)</sup>

(a) Consolato operaio. Sir Dominic Colnaghi, in the Foreign Office Report for 1891, gives the following interesting account of the great Italian Federation of Working Men's Societies, *Consolato Operaio* (Labour Consulate of Milan):—

The *Consolato Operaio* of Milan, which appears to be the most important Federation in Italy, has, no doubt, been instrumental in promoting various good works in the city of Milan for the benefit of the working classes.

The total number of working men's friendly societies established in Milan is about 100,<sup>(3)</sup> with a varying number of members, not exceeding 15,000. Of these, 44 societies, with from 6,000 to 7,000 members, are affiliated to the *Consolato Operaio*.

The federated societies retain their autonomy. Each society is represented on the *Consolato* by five delegates, and by either the president or a member of the council of administration. The delegates, with the exception of the president or councillor, must be *boni fide* working men. The Consulate, which forms the executive organ of the association, is composed of seven consuls, seven censors, two secretaries, a cashier, an accountant, and a librarian. All the officers are unpaid. The consuls are elected from among the delegates who have obtained an absolute majority of votes, or, failing this, by ballot among those who have obtained the largest number of votes. They remain in office for one year, and are eligible for re-election a second time, after which an interval of one year must elapse before they can serve again.

The statutes have undergone more than one revision since the association was formed in 1860. The last were approved on November 15, 1890.

The preamble to the statutes states that the reform of the constitution of the Federation was made for the purpose of furthering combined action in the direction of developing legislation which should enable the people to regain their sovereign power, as the basis on which to found the economic transformation that will re-establish the rights of labour; and also in order to give

fresh life to provident, co-operative, and educational institutions, by proceeding, as far as is compatible with the autonomy of the associated societies, to extend the limits of mutual assistance from simple relief in misfortune to the complete economic emancipation of the working man.

The associated working men's societies hope to realise the above-mentioned aims by means of combination, claiming in public meetings and congresses the realisation of the following objects:—

1. With regard to the organisation of social polity (*organizzazioni politico-sociali*).

(a.) Autonomy of the communes, responsibility of functionaries, and simplification of the public administrations.

(b.) Complete reform of the system of taxation on the basis of the progressive impost, of the alteration of the right of succession (*diritto successorio*), and of the abolition of the taxes on necessities of life.

(d.) Abolition of standing armies, and substitution of arbitration for wars.

(e.) Right of referendum or acknowledgment of the claim of the people to deliberate by direct vote on all matters relating to the defence of the country, to international engagements, and to the entire system of taxation.

(f.) Legal equality of the two sexes, the rights of destitute children to public assistance, and of illegitimate children to the research of paternity.

(g.) Unrestricted right of meeting, suppression of the *ammunizioni* (police warning), of enforced domicile (*domicilio coatto*), and of the political police.

(h.) Reform of the system of contracts, so that groups of working men, properly organised, may compete for the execution of public works.

(i.) Independency of the magistracy, and steps to be taken in the direction of the public election of magistrates.

(l.) Gratuitous primary and technical instruction unconnected with either religion or politics.

(m.) All uncultivated lands to be taken up by the State, and their colonisation to be entrusted directly to co-operative societies of working farmers (*contadini*).

(n.) Prevention to be substituted for the eleemosynary action of charitable institutions, and the consequent transformation of these institutions into provident societies and associations for the promotion of education. Working men to share in the control and administration of these societies and associations.

2. With regard to the emancipation of labour, assuming that the best organisation of the economic life of the future will be secured by the transformation of the hired labourer into the free producer, the Federation proposes—

(a.) To extend the spirit of association to all forms of providence, either by mutual aid in the various contingencies of the life of working men, or by strikes, or by co-operation based on the formation of a collective capital.

(b.) To apply more and more the principle of association by crafts and trades, as the best means of facilitating organisation for the economic and technical improvement of the artisans.

(c.) To promote the formation of co-operative societies of labour, production, credit, and consumption, claiming by every means all those legislative and administrative measures which may eliminate hostility and disarm those interests which are opposed to the spread of co-operation.

(d.) To claim legal sanction, and its rigorous application, with regard to the labour of women and of children, and also with regard to the responsibility for actions incidental to labour, and to provide for the institution of Labour Chambers and of boards of arbitration.

(e.) To support by every means the principle that equality of work, as regards the two sexes, does not imply inequality of payment.

(f.) Finally, to promote every kind of agitation for the regulation of labour in its relations with hygiene and technical progress, and to demand for labour its rights in regard to the duration of the working day and to the division of profits.

That the above aspirations represent the views of the advanced section of Italian operatives not connected with the Anarchical party, there seems no reason to doubt.<sup>(4)</sup> How far they are at present shared by the

(1) For an account of the proceedings of this Congress, see below, Appendix E., p. 97.

(2) *Casiero del Lavoro in Italia*. Guocchi Viani ed A.C. 1893. Statuto della Camera del Lavoro della Città e Provincia di Bologna, 1893. Impianto di una Borsa del Lavoro in Bologna, 1893.

(3) This is exclusive of the several friendly societies formed entirely of professional persons, employes, or tradesmen, which are important and have large funds.

(4) The above statements are taken from Sir Dominic Colnaghi's Report on Italy for 1891. Signor Bodio is of opinion that the desires of the Italian working classes are better represented by the Socialist programme of the Labourers' Party (*Partito dei Lavoratori*). (See above, pp. 11, 12, 15.)

great majority of working men, or how long it will take to diffuse them throughout the length and breadth of the country—if indeed, some points ever succeed in obtaining a hold on the nation—are questions which require careful consideration in forming any judgment on the present condition of the labour question in Italy. Here, however, the political element comes into play. Certainly the tendency of Italian legislation at the present day is in favour of the more reasonable claims of the working classes.

In the application of the principles enunciated in the preamble to its statutes, the *Consolato Operaio* during its 30 years of existence, has founded, among other institutions, schools for adult operatives, both male and female, a co-operative society for building artisan houses, a co-operative working men's bank, and co-operative stores; it has assisted in the formation of friendly societies, not, however, always with success, and in holding congresses, it has formed a working men's club, and athletic clubs for youths at which they may assemble on Sundays and holidays; it has also established a circulating library, headed a fund for the relief of unemployed workmen, and taken part in various patriotic and political demonstrations. The Consulate has also established a permanent electoral committee for sending a paid working men's member to Parliament.

The means possessed by the *Consolato* are not large, as the following summary of the balance sheet for the financial year 1889-90 serves to show:—

since, moreover, it is spreading rapidly, not only among the working classes in the towns, but also in the country districts, and among men of weight in the upper and middle classes.<sup>(1)</sup>

The history of Italian socialism still remains to be written, but a good idea of the gradual evolution of the present socialist party may be gathered from the historical sketch prefixed by Professor Angelo Bertolini to his translation of *Rae's Contemporary Socialism* and from the above-mentioned report of the Italian Labourers' Party.

The influence of foreign socialist doctrines penetrated to Italy even before the final consolidation of the kingdom. An Italian representative attended the second Congress of the "International" at Lausanne in 1867, and in the same year the Russian anarchist, Bakounin, aided by a group of enthusiastic Italians, founded an "International" section at Naples, which succeeded in starting a newspaper called "Equality" (*l'Uguaglianza*), and in instigating certain strikes. Other sections were subsequently founded at Genoa and Milan, and in Sicily, and the Catanian Association, called the *Sons of Labour*, was affiliated to the Central Society. In 1871 the movement was regarded by the Government as sufficiently serious to justify their intervention, and the Neapolitan Association was dissolved by a decree of the Ministry of the Interior as "a permanent insult (*offesa*) to the laws and fundamental institutions of the nation and dangerous to public order." The Society, however, soon revived and started a fresh journal, *La Campana*, and from this time onwards a distinct Socialist party existed in Italy, formed principally, indeed, of young men who sympathised with the recent revolution in Paris and of the followers of Garibaldi, who upheld the doctrines of the "International" in opposition to Mazzini. The chief seat of this "prehistoric" socialism was in Central Italy, especially in the Romagna and in Tuscany, where the scattered groups subsequently united to form the "Workman's Union" (*Fascio Operaio*). The struggle between the Mazzinian Republicans and the Garibaldists, which terminated only with the death of Mazzini, helped to emphasise the political element in the socialist movement. The socialists, according to Professor Angelo Bertolini, are implicitly republicans, but their ideal is too wide to be bound down to any one form. The aims of the followers of Mazzini, on the other hand, are too vague and tentative to harmonise well with socialist doctrines. They hesitate to pronounce definitely on the crucial question of the ownership of land and of the instruments of labour, and content themselves with supporting isolated efforts at co-operation, or trying to bring about the reconciliation of labour and capital and the sub-division of property.<sup>(2)</sup> The discussion of social questions in Congresses of working men, the formation of the "Italian Federation of the International Association of Labourers" (*Federazione italiana dell'associazione internazionale dei lavoratori*), and its distinctly anarchical attitude alarmed the Government. The convocation of a second federal Congress was prevented, certain of the leading socialists were arrested on a charge of conspiracy, and the papers of the Federal Committee of correspondence at Bologna were seized. In spite of these severe measures, the Internationalists opened a Congress at Bologna in 1873, in which they declared themselves to be atheists, materialists, anarchists, and federalists. The police were ordered to intervene, the meeting was broken up, many arrests were made, and the Bolognese Federation, with several other sections, was dissolved. The bad harvest of 1874 and the high prices of the ensuing winter roused much discontent, and several strikes broke out in the early months of 1875. Just as, with the approach of summer, the agitation began to subside, the internationalists, among whom a movement in favour of collectivism was making itself felt, issued a number of inflammatory circulars, pamphlets, and manifestoes, and at the same time bands of armed men appeared in Tuscany and the Romagna. The Government, provoked beyond all patience, determined to dissolve all the democratic societies in Italy whether republican or internationalist. On August 2nd, a small party of the followers of Mazzini, among them the well-known patriot, Aurelio Saffi, were surprised by the police and arrested. This somewhat high-handed measure was followed by

History.

"Utopian" socialism.

Table A. 6.

TABLE A. 6.

INCOME.		
		Lire. Cents.
Associated Societies:—		
Annual fees	- - -	574.50
For Labour Chamber	- - -	71.50
Subscriptions, various	- - -	42.30
In favour of unemployed workmen:—		
Associated societies	- - -	50.00
Non-associated societies	- - -	9,928.32
Various associated societies	- - -	1,385.90
Net profits from family fêtes	- - -	878.20
Total	- - -	12,940.20
EXPENDITURE.		
		Lire. Cents.
Subscriptions to papers	- - -	212.40
Rent	- - -	385.00
Charity	- - -	179.80
Labour chamber	- - -	71.50
Commemorations and delegations	- - -	311.50
Sufferers in Sardinia	- - -	30.00
Arena shares	- - -	250.00
Subscriptions for unemployed workmen	- - -	10,027.80
" " Venetian printers on strike	- - -	25.00
Advertisements and printing	- - -	168.25
Stationery, lights and fuel, repairs	- - -	311.88
Honorariums and gratuities	- - -	350.00
Postage and telegrams	- - -	53.57
Various, and losses	- - -	214.18
Total	- - -	12,590.63
Balance in hand	- - -	350.09
Grand total	- - -	12,940.72

The schools are supported from a separate fund.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Central Committee of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* (Italian Labourers' Party) state, in the Report presented by them to the recent International Congress at Zurich (1893), that conditions favourable to socialism have but lately developed in Italy, and only now prevail to a limited extent.<sup>(2)</sup> Signor Turati, one of the Italian delegates at the Zurich Congress and a writer on social subjects, goes still further, and declares that Italian socialism, although there is hope for its future, is at present somewhat meagre and wanting in vitality, and that, indeed, for all practical purposes, it may be said to be non-existent.<sup>(3)</sup> According to Professor Ugo Rabbeno, however, the socialist movement in Italy, if immature, is not unimportant, since it may be regarded as "the clearest expression of that social discontent which has characterised the last few years" and

f.) Socialism.

(1) F. O. Reports. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 41-45. *Ibid.*, 1893, No. 276, p. 12.

(2) Parti des Travailleurs Italiens. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich (1893), p. 3.

(3) Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 1.

(4) Cenzo sul Socialismo in Italia. Angelo Bertolini (Introduction to the first Italian translation of *Rae's "Contemporary Socialism"*), 1869, p. 1.

(5) Cenzo sul Socialismo in Italia. Angelo Bertolini, 1889, pp. 32-42. Parti des Travailleurs Italiens. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich (1893), pp. 4-5.

socialist demonstrations, fresh arrests, and the final dissolution of the organisation of the Italian branch of the "International." The socialists continued, nevertheless, to struggle against the repressive action of the central authorities until imprisonments and police warnings (*ammonizioni*) became so frequent that the party was practically broken up, and the leaders were driven to take refuge in Switzerland. Common misfortunes, however, had the effect of healing the internal dissensions which had formerly divided the party against itself, and this first troubled period in the history of Italian socialism was closed by the formal reconciliation of the contending Anarchist and Collectivist factions.<sup>(1)</sup>

Catholic  
socialism.

The attitude of the Papacy towards the Italian socialists in the infancy of the movement is not without interest, though Catholic socialism appears to be less influential and less widely diffused in Italy than in other countries in Europe. According to Professor Francesco Nitti, the Catholic clergy in Italy, who are not called upon to do battle for their opinions in the face of an active Protestantism, are generally content to devote themselves to ecclesiastical questions, and to regard politics as absolutely foreign to their mission and their duties. This feeling is, doubtless, increased by the peculiar rivalry between Church and State occasioned by the territorial aspirations of the Papacy, while the presence of the Pope in their midst makes individual initiative almost impossible for the great mass of the clergy. Professor Nitti states further, that "the higher clergy in the towns are sceptical, indolent, (*debole*) and desirous of rapid promotion, while the country clergy, uncultured, undecided, ill-regulated, live the life of peasants, sharing all the passions of the provincial bourgeoisie, with low ideals and limited aims." To this state of things there are, no doubt, honourable exceptions, but speaking generally, Catholicism has not shown itself favourable to socialism in Italy, which is daily becoming more distinctly anti-religious, and regards the Church rather as an obstacle to be surmounted or destroyed, than as an institution likely to support its principles and encourage its tendencies.<sup>(2)</sup>

Attitude of  
the Papacy.

Leo XIII. himself, who as Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia had urged the necessity of reforms in social legislation, published soon after he became Pope, his famous Encyclical against socialism (December 28th, 1878) in which he stigmatised the movement as a "deadly plague" (*letifera peste*). The violence of Italian anarchism, the manifestoes of the party, which aimed at the abolition of Church and State, and at the suppression of private property, the justification of crime and assassination which followed the teachings of Bakounin and, more particularly, the share taken by certain parish priests in revolutionary outbreaks, all tended to prevent the Pope from showing any sympathy with the aspirations of the socialists, and though he has subsequently to a great extent modified his attitude of decided hostility, and has even adopted a favourable attitude towards the labour movement in general, "the Vatican still loses ground every day in Italy, and tends to separate itself from the life of the nation," while the masses of the people, alienated from the Church, are attracted more and more towards democratic socialism.<sup>(3)</sup>

Socialism  
among the  
working  
classes.

The working classes, though they had but little direct share in the early anarchical movement in Italy, were, nevertheless, influenced by it to a considerable extent. "The leaven of socialism had penetrated the masses," and, almost unknown to the labourers themselves, the work of fermentation was rapidly advancing among them. The widening of the franchise by the Electoral Law of 1882, seems first to have aroused the Italian workmen to a consciousness of their own power, and the development of material prosperity, with the formation of large industrial centres in the north of Italy, gave the opportunity of combination which they needed to make that power felt. "The operatives" according to the report of the Italian Labour Party "understood that their only hope of salvation was to organise themselves, and to form themselves into an independent party without patrons or protectors, to struggle on their own account, against capital." With this object, the first "Italian Labour party" (*Partito operaio italiano*) was founded at Milan in 1885 and in a few months it

Italian Labour Party  
(Partito  
operaio  
italiano).

(1) *Conno sul Socialismo in Italia*. Angelo Bertolini, 1889, pp. xlii-lxix. *Parti des Travailleurs Italiens* (Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich, 1893), pp. 4-8.

(2) *Il Socialismo Cattolico*. F. S. Nitti, 1891, pp. 327-331.

(3) *Il Socialismo Cattolico*. F. S. Nitti, 1891, pp. 337-354. *Conno sul Socialismo in Italia*. Angelo Bertolini, 1889, p. lxi. Encyclical Letter on the Conditions of Labour, 1891.

numbered 40,000 members, had started a newspaper, the *Fascio Operaio* (Labour Union) and was working energetically in supporting strikes, and opposing in every possible way the oppression of the labourer by the capitalist. This first labour party to some extent combined with the new corporate tendencies the old anarchical doctrines which it had inherited from the early Italian socialists.

It gradually, however, freed itself from all connexion with the bourgeoisie and with political intrigue, and when in the election of 1886 it brought forward its own candidates, and in some cases reduced the poll of the Radical candidates so seriously as to ensure their rejection, it attracted the dislike and suspicion of Government to itself, and, as has been already stated (above, p. 11), it was dissolved by Prefectoral Decree. This early society was strictly a "labour party"; indeed it could hardly be said to be an association of socialists at all in the widest sense of the term, since it stood aside from the intellectual current of the socialist movement, and only concerned itself with manual work and corporate resistance. The new "Labourers' Party" (*Partito dei Lavoratori*), or Federation, which was definitely organised in the Congresses of Milan and Genoa (August 1891 and August 1892), combined both theory and practice, and impressed a political character on the socialist movement.<sup>(4)</sup> The programme and subsequent history of this Federation, which has been called "the only true Italian Socialist party" have been already given in detail; (above, pp. 11-12). It only remains, therefore, to allude very briefly to the present condition and prospects of Italian socialism in general. The Central Committee of the "Italian Labourers' Party" state that "every one in Italy understands that a new political force has arisen, well-organised and consolidated, which is making steady progress and gaining ground each day, and which henceforward will have to be reckoned with in every question that nearly touches the political life of the country," and that, moreover, in spite of internal dissensions and differences of opinion "there is a force, conviction, and enthusiasm in the Italian proletariat and in the socialist party which nothing can destroy." Professor Ugo Rabbeno, who sees in socialism a new form of lay faith which is taking the place of the religious faith that is dying out in Italy, believes that the increasing diffusion of the socialist movement is largely due to the more practical aspect which it has assumed of late years. The Italian socialists are now guided in their propaganda by two principles: the accentuation of the "class struggle" (*lotta di classe*), and the acquisition of political power. In carrying out the first principle they are doubtless much assisted by the poverty of the Italian working classes, especially of the agricultural labourers, who, as has been often pointed out, are just sufficiently educated to be conscious of their own degraded condition, and who, therefore, lend a ready ear to the teachings of agitators. The influence of the socialists on strikes and agricultural disturbances has been considerable, and will probably increase as the party obtains a firmer hold upon the rural population and extends its work of organisation. With regard to this work, it is only necessary to refer to the action of the socialists in establishing Labour Chambers and Exchanges (above, p. 14, *et seq.*), and their connexion with the co-operative movement, especially with the Co-operative Day-labourers' Associations, several of which, as for instance, those at Finale and at Reggio (*Emilia*), were established and are directed by socialists. With regard to the second principle, the political importance of socialism appears also to be in the ascendant, since in the general election of 1892 no less than 25 socialist candidates stood for seats in Parliament, of whom four or five were returned, while in the local elections of 1893 several socialist candidates were successful, and the party found hearty support, not only in northern and central Italy, but even in Sicily. In conclusion, it may be noted that, according to the Zurich report, the socialist press is in a most flourishing condition in Italy. In addition to the famous *Lotta di Classe*, the central organ and keystone of the party, and the "enlightened and scientific" review called *La Critica Sociale*, many small weekly papers are issued, which do much to promote community of feeling, and to spread socialist doctrines among the people.

Labourers  
Party (Partito  
dei Lavoratori).

The most powerful organisations connected with the Socialist Party are said to be those of the Italian Society of Typographers, the Italian Federation of

(4) *Parti des Travailleurs Italiens*. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich (1893), pp. 8-10. *Conno sul Socialismo in Italia*. A. Bertolini, 1889, pp. 39-33.

Masons, and the Italian Federation of Lithographers. All these three societies have central offices at Milan, and the two first publish journals of their own.<sup>(1)</sup>

## B.—CAUSES OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

### I. Wages.

Signor Bodio, Director-General of Statistics at Rome, states, in his report to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, that "the chief cause of strikes is always the demand for an increase of wages, or for a simultaneous increase of wages and reduction of working hours." He justifies this statement by showing that out of the 1,075 industrial strikes which were reported to the Ministry of the Interior between the years 1878 and 1891, 557 were for an increase of wages, and 119 against a reduction of wages,<sup>(2)</sup> while 18 were brought about by disputes as to methods of payment. It follows that 64·56 per cent. of the quarrels between employers and employed in these years were the immediate results of the wages question.<sup>(3)</sup>

Dividing the years under consideration into a period of economic expansion, lasting from June 1878 to the end of 1887, and a period of economic contraction, from 1888 to the end of 1891, Signor Bodio finds that no less than 64 per cent. of the strikes in the first period, and 61 per cent. of those in the second period, were caused by a demand for increased wages, or by opposition to a proposed reduction in wages. It is worth noting that of these, 54 per cent. in the first period, and 48 per cent. in the second, were progressive strikes, arising from a desire on the part of the workmen to better the conditions of labour by a rise in wages, while only 10 per cent. in the first period, and 13 per cent. in the second, were the result of a desire to maintain existing conditions against a threatened retrogression.<sup>(4)</sup> Thus sixteen out of the twenty Sicilian strikes in 1891 were directly caused by the desire for increased wages among the sulphur workers and bakers.<sup>(5)</sup>

A small number (about 27 out of 1,075) of the strikes which occurred between 1878 and 1891 arose from irregularity or delay in the payment of wages, or from failure on the part of employers to fulfil their contracts.<sup>(6)</sup> A comparison with the Report of the Commission on Strikes of the year 1878 shows that the proportion of strikes from these causes has somewhat diminished in the last 13 years. Between 1860 and June 1878, 495 strikes were reported to the Ministry of the Interior. Of these, 23 originated in delays in the payment of wages, and 5 in "suspicion of fraud or abuses in the payment of wages in general, and in the supply of articles of food."<sup>(7)</sup>

Closely connected with these are the disputes as to payment, by the fortnight, the week, the day, or the hour, or about the substitution of one day of payment for another, but as only 12 strikes from these causes have been reported since 1878, they have not yet become very important:

Strikes against payment in kind are also rare, but they have a significance out of proportion to their frequency, as they illustrate the gradual transition from the old industrial order to the new. In 1890, 500 miners of Pontremoli, in Tuscany, struck for various causes, the first of which was a demand for payment in money instead of in goods. In the same year, two strikes, one numbering 3,000 men, occurred among the Sicilian sulphur workers for increase of wages, payment in money instead of in flour, and a reduction in the quantity of sulphur required.<sup>(8)</sup>

The Report of 1878 mentions that between 1860 and 1878, nine strikes originated in opposition to the introduction of new machines. The Commissioners acknowledge the possibility of grave disputes arising from the introduction of the power loom, but conclude that the workmen are too poverty stricken to be able to impose terms on their employers.<sup>(9)</sup> Subsequent experience has apparently borne out this conclusion; at

(1) Parti des Travailleurs Italiens. Rapport au Congrès International de Zurich (1893), pp. 10, 14-16. Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. Ugo Rabbano, 1892, pp. 6-13. Corno sul Socialismo in Italia. A. Bertolini, 1889, pp. 13-22.

(2) Statistica degli Scioperi avvenuti nell'Industria e nell'Agricoltura durante gli anni del 1894 al 1891. 1892, p. 24.

(3) Id., Tables I. and II., p. 37.

(4) F. O. Report Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 3, 4. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 24.

(5) Id., Table I., p. 24.

(6) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., p. 37.

(7) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1893, p. 3. F. O. Report Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 26.

(8) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 67-69.

(9) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1893, p. 2, p. 13.

any rate, in Signor Bodio's report not a single strike from this cause is reported between 1878 and the end of 1891.<sup>(10)</sup>

### 2. Hours.

The Commissioners of 1878 declared in their report upon strikes in Italy that "working hours were nowhere excessive," that such disputes as had arisen on the subject had turned mainly on the question of a 10 or 12 hours' day, and that the prevalent system of piece-work would prevent serious discontent from this cause in the future.<sup>(11)</sup> Thus the question of working hours played a comparatively unimportant part in the series of strikes among the weavers of the Biellese district, which lasted from 1861 to 1884. In 1864 the workmen of 12 factories struck for a working day of 10 hours in the summer and nine hours and a half in the winter. The employers tried to enforce a 14 hours' day, with an interval of an hour and a half for rest, but the men refused to comply. A compromise was finally agreed on, and 11 hours was accepted as the normal day's work. From this time complaints on this head practically ceased.<sup>(12)</sup> Signor Bodio, however, writing in 1891, ranks the question of working hours second among the chief causes of strikes. Out of the 1,075 industrial strikes which had been reported since 1878, 73 arose from a desire for a reduction in the hours of labour, and 20 from opposition to a proposed increase in working hours, without equivalent compensation. Of these, about 23·66 per cent. were entirely successful, 38·71 per cent. were partially successful, and 37·63 per cent. were failures. There was a smaller percentage of strikes for a definite improvement in the conditions of labour with regard to hours of work, in the period of industrial expansion from 1878 to 1887, than in the later period of industrial contraction, from 1888 to 1891. The percentage of strikes for the maintenance of existing conditions as to hours, on the other hand, was the same in both periods.<sup>(13)</sup> The table of Italian strikes between 1878 and 1891, drawn up by Signor Bodio at the end of his report, shows that reduction of hours and increase of wages were frequently coupled together in the demands of the strikers. Less frequently, complaints about hours were combined with other grievances, such as methods of payment, or the imposition of fines. Sometimes the men struck because their hours and wages had been simultaneously reduced. In one case they asked for longer hours, that they might earn more. In others they desired an advance in wages because the hours of labour had been reduced or increased.<sup>(14)</sup>

In their report for 1890-91, the committee of the Roman centre of the General Association of Printers state that: "Besides the general want of work which is everywhere felt, other reasons of a much higher moral character have seriously turned the attention of working men to the necessity of diminishing the hours of labour, and reducing the average day's work to eight hours."<sup>(15)</sup> Sir D. Colnaghi, writing in 1891, is "inclined to believe" that the general views of the Italian labouring classes, "are rather turned in the direction of endeavouring to secure a rise of their moderate wages, with steady employment, than to demand any present reduction in the current hours of labour."<sup>(16)</sup> At this time, work was "carried on for 10 hours in all the shops of the South Italian Railway Company."<sup>(17)</sup> In October 1892, in a printers' strike at Milan, "the question received practical application in a demand for a reduction of the day's work from 10 hours to 9 hours. The nine hours' day appears, however, to have been in force for some time in the printing offices of Genoa, Bologna, and Mantua. The concession, with some others relating to the tariff of working prices, was granted by the masters, and the strike was settled by arbitration." "The question of the eight hours' day was also brought before the section of the Printers' Union, established at Florence in the beginning of November," but the Foreign Office Report for 1893 mentions that: "while generally in favour of the movement, it seems likely that the Florentine printers will for the present take no active steps to bring it forward."<sup>(18)</sup> Considering these facts, Sir D. Colnaghi concludes that "although in the present condition of the Italian

(10) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I.

(11) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1893, p. 19.

(12) Id., pp. 29, 30.

(13) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 26.

(14) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., p. 37. Id., p. 26.

(15) Id., 1891, No. 211, p. 44.

(16) Id., p. 20.

(17) F. O. Report Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 27, 28.

(18) Id., p. 37.

(a.) Advance or reduction.

(b.) Irregular payment.

(c.) Weekly payments.

(d.) Payment in kind.

(e.) Introduction of machinery.

(a.) Advance or reduction.

(b.) No hours.



"industries the demand for the eight hours' day cannot be general, the desire for a reduction in the hours of labour is beginning to be felt."<sup>(1)</sup>

The attempt to reduce working hours has an intimate connexion with strikes against overtime or night-work without due compensation. Thirteen strikes, eight of them among bakers, arose either wholly or in part from opposition to night-work, between 1878 and 1891. One strike only, among the omnibus drivers and conductors at Rome in 1889, is reported as caused by a demand for extra pay for working overtime, and one in the same year among railway operatives, for limitation of extra hours and increase of wages.<sup>(2)</sup> The Foreign Office Report for 1891 states that in the workshops of the South Italian Railway Company "overtime is paid for at the rate of one-tenth of a day per hour, with a small addition which varies according to circumstances."<sup>(3)</sup>

l.) Irregular work.

Irregularity of employment is mentioned as one of the results of the great strikes in the Biellese district, since the rise in wages compelled the manufacturers to work only to order (*per commissione*) in the time of commercial depression which followed the period of prosperity.<sup>(4)</sup> Only one strike, however, in 1889, among the employes in a silk manufactory at Susa, is reported as arising from a demand for fixed hours, one among the dyers of Milan, in 1890, from a wish to obtain a guarantee that their work should not be interrupted, and one in the same year, among the salt carriers of Ferrara, from a desire for increase of wages and a guarantee of constant employment. Five strikes between 1878 and 1891 were caused by alterations in the hours of labour,<sup>(5)</sup> but on the whole, it may be concluded that irregularity of work is not as yet a fruitful source of discontent among Italian operatives.

n.) Sunday and fête-day work.

"With some exceptions work" in Italy, "is not generally carried on on Sundays and the principal holy days, which are devoted to rest and amusement. In some trades Monday is also occasionally added to the list."<sup>(6)</sup> Signor Bodio reports only five strikes caused wholly or in part by dislike to fête-day work since 1881.<sup>(7)</sup> The general strike which broke out in Valle Strona in 1876, was occasioned by an attempt on the part of the employers to prevent the men from absenting themselves from work on Mondays and Tuesdays,<sup>(8)</sup> and Professor Ugo Rabbeno, in his article on Italian strikes, specially notices the persistence of the Biellese operatives in this habit as one of the causes of their continued poverty during a time of great industrial expansion.<sup>(9)</sup>

f.) Piece-work.

The prevalence of the system of piece-work in Italy is noticed by the Commissioners of 1878 as a reason for hoping that the question of working hours will not give rise to serious discontent in the future. They also, in connection with the Biellese strikes, observe that this system enabled the workmen to work hard or to idle at their pleasure, so that many only did good work for eight hours a day, and in one case the employer was forced to fix a minimum amount of daily work.<sup>(10)</sup> Since 1878, however, some opposition to piece-work seems to have arisen among Italian operatives. Signor Bodio reports 18 strikes connected with this system between 1878 and 1891, 14 of which were caused either entirely or partially by a desire for its abolition, while only 4 originated in a wish for its introduction.<sup>(11)</sup>

### 3. Other causes.

About 22 per cent. of the 1,075 strikes reported by Signor Bodio, arose from causes not directly connected with wages or hours.<sup>(12)</sup> Among such causes may be mentioned sympathy (*solidarietà*) with other operatives on strike, the inferior quality of the first materials given out to workmen, special technical conditions of manufacture, internal regulations of workshops, to obtain the dismissal of outside hands, ill-feeling against the managers and foremen of factories,<sup>(13)</sup> imposition of fines, opposition to special taxes, quarrels with municipal authorities." Two strikes are re-

corded among the Venetian gondoliers against the introduction of steamers; in two, the workmen asked permission to work with open windows; in another, the cabmen at Turin refused to wear a certain kind of hat. One strike originated in a demand for increase of wages, and abolition of allowances (*appendisi*); in one, the men struck because the employers refused to pay for the mending of their working clothes.<sup>(14)</sup> It is worth noting in this connection that while 13 strikes, between 1860 and 1878, were brought about by a demand for more work,<sup>(15)</sup> between 1878 and 1891 only one strike was caused by want of work, one by a desire for more piece-work, and one because the men wanted to work longer in order to earn more.<sup>(16)</sup> Professor Ugo Rabbeno, however, writing in 1892, says, "The problem of the condition of the workmen is now about to be considered under a new and more melancholy aspect: formerly they complained only of their small wages and insufficient nourishment; now they cry out loudly against a far worse phenomenon, if that be possible, against want of work, against enforced idleness (*disoccupazione*)."<sup>(16)</sup>

## C. DEVELOPMENT, ORGANISATION, AND CONDUCT OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

### 1. Number of Strikes and Lock-outs throughout Italy.

Three reports upon strikes have been presented to the Italian Government since 1860. The first, drawn up by the Commission appointed in 1878 to inquire specially into the disturbances in the district of Biella, furnishes data as to the strikes which took place in Italy between 1860 and 1878.<sup>(17)</sup> The second, compiled by the Marquis of San Giuliano for the Parliamentary Committee on the Law to regulate Strikes of May 30, 1883, gives a list of the strikes which occurred between July 1st, 1878, and March 31st, 1884.<sup>(18)</sup> The results of both these reports have been incorporated by Signor Bodio in the valuable *Statistica degli Scioperi*, published by him in 1892, in which he carries on the notices of Italian strikes to the end of 1891.<sup>(19)</sup>

(a.) Source of information.

The Commissioners of 1878 mention the difficulty of obtaining accurate information, owing to the suspicion awakened by their inquiries, and the unwillingness of employers to permit interviews with the operatives which might make them dissatisfied with their condition.<sup>(20)</sup> All the strikes, moreover, which were deferred to the tribunals, were not reported by the prefects to the Central Administration. "The figures given in Signor Bodio's report only refer to those strikes reported to the Ministry of the Interior."<sup>(21)</sup> He states also that it is not easy "to determine the real number of the strikes, as the sequence of events may often have caused a single strike to be reckoned as one or more, according to the moment at which the notice was given, or the point of view from which it was considered." "The number of men on strike, and the number of days each strike lasted, cannot always be indicated with precision." Signor Bodio distinguishes "lock-outs" from strikes, and separates agrarian from industrial strikes, "retaining however in this latter category, the strikes of day labourers (*braccianti*) employed on railways, canals, and other public works."<sup>(22)</sup>

From the beginning of 1860 to the end of 1891, 1,709 strikes took place in Italy. Of these, 132 occurred between 1860 and 1869, 1866 being the year in which the fewest disturbances were recorded.<sup>(23)</sup>

(b.) Number of strikes.

Signor Bodio gives the following table of the annual numbers of strikes from 1870 to 1891, showing the upward tendency of the movement<sup>(24)</sup> :—

TABLE A. 7.

1870	-	25	1877	-	55
1871	-	26	1878	-	34
1872	-	64	1879	-	32
1873	-	103	1880	-	27
1874	-	94	1881	-	44
1875	-	62	1882	-	47
1876	-	58	1883	-	73

(1) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 21.  
 (2) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, n. 43.  
 (3) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 20.  
 (4) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 43.  
 (5) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 61, 65, 67.  
 (6) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 20.  
 (7) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 41, 45, 47, 50, 68.  
 (8) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 38.  
 (9) Arbeitsanstellungen in Italien, Ugo Rabbeno Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, p. 639.  
 (10) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, pp. 19, 37.  
 (11) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 37-73.  
 (12) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 3. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 23-24.

(13) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 37-73.  
 (14) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 8.  
 (15) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, pp. 38, 45, 72.  
 (16) Il Movimento Socialista in Italia, Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 5.  
 (17) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885.  
 (18) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 6. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1883, No. 276, p. 2.  
 (19) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892.  
 (20) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, pp. 5, n. 7.  
 (21) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 1.  
 (22) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 6.  
 (23) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 3.  
 (24) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 4.

1884	-	-	81	1888	-	-	101
1885	-	-	89	1889	-	-	126
1886	-	-	96	1890	-	-	139
1887	-	-	69	1891	-	-	132

The maximum number was reached in 1890, with 139 strikes. There was, moreover, a rapid and noteworthy increase during the period of economic contraction from 1888 to 1891. These results confirm the general conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners of 1878, that strikes in Italy had, contrary to the laws of economics, been more frequent in industrial crises than in times of prosperity.<sup>(1)</sup> Signor Bodio also observes that if the strikes had been caused by purely economic reasons, without the influence of socialist doctrines, they would probably have been most numerous and important in periods of industrial expansion. He points out that it is when economic conditions are stationary that strikes are least likely to occur. Any violent shock to the balance of distribution will disturb the relations between the factors of production. Thus when profits are increasing and trade is developing, there is a demand for workmen, and wages tend to rise. Operatives demand a larger share of profits, shorter hours, more favourable regulations of labour. Employers try to keep wages at their former level, and a struggle ensues. On the other hand when profits are falling, the supply of workmen will exceed the demand, and the employers will provoke resistance by trying to dismiss operatives, to cut down wages, to enforce more severe regulations, or to lengthen hours of work.<sup>(2)</sup>

(c.) Distribution by provinces.

The growing tendency to substitute great manufacturing centres for home industry, the spread of elementary education, the diffusion of socialist teaching, and the increasing intercourse with foreign countries all help to foster strikes among Italian workmen.<sup>(3)</sup> Thus economic disturbances are found to be most frequent in those regions where industrial activity is most fully developed.<sup>(4)</sup> From 1860 to 1878 the regions most affected by strikes were Lombardy and Piedmont, while Sardinia, the Marches and Umbria were the most free from disturbance.<sup>(5)</sup>

The following table shows the local distribution of the 1,075 industrial strikes reported to the Ministry of the Interior between 1878 and 1891 inclusive:—

Lombardy	-	-	-	260
Piedmont	-	-	-	143
Emilia	-	-	-	134

Venetia	-	-	-	-	88
Tuscany	-	-	-	-	86
Campania	-	-	-	-	82
Sicily	-	-	-	-	77
Latium	-	-	-	-	71
Liguria	-	-	-	-	63
Marches and Umbria	-	-	-	-	48
Neapolitan provinces (except Campania)	-	-	-	-	20
Sardinia	-	-	-	-	3
Total	-	-	-	-	1,075

It appears then that a quarter of the whole number of strikes occurred in Lombardy, and a large number, relatively to the population, in Liguria, while Piedmont and Emilia take the second and third places in the list. It is, moreover, in the North of Italy, notably in these very provinces of Lombardy and Liguria, that the workmen are said to exert each year a greater political influence, and in Liguria, Lombardy, and Piedmont, their material circumstances are peculiarly prosperous.<sup>(6)</sup> Subsequent experience, therefore, bears out the observation of the Commissioners of 1878, that "strikes have shown themselves with the greatest frequency among the best paid workmen."<sup>(7)</sup>

Between 1860 and 1878, "deducting 43, which were lock-outs by coalitions of masters . . . 108 strikes occurred in the textile and 22 in the mechanical industries, 35 in the building trade, 12 in glassworks and kilns,"<sup>(8)</sup> 22 among sulphur workers and other miners, 6 in paper-mills, 27 among bakers, 21 among carpenters, 10 among hatters and tailors, 6 in tanneries, 12 in tobacco factories, 25 among printers, 90 among agricultural labourers (*nei lavori campestri*), navvies, and porters, and 56 in various other trades. Thus about a fifth of the whole number of strikes affected the textile industries, while "of the public administrations, the tobacco factories take the lead with 12 strikes, followed by the railways with 7."<sup>(9)</sup> In Southern Italy, and especially in Sicily, strikes were most common among bakers and workmen employed in the construction of railways. From 1878 to 1891 the greatest number of the strikes recorded broke out in the textile, mining, metallurgic, or mechanical industries, or among masons and navvies, because in these trades the men were gathered together in large workshops.<sup>(10)</sup> The details of the distribution of strikes among these various industries are given in the sub-joined table.<sup>(11)</sup>

(d.) Distribution by industry

TABLE A. 9.—Industrial Strikes classified according to the Industries affected.

Years.	Textile industries.	Mining, Metallurgic, and Mechanical Industries.	Day Labourers, Masons, Workers in Furnaces, &c.	Printers and Lithographers.	Hatters, Tanners, and workers in other Branches of the Clothing Trade.	Bakers and workers in other alimentary trades.	Various industries.	Carpenters, Glaziers, Cab-drivers and Conductors, Watermen, Carriers, and Porters.	Total.
1878	5	3	3	1	2	—	4	2	19
1879	5	2	7	1	6	3	5	3	32
1880	9	5	2	1	2	2	5	1	27
1881	4	4	6	1	4	5	6	14	44
1882	11	4	8	2	6	1	7	8	47
1883	15	3	26	—	9	5	7	8	73
1884	15	6	17	1	13	10	14	5	81
1885	17	7	32	1	7	8	8	9	89
1886	14	9	33	1	6	9	11	13	96
1887	15	4	21	2	4	4	9	10	69
1888	33	12	23	2	4	7	11	9	101
1889	38	18	23	3	7	7	18	12	126
1890	29	28	31	9	9	12	11	10	139
1891	30	39	29	2	6	4	9	13	132
	240	144	260	27	85	77	125	117	1,075

In a still more minute and elaborate table Signor Bodio further shows that during the last three years of this period (1889 to 1891) strikes have been most

frequent among weavers, spinners, and carders, miners, and sulphur workers, and day-labourers (*braccianti*). The strikes involving the greatest number of hands

(1) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 27.

(2) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 22.

(3) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, pp. 6, 22, 23.

(4) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 278, p. 3.

(5) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 7.

(6) Recueil de Rapports sur les Conditions du Travail dans les Pays Etrangers, Italie, 1891, p. 12.

(7) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 27.

(8) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 211, p. 26. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 5. Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885.

(9) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 27.

(10) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 8.

(11) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 27.

have also occurred in these trades, 27,459 miners, 24,780 weavers, spinners, and carders, and 16,110 day-labourers having been out on strike since 1889.

.)Agrarian  
strikes.

Italian industry may be said to rest upon an agricultural basis. The great manufacturing centres have grown up out of the domestic industries of former days, and "a large part of the Italian industrial hands are still more or less closely connected with the land."<sup>(1)</sup> Signor Bodio has shown his appreciation of the importance of the agrarian problem, by placing agrarian strikes in a special category, and considering them apart, not only from industrial strikes properly so called, but also from those disturbances among navvies and day-labourers employed on public works, with which they have much in common. He calls attention specially to the peculiar environment of strikes among agricultural labourers, to their tumultuous character, and to the way in which they spread from place to place, and from one class of rural workmen to another. His account of the agrarian strikes which occurred in Italy between 1881 and 1891 is full of interest and value. As Professor Ugo Rabbeno has pointed out,<sup>(2)</sup> it may seem strange that strikes among agricultural labourers should occur in a country of small landed proprietors. The small farmers, however, are, in fact, dying out in many districts, and hired labourers are taking their place. In other districts, both of Northern and Southern Italy, the system of great estates, of farming on a large scale, and of employing hired labour, is of great antiquity. The recent agricultural crisis has placed both the landowners and the labourers in a position of considerable difficulty. Naturally, the day-labourers (*braccianti*), who live from hand to mouth, feel it most, and these are most numerous in the districts where large farms are common. They are in want of work, the landowners cannot afford to give them sufficient wages, and their discontent finds vent in disturbances.<sup>(3)</sup> Between 1860 and 1878,<sup>(4)</sup> "in Lombardy and Venetia, the most frequent strikes were those among labourers (*lavoratori in terra*)," which were "almost unknown in Piedmont, and rare in other regions."<sup>(5)</sup>

In 1881 a strike of agricultural labourers (*contadini*) occurred at Velletri, in the province of Rome. Two strikes broke out in 1882 in the provinces of Catania and Como, but these, with others of a like nature which occurred somewhat later, were local and accidental disputes, and were quickly and easily arranged. The statistics published by the Marquis of San Giuliano mention 31 strikes of agricultural labourers which took place between 1878 and the beginning of 1884. From the year 1884, the struggle in some provinces of the valley of the Po assumed a serious aspect, with a substratum of socialist agitation, which has disclosed the existence of a permanent feeling of hostility, ready to break out at any moment. The agrarian agitation originated in the province of Rovigo. The losses occasioned by the great inundation of 1882 had affected the landowners and tenant-farmers, and consequently, the labourers also. As long as the public works undertaken to repair the damage caused by the breaking of the dykes lasted, there were no complaints, but when these were completed, a time of suffering and disorder began. A revolutionary society at Adria, with committees and branches in various parts of the province of Rovigo, attempted, by means of a persistent and energetic propaganda, to stir up the labourers to insurrection. They wished to compel the landowners to raise the prices for reaping the crops from 8 or 12 per cent. (according as threshing was or was not included) to 30 per cent. of the produce. The movement began in April 1884. Strikes broke out in several parts of the district. They were attended with threats, and acts of violence and rebellion. Here and there houses were burnt and vines and trees were cut down. The political authorities placed troops at the disposal of the landowners to reap the harvest. Finally, the strikers agreed to a compromise, and the landowners promised to pay the reapers 20, 22, or 23 per cent. of the produce. "Meanwhile, however, the work of organisation continued. Associations of peasants were formed, ostensibly as benefit societies and co-operative labour

"associations, but with the secret object of binding the labourers together for a renewal of the agitation."<sup>(6)</sup>

In 1885 the scene of the struggle was transferred to the province of Mantua. Here two societies had been formed, one under the name of the "General Society of Italian Labourers" (*Società generale dei lavoratori italiani*), the other called "Rural Labourers' Benefit Society" (*Società di mutuo Soccorso dei contadini*). These societies, aided by various political associations in the province started an active propaganda among the peasantry. They organised them by thousands, in sections and sub-sections, with branches dependent on the central associations in nearly every commune; they also fixed the tariffs of wages to be imposed on the landowners (*proprietari*) for casual labour and for piece-work. The Mantuan strike began at the end of February 1885, though it appears to have been partially organised in 1884. It started among the labourers employed on public works (*lavori di terra per opere pubbliche*) and spread, in the months of March and April, to the agricultural labourers (*contadini*). The disturbance affected several communes, but "the prompt and energetic action of the political authorities broke up the organisation of the peasants. The proprietors through the friendly intervention of the authorities granted the labourers some slight increase of wages."<sup>(7)</sup>

Sir Dominic Colnaghi believes "this movement to have been of an entirely socialist character. The leaders did not belong to the agricultural class. It has been said that the organisation included 20,000 peasants, but this is probably exaggerated. . . . Although damage may have been done to property, no blood was shed. Many arrests were made, and after the movement was put down, there was a Government prosecution. The trial was held at Venice, and ended in a verdict of acquittal for the defendants, who had been in prison for more than a year."<sup>(8)</sup>

Professor Angelo Bertolini, on the other hand, states that this episode was the counterpart of the struggle which took place in England in 1872 between the "National Union" of Cambridge and Suffolk, and the farmers, and does not admit that it had any distinctively socialist significance.<sup>(9)</sup>

In this connection it is worth noticing that Professor Ugo Rabbeno, in his article on Italian strikes specially mentions these Mantuan disturbances. He attributes the discontent which had long prevailed, to the unfavourable social and economic circumstances of the dependent agricultural population of the district, where *pellagra* was common, and the emigration movement found ready recruits. He states also that the ignorant peasants blindly believed anyone who promised them a remedy for their grievances, while their natural discontent was fomented by agitators, by one in particular, who had much influence over them. A great organisation gradually grew up, numbering, it was said, 15,000 men. Though vague and formless, it was alarming from its extent. A pamphlet was circulated among the labourers promising them relief from their sufferings, and fixing the wages to be demanded for agricultural work. The society was, however, too loosely welded together for success. There was no proper bond of union among the members, they paid no subscriptions, and did not elect their leaders. When, therefore, the authorities intervened with decision, there was little difficulty in crushing the movement before it had fully developed. The idea of resistance was given up, but the idea of co-operation among the labourers remained, and bore fruit in the formation of labour organisations for the purpose of undertaking public works.<sup>(10)</sup>

The two Mantuan Associations extended the agitation to the province of Verona. There were some meetings and some strikes, but matters were easily arranged.

The agitation was more serious in the province of Padua, where certain local strikes were accompanied with threats, violence, and injury to property.

The peasant agitation in the province of Parma, Reggio (*Emilia*) and Modena was also not much more than a continuation of the Mantuan movement. It

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 7.

(2) *Arbeitsstellungen in Italien*, Ugo Rabbeno, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, p. 659.

(3) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, pp. 7, 31.

(4) *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, 1888, p. 6. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1901, No. 211, p. 27.

(5) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1893, p. 21, et seq. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 7 et seq.

(6) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 8. *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 32.

(7) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 8. *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 32.

(8) Footnote to p. 8. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276.

(9) *Genio sul Socialismo in Italia*, A. Bertolini.

(10) *Arbeitsstellungen in Italien*, Ugo Rabbeno Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, p. 660.

was stirred up by persons who did not belong to the peasant class, with a manifestly revolutionary intention, but only a few strikes ensued. At Soragna (*Parma*) the metayers (*mezzanoli*) conspired to force the landowners (*proprietari*) to modify the contracts of metayage (*mezzadria*). This led the way to the later strikes among the metayers in the Upper Milanese. In the province of Reggio associations of peasants were founded on the model of the Mantuan societies. The centre of the agitation was the district of Guastalla. Some strikes took place, but none of much importance. In the province of Modena no disturbances occurred, but meetings were held by the unemployed casual labourers, who demanded work from the municipalities.

In the Milanese the agitation was provoked, not by the day-labourers (*operai giornalieri*), but by the *coloni* and small tenant farmers (*piccoli affittavoli*). The first symptoms of disturbance appeared at Vimerate, in the month of June. A committee was appointed to demand an increase of payment for the *giornata colonica*,<sup>(1)</sup> from 60 centimes to 1 lira per diem, half to be paid on account (*a titolo di cauzione*) as a security for the fulfilment of the contract, and the other half to be paid weekly in cash. They also demanded a diminution in house-rent, and the permission to have looms in their houses. The landowners replied that they could only take these demands into consideration after St. Martin's Day (November 11) when the annual contract of metayage terminates. Threats and intimidation followed this reply. Vines, mulberry trees, and crops of maize were cut down, and tumults, in which revolutionary cries were heard, took place. The landowners terrified, consented, one after another, to raise the payment for the *giornate*. Encouraged by this first success, the *coloni* increased their demands. They asked first for a reduction in corn rents (*fitto a grano*), then for a diminution in house rents, and a lightening of their share of the land-tax (*prediale*), finally they begged to have the so-called *appendizi* (<sup>(2)</sup>) diminished. In a few days the agitation spread from district to district, extending to 20 communes of the neighbourhood of Monza, and to nearly as many in the Milanese district, and even penetrating to the province of Como. The agitation at last wore itself out. The *coloni* did not obtain all their demands, but some further concessions were forced from the landowners. In May 1889, "further agrarian disturbances occurred in the district of Gallarate, to the west of the city of Milan, in which the whole rural population of several communes appear to have taken part. The agitation was provoked by the same causes as that which led to the strikes of 1885, but the conduct of the peasantry displayed much greater violence." The chief difficulty, writes Mr. Dering, in his report on these disturbances, "lay in the fact that a social and an economic crisis appeared at the same time. Each could easily have been dealt with separately, but the two combined presented difficulties in the way of settlement." "The condition of the *colono* has deteriorated, while, at the same time, modern ideas have induced discontent with his humble lot, and under liberal institutions more extensive means of communication than formerly existed have been placed in his hands."<sup>(3)</sup> The movement was accompanied with much tumult and resistance to authority. Riots broke out in various localities; the villas of the proprietors were damaged, and an attempt was made to set fire to a municipal building. Troops were called out, and, in one instance at least, were compelled, it is stated, in self-defence, to fire on the people. The acts of violence were attributed by the public press at the time to the instigation of agents of the Anarchical party, and various arrests were made. The strike, like that of 1885, terminated when the proprietors made concessions. That the peasantry here, chiefly small tenant farmers, suffered under real grievances, there is no doubt; but the position of the small and medium proprietors, hampered by heavy taxation, want of capital, and the fall in the prices of agricultural products, must also be taken into consideration. About the same date there appears to have been general distress among the peasantry of Apulia. A large portion of the land had been laid out in vineyards, for the cultivation of which the proprietors were unable to pay, owing to the losses

which they had incurred through the tariff war with France. The labourers took the law into their own hands, and insisted on employment being given to them. When this was refused, in one instance, a vineyard of five hectares in extent was cut down and completely destroyed. At the present time an outlet for Italian wines is being found in Germany and Austria, but in many parts of Southern Italy the condition of the agricultural labourers is far from satisfactory, though the causes differ from those which affect the peasantry of the northern provinces.<sup>(4)</sup>

Between 1886 and 1891 strikes were repeated in almost all the localities in which they had previously occurred. In 1886 and 1887 the district of the lower Bolognese was much disturbed, great numbers of the workers in the rice-fields joining in the agitation. The organisation of the previous years, however, having been crushed, the strikes were less numerous and less violent than those which had broken out before in the provinces of Rovigo (*Polesine*) and Mantua. They re-assumed their former local and temporary character, and it was comparatively easy to check them when first they began by means of prudent concessions. In the province of Rovigo (*Polesine*), there were some further disturbances in the spring of 1891. The turbulent character of these strikes has rendered it difficult for Signor Bodio to tabulate them satisfactorily, since he was unable to procure full and satisfactory evidence. He has, however, annexed to his report a table of the agrarian strikes, which took place in Italy, between 1881 and 1891, from which the following summary has been compiled.<sup>(5)</sup>

TABLE A. 10.

Year.	Number of Strikes.	Provinces in which the Strikes occurred.
1881	1	Rome ( <i>Velletri</i> ).
1882	2	Ustania, Como.
1883	3	Bologna, Rome.
1884	10	Padua, Rome, Rovigo, Verona, Vicenza.
1885	62	Como, Cremona, Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Parma, Reggio ( <i>Emilia</i> ), Rovigo, Verona, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Pavia.
1886	17	Bologna, Grosseto.
1887	7	Bologna, Grosseto.
1888	8	Bologna, Rovigo.
1889	4	Bologna, Milan.
1890	8	Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara, Milan, Ravenna, Rovigo.
1891	21	Ferrara, Milan, Modena, Ravenna, Reggio ( <i>Emilia</i> ), Rovigo.
Total -	143	

One hundred and thirty-seven of the above strikes occurred in Lombardy, Venetia, and Emilia, one only in Sicily, one in Tuscany, and four in the province of Rome. "For Piedmont and the other regions of the kingdom, no agrarian strikes have been recorded."<sup>(6)</sup>

Of the 143 strikes, no less than 114 were caused wholly, or in part, by the wages question, and two arose from disputes about wages combined with demands as to the allowance system, or as to rent. Eighteen were concerned with rent, payment in kind, or the bad quality of the maize supplied to the labourers, one only was for a reduction of working hours, four arose from miscellaneous causes, and of four the causes are unknown.

This subject may be concluded by quoting the words with which Professor Ugo Rabbeno winds up his account of agrarian strikes in Italy:<sup>(7)</sup> "This is not a case in which we can trust to coercion or conciliation. The facts are the natural and legitimate result of peculiarly miserable social conditions, which must be speedily altered, if worse evils are to be avoided." As a step towards this alteration, Professor Ugo Rabbeno would make it easier for Labour Organisations to take over the public works, and he believes that the loss to the Treasury, which this would

(1) The *giornate coloniche* are the days of work the metayer is bound by his contract to give the proprietor, when required, at a fixed rate of payment. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1883, No. 276, p. 9, footnote.

(2) The *appendizi* are certain payments, formerly always in kind, such as fowls and eggs, now often commuted for a fixed sum in money.

(3) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1880, No. 137, pp. 2, 3.

(4) Note by Sir D. Colnaghi to p. 9. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276.

(5) *Statistiche degli Scioperi*, 1892, Table II., p. 74. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 10.

(6) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 11.

(7) *Arbeitsstellungen in Italien*. Ugo Rabbeno, *Handwörterbuch der Statistiswissenschaften*, p. 660.

occasion, would be amply compensated by the improved position of a large number of deserving workmen.

The events of the last 10 years have indeed fully justified the fears expressed by Signor Ferraris in his report upon the district of Gallarate, published in 1882. "Reasons are not wanting," he wrote, "to fear that, if the interests of the agricultural population, that unctful and solid class, continue to meet with their present neglect, they will one day rebel and rise tumultuously to demand their rights; and should this happen, those who are acquainted with the spirit of the times, and see what the Nihilists, Communists, and Internationalists are endeavouring to do, can easily guess the consequences that would ensue."<sup>(1)</sup>

(f.) Lock-outs.

Under the name of lock-outs (*chiusura*) Signor Bodio includes all deliberate suspensions of work by employers, for the sake of forcing the employed to accept the conditions offered them, and also all stoppages of work occasioned by a desire on the part of masters to protest against fiscal regulations, or to make a demonstration likely to influence public opinion.<sup>(2)</sup> Between 1860 and 1878, 43 such coalitions of masters were formed in Italy.<sup>(3)</sup>

Those which have occurred since 1878, Signor Bodio has arranged in a separate table.<sup>(4)</sup>

Causes.

Of lock-outs properly so called brought about by disputes between employers and employed, only three cases are recorded.<sup>(5)</sup> Two of these took place in 1885 in the hat trade. One at Biella was caused by the operatives refusing to accept a reduction of wages. In the other, at Sagliano Micca, the proprietor closed the factory to prevent the men from joining the Federal Union of Hatters. "The third lock-out was at a weaving factory at Pisa, which was closed for one day on account of some breach of the regulations on the part of the hands, who are noted as numbering 1,000." "The remainder of the stoppages of work had no relation to the conflict between capital and labour." The manufacturers shut their shops or factories "to strengthen their protests against the Government for a threatened increase of income-tax (*tassa di ricchezza mobile*), or against the municipal authorities for the establishment or abolition of the *calmieri*, or fixed rates for bread and meat, or on account of vexatious regulations, or against the commission caused by prisoners' labour," or to raise the price of wine, or by reason of trade rivalry. These stoppages of work occurred in the textile industries, among bakers, butchers, inn-keepers (*ostercenti*), millers, hatters, glaziers, manufacturers of majolica, upholsterers (*padroni sediarri*) and shoemakers.

Numbers.

The total number of lock-outs between 1878 and 1891 was 38. The annual numbers were as follows:

TABLE A. 11.

1878	-	-	-	3	1885	-	-	-	3
1879	-	-	-	-	1886	-	-	-	1
1880	-	-	-	2	1887	-	-	-	1
1881	-	-	-	4	1888	-	-	-	1
1882	-	-	-	2	1889	-	-	-	3
1883	-	-	-	1	1890	-	-	-	5
1884	-	-	-	4	1891	-	-	-	8

Catania and Naples were the districts most affected by these stoppages of work, 10 out of the 38 taking place in the former province, and four in the latter. On the whole, however, we may conclude with Signor Bodio that "lock-outs" are as yet of rare occurrence and slight importance.<sup>(6)</sup>

2. Duration of strikes and lock-outs. Number of men engaged in strikes and lock-outs.

"The relative importance of the strikes may be deduced from the number of operatives who took part in them, and from the number of days during which each strike lasted."<sup>(7)</sup> The Commissioners of 1878 state that the greater number of the strikes which took place in Italy between 1860 and 1878 only lasted one day, a few exceeded three days in duration, and a very few lasted longer than a week. With the exception of the strikes in the Biellese district, the longest was the printers' strike at Rome, which lasted for two months, from December 1873 to February 1874. Although it is not easy to ascertain with precision the exact number of strikes, and the time the strikes

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1889, No. 137, p. 2.  
 (2) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 24.  
 (3) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 7.  
 (4) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table III., p. 70.  
 (5) Id., p. 34 of seq. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 6.  
 (6) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 34.  
 (7) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 4 of seq. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 29.

lasted,<sup>(8)</sup> a considerable amount of information on these points has been tabulated by Signor Bodio for the period between 1878 and 1891. A brief summary of the details he has collected is given below with a general reference to the invaluable tables of statistics relating to strikes, which he has drawn up at the end of his report.<sup>(9)</sup> The number of operatives on strike between 1878 and 1891 has been ascertained in 1,039 cases out of the 1,075 recorded. Their total number is estimated at about 265,436. The annual number rose from 2,963 in 1878, to 38,402 in 1890. In 1891 it was 34,733. The average number per annum was about 20,190. Nearly half the strikes did not affect more than 100 workmen at a time, as the following table shows:—

Number of men on strike.

TABLE A. 12.

Number of Operatives.		Number of Strikes.
From	To	
1	49	272
50	99	206
100	149	120
150	199	79
200	249	88
250	299	36
300	349	43
350	399	11
400	449	31
450	499	11
500	599	35
600	699	15
700	799	19
800	899	15
940	999	5
1,000	1,499	26
1,500	1,999	6
2,000	2,999	13
3,000	3,999	3
4,000	4,999	3
5,000 and over.		2
		Total 1,039

In some of the strikes, however, large numbers of men were engaged. Such were the brickmakers' strike at Rome in 1885, which involved 9,150 operatives, and the weavers' strike at Como in November 1888, in which 5,000 workmen joined.

Among the strikes that occurred in 1891 may be noted the strike of the mechanics (*operai meccanici*) of Milan, in which more than 2,000 men were engaged, and which lasted 14 days, threatening at one time a general strike among the industries of the city; those of the weavers of Schio (1,800 operatives), of the tanners of Genoa (600), of the cigar makers of Naples, during which 2,000 female hands were on strike for 10 days, of the weavers of Como, affecting 2,000 operatives (male and female) for about 15 days, and, lastly, the strikes in the sulphur mines of the provinces of Caltanissetta and Girgenti, in which about 7,000 men took part.<sup>(10)</sup>

The subjoined list summarises for the whole kingdom the details as to the duration of strikes in particular provinces, contained in Signor Bodio's fifth Table:—

Duration of strikes and lock-outs.

TABLE A. 13.

Years.	Up to 3 Days.	Strikes.		
		From 4 to 10 Days.	More than 10 Days.	Total.
1878	9	8	2	19
1879	16	12	2	30
1880	18	4	4	26
1881	24	10	7	41
1882	33	10	3	46
1883	41	22	7	70

(10) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1892, p. 8.  
 (11) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 6. Id., pp. 37-87.  
 (12) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 5. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, pp. 29 and 73.

Years.	Up to 3 Days.	Strikes.		Total.
		From 4 to 10 Days.	More than 10 Days.	
1884	44	19	15	78
1885	47	21	17	85
1886	67	19	9	95
1887	43	12	11	66
1888	54	28	14	96
1889	80	31	13	124
1890	92	31	9	132
1891	72	37	17	126
	642	261	130	1,033

Thus more than half the strikes did not last more than three days, about a quarter lasted from four to ten days; the remainder were protracted beyond ten days. The longest strikes during the above-mentioned 13 years were those of the hatters of Andorno, in May 1885, and of the spinners (female) of Azzate, in March 1889, both of which lasted 90 days. In 1889 the weavers of Valle Superiore Mosso (1,600 operatives) remained on strike for two months. In June 1885, the hatters of Monza (about 1,000 operatives) held out for 60 days, and a strike among the masons of Bologna (4,000 operatives), in May 1887, lasted for 20 days. The female weavers (*tessitrici*) of Varese (700 hands) gave up work in October 1888 for 45 days. These, however, were exceptional cases; the greater number of strikes are brought to a close in a much shorter time.<sup>(1)</sup> "Multiplying the number of days which each strike lasted by the number of hands employed, the total loss of time, and consequently of wages, to the operatives is shown. The result gives a total of 1,847,881 days, beginning with 21,896 days in 1879, and gradually increasing to 244,293 days in 1885. In 1886 the number of days lost was 56,772; in 1887, 218,612; in 1888, 191,204; in 1889, 215,880; in 1890, 167,657; and in 1891, 258,059."<sup>(2)</sup>

Professor Ugo Rabbeno regards the short duration of the Italian strikes, and the comparatively small proportion of men who took part in them, as indicating that the disturbances were not of a serious nature. He attributes the ephemeral character of the movement to the want of organised resistance on the part of the workmen, and observes that the longest strikes have generally taken place in the best organised industries, such as the printing trade.<sup>(3)</sup>

Duration of agrarian strikes.

The longest agrarian strike on record between 1881 and 1891 occurred in 1885 among the peasants of Burago-Monza, in the Milanese. It was caused by a demand for increased wages, and lasted 120 days. The two largest agrarian strikes, each involving 2,000 men, broke out in 1882 and 1885 respectively, in the provinces of Catania and Mantua.<sup>(4)</sup>

Duration of lock-outs.

Lock-outs also have generally been of short duration. The longest, among the Biellese hatters in 1885, was over in a month (30 days). In the largest recorded lock-out, which took place in 1890, 2,000 spinners and weavers were engaged. It was caused by a question of taxation, and lasted for two days.<sup>(5)</sup>

3. Important individual strikes. (a.) Strikes among the weavers of the Biella district.

The important series of strikes which occurred in the district of Biella, between 1861 and 1878, deserve to be described in some detail. They form good illustrations of the relations between employers and employed in Northern Italy, the general causes, development, and effects of industrial strikes, and the influence of the secret societies. The disputes were almost entirely confined to the woollen industry, which gave employment to 5,125 out of 13,185 operatives in a population of 139,632 souls. In 1878, there were 135 woollen mills in the district, furnished with 3,750 looms (3,400 hands, and 350 power).<sup>(6)</sup> The condition of the Biellese workmen is reported as having been peculiarly prosperous at the beginning of the struggle. They were sober, thrifty, and industrious; abject poverty was unknown, and almost every man possessed

a small house, and often also a plot of well cultivated land, with a few head of cattle. Many workmen had even risen to be themselves small manufacturers, and the greater part of the capital by which the weaving industry was supported, had its origin in the thrift and economy of the operatives. The woollen trade in the district of Biella developed rapidly after the Crimean War, new factories were started, and production increased threefold. In 1861 the workmen began to show signs of discontent. Between this year and 1878, 70 strikes broke out in the district. "Of these, 30 occurred in the 22 largest mills, employing from 90 to 200 hands, and only 31 in the 113 smaller factories, and these for the most part on the occasion of general strikes."

The struggle arose out of a question of wages, complicated by complaints about working hours and discipline. "Later, however, when wages had been raised and the time-table satisfactorily settled," other reasons were given for the maintenance of strained relations between the employers and the employed. The operatives objected to the manufacturers taking on fresh hands without their knowledge, or dismissing troublesome workmen; they insisted on a reason for every dismissal being given, they asserted their privilege of absenting themselves from work on Mondays and Tuesdays, and refused to be bound down to help their fellow workmen in charging the loom (*caricare il telaio*). The report of the Commission of 1878 sums up their chief aims under the four following headings:—

Causes.

(1.) Prevention of the competition resulting from the admission of an indefinite number of apprentices, or of workmen from other districts.

(2.) Prevention of competition among the hands themselves, by opposing piece-work, and by limiting the quantity of weekly labour, and thus restricting weekly earnings.

(3.) Opposition to the substitution of power looms for hand looms.

(4.) To secure to the strikers a means of resistance against what they call the domineering of capital.

Attitude of employers.

The attitude of the manufacturers was at first fairly conciliatory, but the Commissioners of 1878, who inquired particularly into these disturbances, admit that there were faults on both sides. The employers did little to counteract factious influences from without, or to stir up the men to renewed energy and frugality. They were also divided among themselves. The smaller manufacturers, who had in many cases risen from the ranks of the operatives, were jealous of those who could afford to employ labour on a large scale. They held aloof from their defensive associations. They even occasionally opposed the introduction of new machinery into the factories. Their lukewarmness was in a great measure the cause of the failure of the attempts at resistance on the part of the employers. The smaller manufacturers, moreover, were specially accused of harshness by the men. . . . On the other hand, it must be observed that in the larger factories the operatives were well treated and well paid. Provident societies, schools, and savings banks were founded by the employers on their behalf. Their wages were amply sufficient for their needs, though they might, no doubt, have easily been raised when first the men began to murmur. But the extraordinary profits in which they claimed to share were after all the result of a merely temporary stimulus given to industry by special circumstances. The employers must have foreseen that it would be very difficult for them, if once they raised wages, to lower them again in a time of industrial depression. In 1864 the manufacturers formed a defensive association amongst themselves, and offered terms to the men, which were rejected after some discussion. A compromise was finally effected, and for three years the strikes were discontinued. In 1876, the disturbances having assumed a very alarming aspect, the manufacturers of Valle Strona, the chief seat of the struggle, formed a special defensive association, on the lines of the general association of 1864. They also made an unsuccessful attempt to stop the drunkenness on the part of the men, which they believed to be at the root of the evil, by refusing them permission to absent themselves from work on Mondays and Tuesdays. From 1873 onwards they also substituted workmen from other provinces for their subordinate operatives. A resolution as to conditions of work, put forward by the Employers' Association of Valle Strona, in June 1877, was met by the men with an outburst of indignation. A general strike followed, the central authorities intervened, and finally the resolution had to be withdrawn. At the end of the

(1) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 30.

(2) F. O. Report, *Miscellaneous Series*, 1893, No. 276, p. 6.

(3) *Arbeitsstellungen in Italien* Ugo Rabbeno *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, p. 555.

(4) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, Table II., pp. 74, 75.

(5) *Id.* Table III., pp. 79, 80.

(6) F. O. Report, *Miscellaneous Series*, 1891, No. 211, pp. 27, 28.

year similar scenes were enacted at Biella, but the firmness of the manufacturers soon put an end to the disturbance. From 1878 to 1884, "only four small strikes occurred among the Biellese weavers on the wages question, and these were amicably arranged."<sup>(1)</sup>

Attitude of employed.

Throughout this series of strikes a strong and increasing tendency to violence showed itself among the operatives. As early as 1867 there were instances of incendiarism, and a workman was condemned to five years' imprisonment for threats against public order. In one case, an employer was attacked and personally injured; in another, the workmen tried to hire a field close to the manufacturer's house, that he might have an encampment of them constantly before him; in a third they took the more original revenge of chanting the *Miserere* in his presence. Employers who tried to keep their men at work when orders for a strike had been issued, or to recall them to work while a strike was going on, or to supply their places with apprentices or strangers, had their factories laid under a kind of ban. It was found necessary to provide a military escort for the Lombard workmen whom the manufacturers called in, and in most cases they were compelled to retire from the district. A regular system of boycotting was instituted; the operatives who refused to join in the strikes were stigmatised as *bedouins*, and were completely cut off from the help and society of their fellow workmen, "involved in an atmosphere of hostility which clung to them everywhere." Women who had drawn down on themselves this reproach could not hope to find a husband. Any weaver entering a boycotted factory became at once an object of the bitterest persecution, and "on one occasion at least the owners and hands of a mill compounded for the crime of resisting a strike by the payment of a sum of 5,000 lire to the benefit society of the weavers of Croce Mosso."<sup>(1)</sup>

This system of terrorism was extended by the men even to their dealings with each other. A weaver who had exceeded the fixed limit of weekly work was compelled to remain idle beside his loom for several days; others confessed to their employers that they had not dared to give in their work before the time appointed by their fellow workmen. The Commissioners of 1878 attribute this attempt to limit production and equalise wages, to the action of the leaders of the strike movement. They dreaded, apparently, a rise in wages, lest the manufacturers should be tempted to substitute machinery for hand labour, or to have their yarn spun in other districts. The men themselves, however, appear to have resented the tyranny of their comrades. There was the less excuse for violence, because the real grievances of the workmen were comparatively slight. The woollen industry gave employment both to young and old. Their wages had been raised, so that they gained from 2½ to 5 lire per diem, while the daily wages of carpenters, masons, and mechanics were only from 2½ to 2½ lire. Indeed, certain of their deputies stated in 1877, that since 1864 the strikes had not been the result of the wages question. Their hours of work, reduced in 1864 to 11 per diem, were, by their own acknowledgment, not considered excessive, while those working by the piece often only did eight hours per diem.

Action of secret societies.

In summing up the evidence brought before them, the Commissioners of 1878 finally arrived at the conclusion that the strikes had been fomented by the action of a secret society in connexion with the benefit society of Croce Mosso. They adduce in proof of this conclusion the change in the character of the movement, from spontaneous association to passive obedience to orders emanating from a central authority, the oligarchical methods of management employed, and the occasional instances of direct interference from without. They notice also, as proofs of the existence of a secret society, the state of intimidation of the workmen, which made it difficult to obtain trustworthy evidence, the unanimity observed in persecuting the *bedouins*, the rapid diffusion of information relating to the strikes, the arrangement and organisation of the strikes, and the reticence of the strikers as to their real motives. Finally, they have little doubt that this secret society was connected with the benefit society of the weavers of Croce Mosso, which was indeed twice suppressed by the central authority. This society was managed by a secret committee, which distributed the weavers in hundreds, each under a head man. It had a representative in each factory. It received fees from the workmen, for

the maintenance of strikes, which were kept separate from the general funds of the society, under the name of *The Special Library Fund*. "There was also some uncertain evidence that the movement was fostered by advice or assistance from abroad."<sup>(2)</sup> Money is said to have been sent to the strikers from Geneva as well as from Tuscany and Romagna, possibly by those interested in weakening the Biellese trade. On this point, however, the Commissioners do not speak with any certainty. They content themselves with asserting that though it would be unjust to lay all the blame of the economic disturbances in the Biellese district on the society of Croce Mosso, yet that it played an important part in these disturbances, intensifying the movement, transforming it into a systematic war, depriving the workmen by oppression and intimidation of their freedom of action, and, if not actually promoting the direct intervention of foreign producers, favouring, at least, their interests.

The results of this long economic struggle the Commissioners regard as most pernicious to the workmen. They deteriorated in the period of enforced idleness. They lost their habits of thrift and economy; they became extravagant and careless; they gave themselves up to drunkenness and cynicism. A case is reported in which they wrote up over the door of an ale-house, "Workman's Savings Bank" (*Cassa di risparmio dell'operato*). The number of ale-houses and wine-clubs (*società vinarie*) increased alarmingly. The workmen who frequented them on their way to and from work called them their "chapels" (*cappelle*), and it has been calculated that each house was supported on an average by 52 customers.

Results.

Drunkenness produced its natural effects on the material condition of the men. Their family affections were weakened, they ceased to care for their work, and lost all originality. Some of the small landed proprietors sold their fields. At the same time, the Biellese workmen began to be influenced by the teaching of the "Internationalists;" they sent deputies to the "International" Congresses in Switzerland, and introduced foreign economic terms which have as yet found no equivalents in their own dialects.

The more purely industrial effects of the strikes the Commissioners regard also as unfavourable on the whole to the strikers. It is true that wages were raised, but if the loss during the times of inaction be considered, the workmen probably gained little by this, especially as the rise in wages brought about a diminution of work and considerable irregularity and stagnation in the conditions of labour, when a commercial crisis followed the former time of prosperity. As a remedy for the evils of the past, the Commissioners look chiefly to the influence of popular education in producing a healthier tone of public opinion, which may lead to the avoidance in the future of "a conflict which comprises the most vital interests of the country."<sup>(3)</sup>

In the printing trade, which is one of the best organised industries in Italy, strikes have been frequent and important. Between 1860 and 1878, 25 strikes among printers were recorded. Of these, 11 took place at Rome, 7 at Florence, 3 at Milan, and several at Naples. Twice, at Milan in 1862 and at Rome in 1873, the strike embraced all the typographers of the city. At Milan, the Society of Printers, for the sake of gaining greater strength, gave itself up for the time to the government of a kind of dictator. At Rome the strike lasted 33 days, but was finally compromised. Judicial processes were, however, instituted against some of the operatives. They were condemned as instigators of the dispute, but the Court of Appeal reversed the sentence.<sup>(4)</sup> By 1884 the total number of printers' strikes had risen to about 30,<sup>(5)</sup> and by the end of 1891 to about 50.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1890 no less than nine strikes occurred in this trade alone. A detailed account of several of these disturbances is given above, under the heading of "Workmen's Associations" (p. 9). The strikes generally broke out in the large towns, where the Association of Working Printers had its chief centres. "Whenever," indeed, "the Association wishes to modify the tariff, it makes a proposition to the proprietors of the printing factories, and if they refuse to accept it, orders for a strike are issued." Again, "to keep up or raise the tariff, every affiliated society may have recourse to active measures, that is to say, to a strike; the necessary funds are drawn

(5.) Strikes among printers.

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 211, p. 23.

(2) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1884, Part II., p. 28 of seq.

(3) Id., pp. 8, 22.

(4) Arbeitsstellungen in Italien. Ugo Rabbeno, p. 686. (Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften).

(5) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, Table I., pp. 217-73.

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 23.

" by each society from the weekly contributions of its members, which at critical times may be increased by the society in proportion to its needs."(\*) In spite of the steady efforts and elaborate organisation of the working printers, the results of these strikes do not appear to have been very satisfactory. In Rome, wages rose slightly, but only after a struggle of several years' duration, and 11 strikes, which cost the operatives a considerable sum of money. It is, however, difficult, for want of evidence, to estimate precisely the full results of all the strikes among printers throughout Italy.

(c.) General strikes.

Strikes in Italy have generally been confined to the workmen of one particular factory, or at least have not extended beyond a few neighbouring factories concerned with the same or cognate industries. Ten strikes, however, involved workmen of different trades. Of these the most noteworthy occurred among the masons of Turin and Milan respectively, in July and August 1872. The first of these strikes, organised by a workman's association (*confederazione operaia*), arose from a dispute as to wages. Beginning with 2,000 masons in Turin, it spread to the workmen of almost all the industries in the town. The authorities intervened, dissolved the meetings, and arrested the ringleaders, and the strike ended after eight days.

The Milanese strike also began among the masons, and was subsequently joined by some thousands of other operatives. It excited great alarm at first, but it did not give rise to any serious disturbance. It appears to have lacked unity of direction; each class of workmen made a separate agreement with their respective employers, and in four days work was resumed in almost all the factories. It was suspected that these disturbances had been stirred up by revolutionary agencies.(\*)

Cabmen's strike at Naples.

Mention may here be made of the recent strike among the cabmen of Naples on August 23rd, 1893, chiefly caused by a disagreement with the omnibus companies. "The men assembled in the Piazza Depretis, and endeavoured to prevent the trams and omnibuses from running. A number of police hastened to the spot, and were immediately attacked by the strikers with sticks and stones, being consequently compelled to draw their swords in self-defence. Some persons were injured, and a number of arrests were made. Later in the afternoon another band of strikers set fire to a kiosk and five tramway cars. The tramway and omnibus service was suspended," and detachments of cavalry were appointed to guard the yards of the tramway company. "In consequence of the disorders most of the shops in the city were closed. Four policemen and five strikers were said to have been injured in the affray in the Piazza Depretis, and several hundred people were taken into custody on charges of being concerned in the riots." On the evening of August 25th fresh disturbances occurred, and the streets were patrolled by the military. Signor Giolitti, the Premier, appointed a commission of inquiry to ascertain whether blame attached to the civil and military authorities of the city in connexion with the disorders, and the control of the public force was entrusted to the Director-General of Public Safety. The Prefect of Naples issued a manifesto appealing to the patriotism of the inhabitants, and in the course of a few days the strike collapsed,(\*) though the strikers gained several of the points in dispute. Similar disturbances took place about the same time at Rome.

D.—GENERAL RESULT OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

Proportion of successful strikes and lock-outs.

It is not easy to form an exact conclusion as to the general result of the strikes which took place in Italy between 1860 and 1878, owing to the incompleteness of the returns made by the prefects. The most frequent ending appears to have been a compromise between the opposing claims of labour and capital; in the two largest strikes, however, which occurred in Turin and Milan in the summer of 1872, the workmen lost the day.

1860-1878.

In the above-mentioned 18 years, 2,685 operatives were denounced to the judicial authorities for 306 strikes, of which the greater number were accompanied with violence. Those which were free from violence were nearly always terminated by a declaration that there was no cause for judicial action. Of the others, 11 trials were stopped by an amnesty, and in the remainder sentence was given against the accused. Eleven operatives were fined, 78 were placed under arrest, 233 were sentenced to at least one month's

imprisonment, 192 to a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months, and four to imprisonment for a year. One man alone, who was concerned in the Biellose strikes, was condemned to two years' imprisonment.

Thus it appears that the struggle between capital and labour has been less marked by violence in Italy than in other countries, and that even such acts of violence as have occurred have not been of a serious nature.(\*)

Out of the 1,075 strikes which were reported between 1878 and 1891 the result of only 1,047 is known. Of these 1,047 strikes:—

170 were completely successful for the operatives.

448 were compromised, the demands of the operatives being partially satisfied.

429 were unsuccessful.

The subjoined table classifies these strikes according to results, showing the numbers which occurred in each year:—

TABLE A. 14.

Year.	Result with regard to the Operatives.		
	Favourable.	Partially favourable.	Unfavourable.
1878	1	8	19
1879	4	13	15
1880	4	10	13
1881	5	17	23
1882	5	16	26
1883	11	34	25
1884	16	35	29
1885	24	33	26
1886	14	30	42
1887	9	29	29
1888	22	40	35
1889	13	64	44
1890	25	58	40
1891	17	32	61
Total	170	448	429
		1,047	

The strikes then ended for about 16 per cent. in favour of the operatives, for about 43 per cent. in a compromise, "which may have been more or less favourable to the operatives, as the agreement was, " or was not, duly carried out," and for 41 per cent. to the advantage of the masters. These proportions were maintained without much variation till 1891. In 1884, however, the number of strikes favourable to the operatives rose to 20 per cent.; in 1885, to 29 per cent.; in 1888, to 23 per cent. The first two were years of great economic prosperity; the third marked the most acute period of the crisis. If the result of the strikes be further considered in relation to the causes which produced them, they may be classified as follows:—(\*)

TABLE A. 15.

Causes of Strikes.	Full Number of Strikes of which the Cause is known.	Results of Strikes (1,047) of which the Issue is unknown.		
		Favourable.	Partially Favourable.	Unfavourable.
To obtain an advance of wages	557	96	250	150
To obtain a reduction of working hours	73	13	28	29
To resist a reduction of wages	119	15	50	49
To resist an increase of working hours	20	7	8	5
Other causes	306	36	112	147
Total	1,076	170	448	429

(\*) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1883, pp. 21-22.

(\*) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1895, p. 9. Arbeitseinstellungen in Italien. Ugo Rabbeno, pp. 653, 654. (Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften.)

(\*) "Daily Chronicle," August 23, 25, 1893.

(\*) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, p. 9. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 27.

(\*) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, pp. 25-27. Tables IV. and VI., pp. 81-82, and 87-88. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 274, p. 4.



It must be borne in mind that these results are only approximately correct, since, as Signor Bodio explains, the statistics from which they have been deduced are often incomplete, or insufficient, and the difficulty of classification is rendered greater by the indeterminate manner in which many strikes conclude, with a promise on the part of the employer to grant his workmen's demands, either wholly or in part, while the cases in which the mere threat of a strike has produced the desired effect have been left out altogether. (1)

#### E.—PREVENTION AND SETTLEMENT OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

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"Institutions for the settlement of disputes between labour and capital hardly exist in Italy." In the event of strikes, the political authorities are called upon to restore order; after which, by common consent, the question is either referred to the President of the Local Chamber of Commerce, or, as at Rovigo, to the heads of the working men's associations, or, as at Genoa, to some influential person.

"At Milan, the office of arbitrator has hitherto been, in some cases, assumed by the *Consolato operaio* (see above, p. 19), and has now been taken up, as one of its functions, by the New Labour Chamber." The Commissioners of 1878 mention "a committee of arbitration, instituted among the weavers (*per l'industria tessile*) in this town in imitation of the committee at Como." (2)

In the general strike which took place among the Milanese printers in 1880 a mixed committee of workmen and employers was appointed to settle a tariff of wages which should be acceptable to both parties. Twelve years later, in 1892, fresh disputes having arisen, the employers agreed to the workmen's proposal to nominate a second committee of arbitration, presided over by disinterested persons. Both sides showed a conciliatory spirit, and a compromise was arrived at without much difficulty. The committee tried to ensure the peaceful settlement of all future disputes by the following provisions: "All quarrels are to be decided by a committee of arbitration composed of nine persons, namely, four employers, four operatives, and a chairman, possibly a lawyer, who must not belong to the trade. There shall also be four supplementary arbitrators, two of whom shall be elected by each side."

"This committee shall be permanent. It shall comprise four workmen from the Association of Compositors (Milanese centre) and four employers from the Association of Typographers and Booksellers (*Associazioni tipografico-libraria*), if it is not nominated by more direct representatives of the master typographers. The president is to be nominated by agreement between the two parties."

"Those who are interested in a question submitted to arbitration cannot sit on the committee." (3)

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At Como a *Collegio* or board of arbitration, has been instituted, composed in equal parts of manufacturers and operatives, drawn by lot from lists compiled and revised under the supervision of the Comune. This board was founded with the purpose of conciliating or judicially deciding disputes concerning labour between masters and hands in the silk-weaving industry. It forms part of the institution called the *Giuria per l'industria serica* (board of arbitration for the silk industry), which deserves more particular mention. In 1877 the Silk Weaving Association (*Associazione della tessitura serica*) of Como, to which most of the manufacturers belonged, opened a special office to settle the frequent disputes which arose between employers and employed about the payment of work. A general strike had shown that there were many real abuses requiring correction. Silk weaving at Como was carried on in the weavers' homes, and the work was paid for by the piece. Some manufacturers availed themselves of this system to under pay their men, and thus to enable themselves to undersell their own competitors. The operatives however, at first looked with suspicion on the new office of the association, and seldom applied to it.

In 1880 another strike broke out on the question of payment for labour. The workmen demanded a uniform tariff (*tariffa unica*) and the transformation of the office established by the Silk Weaving Association into a proper board of arbitration. They wished to move the seat of

the *Giuria* and re-organise its constitution. After many meetings of committees of workmen and manufacturers, at the Chamber of Commerce and at the offices of the municipality, the regulations for the *Giuria*, which are still in force, were drawn up on January 1st, 1883.

According to these regulations the *Giuria* consists of 78 members (*giurati*), of whom 30 are manufacturers elected by the Chamber of Commerce, concurrently with the committee of the Silk Weaving Association. The remaining 48 are operatives, not under 21 years of age, elected annually by a committee called the *Consolato operaio*, in the General Assembly of the Presidents and Consuls of those local Benefit Societies, of which a majority of the members are weavers. The *Giuria* nominates a presiding committee (*ufficio di presidenza*) from its members. This committee is composed of six members, three manufacturers, elected by the operatives (*giurati operai*), and three operatives, elected by the manufacturers (*giurati fabbricanti*). Each of the six members thus chosen presides over the committee in turn for two months.

The *collegio* or board of arbitrators is composed of four manufacturers and four operatives, drawn by lot every two months by the presiding committee (*ufficio di presidenza*) from the general body of the *Giuria*. The chairman is a member of the presiding committee, alternately a manufacturer and an operative. He is also drawn by lot every two months. The secretary is nominated by the municipality, concurrently with the Chamber of Commerce.

The complaints, both of the manufacturers and of the operatives, must be presented to the presiding committee. If their efforts at conciliation are unavailing, the dispute is submitted to the Board of Arbitration mentioned above (*Collegio arbitrale degli otto*) of which four members, two manufacturers and two operatives, with the chairman, form a quorum.

The first uniform minimum tariff, which the workmen demanded during the strike of 1880, was established in 1883 by a special committee (*commissione*) of arbitration. The *Giuria* simply enforces the agreements between manufacturers and operatives, and determines, when disputes arise, the fair price payable for each piece of work according to its quality.

The uniform tariff of 1883 was never generally observed. It was superseded in 1888, on the occasion of a strike during which more than 10,000 looms remained idle, by a tariff drawn up by a mixed committee of 10 operatives and 10 manufacturers, presided over by the Syndic (*Mayor*) of Como. By this tariff the rate of prices was slightly raised. In 1891 the agitation among the weavers threatened to end in a strike, and the *Giuria* prepared to name arbitrators to revise the tariff according to Article 16 of the regulations, which empowers them, in case of differences arising between manufacturers, foremen, and operatives, to interpose their good offices for the restoration of harmony. They found, however, that their interference would not be acceptable, and no further steps were taken. The Syndic (*Mayor*) of Como then intervened, and by his personal influence arranged that every manufacturer, according to the articles he produced, should fix a tariff, copies of which should be deposited at the Chamber of Commerce and with the *Giuria*. The prices of work were lowered on account of the depressed conditions of industry, and the uniform tariff disappeared.

The action of the *Giuria* is now, therefore, limited. It can no longer conciliate general controversies, it can only interfere in disputes between manufacturers and operatives with respect to the prices for work fixed by the separate tariffs, when the tariffs themselves have been duly deposited as described above.

Between 1883 and 1891 the *Giuria* heard a total of 543 complaints. Of these, 43 were brought by manufacturers against operatives; 421 by operatives against manufacturers; 43 by foremen against operatives; and 36 by operatives against foremen. Four hundred and sixty-five were amicably arranged by the presiding committee, and 78 were settled by the board of arbitrators (*Collegio della Giuria*). (4)

The Labour Chambers are now beginning to assume the position of arbitrators in disputes arising between masters and operatives. The recently organised chamber of Venice proposes in addition, under Article 31 of its regulations, the establishment of a mixed industrial court of arbitration, for which the committee of arbitration, elected by the chamber, will come to an

(1) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 28.  
(2) *Relazione sugli Scioperi*, 1886, p. 60. *Statistica degli Scioperi*, p. 17. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 11-12.  
(3) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, pp. 12-14.

(4) *Statistica degli Scioperi*, 1892, p. 17 et seq. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 12 et seq.

arrangement with the President of the local Chamber of Commerce. At Piacenza also a committee of arbitrators exists, named jointly by the Labour Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce."<sup>(1)</sup>

2. State Boards of Arbitration or Conciliation (Collegi di Probi Viri).

The principle of arbitration, at first spontaneously appealed to by the disputing parties, has since been adopted by the Government. As the Commissioners of 1878 have pointed out, Boards of Conciliation ought to be peculiarly easy to establish in Italy, where traditions of the mediæval trading associations still linger. "From the time of the communes, and throughout the most splendid period of Italian industry, the colleges (*le Università*) of merchants and craftsmen had the right of electing special judicial bodies which exercised both the functions of the modern commercial tribunals and those which are generally relegated to the colleges of *Probi Viri*."<sup>(2)</sup> The Commissioners of 1878, after many inquiries, came to the conclusion that the institution of Boards of Arbitration (*Collegi di Probi Viri*) would be well received both by employers and employed. Sixteen Chambers of Commerce and 22 prefects pronounced decidedly in their favour; 4 prefects and 10 Chambers of Commerce hesitated; 10 Chambers of Commerce and 8 prefects were hostile. It was objected that such Boards would encourage workmen to be exacting and unruly; that the conditions of industry in Italy were not sufficiently advanced to render such extraordinary precautions needful; that the working classes were too uneducated to appreciate the efforts made for them. The Commissioners replied that they would only introduce the Boards where the persons most interested really wished for them; that it was generally admitted that conciliatory action would have mitigated the Biellese disturbances; that similar boards had been successful in other European countries, and also at Como and Milan. The Commission then drew up two drafts of a proposed Act for the institution of Boards of Arbitration (*Collegi di Probi Viri*).<sup>(3)</sup> These were thrown into the form of a Bill (*disegno di legge*) by Signor Berti, Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and presented to the Chamber on June 30th, 1883.<sup>(4)</sup> A similar scheme (*proposta di legge d'iniziativa parlamentare*) was introduced in February 1890 by Signor Maffi, himself a working man. It was referred to a committee and reported to the House, with some amendments, on May 22nd, 1890,<sup>(5)</sup> and was brought in again in April 1891.<sup>(6)</sup> About the same time (May 16th, 1891) Signor Chimirri, the Minister of Agriculture, introduced a second Bill (*disegno di legge*) on the same subject. The report on these two Bills, presented to the Chamber on June 19th, 1891, was drawn up by Signor Gallevresi, one of the members for Milan. It was virtually a third project, modifying the schemes of Signor Maffi and Signor Chimirri. It was approved, with some modifications, by the Chamber and the Senate, in February 1892, but was dropped at the close of the session. In December 1892 Signor Lacava, Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and Signor Bonacci, Minister of Grace, Justice, and Public Worship, brought in a new Bill (*disegno di legge*), which was approved by the Chamber on February 17th, 1893, and presented to the Senate on the following day. On April 24th, Signor Griffini, of the Central Department (*Ufficio Centrale*), produced his report, which concluded by accepting the scheme (*progetto di legge*) which was afterwards approved by the Elective Chamber, and has since (June 1893) become law.<sup>(7)</sup> The provisions of these various Bills and schemes may now be briefly summarised. The Commission of 1878 recognises three possible forms for a Board of Arbitration:—

1. It may be invested both with judicial and with conciliatory functions, and may thus constitute a special jurisdiction, withdrawing all questions which fall within its province from the ordinary Courts.

2. The board may similarly have both judicial and conciliatory powers, but it is co-ordinate with the ordinary Courts, and only takes cognizance of such cases as are brought before it by the common consent of both parties concerned.

3. The board may be simply a Board of Conciliation, with an appeal to the ordinary Courts if it fails to bring about a composition.

The first of these forms was accepted by the majority of the Commissioners, and was taken by Signor Berti as the basis of his Bill, which proposed the institution of elective Boards of Arbitration, invested with the double functions of conciliation and jurisdiction, and presided over by the Minister of Grace and Justice.<sup>(8)</sup>

Berti's Bill

Signor Maffi's scheme was drawn up on the same lines as the Bill introduced by Signor Berti, and in its chief features closely resembled the proposals of the Commission of 1878. It provides that in industrial, commercial, and similar centres, Boards of Arbitration, composed in equal proportions of manufacturers and operatives, of not less than 12 or more than 24 members, may be appointed under the presidency of the local magistrato (*pretore giurisdizionale*) for the settlement of labour disputes. These boards are to be constituted by royal decree, on the petition of the parties concerned.

Maffi's Bill

The arbitrators act both as Boards of Conciliation (*Uffici di conciliazione*) and as judicial courts (*Giurie*).

Each Board of Conciliation is composed of a vice-president and two members, a manufacturer and an operative. The *Giuria* is composed of a president and four members, two manufacturers and two operatives. An official of the municipality nearest to the board is empowered to act as registrar (*cancelliere*). In serious cases, two or more extraordinary members may be added to the Board of Conciliation or the *Giuria* from the general body of arbitrators provided that the proportion between manufacturers and operatives is maintained. Extraordinary members may also be called in when the ordinary members are prevented from exercising their functions.

Constitution.

The Board of Conciliation is empowered to make friendly arrangements in all controversies between employers and workmen concerning agreements as to wages, prices of work, hours of labour, agreements as to labour, bad work, compensation for changes in the quality of raw material, damages, indemnities, and all violations of contracts. "By sub-section 7 of section 6 the right of free contract between master and workman against personal damage to the latter is allowed. The decision as to the amount of damages is referred to the Board of Conciliation."

Functions.

The *Giuria* may decide without appeal all disputes between manufacturers and operatives up to the value of 500 lire, relating to agreements as to wages, hours of labour, and the other matters which may be referred to the Board of Conciliation. It may also, without prejudice to the actions tried in the ordinary courts, punish by a fine not exceeding 10 lire any acts of violence, ill-treatment, or untrustworthiness which take place in factories, provided that they are reported within three days after their occurrence.

All disputes brought before the *Giurie* must first be submitted to the Board of Conciliation.

The arbitrators are elected by ballot, by the whole body of manufacturers, foremen, and operatives, of both sexes, who have attained their majority, and exercised their art or craft for a year, and who are neither criminals nor bankrupts. In the double lists of electors, foremen (*capi operai*) are included among operatives, and heads of factories employing not less than 50 hands are counted as manufacturers. Of these electors all, without distinction of sex, who can read and write, and have completed the 25th year of their age, are eligible for the office of arbitrator. The manufacturers choose a vice-president and the operative members of the Board of Conciliation and the *Giuria* respectively. The working men choose a second vice-president and the manufacturer members of the two boards. The vice-presidents preside alternately over the Board of Conciliation. The president presides over the *Giuria*. Half the members are re-elected every year, and the whole board is re-constituted every four years. Ordinary meetings are held every Sunday, and extraordinary meetings when urgent questions arise. If the arbitrators are personally interested in the disputes to be decided, or if they are relatives, employers or employes of one of the parties concerned, they need not take part in the discussions. Those who in any way hinder the arbitrators in the exercise of their functions are struck off the list

Mode of election.

(1) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1883, No. 276, p. 14.

(2) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1885, pp. 69-71.

(3) Id., pp. 61-62. Id., pp. 63-66, Appendices B., C.

(4) Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 20. Camera dei Deputati, No. 136, p. 3; 84, p. 3.

(5) Id., No. 117. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 66.

(6) Camera dei Deputati, No. 117, p. 8. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 20.

(7) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 66. Statistica degli Scioperi, 1892, p. 20. Camera dei Deputati, No. 136. Id., No. 84.

(8) Relazione sugli Scioperi, 1883, pp. 65-64. Camera dei Deputati, No. 136, p. 5.

of electors. The decisions of the *Giuria* have the force of legal sentences. The operative arbitrators (*probi viri*) are paid for sitting on the board at the rate of a day's wages for each attendance (*udienza*). Their travelling expenses are also defrayed. The expenses of the board are divided equally between the Government, the province, and the commune or communes over which the jurisdiction of the board extends.<sup>(1)</sup>

Signor Chimirri's Bill agrees in most important respects with its predecessors. The judicial power of decision of the *Giuria* is, however, cut down from cases concerned with 500 lire to those in which not more than 100 lire are involved. It is, on the other hand, empowered to exact fines not exceeding 15 lire. Appeals against the *Giuria* for exceeding its powers, or for incompetency, may be laid before the ordinary tribunals. Workmen are only eligible as electors if they have practised their craft for a year, and have lived for the same space of time within the district assigned to the Board of Arbitration, but illiterate persons are allowed to vote. Women are not eligible as arbitrators, and the conditions of eligibility generally are somewhat restricted. The manufacturers and operatives respectively elect their own representatives. The arbitrators are sworn on entering office. The board may be dissolved by Royal decree, on the application of the Minister of Grace and Justice, and of the Minister of Agriculture. They can also be suppressed in the same manner, after consultation with the local authorities. Those who in any way hinder the arbitrators in the exercise of their functions are struck off the list of electors for a period varying from two to ten years. No provision is made for paying the travelling expenses of working men arbitrators. The expenses of the board are borne by the local Chamber of Commerce.

The Committee which reported on Signor Chimirri's Bill also limited the Board to not less than 10 and not more than 20 members, and decided that the president was to be appointed by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and that he must belong neither to the class of employers nor to that of workmen, while in cases where the electoral lists contained more than 500 names a second president might be appointed. The sittings of the *Giuria* are to be public, those of the Board of Conciliation are to be held privately. The remaining differences between this Bill and that of Signor Maffi chiefly concern points of procedure, and are intended to facilitate, expedite, and simplify the working of the Board of Arbitration. Operatives employed in Government workshops (*stabilimenti*) and dockyards do not come under the provisions of this Bill.<sup>(2)</sup>

No Board of Arbitration has as yet been established for agricultural labourers. The complexity of agricultural contracts, indeed, and the lack of the spirit of association among agricultural labourers, render the principle of arbitration peculiarly difficult of application in their case, though Signor Bodio and the Ministers Lacava and Bonacci hope in time that it may be extended to them. A proposal to this effect, which was submitted to the Council of Agriculture, was not well received, but a new draft on the subject has been recently drawn up which was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies on November 23rd, 1893. This scheme (*progetto di legge*) gives authority to the Agricultural Boards of Arbitration in all controversies arising out of labour contracts, where not more than 500 lire are concerned. The arbitrators are to be elected partly by the landowners (*proprietari*) and partly by the peasants (*contadini*) and agricultural labourers.<sup>(3)</sup>

It remains briefly to notice the last Bill brought in on the subject of Boards of Arbitration, by Signor Lacava and Signor Bonacci in December 1892, which was reported on by the Committee appointed to consider it in February 1893, and approved by the Chamber of Deputies in the same month, receiving the Royal Assent on June 15th. This scheme follows the Bill, a modified form of that proposed by Signor Chimirri, which the Senate had already approved, with some slight modifications. It admits, as an indispensable condition of a Board of Arbitration, the perfect parity of the representatives of the classes interested, and while acknowledging the primary importance of conciliatory functions, recognises also the absolute necessity of endowing the arbitrators with special judicial powers, and of entrusting the office of president to an impartial Government nominee.

(1) Camera dei Deputati, No. 84.

(2) Id., No. 136. F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 311, p. 67.

(3) Id., No. 136, p. 12. Id., No. 84, 84A. Atti del Consiglio di agricoltura, tenuto del 3 Luglio 1893, del 10 e 11 dicembre 1892. Statistica degli Scoperi, 1892, p. 20. Sozial politisches Centralblatt, III., Jahrgang, No. 3, 7, Oct.-Nov. 1893. Camera dei Deputati, No. 243, Legislatura XVIII., I. Sessione 1892-93.

The chief points of difference between Lacava's Bill and the Bill previously adopted relate to the institution of the board, the office of the president, and the judicial functions of the *Giuria*. The Board is now to be appointed by Royal decree, on the petition of the Ministers of Grace and Justice and of Agriculture, after consultation with the Chambers of Commerce, the Municipal Councils, and the legally recognised working men's societies of the district concerned. These bodies are to be consulted within a month after the official publication of the scheme in the local *Bollettino*. The president is to be appointed by Royal decree, on the petition (*proposta*) of the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

After much discussion it was finally decided that the *Giuria* should have power to decide controversies up to the value of 200 lire.

The *Giuria* is deprived of its power of inflicting fines for acts of violence, oppression, or insubordination.

In certain cases the workman who is a party to a suit brought before the board is allowed free legal advice (*gratuito patrocinio*).

Appeals from the decisions of the *Giuria* are to be brought before the local praetor of the tribunal, according to the value of the matter in dispute.

The *Giuria* may act as a Board of Arbitration in matters which exceed its judicial powers.

Women are eligible for the office of arbitrator.

Electors must be Italian citizens (*cittadini dello Stato*), and must not be recipients of public charity.

The Board of Conciliation and the *Giuria* are re-constituted every six months at least, while every two years half the members of the Board of Arbitration are re-elected.<sup>(4)</sup>

DIVISION II.—CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN CERTAIN SPECIAL INDUSTRIES.

A.—MINING, IRON, ENGINEERING, HARDWARE, SHIP-BUILDING, AND COGNATE TRADES.

The almost total absence of coal-fields in Italy gives the mining industry of that country a somewhat peculiar and distinctive character. A certain quantity of lignite is found in the central and northern provinces, but the chief mineral products, as the following table shows, are sulphur, lead, and iron, while the sulphur mines of Sicily and the south are specially numerous and important:—<sup>(5)</sup>

I. Mining and Quarrying. (a.) Number and distribution of Italian mines.

TABLE B. 1.

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF MINERALS in the ITALIAN KINGDOM in 1891.

Nature of Product.	Number of Working Mines.	Quantity produced.	Total Value.	Number of Workmen employed.
		Tons.	Liro.	
Iron	48	210,486	2,707,187	2,200
Manganese	8	3,489	64,595	127
Copper	28	63,059	2,329,334	2,050
Lead	114	30,232	5,984,231	10,552
Zinc		120,685	12,720,005	
Silver	10	2,006	1,973,434	1,278
Gold	30	7,729	466,378	640
Antimony	27	783	383,519	327
Quicksilver	11	339	1,793,000	574
Iron pyrites	4	19,803	270,568	458
Lignite, &c.	39	280,236	2,205,851	3,393
Sulphur	611	305,522	44,525,456	35,813
Rock salt	18	31,285	373,450	367
Salt springs	2	9,263	200,048	130
Asphalt, &c.	10	28,188	678,900	719
Petroleum	10	1,135	348,100	251
Mineral springs	1	3,536	28,336	7
Alum	1	4,000	18,300	73
Boracic acid	11	3,631	2,223,900	524
Graphite	12	2,415	32,945	67
Total	977	1,322,131	79,890,726	58,458

(4) Camera dei Deputati, Nos. 84-84A. Senato del Regno, No. 78.

(5) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 412.

Table B. 2 gives the local distribution of the above-mentioned 977 mines, according to departments, and brings out clearly the very remarkable preponderance of Sicily as a mining district. Sardinia, Tuscany, and Lombardy also rank high, while the provinces of the extreme south are low in the scale. With regard to the kind of minerals which are found in particular districts, it appears that while the principal seat of the sulphur industry is in Sicily, lignite and asphalt are chiefly found near Rome and in the Marches, gold near Turin, Alessandria, and Novara, and iron, lead, zinc, copper, and silver in the northern and central districts of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont, and in Sardinia.<sup>(1)</sup>

TABLE B. 2.  
TABLE OF LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF MINES IN 1891.<sup>(2)</sup>

Departments.	Number of Mines.	Departments.	Number of Mines.
Sicily -	651	Calabria -	8
Sardinia -	92	Abruzzi and Molise -	7
Tuscany -	65	Liguria -	4
Lombardy -	60	Umbria (Perugia) -	3
Piedmont -	45	Campania -	3
Emilia -	19	Latium (Rome) -	1
Venetia -	11		
The Marches -	8	Total -	977

(b.) General statistics.

Speaking generally, the produce of the mining industry in Italy increased in value between 1870 and 1882, when it began to decrease owing to a general diminution in the price of metals, and especially of sulphur. This decrease was not, however, occasioned by the mines being less worked, as there was no proportionate falling off in the number of labourers employed. In 1890, owing to a rise in the price of sulphur, the total value of the produce of Italian mines increased considerably, and in 1891 it was about 26,000,000 lire greater than in 1889. The rise and fall of value between 1871 and 1889 with the numbers of labourers employed in each year are given below:—

Year.	Value of Produce.	Number of Workmen.
	Lire.	
1871	41,920,532	80,257
1876	57,322,264	38,908
1882	73,815,252	52,326
1886	53,591,771	49,287
1887	49,977,119	47,063
1888	52,377,908	49,154
1889	58,554,255	48,981

According to Signor Bodio, the value of the average output of minerals for each workman in Italy in 1889 amounted to 1,093 lire per head, while the corresponding averages for Belgium, France, and Great Britain and Ireland respectively were 1,727 lire, 2,398 lire, and 2,586 lire per head.

Pig iron.

The output of pig-iron, the production of which is small and varies but little, was about 13,473 tons in 1889, and was valued at about 2,123,096 lire. In 1890 it rose to 14,346 tons, but in 1891 it fell again to 11,930 tons. The manufacture of iron and steel, on the other hand, is in a flourishing condition, and the value of the lead and silver extracted is considerable. In 1878 it amounted to about 4,000,000 lire, rising to 9,500,000 lire in 1885, and to about 12,000,000 lire in 1886, while in 1888, 1889, and 1891 it exceeded 11,000,000 lire. In 1889 the value of pig-iron, manufactured iron and steel, lead and silver, together exceeded 100,000,000 lire, to which may be added 15,000,000 lire, representing the value of metals extracted in smaller quantities, such as gold, copper, quicksilver, and antimony. About half of the value of the produce of the iron mines is derived from sulphur.<sup>(3)</sup>

(c.) Wages.

Valuable statistics relating to the wages paid to miners in Italy, and the number of hours they are

called upon to work, have been recently published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

The subjoined tables show the wages paid to miners in Italy in 1892, and also the general movement of miners' wages between 1862 and 1889. In Sicily there is a class of labourers called "day-hewers" (*picconieri a giornata*), who hire themselves out to the piece-workers on condition of receiving a daily wage for a certain fixed quantity of work. The wages of piece-workers include the contributions exacted from them for lights and repair of tools, amounting to about 35 centimes per diem. A reduction of 20 or 30 per cent. must also be made from the wages of miners in general, because in many mines, specially in those which are far from the miners' homes, the hewers are not entirely paid in cash. As they generally only receive their wages every two or three months, they have to provide themselves with necessaries (food, oil, gunpowder for blasting, &c.) by means of bonds, issued by the managers of the mine, and payable at a shop on the premises, which is often kept by a manager or his nominee. This retail trade is seldom conducted in the interests of the workmen, and since the goods provided are generally high in price, and of inferior quality, the miners lose considerably by the transaction. Since 1890, however, the men have been principally paid in cash. A modified system of profit-sharing prevails in certain sulphur mines in the Neapolitan district, where the workmen, in addition to their wages, receive a bonus whenever the daily produce exceeds a fixed average. Four sevenths of this bonus go to the hewers, two sevenths to the miners' labourers, and one seventh to the boys employed in the mine.<sup>(4)</sup>

It appears from these statistics that a considerable reduction in miners' wages has taken place during the last 30 years, owing to the fall in price of the sulphur of the Romagna. In 1888 wages fell for all the workers in mines, with the exception of the engineers (*macchinisti*), firemen, and general labourers, whose earnings remained stationary, or even rose a little. During 1889 wages were maintained at much the same level as in 1888, in spite of a fresh fall in the value of common sulphur;<sup>(5)</sup> but in 1890, the effect of a decided rise in the price of sulphur was at once felt in an advance of miners' wages, which was specially noticeable in the Sicilian mines.<sup>(6)</sup>

TABLE B. 3.  
MINERS' WAGES IN THE DISTRICT OF TURIN.<sup>(7)</sup>

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890.
<i>Gold Miners of Casaleggio Boiro, Province of Alessandria.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Foremen ( <i>caporali</i> )	Lire. 4.50
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> )	2.65
Miners' labourers	2.15
Smiths	3.50
<i>Workers above-ground.</i>	
Carpenters	3.00
<i>Miners of Pestarena, Province of Novara.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Foremen	3.75
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ), by the day	2.80
" by the piece	3.00
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> )	3.00
Miners' labourers	2.20
Smiths	3.50
<i>Workers above-ground.</i>	
Carpenters	3.50
Women porters	2.50
<i>Miners of Brozzo, Province of Turin.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Foremen	2.50
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> )	2.00
Miners' labourers	1.60

(1) Annali di Agricoltura, 1890 (Rivista del Servizio Minerario nel 1889), p. XCIV. et seq., p. 2 et seq. Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 413-4.

(2) Annali di Agricoltura, 1890 (Rivista del Servizio Minerario nel 1889), p. CVI. Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 411 et seq.

(3) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 198, pp. 32-3. Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio, 1891, pp. 52-4. Annuario Statistico, 1892, p. 415.

(4) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1890-90, pp. 550-551; 1892, pp. 469-60.

(5) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1889-90, p. 561.

(6) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 462, 466.

(7) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 464.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890.
<i>Workers above ground.</i>	
Smiths - - - - -	3.00
Carpenters - - - - -	2.50
Masons - - - - -	2.50
<i>Graphite Mines of the District of Pinerolo, Province of Turin.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.75
<i>Talc Quarry, in the District of Pinerolo, Province of Turin.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.75

TABLE B. 4.  
MINERS' WAGES in the DISTRICT of GENOA.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890-1.
	Liro.
Overseers - - - - -	4.50
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.00
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.00
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.80
Smiths - - - - -	3.80
Carpenters - - - - -	3.00
Masons - - - - -	3.00
Boys under 15 employed as sifters - - - - -	1.00
Women employed as sifters - - - - -	0.75
Girls under 15 employed as sifters - - - - -	0.65

TABLE B. 5.  
WAGES in the IRON MINES of BERGAMO and BRESCIA.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.	
	Bergamo.	Brescia.
	Liro.	Liro.
Overseers - - - - -	1.60	2.40
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	1.35	1.65
Porters - - - - -	1.15	1.20
Furnacemen ( <i>calcinatori</i> ) - - - - -	1.50	1.75

TABLE B. 6.  
WAGES in the ZINC MINES of BERGAMO.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.
	Liro.
Overseers - - - - -	3.00
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.00
Porters - - - - -	2.00
Furnacemen - - - - -	2.00
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.25
Wire-workers ( <i>addetti ai fili</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
Sifters (female) - - - - -	1.00
Masons - - - - -	2.50
Carpenters - - - - -	2.80
Smiths - - - - -	2.80
Engineers - - - - -	3.00
Carters (including cart and horse) - - - - -	5.00

TABLE B. 7.  
METAL MINERS' WAGES in the DISTRICT of VICENZA.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.
	Liro.
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	1.80
Carters - - - - -	1.60
Masons - - - - -	2.20
General labourers - - - - -	1.40
Blacksmiths and carpenters - - - - -	2.20
Overseers - - - - -	2.75

TABLE B. 8.  
WAGES in PETROLEUM MINES in EMILIA.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.
	Liro.
Head borer ( <i>capo trivellatore</i> ) - - - - -	9.00
Borers - - - - -	4.50
Engineers - - - - -	8.00
Smiths - - - - -	4.00
Carpenters - - - - -	3.00
Carters (including cart and horse) - - - - -	8.00

TABLE B. 9.  
MINERS' WAGES in TUSCANY.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.			
	Iron Mines of Elba.	Copper Mines of Montecatini and Massa Marittima.	Quicksilver Mines of Monte Amiata.	Lignite Mines of Valdarno.
	Liro.	Liro.	Liro.	Liro.
<i>Workers underground.</i>				
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	—	2.70	1.85	2.40
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> ) - - - - -	—	2.35	2.00	2.35
Waggoners and labourers - - - - -	—	2.00	1.50	1.85
<i>Workers above-ground.</i>				
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.35	—	—	—
Diggers - - - - -	2.00	—	—	2.50
General labourers - - - - -	2.65	1.90	1.75	1.80
Smiths - - - - -	2.50	2.45	2.70	2.45
Carpenters - - - - -	2.50	2.15	2.70	2.45
Firemen - - - - -	3.00	2.00	2.50	1.90
Engineers - - - - -	4.00	3.90	3.20	2.75
Masons - - - - -	—	2.85	2.50	2.65
Women - - - - -	—	—	0.70	—
Boy drivers - - - - -	1.00	—	—	—
Children - - - - -	—	0.50	—	— (1)

TABLE B. 10.  
WAGES of MINERS in the DISTRICT of ROME.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890.
	Liro.
<i>Lignite Mines at Spoleto, Province of Perugia.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Head miners or foremen ( <i>caporali</i> ) - - - - -	3.75
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.20
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.50
Waggoners, &c. - - - - -	2.20
Platelayers - - - - -	1.75
General labourers - - - - -	1.60

(1) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 424-7.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890.
<i>Workers above-ground.</i>	
Overseers - - - - -	Lire. 2.75
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
Platelayers - - - - -	1.60
Smiths - - - - -	3.75
Carpenters - - - - -	3.00
Engineers - - - - -	2.55
Firemen - - - - -	1.75
Piece-workers - - - - -	2.00
Other labourers - - - - -	1.50
<i>Alum Mines at Allumiere, Province of Rome.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Overseers - - - - -	3.00
Head miners or foremen - - - - -	2.50
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> ) - - - - -	2.50
<i>Asphalt Mines in the Province of Chieti.</i>	
<i>Workers underground.</i>	
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	1.80
<i>Workers above-ground.</i>	
Overseers - - - - -	3.00
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	1.40
Women employed in portorage - - - - -	0.65 (1)

TABLE B. 11.  
MINERS' WAGES IN SARDINIA.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1889 and 1890.	
	1889.	1890.
	Lire.	Lire.
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.05	3.00
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.65	1.70
Masons - - - - -	3.20	3.40
Carpenters - - - - -	3.50	3.60
Carters - - - - -	2.55	2.50
Fanmen - - - - -	1.35	1.30
Blacksmiths - - - - -	3.25	3.80
Overseers - - - - -	4.00	3.90
Firemen - - - - -	2.80	2.85
Repairers ( <i>aggiustatori</i> ) - - - - -	5.05	4.55
Machine men - - - - -	3.00	2.95

TABLE B. 12.  
WAGES IN SULPHUR MINES IN SICILY.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1889 and 1890-91.	
	1889.	1890-91.
	Lire.	Lire.
Hewers ( <i>picconieri</i> ) by the piece - - - - -	2.35	3.35
by the day - - - - -	1.90	2.70
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.30	1.80
Masons - - - - -	2.50	3.00
Boys employed as truckmen - - - - -	1.20	1.35 (2)

(1) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 469.

(2) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1890-90, p. 660; 1892, p. 460.

TABLE B. 13.

## WAGES IN SULPHUR MINES in the District of NAPLES.(1)

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1890.
	Lire.
Overseers - - - - -	5.00
Hewers ( <i>picconieri</i> ) - - - - -	2.70
Miners' labourers - - - - -	1.60
Boys employed in portorage - - - - -	0.85
Carpenters - - - - -	2.90
Blacksmiths - - - - -	2.50
Masons - - - - -	2.60
Founders - - - - -	1.70
Watchmen - - - - -	1.70

TABLE B. 14.

## WAGES IN SULPHUR MINES and MANUFACTORIES at ALBANI, in the PROVINCE of PESARO.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.	Approximate Number of Workmen employed.
<b>A. Mines.</b>		
<i>Workers Underground.</i>		
	Lire.	
Head overseer - - - - -	5.00	1
Overseers - - - - -	3.00	3
Hewers ( <i>minatori</i> ) { Maximum - - - - -	3.00	30
Medium - - - - -	2.00	49
Minimum - - - - -	1.50	46
Carters { Maximum - - - - -	1.25	15
Medium - - - - -	1.00	34
Minimum - - - - -	0.80	13
Overseer - - - - -	2.00	1
Repairers { Maximum - - - - -	1.50	22
Medium - - - - -	1.25	10
Minimum - - - - -	1.00	20
Waggoners, &c. { Maximum - - - - -	2.00	6
Medium - - - - -	1.80	9
Minimum - - - - -	1.50	6
Day labourers. { Maximum - - - - -	1.40	6
Medium - - - - -	1.10	7
Minimum - - - - -	0.80	10
Masons { Maximum - - - - -	4.00	16
Medium - - - - -	3.00	8
Minimum - - - - -	2.00	6
Timber-men ( <i>armatori</i> ) - - - - -	3.00	4
<i>Workers Above-ground.</i>		
Overseers - - - - -	3.00	2
Engineers and firemen. { Maximum - - - - -	3.00	3
Medium - - - - -	2.40	2
Minimum - - - - -	1.50	2
Unloaders at the cage - - - - -	1.50	12
Waggoners - - - - -	1.50	12
<b>Furnace Men.</b>		
Head stokers - - - - -	2.50	2
Stokers and furnace cleaners. { Maximum - - - - -	1.80	4
Medium - - - - -	1.60	18
Minimum - - - - -	1.50	10
Winders - - - - -	1.50	12
Scavengers - - - - -	1.50	2
Watchmen - - - - -	1.50	3
Stablemen - - - - -	1.75	1
Day labourers. { Maximum - - - - -	1.25	4
Medium - - - - -	1.10	3
Minimum - - - - -	1.00	5
<b>B. Manufactories.</b>		
<i>Refining Sulphur.</i>		
Overseer - - - - -	2.50	1
Stokers { Maximum - - - - -	1.75	12
Medium - - - - -	1.50	4
Minimum - - - - -	1.40	2
<i>Milling Sulphur.</i>		
Overseer - - - - -	3.00	1
Workers in the mills. { Maximum - - - - -	2.50	10
Medium - - - - -	2.20	30
Minimum - - - - -	2.00	14

(1) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 469.

TABLE B. 15.

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1891.	Approximate Number of Workmen employed.	SULPHUR MINES of the ROMAGNA.(?)	
			Mean Daily Wages in 1889 and 1890.	
	Lire.		1889.	1890.
Workers in the warehouses (magazzini).	Maximum -	8		
	Medium -	35		
	Minimum -	26		
<i>Workshop for Repairs.</i>				
Foreman -	5.00	1		
Operatives	Maximum -	3		
	Medium -	7		
	Minimum -	12		
<i>Pig-iron and Metal Foundries.</i>				
Foremen -	3.50	1		
Operatives	Maximum -	8		
	Medium -	18		
	Minimum -	16		
<i>Masons.</i>				
Foremen -	3.00	1		
Operatives	Maximum -	4		
	Medium -	8		
	Minimum -	6		
Day labourers.	Maximum -	5		
	Medium -	3		
	Minimum -	4(1)		

Categories of Workmen.	Mean Daily Wages in 1889 and 1890.	
	1889.	1890.
	Lire.	Lire.
<i>Workers Underground.</i>		
Miners (hewers) -	2.04	1.98
" (diggers) -	1.91	1.91
Carters -	1.82	1.82
Truck men -	1.87	2.03
Water-drawers -	1.56	1.71
Masons -	1.93	2.01
General labourers -	1.77	1.77
<i>Workers Above-ground.</i>		
Unloaders at the pit mouth -	1.77	1.85
Carters -	1.58	1.67
Stokers -	1.84	1.84
Furnace cleaners -	1.66	1.66
Engineers -	2.61	2.70
Firemen -	2.08	2.46
Masons, smiths, and carpenters -	2.10	2.26
Day labourers -	1.85	1.48

TABLE B. 16.

VARIATIONS IN MINERS' WAGES between 1862 and 1891.(?)

Districts.	Categories of Workmen.	1862.	1867.	1871.	1881.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
		Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.	Per Diem.
		Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.	Lire.
Sulphur mines (Romagna)	Quarriers -	3.39	2.44	2.89	2.64	2.01	2.04	1.98	?
Sulphur mines (Sicily)	Miners paid by the piece -	2.33	2.38	3.50	4.00	2.35	2.35	2.85	2.85
Sardinian mines	Miners (Sardinia) -	1.80	2.50	2.50	3.00	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40
	Miners (strangers) who owing to malaria can often work only half the year.	2.25	3.00	3.50	4.50	3.80	3.80	3.80	3.80

(d.) Hours of labour. In the Peninsula.

In the mines of Northern and Central Italy the hours of work are generally from 8 to 10 a day. In the petroleum mines of Emilia, however, shifts of 12 hours are common, while in the sulphur mines and manufactories of Pesaro the hours vary from 8 to 12 per diem, and there is but little cessation from work during the year.

Sardinia and Sicily.

The Sardinian miners work 8 hours per diem, while the labourers engaged about the mine work 10 hours. In Sicily about 7 hours' work a day was formerly customary, but after the fall in the price of sulphur the men were often kept at the mine for 10 or even 11 hours, and they worked from 250 to 280 days in the year. Since the rise in the price of sulphur, which took place in 1880 and 1891, however, the condition of these miners has improved considerably, and they now work fewer hours in the day, and fewer days in the year (4).

(a.) Quarries and kilns.

Any account of the mining industry in Italy would be incomplete without some mention of the famous quarries from which so much of the national wealth is derived. In 1880 the total value of the produce of Italian quarries and kilns was estimated at 85,000,000

lire, and by 1889 it had risen to about 100,000,000 lire, one-fifth of which was contributed by the marble quarries of the Apuan Alps (*Massa and Carrara*).

In 1890, 1,089,948 tons of marble, alabaster, granite, slate, and various kinds of building stone were quarried in Italy, amounting in value to 27,765,484 lire. In the same year 11,290,229 tons of limestone, sand, gravel, lava, and other materials used for building and road-making were produced, of a total value of 17,488,723 lire, and also 164,139 tons of mill-stones, pumice-stone, talc, and other substances used for industrial purposes, worth 2,466,103 lire. The produce of the various Italian kilns in 1890 was 5,363,932 tons, valued at 103,010,946 lire. In all, then, the total value amounted to 150,731,256 lire, and exceeded considerably that of previous years.(5) The hours of work in quarries are generally from 10 to 11 per diem; the days of work are from 230 to 300 per annum, and wages vary from 60 centimes to 5 lire a day, according to the class of workers.(6)

The Italian iron and steel trade, which is an important branch of the national industry, has developed considerably during the last few years, as is shown by the following returns.(7)

2. Iron, engineering, hardware, shipbuilding, and cognate trades. (a.) General statistics.

(1) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 487-8.

(2) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1889-90, p. 581; 1892, p. 486.

(3) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio, 1891, p. 51. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, p. 25. Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 492.

(4) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 484-80. See below, Appendix F., p. 98, a "Sicilian and Sardinian sulphur mines."

(5) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 416-7. Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio, 1891, p. 84. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, pp. 23-4. Annali di Agricoltura, 1890. Rivista del Servizio Minerario nel 1889.

(6) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, p. 489. See below, Appendix F., p. 28.

(7) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, p. 22.

## RETURNS OF MANUFACTURED STEEL AND IRON, 1881-1889.

Years.	Iron.	Steel.	Number of Workmen employed.
	Tons.	Tons.	
1881 - -	94,941	3,680	5,733
1883 - -	125,463	2,965	7,103
1885 - -	140,784	6,370	8,560
1887 - -	172,884	75,262	11,714
1889 - -	181,623	157,899	14,518

The total value of machinery manufactured in Italy was calculated at 12,000,000 lire in 1860, and at 40,000,000 lire in 1880, exclusive of the work done by the establishments depending on the Ministries of War and Marine, which was valued at 30,000,000 lire. As various new establishments have recently been started while many of the existing factories have been enlarged, the present annual value of the machinery produced in Italy is probably about 100,000,000 lire. Since, moreover, the demand for machinery is increasing, and is still partly supplied from abroad, this industry appears to be susceptible of great development.

In 1892, however, the *Società Industriale Napoletana*, Hawthorn Guppy, the great Neapolitan engineering establishment, was complaining of the general depression of trade and slackness of work, and had reduced the number of its hands from 900 to 800.<sup>(1)</sup>

Metal works in the province of Florence.

In the province of Florence iron and bronze foundries and manufactories of machinery appear to be on the increase. The Foreign Office Report on the industries of this province in 1890 noted that though progress was hampered by strong foreign competition and the general trade depression, the introduction of improved methods of working had permitted a larger use of cast-iron, thus lessening the cost of production. The Tuscan wrought-iron (*ferro al maglio*) once much in request, was only used for the manufacture of agricultural implements, and the production tended to cease. Special attention, on the other hand, was paid to the manufacture of oil and wine presses, and articles of brass and bronze, while the cutlery manufacture of the commune of Scarperia in the Apennines has been famous since the 15th century, and is now carried on by a Co-operative Society among the working cutlers. According to the census of 1881, 5,662 persons (5,626 males and 36 females) in the province of Florence were engaged in the working of metals, and 1,216 persons (1,212 males and 4 females) in the manufacture of machines and cognate trades, giving a total of 6,878 persons engaged in metal industries in this province alone, exclusive of carpenters and general labourers.<sup>(2)</sup>

(b.) Wages.

The daily wages of operatives in these various trades are given with approximate accuracy in the subjoined tables, from details furnished by several of the leading Italian firms to the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. Wages generally appear to have risen steadily till 1886, and to have remained almost stationary from 1886 to 1891. Certain classes of workmen are paid by the piece, and in one factory premiums are granted at the end of the year for industry and intelligence, while infractions of the rules are punished with fines, which go to form a provident fund for the benefit of the operatives and their families. This same factory grants pensions to its hands when they are no longer able to work, and insures them at its own expense in the National Insurance Society. In other firms, special benefit societies and stores are started for the operatives.

(1) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1900, No. 180, pp. 1-3, 10-1.  
(2) F.O. Report, Annual Series, 1893, No. 1244, p. 4.

TABLE B. 17.

## TABLE OF WAGES OF ENGINEERS AND IRONFOUNDERS IN 1891.

Provinces.	Categories of Workmen.	Daily Wage.	
		From.	To.
		Lire.	Lira.
Como - -	Foremen -	5·00	6·00
	Operatives -	1·70	4·50
	Apprentices -	0·50	1·60
Novara - -	Foremen -	5·00	10·00
	Operatives -	1·50	6·00
	Apprentices -	0·55	1·50
Turin - -	Foremen -	5·00	7·50
	Operatives -	1·00	6·00
	Apprentices -	-	-
Genoa - -	Foremen -	10·00	15·00
	Operatives -	2·50	8·00
	Apprentices -	0·50	2·50
Venice - -	Foremen -	7·00	8·00
	Operatives -	2·00	5·00
	Apprentices -	0·50	1·50
Leghorn - -	Foremen -	8·00	25·00
	Operatives -	2·00	7·50
	Apprentices -	0·50	2·00
Naples - -	Foremen -	7·50	16·00
	Operatives -	2·10	6·95
	Apprentices -	0·60	1·60

Speaking generally, the highest wages are paid to smiths and founders, braziers, carpenters, and turners, and the ordinary earnings are sometimes supplemented by payment for working overtime.<sup>(3)</sup>

The following account of the mode of payment at the *Officina Galileo*, a scientific instrument factory at Florence, is a good illustration of the somewhat complex system of wages which often prevails in Italy. "Payments are made weekly, and exclusively in cash. "Every Saturday the accounts of the piece-workers who have completed their work are settled. To those whose work is unfinished, the daily wages due are paid, the account being settled later. The number of hands at piece-work varies according to the work in hand; generally, however, it does not exceed one-third of the total number of the hands. "Sometimes, but rarely, the hands work for two extra hours in the day, and sometimes, exceptionally, they work for half-a-day on Sunday. Their pay in these cases increases in proportion to the extra number of hours' work. In cases of exceptional necessity advances are made to the hands, which are repaid by weekly deductions, and every six months increase of pay is given to the apprentices."<sup>(4)</sup>

This section may be concluded with a comparison between the rates of wages paid in the workshops of the South Italian Railway Company at Florence in 1884 and 1888 respectively.<sup>(5)</sup>

	1884.	1888.
	Lire.	Lira.
Average annual wages per hand -	832·200	955·210
Wages per hand per hour's work, fixed rates -	000·288	000·295
Profits on piece-work, and various -	000·009	000·020
	Hours.	Hours.
Average number of hours' work per hand in the year -	2,806	3,028
Average number of hours of extra work per hand in the year -	56	273

The working hours of operatives employed in the metal trades vary from province to province, but they are generally long, if not excessive. In the province of Como furnacemen have a 12-hours' day, with frequent short intervals for rest, and founders, smiths, carpenters, and other

(c.) Hours in hour.

(3) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 461-5.  
(4) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1890, No. 180, p. 3.  
(5) Id., p. 6.



operatives generally work from half-an-hour after sunrise till half-an-hour before sunset, with two intervals for rest, amounting to 1½ hours in winter and 2½ hours in summer. The working year includes from 280 to 290 days. In the province of Novara an 11-hours' day is customary, while in the district about Turin, in consequence of the slackness of work in 1891, the hours of work have been reduced from 10 to 8½ per diem. The Venetian working day is generally 10 hours long, but most of the work is paid by the piece, and the hours are sometimes prolonged by means by shifts. A ten hours' day also prevails in Leghorn and in Naples, where, however, during the winter months (November-January) operatives only work 9 hours per diem.<sup>(1)</sup>

B.—TRANSPORT AND AGRICULTURE.

Since the passing of the Law of April 27th, 1885, the three great Italian railway lines have been managed by private companies, under the supervision of the State, which shares both in the profits of the railways and in the cost of maintaining them.

The first Italian railway line was opened in 1839. By the beginning of 1860 there existed in Italy 2,189 kilometres of railway; on December 31st, 1871, there were 6,377 kilometres; in June 1891 there were 13,277 kilometres, and also 2,539 kilometres of steam tramways; and at the end of 1892 there were 13,987 kilometres. The capital invested in these lines and rolling stock, which in 1877 amounted to 2,450,000,000 lire, rose at the end of 1887 to 3,040,000,000 lire, and had reached about 4,234,000,000 lire on June 30th, 1890. The number of passengers carried also rose from 25,530,309 in 1872 to 50,989,457 in 1889, while the transport of goods, both by express and goods train, increased in an even larger proportion. Between 1872 and 1890 the gross annual profits increased from about 125,559,867 lire to about 255,711,372 lire. Most of the new lines, however, were run through districts where no trade existed, and traffic was slight, in the hope of resuscitating commercial and industrial activity, and since this hope was not realised much capital was wasted in premature speculation. The new lines, moreover, are generally made with foreign capital borrowed at 5 per cent., while they only pay 1 per cent. or less.<sup>(2)</sup>

Roadways in Italy are divided into national, provincial, and obligatory communal roads and by-roads or rights of way on private properties.

With regard to national and provincial high roads the following statistics, relating to the year 1890, have been collected by Signor Bodio:—

	In use.	In course of construction.	To be made.
	Kilometres.	Kilometres.	Kilometres.
National roads -	7,891	91	47
Provincial roads -	84,778	1,913	4,530
Obligatory communal roads.	86,965	8,527	22,777

The systematic construction of the obligatory communal roads was regulated by the law of August 30th, 1868, which indicated the financial sources from which they should gradually be completed. Much, however, still remains to be done, especially in the mountainous districts in Sicily and in the southern provinces, before Italy is provided with a thoroughly good system of carriage roads and highways.<sup>(3)</sup>

The heavy expenses incurred by the Italian State in improving and increasing its means of internal communication have not been without effect upon the development of agriculture and commerce. The Reports of the Agricultural Commission of 1881-84 stated that in some parts of Southern Italy, where transport was difficult, the price of wheat was 4 lire per hectolitre lower than in those districts which were furnished with convenient highways and railroads. They recognised also the great importance of internal communication in the central and northern provinces, where landed property was much divided, and the small farms required to be kept in touch with one

another, and with the towns. Increased facilities of transport have also doubtless done much to change the position of the labouring classes, by bringing them into contact with the outside world, and rendering it easier for them to emigrate, while the construction of the two great Alpine tunnels has placed Italy in direct railway communication with the rest of Europe.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the year 1892 105,236 vessels engaged in the coasting trade (*cabotaggio*) entered Italian ports. The aggregate tonnage of these vessels amounted to 16,090,025 tons. In the same year 104,326 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 16,306,268 tons left the Italian ports, making the total of arrivals and departures, calculated in tonnage, 32,396,293 tons. The movement of international navigation (for foreign trade) in 1892 included 15,813 arrivals and 15,569 departures. Greece, Austria, the British Isles, and America took the lead with sailing vessels, but with regard to steamers, the English vessels were by far the most important. International steam navigation showed a considerable increase in tonnage between 1876 and 1892, while the tonnage of sailing vessels decreased during the same period.

At the close of 1892 the Italian merchant fleet consisted of 316 steamers, with a tonnage of 201,443, and of 6,308 sailing vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 609,831. Since in 1871 there were 121 steamers with a tonnage of 37,517, and 11,270 sailing vessels with a tonnage of 993,912, in 21 years there was an increase in the Italian merchant fleet of 195 steam vessels, and 163,926 tons, and a diminution in sailing vessels of 4,962 and 384,091 tons. As one ton in a steamer is equivalent for practical use to three tons in a sailing vessel, the diminution in the sailing tonnage is more than compensated by the increased tonnage of steamers. The fishing fleet also increased between 1871 and 1892 from 11,642 vessels, with a tonnage of 43,487, to 20,529 vessels, with a tonnage of 55,863.<sup>(5)</sup>

The produce of the coral fisheries of Sicily and Sardinia has fallen considerably of late years, since its annual value has scarcely reached a million and a half lire, whereas in 1880 it exceeded 22 millions; and, even setting aside this exceptional year, it amounted to 9 millions of lire in 1875, 8 millions in 1876, 1879, and 1881, and 4 millions in 1882. The finest quality of coral of the delicate shade so prized by jewellers and connoisseurs, is said to be worth more than 2,500 lire per ounce in the market. In 1892 the coral trade passed through a phase most unsatisfactory to the makers. The Government early in the year prohibited fishing in the great coral beds of Sciaccia (*Sicily*), thus causing an unexpected scarcity in the raw material, with a rise in price, which was followed by a severe reaction when the prohibition was subsequently withdrawn. The coral fished at Sciaccia since the beds there have been re-opened has proved, moreover, to be of very indifferent quality.<sup>(6)</sup>

Tunny fisheries are a source of considerable wealth to the island of Sardinia. The quantity of tunny prepared in tins and casks, which was shipped to the ports of the Riviera and to Tuscany in 1891, reached 1,150 tons, falling very slightly in 1892, when it amounted to 1,024 tons.<sup>(7)</sup>

Agriculture has been called "the backbone of Italy." Very few parts of the civilised world, indeed, have a more distinctly agricultural character than this country, where "the rural labourers may be counted by millions, while the industrial operatives are only numbered by thousands." Great as is the importance of the agricultural question, however, it is extremely difficult to grasp, owing to the extraordinary complexity and variety of the conditions of Italian land tenure. "Agricultural Italy," wrote Count Jacini in 1884, "reflects all the most important elements which are to be found in rural economy from Edinburgh and Stockholm to Smyrna and Cadiz." It includes the mediæval manor (*latifondo*), cultivated on the most primitive extensive system, the most perfect system of intensive cultivation on a large scale; "petite culture" pushed to the extreme of specialisation, and the same methods applied to the most heterogeneous mixture of products; rents varying from 5 lire to 2,000 lire per hectare; peasant proprietorship, "metayer" farming,

(1) Annuario Statistico Italiano, 1892, pp. 461-8.

(2) Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 639-44. Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio. 1891, p. 4, pp. 66-9. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 196, pp. 29-3. Agrarische Zustände in Italien. Dr. K. Th. Heberg. 1886, pp. 74-7.

(3) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio. 1891, pp. 81-3. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 196, pp. 27-8. Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 629-33.

(4) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XI, Tomo. II 1884, cap. XV., p. 690; Vol. XII, Fasc. I, 1884, pp. 321-36. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 2.

(5) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio. 1891, p. 61. Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 579-625. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 196, pp. 26-7.

(6) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio. 1891, p. 55. F.O. Reports, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 196, p. 24. Annual Series, 1892, No. 1250, pp. 6-7.

(7) F.O. Report, Annual Series, 1892, No. 1214, p. 3.

Railways and tramways. General Statistics.

Roadways. (a.) General statistics.

(b.) Influence of transport on agriculture and commerce.

3. Navigation and mercantile marine.

Mercantile marine.

4. Fisheries. Coral.

Tunny.

5. Agriculture. (a.) Introductory.

feudal tenancies, and hired labour. In every separate district the phenomena of rural economy have special, exclusive, characteristic features, arising from an infinite diversity of local circumstances. It was then no easy task which the Italian Agricultural Commission (*Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria*) set before itself when it undertook in 1881 to describe the true condition of Italian agriculture in all its aspects. In 1884, however, it succeeded in completing its exhaustive inquiries by the publication of a summary, written by the chairman, Count Jacini, of the 15 volumes issued from time to time during its term of office. This summary and the various Reports of the Commission are the chief sources from which the following information has been derived.<sup>(1)</sup>

The reputation of Italy as an agricultural country stood very high in the early years of this century. Lombardy was famous for its irrigation system, its meadows and its silkworms; Bologna was renowned for its hemp; Naples and Genoa for their market gardens; the south-eastern and south-western coasts for their oranges, lemons, and olive oil. It was, however, generally admitted that this prosperity owed more to the natural fertility of the soil and to the influence of good agricultural traditions and customs, than to the industry of the ignorant peasant population. The rural districts of Italy were in reality rather relatively than absolutely wealthy, and they have now been left far behind in the advance of agricultural improvements. In the years in which Italian independence was being established the nation was concentrating its whole energy on the political organisation of the Kingdom, and this at a time when other countries were devoting their attention to the consideration of economic and industrial questions, and were employing their superabundant capital in applying the discoveries of chemistry and mechanics to the cultivation of the land. The rural population was almost forgotten by the governing classes, and when at last the unity of the state was realised, it was discovered that a new problem, the question of agrarian poverty and discontent, had arisen. The magnitude of the evil must not, however, be exaggerated. The actual agricultural production of Italy has increased since the formation of the Kingdom, the abolition of internal customs duties, the improved means of transport, the growth of private enterprise and of great public works, and the action of the Ministry of Agriculture, have all tended to encourage the cultivation of the land. Live stock has multiplied. Machinery is more used in farming operations, and the cultivation of vines has developed considerably. Though land on the whole has fallen in value, the peasantry are better housed, better fed, and better clothed than they were 30 or 40 years ago. Their wages have risen by at least a third, and in some cases they have been admitted to a share in the profits of production. Still, since other countries have advanced more rapidly, Italy is now relatively poorer than she was in the first half of this century. The depreciation of agricultural products has reduced to a minimum the profits of tenant farmers and of small landowners, and the growing luxury of modern life, fostered by the rudiments of education and aided by the new facilities of communication, has roused a spirit of discontent in the country districts. To these causes may be added the outbreak of brigandage in the southern provinces, the sudden and extensive sale of royal and communal demesne and church lands, which diverted capital from agricultural improvements; the further diversion of capital by the high interest offered by the public funds, the prevalence of disease among silkworms, vines, and oranges and lemons, which affected three of the staple branches of production of the country; the fall in price, owing to foreign competition, of several important products, and lastly, the burden of the agricultural taxes. In 1883, moreover, the forced paper currency was called in, "a measure right enough in itself" but occurring unfortunately at a time when the products of the soil were greatly depreciated, and causing a still further fall in prices to adjust them to the level of those in other countries. At the same time salaries and wages rose when paper was placed on an equal footing with gold. The *agio* on gold had acted previously as a protective duty, and regulated all interior wages and prices. The difference between the value of gold and that of paper had represented the sole margin of profit, which dis-

appeared with the *agio*." If the heavy burden of Government taxation, often quite out of proportion to the productive strength of the provinces, be also taken into account, with the increasing pressure of the communal and provincial rates, it is not surprising that before long the *marcite* or water meadows of Milan, the market gardens (*ortaggi*) of the province of Naples, and the rich produce of the *Conca d'Oro* of Palermo alone remained to testify to the former agricultural fame of Italy.

The net income of agricultural Italy is rather over 1,000,000,000 lire. Its direct taxes amount to 300,000,000, exclusive of the tax on salt, of the income tax (*ricchezza mobile*), of the tax on cattle levied in many communes, of the indirect taxes, and, according to Sir D. Colnaghi, of "the house tax, which with the local surtaxes amounts to about 139,000,000 lire." Sir D. Colnaghi further states that in 1891 "the burden of the Government land tax, which was slightly reduced in 1886 by the abolition of one war tenth" was "about 107,000,000 lire, to which must be added the provincial and communal surtaxes, to the amount of some 132,000,000 lire, showing a total of 239,000,000 lire."<sup>(2)</sup>

Mortgages also are mentioned by the Foreign Office Report for 1891 as "an important item in the list of difficulties against which Italian landowners have to struggle. On December 31st, 1890, the total interest-bearing mortgage debt in Italy amounted to about 9,000,000,000 lire. Practically this may be reduced to 8,000,000,000 lire, for the same debt is often inscribed more than once in different agencies, when the lands to which it refers are situated in different communes, while there is always some delay in cancelling the inscriptions when the debt is extinguished. Roughly speaking, about 5,000,000,000 lire are estimated to form a burthen on land and 3,000,000,000 lire on house property. Of course the absolute burthen depends upon the agricultural conditions of the different regions, which are too varied for description. It cannot, therefore, be estimated by figures alone. A great portion of the mortgage debt is said to represent dowries, and to be occasioned by the compulsory division of estates. In any case, however, the amount of the interest-bearing debt is very high."<sup>(3)</sup>

There are three typical forms of agrarian contract in Italy, the "metayer" system (*mezzadria, mezzoria, colonia*) in which the principle of profit-sharing finds its simplest expression, the leasehold system (*affitto*) and the system of home cultivation by means of hired labourers (*salario*). Each of these systems has given rise to innumerable deviations in practice, and each passes by insensible gradations into the other. Many agriculturists cultivate part of their land as metayers, part as leaseholders, and part as the farm servants of a landlord.<sup>(4)</sup>

"The 'metayer' system, according to the Italian Civil Code, is a contract by which the cultivator of a farm (*mezzaiuolo, mezzadro, colono*) has the right to divide with the proprietor the produce of the farms (Art. 1647 of the Civil Code); the loss through accident of the whole or part of the harvest is borne in common by the proprietor and the metayer (Art. 1647). Naturally 'metayage,' behind this general type, assumes sufficiently various forms. In some villages it is very favourable to the labourers, in others it is really nothing more than a system of rent harshly imposed."<sup>(5)</sup> In this system, which is of great antiquity, perhaps even co-eval with the original separation between the functions of labourer and landowner, the proprietor supplies the land, farm buildings and capital, and the tenant (*colono*) provides the labour. The whole annual produce is divided between the "metayer" and the landlord, either equally, or in different proportions according to the varieties of local custom. The equal division of profits appears to have been originally the essential characteristic of this form of contract, but now, according to Professor Achille Loria, "modern landed proprietors have succeeded in the difficult etymological task of destroying all connexion between 'metayage' (*mezzadria*) and 'moiety' (*mezza*)."<sup>(6)</sup> In the genuine

(1) P.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 13-14. Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV, Fascicolo I. (Relazione Finale), 1884, pp. 11-24.

(2) P.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 14. Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV, Fasc. I. (Relazione Finale), 1884, pp. 29-30.

(3) Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 2, July 1893, p. 379.)

(4) La rendita fondiaria e la sua situazione naturale. A. Loria. C. VI., p. 718 (footnote).

(5.) Existing depression and its causes.

Income and taxation on land.

Mortgages.

(6.) Syst. of land tenure.

(1.) Metayer system.

(1) Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. Ugo Rabbeo, 1892, p. 4. Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 2, July 1893, p. 376.) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV, Fasc. I. (Relazione Finale), 1884, pp. 5-2. P.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 13.

"metayer" system, again, the labourer only provides his personal tools, but in practice he is generally bound to furnish certain additional dues, called *prestazioni, patti, vantaggi, appendici, onoranze, or omaggi*, consisting of fowls, eggs, milk, butter, or sometimes of personal services. (See above, p. 26, Agrarian Strikes.) In the neighbourhood of Ravenna the metayer pays an additional rent of this kind amounting to 58 hectolitres of corn for every head of draught cattle on the farm, and supplies also half the seed and part of the live stock, besides paying half the taxation on the estate, providing the proprietor with a certain quantity of eggs and poultry, and giving him annually about a day and a half of gratuitous labour for every hectare of land included in the contract. Payments of this nature are common in Tuscany, where they are said to represent in part the rent of the farmhouse, and partly the right to keep poultry. They vary according to the fertility of the soil and the position of the farm, and have usually been fixed from time immemorial. In many cases they have been commuted for a money payment, but in some districts the condition of the metayer is still closely allied to mediæval villenage, since the services demanded from him are indeterminate, depending only on the will of the landlord. The metayer system is common in the Marches and in Tuscany, where, however, it is gradually being driven out by the growth of large estates.

"The country is divided into an infinite number of small farms, *poderi*, each of which is cultivated by a separate family. The average size of the farms may perhaps be taken at 8 to 10 hectares, and the metayer family as being composed of five or six men, two or three women, and, among the children, a boy or two who assist in the lighter work. It is considered, as a general rule, that there should be at least one man per hectare and a half of land, though of course much depends upon the nature of the farm and the kind of cultivation. When a certain number of farms not too far from one another belong to the same owner, they are joined to a central administration called a *fattoria* at the head of which is the *fattore* who represents the landlord, and has the general management of the estate. The metayer tenancy is annual, but, as a rule, it is prolonged indefinitely, and there are still instances in which a family has remained on the same estate, often on the same farm, for 200 or 300 years, and even longer. The contract is usually verbal, though the custom of written contract is now obtaining on some estates. The metayers are not permitted to work outside their own farms, except for the landlord. An account current is kept between landlord and tenant, which is made up at the end of the year; but the farmer rarely touches cash, even when he performs extra labour. If the balance at the end of 10 years is to his credit it is generally carried over to the following year.

Fixed  
tenancy.

In the district of Pistoia (*Tuscany*) and in the Upper Milanese, a curious system of mixed tenancy prevails. The farmer pays a corn rent, occasionally commuted for a money payment, which is calculated at from 6.11 hectolitres to 7.30 hectolitres per hectare, or sometimes higher, on the total average of the farm, and keeps the whole of the other crops, such as maize or beans, for himself. The richness of the soil in the plain of Pistoia, which ensures the success of the second crops, enables this contract to be carried out. With regard to cattle, vineyards, and mulberry trees, the farmer, on the other hand, acts as a metayer. He furnishes the necessary seed, manure, and agricultural implements, while the landlord pays the taxes relating to the land and the expenses of management and of new methods of cultivation. The profits are generally divided equally.<sup>(1)</sup>

Colonia  
parziaria

In certain districts of Southern Italy and to some extent in Piedmont, a special form of agricultural profit-sharing is found, known as the *colonia parziaria*. Under this system "the proprietors of farms suited for cultivation on a small scale let them out to families of peasants (*coloni*), supplying to them the whole or part of the capital required, and dividing with them, in determined proportions, the annual produce. The *colonia* however it is made, even with a time specified, never ceases except under the laws; the proprietor must give and take leave within the time

"fixed by custom" (Art. 1664 of the Civil Code). When the *colonia* is established without any specification of time it is considered as made for one year.<sup>(2)</sup>

In Lower Venetia (provinces of Padua, Venice, and Vicenza) the farms are divided into two classes termed respectively *campagna*, and *chiusura*, according to size. The tenants of the *campagna* are called *massariotti*. Those of the *chiusura*, which are much smaller in extent, are known by the name of *chiusuranti*. The tenancy is of a mixed form, part of the rent is paid in cash and part in kind, and some of the products, such as grapes and mulberry leaves, are divided on the metayer system. (See below, p. 55.)

Agrarian  
contracts in  
Venetia.

"In the contract of *soccida*, under which the proprietor supplies cattle to the farmer, receiving half the profits derived from the raising of stock and some other special dues, the gain to the lender is reckoned at about 40 per cent. The contract may be fair or not, according to circumstances; but, in many cases, it presses very heavily on the farmer, who has to bear all the losses while dividing the profits."<sup>(3)</sup>

"Soccida."

The second fundamental type of agrarian contract, the leasehold system, may be divided into three classes, comprising respectively the large leaseholds, the small leaseholds, and the so-called "improvement leases" (*contratti a miglioria*). The system of large leaseholds is common in Southern Italy, and is found also in Piedmont, especially in the plains about Novara and in the district of Vercelli. It occurs, but less frequently, in Emilia. "The proprietor under this system grants his land for a fixed rent in money, and for a fixed term of years, to a rentpayer, who undertakes the cultivation for his own benefit." The large leaseholder is always a capitalist, and is generally either a speculator, who contracts for the lease, or a business man who sinks his money in land as a profitable investment. Under the system of small leaseholds, on the other hand, "the proprietor or the large rentpayer lets out the land in small farms, for a fixed term of years and for a fixed rent, to peasants, who cultivate them with the help of their families." This kind of tenure is found both in Northern and Southern Italy.

(ii.) Lease-  
hold system.

Large lease-  
holds.

Small lease-  
holds.

"The system of improvement leases is that under which the proprietor gives for a certain time, and at a fixed rent, a farm to a cultivator that he may carry out suitable improvements." It prevails chiefly in Apulia and other parts of the south, but is also found in Tuscany. In some cases the tenant receives the whole produce of the farm for a time, and eventually becomes the owner of half the land. In others the land is re-valued after four years, and half the increase of value is paid to the tenant. All these forms of contract existed in Italy during the middle ages and differed then but slightly from their present conditions.

Improve-  
ment leases.

In certain parts of Northern and Central Italy the system of perpetual leases or emphyteuses (*enfiteusi*) is still observed. The most ancient leases of this kind in the district of Lucca are generally granted to the male descendants of the first holder to the third generation, on condition of the recognition of the lord's rights (*la riconoscione in dominium*) every 19 years. The more modern leases are usually granted in perpetuity to one family (*patto di perpetua familiarità*), with recognition of the lord's rights every 29 years. The tenant (*enfiteuta*) in most cases farms the land himself.<sup>(4)</sup>

Emphyteu-  
sis.

In the low lands about Novara many proprietors keep their farms in their own hands, tilling them with the help of their families and of hired labourers. This system of cultivation is common in Northern and Central Italy, and also prevails to a considerable extent in the southern provinces. In conclusion, it may be noted, that Italy is one of the countries in which landed property is most minutely subdivided, since in a total population of about 30,000,000 souls there are no less than 5,000,000 landed proprietors, the majority of whom are either just able to maintain themselves comfortably on their estates, or else hold farms so small that they are obliged to eke out a subsistence from other sources. According to the Report of the Agricultural Commission, the various benefit and friendly societies are the largest landowners in Italy. Exceptions to this rule are, however, found in Latium, in the southern pro-

(iii.) Wage-  
paying  
system

(1) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV., Fasc. 1. (Relazione Finale), 1834, pp. 30-2; Vol. VIII., Tomo I., Fasc. II., 1833, pp. 541, 570-5, 578. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1833, No. 83, pp. 7-10. Id., 1839, No. 137, p. 2. I Doveri della Proprietà Fendiarla. A. Mortara, 1833, pp. 246-50.

(2) Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 3, July 1893, pp. 329-80.)  
(3) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1833, No. 276, pp. 32-3.  
(4) Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 3, July 1893, p. 370.) La Toscana Agricola. C. M. Mazzini, 1884, pp. 207, 294, 297-9. Agrarische Zustände in Italien. Dr. K. Th. Eberberg, 1887, pp. 126-7.

vinces, and in Sicily, where there are many large estates.<sup>(1)</sup>

(d.) Agricultural labour.

The nature of agricultural contracts always exercises a great influence on social conditions, and this influence is peculiarly important in Italy, where, according to the census of 1881, the agricultural population, including families and hired labourers, was 538·3 for every thousand inhabitants, while in England it was scarcely 151·6, in Belgium 297·1, and in France 487·9.<sup>(2)</sup> Social problems are in Italy closely connected with the land question, and though there is much difference of opinion as to the extent and gravity of the present agricultural depression, it is admitted on all hands that the situation is very serious, and that there is much real distress and discontent among the labouring classes. The different districts, however, vary so widely in their economic conditions, that it is impossible to make general statements embracing the whole country, and it seems therefore better to give a brief description of the position of the rural population in Northern, Central, and Southern Italy respectively.<sup>(3)</sup>

(L.) Northern Italy.

In order to understand the nature of the agricultural problem in Northern Italy (Piedmont, Lombardy, Liguria, Venetia, Emilia) it is necessary to remember the character of the country, the chain of mountains shutting in the great Lombard plain, which dips by almost imperceptible degrees below the Adriatic, the marshes and rivers, the elaborate system of artificial irrigation, the fields of rice, hemp, or maize, and the vines and olives on the slopes of the hills.

Systems of tenure.

The vital distinction seems to be that between the dwellers in the plains, where extensive cultivation requiring capital prevails, and large farms worked by hired labourers are common, and the hill population, who generally cultivate small holdings as "metayers" or peasant proprietors. A system called *terzeria* is also found, in which the proprietor supplies live stock and agricultural implements, and receives two-thirds of the principal products and half the less important products of the farm. The flax-growing (*linicola*) districts about Novara are largely cultivated by peasant proprietors. Leases of large farms vary from 9 to 12 years; small farms are generally let for terms of three, six, or nine years. Home-farming by means of a bailiff is customary in many places; the engagement of day labourers for extra work is not unusual, and women are largely employed in field work, especially in hay-making, harvesting, gleaning, weeding the rice fields, and rearing silkworms. In the Upper Milanese many of the estates are sub-divided into small holdings, averaging from 2 to 2½ hectares in extent, which are worked by *coloni* on a mixed system of a rent for corn land and "metayage" (half-shares) for wine and silkworm cocoons.

Relations between proprietors and labourers.

The report of the Agricultural Commission upon Piedmont and Emilia mentions absenteeism as one of the chief causes of the unsatisfactory condition of the rural population in those districts. The rich patrician and bourgeois families generally migrated to the towns, abandoning farming for the liberal professions, the army, the public service, or commerce. In this way what Count Cavour once called "the moral supremacy" of the rich over the poor, of the cultured over the "ignorant, of those who have over those who have "not," was voluntarily relinquished by the upper classes, and agriculture was given up to ignorant metayers and peasants, or to untrustworthy stewards, while capital was either diverted altogether from the land, or employed rather in the creation of great estates than in the improvement of methods of cultivation.

Wages.

The wages of day labourers and farm servants vary in the different provinces, and according to capacity and occupation, from about 150 lire to some 300 or 400 lire per annum, but the general question of wages is complicated by the prevalence of the custom of making payments in kind, or partly in kind and partly in money, while some kinds of work, as, for instance, ploughing, manuring, and mowing, are often paid by the piece. Signor Bodio gives the average daily wages

of an adult agricultural labourer at about 2 lire in summer and about 1½ lire in winter. As during certain portions of the year outdoor labour is at a standstill, the average daily pay of an adult labourer during the whole year may be put at about 1 lire.<sup>(4)</sup> Dairymen get from 250 to 400 lire annually, with board; cowherds receive from 15 to 90 lire per annum; and casual labourers can earn about 450 or 500 lire in the course of the year, though they sometimes almost double this sum by odd jobs, and not unfrequently by rural thefts, while owing to their frugal habits their real wages are fairly high. Women earn about half as much as men, but they are often able to eke out their scanty wages by spinning, plaiting straw, as in Tuscany, or working in the silk-reeling mills, as in Piedmont and Lombardy. The following tables of wages paid to certain upper farm servants in the province of Vercelli will serve to illustrate the mixed system of remuneration which is customary in many parts of Northern Italy.

TABLE B. 18.

HEAD BAILIFF (*capo pratinaolo, 1° campo*).<sup>(5)</sup>

			Lire.
Maize	-	18 hectolitres at 15 lire	270·00
Rice	-	3·40 " 24 "	81·60
Kidney beans	-	0·46 " 15 "	6·90
Wheat	-	1·00 " 20 "	20·00
Cash	-	-	215·00
House	-	-	70·00
Firewood	-	-	60·60
Total	-	-	723·50

SECOND BAILIFF (*pratinaolo, 2° campo*).

			Lire.
Cash	-	-	140·00
Maize	-	14·52 hectolitres at 15 lire	217·80
Rice	-	3·68 " 24 "	88·32
Kidney beans	-	0·70 " 15 "	10·50
Wheat	-	1·00 " 20 "	20·00
Lease of house	-	-	70·00
Firewood	-	-	30·00
Total	-	-	576·62

HEAD PLOUGHMAN (*capo bifolco or bovaro*).

			Lire.
Cash	-	-	115·00
Maize	-	14·52 hectolitres at 15 lire	217·80
Rice	-	1·60 " 24 "	38·40
Kidney beans	-	0·46 " 15 "	6·90
Lease of house	-	-	70·00
Faggots	-	600 at 0·05 lire	30·00
Gleanings of two women in the wheatfields	-	-	30·00
Gleanings of two women in the ricefields	-	-	40·00
Total	-	-	548·10

Allowance of 18·80 lire for lights in the cattle sheds.

ORDINARY PLOUGHMAN (*bifolco, bovaro*).

			Lire.
Cash	-	-	105·00
Maize	-	14·52 hectolitres at 15 lire	217·80
Rice	-	0·46 " 24 "	11·04
Kidney beans	-	0·23 " 15 "	6·45
House and kitchen garden	-	-	80·00
Firewood	-	600 faggots at 0·05 lire	30·00
Gleanings of one woman in the wheatfields	-	-	15·00
Gleanings of one woman in the ricefields	-	-	20·00
Total	-	-	485·29

(4) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia, 1891, p. 60. F.O. Reports, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, p. 26; No. 211, p. 16.

(5) The *campari* on a large farm are generally two in number. One attends to the irrigation of the meadows, and is called *camparo da badile* or *pratinaolo*, the other supervises the work of the farm servants and casual labourers, and goes by the name of the *camparo da bastone*.

(1) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. VIII, Tomo I, Fasc. II., 1883, pp. 641, 652, 653, 654, 675, 677; Vol. XV, Fasc. I., 1884 (Relazione Finale), pp. 27, 32-4. Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 3, July 1893, pp. 370, 378-80.) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 196, p. 2.

(2) Censimento della popolazione del Regno d'Italia al 31 dicembre 1881. Relazione generale. Roma, 1885. Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 3, July 1893, pp. 376, 377.)

(3) Doveri della Proprietà Fondiaria. A. Mortara, 1883, XXVI.-XXVII., pp. 28, 36-7. Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV, Fasc. I. (Relazione Finale), 1884, pp. 27-9. F.O. Reports, Miscellaneous Series, 1889, No. 211, pp. 15-6. Id., 1893, No. 276, pp. 6-7, 32. Il Movimento Socialista in Italia Ugo Rabbeno, 1892, p. 6.

HEAD SHEPHERD (capo mandriano).

		Lire.
Cash	-	125.00
Muize	14.25 at 15 lire	217.80
Rice	1.60 " 24 "	38.40
Kidney beans	0.46 " 15 "	6.90
House and kitchen garden	-	80.00
Faggots	600 at 0.05 lire	30.00
Gleanings of two women in the wheatfields	-	70.00
Gleanings of two women in the ricefields	-	
A litre of milk per diem	at 0.15 lire	54.75
Total	-	622.85

Allowance of 32 lire for lights in the stables.

Sometimes a plot of land for growing hemp is added to the kitchen garden. In the mountainous districts hired labourers are generally paid from 30 to 60 lire per month with an allowance of wine. The families of shepherds receive board and lodging and from 15 to 20 lire per month. The custom of employing permanent labourers with fixed wages is not uncommon on large farms. These labourers earn from 0.75 lire to 1 lire per diem in winter, and from 1.50 to 2 lire per diem in summer, with or without a cottage. They generally live near their work, but the extra hands who are employed for casual work are often peasant proprietors, who come down from their hill farms to gather in the harvest of the plains. In districts where there is much emigration, wages have a tendency to rise, but the difficulty of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion on this subject is very great, owing to the variety of local customs.

addition of rural population.

The position of the larger leaseholders and of the metayers in the northern provinces is not unsatisfactory. Their houses are good, they dress and live well, and are generally industrious, sober, and law-abiding, while the general level of morality is high. The peasant proprietors of the mountain districts are less prosperous. Unable to maintain themselves and their families by home labour, they are often obliged to hire themselves out as day labourers, or to emigrate temporarily, or even permanently, in search of work. Permanent farm servants again are not badly off on the whole, though they seem to change masters rather often, and thus to acquire wandering habits, but the condition of the class of casual day labourers leaves much to be desired. The conclusions of the Agricultural Commission have been borne out by subsequent experience. The Foreign Office Report for 1891 stated that with the increase of population, added to the depression in agriculture, the difficulties in the way of day labourers obtaining a regular living were on the increase in Northern Italy. The labourers were badly fed and poorly housed, and the frequency of rural thefts showed one way in which, but too often, they attempted to procure some extra maintenance for their families. The construction of public works enabled the labourer in some districts to obtain further work, but he was often forced to emigrate to Sardinia as a miner, or to seek employment in railroad-making abroad. The fact that the chief centres of both temporary and permanent emigration are found in Northern Italy, coupled with the large numbers of agricultural labourers who are yearly driven from these districts by poverty (see below, pp. 74, 80), further confirms the above statements, and the prevalence of agrarian strikes in the North points in the same direction. (See above, p. 25.) The peasants have been, to some extent, stirred by the current of modern thought; their religious faith has been shaken, the strength of their traditional customs has been weakened, their ambition has been roused, and their present position has become intolerable to them. They live in wretched cottages, for which they have often to pay a high rent, and their insanitary surroundings and unwholesome food constantly induce the painful skin disease called pellagra which frequently ends in suicidal mania (see above, p. 25). Though Count Jacini, in summing up the results of the inquiries of the Agricultural Commission of 1881-1884, concluded that this malady was rather decreasing than increasing in Italy, its prevalence in many of the poorer districts still gives cause for grave anxiety.<sup>(1)</sup>

pellagra.

cause reading.

The oppression of the peasants in Venetia by local money-lenders has been mentioned in the description of Signor Wollemborgs' rural banks, which were founded

(1) See below, Appendix F, p. 90, & "Pellagra."

to put down this evil (see below, p. 55). It may, however, be noticed here that in the provinces of Padua, Treviso, and Venice, goose-breeding is a long established industry. "The peasant," according to Sir D. Colnaghi, "receives from the money-lender an advance of 50 lire for the purchase of 50 goslings. When, in the course of five or six months, the geese are fattened, the peasant farmer, in addition to the repayment of the loan in cash, gives the money-lender one fat goose, worth 5 lire, out of every ten," in this way paying interest of 100 per cent. per annum. If any geese die during the fattening, moreover, the loss is borne by the peasant.

Rice cultivation.

The unsatisfactory condition of the workers in the North Italian rice fields has been attracting a good deal of attention of late years. The Foreign Office Report for 1893 states that "in 1892 the president of the federated labour societies of the province of Modena addressed a circular to the labour associations of the neighbouring provinces, with respect to the weeding (*mondatura*) of the rice fields in the district of Lomellina (Pavia), a work which occupies a large number of labourers, principally women and children, during the early summer. They are hired by contract in the provinces of Piacenza, Parma, Reggio (*Emilia*), Mantua, and Cremona, and conducted to the scene of operations. The contractors or gangers (*caporali*), who are paid by the proprietors so much per hand, provide the labourers with food, which is stated to be often both unwholesome and insufficient, and lodging, if the hay lofts in which they are packed without regard to age or sex may be so termed. After all expenses are deducted and the wages paid, which amount to 85 centimes for adults and about 65 centimes for girls, the profits to the contractors are estimated at from 15 centimes to 25 centimes per hand per diem. To secure this profit to the labourers and at the same time improve their condition, the president of the federated labour societies of Modena proposes that the societies themselves should undertake the work on their own account at the rate of 1 lira 60 centimes per hand per diem, the proprietor providing the necessary cooking materials and separate lodgings for the two sexes on the farm, with a supply of clean straw. For every 100 hands there are to be five minors, but no children under 15 years of age are to be engaged. This proposal appears to have been not unfavourably received by some of the proprietors interested, but the scheme has not yet been put into execution."<sup>(2)</sup>

The reports of the Agricultural Commission give on the whole a very favourable picture of the peasantry of Central Italy (Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches, and Rome). The country is divided up into farms varying from 1 to 50 hectares in extent. In the mountainous regions many of the villages own common woods, and pasture lands. The peasants, speaking generally, are industrious, frugal, and religious. Their tendencies are conservative even to obstinacy; they cling to their old homes, and refuse to alter their old methods of cultivation. They live simply, producing much, and consuming little. Their food consists chiefly of bread, cheese, fruit, and vegetables, but the general health of the country population is good, cases of pellagra are rare, and there is little drunkenness.

(ii.) Central Italy.

The metayer system works particularly well in these districts. The metayers, men, women, and children, are specially distinguished for their great love of work and power of endurance. Their houses are fairly comfortable, and their sleeping accommodation and sanitary arrangements are steadily improving. The inclusion of the cattle shed under the same roof as the living rooms generally results in a corresponding enlargement of the upper storey of the farmhouse. At the head of the metayer family stands the *capoccia* or *verguro*, who is either the father, or one of the brothers, generally the most intelligent, who is chosen to represent the family in all its dealings with the landlord and with third parties. The *capoccia*, with the advice of the adult members of the family, directs all the agricultural operations on the farm, keeps the common purse, and effects all sales and purchases. His wife, or if he is unmarried, some other female member of the family, rules the household under the title of *massaia*. The relations between the metayers and the proprietors are friendly when they are based upon direct personal intercourse, but in

Metayers.

(2) La Cooperazione Italiana, No. 62, January 30, 1892, p. 17. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1889, No. 137, pp. 1-2; 1891, No. 211, pp. 16-7; 1893, No. 273, pp. 32-7. Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. VIII., Tomo. I., Fasc. II., 1883, pp. 335-302; Vol. XV., Fasc. I. (Reazione Finale), 1884, p. 16.

cases where the landlord carries on negotiations with his tenants through an agent or *fattore*, a system of petty oppression often prevails. Those metayers who hold their farms of very small proprietors are also somewhat hardly dealt with by their landlords.

Peasant proprietors.

The peasant proprietors in the low-lying country are very prosperous, but those who live in the hill districts are in much worse case than the metayers, since they have to bear the whole burden of local taxation, and in bad seasons they fall into the hands of usurers, and are often reduced to the level of day labourers. Their habits of life are simpler than those of the metayers, and their houses are often very poor. They have, however, valuable rights of woodland and pasture on the mountains, and their most lucrative occupation is often that of sheep-grazing.

Shepherds.

The shepherds are a hardy industrious race, who lead a life of primitive simplicity, particularly in the Roman Campagna, spending the summer in the mountains and descending to the plains with the approach of winter. Some of the richer shepherds of the Campagna, who are called "country merchants" (*mercanti di campagna*) and rent land from the proprietors, own as many as 3,000 cows and 6,000 sheep, besides horses and mules. The smaller shepherds, who are called *moscetti*, have generally only one farm, and about 1,000 sheep, which are often shared between several proprietors. Every farm has its *vergato* or bailiff, who is boarded and paid 200 lire per annum for his services. The life of these shepherds is one of great privation. They are exposed in the winter to the malaria of the plains, and they can only spend about 15 days each year with their families during the summer sojourn in the mountains, so that during the winter months it is a common thing for an Apennine village to be inhabited only by old men, women, children, and the parish priest and doctor. Yet it is said that as a rule a higher standard of education and a more cultivated literary taste are found in the pastoral districts of Italy than in the more purely agricultural parts of the country.

Day labourers.

Both economically and morally the casual day labourer appears to be inferior to the other agricultural inhabitants of Central Italy, and this is the more serious because the ranks of the wage-earning class are being constantly recruited from metayer families. The day labourer (*casante*) has generally no fixed occupation, and when agricultural work is slack his condition is very miserable. He lives in a wretched one-storied clay and wattle hut, adding to his scanty resources by cutting and selling the grass which grows by the wayside and on waste lands, and he thinks himself fortunate when he is able to keep a pig and a donkey.

Wages.

The wages of day labourers are on an average about 80 centimes per diem, falling in the winter to 60 centimes, and rising in the summer to 1 lira 20 centimes. In some cases an allowance of food is added with extra pay in harvest time. Women receive 40 or 50 centimes per diem without food, and 25 or 30 centimes with food. Allowing 180 days' work per annum for a man, and 90 days for a woman, a man's yearly earnings will only amount to 140 or 180 lire, and a woman's to 40 or 60 lire. In the district about Rome, where large estates are common, casual day labourers appear to be better off than the *coloni* who, as their numbers increase, migrate to other provinces in search of work, or even turn to a life of brigandage and robbery. In the Maremma a system prevails which often leads to grave abuses. The peasants living in the hill villages, far from shops, are provided with food by the steward (*fattore*) of their employer. They go down each day to work in the unhealthy plains, and in harvest time they encamp near their work in gangs, under the supervision of a bailiff (*caporale*), who has often wrung from them an unwilling consent to this arrangement by lending them money to tide over the winter months. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the peasantry of the Maremma are noted for their poverty, indolence, and brutality.

Large patriarchal families are found more frequently in the mountain districts than in the plains, and among the metayers of Tuscany, when the farm is large, the married sons of the *capoccia* often continue to live with their parents. In the Marches the metayer family generally comprises from 3 to 40 persons, according to circumstances. The life in many of these isolated farms, if hard, is not without pleasant features. The various reports of the Agricultural Commission draw quite idyllic pictures of the peasants gathered round their winter fire listening to the legends of the country-side, the women engaged in spinning and

knitting and the men in basket weaving, while the evening often closes in with singing and dancing. Women usually marry at the age of 20 or 25, men at 25 or 30, when they have completed their term of military service. The level of morality in the country generally appears to be high; serious crimes are rare, and the rural thefts which are the commonest form of wrongdoing seem to be regarded almost in the light of lawful perquisites. On the whole, however, as the peasants' hold upon religion is shaken, and as they come more in contact with the outside world, they tend to deteriorate morally. Although the compulsory military service has done good in many ways, by quickening the intelligence and widening the interests of the rural population, it has been suggested that it may also introduce habits of gambling, smoking, and drinking, which were unknown to a former generation.<sup>(1)</sup>

In conclusion, it may be noted that while the mountaineers of Central Italy are mostly small wiry men, with great powers of endurance, the inhabitants of the low-lying districts are often tall and handsome, though somewhat listless both in mind and body. Premature hard work, however, constantly stunts the development of both men and women, and the mortality among young children is very considerable, owing to the careless and insanitary way in which they are brought up.<sup>(2)</sup>

"Not only the differences of climate and soil, but differences of race and of historical development, have formed a great gulf between Southern Italy and the rest of the Peninsula. It is difficult to imagine a country in which, in such a limited space, so many races have succeeded each other, and have been fused together, as in the south of Italy." "Southern Italy includes sixteen provinces, which according to the census of 1881 had in all a population of 7,721,800; and according to a calculation of the *Direzione Generale della Statistica Ufficiale*, the sixteen provinces of the South had on the 31st of December 1888 not less than 8,106,276 inhabitants.<sup>(3)</sup> When it is considered that these provinces extend from the Gulf of Taranto and the Adriatic Sea to the Apennines of the Abruzzi, and include all kinds of cultivation from mountain pasturage and marshy meadows to rich cornfields, vineyards, and groves of olives and orange trees, it is obvious that the conditions of human life must also vary greatly, and that there are natural as well as political and social reasons for the extremes of wealth and poverty which are found between the Straits of Messina and the mountains of the Abruzzi."<sup>(4)</sup>

(iii.) Southern Italy and Sicily

The fact of the great prevalence of malaria in Southern Italy has, no doubt, as Professor Francesco Nitti has recently pointed out, contributed not a little to determine the political and economical conditions of the country. It appears from the *Carta della Malaria in Italia*, published in 1882 by the central office of the Senate, that 80 per cent. of the inhabitants of Southern Italy are exposed either to slight, or severe, or very severe malaria. "To avoid the malarious germs, the population of the rural districts, instead of spreading over the lands which they cultivate, and dwelling on them, collect into central localities, placed on high ground . . . generally, therefore, the peasants live in certain centres, and are obliged to go long distances every day to their work." The distance between the villages has been one of the chief causes of the growth of brigandage, and the consequent want of security has prevented the growth of a progressive local life and of the municipalities, and has helped to accelerate the formation of great estates. When, by Joseph Buonaparte's law of August 2nd, 1806, the feudal system was abolished in the kingdom of Naples, the royal and communal demesne lands became private property. From the royal demesne large private estates were created, while the communal lands, though they were at first subdivided among the people, ended by increasing the property of the middle classes, since the shares were granted to cultivators who had not sufficient capital to make good use of them, and therefore soon parted with them, while the estates of small proprietors were sold to pay the taxes which they were unable to meet. In consequence, the system of rent (*locazione*), as opposed to the metayer system of profit-sharing, is generally adopted all through Southern Italy, and the country is to a great extent divided into

Land tenures

(1) See below, Appendix F., p. 69, c. "Metayers in Tuscany."

(2) *Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria*, Vol. XI., Tomo II., 1884, pp. 584-627, 1126-1187; Tomo III., 1884, pp. 51, 105, 135, 304-5, 323-4, 345, 355-7. *La Toscana Agricola*. C. M. Mazzini. 1884, pp. 328-330, 326. *Agricultural Contracts in South Italy*. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III., No. 3, July 1883, p. 295.)

(3) *Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria*, Vol. XII., Fasc. I., 1884, p. 491.

vast estates which are let by their absentee landlords to large or small leaseholders, according to circumstances. Such properties as are not excessively large are generally excessively small, and either belong to labourers who cultivate them in person, or to middle class proprietors, who let them out to peasants. The metayer system in various forms is also found, and in those villages where it prevails the condition of the labourers appears to be comparatively prosperous.

The natural indolence of the Southern races, and the cheapness of living in a climate where animal food is unnecessary, and fuel for warming purposes is seldom required, tend to render social struggles in Southern Italy considerably less severe than in northern countries, though, according to Professor Francesco Nitti, "in very few countries of civilised Europe has there been such abuse of individual landed property as in the south of Italy." The system of large farms gives rise to a numerous class of hired labourers, who are not attached to the land, and who live very poorly. Their average wages may vary from 1 lira to 1½ lire per diem, rising in harvest time to 2½ lire, or even to 5 lire. Women are generally paid 1 lira or less per diem. In the province of Chieti the wages of day labourers are less than 1 lira or 1½ lire per diem, and they often avenge themselves on the proprietors by incendiarism and agrarian outrages. In the province of Campobasso, where wages are still lower, the criminal returns are very high and the peasants emigrate in great numbers. There is also a considerable emigration movement in the Basilicata, where four-fifths of the agricultural population are wage-earning day labourers. With regard to this region Professor Francesco Nitti states that: "Malaria is widespread, the misery of the inhabitants is great, wages are very low, the mutual hatred of cultivators and proprietors is intense, and the rate of mortality is very high." In Calabria also there is "social discord, emigration on a large scale, and much crime," while "the cutting down of crops and the destruction of farm buildings are very common, and are frequently not even reported to the judicial authorities." In Apulia the wages of men range from 0.60 to 1.20 lire per diem, rising to 4 lire in harvest time, while women earn barely 0.30 to 0.75 lire a day.

"The small farm system produces a proletariat of small farmers, who carry from one farm to another their miserable conditions, who are plundered in the worst manner, and who, being uncertain of their fate, make the smallest possible number of improvements on the land. The small farmer does his best to cultivate the land with the help of his family, and to avoid having recourse to hired labour. In bad seasons he fails to pay his rent, and having no capital to fall back on, he is frequently evicted. Leases are generally granted for from three to twelve years. In some districts, where the dwelling-houses and the farm lands are far apart, the whole family camps out in the fields during the sowing season. The small farmer is often driven to borrow money for which he sometimes pays interest amounting to 120 per cent. per annum, or grain, which he repays with interest, either in kind, or by personal services to his creditor, who is often his landlord. In the provinces of Foggia and Bari (Apulia) Professor Francesco Nitti states that vine culture has led to a special form of contract, perhaps the most unjust, the most inhuman, the most anti-social which it is possible to imagine." From 1870 to 1885 the price of wine continually rose and the wines of Apulia were in great demand. This demand led to the substitution of the cultivation of vines for that of grain. The landed proprietors had not the capital necessary for effecting this change. They accordingly divided their lands among the cultivators, who had succeeded in accumulating some savings, and entered into contracts with them, all more or less based on the following conditions:—(1.) The lease was to last from 15 to 29 years. The farmer was to plant the land with vines and to restore it to the proprietor at the expiration of the term appointed. The annual rate of payment was to begin 10 years from the date of the agreement, before, that is to say, the land yielded any returns. (2.) If the farmer failed even for one year to pay his rent he had to restore the land to the proprietor without compensation for improvements.

The result of this arrangement was, that as soon as the price of wine fell, the farmers were evicted wholesale, and emigration, which had been rare before, increased rapidly, while "now that the price of wine tends again to rise, the enormity of these contracts appears even more clearly."

These peasants who occupy themselves in home manufactures are in rather better circumstances than the labourers who depend entirely on agriculture for a living. In certain districts of the Abruzzi, and in Apulia, the women earn a little money by spinning and weaving in their cottages, but this industry is not sufficiently widely spread to be of great importance. (See below, p. 47).<sup>(1)</sup>

Sicily, connected with the Italian Kingdom, and yet separated from it, has special economic conditions complicated by the comparatively lawless state of society, and by the survival of ancient customs. The great stretches of treeless pasture land, cornfields, and fallows, which are found in the western provinces of the island, from Palermo to Girgenti, and from Trapani to Nicosia, are divided into large semi-feudal estates or fiefs (*latifondi ex-fundi*) held by the descendants of the old nobility, or by rich *bourgeois* families. Most of these estates range from 500 to 1,000 hectares in extent, but many include 2,000 or even 6,000 hectares. On each fief there is a manor house (*casamento*), usually in a state of dilapidation. The proprietors generally let the land for a money rent to rich manufacturers, for terms of years varying from three to six, or nine. These leaseholders, who are called *gabellotti* or *arbitrianti*, sometimes rent several properties, which they in turn sublet to other tenants. Somewhat primitive methods of cultivation prevail, and a fourfold rotation of fallow, wheat, barley, and pasture, which recalls mediæval systems of agriculture, is commonly observed. The peasants (*villani*) usually contract to plough and sow the lords' fields, receiving from 6 lire to 1½ lire per diem for the work. The corn land is broken up into small allotments (*appezzamenti*) which are let to peasant cultivators (*contadini*), on a system of tenure called *inquilinnaggio* which is again subdivided into the two forms of agrarian contract called respectively *terratico* and *metateria*.

In the form of contract called *terratico*, the tenant pays a corn rent, varying according to the quality of the land, besides an extra payment (*diritto di guardia*) for the proprietor's agent (*campiere*) who is employed to guard the estate and to see that the tenant fulfils his obligations. He is also liable to further burdens such as the *diritto di messa*, the *diritto di estimo*, the *diritto di sfrido* or compensation for the loss of seed destined for sowing in the process of winnowing, the right of hunting (*diritto di caccia*), and rights in the poultry yard (*diritto di gallotto*), of which it has been said that "they were invented in order to exhaust (*sfruttare*) as far as possible the produce of the estate leased out to the tenant."<sup>(2)</sup> The contract holds for three, four, or six years, and the corn rent, which is occasionally commuted for money, is paid even for the years when the fields lie fallow, if these are included in the arrangement. Sometimes the proprietor lends his mules for the tenant's ploughing, exacting an extra payment in kind for the loan.

*Metateria* which is the Sicilian form of "metayage," varies much in detail according to local custom. The *metatiere* is generally an agricultural labourer, who lives in a town, and holds a small plot of land of a neighbouring proprietor or large leaseholder, cultivating his fields in person, and sharing the produce with his landlord in varying proportions and on different conditions. The contract generally holds for a year, though it is sometimes entered into for longer periods. When the *metatiere* is not engaged in agricultural work, he earns his bread as a day labourer in the town. In some cases small allotments in the open country are let to peasants for a money rent.

The coast lands from Mazzara to Messina, and from Messina to Catania, with the land in the immediate vicinity of the towns, are devoted to growing fruit of all kinds, olives, oranges, lemons, grapes, almonds, pears, and nuts. The suburban districts are generally divided into small or medium-sized properties, called *fondi* to distinguish them from the large fiefs (*fondi* or *ex-fundi*) already mentioned. Some of these estates are ancient allodial holdings, while others have originated in grants made by the great feudatories to their dependents. They are chiefly held by middle-class proprietors or professional men, but many of the smaller plots belong to peasants and day labourers. They are sometimes sown with wheat, and in this case the methods of cultivation and systems of tenure are very similar to those in force on the large estates, with the exception that the *metatiere* are more perma-

Home industries.

Sicily.

Land tenure.

Large estates ("ex-fundi").

Inquilinnaggio.

Terratico.

Metateria.

Small and medium-sized estates ("fondi").

Condition of the rural population.

Hired labourers.

Small farmers.

Vine cultivation.

(1) Agricultural Contracts in South Italy. Prof. F. S. Nitti. ("Economic Review," Vol. III, No. 3, July 1903, pp. 367-8, 373-6.) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria. Vol. XII, Fasc. I., 1884, pp. 413-51. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 14.  
(2) Vittorio Scotti. La questione operaia.

**Small leaseholds.** nently attached to the soil, and come into more direct contact with the proprietors, while small leaseholds, let for a money rent, are not uncommon.

**Fruit cultivation.** The estates which are given up to the cultivation of fruit are either retained in the proprietor's own hands (a *economia*) and cultivated by hired labour, or let out on lease, or on one of the many systems of profit-sharing.

**Vines.** The vineyards about Marsala are divided into innumerable small properties, most of which have been held on an emphyteutic system from time immemorial, while some belong to peasant proprietors. In other districts the vineyards are larger, and are cultivated by hired labour. Sometimes the vine-dresser (*vignero*) undertakes the whole cultivation on consideration of receiving from the proprietor a fixed sum (generally 24 lire) for every 1,000 plants, and half the expenses of the vintage. Vines are also cultivated on the metayer system.

**Olives.** Olives and sumachs (*sommacchi*) are usually cultivated by hired labour, and the produce of the olive trees is often sold on speculation two, three, or four months before the fruit is gathered.

**Oranges. Conca d'Oro.** The orange and lemon groves of the fertile district on the Gulf of Palermo, called the *Conca d'Oro*, are generally let to *gabellotti*, though peasant proprietorship is not unknown, while in other districts home cultivation by means of hired labour and various systems of profit-sharing are common.

**Pastoral associations.** A peculiar form of agrarian contract is found on the Madonian hills (*Northern Sicily*), and in the districts of the Mistrettese. The shepherds and goatherds of these regions join their flocks in pastoral associations called *Mandre*. The direction of the association is entrusted to the member who has contributed the greatest number of animals to the common flock. He is called the *patrone* and the ordinary members, called *prezzamari*, work under him. The association only employs its own members and their sons or near relations. They are paid either annually or by the day. Every month all the milk-yielding animals are counted over, and each member receives a share of *ricotta* (a kind of cream-cheese, see below, p. 60), proportioned to the number of animals owned by him, while the money realised by the sale of cheese is proportionately divided at the end of the year. The wool of the sheep, together with the lambs and kids, are generally sold separately by each member for his own profit. In the Mistrettese type of association (*mandre alla mistrettese*) a whole estate is sometimes leased by the society, which again sublets portions of it on the *metateria* or *terratico* system. The common profits are divided among the members in proportion to the amount of live stock possessed by them. More common forms are those of the *mandre a spese sapute* and the *mandre pel frutto* in which the *patrone* of the association provides pasturage for the other members at a fixed rate of payment for every hundred head of sheep or goats, amounting to about 400 lire in the *mandre a spese sapute* and to about a quarter of that sum in the *mandre pel frutto* in which the *patrone* receives also all the milk, cheese, and *ricotta* produced by the common flock. These associations are common also among horsekeepers, but they are rarely found among dairy farmers.

**Mandre alla mistrettese.**

**Mandre a spese sapute.**

**Condition of the rural population. Day labourers.** Turning now to the conditions under which the labouring classes in Sicily live, it appears that as a rule they are still very wretched and degraded. The day labourers are herded together in the towns in cottages which are mere windowless hovels, where the common room is shared by the pigs and the poultry, and even occasionally by an ass or a mule. They have to go long distances each day to their work, and often, especially when they are engaged by the week, they do not return to their homes in the evening, but sleep in the farmyard in which they are employed, or camp out in the fields. They migrate also from the plains to the mountains, as the different crops ripen in succession. In times of difficulty they have recourse to money-lenders, who exact a high rate of interest from them.<sup>(1)</sup>

**Metatieri.** The *metatieri* and *terraggiari* also live for a great part of the year on advances, either in money or kind, made to them by their landlords and by money-lenders, and while the great ambition of the day labourer is to rise to the position of a *metatiere*, the *metatieri*, on the other hand, tend to sink into the position of day labourers. The *metatiere* changes his farm about every two years, following the general rotation of crops on the whole estate, while he renews his contract every year. He loses, therefore, that feeling of passionate attachment for the soil which usually distinguishes the peasants of Southern Italy, and while

he has all the disadvantages of dependence, and lives chiefly on loans, and almost on charity, he does not enjoy the advantages of a stable position, but has constantly to struggle against the competition of his fellow labourers, and the combinations (*camorra*) of the local corn merchants, who give the lowest possible price for the grain which the peasants bring to market. On the whole, however, the Sicilian peasant, in spite of poverty and oppression, is said to be sober, industrious, and religious, and it has been specially noticed that although women are employed to a considerable extent in the rice and cotton fields, and in gathering in the fruit crops, they are less hard worked than in other parts of Italy. Moreover, though the food of the peasantry is always simple, and often scanty, the disease of *pellagra* is unknown, owing probably in great measure to the use of wheat in the place of the Indian corn of which the bread of the northern provinces is chiefly composed.

The shepherds of the mountainous regions live almost entirely in the open air, descending into the lowlands with their flocks according to the seasons. They are rude and ignorant, and the goatherds especially, who drive their flocks from place to place, feeding them chiefly on the grass by the wayside, are said to be a dangerous class, connected with the brigands and robbers who infest the country districts. The vast mountain pastures and woods belong principally to the nobility or to the communes, and are almost devoid of habitations.

Wages are paid either annually, daily, or by the piece. It is difficult to calculate them exactly, since in Sicily, as in other parts of Italy, payments are to a great extent made in kind, and vary considerably in the different districts. Speaking generally, however, they appear to be decidedly higher in Sicily than in the Italian Peninsula, owing to the great demand for labour at certain seasons of the year, to gather in the harvests of the plains, and to the competition for hired labour at these seasons among the *metatieri* and *terratichieri*. The apparent contradiction between this comparatively high rate of wages and the miserable condition of the day labourers is explained by the transitory character of their employment, and also by the amount of time they lose in going backwards and forwards from their work to their cottages in the towns. It often happens, also, that the same man who earns a high wage as a day labourer in the plains himself owns a little plot of land in the mountains, and has, in his turn, to pay highly to get in his harvest. In the fruit-growing districts work is more varied, and therefore more constant, and wages are proportionately lower. The highest and most regular wages are paid to the head vine-dressers (*guardiani della vigne*), who are often able also to cultivate beans and other small crops between the vine stocks.

A rough estimate of the wages earned in the various occupations may be formed from the following table:—<sup>(2)</sup>

TABLE B. 19.

Classes of Workmen.	Daily Wages.	
	Lire.	
Day labourers - - -	1 to 1.70.	
(Harvest wages) - - -	2.50 to 3.50.	
Women - - - - -	0.50 " 0.60.	
Workers in vineyards - - -	1.25 " 1.50	{ (with a litre of wine).
Workers in rice-fields - - -	1.25 " 1.30.	
(Harvest wages) - - -	3.50 " 5.0.	
Weeding the rice-fields (women and children) - - -	0.60 " 0.80.	
Orange and lemon-picking ( <i>Conca d'Oro</i> ) - - - - -	2.0 to 0.80.	
Women - - - - -	0.50 " 0.60.	
Picking olives, nuts, &c. (women and children) - - -	0.50 " 1.0.	

It only remains to notice the immigration, both from other parts of Sicily and from Calabria, to the rice-fields of the Catanian plain, and the wheat and cotton fields of the plain of Terranova, and the movement of labour generally towards Syracuse in November and December for the olive-picking, and towards Etna in September for the vintage.

In the sparsely populated island of Sardinia the land is much subdivided. A considerable number of day labourers are employed on the small farms, and peasant proprietorship is common. The conditions of life of the labouring classes are sufficiently wretched. They are

(1) See below, Appendix F., p. 90, & "Rural population in Sicily."

(2) La Sicilia nel 1876. S. Jney Sonnino. Book II. (I Contadini.) Agrarische Zustände in Italien. Dr. E. Th. Ebeberg. 1886, pp. 128, 149-5.

Women's work.

Food.

Shepherds.

Wages.

(iv.) Sardinia.



well clothed in woollen cloth of their own spinning and weaving, but they are miserably housed, poorly fed, often on bread made of chestnuts or acorns, and oppressed by a heavy burden of taxation. Contracts are always verbal, and are generally entered into for one year only. Wages are fairly high, and are usually accompanied by an allowance in kind, while the women eke out their resources by spinning and weaving. Rural thefts are very frequent, but the relations between labourers and landed proprietors are said on the whole to be excellent. The introduction of the system of compulsory military service is reported to have an excellent effect in civilising and educating the Sardinian peasantry, but they are still somewhat impatient of authority, and brigandage is common in the rural districts.<sup>(1)</sup>

(e.) Remedies.

Various suggestions have been made as to the best way of solving the social and agricultural problem in Italy. Some writers, convinced that under-production is at the root of the evil, have proposed to stimulate the scientific study of agriculture by means of lectures and technical schools. Others, laying stress on the dangers of foreign competition, would institute strict protective duties in the interests of home-production. Others, again, look to the action of Government to equalise agrarian contracts and prevent the oppression of the labourer by the capitalist, while one school, seeing the comparative prosperity of some of the districts where the metayer system is in force, believe that the present distress is to be found in the universal application of the principle of profit-sharing. Count Jacini has shown, however, in his interesting summary of the conclusions arrived at by the Agricultural Commission, that none of these different schemes fully meet all the aspects of the case, though probably each of them contains ideas, which, rightly used, may help to bring about a satisfactory termination of the immediate difficulty. He insists, indeed, strongly, on the need for improving methods of cultivation, eradicating old prejudices, and applying capital to the land, but to effect this he would bring both intelligence and self-interest to bear upon the agricultural question, by inducing absentee landlords to return to their estates, by persuading manufacturers and men of business to become landed proprietors, and by emphasising in every possible way the close connexion which really exists between the prosperity of the industrial and agricultural classes. Behind the political unity of Italy lie social differences which are an inheritance from past ages. The townsman still regards the countryman as an inferior being, and the countryman still clings to antiquated methods and implements of husbandry, though increasing competition makes it necessary for the well-being of the country that the soil should be cultivated to the utmost limit of its productive powers. Agricultural Italy in fact is still in a state of transition. It has developed more slowly than political, commercial, or industrial Italy, and a great effort is now needed to bring the rural population up to the general economic level of the dwellers in cities. At the same time, though much still remains to be effected, a great deal has been already done towards improving the conditions of the agricultural districts. The internal customs have been abolished, improved roads and railways have opened up the country, and the tax on machines, which weighed heavily on small agriculturists, has been remitted.

(f.) Closer connexion between town and country.

With regard to foreign importation, Count Jacini believes that the danger has been exaggerated, and that Italy has really less to fear from American competition than any other European country. The Italian agricul-

turists, owing to the inadequacy of their system of cultivation, now devote an unnecessarily large proportion of their land to the growth of cereals. With better farming much more plentiful harvests could be produced from the same surface, while the climate of Italy renders possible the cultivation of many semi-tropical products, for which there is a great demand in the countries of northern and central Europe. The agricultural exports of Italy far exceed her imports. Each year she sends out large quantities of silk, oil, oranges, and lemons, hemp, wine, and cattle, receiving in return only wool and cotton for the purposes of manufacture, a certain number of horses, and a small quantity of corn. Instead of imposing protective duties upon the importation of foreign goods, it would, therefore, according to Count Jacini, seem the wisest course for the Italian Government to develop as fully as possible the natural fertility of the country, counteracting the excessive dryness of the climate by planting trees and perfecting the irrigation system, and stimulating production by encouraging the cultivation on an improved system of those special crops for which the soil is peculiarly adapted.

Count Jacini, however, disapproves of the principle of Government interference with the freedom of agrarian contract, even when such interference is avowedly in the interests of the labouring classes. As he points out, "there is nothing absolute in agriculture," and it does not follow that because a particular form of land tenure works well in one district it would be sure to answer equally well if it were introduced into another. All authorities seem, however, to be agreed that moderate-sized estates succeed better in Italy than either very large or very small properties. The general movement of agricultural progress is from an extensive to an intensive system of farming, and while tillage on a very large scale is decidedly unfavourable to the concentration of labour on the soil, extreme sub-division of the land tends to prevent specialised cultivation and to produce a "proletariate of proprietors" who are too poor to do full justice to the productive capacity of their holdings.

(iii.) Improvements in system of land tenure.

The Government may leave competition free and yet do much to encourage agriculture, both indirectly by providing for the public security, directing the emigration movement, and watching over the public health, and directly by lightening the burden of agricultural taxation, facilitating land transfer, and encouraging the establishment of local agricultural committees or boards (*Comiti Agrarii*). About a third of the profits from the land were absorbed by taxation when the final Report of the Agricultural Commission was issued in 1884, but some of the suggestions made in that report have since been carried out by the reduction of the tax on salt (1886) and the passing of the law for the sanitation of Naples (1885), the Law on Agricultural Credit (1887), and the Law on Hygiene and Public Health (1888).<sup>(2)</sup>

(iv.) Action of Government.

The subject of emigration is fully treated in another division of this report (below, Div. III., p. 73). It only remains to note that in view of the increasing migration of the poorer classes to countries where they hope to obtain higher wages, it has been proposed to colonise ten thinly populated provinces of Southern Italy from the north, and Lombard colonies of this kind have even been started in the Neapolitan district, but hitherto without much success.<sup>(3)</sup>

(v.) Emigration.

The accompanying tables give a general idea of the importance of agricultural production to the economic welfare of Italy, and also of the gradual increase in that production since the establishment of the kingdom.

(vi.) General statistics.

TABLE B. 20.  
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN ITALY FROM 1860 TO 1892.

Products.	Mean Annual Produce.			Annual Produce.				
	1860-2 (Annuario Statistico, 1864).	1870-4.	1879-83.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Wheat - - -	Hectolitres. 35,820,000	Hectolitres. 50,898,000	Hectolitres. 46,562,000	Hectolitres. 38,800,000	Hectolitres. 38,391,000	Hectolitres. 46,320,000	Hectolitres. 49,852,000	Hectolitres. 40,767,000
Maize - - -	16,900,000	31,174,000	29,661,000	25,606,000	28,918,000	26,418,000	25,589,000	25,419,000
Other cereals (oats, barley, rye).	17,155,000	18,150,000	12,170,000	9,354,000	10,514,000	12,123,000	12,089,000	10,370,000
Rice - - -	1,433,000	9,798,000	7,381,000	5,097,000	8,332,000	6,303,000	6,938,000	7,260,000
Oil - - -	1,565,000	8,323,000	3,390,000	2,989,000	1,540,000	3,086,000	2,740,000	1,686,000
Wine - - -	24,003,000	27,539,000	36,760,000	32,846,000	21,757,000	29,457,000	36,992,000	32,972,000

(1) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XIV., Fasc. II., 1885, pp. 302-4, 329-31, 321, 323, 345-362, 371, 372.

(2) See below, Appendix F., p. 99, c. "Action of Government as a remedy for agricultural depression."

(3) Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria, Vol. XV., Fasc. I. (Relazione Finale) 1884, P.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 63.

**Wheat.** These figures must only be taken as approximately accurate. They serve, however, to show the increased cultivation of wheat in the years from 1870 to 1872, which followed on the formation of the kingdom, and the decrease in production after 1874, which was due to the competition of foreign cereals. The good harvest of 1890 exceeded the average produce of the period between 1879 and 1883.

**Vines.** The produce of vines increased by one third between the periods 1870-1874 and 1879-1883, and the average annual production, which was very great in 1888, only fell slightly in 1889, to rise again in 1890. In Lombardy, the soil being better fitted for breeding stock, there has been a certain diminution in the vine-growing area, and a still greater one in Venetia, owing to the severe frosts of 1879-80. A slight increase, on the other hand, has occurred in Emilia, the Marches, and Tuscany, a notable increase in Piedmont (especially in the province of Alessandria), and in the Neapolitan district, and a still larger increase in Sicily (from 4,246,000 hectolitres in 1870-74 to 7,702,000 hectolitres in 1879-83), attributable to the greater care recently taken in the culture of the vines. The grape harvest in 1889 was deficient, while that of 1890 was much better.

**Oranges and lemons.** It has been calculated that 1,000,000,000 more oranges and lemons were gathered in 1883 than in 1874, showing a very great increase in the cultivation of this kind of fruit. High export prices had caused the cultivation of oranges to spread in Sicily and Calabria, but prices have fallen of late years, and many of the recently planted orange and lemon groves are now being planted with vines. In 1890 the total produce only amounted to 3,000,000,000 oranges and lemons.<sup>(1)</sup>

The total value of agricultural produce for 1890 is given below, minus the tax on consumption (*danno consumo*):—<sup>(2)</sup>

TABLE B. 21.

Products.	Value.
	Lire.
Wheat - - - - -	855,984,000
Maize - - - - -	294,826,000
Oats - - - - -	49,928,000
Barley - - - - -	87,123,000
Rye - - - - -	17,754,000
Rice - - - - -	70,600,000
Kidney beans, &c. - - - - -	22,700,000
Beans, &c. - - - - -	54,880,000
Hemp - - - - -	55,440,000
Flax - - - - -	20,900,000
Potatoes - - - - -	60,104,000
Chestnuts - - - - -	57,513,000
Wine - - - - -	1,030,995,000
Olive oil - - - - -	344,400,000
Oranges and lemons - - - - -	89,262,000
Cocoons - - - - -	165,542,000
Tobacco - - - - -	2,294,000
<b>Total</b> - - - - -	<b>3,229,745,000</b>

The annual export of accessory agricultural products (fruit, vegetables, poultry, eggs, flowers, fungi, truffles, liquorice, &c.) is said to amount to about 80 millions of lire, and the exportation represents only the best of the fruit and garden produce, since an enormous quantity is consumed by the population, who live almost entirely on fruit and vegetables, and, to some extent, on poultry and eggs. It may then, according to Signor Bodio, be safely assumed that the money value of all the products of this nature not directly consumed by the peasants and animals, but sold within the country, is at least three times that of the products exported. If this hypothesis be correct, the gross annual value of agricultural produce, including the above accessory products, would be about 5,000,000,000 lire.

**Uncultivated lands.** There are said to be no less than 2,000,000 hectares of uncultivated land in Italy, exclusive of bare rock, roads and waterways, and generally of such portions of the kingdom as could not by any possibility be brought under cultivation. In this category are included lands now but slightly and intermittently

cultivated that might, by the expenditure of capital and by a good irrigation system, be made more productive than they are at present.

The feudal tenures formerly existing in the southern provinces of Italy were abolished by law in 1806, and it was determined that the lands then assigned to the various communes should be gradually distributed among the indigent poor. By 1860 only 60,000 hectares had been divided among 39,000 individuals, but between 1860 and 1889 no less than 379,000 hectares were distributed among 368,000 agriculturists on redeemable perpetual leases (*per enfiteusi perpetua redimibile*). Four hundred and fourteen thousand hectares have been reserved for municipal uses, and these remain under the control of the Communes.<sup>(3)</sup>

Ex-feudal territory.

### C.—TEXTILE, CLOTHING, CHEMICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS TRADES.

The formation of the kingdom of Italy has effected a great change in the conditions of industrial life. The comparative freedom of trade previously inaugurated by Count Cavour in Piedmont was extended to the whole nation, to the detriment doubtless of many small local industries, but to the general advantage of trade as a whole. The woollen mills of Piedmont improved their position. Cotton mills, assisted by foreign capital, sprang up in Lombardy and in other parts of the country. The iron and steel industries, which were at a low ebb, gradually assumed an importance which is still increasing. In course of time, however, as the increased facilities of transport between different countries enabled imports to be introduced in larger quantities and at reduced rates, the heavy general and local taxation which burdens industrial undertakings in Italy, and the protective example set by other Continental States, induced Italian agriculturists and manufacturers to seek for a larger protection for their own productions against foreign imports. Their demands were met by successive modifications of the General Customs Tariff in a protective sense, only slightly modified with regard to some articles by treaty stipulations. Finally, when in 1888 it was found impossible to conclude a fresh commercial treaty with France, a tariff war began between the two countries which is not yet (1891) at an end.<sup>(4)</sup>

1. Textile, clothing, and miscellaneous trades. (a.) General introduction and statistics.

Italy holds a commanding place in Europe for the production of cocoons and raw silk, but the same cannot be said of its position as a manufacturer of silk goods. In 1888 the breeding of silkworms was carried on in 5,195 communes by 559,155 breeders, who each placed for incubation an average of 2.39 ounces of seed (27 grammes to the ounce). They obtained 43,899,438 kilogrammes of cocoons, a figure never reached since 1875. The raw silk obtained in that year was equivalent to 3,566,000 kilogrammes, a total never obtained since 1862. The export of silk goods from Italy considerably exceeded the import both in 1888 and in 1889. In 1891 the persons employed in the silk factories numbered 150,000, nine-tenths of whom were women and girls.

Next in importance, but at a long distance, comes the cotton industry, which has decidedly improved since 1870, especially with regard to spinning. The spindles for spinning cotton increased from 500,000 to 1,800,000 between 1870 and 1891. This industry is more especially developed in Northern Italy, and occupies in all about 70,000 persons.

Cotton.

The spindles in the woollen industry do not exceed 300,000, but the number of looms is relatively large, as they number about 10,000, of which three-fourths are mechanical, and seven-tenths hand-looms. This industry is principally carried on in Vicentino, in the Biella district, and in the Terra del Lavoro. The operatives number about 30,000.

Wool.

The remaining textile industries, such as flax, hemp, and jute, are of minor importance. The jute industry, however, shows a certain increase, concentrated in a few very large factories. The raw material comes from abroad. Some 20,000 operatives are engaged in the manufacture of paper, and some 10,000 more in tan yards.<sup>(5)</sup>

Flax, hemp, jute, &c.

The tables which follow give the mean daily wages of the principal classes of operatives in the textile industries for 1891 and the two preceding decades.

(b.) Wages in the textile and other trades.

<sup>(1)</sup> Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia, 1891, pp. 41-5. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, p. 15-6.

<sup>(2)</sup> Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia, 3rd ed., 1894.

<sup>(3)</sup> Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia, 1891, pp. 47-8. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, pp. 18-19.

<sup>(4)</sup> F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 2-3.

<sup>(5)</sup> Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio, 1891, pp. 56-6. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 195, pp. 24-5.

TABLE B. 22.  
COMPARATIVE TABLE of WAGES in the TEXTILE TRADES in the three Decades between 1871 and 1891.(1)

Years.	Mean Daily Wages of Operatives in the Textile Trades.					
	Cotton.		Wool.		Hemp.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
1871	Lira. 2'14	Lira. 0'81	Lira. 2'07	Lira. 0'82	Lira. 2'58	Lira. 0'93
1881	2'26	1'03	1'22	1'39	3'09	1'03
1891	2'31	1'21	3'08	1'57	3'00	1'03

TABLE B. 23.  
WAGES in the TEXTILE TRADES, 1891.(2)

Class of Workers.	Mean Daily Wages.	Class of Workers.	Mean Daily Wages.
	Lira.		Lira.
<i>Silk.</i>		<i>Wool.</i>	
Men:		Men - - -	2.72
Throwing and twisting - -	1.99	Women - - -	1.60
Weaving - - -	2.96	Boys - - -	1.26
		Girls - - -	1.00
<i>Women:</i>		<i>Cotton.</i>	
Throwing and twisting - -	0.86	Men - - -	2.68
Weaving - - -	1.22	Women and girls - -	1.47
<i>Boys:</i>		Children of both sexes - -	0.81
Weaving - - -	1.57	<i>Flax and Hemp.</i>	
<i>Girls:</i>		Men - - -	2.36
Throwing and twisting - -	0.50	Women and girls - -	0.85

The following mean daily wages were paid in 1891 to the operatives in the National Printing Office at Rome: Correctors: 6'5 lire; compositors: foremen, 8'3 lire; ordinary workmen, 5'5 lire; apprentices, 1'81 lire; machinemmen: foremen, 8'50 lire; firemen and other workmen, 4'22 lire; apprentices, 1'76 lire; binders, &c., 3'60 lire; clerks and messengers, 2'41 lire; women, 1'09 lire.

The following table shows approximately the number of hours for which the operatives in the textile industry and in certain other trades are employed per diem. In these trades the number of working days in the year varies from about 245 to about 300 or even to 335.

TABLE B. 24.

Industry.	Number of Hours of Labour per diem.
Silk - - -	11 to 12½.
Wool - - -	9 to 11.
(Carders) - - -	(12, with shifts.)
Cotton - - -	9 to 12.
(In times of great demand) - -	14 to 15.
Flax and hemp - - -	11½ to 12.
Chemical - - -	Sunrise to sunset.
Sugar refining - - -	10½ to "
Roots and shoes (cutters) - -	8, to "
	(Much of the work is done at home, and paid by the piece.)
Tanning - - -	10 to 10½.
Paper - - -	10 " 12.
Candles and soap - - -	9 " 11.
Coral - - -	8 " 11.
Wine - - -	9 " 11.
Printing - - -	10 " 11.

Speaking generally, the average daily wages of the operatives in industrial establishments in Italy revolve round the sum of 2 lire, though piece-work and overtime raise them to some extent, especially in the mechanical departments of industry. "The pay, for instance, of female operatives in silk factories was said in 1891 to have remained nearly stationary, in consequence of the crisis through which this branch of industry

"was passing." Wages in general are undoubtedly higher than they were a quarter of a century ago, and, as the price of the principal articles of food has diminished, the real as well as the nominal condition of the labourers has improved. A calculation published by Signor Bodio in 1891 shows this improvement very clearly. Taking a large number of workmen from some 50 of the large factories of various branches of industry—taking account, on the one hand, of the fluctuations of daily pay, and, on the other, of the decrease in the price of corn—it has been ascertained how many hours one of these labourers must work in order to gain the equivalent in wages to 100 kilos. of corn. The following is the result:—

Years.	Hours.
1862 - - -	195
1867 - - -	203
1871 - - -	183
1881 - - -	122
1889 - - -	95
1890 - - -	92
1891 - - -	101

It would have been more interesting and conclusive if the above calculation could have been made with regard to the price of bread instead of that of wheat, as it is well known that bakers do not reduce the price of bread in proportion to the fall in the price of flour. But statistics on this subject, unfortunately, only date from 1880, between which time and 1889 bread has fallen from 49'7 c. the 2-lb. loaf of the best quality to 40'6 c., whilst the second quality has fallen from 42 c. in 1886 to 33'5 c. per 2-lb. loaf, taking the average of numerous markets in every part of the kingdom.

The clothing used by the operatives, both male and female, has diminished about one-third in price between 1855 and 1885, but, on the other hand, rents have gone up. In 1855, at Schio, or at Biella, a family of operatives of five persons, i.e., parents and three children, could house themselves for 55 lire a year, whereas now it would cost them nearly twice that sum. The accommodation has, however, greatly improved. It is calculated, on the whole, that rent represents one-sixth part of the annual expenditure of the operative and his family, and that the increase in rent is more than compensated by the increase in wages and the diminution in the price of bread. In spite of these ameliorations the daily wage of the operative in Italy is less, as a rule, than that in other industrial countries, the reason for which is not so much that capital wherewith to carry on business is more scarce in Italy than elsewhere, but that the operatives produce less. In Italy it takes 12 men to do the work done in England by seven or eight, on account of the quality of the work done, and this in spite of the fact that, with the same machinery, the Italian works 12 hours to produce the same amount as is turned out in England in nine and a half hours.(3)

The first Bill on the subject of children's labour was presented to the Italian Parliament in 1884, but the Act now in force did not receive the Royal assent till February 11th, 1886, and the regulations which were published in the following September have since suffered some further modifications. The Act contains six sections. It provides that children must have completed their ninth year before being allowed to work in factories, mines, or quarries, and that they must not work underground until they are at least 10 years old. All children between the ages of 9 and 15 must be provided with a medical certificate of fitness for the work they are about to undertake. No child, of either sex, with certain exceptions, may be employed in dangerous or unhealthy occupations, until it has completed its fifteenth year. The day's work of a child between 9 and 12 years of age is limited to eight hours. Fines are imposed for breaking these regulations, and the execution of the Act is entrusted to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, assisted by the Ministry of the Interior. The engineers of the Royal Corps of Mines and the Inspectors of Industries are named inspectors under the Act. It appears also that, under the common law, the officers of police can also report infractions of the regulations. All new factories or mines which come under the Act are expected to notify their establishment to the Government.

Under the regulations of September 17th, 1886, nightwork is prohibited for children under 12, and its duration is limited to six hours of effective work for

2. Legislation on the labour of children. Act of 1886.

Further regulations.

(1) Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 490-2.  
(2) Annuario Statistico, 1892, pp. 474-52.

(3) Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. L. Bodio, 1891. 3rd ed., 1894. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891. No. 106, pp. 25-6.

children between 12 and 15. Children may not be employed in the management of machinery or in cleaning it while in motion. When the children's timetable exceeds six hours, one hour at least is to be allowed for meals, and no meals must be taken in places where dangerous or unhealthy work is carried on. Before the children are admitted to the mine or factory, inquiry is made as to whether they can read and write, but if they have not passed the elementary standards before entering, no further provision is made for their instruction.<sup>(1)</sup>

Effects of  
the Act of  
1886.

The Act only applies to factories and workshops in which "industrial" labour is carried on, and, according to the regulations of September 1886, "industrial" labour is defined to mean labour executed by machinery or by not less than 10 permanent workmen. Children who work in the building trade, or who are employed in agricultural pursuits or in home industries are, therefore, excluded from the benefits of State protection.

It appears that the Act of 1886 has had considerable effect in regulating the labour of children, especially in the sulphur mines of Sicily, where many grave abuses formerly existed. The Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, however, in a report presented to the Chamber of Deputies in February 1890 complained that though the Government regulations were better observed than when first the Act was passed, they were still very generally neglected. New factories had omitted to notify the fact of their foundation to the Government, boys had been admitted to work in mines and industrial establishments without due certificates of fitness, and in some cases the provisions for preventing young children from undertaking heavy or unhealthy work had been observed in the letter, but skilfully evaded in the spirit. The regulation as to night work has caused much murmuring among employers, and in certain iron mines boys have been kept on the premises at night for 12 hours, though many had only actually performed the legal six hours' effective work. On the whole, however, the hours of work laid down in the Act do not appear to have been often exceeded, in spite of the complaints of mill-owners, and of the silk-reelers of Northern Italy, who propose that the limit of age should be raised to 10 years, but that for children between the ages of 10 and 15 the time-table should be fixed at 12 hours' work per diem. The provisions relating to limits of age and to dangerous and unhealthy employments have also been generally observed. It only remains to mention one great defect in the Act of 1886, which is noticed by Sir Dominic Colnaghi in the Foreign Office report for 1891. The regulations apply to the whole of Italy, whereas the conditions of the Northern and Southern provinces are entirely dissimilar. The inhabitants of the south both develop and decay more quickly than the natives of the colder north. In the south, also, the factory properly so-called, with its organisation of labour and capital, is an exception to the general rule, and the recent fall in prices and wages has made employers and operatives chary of further reducing in any way their already diminished profits. Hence, while in the North the intervention of the Government on behalf of the children employed in industrial establishments has been well received, in the South, it has given rise to no little suspicion and opposition. When, however, the fact recorded by the Ministerial Report of 1890 is remembered, that in the province of Salerno it is found impossible to make up the full contingent for the army, owing to the prevalence of deformity induced by premature labour it must be admitted that, even in the South of Italy, the benefits of the Act of 1886 outweigh its disadvantages.<sup>(2)</sup>

S. Em-  
ployers'  
liability and  
insurance.

Employers' liability is regulated in Italy by the provisions of the Civil Code (Articles 1151-3), which reproduce Article 1382 of the French Civil Code. Signor Bodio affirms that this question is ripe for a solution by law, but as yet none of the Bills for regulating the liability of employers have passed the two Houses.

Berti's Bill.

On February 19th, 1883, Signor Berti, then Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, laid before the Chamber of Deputies the draft of a Bill on Obligatory Insurance against Accidents, which was rejected by the Senate two years later (1885). In this scheme Signor Berti proposed to shift the burden of proof (*inversione della prova*), assuming the responsibility of employers

(1) See below, Appendix F., p. 99, f. "Employment of women and children."

(2) *Annali della Industria e del Commercio*, 1886. *Legislazione sul Lavoro dei fanciulli* Rom. 6, 1886. Camera dei Deputati, No. XIX., Legislatura XVI., Quarta Sessione 1889. (Relazione sull'applicazione della Legge 11 Febbraio, 1886.) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 65-6. See below, Appendix F., p. 100, g. "Effects of the Act of 1886 regulating the labour of children."

on the occurrence of any accident, unless they were able to advance proof to the contrary. This principle was abandoned in a second Bill, presented to the Chamber on February 8th, 1890, by Signor Miceli, Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, since it had been shown that the accidents for which employers could rightly be held responsible did not exceed more than 10 or 12 per cent. of the whole number. This Bill, however, was never discussed in Parliament. A similar scheme (*progetto di legge*) brought forward in 1891 by Signor Chimirri (successively Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce and of Grace and Justice) was discussed by the Senate, and certain modifications were proposed, but a Ministerial crisis prevented its further discussion in the Chamber of Deputies. This Bill contained 22 sections. Its main principle was not only to provide against the consequences of accidents by means of obligatory insurance, but also to prevent their occurrence by imposing penalties on manufacturers and contractors, who neglected to take proper precautions for the safety of their workmen. It provided, under various penalties, that all owners of mines and quarries, and of dangerous industries, all contractors for the erection of buildings, and all owners of factories worked by machinery, should be compelled to adopt the measures prescribed by the respective regulations in force for the prevention of accidents and the protection of the life and health of the workmen. Obligatory insurance was to be extended not only to the workmen occupied in larger numbers than 10 in factories, including State quarries, industries for the manufacture of explosive materials, in building, and in ship-building yards. All workmen engaged in working on railways and tramways, in the construction of roads, canals, and the like were to be insured, but only when more than 10 were employed together. The insurance, moreover, was to be limited to the duration of each particular undertaking. Artisans working in their own homes were exempt from the provisions of the Bill.

Miceli's Bill.

Chimirri's  
Bill.

Signor Lacava, Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce in 1892-93, presented a scheme (*progetto di legge*) to the Chamber of Deputies in December 1892, for the regulation (*polizia*) of mines and quarries, which contained a section on the measures to be taken in case of accidents. The report of the Committee appointed to examine this scheme was presented to the Chamber on February 3rd, 1893, and was approved by it on the 9th of the same month. On February 17th, 1893, the scheme was sent up to the Senate, and became law on March 30th, 1893.

Lacava's  
Bill.

Another scheme (*progetto di legge*) relating specially to provisions against accidents, was introduced by Signor Lacava on December 1st, 1892, but was not discussed in the Chamber on account of the impending Ministerial crisis. This scheme maintained the principle of compulsory insurance, and introduced some modifications into the former project, especially by extending compulsory insurance to the workmen employed in gasworks, electric works, and telephonic establishments. The report of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider this scheme was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on May 5th, 1893.

A fund, peculiar to Italy, for national insurance against accidents, was established by the law of July 8th, 1883, which sanctioned the agreement concluded at Rome on February 18th of the same year, between the Government and the 10 following banks:—

National In-  
surance  
Fund  
(Cassa  
Nazionale)  
against acci-  
dents inci-  
dental to  
labour.

The Savings Banks of Milan, Turin, Bologna, Rome, Venice, and Cagliari, the *Monte dei Paschi* of Siena, the *Monte di Pietà* and Savings Bank of Genoa, the Bank of Naples, and the Bank of Sicily:—for the foundation of a national fund to insure working men against accidents. The guarantee fund fixed at 1,500,000 lire was subscribed and paid up, in 1889, *pro rata*, and without interest by the above institutes. The Government conceded special facilities and privileges to the fund to enable it to compete with those private Italian and foreign insurance companies which, in Italy, also insure against accidents.

These facilities include exemption from stamp and registration duties, and the fees leviable on Government concessions for the deeds of foundation of the fund, and any modification of the statutes, &c., for all the Acts and documents relating to insurance operations between the fund and its clients, for all deeds of gift and legacies, which are also freed from mortgage dues. Transfers of the public funds are freed from all taxes and expenses. The Government, at the request of the managers of the fund, also grants the gratuitous services of the Postal Savings Bank for effecting

insurances, and for all the relative Acts, including the collection of premiums and the payment of indemnities. The fund is entitled to the co-operation of the municipal authorities, and is not subject to the provisions of the Commercial Code relating to commercial companies. The council has established a series of tariffs lower than those of the private companies, classifying them according to the various industries and professions. The donation of the guarantee fund to form a capital alone enabled these reductions to be made.

The insurance effected are of three kinds, individual, collective, and combined. The individual insurance is effected in favour of a single person and guarantees a fixed sum. The collective insurance is effected by the proprietor or contractor for works, in favour of all the hands he may employ, or by the administrations of working men's associations in favour of their members, or by the proprietor, contractor, and workmen jointly. The combined insurance differs from the collective only in that the proprietor or contractor further insures against any civil responsibility he may incur should the accident be one against which he is legally liable.

Between 1884 and 1888, 3,216 individual and 1,223 collective policies were granted. Under the latter a total of 156,351 operatives were insured, 138,684 of them on the third or combined system. The fund insures against fatal and all other accidents. In cases of death or of permanent disability a capital sum not exceeding 10,000 lire can be insured. In cases of temporary disability, a daily grant from the fifth day, not exceeding the insurer's wages, and in no case above 5 lire per diem is made. The payments on death or permanent disability during the same five years 1884-88 averaged about 1,000 lire, those on temporary disability about 20 lire. The average annual premiums paid were on single policies 5 lire 59 c., on collective policies 3 lire 6 c.; on combined policies, 3 lire 76 c. Up to the present time large undertakings and industries, principally established in Northern Italy, have given the greatest contingent of insurers. In the small workshops, and among the agricultural classes, this form of providence has made but little way. The total number of working men insured, chiefly under collective policies, during the seven years 1884-90 is 344,473 beginning with 1,663 in 1884, and gradually rising to 102,000 in 1890. The above summary is taken from Sir Dominic Colnaghi's Report on Italy for 1891.<sup>(1)</sup>

### DIVISION III.

#### CERTAIN SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

##### A.—CO-OPERATION.

In 1887 Signor Romussi, in an address to the second Congress of Italian co-operators, compared the growth of co-operation in Italy to the work of the coral insects in the Pacific Ocean. A slow and unobserved process of silent preparation had resulted in a sudden diffusion and multiplication of co-operative societies, and the spontaneity and rapidity with which the movement had developed in the short space of a year showed that the times were ripe for its appearance.<sup>(2)</sup>

Professor Ugo Rabbeno has also borne testimony to the recent development of the co-operative principle in Italy. "For some years past," he wrote, in 1886, "nothing has been talked of but co-operation and co-operative societies; every economist has written something on the subject; every politician has made some mention of it in his speeches; every workman includes co-operation among his desires and aspirations."<sup>(3)</sup> Yet, partly no doubt because the idea of co-operation is only to a small extent indigenous in Italy, considerable confusion seems to have prevailed as to the exact connotation of the term, and there has been much discussion as to where the line between true and false co-operation ought to be drawn. It may, therefore, be well to give a few of the leading definitions which Italian economists have formulated before entering into further details.

Professor Ugo Rabbeno characterises co-operative societies in general as associations of men who do not unite for speculative purposes, but for the supply of common needs and the rendering of common services, with the object of suppressing intermediaries and

working collectively for the general good. These societies are founded rather for the sake of avoiding a loss than of making a profit. They are concerned more with the interests of classes than with those of individuals, and are animated by a wide and liberal spirit of sympathy and brotherhood. Though they have usually originated among working men, they have extended also to other classes, and embrace indeed the interests of all consumers.<sup>(4)</sup>

Doctor Emilio Cossa has defined co-operation as "the exercise of definite economic functions (*attività economiche*) by a number of persons who undertake them for the common good."<sup>(5)</sup> This definition emphasises the importance of the personal element on which Doctor Luigi Pizzamiglio lays stress as essential to the formation of co-operative societies. Mutuality, he says, as opposed to egoism or altruism, is the basis of all true co-operative associations, which originate in a common personal necessity, and are constituted by the common exchange of personal services. The acceptance of this spirit of reciprocity as the ground principle of co-operative societies helps to connect them with other forms of economic activity, such as friendly societies and insurance societies, since these, too, demand from their members an exchange of services and benefit for a definite object.<sup>(6)</sup>

Co-operation in Italy is still so recent that it can hardly be said to have a history. Very few co-operative societies can trace back their origin beyond 1866, and the movement only became really important after the political changes which resulted in the formation of the kingdom, and the proclamation of Rome as the capital in 1870.<sup>(7)</sup> The *Italian Industrial Association* was founded at Milan; the journal *Co-operation and Industry* was started, and many People's Banks and productive and distributive societies were established in various parts of the country. During the last six or seven years the movement in favour of co-operation has increased in importance.<sup>(8)</sup> In 1886 and 1887 the first and second Congresses of Italian co-operators met at Milan, and the *Federation of Italian Co-operative Societies* was constituted. A central committee was appointed, reports on the progress of co-operation in Italy were read, and accounts of the sums expended by the federation were rendered. A journal, *La Cooperazione Italiana*, was established, statutes for the federation were drawn up, and an international federation of co-operative societies was projected. Professor Ugo Rabbeno also proposed the formation of a great wholesale society to provide the various co-operative societies with the necessaries of life. In 1885 a third Congress was held at Bologna, when a scheme for the organisation of agricultural syndicates was brought forward by Signor Wollemborg and Signor Basilio.<sup>(9)</sup> Finally, in October 1890, a fourth Congress met at Turin, in which the relations between co-operation and benefit societies were discussed and also the influence of legislation upon co-operative societies, while a motion that representatives should be sent to the impending international Congress at Marseilles was carried unanimously.

Interesting reports were read before the Congress of Turin on co-operative dairies, co-operative insurance, and boards of arbitration, and notices were given of reports on rural bakehouses and co-operative associations among day labourers and railway employes, which could not be discussed for want of time. Signor Manfredi introduced a motion for amalgamating all the existing co-operative periodicals, and Signor Gaetano Gandolfi, President of the Chamber of Commerce at Buenos Ayres, offered the Congress a medal worth 500 lire, to be awarded by the central committee to the journal which seemed to them to be the best exponent of co-operative views. The invitation to the Congress issued by the central committee stated that the present position of co-operative societies as important social institutions, was due to the action of the Congresses, and that, while the societies which were represented at the Congress of 1886 were reckoned by hundreds, they were now counted by thousands in the official statistics.<sup>(10)</sup> Professor Ugo Rabbeno also attributes the beginnings

(1) Camera dei Deputati, Nos. 116, 116A, 33, 83, 83A, 85, 85A. Senato del Regno, No. 75. Regolamento delle Caldaie a Vapore, 1890. La Prévoyance pour les accidents du travail en Italie. Ugo Pissa, 1889. La previdenza, il mutuo soccorso e la cooperazione delle ferrovie, tramvie, etc., italiane. G. Pescina, 1889. Die Arbeitervereine in Italien. Ugo Rabbeno. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 63-5. Cassa Nazionale d'Assicurazione, 1885. Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia, 17 Aprile, 1885. Camera dei Deputati.

(2) Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Milano, Nov. 1887, p. 13. (Relazione sui processi della cooperazione nell'anno decorso).

(3) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 1.

(4) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 4.

(5) Primi elementi di economia agraria. Milano, 1890, p. 166.

(6) Le Società Cooperative di Consumo. Dott. Luigi Pizzamiglio, 1891, pp. 4, 135-162.

(7) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 9. Foreign Office Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 1.

(8) Le Società Cooperative di Produzione. Ugo Rabbeno, 1869, p. 287.

(9) Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Milano, Nov. 1887, published at Milan 1888. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Bologna, Sept., Oct., 1888, published at Milan 1891.

(10) Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Turin, October, 1890, published at Milan 1891.

History of  
co-operation  
in Italy.

Intro-  
duction.

Definition of  
co-operations.

of unity, definition, and publicity in the co-operative movement in Italy, to the work of the federation.<sup>(1)</sup>

2. Credit.  
(1.) People's  
banks.

The question of providing credit for the working classes was raised as early as 1858, in the Congress of Working Men's Associations held at Vercelli. The discussion was renewed at the next annual meeting held at Novi, and again at Milan in 1860, when certain proposals, put forward by Signor V. Boldrini, were carried. Signor Boldrini's plan was mainly based on the ideas of Lassalle. "He maintained that labour, if accompanied by honesty, ought to be in itself a source of credit, and proposed to establish a bank with a capital formed partly of shares and partly of charitable donations, which should grant loans to working men of sums not exceeding 100 francs. In 1863 he actually drew up a constitution for *The Society of Credit to Labour*, to be founded at Milan, and the corporation of that city appointed a committee to examine the project."<sup>(2)</sup>

Meanwhile, Signor Luzzatti arrived at Milan, and in a series of lectures, delivered in the course of 1863 and 1864, refuted the opinions advanced by Signor Boldrini, recommending instead the promotion of popular credit by means of co-operation and reciprocity, and advocating the establishment of people's banks similar to those founded in Germany on the Schulze-Delitzsch system, though with some modifications, particularly with regard to responsibility. Boldrini's plan having been rejected as impracticable, Luzzatti's proposals were carried into effect, and in 1864-65 the first People's Banks were started at Lodi, Milan, and Brescia.

The movement quickly spread through Lombardy, Tuscany, Emilia, Romagna, and Venetia, and finally penetrated into the southern provinces. In 1866 there were eight People's Banks in Italy, with a total capital of 1,940,000 lire; by 1871 the number had risen to 64, with a paid-up capital (*capitale versato*) of 28,348,086 lire, and a subscribed capital (*capitale sottoscritto*) of 26,640,440 lire; by 1881 it had reached 171, with a paid-up capital of 41,538,042 lire, and a subscribed capital of 43,440,670 lire. Notwithstanding financial crises, co-operative banks have continued to increase both in number and importance during the last 10 years, and it may be noted that in 1887, a year of acute crisis, 101 new banks were started, chiefly in the south. By the end of 1890 the total number of Italian co-operative credit societies was 738, with a paid-up capital of 92 million lire, and a nominal capital (*capitale nominale*) of about 100 million lire. This rapid progress is probably due partly to the action of co-operative Congresses, and the support of other co-operative societies, and of the Neapolitan and Sicilian banks, and other banks of issue, and partly to the provisions of the New Commercial Code of 1863, which gave legal force to amendments which 20 years' experience had shown to be desirable. 83 new co-operative credit societies were constituted in 1882-3, 64 in 1884, 48 in 1890, and 53 (including rural banks) in 1891.

Number as  
distributed

The following table shows the distribution of the People's Banks by departments during the 17 years from 1870 to 1887. The increase in Latium and in the South, especially in Campania, Apulia, and Sicily, is very remarkable:—<sup>(3)</sup>

Distribu-  
tion.

TABLE C. 1.  
NUMBER OF CO-OPERATIVE PEOPLE'S BANKS.

Departments.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
Piedmont	6	10	10	10	13	12	12	12	13	12	12	14	16	18	19	25	29	24
Liguria	1	2	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	6	6	7
Lombardy	12	16	22	23	25	26	25	25	25	25	26	28	28	36	43	46	50	54
Venetia	9	9	12	14	14	16	19	23	26	28	29	31	30	38	38	35	40	43
Emilia	6	7	11	11	13	13	13	13	14	14	15	19	20	24	30	38	39	44
Tuscany	11	12	11	10	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	12	15	18	22	25	27	30
The Marches	3	3	4	5	6	9	9	9	9	10	12	13	13	13	14	17	22	27
Umbria	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	7	13	14	15
Latium	—	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	5	7	7	9	12
Abruzzi and Molise	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	5	5	6	11	17	22	28	41	47
Campania	1	2	2	3	3	4	4	5	6	6	7	9	14	17	29	54	90	104
Apulia	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	4	6	11	21	27	36	54	64	74
Basilicata	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	9	10	14	15	19	23	28
Calabria	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	7	12	14
Sicily	—	—	1	3	4	6	6	7	7	7	7	8	12	15	20	27	46	62
Sardinia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	3
Total for the Kingdom	50	64	80	88	100	109	111	118	123	135	140	171	206	250	310	407	516	606

In 1887 there was, on an average, one People's Bank for every 46,809 inhabitants in the kingdom, and these banks were most numerous, relatively to the population, in Apulia and Basilicata, a fact which is the more striking when it is considered that the means of obtaining credit were formerly in a most primitive state in these southern districts, where the peasantry were completely in the power of the local usurers.

The average annual deposits per head with the average share of each inhabitant in the capital of the banks

were, on the other hand, greatest in Northern Italy, in the district of Lombardy.

The People's Banks in Lombardy had also the greatest average number of members at the end of 1887 amounting to 671 for each bank, but the largest proportion was found in Campania. About half the members were small manufacturers, tradesmen, and farmers, to whom the banks were true provident societies, giving them the advantages of the credit system, and freeing them from the necessity of applying to money-lenders. The working-classes, however, do not seem to have taken much advantage of the opportunities offered by the wider diffusion of credit. Very few operatives and day labourers became members, and even the loans without security (*prestiti sull'onore*), which were especially instituted for their benefit, have not had much result. Professor Ugo Rabbeno stated in 1886 that "the People's Bank, as it was constituted by Luzzatti, was, at least until quite lately, an eminently *bourgeois* institu-

Members.

(1) *Le Società Cooperative di Produzione*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1889, p. 288.

(2) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1887, No. 42, pp. 1-2. *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 10-11.

(3) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 11, 21. *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1889. Roma, 1891. Table XCI., p. 814. Id. 1892, p. 758. *Di Alcuni Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia*. L. Rodio, 1891, pp. 78-85. *Statistica delle Banche Popolari*, 1887. Roma, 1889, p. 1. I.; *Introduzione*, Table I., p. i. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1887, No. 42, p. 1, et seq. *Recueil de Rapports sur les conditions du Travail dans les Pays Etrangers*. Italie. 1891, p. 41. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1893, No. 278, p. 31.

"tion," and Signor Luzzatti himself once admitted that working-men had "neither the need nor the opportunity of availing themselves of commercial credit."<sup>(1)</sup> As the subjoined table shows, these assertions are fully borne out by facts.

In 1887, 27.58 per cent. of all the members of People's Banks in Italy were drawn from the class of small tradesmen and manufacturees, in proportions varying from 46.59 per cent. for Liguria to 21.94 per cent. for Sicily.

At the same date the proportion of small agriculturists among the shareholders was 22.25 to the whole number, ranging from 36.38 per cent. for Venetia to 4.45 per cent. in Liguria.

Clerks (*impiegati*), schoolmasters, and professional men came next, in the proportion of 13.69, with their highest average in Emilia, while the numbers of operatives averaged only 9.74 per cent. for the whole kingdom, and was never higher than 17.30 per cent., falling in Calabria to 1.44 per cent. As might be expected, large manufacturers and tradesmen and persons without a fixed profession, amongst whom were included corporate bodies of various kinds, were found at the bottom of the scale, but it must be remembered that all these calculations are rather arbitrary, since the different banks probably classified their members according to different standards.

TABLE C. 2.

MEMBERS OF PEOPLE'S BANKS IN 1887 CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR OCCUPATIONS.<sup>(2)</sup>

Departments.	Occupation of Members.							
	Proportion per cent. of the Total Number.							
	Large Farmers (Owners or Leaseholders).	Small Farmers (Owners, Leaseholders, or Métayers).	Rural Day Labourers.	Large Manufacturers and Tradesmen.	Small Manufacturers and Tradesmen.	Operatives.	Clerks, Schoolmasters, and Professional Men.	Persons without specified Occupation and Minors.
Piedmont	5.90	19.59	1.12	6.99	32.34	4.27	13.13	16.66
Liguria	1.47	4.45	1.52	17.87	46.59	17.20	6.02	4.88
Lombardy	6.98	23.33	3.44	5.12	25.80	10.17	12.38	12.78
Venetia	4.89	36.38	3.14	2.76	24.80	5.02	12.83	10.18
Emilia	4.92	21.65	4.40	2.84	26.09	11.48	19.03	9.59
Tuscany	4.08	12.49	3.15	3.80	45.41	6.63	12.17	7.32
The Marches	6.12	23.37	3.28	3.45	28.08	7.92	13.40	9.38
Umbria	3.79	21.52	5.77	4.80	30.10	3.14	13.00	7.88
Latium	9.40	15.30	7.80	1.61	32.81	8.95	13.12	11.51
Abruzzi and Molise	3.86	26.15	7.99	4.80	27.61	6.93	12.83	7.88
Campania	7.78	25.69	4.18	3.03	38.89	12.85	13.32	9.37
Apulia	10.05	20.06	5.23	4.47	23.07	15.47	11.37	10.23
Basilicata	3.74	21.19	9.17	2.63	25.39	3.60	12.81	11.47
Calabria	5.81	23.13	1.31	13.56	31.69	1.44	11.00	7.06
Sicily	12.50	13.27	3.64	9.39	21.94	12.16	14.39	12.71
Total for the Kingdom	6.77	22.25	4.15	5.35	27.38	9.74	13.69	10.47

Table C. 3 gives the numbers of members of People's Banks in the various districts for the years 1876 to 1883, 1886, and 1887. The development of the movement in Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia, the Marches, Umbria, the Neapolitan provinces and Sicily, is very remarkable. In the two last-mentioned districts the numbers more than doubled in one year (1882-1883),

rising from 8,819 to 21,691. Tuscany and Latium also showed a considerable increase, while in Piedmont and Liguria the number of members remained almost stationary, since the apparent decrease in 1879 was chiefly due to the absence of information for that year, relating to the bank at Genoa.<sup>(3)</sup>

TABLE C. 3.

Years.	Piedmont and Liguria.		Lombardy.		Venetia.		Emilia, Marches, and Umbria.		Tuscany and Latium.		Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.		Total for Kingdom.	
	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.	No. of Banks.	No. of Members.
1876	12	7,399	22	32,005	17	16,732	13	14,121	7	5,460	6	1,740	82	77,340
1877	12	7,438	21	33,581	18	18,947	15	13,381	6	4,318	9	2,495	81	80,160
1878	14	7,471	22	35,442	23	21,798	21	16,709	7	4,260	10	3,279	97	88,959
1879	12	6,234	22	26,449	22	21,704	21	18,655	7	4,124	13	3,274	97	90,440
1880	17	7,820	24	39,096	27	26,147	24	18,213	10	5,023	21	5,980	123	102,279
1881	17	7,917	24	40,486	24	25,483	23	19,225	6	4,560	28	7,506	124	105,177
1882	17	7,977	25	42,326	24	26,816	30	33,089	10	4,975	33	8,819	139	114,072
1883	17	7,957	33	50,997	28	28,607	31	24,374	20	6,423	66	21,691	195	139,949
1886	23	11,024	44	59,052	35	39,145	62	41,891	31	16,331	212	91,761	412	259,204
1887	34	12,522	49	63,798	43	45,591	81	52,837	39	21,052	296	123,184	541	318,979

(1) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbano, 1887, pp. 23-24.

(2) Statistica delle Banche Popolari, 1887. Roma, 1889, pp. xi-xii.

(3) Statistica delle Banche Popolari, 1887. Roma, 1889, pp. xiii-xiv.

Shares.

Out of the 572 banks which were in working order in 1887, 265 issued shares of the value of 50 lire and upwards and the remainder were distributed as follows: (1)

TABLE C. 4.

No. of Banks.	Shares.	No. of Banks.	Shares.
4	From above 100 lire.	29	From 30 lire.
32	From 100 lire.	139	" 25 "
2	" 75 "	1	" 24 "
10	" 60 "	53	" 21 "
1	" 56 "	3	" 20 "
1	" 53 "	1	" 15 "
5	" 40 "	20	" 13 "
2	" 36 "	3	" 10 "
			" 5 "

In 1887 the average number of shares held by each member was 6·23 for all the banks in the kingdom. This number was somewhat exceeded by the Lombard, Apulian, and Sicilian Banks, while in Liguria it rose to 26, and in Piedmont to 16 shares per member. The average contribution of each member to the paid-up capital and reserve fund amounted to 317·94 lire. To prevent the subscription of the bank capital by a few persons, merely with a view to secure the legal advantages allowed to co-operative associations, the Commercial Code has fixed the maximum nominal value of each share at 100 lire, and forbids any single member holding shares worth more than 5,000 lire. The official statistics show that this advice has been generally followed.

Capital.

- The capital of the banks falls under three categories:
- (1) Paid-up capital and reserve fund.
  - (2) Accounts current, deposits of savings, and interest-bearing bonds (*buoni fruttiferi*).
  - (3) Various other transactions, including the re-discounting (*risconto*) of bills of exchange.

Between January 1st and December 31st, 1886, the sums deposited on account current throughout the kingdom increased from 69,145,711 lire to 81,800,452 lire, or 18·30 per cent.; the deposits rose 18·29 per cent., or from 166,352,328 lire to 196,788,303 lire, and the amount owed on bonds in circulation increased 15·93 per cent. "As regards re-discounting of bills, the "People's Bank of Milan, that of Bologna, and a few "others, do not practise it at all, and some of the more "important banks only have recourse to it to a limited "extent when the applications for credit threaten to "exhaust the funds accumulated by other means." In the province of Treviso (*Venetia*) a form of security has been introduced for the purpose of facilitating agricultural loans, called *Buoni del Tesoro dell' Agricoltura*.

The term for which the People's Banks grant loans does not, as a rule, exceed six months. "It has therefore been found advisable to create a form of security "representing deposits received for a considerable "period, proportionate to the term of operations of "agricultural credit. The members desirous of obtaining credit for agricultural purposes apply to the "associations to which they belong, stating the "character of their land, the nature of the improvements which they propose to carry out, the "guarantees they offer, and the period for which they "require the loan. The case is then examined by a "special committee of experts, and if their decision is "favourable, the money is advanced as soon as the "bank has succeeded in placing a bond for a corresponding amount. These bonds are mostly issued at "the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, but some few are "at 4½ or 5 per cent."

The People's Banks distribute the sums entrusted to them by means of—

Methods of granting credits.

1. Loans on the security of their own shares or on personal guarantees.
2. Discounting bills of exchange.
3. Advances of money on the guarantees of securities or goods.
4. Grants of credit on accounts current.

Interest.

The rates of interest and discount vary greatly in the different districts. "That which would be justly considered rank usury in the north, where industry and "trade are well developed, is but a fair profit in those "regions of the south where the farmer was obliged to "pay from 50 to 100 per cent. only a few years ago." The efforts of the promoters of the People's Banks are, however, directed towards reducing the rate of interest

and "the favourable terms granted to them by the "banks of Naples and other large institutions tend to "the same result in those very provinces where it is "most needed."

Signor Bodio gives the following rates of interest allowed and charged in 1882:—

1. For sums received on account, 2 to 6 per cent., the lowest rates being found in Upper Italy, though 4½ per cent. was not unusual in Venetia and Emilia.
2. On deposits of savings, 3 to 6 per cent. Some of the most important banks allow a special rate above the average on deposits of small savings as an encouragement to thrift.
3. On interest-bearing bonds, 3 to 6 per cent., the lowest rates prevailing in the north.
4. On re-discounts, 3 to 8 per cent., though the highest rate in one bank and the average is about 4 to 5 per cent.

The rates of interest received by the banks vary from 4½ to 10 per cent., the higher rates being found in the southern provinces. Many banks also charge a commission varying from ½ to 2 per cent. proportionate to the amount and duration of the loan or advance. On the whole, Signor Luzzatti points out that the rates of interest charged by the Italian People's Banks compare favourably with those of the Credit Unions in Germany, although the general bank rate is lower in the latter country.

The banking business of the associations is generally carried on by salaried clerks (members of the association) under the supervision of the chairman, director, and committee of discount. The paid employees are usually a business manager, a cashier, and an auditor or bookkeeper.

Management.

A Central Association of People's Banks was founded a few years ago through the efforts of Signor Luzzatti and of some of the leading associations. It acts as a bond of union between the institutions, diffuses information with regard to them, and holds periodical meetings for the discussion of common interests.

Central Association.

A district group of People's Banks has also been established in the province of Treviso (*Venetia*).

The objects with which the People's Banks were founded are thus stated by Signor Luzzatti: "In an "ordinary joint stock company the members' money is "the main object considered, but in a co-operative credit "association the person of the shareholder is of much "greater importance than the share itself, since in the "latter society the moral worth of the persons who "compose it, united as they are for the purpose of "obtaining by means of co-operation the credit which "they would not find in other institutions, supplements "and completes the moral worth of the shares, which "are accumulated gradually, and even in some cases "by weekly instalments of a few centimes." Based on the principle of self-help, the People's Banks aim at developing habits of thrift and prudence in their members by providing them with a profitable means of investment for their savings, while they seek to put down usury by the facilities which they afford for obtaining loans and advances of money at a reasonable rate of interest. As compared with benefit societies, however, the People's Banks do not appear to have given much help or countenance to the formation of other co-operative societies, nor do many of these societies borrow from them.

The People's Banks have been to some extent transformed, or rather they have been supplemented by the institution of other popular credit societies, based generally on the same principle, and organised on similar lines, but differing in their character and in their aims from the original associations. Some of these societies are called "Workmen's Banks" (*banche Operaie, casse operaie*), "Workmen's Credit Banks" (*banche di credito per gli Operaie*), "Popular Banks" (*casse popolari*), names which show the predominance of working men in the new associations. In one such bank at Modigliana, at the end of 1882, out of 350 shareholders (*soci*) 122 were working men, while the Co-operative Working-men's Bank of Cortada had a total of 337 shareholders, and numbered no less than 202 operatives and 63 agricultural day labourers. To make the distinction between the old and new societies more apparent, the "Popular Bank" (*banca popolare*) of Bologna may be compared with the "Working-men's Co-operative Bank" (*banca cooperativa per gli operaie*) in the same city. In December 1882 the first of these two banks had 4,109 shareholders, of whom 1,530 were small manufacturers and tradesmen, 1,166 were

(1) *Statistica delle Banche Popolari, 1887.* Roma, 1888, pp. xv, xvi.



officials (*impiegati*) and professional men (*professionisti*), and only 248 were operatives. The second bank, on the other hand, had, at the same time, 712 shareholders, of whom 240 were professional men, and as many as 228 were operatives. The new societies also give credit to a larger number of independent artisans and small agriculturists than was the case with the other popular banks, while many of them have sprung directly from working men's societies.<sup>(1)</sup>

A new form of credit co-operation has been introduced into Italy during the last few years by the institution of rural loan banks, on the Raiffeisen system. These banks were first started in 1883 by Signor Leone Wollemborg, to protect the rural labourers and small landed proprietors of Venetia and Friuli against the exorbitant demands of money lenders, by making it possible for them to borrow capital at a moderate rate of interest. In his report upon rural banks in Italy, written for the Paris Exhibition of 1889, Signor Wollemborg describes the condition of the petty agriculturist in the Venetian provinces (Padua, Venice, Vicenza). Speaking of Loreggia, in the province of Padua, he says that nearly all the 2,795 inhabitants of this commune are engaged in agriculture. The greater number of them are tenants (*locatarios*), divided into *Massariotti*, who occupy holdings of from 3 to 30 hectares, and *Chiusuranti*, whose holdings, called *Chiusure*, are from 50 ares to 3 hectares in extent. Some of the peasant proprietors and of the tenants have only a house and a small plot (*lopin*) of land. A few hold from 3 to 5 hectares. The country is broken up into small farms, and a system of *petite culture* prevails. The great landowners of the district seldom live on their estates. The land is not fertile, and rents are often disproportionately high. These conditions have been favourable to the growth of a system of shameless usury. The petty agriculturist has not sufficient credit to borrow from the ordinary banks except at a high rate of interest. He often cannot find arable, or he lives in a remote village far from a banking centre. He thus falls an easy prey to local money lenders, who exact a rate of interest which rises from 30 to 100 per cent., or even higher. Sometimes the debtor pays a franc a month for every 20 francs borrowed; he also has to give the money lender a dinner every Sunday, and to work for him free of charge. He is, in fact, completely at the mercy of the petty village capitalists.<sup>(2)</sup>

This description only confirms the account given by Professor Ugo Rabbeno in 1887. He states that the economic conditions of Venetia and Friuli are peculiarly favourable to the introduction of rural banks. Small proprietorship is common, especially in Friuli; there are many petty tenant farmers (*affittuarii*) and *coloni* who own their tools and a few head of cattle. These men are generally poor and have not sufficient capital to carry on profitably the cattle-breeding which is one of their chief resources. They therefore borrow from usurers, who provide them with cattle, and exact a large return in kind, so that the interest on the loan often reaches 200 or 300 per cent. or more. This system of usury is in force even in provinces where there are many people's banks.<sup>(3)</sup>

To remedy this state of things Signor Wollemborg established his rural banks, which are little societies of agriculturists (generally small proprietors or tenant farmers) living in the same village or district. They are formed of men who all know each other personally, and can therefore be trusted to supervise one another.<sup>(4)</sup>

As the peasants of Loreggia said of themselves: "We are a hundred men, who keep watch over one another; it is impossible for anyone to fail in his duty."<sup>(5)</sup> The rural bank is, in fact, "a sort of enlarged family." "The group is substituted for the individual," and an association is established which is "essentially co-operative and strictly local."

The two fundamental principles of the institution are the unlimited personal responsibility of all the members for all the debts of the society, and the absolute territorial limitation of membership to the commune, the parish, or the hamlet. Its aim, as expressed in the statutes, is "the improvement of the moral and material condition of the members, by providing them with the money which they need, by means of loans obtained "by the Society in its corporate capacity."

"The system," says Signor Wollemborg, "is an effectual means of improvement from a moral point of view, and it offers a solid basis for the peaceful union of the different social classes who live in the country, or are concerned in country interests." The success of the experiment is shown by the fact that no great financial catastrophe has occurred in connexion with the rural banks since their first foundation.<sup>(6)</sup>

The Italian Rural Bank, then, is the free organisation of the small "entrepreneurs" (*imprenditori*) belonging to a certain territorial district, whose collective capital is sufficient to obtain for them the credit which they individually require. It is a form of agricultural credit peculiarly suited to the social conditions of small proprietors, petty tenant farmers, and independent peasants, to whom it grants loans of money which serve to free them from the heavy usury which weighs them down, to encourage their modest system of tillage, and to develop the industries accessory to agriculture. It imposes also on the members of the banks the necessity for honest and upright conduct, and for the good and profitable use of the loans granted.<sup>(7)</sup> The members of a rural bank must be persons of good character, who possess legal rights, do not belong to any similar unlimited society, and live in the appointed district. They are admitted by the Council of Presidency (*Consiglio di Presidenza*) with an appeal to the Committee of Control (*Commissione di Sindacato*). In doubtful cases the general assembly decides. The accepted candidate signs his name in a special register (*libro dei soci*). Those who leave the appointed district or who do not fulfil the statutory obligations cease to be members. Any member is also free to leave the society of his own accord. The members take upon themselves unlimited responsibility for all obligations incurred by the society. On this guarantee the bank contracts loans at the lowest possible rate of interest, and, with the sums thus accumulated, lends money to its members for longer or shorter terms according to circumstances. It lends at a slightly higher rate of interest than the rate at which it borrows, in order to defray expenses, and to form a small reserve fund.<sup>(8)</sup>

The proportion of this reserve fund to the whole capital of the Society increases from year to year. On December 31st, 1888, the reserve fund at Loreggia, for example, amounted to 1,484 lire out of a capital of 14,529 lire, while at the end of 1887 it was only 1,168 lire out of a capital of 17,193 lire.<sup>(9)</sup>

The Society obtains its capital through two channels.

(1.) It acts as a savings bank and receives deposits both from members of the association and from persons unconnected with it.

(2.) It borrows from other banks, or from individual capitalists. Several People's Banks have consented to lend on easy conditions to the rural banks in their neighbourhood, and both the National Bank of Italy and the National Tuscan Bank have made advances to some of the rural branches of Venetia at  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. lower than the current rate of interest. Many savings banks, notably those of Udine and Cuneo, have also given help to the rural banks near them. Some rural banks have started deposit accounts for school children (*caisses scolaires d'épargne*). In one instance the municipal council of Sossano resolved to give savings bank books as prizes to the children at the primary schools.<sup>(10)</sup> The rural banks give 3 to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest on the deposits entrusted to them, while they pay 4 to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest on the money they have borrowed from other banks or private capitalists. The members of the society pay about 6 per cent. on the loans they receive from the collective fund, and this rate, fixed by the General Assembly, remains invariable, and is unaffected by the fluctuations of the money market. After all general expenses have been defrayed, the difference between this interest and the interest paid by the Society to the depositors forms the reserve fund, which is further increased by means of the personal contributions of the members, charged either annually, to all alike, as a sort of capitation fee, or on a graduated scale in proportion to the amount of credit granted by the Society to each member. The reserve fund is never divided among the members, and would

(1) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, pp. 22-23. Statistica delle Banche Popolari, 1887. F. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1887, No. 42.

(2) Les Caisses Rurales Italiennes. Leone Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 5-8. F. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1889, No. 278, pp. 32-33.

(3) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 28, 29, 32.

(4) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 29.

(5) Les Caisses Rurales. Leone Wollemborg, 1889, p. 11.

(6) Les Caisses Rurales. Leone Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 7-11, 16-17. Statuto-Modello per le casse rurali italiane. Leone Wollemborg. Pubblicazioni della Federazione fra le Casse Rurali Italiane, 1889.

(7) La Cassa Rurale Italiana. Leone Wollemborg, 1893. (Biblioteca della Cooperazione Italiana.)

(8) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 28. Les Caisses Rurales. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 8-13. Statuto-Modello per le casse rurali italiane. L. Wollemborg, 1889.

(9) Les Caisses Rurales. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 15-62.

(10) Les Caisses Rurales. L. Wollemborg, 1889, p. 40.

be used for purposes of public utility in the event of a rural bank being closed. The constantly increasing capital which results from these provisions gives the association an ever widening financial power. "It may," says Signor Wollemborg, "be used to support all kinds of economic enterprises which it is thought well to encourage in the common interest." Moreover, the thought of this collective capital limited to the commune opens a tempting prospect to peasants who can well understand the value of a slight sacrifice made to form and increase it, even though the benefits of it are reaped chiefly by their children and descendants. Thus the assembly of the Loreggia bank unanimously rejected Signor Wollemborg's proposition that the rate of interest paid on loans by members should be diminished, and the members of several rural banks in Venezia voluntarily bound themselves to make annual contributions to the reserve fund. In one case also a number of members of a rural bank formed special societies for the collective purchase of guano, sulphur, bran, grain, and silkworms' eggs, and paid their profits into the bank reserve.<sup>(1)</sup>

The administration of the society is purely gratuitous. It is governed by a General Assembly of the members, the Council of Presidency or of Administration, the Committee of Control (*Commissione di Sindacato*) and the Accountant (*Ragioniere*). The Administrative Council is elected by the General Assembly from its own members. At the head of it is a president, generally the mayor of the commune, the parish priest, some well-to-do local proprietor, or a simple peasant. The president is assisted by four, six, or eight councillors, and his personal powers are limited.<sup>(2)</sup> The Council, which meets once a month, deliberates on applications for admission to the Society, and on grants of credit. There is, however, an appeal from its decisions to the General Assembly. It is authorised to accept deposits and to contract loans, but the maximum amount of deposits and loans is fixed by the General Assembly. The General Assembly also fixes the fines to be imposed on defaulting members, and the rate of interest to be paid by borrowers. It meets at least twice a year, and sometimes more frequently. "The large and immediate share of the Assembly in the affairs of the Society," says Signor Leone Wollemborg, "the right and duty of vigilance and control expressly assigned to all the members, the full publicity of the Society's actions, illustrate the popular character of the institution. Its form of government is that of a pure democracy."<sup>(3)</sup> The Committee of Control is a permanent delegation from the General Assembly. It watches over the exact observation of the statutes and decisions of the Assembly. It controls the public funds and the books of the Society, and has power to suspend the accountant or any member of the Council, on condition of immediately summoning the General Assembly to decide the case. It is composed (according to the model statutes published at Padua in 1892) of a Comptroller-General (*Sindaco-Capo*) and three subordinates (*Sindaci*). It meets at least four times a year. The accountant, who sometimes receives a trifling salary, has to keep the books, registers, documents, and funds of the Society, and to give a yearly account of the sums entrusted to him. He sits on the Council of Administration, but he has no vote, and he is not a member of the Committee of Control. The loans of the Society are granted either for short terms of two years or less, or for long terms ranging from two to five or even ten years. Loans for long periods are, however, only granted on good security, on condition of the payment of yearly instalments, and on the understanding that if all the creditors demand immediate satisfaction, the whole loan shall be paid up at three months' notice. The Society is independent of all political and religious parties, and is governed only by economic and humanitarian considerations.<sup>(4)</sup>

The institution of rural banks has had a striking effect on the social, moral, and economic condition of the peasantry. "The banks," says Signor Wollemborg, "become centres of practical economic teaching, organs for the imitation and elaboration of various co-operative enterprises of a special character, such as the

"collective acquisition of agricultural materials, or the mutual insurance of cattle." This many-sidedness (*facomité*) is a further proof of the eminently popular nature of the movement, and of its educative power.<sup>(5)</sup> The local journal of Cambiano, where the second rural bank was founded, stated, in 1885, that these institutions did not limit themselves to the struggle against usury, but also used their influence to develop the principles of association and of thrift. Thus in 1886 the peasants of Servo borrowed money from their rural bank to enable them to undertake the construction of a public road, and the success of their attempt led them to form a regular co-operative building society. A co-operative granary for housing a common store of maize was also started at Servo in connexion with the rural bank. The bank at Zorzoi lent money to fence in the common pasture lands of the members. Sometimes, on the contrary, the rural banks have sprung from local co-operative or mutual aid societies. This was the case at Castelbaldo in 1887, at Diano d'Alba in 1886, at Bassolengo in 1888, and at Arzignano in 1889.

Sometimes the influence of the banks is exerted to encourage small local industries, such as the manufacture of cane chairs (*chaises en paille*) at Sant' Angelo di Piove, or special branches of agriculture, such as the fruit growing of Cergnani.<sup>(6)</sup>

At Campo San Martino the rural bank is said to have given a great impulse to thrift. Every member has a savings bank book in connexion with the deposit department, and the peasants are accustomed to call the bank the "Poor man's refuge." The reports of the bank presidents constantly notice the great punctuality with which the members pay the sums due from them. "The great defect of our peasants," writes the president of the rural bank of Vigonovo, "the want of punctuality in economic matters, has disappeared as far as their engagements with the bank are concerned."<sup>(7)</sup>

Two extracts quoted by Signor Wollemborg in his report upon the rural bank of Loreggia give a vivid description of the beneficial effects produced by the foundation of the banks. The first, written by a rural dean (*arciprete*) at Loreggia, was printed by the Venetian press.

The peasants, it says, now go less frequently to the public-house, and work better and longer. Since only persons of good character are admitted as members, drunkards have been known to promise never again to enter an alchouse, and, moreover, they have kept their word. Illiterate men of 50 years old and more have learnt to write, in order to be able to sign their bills of credit. Men who have been in receipt of public charity now live on the proceeds of their own labours, with the help of the small capital entrusted to them by the bank. Labourers who could not earn enough to feed themselves have been able to buy a cow, and, with the profits of the milk and cheese, have paid their debt to the Society, and have, besides, kept a calf for themselves. Stables which formerly were empty are now full. Cattle and milk are more plentiful; harvests are more abundant. The members who have escaped from the cruel usury which was devouring them bless the rural bank and its founder.

The second extract, from the local doctor's report, was written in January 1889, and is to the same effect. He declares that the improvements which it was hoped the rural bank would bring about have been realised. The extent of artificial pasturage is three times as great as it was. Stables have been purified. The increase in cattle is considerable. Many families have been enabled to add milk to their ordinary food. The peasant, who being neglected, isolated, and a prey to the most unblushing usury, had formerly only the choice between abject misery and crime offered to him, may now rise to feel the dignity of humanity. He is proud and happy to be a member of the rural bank, and to take part in its administration. He there learns self-respect, the feeling of independence, the love of work, honesty, and punctuality. Usury no longer oppresses the members, and the usurers themselves are obliged to recognise the value of the new institutions, and to leave the country. "I think myself in Paradise," said a new member, "when I compare what I pay now with what I formerly gave to the usurers." "We eat," the peasants often declare, "a better 'polenta' now that we have joined the rural banks; we wish to bring up our sons in honesty and love of

(1) *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 15-21. *La Cassa Rurale Italiana*. L. Wollemborg, 1892, pp. 3, 5, 7. *Statuto modello per le casse rurali italiane*. L. Wollemborg, 1892, Art. 30, p. 11. *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, p. 60.

(2) The model statutes for 1892 give a president, a vice-president, and three councillors.

(3) *La Cassa Rurale Italiana*. L. Wollemborg, 1892. *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 12-13. *Statuto modello per le casse rurali italiane*. L. Wollemborg, 1892, pp. 5-7.

(4) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 30. *Les Caisses Rurales*, 1889, Wollemborg, pp. 13-16. *Statuto Modello*, 1892. Wollemborg, pp. 5, 11.

(5) *La Cassa Rurale Italiana*. L. Wollemborg, 1892, p. 8.

(6) *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 23, 24, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, 53, 59.

(7) *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 35-37, 80.

"work that they may be able to rank, in the Society, among men of good character." The savings banks for school children work in connexion with the rural banks. The president of the Loreggia bank founded a mutual aid society in 1885, which had a capital of about 2,000 francs in 1889 deposited at the rural bank. He also founded a rural club, with the object of procuring for its members, who must also belong to the rural bank, a place of meeting where, with the help of conferences, discussions, and lectures, they might study the means of improving local agriculture. This institution had not developed much when the report was published in 1889, but the cultivators often combined to buy common stores of manure and seeds at wholesale prices, and, if necessary, they borrowed the requisite sums from the rural bank.

The report of the president of the rural bank of Diano d'Alba confirms the experience of the managers at Loreggia. "Our families," he says, "delivered from the stern yoke of usury, have opened their hearts to the hope of a happiness of which formerly they would not have dared to dream. The cultivation of vines has received a new impulse; better methods are employed, intensive cultivation is adopted, profits increase. Morality has gained greatly. Our peasants, as they are never tired of repeating, now work with minds at ease about the future, a feeling hitherto unknown to them. . . . The more aged members speak with emotion of the days when the bank, possessing its own gradually accumulated capital, will be able to grant more and more favourable conditions to borrowers; they think, not without reason, that this collective fund will be a great resource for their sons and descendants to fall back upon."

These extracts are but specimens of many testimonies to the good done by the rural banks, incorporated by Signor Wollemborg in his report.<sup>(1)</sup> To quote his own words in conclusion, he states that the rural banks "act as a practical school of social education. Where formerly, in envy or indifference, men quietly or even joyfully watched the misfortunes of their neighbours, community of interests now excites an affectionate solicitude, which finds expression in help and counsel. . . . Since all are personally responsible, each one concerns himself in the welfare of all, through which his own particular welfare is secured."

The rural banks are united in a kind of federal league. Since 1884 they have issued a monthly leaflet *La Cooperazione Rurale*. In January 1888, Signor Wollemborg formally connected them with one another, in the hope of securing unity of direction to the movement. The federal body gathers together all useful information as to the constitution and administration of rural banks and similar institutions. It gives help to the banks when they are first founded, both in drawing up their statutes, in arranging the way in which they are to be governed, and in deciding disputes. It also helps them to borrow capital on good conditions. It watches over the various societies, and sees that they do not commit irregularities. It creates a common centre of action for the diffusion of its principles, for resistance to oppression, for demanding advantageous or necessary legislative reforms. This central body is, at present, located at Padua. It protects and supports all the different rural banks, but leaves to each its own individuality untouched. It simply exerts a moral and educative influence. *La Cooperazione Rurale* is its official organ, and publishes the monthly balance sheets and accounts of the federated societies. Signor Wollemborg, who is the director of this agency, hoped when he wrote in 1889 to be able soon to hold a Congress of Italian rural banks.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1893 Sir D. Colnaghi made the following statements concerning rural banks in Italy: "When a peasant has emigrated, leaving debts behind him, the money owing to the rural banks has always been paid. . . . The meetings are usually fully attended; the peasants have no connexion with political life, and the bank is their one external interest. They like to say they are going to their meeting, and after work talk together of their bank and its doings. The rural loan banks are humble institutions, but . . . they have already effected some good, and as their influence spreads, it may be hoped that the benefits they are able to confer, under proper regulations, will be generally recognised."<sup>(3)</sup>

The first rural bank was founded by Signor Wollemborg in June 1883, at Loreggia, a little commune in the province of Padua. Thirty-two members joined the Society, including the local doctor, the secretary of the commune, and Signor Wollemborg himself; of the remainder, 12 were small peasant proprietors and 17 were petty farmers. The bank borrowed 2,000 lire from a well-to-do landowner of the neighbourhood at a low rate of interest. At the end of 1883 the collective capital had reached the sum of 7,605.38 lire, 31.53 lire of which was in the reserve fund. The deposits of various kinds amounted to 7,507.98 lire. The loans amounted to 7,510 lire. By the end of December 1888, the total capital had risen to 16,013.47 lire; the reserve was 1,484.27 lire; the various deposits amounted to 11,091.77 lire, and no less than 14,982 lire had been paid out in loans.<sup>(4)</sup> The table appended to Signor Wollemborg's report on rural banks shows further that at the end of 1887 the number of members at Loreggia had increased to 112, of whom 29 were peasant proprietors, 79 were small farmers, and four were employés of different kinds.<sup>(5)</sup> Four of the original members had died, six had left the neighbourhood, five had retired from the Society, and one had been expelled. Ninety-six new members had joined. All the members were heads of families, and these families, in the case of *Massariotti* often included 20, 30, or even 40 persons. The *Chiusuranti* on the other hand, only represented families of from four to eight persons.<sup>(6)</sup>

Encouraged by his success at Loreggia, Signor Wollemborg continued his efforts. He held meetings, and wrote pamphlets, and before long new rural banks were started (April 1884) at Cambiano, in the Florentine district, and at Trebaseleghe, in the province of Padua respectively.<sup>(7)</sup> The parish priests, especially in the province of Belluno, in many cases helped on the movement,<sup>(8)</sup> but its chief support came from the "Friulian Agrarian Association" (*Associazione agraria friulana*). Signor Wollemborg was invited to hold a conference in Udine; the rural banks found ardent partisans in Friuli and the work of diffusion began. It was here, however, that Signor Wollemborg met with the first serious opposition to his scheme, from the supporters of the people's banks, who disliked the principle of unlimited responsibility, and cited the Glasgow Bank failure as an instance of the dangers which attended it; they also maintained that the Raiffeisen banks had developed under special local circumstances which did not exist in Italy, and that the people's banks were better suited to the Italian temperament and habits. Signor Wollemborg, on the other hand, maintained that people's banks and rural banks were not mutually exclusive, that they had nothing in common, and that their spheres of action were totally different. The success of his scheme is the best witness to the truth of these assertions. The following statistics show how widely his rural banks have spread and how greatly they increased in size and importance between 1883 and 1889.

On December 31st, 1887, there were 40 rural banks in Italy. Twenty-seven of these had granted loans to the amount of 388,675 lire. The repayments amounting to 247,284 lire. The net capital at the end of the year was only 9,533 lire. The rural banks limit their action to agricultural centres of small importance, and possess no capital of their own.<sup>(9)</sup>

By the end of 1891 the number of rural loan banks had increased to 53, thus distributed among the different provinces:—

Venetia . . . . .	42
Lombardy . . . . .	5
Piedmont . . . . .	5
Tuscany . . . . .	1

Sir D. Colnaghi mentions that some 20 more were founded in 1892, but that a few of the earlier banks may possibly have ceased to exist. He has been unable to obtain any precise information on this subject.<sup>(10)</sup>

Signor Wollemborg himself writes as follows concerning this rapid increase: "On June 20th, 1883, I

(1) *Les Caissees Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 8, 21-24.

(2) *Id.*, Table B., p. 64.

(3) *Id.*, p. 12.

(4) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 33-36.

(5) *Les Caissees Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, p. 4. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 46. *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 43.

(6) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 45. *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, p. 6. *Les Caissees Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, Tables D., E., p. 67-68.

(7) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 31.

(1) *Les Caissees Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 25, 26, 53.

(2) *Id.*, pp. 11, 59-60.

(3) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 3-4.

" signed the statutes of the first of these associations before a notary. Now (1889) they number 40, and are found in 13 provinces, especially in Venetia, thanks to the help which I have received from wealthy proprietors, mayors, curés, communal secretaries, doctors, and schoolmasters."

*La Cooperazione Rurale*, the organ of the Federation of Italian Rural Banks, mentions in the leaflet issued on January 15th, 1893, that at the end of December 1892 there were 50 rural banks in Italy which had received a total of about 198,697·08 lire in deposits, had granted about 554,761·76 lire in loans, and retained about 20,862·73 lire in reserve.<sup>(1)</sup>

At the end of 1887 there were 27 people's rural banks in Italy. The subjoined table shows the number founded in each year:—

TABLE C. 5.

Year.	No. of Banks.	Year.	No. of Banks.
1883	1	1886	8
1884	6	1887	8
1885	8	1884-1887	1

The members of these banks numbered 2,235, and were distributed in the following manner:—

TABLE C. 6.

Landowners.				Farmers or Tenants.								Total.
2 hectares and less.	2-5 hectares.	5-30 hectares.	30 hectares and more.	2 hectares and less.	2-5 hectares.	5-30 hectares.	30 hectares and more.	Independent Workmen.	Hired Workmen.	Small Employers and Tradesmen.	Employés and others.	
493	580	208	35	186	172	185	4	83	144	66	79	2,235

These 27 banks granted 4,380 loans between 1883 and the end of 1887, which were employed chiefly in the purchase of live stock, tools, fodder, raw materials, manure (*engrais*), or grain, for building and repairing stables and sheds, and for paying off debts to usurers incurred by the peasants.

These details prove the wisdom of Signor Wollemborg's warning to his readers not to judge of the success of the rural banks merely by the figures on the balance sheets. These banks, indeed, supply wants which are none the less pressing because they are so modest.

It is not so much the number as the class of persons who are relieved from suffering by this institution, which ought to form the chief subject of consideration in any attempt to estimate its usefulness and importance.<sup>(2)</sup>

More recent information with regard to rural banks is to be found in the organ of the federated society *La Cooperazione Rurale*. The leaflet for January 1893 states that the movement is constantly acquiring more importance, and that it is passing out of its timid tentative stage and becoming steady and practical. New banks have been founded, and those formerly instituted have thriven. Special mention is made of the help given by the savings bank of Parma. It appears from Sir D. Colnaghi's report that in the beginning of 1892 the savings bank of Parma formed a committee for the purpose of promoting a provincial committee of propaganda in favour of establishing rural banks; it also devoted the sum of 1,000 lire to this purpose. The first rural bank in the province of Parma was founded in the month of April at Torrechiara, in the commune of Langhirano Parmense. On June 2nd an influential provincial committee was also formed at Venice for the promotion of rural loan banks. At Treviso several rural banks have been started, but they have not as yet joined the Federation.<sup>(3)</sup>

In Lombardy the new institutions have made great progress, and have found a staunch supporter in Signor Carlo Contini, an advocate, at whose instigation a special Lombard section of the Rural Bank Federation has been established at Milan. This section aims at promoting the institution of rural banks in the country districts by means of conferences, meetings, and the publication of popular literature on the subject. It also proposes to obtain credit for newly founded banks on easy terms. Finally, it hopes to be able to introduce modifications into the Commercial Code in favour of the rural banks, and to obtain for these banks grants of credit from the National Credit Fund (*Istituto nazionale di Credito fondiario*). Writing in January 1893, Signor Contini says that conferences of rural banks are to be held in the course of the winter or early spring at Lecco, and in some of the most important centres of the Valtellina. A bank is about to be started at Appiano. In the district of Crema the movement is progressing rapidly, thanks to the efforts of the Countess Virginia Sanseverino Martini.

Signor Contini himself, carrying out the suggestion of one of his friends, proposes to publish a little book for children in which he will explain the principles of co-operation in a simple and attractive form, since: "Plants can only be properly trained whilst they are still tender."

It has also been proposed in the Lombard section to lessen the work of the accountants of the rural banks, by adopting a more mechanical system of book-keeping.<sup>(4)</sup>

Co-operative societies of production have been defined as "Unions of workmen engaged in the same trade or industry, who aim specially at working on their own account, getting rid of the *entrepreneur* as an intermediary between labour and capital, and appropriating his profits to themselves."<sup>(5)</sup>

This form of co-operation, which may be regarded as typical, seems at first sight simple enough, but it has been found peculiarly difficult to give it practical realisation. Co-operation in production involves the suppression of the hired labourer, a change which meets with much opposition. It also supposes the existence of a higher moral and intellectual level among working men than they have actually reached, since it requires considerable self-sacrifice, a strong spirit of association and brotherhood, mutual fidelity, honesty, and skill and activity in labour. The Italian operatives, moreover, are wanting in originality and the habit of self-government, and they are too poor to be able to make great efforts for themselves, while the growth of competition and of great industrial centres makes it very hard to carry on small enterprises with any prospect of success. On the whole, however, Italy is rather better off in these respects than other countries. The Italian working classes have made great moral and intellectual progress during the last quarter of a century. Small industries have not yet been entirely crushed out, and factories of moderate size often hold their own and flourish, especially where they make use of the forces of water and other natural agents.

What may be called the "scientific" obstacles to the formation of co-operative societies of production present a more serious difficulty. The question of the proportions in which profits are to be divided between labour and capital is a problem which different societies have tried in various ways to solve. Some have based the division on the respective amounts of wages and interest, others have divided profits equally between capital and labour, in others again the dividends have been assigned to the shareholders.<sup>(6)</sup>

In spite, however, of all hindrances, co-operative societies of production had developed considerably in Italy by the end of 1888,<sup>(7)</sup> and though the co-operative Congress of 1890 had several failures to record, it concluded that "wherever the members of a co-operative society realised that co-operation meant the common labour of all, the society flourished."<sup>(8)</sup>

(1) *La Cooperazione Rurale*, Anno IX., Padova, 15 Gennaio 1893, pp. 1-5, 13.

(2) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 8.

(3) *Id.*, p. 83-104.

(4) *Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani* Bologna, 1888, p. 27.

(5) *Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani* Torino, 1890, pp. 22-24. *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 104-105.

(1) *La Cooperazione Rurale*, Anno IX., Padova, 15 Gennaio 1893.

(2) *Les Caisses Rurales*. L. Wollemborg, 1889, pp. 7, 62-69. *Id.*, p. 25.

(3) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1893, No. 274, p. 32. *La Cooperazione Rurale*, Anno IX., Padova, 15 Gennaio 1893, pp. 1-2.

3. Productive co-operation.

(1.) Introduction.

In 1886 Professor Ugo Rabbeno stated that he knew of the existence of about 30 co-operative societies of production, but had only been able to obtain information with reference to about 20 of them. The Italian societies, he says, "present much the same phenomena as those of other countries. Some are organised on a truly co-operative basis, others diverge more or less from co-operative principles, some are only co-operative in name." They were at that time (1886) too few to exercise a sensible influence over the national economy, though there were some honourable exceptions to their general insignificance.

In 1887-1888, however, the Central Committee of the Federation of Italian Co-operative Societies published the following list of productive and industrial societies then existing in Italy, in addition to the co-operative dairies, which numbered 231.

Associations of day labourers ( <i>lavoratori</i> )	-	-	33
Associations of masons	-	-	14
" shoemakers	-	-	27
" tailors	-	-	4
" smiths and mechanics	-	-	9
" carpenters and cognate trades	-	-	12
" tanners	-	-	7
" potters and cognate trades	-	-	9
" printers	-	-	7
" weavers	-	-	9
" (Biella)	-	-	18
" various trades	-	-	27
Total	-	-	176

At the same time, the Committee issued a list of 63 co-operative building societies in Italy, 43 co-operative bakerhouses, and 41 agrarian associations.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1889 Professor Ugo Rabbeno was able to state farther that there then existed at least 52 productive societies among the manufacturing industries, distributed as follows:—

Associations among builders, stone-cutters, or marble workers	-	-	12
Associations among tanners	-	-	6
" " metal workers	-	-	5
" " printers	-	-	5
" " glassworkers and potters	-	-	4
" " shoemakers	-	-	4
" " various trades	-	-	16
Total	-	-	52

A very small proportion of these societies had been in existence for more than 15 years, about 20 had been in working order for from 4 to 15 years, but the greater number were of recent origin, and many, among them 9 in Milan alone, had only been started during the last two years (1886-87).<sup>(2)</sup>

The position of these societies in 1890 may be seen by referring to the general table printed at the end of this section. (Below, p. 72.)

In order to understand clearly the distinctions between the various kinds of co-operative societies of production, it is necessary to divide them into groups, according to the classification adopted by the Director-General of Statistics in a report published in 1890. <sup>(3)</sup>

Co-operative dairies occupy a prominent position among productive societies. They are regarded by Professor Ugo Rabbeno as one of the earliest forms of co-operation, which has sprung from a natural and spontaneous impulse rather than from a preconceived theory, and has appeared with the same characteristics in countries unconnected with each other. These dairies (*latterie sociali*) may be defined as associations of small cattle breeders who agree to put their milk into a common stock, to make their cheese and butter in common, and to divide the produce, either in kind or in money, in proportion to the quantity of milk originally contributed by each member of the association. They are thus true co-operative societies of production, formed on a basis of perfect equality. Many causes have worked together to produce these associations, the extreme subdivision of property, especially in the Alpine regions, where cattle breeding is almost the only industry, the small number of cattle possessed by each landholder, the necessity of having a consider-

able quantity of milk for butter and cheese making, the scarcity of capital and the absence of middlemen who would buy up the milk and make cheese and butter on their own account. In some districts the co-operative dairies have existed from time immemorial, in others they are of more recent origin. They have different names, and are not all organised after the same pattern.<sup>(4)</sup> The simplest and most primitive form is that of "milk-lending" (*prestato del latte*). A number of cattle breeders agree to lend each other their milk day by day in turns. The member whose turn it is to receive the milk makes it into cheese and butter in his own cottage, for his own profit. In some places each man possesses all the necessary utensils for cheese making, in others they are common property, and are carried from house to house. This custom, which in many districts has been observed for centuries, still exists, according to Professor Ugo Rabbeno, in certain Alpine valleys, and in Southern Italy.<sup>(5)</sup> The report of the Director General of Statistics for 1890, however, states that the usage of "milk-lending" does not appear to be practised anywhere at the present day.<sup>(6)</sup>

"Milk-lending" has been almost if not entirely superseded by the "alternating system" (*sistema turnario*), which is also very ancient. All the producers of milk in a village unite to employ a cheese-maker to look after a cottage and a set of cheese-making utensils which they hold in common, and to help in working up the common supply of milk. Each small cultivator, when he has produced as much milk as can be worked up in a day, has a right to the whole produce of one day's cheese and butter making. On the day appointed him, he goes up to the cottage, laden with firewood, rennet, and salt, superintends and helps in the cheese and butter making and pays all expenses incurred. The butter he at once sells, or carries away with him. The cheese is marked with his name, and is kept for salting in the common stock until the time for selling it arrives. This system of co-operative dairy farming prevails, with some modifications, in France and Switzerland. In Italy it is found in the Alpine districts in Piedmont, Friuli, Carniola, Emilia, and parts of Lombardy. Until about 1872 co-operative dairies of this kind were very common in Emilia, especially in the Reggiano hills, where the famous Parmesan cheese is made, but of late years they have nearly all been replaced by middlemen, who combine to buy up the milk at their own prices and make it into cheese and butter themselves. It often happens even that the cheesemakers originally employed by the co-operative dairy farmers end by becoming the proprietors of the dairies in which they work, and, after buying the milk from their former masters sell the cheese for their own profit. In the provinces of Novara, Turin, and Como, and others, the "alternating system" is still in force.<sup>(7)</sup> It appears also that at Bormio (*Sondrio*) the most important of the four co-operative dairies has a mixed system, combining "alternation" with a form of profit-sharing (*partecipazione*) which is found to be both simple and economical.<sup>(8)</sup> While some co-operative dairies simply divide the produce among their members, others sell the produce and divide the money. It is worth noting that those societies which have tried to combine the functions of the salesman with those of the producer have generally tended to neglect the true principles of co-operation, and to become mere associations of capitalists. Thus the statutes of the co-operative dairy of Cavaso-Possagno declare that the aim of the society is to buy up milk, giving the producers a fair price. Twenty-five per cent. of the profits of this society are paid into the reserve fund, the remainder goes to the shareholders, who may or may not be milk producers. The dairy at Cison di Valmarino, founded in 1882, ceased to be co-operative in 1887, and became an anonymous society (*società anonima*) with a capital of 3,000 lire in 30 shares. In some places private enterprise has supplanted the co-operative dairies, and the milk producers are altogether excluded from a share in the profits. These changes have been brought about by the need of increasing capital for the improvement of production, and also by the want of foresight of the small culti-

(1) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 46-47. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani, Bologna, 1888, p. 24. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani, Torino, 1890, p. 26. *Le Società Co-operative di Produzione*. Ugo Rabbeno, Milano, 1889, pp. 9-29.

(2) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 47. *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1889, p. 7.

(3) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 47-49. *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, p. 7. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani, Torino, 1890, p. 26.

(4) *La Cooperazione italiana*. Organo della federazione delle Co-operative. Milano, Anno III., No. 31. Luglio, 1889, p. 65.

(1) Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani, Milano, 1887. Publ. 1888, p. 163.

(2) *Le Società Cooperative di Produzione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1889, pp. 288-289.

(3) *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, p. 17.

vators, who like to be paid at once and in ready money for their milk, instead of having to wait till the end of the year to obtain their share of profits.<sup>(1)</sup> During the last 20 years co-operative dairies have increased considerably in the provinces of Belluno and Friuli, and have also begun to follow new lines of development. In these districts there were formerly some few dairies managed on the "alternating system." The small cultivators generally made their own butter and cheese, which was so poor in quality, that there was an old saying current in the neighbourhood "butter from one cow is the worst, butter from several cows is the best" (*burro di vacca, pessimo; burro di vacche, ottimo*). There was no external trade in cheese and butter, the small quantity which was made was hardly sufficient for the local consumption. Some of the more influential inhabitants, however, amongst whom the parish priests played a prominent part, determined to establish co-operative dairies in this mountainous region. The priests are even said to have set themselves in person to the work of butter and cheese making. Their energy was rewarded. The dairies increased in number, the communes and the provincial authorities helped to defray the initial expenses. Government presented the dairies with utensils, and offered prizes for the encouragement of the movement, besides instituting technical schools and lectures for instruction in cheese-making. In 1887 the number of co-operative dairies in the province of Belluno alone exceeded 100; in Friuli there were more than 30, and new societies were constantly founded. The quality of the butter was now extremely good, and a brisk external trade sprang up. The greater part of the cheese which was made was still, however, consumed at home. The co-operators held meetings at Auronzo, at Agordo, and at Belluno to discuss their common interests. In May 1885, on the motion of the "Friulian Agrarian Association" (*associazione agraria friulana*) a Congress was held at Udine in which the organisation of the co-operative dairies was to some extent modified. The "alternating system" was abolished; it was decided that butter and cheese were to be made and sold by the society, and the money was to be divided among the members, in proportion to the quantity of milk which they had contributed, while that quantity of cheese and butter which was necessary for the wants of the members and their families was to be distributed amongst them in kind. Finally, Signor Wollemborg drew up a set of model rules, based on the principle of unlimited responsibility, which have already been adopted by one society. It is hoped that the introduction of this principle will facilitate the establishment of loan banks in connexion with the dairies. The organisation of the co-operative dairies, however, is still far from perfect. Their methods of cheese-making are very primitive, the greater number of the societies have no capital and inferior utensils, and most of them have formed no definite contracts, and rely merely on the good faith of their members and on traditional custom.<sup>(2)</sup>

At Agordo (*province of Belluno*) an association among co-operative dairies has been formed. In order to obtain a better sale for their products, 14 dairies have united and have subscribed for one or more shares of 100 lire each in the new association. The profits will be equally divided between the affiliated societies and the reserve fund. It has been proposed to exclude the capitalist element from these societies, and to give them a purely co-operative form, by the introduction of a perfectly equal system of profit-sharing. A resolution to this effect was passed by the first and second Congresses of the Venetian co-operative dairies. In conclusion, it must be admitted that these dairies, whether co-operative or not, have in the course of a few years introduced into the provinces where they are established an industry by means of which co-operative well-being has replaced the misery which formerly existed.<sup>(3)</sup>

On December 31st, 1889, 45 co-operative dairies recognised under the provisions of the Commercial Code, and 163 unrecognised and autonomous societies were established in Italy. With the exception of one small dairy in the province of Salerno, they were all situated in Northern Italy, principally in Lombardy and Venetia. Only 52 of the above dairies sent in returns. These may be divided into two groups.

1. Societies which distribute all or nearly all their produce in kind, and fix no price for the milk.
2. Societies which buy the milk or fix its price when it is brought to the dairy.

The 40 dairies of the first group, with 2,508 milk producers, received in one year 3,886,956 kilogrammes of milk, which they worked up into butter, cheese, and *ricotta*<sup>(4)</sup> to the value of 589,868 lire. The receipts of 36 of these dairies amounted to 118,341 lire, and their expenditure to 37,711 lire, 79,586 lire distributed among the members, and 1,044 lire went to increase the common capital (*patrimonio sociale*), which amounted to 41,435 lire for 31 dairies. In the second group of 12 dairies, 10 worked up 3,764,337 kilogrammes of milk in one year. The expenditure of 11 dairies, including the value of the milk, amounted to 503,237 lire. Their receipts, including the value of the produce, reached the sum total of 523,650 lire. The surplus was divided either entirely among the shareholders, or partly among the milk producers. The total expenditure of the whole 12 dairies was 448,883 lire. Their total capital and reserve fund amounted to 197,434 lire.<sup>(5)</sup> To the above information, which is given in Signor's Bodio's Report upon Co-operative Associations published in 1890, may be added the following details, collected by Dr. Bassi, and published in 1891, in the Report of the Fourth Congress of Italian Co-operators. The number of co-operative dairies had now risen to 590, which were distributed as follows:—

Venetia	-	-	-	259
Lombardy	-	-	-	210
Piedmont	-	-	-	107
Emilia	-	-	-	10
Other provinces	-	-	-	4

Even this list is probably incomplete, for co-operative dairies spring up "like Alpine flowers" in remote and isolated regions where no information concerning them can be obtained. They have penetrated as far as Sicily, where traces of the co-operative dairy system may be found in the contracts granted to the *Mistrettese*. The small producers give their milk to the larger dairy farmers. When they have supplied from 200 to 300 litres they receive back the whole of that quantity, and work it all up into butter and cheese at once. This custom has been established because it has been found that in butter and cheese making the best results are obtained by working on a large scale.<sup>(6)</sup>

The report of the Third Congress of Italian Co-operators mentions a village (*paese*) on Mount Falterona (*province of Tuscan*) which has 4,000 inhabitants and 13 co-operative societies, all the members of which are small proprietors. Seven of these societies were founded in the course of six years by a priest, Don Federico Fiorenzio, who has devoted himself to furthering this movement, and even travelled to Rome to ask work of the Pope.<sup>(7)</sup>

Professor Ugo Rabbeno states, in his monograph on productive co-operation, that in Belluno and Friuli it had been calculated that the introduction of co-operative dairies had produced an increase of 23 per cent. on the profits formerly made by private dairy farmers. This increase was attributed to the enormous saving in fuel, which amounted to 90 per cent., to the saving in utensils, the improvement in the quality of the produce, and, above all, to the increase in number and the improvement in the breed of the cows on the dairy farms.<sup>(8)</sup>

A large class of day labourers (*braccianti*) exists in the country districts and small towns of certain Italian provinces. These men are hired by the day for agricultural jobs, digging, road-making, or railway construction. They are employed by landed proprietors, or more frequently by contractors and sub-contractors, to whom the work has been leased out by the provincial or communal authorities.<sup>(9)</sup> The leases are often only granted on terms which are very disadvantageous to the contractors, who, in their turn, try to indemnify themselves by beating down their workmen. The Third Report of the Congress of Italian Co-operators, published in 1889, states that owing to this cause, to the decrease of the metayer system (*mezzadria*), and to the scarcity of work, which forced the labourers to compete fiercely with one another, the workmen, whose condition was daily becoming more miserable, resolved

(III.) Co-operative association among day labourers (*braccianti*).

(1) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 8-10.

(2) La Cooperazione in Italia Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 40-54.

(3) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, p. 11. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 47. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori I. 1890, Torino, 1891, p. 27.

(4) Ricotta, a particular kind of cheese or junket.

(5) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 10-11. Tables IV., V., pp. 90-95. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 46-47.

(6) Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Torino, 1890, p. 57.

(7) Il Terzo Congresso dei Coop. It. Bologna, 1889, p. 72.

(8) Le Società Cooperative di Produzione. Ugo Rabbeno, Milan, 1890, p. 217. See below, Appendix G., p. 100 a. "Cooperative viticulture."

(9) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 111-113.

to unite in their own defence. The societies thus started may be regarded as the greatest triumph of the principle of co-operative production in Italy. They have a primitive simplicity of organisation which is, however, probably destined to spread through the whole of Italy, and to pass beyond the Alps.<sup>(1)</sup> Associations of day labourers are distinguished from other co-operative societies by the small amount of capital which they require. Their common name of "Labour Societies" seems to imply that they are founded only on a productive basis. They cannot, however, in reality exist without some capital, if only to furnish the necessary deposit money (*cauzioni*) to meet the inevitable delays which occur in settling accounts on the part of the public administrations. Signor Bodio, in a report published in 1890, mentions 49 of these associations which were then established in Italy. Twenty-three of these were recognised under Articles 219 to 228 of the Commercial Code, 20 were unrecognised and autonomous, and six were affiliated to benefit societies. It is not certain, however, whether these numbers include all the associations which existed at that time. The Report of the Fourth Congress of Italian Co-operators, published in 1891, states that the total number of day labourers' associations had then risen to 74.<sup>(2)</sup>

The origin of day labourers' associations has been traced back to the companies of Lombard masons who, in the Middle Ages, wandered through Europe building cathedrals and palaces. The movement has developed in an extraordinary manner since 1888, especially in Romagna, where it first began, and where the metayer system, which has now almost disappeared, was once widely diffused.

In October 1887 the deputies, Marin, Badaloni, Tedeschi, and Villanova made an appeal to the peasants of Rovigo (*Polesine*), urging them to form a co-operative society. Their appeal was published in *La Cooperazione Italiana* as an appendix to the Report of the Second Congress of Italian Co-operators, but it met with no response. In October 1888 Signor Marin opened a "co-operative campaign" which lasted for a whole year. The first conference was held at Contarina on November 24th, and soon afterwards a day labourers' co-operative society was formed. Other conferences followed and fresh associations were constituted at Isola di Ariano, Papozze, Laura, Gavello, and many other places. In all 15 day labourers' societies were established, besides four associations of day labourers and builders. These 19 unions had almost 8,000 members, drawn from the ranks of the poorest peasants in Italy. In 1890 Signor Marin was using his utmost efforts to unite them all in a federation (*consorzio*) in order to enable them to undertake important public works.<sup>(3)</sup>

The organisation of these societies and the system of payment to members which is observed are very simple. The Society makes a contract for a given piece of work at a given price, and then sublets the work by the piece to gangs (*squadre*) of its members. It provides the necessary tools if the workmen do not possess them, and gives a price equal to that which it has received, minus the expenses of administration. While the work goes on the members receive instalments of pay for their immediate maintenance. When the work is finished the quantity done by each man is estimated, and he is paid a proportionate share of the profits.<sup>(4)</sup>

The most important associations are those of Ravenna and Badrio.

The Day Labourers' Society at Ravenna, which Signor Rava has described as "one of the most splendid expressions of the true co-operative principle which labour has effected in Italy,"<sup>(5)</sup> was first constituted in 1883, and was legally recognised in 1888. Its aims are stated in the second article of its statutes, which runs as follows: "The Society specially proposes to establish a common fund which will enable it to undertake on its own account the greater part of the public and private works which are now entrusted to uncontrolled and often dishonest speculators. Thus the members of the Association, now reduced to penury by the rapacity of contractors,

"hope to take the first step on the path of emancipation, since, when the conditions of labour are improved and independence is secured, the Association will offer them the means of education and of deliverance from the state of misery and subjection into which they had fallen." The classes of workmen admitted as members of the Association are day labourers and navvies (*braccianti*), carters, paviors, and sawyers who are not under 17 years of age, and are either natives of Ravenna or have lived there for a year. Members who would merely contribute capital are excluded. When it becomes necessary to borrow money, loans are accepted from the King or from legally constituted societies (*Corpi morali*), but not from private individuals. In the work undertaken by the Society only members are employed. The price of piece-work is fixed at 10 per cent. below the contract price by a technical committee, composed of four experts who are members of the Association, and of an engineer and a lawyer who do not belong to the Society. In other respects the organisation resembles that of an ordinary society of co-operative production. The promoters of the scheme originally intended not to begin operations till the capital had reached 20,000 lire, but they saw that the members would be discouraged by a long delay. Although, therefore, at the beginning of 1884 their capital hardly amounted to 6,000 lire, they accepted offers of work which were made to them by the Commune of Ravenna and by a local company (*consorzio*). The diligence and honesty displayed by members of the Society in these first attempts won them public sympathy. Fresh work was entrusted to them, and the Commune of Ravenna let 350 hectares of land to the Association, which it turned into artificial meadows. In the course of 1884 the Association further accepted a sub-contract for the earthworks required to reclaim the marshes of Ostia, Camposalino, Maccarese, and Isola Sacra, in the province of Rome.<sup>(6)</sup>

Sir D. Colnaghi states that in 1891 the Society, which had formed a union with other co-operative labourers' societies in Romagna, contracted with a private firm to excavate works on the Larissa Piræus Railway in Greece to the value of 13,000,000 lire. The money required for setting up the works was partly obtained on credit.<sup>(7)</sup>

The Ravenna Society started with only 303 members, who paid a lira per month for each share of 24 lire and upwards. The number rapidly rose to 2,604, but by December 31st, 1889, it had fallen again to 2,127. At this date the subscribed capital amounted to 51,048 lire, the paid-up capital (*capitale versato*) was 46,669 lire, and there were 13,448 lire in the reserve fund. There was also a pension fund of 17,854 lire, which was created by a charge on the annual profits and by the generosity of those who had lent money to the Society, who gave up the interest on their shares. The Society has also credit accounts with the Savings Bank of Ravenna to the amount of 80,000 lire for advances without security (*prestati sull'onore*), and of 50,000 lire against bills of exchange. Its credit with the local people's bank amounts to 25,000 lire for advances on trust, and 40,000 lire against bills. The National Bank gives it credit for 10,000 lire, and the Bank of Naples for 20,000 lire for advances on trust. Professor Ugo Rabbeno mentions a loan made by the King to the Society, and says that he personally visited the works at Fiumicino. The Foreign Office Report on Italy for 1893 further states that, in September 1892, the King of Italy, who, as their patron, had been solicited by the President of the Society of Labourers of Ravenna to assist them in obtaining a loan on easy terms, responded by a gift of 50,000 lire. "Do not," said His Majesty, "repay me, but when you can place the sum to the account of a pension fund, which it is your duty to institute." The King, it appears, continually employs the labourers belonging to this Society on works connected with his estates, and has expressed his thorough satisfaction with their conduct.<sup>(8)</sup>

The management of the works in the province of Rome has been kept separate from the principal seat of administration at Ravenna. At the latter, between 1884 and 1889, earthworks to the value of 580,752 lire were carried out, with a net profit of 20,614 lire. At the Roman centre, from the beginning of the works to September 30th, 1889, the Society received 1,366,092 lire for work executed; the sum of 25,576 lire was also

(1) Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Bologna, 1888, pp. 29, 30.

(2) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 47. Associazioni dei Cooperative in Italia, 1890, p. 11. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Bologna, 1888, pp. 70-71. Il Quarto Congresso dei Coop. It. Torino, 1890, p. 18.

(3) Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Torino, 1890, pp. 16-18.

(4) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1897, pp. 113-114.

(5) Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Bologna, 1888, p. 71.

(6) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 12-13. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 47-48. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Bologna, 1888, p. 50.

(7) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 48.

(8) Id., 1893, No. 274, p. 87.

owing to it for work done for the Royal Corps of Civil Engineers (*il Genio civile*). The total value of the work completed was about 1,391,668 lire. The profits, according to the balance sheet of September 30th, 1889, amounted to about 25,066 lire. So large an undertaking required a considerable initial outlay. The Society expended more than 50,000 lire in traction engines, centrifugal machines, rails, and Decauville trucks. It also devoted large sums to establishing stores (*Magasini di consumo*) and lodgings for the men in the almost desert spot where the works were carried on. From the beginning of the works to September 30th, 1889, the Society spent 603,890 lire on the stores, and received 634,116 lire in payment for goods sold. To provide the workmen with lodgings a house was rented at Isola Sacra, and several buildings at Ostia. The total sum expended, which included the value of beds, bedding, and kitchen utensils was 68,734 lire. Each labourer paid 3 lire 50 centimes per month for his lodgings. The Society also established an Infirmary, towards which each member pays 1 lira per month. Sick members have a right, after a fortnight's illness, to a weekly allowance of 5 lire and to free maintenance in the Infirmary. The economic effect of the foundation of the Society has been to raise the workmen's wages. In the co-operative works they were paid from 1'50 lire to 3'50 lire per diem, according to the season and the quality of the work. Moreover, they received a share of the profits which were distributed in the following proportions: 40 per cent. to the members, 40 per cent. to the reserve fund, and 20 per cent. to the pension fund. The Society has also exercised a decidedly beneficial influence on the moral conduct of the labourers.

Signor Nullo Baldini, the secretary of the Association, states that the members have never had to be reprimanded for gambling, drinking, or quarrelling.<sup>(1)</sup>

Badrio.

The society of day labourers at Budrio differs in some respects from the Ravenna Association. It admits shareholders who are not labourers, and the profits are not distributed in proportion to the shares, but are equally divided between the reserve fund and the working members of the Society, excluding all members who are capitalists, landowners, private gentlemen, leaseholders (*affittuari*), and manufacturers or permanent employes (*impiegati stabili*). The Society was founded in 1885. In that year it had 1,953 members, but by 1886 the number had fallen to 1,327, and by 1887 only 913 members remained. At the end of the first year after its foundation the Association accepted work from the Government Engineers to the value of 51,000 lire with a deduction of 6 per cent., and other work to the value of 1,400 lire. The results were excellent. The workmen gained from 2 lire to 2'50 lire per diem, and the Society accumulated a capital of some thousands of lire. In 1886 it further undertook works to the value of 150,000 lire. It also opened a credit account with the Savings Bank of Bologna, to the amount of 20,000 lire, and by the end of 1887 it possessed a net capital of 43,205 lire. Signor Bodio attributes the success of this Society, at least in part, to the admission of capitalist members.<sup>(2)</sup>

Other associations.

Similar associations have been founded at Finale in Emilia, at Forli, Baguacavallo, and Cotignola.

Finale.

The Day Labourers' Association at Finale in Emilia started on April 3rd, 1886, with 575 members. By September 30th, 1890, the number of members had increased to 1,131, and the paid-up capital amounted to 14,859'31 lire. This capital is divided into shares of 24 lire. Each member receives one share when he is admitted into the Society, and undertakes to pay it up in three years by monthly instalments.

The profits are divided equally between the shareholders and a common fund for providing pensions and opening night schools. The association of Finale at first confined itself to a restricted sphere of operations, since it rejected all external loans and assistance, and refused to compete for public works with private contractors. The managers of the Society declared that they had not been able to accumulate a large capital, or to undertake important enterprises, and that their object was not so much to make great profits as to raise the wages of their workmen. After the passing

<sup>(1)</sup> Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 13-15. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 48-49. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Bologna, 1888, pp. 30-71. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Torino, 1890, pp. 16-17.

<sup>(2)</sup> Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 15-16. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 49. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Bologna, 1888, p. 71. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Torino, 1890, p. 17.

of the law of July 11th, 1889, however the Association undertook and carried out several large contracts for Government and communal works, and on September 30th, 1890, their profits amounted to 18,905'37 lire.

Forli, Baguacavallo

In 1888 the Society at Forli carried out works to the value of 200,000 lire. The Association at Baguacavallo, founded in 1884, executed works to the value of about 12,000 lire in its first year of existence, and realised a profit of 1,100 lire, which, with the contributions of the members, made up a capital of 2,300 lire. In 1886, however, this Society accepted a contract for public works at a very low rate, and was nearly ruined in consequence. It incurred a debt of 232 lire, and would have become bankrupt if the King had not sent a donation of 2,400 lire, which enabled it to struggle on. By 1889 it was able to undertake work to the value of 10,000 lire.

Cotignola

The Association at Cotignola was only founded in 1889. By 1890 it had done work to the value of 58,000 lire, and had made a profit of 2,831 lire. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that the profits of co-operative societies of production are always proportionately lower than those of private firms, because these societies make a point of always giving high wages to their workmen.

The report of the Fourth Congress of Italian Co-operators mentions also the following day labourers' societies in the province of Reggio Emilia.

TABLE C. 7.

Centre of Society.	Number of Members.
Reggio (capital of 7,000 lire)	310
Santa Vittoria in Comune di Gualtieri	134
Cadelbosco di Sopra	250
Castelnovo Sotto	200
Campegine	100
Cavriago	100
Novellara	151
Bagnolo in piano	70
Montecchio	120
Bibbiano	100
Guastalla	500

The above associations as a rule have no capital, the members pay up their shares by degrees from their wages. They do, however, most excellent work, and various public undertakings have been entrusted to them. The extraordinary prosperity of day labourers' societies in these districts is due in great measure to the action of the Chamber of Commerce, and to the private efforts of Doctor Maffei.<sup>(3)</sup>

Co-operative associations of day labourers have also been established in the provinces of Modena and Mantua.

Mantua.

There were 14 such societies in the Mantuan province in 1890, and proposals had been made for the foundation of others. These societies numbered about 6,000 members, and were preparing, when the Italian Co-operators published their Fourth Report, to organise a provincial federation.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the Third Congress of Italian Co-operators Professor Ugo Rabbeno brought forward a resolution to the effect that the Congress applauded the work of emancipation undertaken by the Italian day labourers, specially by those of the Romagna and of Mantua, and considered that they were fighting against selfish speculation and introducing a radical transformation into the manner of contracting for public works. He proposed, therefore, that this movement should be encouraged by Government, that model statutes should be drawn up, and federations organised, and finally that the actual legislation should be modified in favour of these institutions in four respects:—

- (1.) By allowing the day labourers' associations to give personal security for the contracts undertaken by them.
- (2.) By empowering the central and local authorities to grant work up to the value of 100,000 lire to the associations by private agreement.
- (3.) By compelling the authorities *ceteris paribus* to prefer co-operative societies to private firms in public competitions for work.
- (4.) By adopting improved methods of payment on account.<sup>(5)</sup>

<sup>(3)</sup> Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 16-17, Table VI., p. 26. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani Torino, 1890, pp. 17-18.

<sup>(4)</sup> Il Quarto Congresso dei Coop. It. Torino, 1890, p. 18.

<sup>(5)</sup> Il Terzo Congresso dei Coop. It. Bologna, 1888, pp. 31-75.



On the whole Signor Bodio concludes that the Italian Day Labourers' Associations have a bright future before them. He believes that the enthusiasm and the self-sacrificing spirit of the men who form these Associations will outweigh the disadvantages of their ignorance and poverty, and that, if it be true that "the morning shows the day" there is every reason to hope that their career will be prosperous.<sup>(1)</sup>

There is a close connexion between Day Labourers' Co-operative Associations and similar societies among masons and bricklayers (*muratori*). These too are imperfect in organisation, since they cannot produce irrespective of the demand for their goods, but are obliged to work to order. The published list includes 43 Masons' Co-operative Societies, of which 31 are legally recognised, 11 are unrecognised, and 1 is affiliated to a benevolent society. The Fourth Congress of Italian Co-operators mentions in addition a society which in 1890 was about to be formed at Forlì, to defend the masons against the intrigues of contractors.<sup>(2)</sup>

Signor Bodio, however, has only been able to collect detailed information concerning nine societies, eight of which are recognised and one unrecognised. Even of these, two appear to be doing very little work. The *Masons' Co-operative Society of Pistoia* and the *Masons' Co-operative Society of Florence*, have carried out no undertakings of any importance, and the *Piedmontese Society of Working Masons* lost about 20,000 lire in its first year of existence, and has never regained its ground. The *Co-operative Labour Society* at Rome has also much difficulty in holding its own.

All the masons' societies have a capital formed by means of shares payable by instalments. Some admit only working members (masons, and operatives of kindred trades); others have both working and non-working members; others, again, take a middle course, and admit as members workmen and co-operative and other societies, but no private individuals who are not labourers. The object of these societies is to contract for work to be carried out by the members. Generally, however, they also employ extra hands, who are paid like ordinary workmen. The members receive wages and a share in the profits.

The societies of Imola, Milan, and Cesena, represent three typical forms of Masons' Associations. From the co-operative point of view the best type seems to be that of the Imola Society. Only workmen are admitted. The members are *effective* and *co-operating*. In the first class are entered the founders, and those co-operating members who have reached the age of 21, and have belonged to the society for three consecutive years. The second class comprises those who have been members for three years and are 18 years old. A new member is not formally bound to the society during his first year. No member may possess more than 50 shares. The shareholders receive a dividend of 20 per cent. upon the annual profits, if this does not exceed 6 per cent. on the paid-up capital. The remainder is divided in the following proportions: 75 per cent. in equal parts to the *effective* and *co-operating* members respectively, the master masons to have twice as much as the journeymen; 20 per cent. to the Benefit Fund, and 5 per cent. to the Reserve Fund. Sick members are not to lose their right to share in the profits, provided that their illness does not last more than three months. No member may undertake work independently of the Association.

At Cesena there are two kinds of shares, those subscribed for by working members (masons, smiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, glaziers, varnishers, day labourers), and those subscribed for by any other class of persons. One-half of the profits is divided among the shareholders who fall under these two categories, but not more than 5 per cent. may be paid on shares of the second kind; the other half of the profits goes to the Reserve Fund and to the Benefit Fund. This society has been accused of a tendency to become an Association of capitalists. It has certainly lost sight of the true co-operative principle of employing only its members, and relies largely on independent hired labour.

Only working members are admitted to the Masons' Society at Mantua. No member may hold more than five shares. The shareholders have half the profits; the remainder is paid to the members in proportion to the amount of work done by them. With the exception of the Imola Society, this is the most strictly co-operative of all the Masons' Associations in Italy. Sir D.

Colnaghi mentions that in 1891 it had obtained some contracts from the military authorities.<sup>(3)</sup>

"At Bologna, owing to a defalcation of funds, the Masons' Association encountered difficulties" which it was gradually overcoming when the Foreign Office Report for 1893 was published. "The municipality has been able to give the Society several contracts which have been satisfactorily carried out." As the Society has no present capital, however, it labours under certain disadvantages, such as having to pay interest on materials, and to hire barrows.<sup>(4)</sup>

This Association sprang out of a society which was formed at the end of 1884 by the Bolognese Masons in opposition to the middlemen (*imprenditori*). In 1888 this passive resistance took the active form of a co-operative society of production, with 400 members, and a capital of 12,000 lire, divided into shares of 25 lire and upwards. In the first year of its existence the Association undertook work to the value of 5,200 lire, and by 1890 it held contracts amounting to 180,000 lire.<sup>(5)</sup>

The report of the Fourth Congress of Italian Co-operators blames the Roman Masons' Society for borrowing money from Government, and for involving itself in debt by undertaking work in Greece which it could not carry out. A Government loan of 50,000 lire alone seems to have saved this Association from bankruptcy, and it was regarded as a suspicious circumstance that during the ensuing elections it published a manifesto in favour of the Government candidate.<sup>(6)</sup>

The Masons' Society at Leghorn was founded in 1889. In 1890 it held contracts for work to the value of 30,000 lire. It paid 40 centimes per hour to the master masons (*muratori*) and 25 centimes per hour to the journeymen (*manovali*). The president received 4 lire per diem exclusive of holidays.

Co-operative Masons' Societies have also been started at Venice, where the capital amounts to 27,000 lire; at Parma, where 87 members formed an Association in December 1889, and among the builders (*costruttori*) of Padua and the labourers (*brucianti*) of Pisa, who are employed on embankments and in factory building.<sup>(7)</sup>

The most prosperous of all the associations mentioned by Signor Bodio and by the co-operators' reports, is the *Masons' Society of Milan* which was founded in 1887, when the Milanese masons were preparing for a strike.

This Society distributes its profits on a somewhat elaborate system. It gives 20 per cent. to the Reserve Fund, 60 per cent. to the shareholders, 14 per cent. to the Old Age Fund, 3 per cent. to assistant workmen, and 3 per cent. to the managers (*amministratori*). The ordinary workmen are completely excluded, and this is the more significant because anyone may be a shareholder, and the number of shares held by each member is only limited by the provisions of the Commercial Code.

The Second Congress of Italian Co-operators, held at Milan in 1888, saw the solemn inauguration of the Milanese Masons' Society. In one year this Society executed commissions to the value of 133,000 lire. It was employed by the municipality of Milan on works connected with the new communal cemetery at Musocco, and appears to have carried out its contract punctually and honourably and without disputes. By August 31st, 1890, it had executed contracts for work to the value of about half a million lire, giving employment to 150 or 200 members, and its capital amounted to 990 shares of 25 lire and upwards. It was then thinking of forming a fund for infirm members, and with the help of the Savings' Bank of building a co-operative lodging-house for masons who came to Milan.

In 1893 Sir D. Colnaghi stated that the society had 500 members, with a capital of 27,000 lire, nearly all paid up, and divided into 1,100 shares. The Reserve Fund amounted to 15,000 lire, and the Provident Fund to nearly 10,000 lire. It only remains to mention a new departure made by the Milanese masons soon after the foundation of their society. They bought a plot of land, on which the members of the association built a house, giving up their Sundays for this purpose. Instead of receiving wages for their work the men were paid by a bond, which could be exchanged for shares in the society, and thus, without any expense save that of the raw material, the association found itself in possession of a fine building.

(1) *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890*, pp. 18-20, Table VII., p. 97. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 49-50. Id., 1893, No. 274, p. 28.

(2) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 274, p. 28.

(3) *Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani*. Torino, 1890, p. 18.

(4) Id., 1890, pp. 20-21.

(5) Id., 1890, pp. 19-20. See below, Appendix G., p. 100 b. "Constitution of Masons' Societies."

Bologna.

Rome.

Leghorn.

Venice,  
Parma,  
Padua, and  
Pisa.

Milan.

Constitution  
of this society  
at  
Imola.

Cesena.

Mantua.

(1) *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890*, p. 18.

(2) *Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani*. Torino, 1890, p. 18.

"As we cross the Lombard plains," writes Signor Romussi in his report on the progress of Italian Co-operation in the year 1887-1888, "we see rising up before us the ancient *campanile* erected, stone by stone, by the Sunday labour of the peasants; these are the witnesses of their faith; the house built by the masons of Milan will bear witness to the new faith of the insignificant 'masses,' who, by unity of action and force of will, have become the authors of their own redemption."<sup>(1)</sup>

(v.) Industrial co-operative societies.

Industrial co-operative societies are more perfect in organisation than associations among day labourers or masons, since it is possible for them to some extent to forestall demand in the production of goods, and even to stimulate the demand for goods by increasing the supply. If, however, co-operation is, on the one hand, comparatively easy for these societies, because they have constant work throughout the year, on the other hand, they are often hampered by difficulties arising from the very complexity of their organisation, since they act both as manufacturers and as tradesmen, and require considerable assistance from capital.

"Among the purely artisan societies," writes Sir D. Colnaghi, "conducted without capital, and with no unity of direction, failures are not infrequent. The Italian operative, moreover, is often distrustful, and not sufficiently educated always to understand his real interest. Still, the movement goes on."<sup>(2)</sup>

Between 1890 and 1891 76 societies were founded. Of these, nine were associations of workers in marble, 10 were started by mechanics, blacksmiths, and carpenters, and seven by shoemakers and carriers, seven were printers' societies, five were tailors' societies, and two were co-operative laundries. No information has been obtained with respect to the remaining 36. During the same period seven associations are reported to have ceased work, among which were an omnibus society, a laundry, a co-operative dairy, a woollen mill, and a society of coopers.<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1891 there were 49 recognised industrial co-operative societies in Italy, besides 58 which were unrecognised, and two affiliated to benefit societies.

These included woollen mills, glass and pottery works, typographical societies, of which there were about 50, and societies among smiths, carpenters, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, and tailors. Some of these, however, seemed likely to come to a premature end, while of others the name only was known, and it was not even always certain that they really deserved to be called co-operative.<sup>(4)</sup>

Amongst true co-operative societies, Signor Bodio would only include those associations which are formed to protect the interests of labour. He excludes, therefore, all those which are built up solely on the basis of capital, and are maintained for the benefit of the capitalist. It appears that several societies, co-operative according to the provisions of the Commercial Code, have had to be struck off the list, because an examination of their statutes showed that they did not possess the true principles of co-operation.<sup>(5)</sup> The Foreign Office Report for 1893 states that, "Among the new associations, some, it is said, have been formed by contractors with a view to avail themselves of the concession granted by Government to co-operative labour associations, of tendering for public works without furnishing security."<sup>(6)</sup> Thus in the *Archimedes* Society of Smiths at Milan, 50 per cent. of the profits goes to the shareholders, and only 25 per cent. to the manager of the works and the operatives. The Building Society of Bologna gives no share of the profits to the workmen; the Society of Paviers gives only 7 per cent., and the *Panfilo Oastaldi* Society gives 10 per cent. "It is a strange and deplorable fact," says Professor Ugo Rabbeno, "that sometimes workmen, believing, or wishing to have it believed, that they are founding co-operative societies, in reality merely become em-

ployers on a small scale, paying wages to their companions. A case has even been recorded in which the workmen in a so-called co-operative bakehouse "went out on strike."<sup>(7)</sup> The statistics collected by Signor Bodio refer to 24 societies, but from this list some important names are omitted, as, for instance, that of the glassworks at Altare. The genuine co-operative type, or at least a form which has not greatly degenerated from it, is most common in the Romagna and in Emilia. At Ravenna, at Forli, at Lugo, at Imola, and at Bologna, more than one establishment is to be found which is co-operative in something more than the name.

The artistic glassworks at Altare (*Liguria*) afford, perhaps, the most ancient and well-tested example of co-operation in Italy. Founded in 1856 by a small number of workmen, this society was at first opposed, and afterwards barely tolerated, by the Government. The original capital only amounted to 14,585 lire, but the members, with admirable self-denial, made weekly or monthly deductions from their wages in order to increase it, and continued these contributions for seven years. By 1866 the society had a capital of 210,064 lire, and had produced goods to the value of 268,451 lire. By 1880 the capital was 386,110 lire, and the production had reached the value of 477,938 lire. In 1883 the capital increased to 415,994 lire. In 1889 the number of members was 153, the paid-up capital amounted to 323,297 lire, and the subscribed capital to about 463,000 lire. The society took prizes at the Exhibitions of Milan and Turin. Yet the history of the Altare glassworks is chiefly useful as an illustration of one of the special dangers which beset co-operative undertakings. This society is one of the few to which new members are not readily admitted. According to the statutes, all new members have to be natives of the commune of Altare, and to belong to families already free of the craft. They have also to pay up four shares of not less than 100 lire and to subscribe for 46 more. It is obvious from these provisions that the shareholders do not wish to allow strangers to enjoy their special privileges, though they freely employ hired labourers, who are not allowed to become members of the society. In most cases it is easy for new members to gain admittance to a co-operative society, if they are willing to buy their shares at a slightly higher rate than the nominal price.<sup>(8)</sup> Two other institutions trace their origin to the co-operative society at Altare. These are the "Old Age Pension Fund" and the "Mutual Aid Society" for workmen of all kinds.<sup>(9)</sup>

Altare.

From the co-operative.

The co-operative society for working hemp at Lugo is formed by means of shares of 50 lire and upwards payable by instalments (*pro rata*). The members are of two kinds, shareholders and working members, who, besides holding shares, may be employed in the business. The position of working members does not ensure employment, but in the case of workmen being needed, the preference is naturally given to those who are members of the society. The profits are divided as follows: 30 per cent. to the reserve fund, 10 per cent. to the benefit fund, 40 per cent. to the shareholders, and 20 per cent. to the workmen in proportion to their wages. The society has hitherto been unsuccessful. Between 1885 and the first half of 1886 it lost more than 33,000 lire. In the second half of 1887, however, it only lost 267 lire. It has a capital of 53,300 lire, divided into 1,074 shares, 789 of which belong to the simple shareholders, and from 283 to 285 to the working members.

Lugo.

The Typographic League (*Lega tipografica*) of Imola (*Bologna*) is in a more prosperous condition. The shares are held only by working men, and the statutes impose skill in the trade as a condition of membership. The shares of 50 lire, and upwards are payable one-fifth in cash and the balance out of the annual profits of the shareholders. The members, like those of the Imola Masons' Society, are *effective* and *co-operating*. The *effective* members are the original founders, and all who are 21 years of age and have entered the society after working for it for three consecutive years. The *co-operating* members are the operatives who are 18 years of age and have belonged to the society for three years. New workmen during

Imola.

(1) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 19-20. F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 50. Id., 1896, No. 276, pp. 37-38. La Cooperazione Italiana, No. 80-81, November 1-15, 1892, pp. 182-183. Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Milano, 1897, pp. 24, 29-32. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Bologna, 1888, pp. 28-29. Il Quarto Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Torino, 1890, p. 19.

(2) F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1896, No. 276, p. 38. Id., 1891, No. 211, p. 50. Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, p. 19.

(3) F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 38.

(4) F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 50-51. Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 21-2.

(5) F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 50-51. Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 21-22.

(6) F.O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 38. Reference to Law of July 11, 1890, No. 6916, Art. 4. Resolutions of August 21, 1889, Art. 10. Communal and Provincial Law, February 10, 1889, Art. 167.

(7) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1897, pp. 110-111.

(8) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, p. 24. La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1897, p. 108. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 52. Le Società Cooperative di Produzione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1899, pp. 290, 299-295.

(9) L. Rodino. Le associazioni di produzione e di lavoro. Novara, 1901, p. 245.

their first year are called "probationers" (*provvisori*). The *effective* members have full rights in the society; the *co-operating* members have a smaller share in its advantages, and the probationers enjoy only a few privileges. After 30 per cent. of the profits has been taken for interest on capital, the balance is divided in the following proportions: 50 per cent. to the *effective* and *co-operating* members, 15 per cent. to the staff of the printing office, including the "probationers," and 35 per cent. to the reserve and benefit funds. In 1888 the League had a capital of 6,991 lire; the profits for the year amounted to 916 lire, 276 lire of which were paid as interest on shares, while 64 lire went to the reserve fund, 160 lire to the benefit fund, 320 lire to the *effective* and *co-operating* members, and 96 lire to the staff of the printing office.

The Imola Co-operative Labour Society for the Manufacture of China and Earthenware is sufficiently important to deserve special mention. It was definitely constituted in 1877, and after sundry vicissitudes of fortune it improved the quality of its goods, became extremely prosperous, and by 1883 possessed a paid-up capital of 10,631 lire, and a reserve fund of 5,679 lire, while the net profits of the year amounted to 3,431 lire. The society is composed of *effective* members, or shareholders, and *co-operating* members, or operatives who have worked in the establishment for more than a year. If in the course of four years the *co-operating* members have not become *effective* by the purchase of shares, they lose the privileges of membership. The net profits, after a deduction equalling 5 per cent. on the capital has been made for interest on the shares, are divided as follows: 30 per cent. is paid to the reserve fund, 20 per cent. to the benefit fund, and 45 per cent. to the members, in proportion to their daily work, 30 per cent. on account for shares, and 15 per cent. in cash. In 1885 the society numbered 34 *effective* members, all of whom worked in the factory, 4 *co-operating* members, 10 apprentices, and 12 employes (*fattorini*).

This society provides for its members elementary instruction imparted in schools to the apprentices, who are obliged to attend up to 18 years of age, while for the older members attendance is voluntary. No apprentices are taken unless they can read and write.

The Co-operative Society for the Manufacture of China and Earthenware which was founded at Forlì on July 1st, 1884, by 25 members with a common capital of 17,183 lire, follows the regulations of the statutes of the society at Imola.

The Co-operative Society of Working Combmakers at Milan is entirely composed of operatives. Members who become proprietors (*proprietari pestinai*) are obliged to resign. The capital is divided into shares of 100 lire and upwards, of which no member may hold more than five. The operatives who work in the factory receive 10 per cent. of the net profits, distributed in proportion to their wages. In 1888 the society had a paid-up capital of 3,858 lire, in 51 shares; it had sold goods to the value of 18,000 lire, and had realised a net profit of 358 lire.

Almost all the industrial societies declare in their statutes that they employ members in preference to outsiders, but some are not able to find work for all their members, while others deliberately engage strangers to work for them.

The anonymous Co-operative Society, Lanificio Andretta (Andretta woollen factory) at Follina (*Treviso*) has almost lost its co-operative form. Its buildings and machinery are worth 172,000 lire, and it has a paid-up capital of 237,000 lire, in shares of 100 lire and more. Operatives who are not members of the society may be employed in the factory. All the workmen are paid the same wages, and all receive 15 per cent. on the net profits, unless the interest on the shares falls below 5 per cent. The workmen can become members the more easily because the shares are payable in bi-monthly instalments of 10 lire, but the greater part of the profits is absorbed by the interest paid on capital, and in 1890 the society had for some years been working at a loss.

There are many intermediate forms of industrial co-operative production, but it would be impossible to describe them all. The following details, however, will give an idea of the financial importance of these societies. In one year work was executed by the Typographic Co-operative Association of Turin to the value of 48,000 lire, by that of Azzaguidi in Bologna to the value of 138,000 lire, and by that of the working typographers of Milan to the value of 93,000 lire, while the co-operative tannery in Brescia produced goods worth

30,000 lire, and the value of the manufactures of the china and earthenware works at Cotignola amounted to 45,000 lire.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Mechanics' Society at San Pier d'Arena, though one of the most recent in order of time, is already one of the foremost among co-operatives societies of production in Italy. It originated in 1883, in a strike among the braziers (*operai calderai*) in the *Ansaldo* factory. Some of the strikers, instead of returning to work, determined to become producers on their own account. A smith and two apprentices started a workshop. The local co-operative society of consumption gave them employment. The association grew and prospered; the shares were taken up and the capital increased. Commissions poured in as the excellent quality of the work turned out became known. The Government sent an order for two ironclads. In less than two years the association was able seriously to compete with the other metal works in San Pier d'Arena. In 1886 this society numbered 500 members, more than 80 of whom were employed in the factory. Every member had to subscribe for a share of 100 lire, payable in weekly instalments of 25 centimes. Members alone could work for the society. They received somewhat higher wages than those given in other factories, but the greater part of the profits of the business was devoted to the purchase of new machines and implements. In 1886 these profits amounted to 12,000 lire, and in 1887 the paid-up capital of the association was estimated at 39,000 lire, and the reserve fund at 17,000 lire.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1893 Sir D. Colnaghi stated that His Majesty the King of Italy had recently taken shares in the society, which was then in a most flourishing condition.<sup>(3)</sup>

At Venice a small association of mechanics has been formed among the workmen who had fallen into the ranks of the unemployed during the crisis of the winter of 1892. "The municipality entrusted to them some unimportant works, which they executed satisfactorily." The civic authorities now (1893) propose to give the society a contract to erect a small iron bridge, and possibly some further work.<sup>(4)</sup> The co-operators have, however, had the good fortune to meet with a respectable civil engineer, who has volunteered to be their representative.

Other co-operative societies of production have been formed at Bologna, Bertinoro, Chieri, Prato, and in the district of Biella.

The Foreign Office Report on Italy for 1893 mentions the growth of the principle of forming co-operative societies into syndicates. "At Turin recently seven small co-operative societies, including the file-makers, carpenters, mechanics, weavers, and three others were united in this form."<sup>(5)</sup>

In order to facilitate the action of co-operative societies of production and labour, a Bill<sup>(6)</sup> has recently been introduced into the Italian Parliament by the Minister of the Treasury to further modify the law of public accounts. This Bill provides that contracts, by auction, or private tender, for the execution or maintenance of public works, or for the supply of stores (*forniture*), may be received from co-operative societies of production and labour, legally constituted, and composed principally of operatives, when the total expenditure on each contract does not exceed 200,000 lire. As security for the completion of the contract, 10 per cent. of the pro rata payments will be retained, to be returned when the accounts are closed.<sup>(7)</sup>

Industrial associations on the co-operative principle also exist among firms, companies, and manufacturers. These are carried on by means of hired workmen, who have no share in the profits, which are divided between the shareholders and the reserve fund; they cannot, therefore, be regarded as strictly co-operative. There were 52 of these societies in 1890, including undertakings for the manufacture of aerated waters,

(1) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 51-53. Id., 1893, No. 276, pp. 38-39. Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 21-25. La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 106, 109, L. Rodiro. Le Associazioni Cooperative di Produzione e di Lavoro. Novara, 1891, pp. 251, 257.

(2) La Società Cooperative di Produzione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1889, p. 295.

(3) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 38. La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 107-109.

(4) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 39.

(5) La Cooperazione in Italia. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, p. 109. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 39.

(6) Legislazione XVIII., 1 Sessione, 1892. Relazione della Commissione sul Disegno di Legge presentato dal Ministero del Tesoro, intorno delle Finanze, del concorso del Ministero dell'Interno, Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri, del Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici e del Ministero di Agricoltura Industria e Commercio, nella seduta del 15 Dicembre, 1892. Modificazione dell'Articolo 4 della Legge 11 Luglio, 1889, No. 6218, riguardante gli appalti dei Lavori Pubblici alle Società Cooperative di produzione e lavoro. Seduta del 30 Dicembre 1892.

(7) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 39.

San Pier  
d'Arena.

Venice.

Other  
societies.

Syndicates.

Legislation

(vi.) Industrial  
co-operative  
societies  
among  
manufacturers.

Imola.

Follina.

for bread-making and wine-making, for collecting the octroi duties, for electric lighting, and for working telephones. Some of these associations have considerable importance from an economic point of view. The Genoese co-operative tannery, of which the chief butchers of the place are members, has a capital of 103,000 lire. The co-operative bakery at Milan, carried on by innkeepers and eating-house proprietors (*trattori*), sold in one year bread and flour to the value of 324,000 lire, and another Milanese society established by money-lenders made a gross profit of 223,000 lire by the sale of bread alone.<sup>(1)</sup>

(vii.) Co-operative societies for the provision of raw materials.

Co-operative societies for the provision of raw materials, though in form they seem to belong to societies of consumption, subserve productive purposes. In 1890 Signor Bodio had only been able to collect data concerning six of these associations, though he knew of the existence of many others. The most numerous were the Mutual Aid Societies for the purchase of sewing machines, by means of the so-called "machine agencies" (*Aziende macchine*). Other societies were formed to buy seed and tools. The section instituted by the "Italian Artisan Brotherhood in Florence" (*Fratellanza artigiana d'Italia in Firenze*), for providing its members with machines, was specially remarkable for the extent of its activity. Two out of the six societies about which details have been obtained deserve mention for the true co-operative spirit which inspires them.

Forli.

The carpenters' society at Forli, which accumulates a capital partly by means of small weekly contributions, and partly from its annual profits, did business in 1888 to the amount of almost 100,000 lire, calculated from the value of the goods produced by the members.

Maniago.

The total amount of business done by the Cutlers' Society at Maniago has not been precisely ascertained, but it appears to have been considerable, from the fact that at the end of the year the goods in stock (finished products and raw materials) were worth 62,000 lire.

The gross profits were 25,671 lire, which, after deducting the expenses of carrying on the business, left a net profit of 9,578 lire for the members. All the six societies are extremely simple in organisation. The capital is made up of shares, payable in weekly instalments. Raw materials are sold at a slightly higher price than that at which they were bought. Finished products are either bought by the society, and re-sold for the common benefit, or are merely entrusted by the members to the society which sells them for the benefit of the producers, and receives a commission on the sale price. Loans (*anticipazioni*) are also made by the society on the guarantee of the goods committed to it for sale.<sup>(2)</sup>

The society at Maniago buys all the goods produced by its members. After deducting the value of the raw material which it originally supplied, and also 10 per cent. as an instalment towards paying up the shares, it makes up the remainder of the price by bonds (*buoni*) payable at 15 days, which are accepted all through the district as a medium of exchange.<sup>(3)</sup>

4. Distributive co-operation and co-operation in building. (i.) Introduction. Definition.

Doctor Emilio Cossa has recently given a precise satisfactory and complete definition of distributive co-operation, or, as the Italian economists prefer to call it, "co-operative consumption." "Distributive societies (*società co-operative di consumo*) he says "are associations for the purchase and production, for the common benefit, of objects of consumption."<sup>(4)</sup>

These societies, modelled on the "Rochdale Pioneers," are formed with the intention of buying the necessaries of life of good quality and at wholesale prices, in order to sell them again to the members, obtaining thus the economic advantages of collective consumption, without the moral disadvantages of living in common. In this way a technical improvement in the methods of distribution has made it possible to save without any painful self-denial. The profits which, in the ordinary retail system, go to the middleman, are absorbed by the distributive society. It has even opportunities of making higher profits than an individual trader, since it can buy goods in large quantities, and sell them for ready money, and since also it has fewer appearances to keep up, and does not need to attract customers.

The advantages, direct and indirect, of co-operative distribution are indeed many and various. Economically, by enabling the working classes to increase their

consumption, it lessens the risk of over-production, while by quickening the movement of exchange it favours the development of commerce and extends the principle of division of labour. It offers, moreover, a safe investment for the small savings of working men, and helps to free the labour-market from the tyranny of those coalitions of retail traders which are called in America "pools," "trusts," or "rings." Indirectly, it improves production and prevents adulteration and fraud, by the keen spirit of competition which it introduces into both wholesale and retail trade, and by the example of honesty which it sets. Educationally, as Professor Fawcett has pointed out, it would be impossible to exaggerate the value of distributive co-operation to the working classes.<sup>(5)</sup> It gives the labouring man a respect for the property of others, and teaches him the true meaning and functions of capital. It accustoms him also to business and rouses in him a sense of responsibility. Morally, it offers an incentive to thrift and sobriety, encourages a corporate spirit, and checks that excessive individualism (*scioltismo eccessiva degli individui*) which has been regarded as the root of all the special defects of the Italian character.<sup>(6)</sup>

The first distributive societies in Italy were founded early in the second half of this century. A co-operative store (*magazzino di consumo*) was started in 1833 by the *General Society of the Working men of Turin* followed by another at Alessandria, which was opened in 1854. The capital of many of these original societies was obtained by means of subscriptions from wealthy persons, and in some places they were even organised by the municipal authorities. To this form of distribution Signor Luzzatti, Signor Vignano, and others opposed the more purely co-operative English type, based upon the scheme of the "Rochdale Pioneers." They believed that the consumers would benefit more by receiving the profits of the society in the form of dividends than by a constant diminution of retail prices. The *Italian Industrial Association* was formed at Milan, to promote the development of industry in Italy, by the foundation of people's banks, benefit societies, and strictly co-operative societies of consumption and production. Other associations with the same objects were instituted in several Italian towns, and a newspaper called *Co-operation and Industry* was started. In 1864, distributive societies on the English system were founded at Como, San Lier d'Arena, and Milan, and between 1867 and 1870 many others arose at Bologna, Belluno, Cremona, Chiaravalle, Città di Castello, Faenza, Ferrara, Imola, Lodi, Lugo, Piacenza, Siena, Treviso, Udine, Verona, Vicenza, Venice, and elsewhere. In 1865 there appear to have been about 52 such societies in Italy, and by the end of 1873 this number had risen to 85, including 16 associations on the English system. Unfortunately the hopes raised by this brilliant beginning were destined to disappointment. The Italian distributive societies were a foreign importation and the result of many isolated forces; they lacked unity in direction, in form, and in aims. The severe English type with its complicated system of reckoning could not be maintained, for the consumers, urged by necessity, preferred a great immediate fall of prices to the slow accumulation of profits. As Professor Ugo Rabbeno has shown, distributive co-operation does not seem to be adapted to the Italian national character, or to the economic conditions and needs of the people. In England these societies were founded chiefly in great manufacturing centres; they were homogeneous in composition; their members were principally workmen living in the same place and having the same interests; and, at least at first, the members were the consumers to whom the society distributed commodities. The English societies arose out of the needs of one definite class, and therefore they all followed the same type; in a case like that of the Civil Service Societies, where different elements entered into their composition, they at once assumed a different form also, and sold their goods for less than the market price. In Italy the distributive societies were started under conditions which were far less favourable to their development. With rare exceptions, there were neither great industrial centres nor towns in which large numbers of workmen belonging to one trade were congregated, and though there were many classes to whom the introduction of distributive co-operation would have been a boon, there was no class

(1) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 25-26. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 52.

(2) Associazioni Cooperative in Italia, 1890, pp. 26-27.

(3) Le Società Cooperative di Produzione. Ugo Rabbeno, 1889, pp. 206-207.

(4) Primi elementi di economia agraria. E. Cossa, Milan, 1890. Le Società Cooperative di Consumo. Dott. Luigi Pizzamiglio, 1891, p. 6.

(5) Labour and wages, London, 1884.

(6) Governo e governati in Italia. Turin, Bologna, 1890. "Co-operative News," 1891. Le Società Cooperative di Consumo. Dott. L. Pizzamiglio, 1891, p. 25 et seq.

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so vitally interested as to become the undoubted leader of the movement.

Under this section may also be included those co-operative societies for building, letting, and selling dwelling-houses, which enable workmen to supply their own demand for cheap lodgings, as the distributive societies strictly so called, enable them to provide themselves with cheap food and clothing.<sup>(1)</sup>

The importance of sanitary questions is beginning to be recognised in Italy, and much has been done, especially in the great cities, to improve the construction, ventilation, and lighting of dwelling-houses. Many old houses have been pulled down, and replaced by larger and better buildings, but the conditions under which the poorer classes live are still far from satisfactory. When old and insanitary buildings are cleared away there is a tendency to fill up their places with large mansions, which can be let for good rents to the richer citizens. The poor, driven from their former homes, crowd into the cheaper quarters of the town, which are already fully populated. The sudden increase in the demand for lodgings raises rents here also, and leads to overcrowding. Even where new houses are constructed with a special view to the requirements of artisans, they are often the work of speculators who build carelessly and in unhealthy situations, and demand exorbitant rents from their tenants.<sup>(2)</sup>

Under these circumstances the institution of co-operative house-building societies promises to be a common benefit, justifying the stress laid upon this subject by the Congress of Cremona (1892). (See above, Labour Congresses, p. 14.)

As yet, however, the movement is only in its infancy. In 1888 there were not more than 63 co-operative house-building societies in the whole of Italy, and by 1890 the number had only risen to 69, including 59 recognised and 10 unrecognised and autonomous associations.<sup>(3)</sup>

The most common form of building society in Italy is that in which operatives, or persons belonging to other classes, credit associations (especially savings banks and peoples' banks), benefit societies, or public companies (*amministrazioni*), combine to take up one or more shares in an association for building artisans' dwellings. Each member, whether an artisan or not, must take not less than one share, and not more than 100 or 200 shares, which are paid up by weekly or monthly instalments. As the capital thus collected would not suffice for the purposes of the society, the administrative council is empowered to contract loans, which are often granted on easy terms by the local savings bank or peoples' bank. All the funds of the society must be employed in building houses, and as the houses are finished they must be either let to working members of the society or sold to them on a system of payment by instalments, by which the debt is paid off in a period varying from 20 to 30 years. The annual profits, after a certain portion has been placed in the reserve fund, are divided among the shareholders. The dividends on the shares are limited to the interest on the paid-up capital, and the profits of the business are so small that but few dividends are declared. The societies try rather to favour the operatives than the shareholders. They do their utmost to sell their houses at low prices, or let them at moderate rents. A distinctly philanthropic element enters into these associations, since they often receive free grants of land and pecuniary help from the communal authorities, and since also they admit members who do not derive any advantage from the society, but join it from purely disinterested motives. A typical example of this class of association is the building society founded at Milan in 1879 by the *Consiglio operario* (see above, p. 19), with the immediate object of buying or building a house for its own offices. This was effected in the same year by the purchase on credit of a house in the Via Pesce. A more extensive scheme for providing the working members with dwelling-houses was inaugurated by the purchase of a piece of ground in the Via Conservatorio. A loan of 50,000 lire was negotiated on favourable terms with the local peoples' bank, and 20 cottages were built, some with two and some with four rooms, and were at once let to artisan members of the society. In 1883, the society bought from the State more than 100,000 square metres of land at Porta Vittoria. For this building area it paid 270,120 lire, in 30 annual instal-

ments, with a sliding scale of interest at the rate of 5 per cent. The house in the Via Pesce was sold and another was bought in the Via Crocifisso. To effect these various purchases a second loan of 100,000 lire at 4 per cent. was obtained from the peoples' bank. In a few months plans were prepared for building a model artisan quarter at Porta Vittoria, with cottages for single families, to be sold to members on a system of payment by instalments (*ammortamenti*), three-storied houses to be let in flats to the poorer members, gardens, public baths, and shops and warehouses for the co-operative stores. The rules of the society were relaxed in order to allow these houses and apartments to be let as well as sold, and also to admit public and private employes to a share in the benefits which were primarily intended for artisans only. Adverse circumstances prevented the scheme of 1883 from being carried out according to the original plans, which were, perhaps, rather too Utopian in conception. The Peoples' Bank and the Savings Bank of Milan came to the assistance of the building society in its difficulties. The Peoples' Bank granted a loan of 300,000 lire at 3½ per cent. interest, which was spent in settling the most pressing debts, among them the debt to the State for the land on which the houses were built. The Savings Bank decided early in 1884 to expend a sum of 80,000 lire in buying shares in the society, and since the statutes would not allow anyone to hold more than 100 shares, the bank made over the stock thus acquired to the society itself, stipulating only that the interest upon it should be devoted in perpetuity to the interests of the inhabitants of the co-operative houses, rewarding meritorious workmen, and helping those who were in distress through no fault of their own. With these resources, and with the price of some land which was sold, the buildings were carried on, and the artisan quarter at Porta Vittoria was begun, though on a more modest scale than had been originally proposed. By the end of 1886 the society possessed two houses in the Via Crocifisso, worth 190,000 lire, one lodging-house in the Via Campo Lodigiano, worth 80,000 lire, 20 cottages in the Via Conservatorio worth 90,000 lire, a group of 26 cottages at Porta Vittoria of the value of 120,000 lire, and another group of 25 cottages in course of construction at the same place, which were valued at 110,000 lire. There was also a lodging-house with 138 rooms near these cottages, which was worth 190,000 lire. In all, the buildings represented a value of almost a million lire, and the society still held land which had not been built over, worth 200,000 lire. In 1887 and 1888 the society entrusted the building of two more groups of cottages at Porta Vittoria to the Co-operative Society of Masons. The unoccupied building area at Porta Vittoria had been reduced at this period to 3,000 square metres, owing to the various sales and cessions made to the commune of Milan for roads. The society, however, had made good this reduction by buying 2,000 square metres of land outside Porta Sempione and Porta Magenta. At the end of 1889 the balance sheet of the society showed, in round numbers, a debit account of 746,000 lire, of which 400,000 lire were represented by real property, and 297,000 lire by grants on credit to the inhabitants of the society's cottages; the credit account at the same date amounted to 317,000 lire, including a balance of 110,000 lire from the loan negotiated in 1883 with the Peoples' Bank. The difference of 429,000 lire represented the total net capital of the society, of which 188,750 lire had been paid up. The extraordinary reserve fund, formed with the profits arising from the sale of land outside Porta Vittoria, amounted to 181,000 lire. In 1889 a dividend was declared of 3 lire per share, representing 6 per cent. on the paid-up capital, though the statutes of the society forbade a dividend exceeding 5 per cent. The value of the shares had, however, been fixed for new members at 80 lire instead of at 50 lire. The houses built by the Milanese Society are of two kinds. Cottages for separate families, with two or four rooms and a small kitchen garden, and large four-storied lodging-houses. In 1890 there were 101 cottages in all, of which 52 had two rooms, 42 had four rooms, five had six rooms, one had eight, and one had three rooms. There were also the two houses in the Via Crocifisso and the lodging-house outside Porta Vittoria and in the Via Campo Lodigiano. A report appended to the balance sheet for 1886 states that each of the four-roomed houses in the Via Conservatorio cost the society 5,200 lire, while each two-roomed cottage cost 2,600 lire. The members could obtain a four-roomed cottage for an annual payment terminating in 25 years of from 305 to 320 lire according to size. The annual payments for the two-

(1) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 11-16, 55-58.

(2) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 119-121.

(3) *Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani*. Milan, 1887, published 1888, pp. 143-148, 163. *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, pp. 218, 328.

roomed cottages ranged from 150 lire to 160 lire, and lapsed also at the end of 25 years. The cottages with larger rooms and gardens which were built outside Porta Vittoria cost on an average 1,400 lire per room. They were let to the members on condition of paying up the principal by instalments, with interest at the rate of 4½ per cent. per annum.

Verona.

The *Anonymous Co-operative Society for the construction of Artisans' Dwellings* at Verona was established in 1887, on the same principles as the Society at Milan. On December 31st, 1889, the paid-up capital of this society amounted to 53,785 lire, and it possessed an untransferable reserve fund of 19,716 lire, arising chiefly from a donation made by the Commune of Verona out of a fund which the local savings bank had devoted to promoting the building of artisans' dwellings. It had also a second reserve fund of 600 lire formed out of the accumulated profits. The society bought 30,000 square metres of land in 1887 for a sum of 19,000 lire. By the beginning of 1890 it had built 12 houses, some for single families, with two storeys, a separate entrance, and a garden; others, three-storied and large enough to lodge three families, with four, five, or six rooms each. None of these houses had been sold, but they were all let to workmen or employes earning less than 1,600 lire per annum, at rents varying from 13 lire to 25 lire per month.

The *Co-operative Society for building cheap Artisans' Dwellings* at Lonigo is formed by shares which give the holders a right to a dividend not exceeding 5 per cent. This society affords an instance of a special kind of intervention on the part of the communal administration, other examples of which are to be found among the associations in Romagna. The commune granted 6,000 lire to the society for purchasing building land. It also bound itself to pay annually, for 30 years, a premium equalling 1 per cent. on the sums invested in the construction of the houses. The Lonigo Society was started in 1885 by the local People's Bank and the Working Man's Agricultural Benefit Society. By 1890 it had acquired 1,210 square metres of land, on which it had built a group of 15 houses, of three different kinds, including (1) 10 houses with three rooms one above another, with a courtyard, each of which cost 1,833 lire; (2) two houses similar to the former, but with the addition of a stone staircase, valued at 2,062 lire each; (3) three houses with two rooms on the ground floor, two on the first floor, and a granary, each worth 2,519 lire. The houses of the first class were let for 120 lire per annum, those of the second class for 140 lire, and those of the third class for 180 lire per annum. No house could be sold without the permission of the society.

Lugo.

The *Anonymous Co-operative Society for building Artisans' Dwellings* at Lugo was founded in 1883. It has received much help from private patrons and from the commune, which presented it with a building area of 8,000 square metres, and undertook to give a premium of 15 per cent. on the estimated price of the houses built, besides exempting it for 10 years from the communal tax on buildings. By 1890 the society had built 40 detached houses, each large enough for one family, which were let to those members who actually earned their living by manual labour, or to those whose wages did not exceed 2 lire 50 centimes per diem. The cost price of houses containing from two to five rooms, with offices, varied from 1,200 lire to 3,562 lire, and the rents were so arranged as to allow the tenants to become owners after 20 years' occupancy.

Tuscan societies.

Sesto Fiorentino.

The building societies which deviate from the Milanese type fall naturally into two main groups, differing in origin and in character. The Tuscan Associations generally adopt the regulations of the society at Sesto Fiorentino. The capital of this society is unlimited, and is formed of an indefinite number of *carati*, each composed of 15 personal shares of 100 lire. Every member must take at least one and not more than three *carati*. The shares are payable in weekly instalments of 1 lira 50 centimes. The society proposes, as funds come in, to build as many houses as there are *carati*, and, in order to carry on the building with greater rapidity, it is empowered to contract loans. When a house is ready for habitation it is assigned to a member holding one *carato* who is bound to pay an annual rent rather above the interest of the capital invested in the construction of the house. The society retains the ownership of each house until all the holders of one *carato* have been put into possession of a dwelling, after which the society, having settled all its debts, will be dissolved (presumably in about 20 years after its foundation), and the houses will become the property of the members, among whom any

balance of funds in hand will also be divided. New members are admitted on paying up all the weekly contributions that have accrued since the foundation of the society with the relative interest. No member can sell his *carato* without leave, and if he fails to pay what is due from him, his *carato* is put up to auction, nor does he receive any share of the proceeds of the sale unless they exceed his debt to the society. This provision of the statutes, however, has never yet been enforced, and an amendment is now under consideration in favour of reimbursing the defaulter for all the capital he has paid up. The Society at Sesto Fiorentino was founded in 1885. At the end of 1889 it had 69 members, holding 81 *carati* each of 15 shares. The subscribed capital amounted to 130,500 lire, of which 27,274 lire 50 centimes had been paid up in weekly instalments of 1 lira 50 centimes. Twenty-four two-storied cottages, detached, and with a small garden plot, had already been built, and six more were in course of construction. Each cottage had an entrance passage, a parlour, a kitchen, and two bedrooms. They were assigned to the members by lot, on condition of an annual payment of 150 lire, in addition to the weekly contributions, to be continued till the dissolution of the society, which must take place not more than 20 years after the date of its foundation. This term, however, might be prolonged by a prorogation of the society, if from any unforeseen cause it should be prevented from fulfilling its engagements in the appointed time. The Tuscan group of societies includes the Building Associations at Prato in Toscana, Florence, and Brozzi, and the Working Men's Building Society at Galluzzo, which was founded in 1868, and was about to be dissolved in 1890, having finished its work. In 1868 it numbered 112 members, who paid an entrance fee of 20 lire and a weekly contribution of 1 lira towards their shares. They also engaged to give one day's work, on a holiday, once a month, for the construction of the buildings, 28 workmen being employed every Sunday. In 10 years 14 four-storied houses were to be built, each having eight sets of apartments (*abitazioni*), two on each floor. At the end of the 10 years only part of this scheme had been carried out, and some of the members left the society. By 1887, however, the remaining apartments had been completed, and all debts had been paid off.

Galluzzo.

Ligurian Societies, Genoa.

The Ligurian group of building associations take the *Genoese Anonymous Co-operative Society for the erection of Artisans' Dwellings* as their prototype. In this society each member must hold one share, paying annually a sum of 25 lire, 75 lire, or 100 lire, according to the class of shareholders to which he desires to belong. The shares are personal, and not more than 1,000 may be issued. As the houses are ready to be inhabited, sets of apartments in them are assigned to the members by lot. From the day on which he receives his apartments the member substitutes for the annual payments towards the shares a yearly rent of 300 lire for the first class of shareholders, 360 lire for the second class, and 420 lire for the third class, until the sum total of these payments and the former contributions equals the value of the apartments. The title deeds are not placed in the possession of the member until he has paid up at least 1,000 lire; for the balance, the society holds a mortgage on the property till the payments are completed, when the member enters into full ownership. The society does not pay dividends, and no distinction is made between the various classes of shareholders, since all the houses are exactly alike. Although the regulations of the society appear simple, the distribution of burdens and benefits is decidedly unequal, since those who obtain apartments at an early date have a considerable advantage over the others. An attempt is made to remedy this inequality by an article in the statutes, which provides that the holders of the first half of the shares to which apartments are allotted shall pay a graduated premium to the society, varying from 1,500 lire to 100 lire, according to the date at which the respective apartments were granted out, while the holders of the second half of the shares who have not received their apartments shall be awarded a gradually increasing premium from the society. New members have to pay a sum equal to the capital represented by each of the old shares, with interest from May 12th, 1867. This sum may be paid by instalments, but until the whole is paid up the new member is not admitted to his full rights. Voluntary withdrawal from the society is not allowed, but a defaulting member may be expelled. In this case his share is put up to auction, or his apartments are forfeited. A shareholder may, however, with the society's consent

let or sell his apartments. The society will dissolve when all the members have been provided with apartments. The Genoese Society was founded in 1868. At the end of 1889 it had built 18 houses, occupying an area of 7,300 square metres, and had eight still in hand. The houses were six-storied, with 449 sets of apartments, each containing a kitchen, a sitting-room, and three other rooms. Four houses had an inner court, eight had a garden, while one had both a garden and a court. The total number of members was 800, of whom 896 had received apartments in 1890. The total capital paid up by the members on December 31st, 1889, amounted to 2,687,500 lire. The society had a reserve fund of 258,487 lire, and a "premium fund" of 300,700 lire formed of the premiums paid by the first shareholders who had received apartments. To the Genoese type of building association belong the *Anonymous Co-operative Society for the construction of Artisans' Dwellings in Genoa*, the *Emancipation Co-operative Society at Pegli*, and the *Anonymous Co-operative Society for the construction of cheap houses (case economiche) at San Pier d'Arena*. The last-mentioned association, which was founded in 1875, numbered 252 shareholders on December 31st, 1889, and had a paid-up capital of 434,136 lire. The members paid 78 lire per annum on their shares till apartments were allotted to them. They then paid 300 lire yearly till the sum total reached the value of the apartments. At the end of 1889 the society had bought 4,282 square metres of land in lots. It had built four large seven-storied houses divided into sets of apartments, each with three rooms, an entrance, and a kitchen, and 109 sets of apartments were already occupied. The *Anonymous Co-operative Society for the construction of houses in Genoa*, and a few other associations differ slightly from the Ligurian type in their regulations concerning the payment of premiums by the members, the admission of new members, and the dissolution of the society. The members of both the Tuscan and the Ligurian Associations are chiefly drawn from the middle classes and from the better class of artisans, since the annual contributions are too high to be paid by an ordinary labourer.

Forty-two out of the 69 existing building societies had built at least one house by the end of 1889, five which had been recently founded had just begun to build, 10 had not constructed a single house, and of the remaining 12 no details were known.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Italian distributive societies, for the provision of food, clothing, and other necessaries, vary greatly in origin, organisation, and composition. Some are started by individual enterprise for a particular class, operatives, employés, peasants, or day labourers, as the case may be. Others spring up in towns from the interaction of several elements, and are recruited chiefly from the different classes of citizens. Those associations which are exclusively composed of working men are found both in great cities and in country towns, and are generally supported by the local benefit societies. Those composed of employés are best represented by the numerous co-operative stores established for the benefit of railway officials.<sup>(2)</sup> Professor Von Schönberg classifies these societies according to the kind of commodities which they distribute.<sup>(3)</sup> A more essential difference seems to be that between co-operative stores connected with benefit societies, and distributive societies properly so called. The first kind of association sells exclusively to members at minimum prices, and does not necessarily demand payment in cash. The second kind conforms more or less strictly to the Rochdale type of society, sells both to members and non-members at market prices, gives no credit, and divides its profits among its customers in proportion to the quantity of goods purchased by them. A third line of division may be drawn between those societies which have a regular custom of their own and those which arrange with the local tradesmen that their members shall be allowed a certain fixed reduction on the market price of commodities.

The associations which are organised on this last system can hardly be regarded as true distributive societies, since they do not perform the functions of wholesale dealers. They sell counters to their members at a nominal value, and with these the members buy goods at the market price at the shops which have an

understanding with the society. At the end of a given time, which is never longer than a week, the society collects the counters from the various shopkeepers, and gives money in exchange, receiving the stipulated reduction on the price of the goods sold, which it retains as profits, and divides amongst the consumers at the end of the year, after deducting the general expenses of the society. In some cases receipts (*quietances*) take the place of counters.

The provision stores founded by A. Grandi at Rome in 1880 are an interesting example of this type of society. An agreement was made with various provision dealers in Rome to allow a reduction of 5 per cent. on goods supplied by them to the workmen employed in the stores; this allowance was credited to the purchaser, and as soon as it amounted to 20 lire it was converted into a share in the stores, which sold provisions at reduced prices. Some distributive societies sell one kind of commodities on their own account, and make arrangements with retail tradesmen for the sale of others, thus combining the two systems. The Co-operative Society at Geneva, for example, contracts with the local butchers and bakers for the sale of meat and bread to its members at reduced rates. In Italy the reduction is generally made on each separate purchase.<sup>(4)</sup> Professor Ugo Rabbeno is of opinion that since the English system of distributive co-operation, which is undoubtedly the best, cannot yet be adopted in Italy, those societies are to be preferred which sell their commodities at the lowest price, which is consistent with paying interest to the shareholders and the expenses of administration, besides leaving a small surplus capital for the society. This capital he regards as the common reserve fund for all the consumers, whether or no they are members of the society. He objects also, as a general rule, to societies limiting the sale of their goods to their own members.<sup>(5)</sup>

There are certain groups of distributive societies which, for their importance, definite organisation, and homogeneous composition, deserve special mention. Among these, the associations among railway officials constitute a numerous and influential section. They are of recent origin, and are every day becoming more widely diffused throughout Italy. They are formed by means of small shares, varying from 20 lire to 100 lire. Their object is to provide the members and their families with the necessaries of life, of good quality, and at a moderate price. With this purpose they open co-operative stores for the sale of necessaries to the members, and some even directly produce salted meat (*salumi*), bread, and other commodities. They all appear to sell their goods below the market price. Some even pay no interest to the shareholders, and sell at cost price, with a slight addition for the expenses of the society and for the reserve fund. Others sell at a higher price, dividing the profits among the shareholders, or using them to increase the number of shares. These societies have a great advantage in the ease and cheapness with which, owing to their connexion with the railway, they can convey goods from one place to another. The first co-operative society among railway officials in Italy was founded at Turin in 1873. It had originally only 53 members, and a very small capital, but in the course of a few years it was able to count its members by thousands and its gross annual profits by millions of lire. It had started a provident fund for its members, in connexion with a Life Insurance Society, and also a bakehouse and a sausage shop. In 1889 it distributed goods to the value of more than a quarter of a million lire. It had then 3,240 shareholders, and 405 associated members. It sold at a price which just covered the cost of the raw material and the expenses of administration, yet every year it made considerable profits, owing principally to the large demands for its goods. The profits were not divided among consumers, but remained entirely at the disposition of the society. For several years they were paid into the reserve fund, but they are now used chiefly for paying the premium of the Insurance Society in which the life of each member is insured for 450 lire. One hundred and ninety families have already benefited by this measure of collective insurance. When a member dies his share of 50 lire is also refunded to his heirs by the association. All the workmen who are employed by the society are themselves united in a kind of subordinate co-operative association. In three years these operatives divided profits to the amount of 6,709 lire, besides depositing 1,794 lire in a reserve fund, and spending 6,000 lire in tools.

(iv.) Distributive societies among railway officials.

Turin.

(1) *Associazione Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, pp. 35-36. Table XIV., p. 148. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 57-58. *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 117-121.

(2) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 58-62.

(3) *Die Landwirtschaft der Gegend und die Genossenschaftsprincip*. Berlin, 1893.

(4) *La Società Cooperativa di Consumo*. L. Pissamiglio, 1891, pp. 30-44. *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 64-65. See below, Appendix G., p. 100, c. "Legislation on Distributive Societies."

During this period also their daily wages had risen steadily.<sup>(1)</sup>

v.) Other distributive societies. Co-operative stores at Turin.

The co-operative stores of the two artisan societies (male and female) of Turin were the first to be established in Italy. They were founded in 1853 and 1864 respectively, and in 1889 the men's stores could supply 7,000 members, and the women's stores 2,000 members, besides extra purchasers. In 1888 the men's stores distributed goods to the value of 1,051,840 lire, and the women's stores had effected sales to the value of 600,966 lire. Both societies sold below the market prices, yet in 1888 their respective realised profits amounted to 20,128 lire and 7,318 lire.

San Pier d'Arena.

The Co-operative Society of San Pier d'Arena possesses a paid-up capital of 245,840 lire, and a reserve fund of more than 50,000 lire. It has good warehouses and a large bakehouse, and works a mill which can grind 150 cwt. (*quintali*) in 24 hours. It has nine shops in the city, and sells both to members and non-members, at market prices. In 1888 it distributed goods to the value of 946,542 lire, and realised a net profit of 49,784 lire.

Bologna.

The *Anonymous Co-operative Society* of the working men of Bologna was founded at the end of 1867, and after some vicissitudes of fortune, is now in a prosperous condition.

Milan.

The general association of the employés in Milan may be specially noticed. It has already started a co-operative union for the sale of linen and woollen stuffs, a co-operative bank, a co-operative dwelling and lodging-house society, co-operative provision stores, a co-operative coffee-house, and a co-operative fire insurance company, with which it hopes soon to connect a department for life insurance.<sup>(2)</sup> To these details may be added the following extracts from the Foreign Office Report on Italy for 1891 and 1893: "In the years 1889 and 1890 the co-operative movement in Italy made a great stride in advance. Many new stores were opened, and the old ones greatly extended their operations. It must, however, be borne in mind, that not all the stores founded have met with success. Bad management, want of capital, and other causes have produced many failures. The Co-operative Union of Milan, the sales of which in 1888 amounted only to 86,852 lire, in the first four months of 1891 sold goods to the amount of 774,134 lire. The members at the end of May 1891 numbered 3,507, among whom 1,351 were ladies. The paid-up capital, including the reserve fund, had risen to 792,377 lire. Among the new associations should be especially noticed the *Unione Militare* (Army and Navy Stores) of Rome, which began operations in May 1890. The paid-up capital exceeds 1,000,000 lire, and the sales amount to about 200,000 lire per month."<sup>(3)</sup> "Among the middle classes in the principal North Italian cities, and especially at Milan, co-operative societies have been formed for a variety of useful purposes, such as starting pharmacies, insurance societies, and schools for music. Associations have also been founded to enable members and their families to take their summer holidays at the seaside, or in the mountains, at reduced rates."<sup>(4)</sup>

5. Agrarian co-operation. (i.) Rural bakehouses.

"The question of improving the dietary of the peasantry is one of great and increasing importance in Italy."<sup>(5)</sup> In Northern Italy the staple food of the agricultural population is Indian corn, which often induces *pellagra* from being used in a damaged condition. Since 1860 the question of establishing co-operative and other bakehouses in the rural districts has been before the public. It has been taken up by successive Ministers of Agriculture, by agricultural associations, private landowners, and philanthropists, but little has as yet been done to solve the problem. The work of Don Rinaldo Anelli, rector of Bernate Ticino (*Milan*), deserves mention in this connexion. The inhabitants of his parish lived almost entirely on bread made from Indian corn, which they received as part payment from their employers. Not only was this corn often in a fermented or musty state, but the people, oppressed by the petty extortions of the local millers and bakers, were driven to bake their bread in their cottages, with

very insufficient appliances. To avoid these evils, Don Rinaldo Anelli started a small co-operative bakehouse at Bernate, which proved a great success. In spite of considerable difficulties, he then endeavoured to introduce similar institutions in other parts of Italy, and, thanks to his indefatigable activity, by 1881, 15 rural bakehouses had been founded in the provinces of Milan and Como alone. In 1884 the Government offered to pay half the expense of starting new establishments, and by 1885 the total number of co-operative bakehouses in Italy had risen to 38. Some of these, however, appear to have been subsequently closed with loss, and Signor Volpi, a lauded proprietor of the province of Milan, is of opinion that the peasantry are not yet ripe for co-operation, but that it is the personal duty of the landlord to see that his tenants are well and properly fed. In accordance with this view, he has established a bakehouse on his estate at Varedo, which he manages himself, and which is said to be one of the most successful in the country. As a rule landed proprietors have been willing to help to form rural bakehouses on their estates, and the various communes and the Milan Savings Bank, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture, have voted subsidies for the same purpose.<sup>(6)</sup>

Closely connected with this subject is the recent movement in favour of the institution of agricultural clubs (*circoli agricoli*) in the district of Novara, in connexion with the local Savings Banks. In 1883 all the agricultural clubs already started combined to form a Federation (*Federazione dei circoli*), with a central committee of direction. These clubs promote the interests of the agricultural labourer by founding co-operative stores, such as that at Borgolavezzaro, which sells goods to the members of the club alone. They have also in some cases opened a deposit department for the savings of the members. In March 1886, in spite of opposition from the local authorities, about 30 agricultural clubs with about 28 stores had been founded, while 25 clubs and 21 stores comprised about 200 members. The effects of the movement on the moral and intellectual development of the peasantry are said to have been highly satisfactory.

(ii.) Agricultural clubs.

The following account of the development of the co-operative principle as applied to agriculture, is chiefly derived from the details given in the *Cooperazione Italiana*, and summarised by Sir Dominic Colnaghi in his report upon the condition of labour in Italy in 1893.

(iii.) Agr. cultural co-operative associations.

The rise of co-operative associations directed to the improvement of agriculture has perhaps only an indirect influence on the labour question. These associations, in the first instance, are principally unions of landowners and of members of the upper and middle classes; but in a country like Italy, in which many small proprietors exist in direct contact with the soil, and where, in many parts, the metayer system prevails, they cannot but have, if properly conducted, a wide-spreading influence, which may help in time to alleviate the condition of the labouring rural population.

Agricultural syndicates, the utility of which has been proved in France, are now gradually making their way in Italy, and are to be met with at Turin and at Piacenza, where they were first established, at Padua, at Udine (as a committee of the important Friulian Agrarian Association), at Bergamo, Voghera, Mortara, in Milan, and, it may be, elsewhere.

Syndicates.

The syndicate of Milan was only founded in 1892, and has already shown signs of activity in promoting a small sample exhibition of agricultural products and implements. From its statutes, as those most recently published, Sir D. Colnaghi has summarised the principal objects which syndicates have in view. These are to purchase on account of members, or of third parties, or, if necessary, on their collective account, goods (*merci*), seed, manures, agricultural implements and machines, live and dead stock, &c., for distribution, either on sale or hire, at discount prices; to promote the sale of agricultural products, either privately or by contract; to establish warehouses, depôts, and cellars for the purchase and sale of agricultural products, either at home or abroad; to encourage the improvement of breeds of cattle, especially by the introduction of good sires; to co-operate in the improvement of the cheese and butter industry; to pay special attention to

Syndicate of Milan.

(1) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 67-70. *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, pp. 33-34. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 56.

(2) *Associazioni Cooperative in Italia*, 1890, pp. 32-34. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 56. *Le Società Cooperative di Consumo*. Dott. L. Pizzamiglio, 1891, pp. 72-73.

(3) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 56-57.

(4) F. O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 40.

(5) *Id.*, p. 46.

(6) *La Cooperazione in Italia*. Ugo Rabbeno, 1887, pp. 76-88. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, pp. 46-47. See below, Appendix G., p. 100, d. "Rural bakehouses."



the railway tariffs for the carriage of agricultural products, and to see that adulterated products are not introduced into the country from abroad.

Among its other functions the Milanese syndicate proposes to investigate all the measures of economic and legislative reform that may be required in the interests of agriculture, especially as regards the lightening of the burthens on land; to promote instruction in practical agriculture by means of conferences, publications, libraries, schools, free studentships, &c.; to promote and encourage trials of cultures, manures, improved implements and machinery, and of any other means of tending to facilitate labour, and to reduce the cost and increase the price of production; to encourage the foundation of economic institutions, such as societies of agricultural credit, societies of production, benefit and insurance societies, especially against accidents incidental to labour; to compile notices of the customs existing in particular localities; to provide arbitrators for the arrangement of rural disputes, and finally to undertake the periodical supplies of food required by families of the peasant farmers.

For each branch of its work, either principal or accessory, the syndicate will keep a separate financial administration and assign special funds.

The capital of the Milanese syndicate is formed of: (a.) an unlimited number of shares of 25 lire each; (b.) a reserve fund; (c.) special funds, instituted for particular operations. The funds of the association are to be invested in Government or guaranteed stock, but 10 per cent. of the capital and 20 per cent. of the reserve fund may be employed in the purchase of shares of co-operative societies having analogous aims with those of the syndicate. Proprietors and tenants of rural estates, agriculturists, and persons exercising trades or professions strictly connected with agriculture, are admitted as members. Membership is not confined to the male sex, but women cannot become office holders. Co-operative societies and corporations are also admitted to membership on their appointing a personal representative, who, however, is not eligible for office. No member can hold more than 200 shares. The division of the profits will be made as follows: The interest on the shares can in no case exceed 6 per cent. of the real value, or 40 per cent. of the total net profits. Of the balance, 18 per cent. is placed to the reserve fund, 5 per cent. to a benefit fund for the society's agents, 2 per cent. is at the disposal of the council for propaganda, 5 per cent. is granted as an indemnity to the members of the council, and 70 per cent. is to be returned to members and non-members, in proportion to the business they have transacted through the syndicate.

Co-operative  
Agricola  
Italiana.

An association was constituted at Milan in the month of July 1891, as a Co-operative Agricultural Society. The objects for which it was started are thus described in its statutes:—(a.) To purchase lands, especially such as are lying waste in any region of Italy, colonising them and undertaking their direct cultivation according to the most improved methods and under the most remunerative cultures. At the first general meeting of the association held at Milan, on December 21st, 1892, the society was further authorised to assume "emphyteutic" and other tenancies, and reconvey to the tenants (*coloni*), under special contracts, the cultivation of such lands as it does not intend to take in hand directly; (b.) to undertake on account of its members the reformation, agricultural improvement, and works of refertilisation of estates; (c.) to promote the introduction of new cultures of recognised utility; (d.) to develop and exercise the industries accessory to agriculture; (e.) to supply the members, even on credit under solid guarantees, with agricultural implements and machines, plants, and seed, manures, cattle, and all the materials and stock required on an estate, providing, if requested, instruction and experienced cultivators; (f.) to establish, if necessary, depôts and agencies for the sale of its own products, as well as of those of the members; and, lastly, (g.) to study every means of agricultural improvement, publishing the results in order to advance the progress and increment of Italian agriculture, and at the same time ameliorate the material, hygienic, and moral conditions of the rural labouring population.

The mem-  
bers.

All persons not legally incapacitated may belong to the association. At the first general meeting, mentioned above, the statutes were further modified so as to permit the entry into the society of all corporate bodies, whether private or public, charitable institutions, co-operative and friendly societies, banks, &c., pro-

vided that they appoint a duly qualified representative, and submit to certain fixed conditions.

Every member pays an entrance fee of 5 lire. The capital of the association, which is unlimited, is formed by—(a.) the subscriptions of the members or provident books (*libretti di previdenza*) with which each member is supplied on joining. Each book, when fully paid up, represents a subscription of 540 lire; (b.) the rents and profits derived from the society's estates; (c.) the amounts acquired by the society in case of default or expulsion of a member; (d.) special funds constituted for determined objects and donations; (e.) the reserve fund, to which 10 per cent. of the annual profits are assigned.

The present capital of the association amounts to over 200,000 lire, and is stated to be daily increasing.

Members only, of whom there are now 350, are admitted to the employment, permanent works, and operations of the society. The subscriptions due by the peasant farmers will be assured by deductions from their wages.

The provident books may be paid up in 15 years, by anticipated monthly instalments of 3 lire. The books are nominal and personal, and cannot be transferred to third parties. No member is permitted to subscribe for a total amount exceeding 5,000 lire, and no dividend will be distributed until a period of 15 years has elapsed from the date of emission of each book.

At the end of every year, out of the net profits 5 per cent. will be divided among the members of the council of administration, which forms the executive head of the association and is established at Milan; 10 per cent. will be assigned to the reserve fund, and a sum, to be fixed by the council of administration and approved in general assembly, will be annually devoted to facilitate the payment of their respective subscriptions by the employes, peasant farmers, labourers, and other operatives depending on the society.

During the first 15 years the balance of the net profits will be accumulated and capitalised, together with the annual subscriptions received for the development of the society's operations and the formation and progressive extension of the collective estates. At the end of this period the profits, exclusive of the assignments above-mentioned, will be divided among the members whose books have been fully paid up for the previous 15 years. The distribution of the annual profits will be made to the members within the limits of their respective books fully paid up. On his demand, a member's share of capital and profits may be liquidated and converted into a life annuity, after which he will no longer have any claim on future dividends.

The association has recently purchased, and has already taken in hand at Surrigheddu, near Alghero, in Sardinia, an estate some 450 hectares in extent. The property, of which half is uncultivated and the larger portion of which is situated in the plain, is divided by the provincial road running between Alghero and Sassari, and is only distant 6 kilometres from a seaport and a railway station. The soil is well suited for growing wheat and grass, and there is a good supply of running water. On the farm are plantations of mulberry and olive trees, with large and small stock, sheds, and solid buildings.

A Co-operative Agricultural Society among working men, on a more limited scale than the above, was legally constituted on May 12th, 1892, through the initiative of the local people's bank at Arceto, in Emilia, with the principal object of acting as an agrarian union for the diffusion of agricultural instruction, acquiring, working, and improving lands, assuming contracts for works, &c.<sup>(1)</sup>

A beginning has been made towards the formation of co-operative farming associations in Italy, but the movement is not as yet of much importance.

On November 11th, 1887, an association was formed at Cittadella, in the province of Cremona, among 30 peasants for a joint cultivation, on a fiduciary tenancy, of a farm (*podere*) of 110 hectares in extent, belonging to Signor Giuseppe Mori. The capital of live and dead stock was lent to the association by the owner at a moderate rate of interest. The

Capital.

Members  
only ad-  
mitted to  
employ-  
ment.

Provident  
books.

Division of  
profits.

Estates  
purchased  
by the asso-  
ciation.

Working-  
Men's Co-  
operative  
Agricultural  
Society.

(iv.) Co-  
operative  
farming  
associations.

At Citta-  
della, pro-  
vince of  
Cremona

(1) La Cooperazione Italiana, No. 63, December 15, 1902. F. O. Report. Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 276, p. 42 et seq.

TABLE C. 8.—GENERAL TABLE OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN ITALY, IN 1890.<sup>(1)</sup>

—	Co-operative Dairies.			Day Labourers' Societies.			Masons' Societies.			Industrial Co-operative Societies.			Industrial Co-operative Societies among Manufacturers.			Co-operative Societies for the Provision of Raw Material.			Various Co-operative Societies.			Co-operative Building Societies.			Distributive Societies.							
	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Affiliated to Benefit Societies.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Affiliated to Benefit Societies.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Affiliated to Benefit Societies.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Affiliated to Benefit Societies.	Total.	Recognised.	Unrecognised and Autonomous.	Affiliated to Benefit Societies.	Total.			
Piedmont -	—	2	2	—	2	—	2	2	1	—	3	6	23	—	29	6	1	7	—	1	1	—	2	2	3	40	96	211	347			
Liguria -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	5	1	—	6	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	11	—	11	14	10	4	28			
Lombardy -	9	21	30	4	3	—	7	5	2	—	7	15	10	—	25	11	15	26	1	—	1	2	4	6	5	—	5	28	47	15	90	
Venetia -	34	140	174	6	4	2	12	5	1	—	6	3	2	—	5	4	—	4	1	—	1	1	1	2	5	—	5	18	17	9	39	
Emilia -	1	—	1	12	10	3	25	5	4	1	10	10	10	—	20	2	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	12	—	12	12	13	11	36	
Tuscany -	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	7	2	—	9	4	4	—	8	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	2	2	11	3	19	50	16	16	81	
Marches -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	4	—	—	4	
Umbria -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	5	10			
Latium -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	4	5	6	1	11	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	2	3	—	1	4	
Abruzzi and Molise -	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	1	—	—	1	
Campania -	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	6	1	4	11	
Apulia -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	4	3	—	3	9	
Basilicata -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Calabria -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	—	2
Sicily -	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	1	2	3	3	—	3	7	1	9	17
Sardinia -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	
Kingdom -	45	163	208	33	20	6	49	31	11	1	48	49	56	2	109	31	21	52	7	2	9	7	15	22	39	10	69	187	205	289	691	

<sup>(1)</sup> Associazioni Co-operative in Italia, 1890, pp. 218-223.

commune of Stagno Lombardo, in which Cittadella is situated, lies in the lower and less fertile zone of the province, between the city of Cremona and the Po. The land in this district is under wheat, Indian corn, and grass; vines are grown in open rows, and about 50 ounces of silkworm grain are cultivated for every 24 hectares. The cultivators are labourers, resident on the farms at fixed wages, paid partly in money and partly in kind. The association lasted three years, with satisfactory economic results. It was dissolved because the copartners were not sufficiently imbued with the spirit of association to permit of its harmonious continuance.

Innsago, since Milan.

A farm of 40 hectares belonging to Signor Facheris, a Member of the Italian Parliament, situated at Innsago, in the province of Milan, has been let by the owner to 32 associated and jointly responsible peasant families. The copartners have only to pay a fixed annual rent in money, and are freed from all other dues, while compensation is granted for improvements. They thus divide all the products. In 1892 the rent was paid out of the produce of the cocoons, the yield of which amounted to 1,000 kilos., and both landlords and tenants are stated to be satisfied with the results.

Passirana Milanese.

During 1892 two further societies have been formed in the province of Milan for a similar object, one for the cultivation of an estate belonging to the hospital of Passirana Milanese, a fraction of the commune of Lainate. The extent of the property is about 58 hectares; it is at present let to a tenant, whose lease does not expire until November 10th, 1894, at an annual rent of 10,000 lire. The Association is therefore only in its preparatory stage.

Terrazano.

The second example is found among the peasant cultivators of an estate situated at Terrazano, also in the province of Milan, but which, like the first, has not yet commenced active operations. In the Upper Milanese the estates are usually sub-divided into small farms of from 2 to 4 hectares in extent, which are let to the peasants on a corn rent. The farmer retains for his own use the Indian corn and the produce of the stock; the yield of cocoons is divided between the landlord and tenant. The estates belonging to charitable institutions are not managed directly by the owners, but are leased out, for a rent in money to a third party, who sublets the land to the peasants. These estates have therefore to support the cultivators and to yield a profit both to the middleman and the landlord.<sup>(1)</sup>

B.—EMIGRATION AND RE-MIGRATION.

General statistics.

Italian emigration has characteristics peculiar to itself. In Italy, more than perhaps any other European country, there is a kind of reflex action in the movement of the migratory population, owing to the existence of a large class of "temporary" or "periodical" emigrants, who return to their homes after a longer or shorter absence, and are distinguished from those "permanent" emigrants who seek their fortunes in foreign countries, with a definite intention of settlement. Up to 1886 the annual number of temporary emigrants exceeded that of permanent settlers, but of late years the balance has been in favour of the permanent system of emigration.

Temporary emigration.

Temporary emigration has always existed in Italy. It is generally intermittent, and includes from 80,000 to 100,000 persons per annum, oscillating between 90,000 in 1876 and 118,111 in 1891. The emigrants are mostly navvies (*terrazzisti*), masons, and stonecutters, who pass from the Venetian, Lombard, and Piedmontese provinces into Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France, and Corsica, and even into the Balkan peninsula and the extreme north of Europe, where they are employed in excavations and railway construction, and in building fortifications and making canals. They usually leave Italy in the spring, and return when winter sets in. They are, for the more part, men of sober habits, who content themselves with moderate wages. Some are factory hands, and others, again, are hotel waiters, who go from Piedmont to Nice and other towns for the winter, returning home in the spring.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1893, No. 376, pp. 45-46. Il Secondo Congresso del Coop. It. Milan, 1897, pp. 25-27. Il Terzo Congresso del Coop. It. Bologna, 1898, p. 20.

(2) Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891, p. vii. Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1896, pp. 3-4. Emigrazione degli Italiani all' estero. L. Bodio, 1897, pp. 141-43. Condizioni dell' Emigrazione Italiana. L. Bodio, 1898, pp. 316-317. Indici Misuratori. L. Bodio, 1891, pp. 6-7. F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 198, pp. 3-4. Id., No. 211, pp. 6-7. Die italienische Auswanderung. E. von Philippovich, pp. 203-204.

Permanent emigration, in its present phase, is an outcome of the altered conditions of Italian life. It involves a moral element of voluntary resolution on the part of the settlers, and is regarded by Signor Bodio as the only emigration properly so-called. It is allied to the similar movements in Germany, England, Ireland, and Scandinavia. The number of permanent emigrants, which was about 20,000 at the end of 1878, rose to about 40,000 in the three following years (1879-81), and increased approximately to 66,000 in 1882, to 58,000 in 1884, to 85,000 in 1886, to 128,000 in 1887, and to 196,000 in 1888. Owing in large measure to the crisis in the Argentine Republic the number fell to about 113,000 in 1889, and to about 105,000 in 1890. In 1891 it rose again to 175,520, but in 1892 it was only 107,369.<sup>(3)</sup> The following table shows the general movement of both temporary and permanent emigration in Italy between 1876 and 1892.<sup>(4)</sup> The chief causes which determine the annual oscillations are the variations in the commercial and agricultural conditions of the country which the emigrants leave, and, more especially, the economic and commercial conditions of the country to which they emigrate, as, for instance, the rate of wages and the price of land.<sup>(5)</sup>

(iii.) Permanent emigration.

TABLE D. 1.  
ITALIAN EMIGRATION from 1876 to 1891.

Years.	Permanent Emigration.	Temporary Emigration.	Total.
1876	19,766	89,015	108,771
1877	21,067	78,126	99,213
1878	18,635	77,783	96,268
1879	40,824	79,007	119,831
1880	37,934	81,907	119,901
1881	41,607	94,226	135,833
1882	65,748	95,814	161,562
1883	68,416	100,685	169,101
1884	58,049	83,968	142,017
1885	77,029	80,164	157,193
1886	85,365	82,474	167,839
1887	127,748	87,917	215,665
1888	195,993	94,743	290,736
1889	113,093	106,219	219,312
1890	104,733	113,611	217,344
1891	175,520	118,111	293,631
1892	107,369	116,298	223,667

It is difficult to draw a very exact line of division between the different classes of emigrants, because many labourers who go to France, Germany, or Austria, intending to return in a short time, either settle down in those countries, and so become emigrants in the strict sense of the word, or embark for America at one of the French ports. There is also a considerable amount of clandestine emigration from Italy, of men who are flying from justice, or who wish to avoid military service. Moreover, as Signor De Amenzaga has shown, it is not uncommon for Italian agriculturalists to have property on both sides of the Atlantic and to go back at least once every year.<sup>(6)</sup>

(iv.) Method of drawing up statistics.

The statistics concerning emigration have been arrived at in various ways, each serving as a check upon the other. The number of passports issued at a price of 2 francs 40 centimes, which is the charge made to declared emigrants, gives an approximate idea of the extent of the emigration movement, and of the localities where it is most active. The destination of the various emigrants, on the other hand, can be inferred from the statistics of navigation and of immigration in various countries. From these different

(3) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 198, p. 3. Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1896, p. 4. Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891 and 1892, pp. vii-viii. Statistica Comparata dell' Emigrazione dall' Europa. Aggiunte e Correzioni.

(4) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 7. Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891, p. viii.

(5) Id., 1886-1895, p. 111. Emigrazione degli Italiani all' Estero. L. Bodio, 1897, p. 145.

(6) Viaggio di Circumnavigazione della Regia Corvetta "Caracciolo" negli anni 1881-84, Vol. III., Roma, 1886.

sources a more or less accurate conclusion can be formed.<sup>(1)</sup>

(v.) Distribution according to provinces.

"The principal centres of emigration are the mountainous regions of Lombardy and Piedmont and the districts of the Ligurian and Neapolitan Apennines."<sup>(2)</sup>

The movement in favour of temporary emigration is supported mainly by the provinces of Venetia, Piedmont, and Lombardy.

Permanent migration derives its chief strength from Liguria, parts of the provinces of Cosenza, Potenza, Salerno, Avellino, Campobasso, and Catanzaro, and from those northern provinces from which most of the temporary emigrants are also drawn. There is but little emigration from the fertile plains of Emilia, Umbria, and Tuscany, except from the districts of Lucca and Massa Carrara, where it is traditional. From Rome there is none at all, but, on the contrary, there is considerable immigration from Abruzzi, Aquilano, and elsewhere. Here and there in the Marches the custom of emigration is found. In Southern Italy it is common in the districts of Salerno, Campobasso, Cosenza, and Basilicata. It is practically unknown in Sardinia.<sup>(3)</sup> The provinces of Venetia which send out the greatest number of emigrants in proportion to the population are those of Belluno, Udine, Treviso, and Rovigo. No less than 8,094 temporary emigrants left the small province of Belluno in 1886. In 1887 it sent out 9,517, and 8,203 during the first six months of 1888, as against 7,586 in the corresponding period of 1887. Three hundred and seventy-seven persons permanently emigrated from this same province in 1886; 497 in 1887; 175 during the first six months of 1887; and 229 between January and June 1888.

The emigration from Udine is chiefly temporary. The annual number of emigrants amounted to 25,696 in 1886; 29,292 in 1887; 27,500 in the first half of 1887; 26,903 in the first half of 1888. In 1886, 1,629 permanent emigrants were sent out; in 1887, 4,567; 1,129 in the first half of 1887; and 2,951 in the first half of 1888. Adding together the two classes of emigrants, the total number who left Udine in 1887 will amount to 33,859, and the total number for the first six months alone of 1888 will be 32,554. Most of

the emigrants from Treviso and Rovigo settle permanently in America. In the first half of 1888, 738 passports were issued in the province of Treviso for temporary emigration, and 9,259 for permanent emigration. In Rovigo, 83 temporary and 6,706 permanent passports were granted, making a total of 2,487 emigrants per 100,000 inhabitants for Treviso, and of 2,965 per 100,000 inhabitants for Rovigo. These numbers appear more striking when it is remembered that in 1887 the proportion of emigrants per 100,000 inhabitants was only 720 for the whole kingdom of Italy, 213 for Germany, and 770 for Great Britain and Ireland. In Liguria there has always been a considerable emigration movement. It has, however, peculiar characteristics, and is much influenced by considerations connected with commerce and navigation. In the province of Genoa alone the number of emigrants in 1887 amounted to 731 for every 100,000 inhabitants.

Almost all those who emigrate from Southern Italy go to America. The numbers for the first six months of 1888, which are given below, are probably rather below than above the truth:—

TABLE D. 2.

Provinces.	Population.	Number of Permanent Emigrants.
Salerno - - -	574,750	6,274
Campobasso - - -	386,035	5,657
Cosenza - - -	475,935	5,342
Catanzaro - - -	450,099	3,805
Potenza - - -	546,866	5,261

The traditional emigration from the districts of Massa, Carrara, and Lucca has a special character of its own. It includes chiefly itinerant vendors of plaster casts (*figurina*), pedlars, and gardeners.

A perceptible tendency towards emigration is now beginning to make itself felt in Emilia, where formerly the inhabitants were content with supplying the demand for agricultural labour in Lombardy.<sup>(4)</sup>

The subjoined tables show the distribution of Italian Emigration in 1891. They are taken from the *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana*, in which further and more minute information on this subject is to be found. A table of Italian emigration in 1892 is also given, which is derived from the Appendix to the *Statistica Comparata dell' Emigrazione dall' Europa* for 1892.<sup>(5)</sup>

(4) *Condizione dell' Emigrazione Italiana*. L. Bodio, 1890, pp. 318-320.  
(5) *Statistica Comparata dell' Emigrazione dall' Europa*. Aggiunte e Correzioni. Notizie sommarie. 1892, p. 3.

TABLE D. 3.

PROVINCES which were the source of the greatest number of TEMPORARY EMIGRANTS and of EMIGRANTS to EUROPEAN COUNTRIES in 1891.<sup>(1)</sup>

Provinces.	Population (Census of December 31, 1881).	Emigration.							
		Temporary.		To European Countries.		Temporary.		To European Countries.	
		Actual Numbers.				For every 100,000 Inhabitants.			
Udine - - -	501,745	1	36,491	1	36,480	2	7,278	2	7,271
Belluno - - -	174,140	2	18,911	3	13,143	1	7,988	1	7,547
Cuneo - - -	635,400	3	13,049	2	13,292	3	2,054	3	2,092
Vicenza - - -	396,349	4	5,876	4	5,602	4	1,483	4	1,413
Como - - -	515,050	5	4,267	5	4,269	9	828	6	829
Turin - - -	1,029,214	6	4,352	6	4,094	16	413	14	398
Padua - - -	397,762	7	4,083	16	897	7	1,026	16	226
Lucca - - -	284,484	8	3,190	7	3,247	6	1,121	5	1,141
Treviso - - -	375,704	9	2,534	8	2,534	11	674	9	674
Aquila - - -	353,027	10	2,355	9	2,355	12	667	10	667
Novara - - -	675,926	11	2,269	10	2,166	17	336	15	320
Venice - - -	856,708	12	2,055	17	943	13	576	17	264
Caserta - - -	714,131	13	1,916	22	520	19	268	22	73
Bergamo - - -	390,775	14	1,904	11	1,702	15	487	13	436
Palermo - - -	699,151	15	1,624	26	33	22	232	26	5
Massa - - -	169,469	16	1,578	13	1,315	8	928	8	776
Parma - - -	267,806	17	1,444	12	1,410	14	540	12	527

(1) *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana*, 1891, p. ix., Table I., pp. 1-56.

Provinces.	Population (Census of December 31, 1881).	Emigration.							
		Temporary.		To European Countries.					
		Actual Numbers.		For every 100,000 Inhabitants.					
Sondrio - - -	120,534	18	1,418	16	975	5	1,176	7	809
Milan - - -	1,114,991	19	1,343	15	1,093	24	120	21	92
Naples - - -	1,001,245	20	1,195	14	1,040	25	119	20	104
Verona - - -	894,065	21	1,043	25	206	30	265	25	52
Leghorn - - -	121,612	22	859	19	742	10	706	11	610
Bari - - -	479,499	23	784	28	463	26	115	24	68
Modena - - -	279,254	24	782	24	369	18	280	19	132
Pisa - - -	283,563	25	610	27	2	23	215	27	1
Piacenza - - -	226,717	26	569	20	707	21	251	16	312
Florence - - -	790,776	27	544	21	556	27	69	23	70

TABLE D. 4.

PROVINCES which were the source of the greatest number of PERMANENT EMIGRANTS and of EMIGRANTS to NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES in 1891.<sup>(1)</sup>

Provinces.	Population (Census of December 31, 1881).	Emigration.							
		Permanent.		To Non-European Countries.					
		Actual Numbers.		For every 100,000 Inhabitants.					
Rovigo - - -	217,700	1	16,625	1	17,017	1	7,637	1	7,817
Padua - - -	397,762	2	11,651	2	14,837	2	2,929	2	3,730
Vicenza - - -	396,849	3	11,265	3	11,540	3	2,842	3	2,912
Treviso - - -	375,704	4	10,087	4	10,087	4	2,672	4	2,672
Salerno - - -	550,157	5	9,964	6	9,438	9	1,811	12	1,716
Potenza - - -	524,504	6	9,304	7	8,872	10	1,774	14	1,692
Verona - - -	894,065	7	8,615	5	8,452	6	2,186	6	2,399
Venice - - -	356,708	8	7,465	8	8,577	7	2,098	5	2,404
Campobasso - - -	365,434	9	7,458	9	7,458	8	2,041	8	2,041
Avellino - - -	392,619	10	6,882	12	6,892	12	1,753	11	1,753
Bergamo - - -	390,775	11	6,863	10	7,065	11	1,756	9	1,808
Mantua - - -	395,728	12	6,746	11	6,960	5	2,221	7	2,354
Cosenza - - -	451,185	13	6,208	14	6,051	15	1,376	16	1,341
Palermo - - -	699,151	14	4,708	13	6,294	20	678	19	900
Catanzaro - - -	433,975	15	4,453	15	4,446	17	1,026	18	1,024
Lucca - - -	284,484	16	3,970	19	3,813	16	1,360	17	1,340
Benevento - - -	288,425	17	3,795	16	4,223	13	1,592	10	1,771
Turin - - -	1,029,214	18	3,730	18	3,898	24	362	28	378
Ferrara - - -	230,807	19	3,512	17	3,226	14	1,522	13	1,701
Naples - - -	1,001,245	20	3,025	21	3,180	28	302	30	318
Genoa - - -	760,122	21	2,979	22	2,947	22	392	27	388
Milan - - -	1,114,991	22	2,567	23	2,907	35	232	33	261
Caserta - - -	714,131	23	2,056	20	3,452	30	288	23	483
Cuneo - - -	685,400	24	1,773	26	1,330	32	279	37	241
Belluno - - -	174,140	25	1,699	24	2,467	18	976	15	1,417
Chieti - - -	343,948	26	1,541	25	1,679	21	448	22	488
Bologna - - -	464,879	27	1,358	23	1,408	29	292	31	303
Messina - - -	460,924	28	1,313	30	1,309	31	285	32	262
Massa - - -	169,469	29	1,200	27	1,458	19	708	20	860
Girgenti - - -	312,487	30	1,169	31	1,162	23	374	29	372
Udine - - -	501,745	31	1,059	34	1,070	37	211	38	213
Novara - - -	675,926	32	1,046	32	1,149	41	155	39	170
Modena - - -	279,254	33	984	39	1,347	25	334	24	482
Cremona - - -	302,138	34	723	37	766	34	239	35	254
Como - - -	515,050	35	711	38	709	42	140	42	138
Reggio nell' Emilia - - -	344,959	36	647	41	638	33	264	34	260
Pavia - - -	469,831	37	638	39	697	43	186	41	148
Alessandria - - -	729,710	38	610	40	676	48	84	47	93
Foggia - - -	356,267	39	601	35	904	39	169	35	254
Pisa - - -	283,563	40	501	33	1,109	38	177	26	391
Piacenza - - -	226,717	41	485	45	847	36	214	40	158
Aquila - - -	353,027	42	467	43	467	44	132	44	132
Ancona - - -	267,388	43	430	44	369	40	160	43	138
Sondrio - - -	120,534	44	375	36	818	26	311	21	679
Leghorn - - -	121,612	45	375	42	492	27	308	25	405
Parma - - -	267,338	46	278	46	812	45	104	45	117
Catania - - -	563,457	47	264	47	289	49	46	49	51
Forlì - - -	251,110	48	217	48	217	47	86	48	86
Ravenna - - -	218,359	49	213	49	212	46	98	46	97
Florence - - -	790,776	50	205	50	193	50	35	50	24 <sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891, p. viii.  
 (2) The figures in the third column refer to the order of provinces as arranged in the first column. The figures in columns 5, 7, and 9 refer to the order of provinces arranged according to the number of emigrants of which they were the source.

TABLE D. 5.  
ITALIAN EMIGRATION in 1892.

PROVINCES. DEPARTMENTS.	Population calculated up to December 31st, 1891.	Emigration in 1892.		
		Per- manent.	Tem- porary.	Totals.
Alessandria . . . . .	775,729	1,198	672	1,870
Cuneo . . . . .	653,622	4,077	11,816	15,893
Novara . . . . .	722,104	1,464	2,783	4,247
Turin . . . . .	1,091,373	7,474	4,359	11,833
PIEMONTE . . . . .	3,252,738	14,233	19,630	33,863
Genoa . . . . .	811,278	3,906	278	4,078
Porto Maurizio . . . . .	141,298	87	86	173
LIGURIA . . . . .	952,578	3,992	359	4,351
Bergamo . . . . .	414,796	3,704	2,782	6,486
Brescia . . . . .	467,812	205	81	286
Como . . . . .	556,622	1,135	4,198	5,333
Cremona . . . . .	366,597	689	236	925
Mantua . . . . .	307,768	1,668	99	1,767
Milan . . . . .	1,236,160	3,459	800	4,259
Pavia . . . . .	404,746	1,208	213	1,421
Sondrio . . . . .	130,500	377	1,048	1,425
LOMBARDY . . . . .	3,992,111	12,398	9,507	21,905
Belluno . . . . .	175,919	398	14,408	14,806
Padua . . . . .	434,322	2,323	1,514	3,737
Rovigo . . . . .	236,405	776	22	801
Treviso . . . . .	400,991	3,723	3,118	6,840
Udine . . . . .	523,614	2,090	28,892	40,972
Venice . . . . .	377,802	1,986	1,940	3,225
Verona . . . . .	422,923	1,967	613	2,580
Vicenza . . . . .	432,588	4,428	5,361	9,789
VENETIA . . . . .	3,004,161	17,583	65,195	82,777
Bologna . . . . .	464,135	373	81	454
Ferrara . . . . .	247,788	843	166	1,009
Forlì . . . . .	269,374	40	70	110
Modena . . . . .	286,716	257	576	833
Parma . . . . .	271,631	239	1,392	1,631
Piacenza . . . . .	226,837	466	494	962
Ravenna . . . . .	223,013	207	318	525
Reggio . . . . .	249,374	335	62	417
EMILIA . . . . .	2,260,848	2,821	3,079	5,900
Arezzo . . . . .	242,923	335	9	387
Florence . . . . .	815,506	206	710	916
Grosseto . . . . .	121,564	11	7	18
Leghorn . . . . .	124,603	250	517	767
Lucca . . . . .	288,637	2,807	3,631	6,438
Massa Carrara . . . . .	178,644	1,082	1,254	2,336
Pisa . . . . .	302,349	565	248	808
Siena . . . . .	207,221	10	21	31
TUSCANY . . . . .	2,231,416	5,266	6,435	11,701
Ancona . . . . .	273,417	292	—	292
Ascoli Piceno . . . . .	215,563	—	67	67
Macerata . . . . .	242,479	366	9	375
Perù . . . . .	232,483	—	102	102

PROVINCES. DEPARTMENTS.	Population calculated up to December 31st, 1891.	Emigration in 1892.		
		Per- manent.	Tem- porary.	Totals.
MARCHE . . . . .	963,042	668	178	846
UMBRIA, (Perugia) . . . . .	586,370	8	8	16
LATINUM, (Rome) . . . . .	986,138	19	105	124
Aquila . . . . .	374,882	614	2,312	2,926
Campobasso . . . . .	377,306	4,964	1	4,965
Chieti . . . . .	348,808	1,123	488	1,611
Teramo . . . . .	264,068	11	137	148
ABRUZZI AND MOLISE . . . . .	1,265,171	6,212	2,833	9,045
Avellino . . . . .	410,467	5,480	—	5,480
Benevento . . . . .	345,135	1,877	302	2,179
Caserta . . . . .	734,884	1,951	1,400	3,441
Naples . . . . .	1,104,665	2,400	836	3,236
Salerno . . . . .	566,870	7,923	—	7,923
CAMPANIA . . . . .	3,062,011	19,631	2,628	22,259
Bari . . . . .	764,373	108	856	964
Foggia . . . . .	303,483	313	403	716
Lecce . . . . .	620,265	1	1	2
APULIA . . . . .	1,778,323	416	1,250	1,666
BASILICATA (Potenza) . . . . .	540,287	7,327	—	7,327
Catanzaro . . . . .	467,600	3,556	—	3,556
Cosenza . . . . .	464,510	5,709	—	5,709
Reggio . . . . .	363,123	115	544	659
CALABRIA . . . . .	1,515,296	9,469	544	10,013
Caltanissetta . . . . .	308,073	77	35	112
Catania . . . . .	641,006	423	123	546
Girgenti . . . . .	337,363	483	861	1,344
Messina . . . . .	505,159	179	1,655	1,834
Palermo . . . . .	791,923	6,029	1,585	7,614
Syracuse . . . . .	295,707	4	11	15
Trapani . . . . .	344,537	337	311	648
SICILY . . . . .	3,624,303	7,492	4,480	11,972
Cagliari . . . . .	450,820	6	58	64
Sassari . . . . .	280,647	—	—	—
SARDINIA . . . . .	731,467	6	58	64
Totals for the Kingdom . . . . .	30,347,301	107,309	116,298	223,607

Men emigrate more than women, and adults more than children. Between 1890 and 1892 the proportion of males among temporary emigrants was 87 to 90 per cent., and among permanent emigrants it was 66 to 72 per cent. The per-centage of boys below 14 years of age is from 17 to 24 among permanent emigrants; among temporary emigrants it is only from 6 to 8, while the proportion of children of both sexes below 14 to the whole population of the Kingdom is, according to the census of 1881, as high as 30 per cent.

The following table gives the per-centages of men, women, and children among Italian emigrants for the six years between 1886 and 1892 (1):—

(1) *Statistica della Em. It., 1892, p. xii., Table II., pp. 56-61.*  
(2) *Statistica della Em. It., 1891, p. xii., Table II., pp. 56-61. Id., 1886, p. xi., Table IV., pp. 66-73.*

(vt.) Distribution according to sex, age trade.

TABLE D. 6.

Per 100 Emigrants.

Years.	Permanent.				Temporary.			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Children below 14.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Children below 14.
1886	72·07	27·93	100	17·88	90·18	9·82	100	5·80.
1887	71·97	28·03	100	18·30	90·59	9·41	100	5·74
1888	65·26	34·74	100	24·85	87·30	12·70	100	7·89
1889	71·86	28·14	100	17·60	89·62	10·38	100	6·79
1890	71·99	28·01	100	17·42	90·28	9·72	100	7·33
1891	66·10	33·90	100	23·96	87·89	12·11	100	8·53
1892	66·92	33·08	100	22·82	89·51	10·49	100	5·82

By far the largest proportion of emigrants is drawn from the agricultural classes. Navvies and day labourers, masons, stone-cutters, and artisans also leave Italy in considerable numbers, as is shown by the subjoined table:—

TABLE D. 7.  
EMIGRANTS distributed according to TRADES 1886-1891.<sup>(1)</sup>  
ACTUAL NUMBERS.

Trades.	Permanent Emigration.							Temporary Emigration.						
	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Agricultural labourers	44,013	63,548	103,010	88,439	53,027	85,598	40,901	36,464	46,599	44,183	46,679	37,663	36,553	36,913
Navvies and day labourers	8,354	13,629	17,371	11,620	11,349	19,457	11,264	17,442	17,997	22,804	25,645	33,938	33,337	33,650
Masons and stone-cutters	3,291	5,923	7,665	5,396	5,313	8,200	5,470	14,305	9,463	10,303	11,377	19,079	22,149	24,385
Artisans and operatives	8,247	8,436	9,731	8,273	7,257	10,123	7,251	3,376	3,933	4,153	5,019	6,998	8,553	8,420
Tradesmen and manufacturers	1,547	2,495	2,343	2,175	1,899	2,092	1,724	1,392	1,301	1,208	1,263	1,366	1,126	1,358
Professional men	631	751	631	926	339	1,331	663	433	543	457	733	703	713	583
Domestic servants	1,269	1,313	1,731	1,515	1,332	1,945	1,304	1,046	771	363	601	1,153	1,197	1,394
Itinerants ( <i>mestieri girovaghi</i> ).	275	246	468	340	403	550	660	730	754	655	871	1,353	1,246	1,353
Actors	119	125	211	269	88	145	161	503	511	459	624	461	661	453
Vagrants ( <i>indigenti</i> )	63	14	9	173	34	130	248	83	145	479	546	30	333	273
Other trades	1,741	2,273	3,045	3,148	2,853	2,511	2,836	1,122	777	1,163	1,960	2,423	1,314	1,636
Trades unknown	544	736	1,075	911	1,050	1,313	1,317	369	185	466	632	390	424	714
Total	70,093	104,466	147,289	96,188	85,337	133,459	83,405	77,691	82,374	87,366	93,161	104,366	108,033	109,230

PROPORTION PER CENT.

Agricultural labourers	63·79	65·61	69·94	62·71	62·14	64·14	59·82	46·93	55·23	50·68	40·89	36·15	33·94	35·65
Navvies and day labourers	11·98	13·04	11·79	12·47	13·30	14·67	13·51	22·45	21·73	26·23	26·13	31·55	30·86	30·72
Masons and stone-cutters	4·69	5·67	5·20	5·79	6·11	6·15	6·57	19·06	11·41	11·61	11·59	18·30	20·50	22·26
Artisans and operatives	11·77	8·06	6·61	8·68	8·50	7·50	8·60	4·35	4·75	4·76	5·11	6·71	7·92	4·93
Tradesmen	2·21	2·30	1·59	2·33	2·15	1·87	2·07	1·66	1·45	1·33	1·29	1·31	1·04	1·23
Professional men	0·90	0·73	0·43	1·00	0·69	1·04	0·79	0·56	0·68	0·32	0·75	0·66	0·66	0·53
Domestic servants	1·81	1·25	1·17	1·63	1·63	1·46	2·27	1·35	0·96	0·69	0·69	1·10	1·11	1·27
Itinerants	0·39	0·24	0·32	0·36	0·43	0·41	0·79	0·93	0·91	0·75	0·89	1·30	1·15	1·24
Actors	0·17	0·13	0·14	0·29	0·10	0·11	0·22	0·65	0·62	0·56	0·63	0·44	0·63	0·42
Vagrants	0·09	0·01	0·01	0·18	0·04	0·10	0·30	0·11	0·17	0·55	0·56	0·03	0·22	0·23
Other trades	2·46	2·17	2·07	3·23	3·34	1·93	3·39	1·45	0·94	1·35	1·99	2·23	1·62	0·93
Trades unknown	0·78	0·70	0·73	0·96	1·23	0·98	1·58	0·50	0·31	0·47	0·65	0·31	0·39	0·63

From this table it appears that the ranks of permanent emigrants are chiefly recruited from the agricultural and artisan classes, while masons and day labourers generally return to their homes after a longer or shorter absence. Adding together the permanent and temporary emigrants for the year 1891, the proportion of agricultural labourers will be found to be 51 per cent., and that of navvies, day labourers, and porters 23 per cent. Masons and stone-cutters are in the proportion of 12 per cent., and artisans and operatives in the proportion of about 8 per cent. to the whole. These various classes, then, make up no less than 93 per cent. of the total number of emigrants, male and female, above 14 years of age. In 1892 the proportion of agricultural labourers was 46 per cent.,

that of navvies, day labourers, and porters 23 per cent., that of masons and stonecutters 15 per cent., and that of artisans and operatives 8 per cent., and the total proportion of these classes to the whole number of emigrants was 91 per cent., or somewhat below the per-centage of 1891. The agricultural emigrants go chiefly to America, while the masons, miners, stone-cutters, charcoal burners, and wood-cutters find their principal employment in Europe. Factory hands generally emigrate to Lyons, sailors and fish-curers to Cadiz, and monks (*religiosi*) to Malta. There is also a considerable emigration of itinerant musicians and other vagrants.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891, p. xlii.; 1893, p. xii.; 1892, pp. xii., xiii.*

The per-centage of emigrants who leave their families in Italy is given below, for the four years from 1889 to 1892 :—

TABLE D. 8.

Years.	Permanent Emigration.	Temporary Emigration.
1889	58 per cent.	84 per cent.
1890	59 per cent.	80 per cent.
1891	40 per cent.	78 per cent.
1892	47 per cent.	82 per cent.

It is thus, as is natural, considerably larger for temporary than for permanent emigrants; and this fact will account for the small proportion of women and children who emigrate temporarily, as compared with the numbers who permanently settle abroad. (See table, ante, p.77.)

(vii.) Distribution according to destination.

Signor Bodio, writing in 1876-1886, stated that from 50 to 79 per cent. of the Italian emigrants simply passed into the other countries of Europe, while 21 to 50 per cent. went to non-European countries. He also observed that emigration to America had increased, and that it was directed chiefly towards the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and the United States. (1) Between 1886 and

1891, as the following tables show, these proportions altered considerably. In these years, from 52 to 71 per cent. of the total number of emigrants went to non-European countries, especially to America, and only 28 to 47 per cent. remained in Europe. As before, the Argentine Republic, the United States, and Brazil were the chief centres of non-European emigration, while France and Austria attracted the greatest number of European emigrants.

The first and second of the subjoined tables (Tables D. 9 and D. 10) give the total number of emigrants who left Italy between 1886 and 1891, classified according to their destination, and according to the ports at which they embarked. The third table (Table D. 11) shows the numbers who arrived between 1882 and 1891 in the United States, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Uruguay according to the American statistics. The fourth (Table D. 12) gives the number of emigrants who returned home by sea between 1889 and 1891, according to the statistics furnished to the Italian Minister of Marine by the port authorities. There are considerable discrepancies between the total numbers arrived at by these various methods. Thus, in 1891, the number of emigrants who embarked at Italian and foreign ports amounted to 229,582, while the returns of the Syndics of the communes gave a total of only 175,520 permanent emigrants, a difference of 54,062. This difference, however, is probably to be accounted for by the fact that many emigrants who left Italy, intending to return, eventually took ship for America at a Continental port, and became permanent settlers. (2)

TABLE D. 9.

I.—EMIGRANTS classified according to their DESTINATIONS. From the Declarations made before the Syndics of their Native Places.

Destination.	Actual Numbers.							Proportion per Cent.						
	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Austria	10,166	28,691	23,916	26,070	31,241	25,629	31,610	11'48	13'29	6'28	11'76	16'47	8'73	9'66
Hungary	13,181	7,130	8,932	6,716	6,946	11,566	12,325	7'85	3'31	2'76	3'08	3'23	4'04	5'64
Switzerland	4,846	5,661	6,237	9,163	10,707	13,195	13,676	2'59	2'68	2'14	4'20	4'96	4'49	6'11
France	35,706	31,185	27,382	27,467	29,510	31,248	32,391	21'28	14'46	9'69	12'59	13'58	10'04	14'48
Holland and Belgium	134	470	188	213	150	206	110	0'08	0'28	0'08	0'11	0'07	0'07	0'04
Germany	3,811	4,676	10,106	17,961	15,315	13,890	15,580	2'37	2'16	3'46	3'23	7'05	4'73	6'97
Great Britain and Ireland	349	675	553	523	842	773	488	0'21	0'31	0'19	0'24	0'29	0'23	0'23
Scandinavia	10	14	29	4	138	173	46	0'01	0'01	0'01	—	0'06	0'06	0'02
Russia	281	366	315	283	251	257	213	0'16	0'17	0'11	0'13	0'13	0'09	0'10
Spain and Portugal	900	900	533	637	380	467	294	0'53	0'42	0'20	0'36	0'18	0'16	0'13
Servia, Roumania, Greece, and Turkey.	1,786	2,019	3,217	3,260	3,650	4,733	9,368	1'07	0'68	1'11	1'04	1'68	1'61	4'23
Europe generally without distinction of States.	733	887	1,334	1,474	1,449	1,468	591	0'44	0'41	0'65	0'67	0'67	0'50	0'26
Totals for Europe	80,406	82,474	82,941	92,631	100,359	108,885	107,925	47'91	38'24	28'53	42'41	46'45	35'29	47'53
Egypt	740	867	1,466	773	754	830	894	0'44	0'40	0'46	0'36	0'35	0'28	0'40
Tunis	1,557	633	902	639	522	583	618	0'63	0'29	0'31	0'29	0'34	0'20	0'23
Algeria	2,243	1,375	761	765	744	718	805	1'34	0'64	0'26	0'35	0'35	0'25	0'36
Totals for North Africa	4,540	2,875	3,069	2,177	2,020	2,131	2,317	2'71	1'33	1'06	1'00	0'94	0'73	1'04
United States	28,640	38,868	34,293	25,434	47,952	44,369	42,958	17'06	18'01	11'79	11'85	22'25	15'11	19'21
Canada				447	67	163	211						0'06	0'09
Mexico, Columbia, Venezuela, and Central America.	1,179	1,245	640	1,037	926	2,036	1,342	0'70	0'58	0'22	0'47	0'43	0'69	0'50
Brazil	11,334	31,445	97,730	16,953	16,233	108,414	36,446	6'75	14'56	23'61	7'76	7'58	26'92	16'39
Chili and Peru	321	313	359	375	3,334	890	784	0'19	0'15	0'13	0'17	1'54	0'30	0'22
Argentine Republic	36,383	54,469	65,956	75,058	41,363	27,542	28,542	23'87	25'37	22'69	34'87	19'16	9'38	12'76
America, without distinction	2,609	3,106	5,285	3,677	3,168	3,062	3,577	1'39	1'44	1'68	1'78	1'46	1'04	1'60
Totals for America	82,166	120,403	204,264	123,181	118,027	186,472	113,807	48'95	60'03	70'29	56'40	62'50	63'50	50'33
Other countries of Africa, Asia, and Australia.	717	853	442	423	548	1,143	518	0'43	0'40	0'15	0'19	0'25	0'29	0'23
Grand Totals	167,829	215,635	290,736	218,412	215,854	293,631	223,667	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00	100'00

(1) Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 9.

(2) Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1891, pp. xvii-xx. Table V., pp. 74, 75; 1892, p. xvii., F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 196.



TABLE D. 10.

EMIGRANTS classified according to the ITALIAN PORTS at which they embarked. From Statistics furnished by the Port Authorities and drawn from the Lists of 3rd Class Passengers between 1886 and 1892.

Years.	Naples.	Palermo.	Genoa.	Other Italian Ports.	Total.
1886	26,859	1,008	49,189	1,771	78,772
1887	35,377	685	97,875	265	134,202
1888	42,779	3,155	172,676	?	318,610
1889	19,942	4,938	108,935	266	134,081
1890	40,258	3,093	67,810	—	111,161
1891	58,748	3,699	136,708	—	199,150
1892	47,141	3,503	80,666	—	131,310

TABLE D. 11.

ITALIAN EMIGRANTS classified according to the FOREIGN PORTS at which they embarked for AMERICA between 1886 and 1891.<sup>(1)</sup>

Years.	Bordeaux.	Marseilles.	Hàvre.	St. Nazaire.	Hamburg.	Bremen.	Antwerp.	Total.
1886	734	3,279	6,619	84	52	17	693	11,478
1887	1,211	3,894	11,015	69	104	30	624	16,947
1888	1,334	4,073	10,444	76	66	29	600	16,622
1889	1,233	6,986	9,414	?	112	44	611	18,400
1890	1,126	4,254	13,854	?	78	29	794	19,135
1891	594	2,580	13,796	?	88	22	1,683	18,768
1892	345	1,721	8,119	?	41	13	1,511	13,513

TABLE D. 12.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS who arrived in the ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, URUGUAY, the UNITED STATES, and BRAZIL between 1882 and 1892 according to the American Statistics.<sup>(2)</sup>

Years.	United States.	Argentine Republic.	Uruguay.	Brazil.	Total.
1882	29,487	29,587	4,045	10,562	73,681
1883	29,537	37,043	4,573	12,569	83,722
1884	14,493	31,983	5,364	7,933	59,773
1885	15,485	63,501	8,805	17,589	105,380
1886	30,565	43,328	5,510	14,336	93,739
1887	46,256	67,189	5,422	40,157	158,974
1888	47,856	75,029	6,671	104,353	233,909
1889	30,238	88,647	15,047	36,124	170,056
1890	62,969	89,123	12,873	30,519	145,483
1891	69,397	15,511	4,559	183,738	273,105
1892	61,434	27,850	4,966	54,993	149,243

TABLE D. 13.

ITALIAN PASSENGERS who returned HOME by SEA between 1889 and 1892.

Years and Place of Disembarkment.	Number of Italian Passengers.			Classification of Italian Third Class Passengers according to where they came from.				
	First and Second Class.	Third Class.	Total.	Argentine Republic.	Brazil.	United States.	Peru.	Other Countries.
1889 { Italian Ports	3,043	34,008	37,046	25,125	3,616	4,734	101	427
1889 { Foreign Ports	938	1,100	2,038	1,048	59	—	—	—
1889 { Total	3,981	35,108	39,084	26,173	3,668	4,734	101	427
1890 { Italian Ports	2,195	45,880	48,075	41,476	1,510	2,850	—	44
1890 { Foreign Ports	669	9,643	10,312	9,525	109	9	—	—
1890 { Total	2,864	55,523	58,387	51,001	1,619	2,859	—	44
1891 { Italian Ports	2,407	60,710	63,117	47,957	2,583	10,170	—	—
1891 { Foreign Ports	701	14,427	15,128	14,291	49	87	—	—
1891 { Total	3,108	75,137	78,245	62,248	2,632	10,257	—	—
1892 { Italian Ports	5,130	51,699	56,829	31,438	7,566	12,695	—	—
1892 { Foreign Ports	582	3,996	4,578	2,251	1,709	36	—	—
1892 { Total	5,712	55,695	61,407	33,689	9,275	12,731	—	—

Thus the totals of third class Italian passengers who landed both at Italian and Foreign Ports amount to 35,103 for 1889; 55,523 for 1890, 75,137 for 1891, and 55,695 for 1892.<sup>(3)</sup> It is worth noticing, also, that the majority of those who returned were in prosperous circumstances.<sup>(4)</sup>

The Italian Government has inquired carefully into the causes of the emigration movement. In 1878, 1881, and 1882, questions on this subject were laid before the local prefects, and the answers were published. In 1884, on the motion of Signor Berti, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and other influential members of the Italian Parliament, a minute investigation into the causes of emigration was made. The prefects communicated with the syndics (*mayors*) of the communes and sent up their reports to the Ministry. At the same time the Minister for Foreign Affairs

(viii.) Cause of emigration.

(1) *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana*, 1883, pp. xvi. xvii.; 1891, pp. xvii. xviii.; 1892, p. xviii.

(2) *Id.*, 1891, p. xix.; 1892, p. xix.

(3) *Id.*, 1891, p. xx.; 1892, p. xx.

(4) *Condizione dell' Em. It.* L. Bodio, 1888, pp. 327-8.

issued a circular letter to the various Italian Consuls asking for information as to the condition of the Italian emigrants in their new homes. The results thus obtained were published in the *Statistics of Italian Emigration* for the years 1884-85. (1) In 1888 a similar inquiry was made by means of a definite series of questions addressed to the syndics of the communes. The answers to these questions were collected by the prefects, and transmitted, with their own comments, to the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. In their answers the syndics appear to have made much use of the letters written by emigrants to their friends at home. The questions were subsequently published, with the answers of the syndics, in the *Statistics of Italian Emigration* for 1888, from which the following summary is derived.

In 1888, out of 234,555 adult emigrants (permanent and temporary), 147,193, or 63 per cent., were agriculturists (male and female). The provinces from which the largest per-centages of adult agricultural emigrants were drawn were:—

Verona	94 per cent.
Pavia	93 "
Venetia	91 "
Padua	87 "
Treviso	82 "
Potenza	78 "
Rovigo, Campobasso, and Chieti	76 "
Ferrara	73 "
Benevento	70 "
Cosenza	69 "
Aquila and Foggia	68 "
Turin	67 "
Genoa and Cremona	66 "

Modena	65 per cent.
Caserta	64 "
Mantua and Trapan	63 "
Udine and Ancona	62 "
Vicenza and Sondrio	61 "
Girgenti and Alessandria	59 "
Naples and Macerata	58 "
Reggio Emilia	56 "
Salerno and Brescia	54 "
Catanzaro and Cuneo	53 "
Piacenza	52 "

Of agriculturists who cultivate their own land, or land belonging to their family, 73 per cent. came from Piedmont and Apulia, 51 per cent. from Liguria, 43 per cent. from the Abruzzi and Molise, and 39 per cent. from Tuscany. The per-centages of "coloni" and hired labourers to the whole number of agricultural emigrants were 90 for the Marches, 88 for Venetia, 76 for Lombardy, 73 for Calabria, 72 for Campania and Basilicata, 71 for Sicily, and 66 for Emilia, and 61 for Tuscany. A large number of these emigrants sold their live stock and tools before leaving Italy, and some also parted with their land. Many borrowed money for the journey from relatives already established in America, or from friends in Italy. The general and permanent causes of emigration were to be found in the miserable condition of the people and in the desire to make a fortune; the special and transitory causes were accidental circumstances, such as bad harvests, inundations, and other catastrophes, or the incitements of emigration agents. In the following table a list is given of the Italian emigrants for the year 1888, classified according to the causes which induced them to leave their native country. (2)

TABLE D. 14.  
CAUSES OF EMIGRATION FROM ITALY IN 1888.

Departments and Provinces.	Number of Communes from which there is Emigration.	Population.	Number of Emigrants.	Desire to make a Fortune.	Poverty.	Want of Work.	Bad Harvests.	Agrarian Crisis.	Other Causes.
				Per 100 Emigrants.	Per 100 Emigrants.	Per 100 Emigrants.	Per 100 Emigrants.	Per 100 Emigrants.	Per 100 Emigrants.
Piedmont	321	1,856,508	28,521	31	40	18	6	4	1
Liguria	108	393,088	4,976	67	11	6	4	1	11
Lombardy	340	1,004,232	17,941	54	27	10	4	1	4
Venetia	519	1,989,123	111,601	20	55	12	6	—	7
Modena	6	38,675	1,827	30	25	45	—	—	—
Lucca	16	206,087	4,224	70	17	9	—	—	4
Massa	29	134,504	2,696	60	19	17	—	—	4
Macerata	16	129,485	1,226	51	28	21	—	—	—
Campobasso	109	312,500	8,029	28	49	8	12	1	7
Campania	289	1,207,380	19,230	33	41	12	7	1	5
Basilicata	114	461,832	9,116	33	43	—	9	2	13
Catanzaro	57	209,520	4,142	29	41	18	2	—	15
Cosenza	135	421,199	9,625	34	40	12	10	1	3
Falermo	23	414,107	2,944	36	49	1	8	3	9

There are 8,256 communes in the whole kingdom of Italy, of which 2,310 sent out at least 10 emigrants each in 1888. In 920 of these 2,310 communes the chief stimulus to emigration was stated to be the desire of making a fortune, in 853 poverty was given as the principal cause, in 251 want of work, in 133 bad harvests, in 36 the agrarian crisis, and in 117 other causes, such as low wages, the decline of the Merchant

Service, depreciation of the prices of produce, increase of population, sterile land, the invitations of colonial relations and friends, or the representations of emigration agents.

The relative importance of these various causes in the different provinces is given below in tabular form:—

TABLE D. 15.

Provinces.	Total Number of Communes.	Number of Communes which sent out at least 10 Emigrants in 1888.	Causes of Emigration.				
			Desire of making a Fortune.	Poverty.	Want of Work.	Bad Harvests and Agrarian Crises.	Other Causes Invitations of Friends.
			Per 100 Communes.	Per 100 Communes.	Per 100 Communes.	Per 100 Communes.	Per 100 Communes.
Liguria	302	108	62	14	6	8	10
Piedmont	1,486	321	49	25	13	10	3
Lombardy	1,898	340	58	21	9	6	6
Venetia	792	519	22	56	13	4	5
Lucca and Massa	58	45	52	26	13	—	9
Molise, Campania, Basilicata, Catanzaro, and Cosenza.	1,173	704	35	42	8	9	6

(1) *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1884-85, v. xxxvii. Condizione dell' Em. It. L. Bodio, 1888, pp. 320-321. Emigrazione degli Italiani all' Estero. L. Bodio, 1887, p. 154. Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 10.*

(2) *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana, 1888, pp. xix-xxiii; p. 37 et. seq.*

The per-centages of emigrants calculated according to the population of the communes are as follows:

TABLE D. 16.

Provinces.	Proportion of Emigrants in every 100 Inhabitants of Communes which sent out at least 10 Emigrants in 1888.	Provinces.	Proportion of Emigrants in every 100 Inhabitants of Communes which sent out at least 10 Emigrants in 1888.
Liguria, Lucca, and Massa - - -	19	Campania - - -	55
Lombardy - - -	36	Basilicata - - -	59
Macerata - - -	38	Cosenza - - -	60
Massa and Catanzaro - - -	46	Campobasso - - -	64
Piedmont - - -	51	Venetia - - -	70
Modena - - -	52	Palermo - - -	76

According to these statistics, emigration is most common in those districts where it is chiefly the result of the poverty of the people. This inference is confirmed by a comparison of the relations between the total numbers of emigrants in the various provinces and the respective numbers of those seeking to escape from a condition of abject misery, or merely to improve their fortunes in a new country. The per-centages of emigration caused by poverty rise from 22 in Liguria, 26 in Lucca, 36 in Massa, 42 in Lombardy, and 49 in Macerata, to 54 in Basilicata, 55 in Palermo, 56 in Catanzaro, 61 in Campania, 63 in Cosenza, 65 in Campobasso, 68 in Piedmont, 70 in Modena, and 73 in Venetia, where the movement had assumed serious proportions in 1888. The per-centages of emigration caused by a desire to make a fortune, on the other hand, range from 51 to 70 for Liguria, Lucca, Massa, Lombardy, and Macerata, and from 28 to 34 for Venetia, Modena, Piedmont, Campobasso, Cosenza, Campania, Catanzaro, and Basilicata. The returns of the syndics for 1888 show that the organisation of emigration by means of agencies was then very widely diffused. Such agencies existed in the provinces of Cuneo, Novara, Turin, Genoa, Bergamo, Como, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Sondrio, Belluno, Treviso, Udine, Venice, Vicenza, Piacenza, Reggio Emilia, Lucca, Massa and Carrara, Ancona, Ascoli, Macerata, Campobasso, Chieti, Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Naples, Salerno, Potenza, Catanzaro, Cosenza, and Palermo. There were also officials from whom information might be obtained in the provinces of Alessandria, Brescia, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Pesaro and Urbino, Aquila, Bari, Foggia, Catania, Girgenti, and Trapani. The people were stirred up to emigrate by the invitations of their colonial relations and the representations of emigrants who had returned to Italy, as well as by promises of high wages, and free grants of land in their new homes. They were also offered loans of money for their first expenses, and for the voyage, or were even promised a free passage, and in several districts pamphlets on the subject of emigration were distributed among them. Some of the agents were arrested at Verona, on a charge of fraudulently misleading the inhabitants, but on the whole the efforts made to encourage the emigration movement were justified by the results. Although Signor Bodio, writing in 1886, laments the poverty of the Italian emigrants as contrasted with the Germans, Swiss, and Scandinavians, and attributes to this cause and to their lack of special technical knowledge, the humble and badly paid occupations which often fell to their share, the statistics of Italian emigration for 1888 show that though many failures are recorded, the greater part of the emigrants did well in the countries in which they settled. This was especially the case with the emigrants from the provinces of Alessandria, Cuneo, Novara, Turin, Genoa, Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Sondrio, Treviso, Udine, Venice, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Reggio Emilia, Florence, Leghorn, Lucca, Ancona, Ascoli, Macerata, Aquila, Chieti, Avellino, Caserta, Naples, Salerno, Bari, Potenza, Catanzaro, Catania, Girgenti, Messina, Palermo, and Trapani.<sup>(1)</sup> The emigrants from Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia, and the Marches generally go to the Argentine Republic and to Uruguay. The Ligurians scatter themselves over Chili, Peru, the Argentine Republic, and the United States. The inhabitants of Belluno, Treviso, Verona, and Vicenza confine themselves principally to the Argentine Republic and Brazil. The United States, the Argentine Republic,

and Brazil are also the chief centres of emigration for Lucca, Caserta, Benevento, Avellino, Chieti, Campobasso, and Palermo, and for the Neapolitans and the emigrants from Salerno, Potenza, Cosenza, and Catanzaro, some of whom, however, pass into Africa.<sup>(2)</sup>

The following information as to the conditions under which emigrants from Italy live in foreign countries are derived from the reports of the Italian Consuls to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, supplemented by the investigations of the Italian Geographical Society. In 1885 this Society appointed a select committee to study the subject of emigration, and a proposal was made to found a distinct Emigration Department, which was not, however, carried out, owing to lack of funds. In 1888 a second committee was nominated, which appointed Signor Egisto Rossi and a small special committee to inquire into the emigration movement with particular reference to the provisions made for the protection of Italian emigrants in foreign countries. The results of Signor Rossi's investigations were published by the Geographical Society in 1890.<sup>(3)</sup>

"France," wrote Signor Bodio in 1886, "has almost no emigration. It may rather be described as a country of immigration. The South of France is invaded by Italians, chiefly working men, who find work mainly at Marseilles and at Lyons. Some go into the small towns (*borghi*) and into the country to work as factory hands or as navvies; others flock to the great cities. There are at least 60,000 in Marseilles, and a still larger number at Toulon, at Cannes, at Nice, and in Paris."<sup>(4)</sup> According to the census of 1881, there were then 1,260 Italians living at Havre, most of whom were employed on the new docks, and on the salt-water baths at Tréport. In 1882 it was calculated that about 5,000 Italian workmen settled annually at Cannes. Among these were painters and decorators, smiths, carpenters, tailors, and sculptors; the majority, however, were manual labourers. In the same year the Italian colony at Cannes sent 600,000 francs into Italy, and had half a million francs deposited in the local savings bank. In 1889 there were 60,000 Italian settlers in Marseilles, employed as shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, fishermen, agricultural labourers, porters, servants, masons, and miners. Some worked in foundries, distilleries, and tanneries; others were engaged in the manufacture of oil, soap, sugar, sulphur, and pottery. Manual labourers gained from 2½ to 3 francs per diem, and skilled workmen 4 to 5 francs. Men servants earned from 25 to 40 francs per month, with board and lodging, and female servants from 25 to 30 francs per month, with board and lodging.<sup>(5)</sup>

The statistics of Italian emigration for 1884 and 1885 give the following details as to emigration into France. The movement is chiefly supported by the provinces of Novara, Turin, Brescia, Parma, Piacenza, and Lucca. The emigrants from Novara generally return home after an absence of a few months. The day labourers from Aosta (*Turin*), after gathering in their harvest, go to Paris or Lyons for the winter, generally returning when the warm weather sets in again. The crétins common in this district are also sometimes taken to France to be exhibited, and a considerable number of women migrate from the towns and become domestic servants in Paris, Lyons, or Savoy.<sup>(6)</sup> The comparative statistics published in 1892 show that the emigration movement has recently

(ix.) Special information.

(x.) Europe, France.

(1) Statistica della Em. It. 1888, pp. xxiv.-xxvii., p. 33 et seq. Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 12. Condizioni dell' Em. It. L. Bodio, 1888, pp. 322-327.

(2) Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, pp. 13-14.

(3) Indagini sulla Emigrazione Italiana all' Estero Roma, 1890.

(4) Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, pp. 14-15.

(5) Indagini sulla Emigrazione Italiana all' Estero (1888-9). Roma, 1890, pp. 103-4, 164.

(6) Statistica della Em. It., 1884-85, pp. 126-128, 133, 134, 135.

begun to assume more importance in France. On the other hand, as the following table shows, immigration from Italy into France has somewhat decreased during the last ten years. (1)

TABLE D. 17.  
IMMIGRATION INTO FRANCE FROM ITALY, 1882-92.

Years.	Number of Immigrants.	Years.	Number of Immigrants.
1882 - -	53,037	1888 - -	27,882
1883 - -	46,768	1889 - -	27,487
1884 - -	38,523	1890 - -	29,310
1885 - -	33,438	1891 - -	31,248
1886 - -	35,706	1892 - -	32,391
1887 - -	31,185		

The economic importance of this influx of Italian labour into France is very great. Signor Bodio stated in 1886 that for some years past Italians had been received in France with distrust and aversion, and that the French workman regarded the Italian as a formidable competitor. Certain communal councils in France and Algeria had even, contrary to the provisions of the commercial treaties, refused to employ Italian labourers. (2)

Recent events show that this feeling of jealousy has by no means subsided. In August 1893 serious riots took place among the French and Italian workmen employed in the salt-works at Aignes-mortes, between Marseilles and the Spanish frontier. An exceedingly savage attack was made by the French miners upon a body of Italian labourers whose engagement by the masters was deeply resented. The Italians were ultimately hunted down and "killed like rats" to the number, it is said, of 50. There were besides some 150 wounded. As soon as the soldiers could be got from Nismes the rioting was quelled and the Italians protected. (3) These riots provoked anti-French demonstrations in almost all the large Italian towns. In Rome numbers of flags were displayed half-mast high as a sign of mourning, while the French Embassy and the French Consulate were stoned and hooted at by the mob. In Genoa the tramway cars were attacked because they belonged to a French company. Both the French and Italian Governments did their utmost to stamp out the sparks of ill-feeling as quickly as possible, and the French Premier, M. Dupuy, sent 2,000 francs for the relief of the victims of the quarrel. In commenting on the disturbances, the French Radical newspapers urged the necessity of imposing a tax on all masters taking foreign workmen into their employ. In the *Matin*, on the other hand, M. Charles Laurent contended that the tax should be restricted to Italians, because, he said, Great Britain, Spain, and Belgium, all of them neighbours of France, send to the latter country no more workers than they receive themselves, whereas Italy feeds nobody and is everybody's guest. (4)

Switzerland.

After the completion of the St. Gothard tunnel, many of the Italians who had been employed upon the excavations passed on to the works at Arlberg in the Tyrol. The Italian colony in the Canton Ticino fell in consequence from 19,600 persons in 1880 to 13,000 persons at the end of 1881. The large number of emigrants who annually leave Ticino causes a demand for foreign labour in this district. The Italian immigrants are chiefly gardeners, wood-cutters, agricultural labourers, tailors, and shoemakers. There are mutual aid and benefit societies at Lugano, Mendrisio, and Locarno, which are of much service to these workmen.

In the consular district of Geneva, which comprises the five cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Neuchatel, Friburg, and Vallese, there was in 1883 a colony of 4,288 Italians, including temporary immigrants (masons, day labourers, and plasterers). Half of these came from the province of Novara; the remainder from the provinces of Turin and Como. (5) Italian immigration into Switzerland has increased considerably during the last 10 years, and appears to be still advancing.

(1) *Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa*, 1887, p. 51. & Id., 1888, p. 103. Id., 1892, p. 37. *Statistica della Em. It.*, 1891, pp. 76, 77, Table V., p. xvii. Id., 1890, pp. 78, 79, Table V., p. xvii. Id., 1892, p. xvii.

(2) *Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia*. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 15.

(3) "Spectator," August 26, 1893.

(4) "Spectator," August 26, 1893. "Morning Post," August 21, 1893 (Reuter's telegrams).

(5) *Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia*. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 16.

TABLE D. 18.  
ITALIAN IMMIGRATION INTO SWITZERLAND, 1882-92.

Years.	Number of Immigrants.	Years.	Number of Immigrants.
1882 - -	8,476	1888 - -	6,237
1883 - -	6,848	1889 - -	9,183
1884 - -	5,508	1890 - -	10,707
1885 - -	4,548	1891 - -	13,195
1886 - -	4,846	1892 - -	13,676
1887 - -	5,561		

Emigration from Italy into Germany is principally of a temporary character. The immigrants are chiefly navvies (from Venetia), and masons, itinerant musicians, and vendors of plaster casts. The navvies and miners find work in Baden in constructing railways and tunnels. They are content with low wages, but their sober habits enable them to lay by money and to send help to their families at home. In 1886 there were about 400 day labourers, masons, stone-cutters, charcoal burners (from the province of Belluno), and fruit-pickers (*fruttatuoli*) who migrated to Württemberg every spring and spent the winter in Italy. In Bavaria there were many Italian masons, miners, workers in furnaces, stone-cutters, plasterers (*stuccatori*), cotton spinners, charcoal burners, and vendors of fruit. It was calculated that a furnace worker could, with economy, save half his wages. A considerable number of these workmen sent home from 150 to 180 francs between March and October. (6) The number of Italian immigrants into Germany has increased of late years.

TABLE D. 19.  
ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS INTO GERMANY, 1882-92.

Years.	Number of Immigrants.	Years.	Number of Immigrants.
1882 - -	7,662	1888 - -	10,105
1883 - -	12,376	1889 - -	17,951
1884 - -	4,271	1890 - -	15,215
1885 - -	4,532	1891 - -	13,880
1886 - -	3,911	1892 - -	15,580
1887 - -	4,676		

Most of the Italian immigrants into Austria and Hungary arrive in the spring, and return home in the autumn. Some of them pass from Austria into Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria. In 1883 there were about 4,500 Italians in Hungary. They came mainly from the provinces of Udine, Belluno, and Treviso, and included ditchers (*sterratori contadini*), furnace-workers, masons, stone-cutters, and wood-cutters. The men who hire these furnace-workers often engage mere boys, whom they cheat out of a great part of their wages, leaving them to become vagrants, or to drift into the hospitals at Buda-Pesth. At the beginning of 1884 the rumour that the Hungarian Parliament had voted the construction of certain new lines of railway caused a great rush of Italian labour into the country. In Buda-Pesth alone 5,500 men arrived straight from Italy, besides 2,000 from Galicia. Several of the projected schemes, however, were not carried out, and, in consequence, the supply of workmen far exceeded the demand. (7)

TABLE D. 20.  
ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS INTO AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, 1882-92.

Years.	Number of Immigrants.		Years.	Number of Immigrants.	
	Austria.	Hungary.		Austria.	Hungary.
1882 -	12,101	8,329	1888 -	25,916	8,032
1883 -	17,252	9,585	1889 -	25,670	6,716
1884 -	22,226	10,470	1890 -	31,241	6,946
1885 -	16,962	10,744	1891 -	25,629	11,866
1886 -	19,166	13,181	1892 -	21,610	12,625
1887 -	28,591	7,130			

(6) *Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia*. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 16. *Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa*, 1887, p. 51. Id., 1888, p. 103. *Statistica della Em. It.*, 1890, p. xvii. Id., 1891, p. xvii. Id., 1892, p. xvii.

(7) *Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia*. L. Bodio, 1886, pp. 16-17. *Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa*, 1887, p. 51. Id., 1888, p. 103. *Statistica della Em. It.*, 1890, p. xvii. Id., 1891, p. xvii. Id., 1892, p. xvii.

England,  
London.

There were 7,000 Italians in London in 1889. These comprised merchants and artists, and a large number of cooks and waiters, but the majority were either day labourers, hawkers, or itinerant musicians and vendors of plaster casts. The wages of cooks varied from about 10s. to 30s. per week, generally with board and lodging. Waiters did not usually receive wages, and in many restaurants they even had to pay from 7s. to 25s. per week to the proprietor, besides providing for their own lodging and clothing. They were subjected to fines, had to pay for breakages, and might be dismissed at any time without warning. Day labourers employed in road-making earned from 1l. to 25s. per week. Only about 20 per cent. of the immigrants remained permanently in England. About 10 per cent. intermarried with the English.

Other  
towns.

Italian settlements of a fluctuating nature existed also in Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Glasgow. The Italian cooks and waiters in London had formed an association, and started a registry. There were, moreover, in London, an Italian Beneficent Society (*Società di Beneficenza Italiana*), a working men's society, and an Italian hospital.<sup>(1)</sup>

Bosnia and  
Herzegovina.

During the course of the year 1884 a great number of Italian operatives from Friuli migrated into Bosnia and Herzegovina, flooding the labour market and lowering wages.

Servia and  
Roumania.

Between 1881 and 1883, 500 Italian operatives were occupied in constructing the Nisch-Vranja railway in Servia. When the work was finished many of them passed on into Greece. The Italians who seek work in Roumania are chiefly natives of Venetia. They generally go from Italy to Servia or Hungary, and thence enter Roumania in small detachments. They are, for the most part, navvies, furnace-workers, and masons. The local legislation is adverse to any foreign agricultural settlements in the province, yet a contract for colonisation was concluded in 1883 between a Wallachian proprietor and 20 families from Belluno. This little settlement, however, remains an isolated fact.

Greece.

Many Italian workmen have been employed on the Corinth Canal, the railways in Thessaly and Attica, the Piroens, Athens, and Peloponnesian line, the port of Calamata, and the draining of Lake Copais. An Italian colony of some importance was formed in Thessaly in 1883 among the railway operatives. It comprised 41 engineers, designers, and accountants with their assistants and 1,722 operatives, half of whom came from the province of Abruzzi. Agricultural labourers were also, in 1886, passing into Greece from Italy in considerable numbers. They settled principally in Thessaly, where the Turks were, to a great extent, selling their land to the Greeks, and where, in consequence, there was a demand for labour.

Turkey in  
Europe.

There is comparatively little emigration from Italy into Turkey. In 1883, however, when extensive water-works were undertaken, there was a considerable influx of Italian masons into Constantinople.<sup>(2)</sup>

The report of the Italian Geographical Society for 1888 to 1889 states that the number of Italians settled in the city of Constantinople was then about 10,000 besides about 1,000 in the province. The majority of these immigrants were masons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, whitewashers, cooks, waiters, musicians, gardeners, and miners. The work of the Italians, especially of the masons, was superior to that of the Turks, and in some cases the native workmen were paid much lower wages than the foreigners. In Constantinople cabinet-makers and carpenters could earn from 25 to 35 piastres (5.75 to 6.90 lire) per diem; masons and whitewashers, 20 to 25 piastres (4.60 to 5.75 lire); cooks and waiters, 300 to 1200 piastres (69 to 276 lire) per month, with board and lodging; gardeners, 200 to 400 piastres (46 to 92 lire) per month with lodging; miners, 45 to 60 piastres per diem; and musicians, 10 to 40 piastres per diem.

Smyrna.

There is a certain amount of Apulian immigration into Smyrna. The Italian colony numbers about 6,000 persons. Two-thirds of these, however, come from the Levant. There are only 2,000 true Italians, about 1,500 Apulians, employed as sailors, fishermen, firemen, agricultural labourers, and engineers (*macchinisti*), and about 500 immigrants from other parts of Italy. The miners, who are the best paid workmen, gain from 4½ to 6 francs per diem. The Apulians generally come to Smyrna with the intention of remaining and invest all their savings in a small house and a

plot of land. Intermarriage with the Smyrniots is very common.<sup>(3)</sup>

TABLE D. 21.

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION INTO SERVIA, ROUMANIA, GREECE, and TURKEY, 1882-91.<sup>(4)</sup>

Years.	Number of Immigrants.	Years.	Number of Immigrants.
1882	1,512	1887	2,019
1883	3,839	1888	3,217
1884	4,707	1889	2,280
1885	3,877	1890	3,630
1886	1,789	1891	4,738

The movement of Italian immigration into other countries of Europe is comparatively unimportant. It may be traced for the years 1886 to 1891 in the table of emigrants classified according to their destinations which is given above (p. 78).

Other  
countries.

The events of 1882 caused a demand for workmen in Alexandria, more especially for masons and bricklayers, to rebuild the ruined parts of the city. This gave an opening to Italian labourers, of which they were not slow to take advantage. The number of Italians settled in Egypt in 1889 was estimated at from 22,000 to 24,000, of whom from 10,000 to about 16,000 were living in Alexandria. The settlers were chiefly small shopkeepers, stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, smiths, painters, and tailors. The women generally went into domestic service. The upper class immigrants included brokers, clerks (*impiegati*), engineers, doctors, and lawyers.

(b.) Africa,  
Egypt.

About 900 Italians were settled at Port Said, most of whom were pilots and sailors employed on the Suez Canal. At Cairo there were about 800 Italian immigrants, comprising professional men, clerks, artisans, and importers of Tuscan wines. There is considerable competition between the Italians and the native workmen, and wages are very variable. The average wage for operatives and manual labourers is rather more than 100 francs per month, as the following table shows:—

TABLE D. 22.

Trade.	Wages.	Alexandria.	Port Said.	Cairo.
Masons	Per diem	4 to 5 francs	7 to 8 francs.	—
Stone-cutters	"	6 to 7 francs.	—	—
Shoemakers	"	5 francs	5 to 7½ francs.	—
Carpenters	"	6 to 7 francs	8 to 10 francs.	—
Cooks	Per month	10 to 12 soldi, with board and lodging.	200 to 250 francs.	70 to 100 francs.
Gardeners	"	40 to 60 francs.	—	—
Female servants.	"	30 to 40 lire.	—	—
Chambermaids	"	50 to 60 lire.	—	—

Wages in Cairo averaged from 20 to 25 lire per diem while Ismail Pacha was carrying out his great works; they have now fallen to from 5 to 7 lire per diem. At Port Said the wages of the Italian labourers employed by the Suez Canal Company show a tendency to fall, owing to the unwillingness of the French to give work to Italians. Some of the immigrants into Egypt save money and buy land and horses but on the whole they do not prosper, and many even are in a position of great poverty. Those who make large fortunes generally return to Italy. There is but little agricultural immigration, because European labourers are not able to compete with the Arab *jallah* who works from dawn to dark and lives chiefly on onions, bread, and water.<sup>(5)</sup>

5,000 Italians from Sicily, the Neapolitan district, Calabria, and Sardinia are said to have arrived at Tunis in 1883, and 4,000 returned home. Most of these immigrants found work as sailors, fishermen, masons, miners, navvies, and stone-cutters. About 500 Italian families were then living in Tunis on their private

Tunis.

(1) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89), Roma, 1890, pp. 81-104, 164, 242, 254.

(2) Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1896, p. 19.

(3) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89), Roma, 1890, pp. 68, 108, 242.

(4) Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa, 1887, p. 31; 1888, p. 103; Statistica della Em. It., 1890, p. xvii, id., 1891, p. xvii; 1892, p. xvii.

(5) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89), Roma, 1890, pp. 90-100, 128, 159-60, 214-40, 283.

(6) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89), Roma, 1890, pp. 90-100, 128, 159-60, 214, 240, 283.

income (*rendita*), or by trade. A thousand or more were able also to lay by money.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1889 the Italian colony in Tunis numbered from 18,000 to 19,000 persons, and was said to be the oldest, the most industrious, and the most flourishing of all the European settlements. It included a commercial section of merchants, who imported and exported various commodities, and an artisan section, which comprised all kinds of manual labourers, and was transitory and fluctuating in character. The constant immigration from Italy has lowered wages in Tunis. Daily wages range from 2½ francs for manual labourers and gardeners, and 3 francs for shoemakers, to 5 francs for a mason and 6 francs for a stone-cutter. In the whole State of Tunis there are probably about 30,000 Italians, many of whom live in the coast towns and in the country districts. Agricultural immigrants succeed better in Tunis than in other parts of Africa. It is not uncommon for landed proprietors to let vineyards to Italian *coloni* for a term of three years on a kind of metayer system. The landlord provides the vine stocks, and at the end of the three years the whole estate is divided equally between the landlord and the tenant. In this way the Italian peasant often becomes an African landed proprietor. An Italian labour colony has quite lately been started in Tunis, but it is not yet sufficiently developed for an opinion to be pronounced as to its chances of success.

The Report of the Chamber of Commerce to the Select Committee of the Italian Geographical Society suggested that the State of Tunis offers a tempting field for Italian enterprise. The land is fertile, but badly cultivated, or absolutely neglected by the indolent Arabs. It is near Sicily, and a colony of industrious Italian agricultural labourers might soon restore its former fame as the granary of the Mediterranean. The lack of trees could be supplied by planting acacias, cypresses, eucalyptus, and fruit trees, especially almond, orange, and lemon trees (*agrumi*), which grow here with extraordinary rapidity. The only serious drawback is the want of water. The Report proposes that the capital necessary for such an undertaking should be provided either by private loans or by the Italian banks.

Ever since Tunis submitted to the French Protectorate, the authorities have discouraged the employment of Italians, though their industry and sobriety render them invaluable as manual labourers.<sup>(2)</sup>

Signor Bodio stated in 1886 that foreigners were not allowed to acquire estates in Algeria unless they were naturalised as Frenchmen. Settlers, therefore, had great difficulty in becoming landowners, and this had somewhat checked the immigration of agricultural labourers. In 1881 there were 33,693 Italians in Algeria. Some of these were permanent settlers; others, chiefly gardeners, artisans, fishermen, and coral fishers returned to Italy in the course of a few years. It was calculated that from 4,000 to 5,000 Italian fishermen migrated annually, besides about 800 coral fishers. These men came in their own boats from Sicily and the Bay of Naples. Among other Italian immigrants were navvies, stone-cutters, masons, miners, carpenters, marble quarriers, and vine dressers. The day labourers came generally from Calabria and the Abruzzi, and the masons from Lombardy and Tuscany. The greater number embarked at Marseilles. In 1883 12,000 Italian workmen arrived in Algeria, and 11,000 returned home.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1889 the total number of Italian settlers was between 35,000 and 36,000, including navvies, road-makers, miners, masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, fishermen, and agricultural labourers. Wages varied in the different districts, and in some parts of the country tended to fall. The daily wages of masons ranged from 5 to 8 francs; of navvies, from 3½ to 4½ francs; of agricultural labourers, from 3 to 4 francs; of miners, from 4 to 5 francs. Manual labourers earned about 3 francs per diem, and shoemakers 3½ francs. Fishermen and coral fishers were boarded and paid 2 lire per diem. Gardeners received from 50 to 70 francs per month with board and lodging, and cooks board and lodging, and from 50 to 60 francs per month.<sup>(4)</sup>

A small number of Italian immigrants settle in Morocco. In 1889 there were about 60, 24 of whom were males above 21 years of age. Among these were 2 merchants, 2 landed proprietors (*possidenti*), 2 clerks, 1 watchmaker, 3 goldsmiths, 1 painter, 2 coffee-house keepers, 1 custom-house clerk, 4 fishermen, 1 mason, 2 domestic servants, and 2 shoemakers. A shoemaker

could make from 2 to 3 lire per diem, a mason from 3 to 5 lire, a fisherman from 2 to 3 lire; domestic servants earned from 30 to 40 lire per month, with board, lodging, and washing.

There are about 130 Italians in the province of Basutoland, one-third of whom live at Kimberley, and the remaining two thirds in the neighbouring town of Beaconsfield. About 100 of these immigrants are miners; the rest, with the exception of four carpenters and a barber, are small shopkeepers. The prosperity of the colony depends upon the success of the diamond mines. A miner makes from 75 to 150 Italian lire per week. A mechanic's wages vary from 87 to 160 lire per week, and a cook's from 75 to 125 lire. Some of the settlers buy houses in the colony, but the majority deposit their savings in the local Post Office Savings Bank, and nine-tenths of the immigrants cherish the hope of eventually returning to Italy.<sup>(5)</sup>

About 600 Italian workmen were employed for three years, from 1882 to 1884, on the railway constructed by a French company between Dakar and San Luigi in Senegal. Many spent the winter months in Italy, crossing over to Africa for the working season.<sup>(6)</sup>

TABLE D. 23.

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION INTO AFRICA, 1882-92.<sup>(7)</sup>

Years.	Number of Immigrants.		Number of Immigrants.	
	Egypt.	Tunis.	Algeria.	Totals.
1882 - - -	2,213	2,235	3,325	7,773
1883 - - -	1,374	1,867	2,882	6,123
1884 - - -	850	637	1,636	3,123
1885 - - -	1,194	818	3,423	5,435
1886 - - -	740	1,557	2,343	4,540
1887 - - -	867	633	1,375	2,875
1888 - - -	1,486	902	731	3,089
1889 - - -	773	639	765	2,177
1890 - - -	754	522	744	2,020
1891 - - -	830	583	718	2,131
1892 - - -	894	618	805	2,317

The American labour market has been for many years past largely supplied from Italy. The growing feeling in America in favour of the restriction of immigration, and the increasing bitterness of industrial competition, have emphasised the importance of deciding how these masses of alien workmen are to be dealt with, how far their freedom of action is to be limited, and to what extent their home Government is bound to protect their interests. These subjects have been treated at length in the Appendix on the Migration of Labour, published in the Report on the Colonies and the Indian Empire.<sup>(8)</sup>

The Italian authorities have done something to regulate the influx of foreign labour into America by founding associations for the protection and guidance of emigrants to New York, such as the "Italian Home" (*Istituto Italiano*), which comprises departments for hospital work, charity organisation, education, and colonisation and immigration, and the "St. Raphael Benevolent Society," which has started a labour registry, an inquiry office, and a house of refuge for the more helpless immigrants. The United States Government, moreover, has done much in the same direction by passing "Passengers' Acts," by appointing an Emigration Commission, and by obliging the immigrants to be examined at "Castle Garden" on their arrival in New York. In the Argentine Republic and in Uruguay there are also elaborately organised systems of State protection for foreign immigrants of the poorer classes, among whom there are many Italians.<sup>(9)</sup>

The annual movement of Italian emigration towards America is given above (p. 78) for the Continent in general, and for the individual States in particular.

The total number of Italian emigrants in 1891 exceeded that of the emigrants from all the other Latin nations combined. A large proportion of these (in 1891 63½ per cent.) went to America, and, according to

(1) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 101, 129, 162, 215, 241.

(2) Movimento dell' Em. dell' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 20.

(3) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 100, 160-161, 234, 292, 333, 394-395, 399.

(4) Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, pp. 19-20.

(5) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 100, 160, 315, 345.

(6) Foreign Reports, Vol. II., 1883, p. 175 et seq.

(7) Foreign Reports, Vol. II., 1886, 195-197. Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1881-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 4-8, 39, 41, 45, 49. Del Patronato degli Emigranti in Italia e all' Estero. Editore Rossi, 1893, pp. 4-17, 37-60.

(8) L' America nei suoi primi fattori la Colonizzazione e l' Emigrazione G. Godeo, 1873, pp. 330-63, 373-99.

Basutoland  
Kimberley.

Senegal.

Algeria.

(a.) Ameri

Protect  
Associations.North  
America

Morocco.

Statist.

the American Statistical Returns, 69,297 arrived in 1891 in the United States alone.<sup>(1)</sup>

New York.

It was calculated that in 1888-89 70,000 Italians, and in 1891 80,000 Italians were resident in New York. As the annual influx of these settlers is constantly increasing, and as they are principally drawn from the poorer classes in Italy, it is not surprising that the Americans do not regard with much favour this uninvited addition to their population.<sup>(2)</sup>

From 1847 to 1860 the influx of permanent Italian settlers into New York was insignificant, varying only from 706 to 1,000 immigrants per annum. During the next 10 years the annual numbers increased slightly, and from 1870 onwards the movement developed rapidly, until in 1878 the number of Italian arrivals at the port had reached 5,000. Between 1880 and 1886 the Italian immigrants were only outnumbered by the English, Irish, and Germans; 30,000 landed in 1886, and in the second half of 1887 and the first months of 1888 the number of Italian arrivals had risen to 47,000. The resident colony in the city then numbered 40,000, besides about 30,000 who lived in the various suburbs across the river.<sup>(3)</sup> The total number of Italians in the United States at this date appears to have been about 180,000.<sup>(4)</sup>

Trades.

About 80 per cent. of the settlers in New York are peasants, who find employment in cigar and tobacco works, in making baskets and cardboard boxes, in sugar and sweetmeat manufactories, in brickyards, and as navvies, scavengers, shoeblocks, street musicians, and fruit-sellers. The immigrants seem indeed to have almost monopolised the sale of fruit in the streets. The report of the Geographical Society states that "Every corner of every street of every town in the United States is occupied by fruit stands belonging to Italians, who often pay a large sum for this privilege, while others less fortunate hawk their wares about the city on hand-barrows." It is this mass of unskilled labour which the authorities are specially anxious to direct into safe channels, dispersing it over the country instead of leaving it to stagnate in the slums of New York. Women and children find work in sugar manufactories, and women are also employed in making sweetmeats, artificial flowers, cardboard boxes, and cigars. In tobacco manufactories girls under 13 years of age receive 2 dollars a week, and women 5 to 6 dollars. Seamstresses seldom earn more than 4 dollars a week. Many women gain a livelihood as rag pickers. A large number of Italian boys are engaged as shoeblocks or in selling newspapers; many are apprenticed to various trades, and a few are sent to school. There are two Italian schools in New York, one private and one public, and attempts have been made to hold evening classes.<sup>(5)</sup>

The skilled workmen, who are comparatively few in number, have not much difficulty in finding employment. They are principally masons, stone-cutters, miners, house-painters, weavers, keepers of inns and restaurants, and small tradesmen, tailors, shoemakers, retailers of wine, beer, or tobacco, and barbers. Among the better educated settlers there are many musicians and also teachers of music and of foreign languages, artists, decorative painters, and a few engineers and architects. The Italian barbers generally compete successfully with those of other nations, but on the whole the Italians, who are not good linguists, cannot hold their own in trade against the Germans and other colonists. The various working men's societies, moreover, which are chiefly Irish or German, wage constant war against Italian labour. It is among the unskilled labourers, however, that the keenest international competition prevails, and an impression undoubtedly exists that the Italians depress the labour market by accepting conditions which an American workman would regard as derogatory to the dignity of a free citizen, and by consenting to play the odious part of "scabs," or substitutes for labourers who have gone on strike in obedience to the commands of the workmen's societies which guide the labour movement.<sup>(6)</sup>

Many of the settlers are tempted from their homes by unscrupulous speculators, a system which is specially

to be deprecated, since it tends to drain the agricultural population from the soil of Italy, and to throw the land into the hands of the unprincipled emigration agents to whom the peasant proprietors pledge their little estates as security for their passage-money.<sup>(7)</sup>

Wages.

In spite of all disadvantages, however, Signor Bodio calculated, in 1886, that 3,000,000 lire were sent annually from the United States to Italy by means of Post Office orders (*vaglia postale*), besides a still larger sum which was transmitted through the banks. The Consul estimated the total annual amount sent home by Italian settlers to their families at more than 25,000,000 lire.<sup>(8)</sup> The following table of the wages which can be earned by Italian workmen in New York is taken from the returns made by the Chamber of Commerce to the Select Committee of the Italian Geographical Society in 1888-89.

TABLE D. 24.

Trade.	From	To	Per Diem.	Per Month.
	Dollars.	Dollars.		
Day labourers	1 (5 lire).	1.75 (8.75 lire.)	"	"
Masons	1	2.50	"	"
Bricklayers	1	4	"	"
Shoemakers, 1st class	1	2.50	"	"
" 2nd "	1	1.50	"	"
Carpenters	2	3	"	"
Engravers ( <i>intagliatori</i> )	3	4	"	"
Plasterers	3	3.50	"	"
House painters	2.50	3.50	"	"
Decorative painters	3.50	6	"	"
Varnishers	2	3	"	"
Blacksmiths	2	3	"	"
Engineers ( <i>macchinisti</i> )	2.50	3.50	"	"
Stone-cutters	3	4	"	"
Tailors	1.50	3.50	"	"
Dyers	2	3	"	"
Printers	2.50	4	"	"
Gardeners	20	30 with board.	"	"
Cooks, 1st class	80	200	"	"
" 2nd "	60	100	"	"
" 3rd "	40	80	"	"
Confectioners	40	80	"	"

Working bakers and confectioners who board with their employers receive from 10 to 15 dollars per month.

The system of payment by the piece, by measure or number, is also much used. Wages fell in 1887-88 owing to the great influx of immigrants in that year, and agricultural labourers can only gain from 12 to 15 dollars per month with board and lodging, on account of the competition of the Swedes, Poles, and German Jews. Labourers are often prevented from seeking work outside the city from want of ready money, a contingency for which the new American Emigration Law provides by making it obligatory for every immigrant to have a certain sum in his possession on his arrival.

Italians are much sought after as waiters and private servants when they are able to speak English. Some of the returns to the Geographical Society, indeed, attribute the lowness of the wages which the Italians receive in great measure to their ignorance of English, which obliges them to submit to the extortions of intermediaries and prevents them from learning the American methods of work. On the whole, wages show a tendency to fall, but they are still often three or four times as high in North America as in Italy.<sup>(9)</sup>

Under these circumstances, many of the settlers, especially those who can speak English, are able to deposit money in the savings bank, to buy houses and land, or to open shops in New York. They marry in America or send over to Italy for their families, and their children grow up as American citizens. It appears that more than two-thirds of the emigrants leave their families in Italy, and it is usual for the unskilled labourers to return home when they have saved a little money, or when they have become thoroughly discouraged with their want of success in the colony. The increase of the Italian settlements in

(1) Quarterly Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. (Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa, 1892, p. 58.)

(2) Die italienische Auswanderung. E. von Philippovich, p. 206. Statistica della Em. It., 1891, p. XVII. Foreign Office Reports, Vol. II., 1893, pp. 178, 183.

(3) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 32-34, 106-7.

(4) Die italienische Auswanderung. E. von Philippovich, p. 206.

(5) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 218-9.

(6) Die italienische Auswanderung. E. von Philippovich, p. 213. Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 32-34, 103-7.

(7) Die italienische Auswanderung. E. von Philippovich, L'America ne' suoi primi fattori la Colonizzazione e l'Emigrazione. G. Godio, 1888, pp. 203-65. Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 167, 204.

(8) Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia. I. Bodio, 1886, pp. 28-29.

(9) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 12, 128-34, 167.

the various cities of the United States shows, however, that a considerable number remain in America. There are very few Italian agricultural labourers in the United States, with the exception of California, which has been to some extent colonised by emigrants from Northern Italy. Naturalised Italians can obtain from 80 to 160 acres of land from the American Government under the "Homestead Law," but very few have as yet availed themselves of this opportunity, chiefly for want of organisation and direction. (1)

There are many small Italian colonies in the various states of the Union, including a considerable number of miners, and the cities of Chicago (*Illinois*) and New Orleans (*Louisiana*) each number nine or ten thousand Italians among their inhabitants. The only really important settlement, however, with the exception of that in New York, is in California, where the immense development of agriculture in general, and of the cultivation of fruit in particular, seems to offer a special opening for Italian labour. There are about 11,000 Italians in the city and county of San Francisco, and about 42,000 in the whole State of California, almost two-thirds of whom are engaged in agriculture of one kind or another. Although population has increased with great rapidity in San Francisco, the coincident increase in the demand for labour has prevented wages from falling as the following table shows--.(2)

TABLE D. 25.

Trades.	Wages in San Francisco (1888-89).	
	Dollars.	
Fishermen - - -	45	per month with board.
Gardeners - - -	25 to 30	" "
Agricultural labourers - -	20 " 30	" "
Cooks - - -	30 " 60	" "
Servants and waiters - - -	20 " 30	" "
Navvies - - -	35 " 45	per month without board.
Factory hands - - -	45 " 55	" "
Masons - - -	75 " 100	" "
Shoemakers - - -	45 " 75	" "
Carpenters - - -	75 " 100	" "
Tailors - - -	60 " 80	" "

South America.

The Italian settlements in South America are of considerable importance. The climate suits the Latin races of Southern Europe, they excel in those agricultural pursuits which offer the best returns to labour, and they find it easy to adapt themselves to the half Spanish native population whose language and religion are similar to their own.

Argentina Republic.

The Argentine Republic in particular which has been called "the immigration country *par excellence*", (3) receives on an average a larger annual number of Italian emigrants than any other American State. Until quite recently Italian immigration to the Argentine Republic has been remarkable for its rapid development. In 1857 it amounted to 3,021 persons, and it continued to increase with occasional periods of depression until 1889 when it attained its maximum of 88,647 persons. Since the political and financial crisis of 1889, however, the annual number of Italians migrating to the Argentine Republic has greatly decreased, and the tide of Italian emigration seems to have been in large measure diverted towards the United States and Brazil. (See above, p. 78.)

In 1892, however, the number of Italian immigrants appears, according to the Argentine statistics, to have risen to 27,850 as against 15,511 in 1891.

The annual Italian immigration into the Argentine Republic from 1857 to 1892 is given below.

Table D. 26.

1857 - - -	3,021	1867 - - -	6,221
1858 - - -	2,976	1868 - - -	18,937
1859 - - -	3,009	1869 - - -	21,419
1860 - - -	3,349	1870 - - -	14,045
1861 - - -	4,807	1871 - - -	8,170
1862 - - -	4,902	1872 - - -	14,769
1863 - - -	7,836	1873 - - -	26,278
1864 - - -	8,422	1874 - - -	28,904
1865 - - -	7,697	1875 - - -	9,130
1866 - - -	9,212	1876 - - -	6,950

(1) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 17-18, 203-4, 230-1, 243-4, 278, 294-6. Condizioni dall' Emigrazione Italiana, L. Bodio, 1893, p. 329.

(2) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 66-8, 140-1.

(3) L'America ne' suoi primi fattori la Colonizzazione e l'Emigrazione. G. Godio, 1893, p. 263.

1877 - - -	7,356	1886 - - -	43,324
1878 - - -	13,514	1887 - - -	67,139
1879 - - -	29,774	1888 - - -	75,029
1880 - - -	18,416	1889 - - -	88,647
1881 - - -	20,506	1890 - - -	39,122
1882 - - -	29,387	1891 - - -	15,511
1883 - - -	37,043	1892 - - -	27,850
1884 - - -	31,943		
1885 - - -	63,501	Total - - -	807,560

As the total number of immigrants directly entering the Argentine Republic during this period of 36 years amounted to 1,286,751, a comparison of this number with the above table emphasises the "enormous preponderance of the Italian element," which was in the proportion of about 60 per cent. to the whole. (4)

After the crisis of 1889, however, the influx of European labour into the Argentine Republic received a sudden check, while "a remarkable exodus of the foreign population began in 1890 and has since continued." It was calculated that in 1890 the decrease in Italian immigration amounted to 56 per cent., while in 1891 the total loss of Italians to the country was 36,939, or nearly the whole of the Italian arrivals of 1890. (Cf. above, p. 79, Table D. 12.)

This loss was the more serious owing to the excellence of Italian labour, and its importance as a factor in the agricultural prosperity of the Republic. "The riches of the Argentine Republic are solely due to agriculture and stock-raising," and it is worth observing that out of 565,095 Italian immigrants who entered the country between 1876 and 1890 no fewer than 409,599, or about 72 per cent. of the whole, were agriculturists. The following extract from Mr. Gastrell's report on the Argentine Republic shows the importance of the Italian settlements.

"Italian immigration has been predominant from the very beginning, and has always formed about 60 per cent. or more of the total annual immigration. In the year 1868 it suddenly nearly trebled, and then remained about stationary, with 20,000 odd arrivals, till 1875, when it as suddenly dropped to the figures of 1868, or 9,000 odd immigrants only. From 1878, when 13,514 immigrants arrived, the Italian immigration has steadily increased, and during the past six years (1885 to 1890) 376,766 Italians arrived in this country, or nearly half of the total Italian immigration during the past 36 years. These Italians, therefore, form the bulk of the foreign population in the Argentine Republic. It is computed that, with those born of Italian parents in the Argentine Republic, the Italian population exceeds 1,000,000 out of the total estimated population of 4,000,000 in the country. . . . Occasionally their vast numbers cause the Argentine Government grave apprehensions. They form the bulk of the labouring population, and are excellent labourers. No workman works better, spends less, and saves more than the Italian. On large works it is found that they are easier to manage than Englishmen. Of the 7,000 workmen formerly employed on the port works of Buenos Ayres over 6,000 were Italians; the total number of English being small, and of the supervising class, not navvies. During the recent bad times it was chiefly the Italians who left the country, when so many works were closed and retrenchments made in all branches of trade and commerce. But what enabled them to leave the country was their savings, a word almost unknown amongst the English labouring classes. On wages which would not keep an Englishman the Italian saves and grows fat. The Italians hardly availed themselves at all of the subsidised passages offered in Europe from 1887 to 1890, the per-centage of Italians profiting by them being only 3½ per cent. of the whole Italian immigration. The Italian immigrant has great advantages on arrival over immigrants of other nationalities. About a fourth of the Argentine population is Italian or Italian speaking. On landing, the Italian immigrant finds himself *en pays de connaissance*. He finds Italian spoken all round him, Italian ways and customs prevalent amongst his own class, Italians in every trade and industry, a language very like his own, often

(4) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1892, No. 216, pp. 4, 21, 54-55.

(5) Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa, 1892, p. 58. Aggiunte e Correzioni, 1892, p. 11.

(6) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1892, No. 216, pp. 17-18, 51, 34.



relations or friends, and is sure of sympathy from his many fellow countrymen."<sup>(1)</sup>

Signor Godio stated in 1893 that, according to the last official census, there were 873,000 Italian residents in the Argentine Republic, exclusive of the children of Italian parents born in America. Though only 5 per cent. of the total importation into the Argentine Republic consisted of Italian products, out of the 14,127 houses of business in Buenos Ayres, 7,720 belonged to Italians, and 5,176 of the 26,857 clerks employed in these houses were of Italian birth. The factories in Buenos Ayres also employed Italian operatives in the proportion of 59 per cent. The Italian inhabitants had a large capital invested in business enterprises or deposited in the American banks, three Italian papers were published daily, and it was calculated that three-fourths of the houses in the city had been built by Italian workmen from the designs of Italian architects.<sup>(2)</sup>

Next to Buenos Ayres, the chief Italian settlements in the Argentine Republic are concentrated in the province of Santa Fé, specially in the town of Rosario, which is largely populated by Italians.<sup>(3)</sup>

In conclusion, the curious fact may be mentioned, that a small number of the Italian immigrants do not remain permanently in America, but come out for the harvest, and return home for the following harvest in their own country. "in search of perpetual harvest wages, like swallows in quest of perpetual summer." The majority, however, settle in the Republic, sometimes intermarrying with the native population. "The Italian Chamber of Commerce, in its Report for 1885, arrived at the conclusion, based upon official evidence, that the number of inhabitants of Italian birth was at that date 1,000,000 or two inhabitants for every Italian who had landed in the country during the previous 29 years."<sup>(4)</sup>

small.

Italian immigration into Brazil is chiefly directed towards the districts of Rio Janeiro, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul, and is rapidly increasing in importance. The Italian immigrants are far more numerous than those of any other nationality, and it appears that about 1,000,000 out of the 4,000,000 white inhabitants of Brazil are of Italian birth. The statistics given in Table D. 12, p. 79, show that whereas in 1891 the emigration movement from Italy to the Argentine Republic had not recovered from the shock of the crisis of 1889, in Brazil, the temporary fall in the numbers of Italian immigrants had been succeeded by a striking increase, reaching its maximum in 1891, when 183,738 Italian immigrants arrived in the country. With regard to the State of São Paulo, it was stated in 1889 that the flow of immigration was almost exclusively confined to emigrants from Northern Italy (*Liguria and Venetia*), who formed about one-fifth of the whole population. During the year 1888, 74,000 Italians had entered the province, mostly men of fine physique, and well-suited to the labour required of them, and it seemed probable that the Italian element would, at no distant date, occupy a prominent position in the affairs of São Paulo, and exercise a marked influence on the social, political, and material development of the country. In 1893 the banking returns of Genoa, Lucca, Milan, and Naples proved that on an average as much as 7,000,000 francs per annum were deposited by Italians resident in Brazil, about 2,000,000, or 2,500,000 francs of which probably came from the State of São Paulo. In one canton, or county alone, Italian immigrants, who had arrived with nothing, possessed property collectively worth 5,000,000 francs to 8,000,000 francs, all gained by working on the coffee plantations, while about one-sixth of the population of the whole State of São Paulo were Italians, 70 per cent. of whom were unskilled labourers employed in the towns or on railways and public improvements, gaining perhaps higher pay than they would receive in any other country of the world. These men regularly transmitted their savings

to Italy, generally returning to Italy themselves when they had accumulated a comfortable fortune. Comparatively few of the immigrants become independent farmers, most of them preferring to grow vegetables, to work for the planters, or as artisans, or to wander about the country as pedlars. The sparsely-peopled province of Rio Grande do Sul has been largely colonised by Germans, but since 1885 German immigration has to a great extent given way to Italian. The Italian immigrants, who numbered only 2,687 in 1890, had increased in 1891 to 12,183, forming a large proportion of the population of the State. They monopolised the boot and shoe trade in the towns, competed with the Germans as tailors, and were much employed on railways and public works. Their colonies were, on the whole, more populous and more successful than those of the Germans. In 1888-89 the report of the Italian Geographical Society stated that there were 20,000 Italians then resident in the city of Rio Janeiro, most of whom were employed as shoeblacks, cobblers, shoemakers, fishmongers and operatives.<sup>(5)</sup>

A comparatively small number of Italians migrate yearly into Uruguay and Paraguay, and these are chiefly agricultural labourers. The movement of Italian emigration towards Central America, Mexico, Chili, and Peru is also insignificant, and the same may be asserted of Italian immigration into Australia, which is too distant a country and too alien to the Italian temperament in language and institutions to attract many settlers, though a certain number of temporary emigrants, mostly from Northern Italy, are tempted over to Melbourne and Sydney every year by the prospect of high wages, and it is said that this movement is increasing in importance.<sup>(6)</sup>

Uruguay and other States.

(d.) Australia.

In concluding this section it may be remarked that Italian emigration is important in respect of quantity rather than of quality. The emigrants who annually leave Italy for the other countries of Europe, or for the American continent, are very numerous, but for the most part they belong to the lower classes, especially to the class of unskilled labourers. In view of the enormous increase in the annual emigration during the last few years, the question arises whether this constant outflow does not tend to deprive Italy of the peasant population on which the future of the agricultural districts may depend. Signor Bodio, however, stated in 1886 that there was then no reason for serious alarm, since the proportion of Italian emigrants to the population of the whole kingdom since 1882 had only averaged about 2½ per thousand, a much smaller percentage than those recorded for Great Britain, Germany, or Scandinavia during the same period, and though the annual emigration movement has increased considerably during the last five or six years, the official statistics show that the proportion of emigrants to the whole population of Italy between 1887 and 1891 never exceeded 1 per cent.<sup>(7)</sup>

(e.) Concluding remarks.

The subject of Italian immigration is, however, a grave one for those countries in which the emigrants chiefly settle. The Italian workman, strong, active, and intelligent, with frugal habits and a great power of endurance, is a formidable competitor in the European and American labour markets. In France the influx of Italian labour threatens to neutralise the effects of the prudence which has kept down the native population. In America the Italians are not only numerically important, but as immigration from Russia and Poland, and the Jewish immigration increases, they tend to rise socially and to take a better place among the other colonising nations of Europe. The following table shows the growing influence of Italy in the trans-Oceanic movement, and brings out also the general development which has taken place in European emigration during the last 40 years.<sup>(7)</sup>

(1) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 216, p. 23. Foreign Reports, Vol. II., 1888, pp. 197-9.

(2) L'America ne' suoi fattori primi la Colonizzazione e l'Emigrazione, G. Godio, 1893, pp. 134, 135.

(3) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 19, 246, 248.

(4) F.O. Reports, Annual Series, No. 1160, pp. 6, 11-12, 1893; No. 468, p. 2, 1889; No. 32, p. 10, 1886; No. 1077, pp. 20-22, 1892; No. 504, pp. 41-43, 1889; No. 1018, pp. 8-9, 1892. Foreign Reports, Vol. II., 1888, pp. 196-9. Indagini sulla Em. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 62, 111, 150, 210, 236, 260.

(5) Indagini sulla Em. It. all' Estero (1888-89). Roma, 1890, pp. 8, 14, 21, 101-2, 241. Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 30. Condizioni dell' Em. Italiana. L. Bodio, 1886, p. 330.

(6) Movimento dell' Em. dall' Italia. L. Bodio, 1886, pp. 31-32. Statistica della Em. Italiana, 1892, pp. 78-79.

(7) Foreign Reports, Vol. II., 1883, pp. 178, 183, 195, Tables I. and II.

TABLE D. 27.  
TRANS-OCEANIC EMIGRATION FROM 1853 TO 1892.(\*)

Year.	Italy.	France.	Belgium.	Netherlands.	Spain.	Portugal.	Austria.	Hungary.	Switzerland.	Germany.	Sweden.	Norway.	Russia.	Denmark.	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total for Great Britain
1853	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,000	—	—	62,018	23,635	192,400	277,113
1854	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,930	—	—	90,906	25,872	160,809	267,147
1855	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,800	—	—	87,138	14,097	78,856	180,023
1856	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,200	—	—	64,527	12,083	71,734	148,294
1857	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,490	—	—	78,560	16,263	86,228	181,051
1858	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,500	—	—	59,971	11,815	43,281	85,097
1859	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,800	—	—	53,980	10,182	52,291	97,068
1860	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,900	—	—	20,491	6,733	30,525	65,980
1861	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,900	—	—	23,145	6,750	26,323	65,197
1862	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,250	—	—	35,467	12,500	49,680	97,768
1863	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,100	—	—	61,243	15,230	116,391	192,864
1864	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,300	—	—	50,618	18,084	118,428	187,081
1865	—	4,715	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,000	—	—	61,245	12,870	100,678	174,801
1866	—	5,752	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,901	15,455	—	—	28,260	12,207	98,890	170,068
1867	—	6,047	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,152	12,829	—	—	55,404	12,866	88,022	166,962
1868	—	6,406	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,069	13,211	—	—	58,268	14,944	64,936	188,167
1869	—	7,898	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32,235	18,070	—	4,259	96,416	22,569	78,325	186,300
1870	—	4,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,568	14,230	—	3,525	105,293	22,235	74,263	202,511
1871	—	5,947	—	—	—	—	9,205	294	—	76,294	13,186	12,276	—	3,906	102,408	19,232	71,007	192,761
1872	—	16,929	—	—	—	17,264	9,014	898	—	128,162	11,968	13,865	—	6,898	118,190	10,541	72,763	210,404
1873	—	8,414	—	—	—	19,289	10,206	962	—	110,438	9,642	10,258	—	7,200	123,348	21,510	63,192	228,346
1874	—	7,163	—	—	—	14,826	8,974	927	—	47,671	3,509	6,001	—	3,322	116,490	20,266	60,496	197,273
1875	—	4,284	—	—	—	15,440	11,055	1,065	—	32,329	3,689	4,048	—	2,068	94,540	14,886	41,449	140,675
1876	22,392	2,190	—	—	—	11,033	10,832	625	—	29,044	3,796	4,355	—	1,581	73,296	10,097	25,976	109,409
1877	22,698	2,116	—	—	—	11,067	6,723	652	—	22,296	2,297	3,206	—	1,877	68,711	6,686	22,231	95,186
1878	23,901	2,316	—	—	—	9,926	5,130	803	—	25,627	4,400	4,863	—	2,272	72,322	11,067	29,492	112,908
1879	39,627	3,634	—	—	—	13,208	7,366	1,759	—	35,828	12,866	7,698	—	3,068	104,275	16,708	41,266	184,274
1880	35,677	4,612	—	—	—	12,597	20,993	8,766	—	117,097	36,398	20,212	—	5,658	111,845	22,080	98,041	227,542
1881	43,725	4,456	—	10,100	—	14,637	24,712	11,267	—	220,202	40,762	25,976	—	7,968	129,276	20,226	78,300	243,008
1882	67,632	4,858	—	7,304	26,790	18,272	18,119	17,620	10,896	203,535	41,586	28,804	—	11,614	162,292	32,242	64,132	279,266
1883	70,436	4,011	—	4,855	26,669	19,251	19,581	14,839	12,758	173,616	25,911	22,167	—	8,375	183,286	31,139	105,748	320,118
1884	69,469	6,100	—	3,729	20,799	17,518	21,039	13,195	8,975	146,065	17,895	14,778	—	6,307	147,690	21,968	72,266	242,179
1885	78,961	6,063	1,286	2,146	24,315	13,153	16,372	12,348	6,928	110,119	18,460	13,981	—	4,346	126,230	21,207	60,017	207,044
1886	87,423	7,314	2,048	2,024	34,043	13,738	19,403	25,149	5,808	88,225	28,271	15,168	33,724	6,263	146,201	25,223	61,278	232,900
1887	133,191	11,170	3,834	5,018	37,200	16,521	20,156	18,270	6,801	104,787	46,526	20,741	29,355	8,801	168,221	34,265	79,201	281,487
1888	207,706	23,339	7,704	4,298	49,283	23,632	24,819	17,786	7,432	103,951	45,864	21,452	39,747	8,659	170,822	35,873	73,233	279,928
1889	125,781	31,354	8,406	9,111	97,719	19,847	21,080	22,064	7,445	96,070	29,067	12,642	33,374	8,967	163,518	25,384	64,923	233,795
1890	115,595	20,560	2,976	3,526	37,025	28,945	28,236	27,422	6,693	97,103	30,128	10,991	85,548	10,228	120,279	20,653	67,484	218,116
1891	189,740	6,217	3,456	4,075	37,721	—	33,777	21,419	6,521	120,089	38,318	13,341	109,415	10,392	137,291	22,190	58,446	218,517
1892	116,642	5,523	5,174	—	30,190	—	31,369	20,313	7,835	112,208	—	—	74,681	10,422	133,815	23,325	62,192	210,042

(x) Emigration Law.

The law on emigration dates from December 22nd, 1888. Its object is confined to regulating the emigration. Section 1 recognises the liberty of emigration, which, however, is limited by its second clause, which declares that soldiers of the first and second categories, belonging to the permanent army or militia (*milizia mobile*) on unlimited furlough, cannot leave the country without permission from the Ministry of War. The effect of this clause appears to be to favour clandestine emigration, which undoubtedly exists and, it is presumed, in rather large numbers.

Sections 2-12 embody regulations concerning emigration agents and sub-agents. Sections 13-17 provide for the protection of emigrants before and during the voyage. They refer to the contract to be drawn up between the agent and the emigrant; to its special requisites and causes of nullity: to the incidents of the voyage in case of voluntary or forced refuge having to be taken in an intermediate port; to the total wreck or abandonment of the ship carrying the emigrants, or the occurrence of damages that may prevent the continuance of the voyage; to the actions the emigrant is empowered to bring against the agent, &c. (1)

(1) F. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 70. *Statistica Comparata dell' Em. dall' Europa, 1892, p. 62.*

C.—SECRET SOCIETIES AND BRIGANDAGE.

The southern provinces of Italy, constantly changing rulers, and without a strong central administration, have evolved a kind of lawless order for themselves in the institution of the two great Secret Societies, the *Camorra* of Naples, and the *Mafia* of Sicily, while brigandage has become with them a recognised and well-organised occupation.

The *Camorra*, Brigandage, and the *Mafia*, wrote Signor Villari, the late Minister of Public Instruction in 1875, "are the logical, natural, necessary consequence of particular social conditions and without modifying these conditions it is useless to hope to stamp out the evils which spring from them." (2)

In the last century Naples had a Court, a feudal aristocracy, and a great number of convents. The people lived easily enough on the wages and the alms derived from these sources. Then, in 1806, came the abolition of feudalism. Large fortunes were broken up, the rule of the small proprietor began, and endless litigation, springing out of the changed legal system,

(1) (

(2) *Lettere Meridionali*. Pasquale Villari, 2nd ed., 1884. "La *Camorra*," p. 1.

occupied the tribunals. The lawyers and the *bourgeoisie* prospered, but the working classes found themselves cut off from their former occupations, while as yet no new industries had arisen to provide them with a fresh means of livelihood. Little by little, in the midst of this "inert mass" of unemployed labour, a *Camorra* or association of some few leading spirits (*prepotenti*) began to be formed, and before long it grew into a pretty tyranny, a close oligarchy which carried all before it, although it remained uncertain and ill-defined in constitution. The Bourbons protected it, seeing in it a means of ruling the people, and it soon became a widespread movement, the influence of which was felt in the prisons, in the army, and throughout the southern kingdom. At the time of the Revolution of 1860-1870 the *Camorra* was called in to assist in restoring public order, and the city of Naples was practically confided to its care. Later on it was not found possible to destroy so powerful an organisation, and it continued to flourish under the Italian Government. There were no provisions against it in the Penal Code. The *Camorrista* is free to threaten and intimidate, to instigate others to crime, to commit crimes himself, and to protect criminals from justice. His power is felt everywhere, in the street and the house, in labour, in rest, and in recreation. He reigns in the prisons, where the organisation of the society is found in its most perfect form; but his action is not confined to the lowest grades of society. "There are *Camorristi* in white gloves and black coats, whose names and whose crimes are on everybody's tongue;" and it is said that municipal regulations which do not suit the interests of the *Camorra* cannot be carried out in Naples.

Signor Villari would trace the origin of this alarming state of things to the extreme degradation and misery of the Neapolitan working classes. Under the Bourbon rule nothing was done to protect them from the oppression of the richer citizens, and the alms bestowed on them by the convents, charitable institutions (*opere pie*), and the Government itself, only increased their wretchedness by making it permanent. Among these poverty-stricken men and women the *Camorra* seemed nothing abnormal. It was their natural ruler, and they bowed before it, half in fear and half in admiration, giving up their children to be trained by it as thieves and pickpockets. The graphic account given by Signor Villari in his *Lettere Meridionali* of the insanitary condition of Naples, the fevers, the excess of population, and the overcrowding of the poor, confirms his conclusion that the increase of the criminal class was not surprising. In order to extirpate the evil, it has been suggested that the *Camorristi* especially those who do not belong to the lowest class of society, should be treated with more rigour, and that the provisions of the Act for ensuring public safety should be made more explicit with regard to them. But in addition to this repressive action, Signor Villari points out the necessity of preventive measures. He would give work and technical instruction to those who now fall victims to the *Camorristi*, turning to account in this direction the charitable institutions (*opere pie*) which have hitherto rather tended to foster the misery they desired to relieve.

The social question in Sicily assumes an overwhelming gravity in the province of Palermo, where peculiar economic conditions have produced the curious organisation called the *Mafia*.

The *Mafia* is not, strictly speaking, a secret society; it has no written statutes; it is hardly even definite enough in constitution to be called an association at all. It is rather "a special kind of *Camorra* formed "by spontaneous generation," which prevails chiefly in the most prosperous and fertile part of the island in the neighbourhood of the capital. The *Mafia*, according to Signor Leopoldo Franchetti, "is a vast "union of persons of every rank, every profession, and "every description, who, without having any apparent "continuous and regular bond of union, combine to promote their common interests, putting aside all considerations of law, justice, and public order." According to another definition "the *Mafia* originates in a mediæval "sentiment; the *Mafioso* is the man who believes that "he can provide for the protection and safety of his "person and his goods by means of his individual "strength and influence, independently of the action "of the authorities and the laws." It stands "like a "wall between the peasant and the landlord, and keeps "them constantly apart, because on the day when they "come into direct relations with each other its power "will be destroyed." The *Mafia* appears to work to a great extent by means of the bailiffs (*guardie campestri*) of the proprietors in the interior of the

island, who have many opportunities of tyrannising over the labourers committed to their care. Its power, however, extends to the cities as well as to the country districts, and in Palermo it numbers many landed proprietors (*proprietari*) among its adherents, and acts as "a governor stronger than Government." Many of the inhabitants of the district of Palermo are the descendants of ancient braves, and they are still ready with the knife, and quick to avenge an insult. Here, as in Naples, a good understanding with the Society means safety. Here, too, both the Bourbons and the patriots of 1860-70 realised what a powerful weapon in their hands the command of this great secret force would be, and therefore they both used the *Mafia* as an instrument of government. The maintenance of the public peace was entrusted to its members, and the armed companies which were instituted for the preservation of order were in large measure recruited from its ranks. Since 1875, the Italian authorities have done their utmost to suppress the *Mafia*, but hitherto with not much success. In eastern Sicily, where there is no intermediate class of corn merchants and tenant farmers (*gabellotti*) between the peasants and the large proprietors, there is much misery, and some brigandage, but the *Mafia* has never obtained a footing. Signor Villari concludes then, that since, though the *Mafia* has its centre in Palermo, its "roots are in the country;" in order to destroy its influence an improvement must be effected in the condition of the thousands of agricultural labourers who work in the interior of the island. (1)

When Signor Villari published his *Lettere Meridionali*, in 1875, he described brigandage as the most serious evil in the country, resulting from the social and agrarian question which was agitating the southern provinces. Signor Massari also, in a report presented to the Italian Parliament (Sessione del 1863, No. 58 Atti del Parlamento), declared that "the ultimate causes of "brigandage were its predisposing causes, and, first of "all, the social condition, the economic state, of the "agricultural labourer, which was specially unsatisfactory in the very provinces where brigandage "had assumed grave proportions." Nearly all the brigands in the southern prisons were country labourers (*contadini proletari*). As fast as the bands of robbers were broken up they were re-constituted from the peasantry, but in those districts where extra work could be obtained by temporary emigration to another province, it was observed that brigandage tended to disappear. (2)

The statement made by Sir Dominic Colnaghi in the Foreign Office Report for 1891, that "brigandage has "been stamped out by the energetic action of the "Italian Government," seems to some extent to be contradicted, at least as regards parts of Sicily, by the report of Mr. Stigand, Her Majesty's Consul at Palermo for the same year. According to this report, though foreigners travelling in Sicily, who keep to the ordinary tracks and well-known routes have little to fear, the state of public security has much deteriorated in the province of Palermo, and outrages have increased to such an extent that the mounted guards (*militi a cavallo*) of the mountainous districts have been dissolved, and their place supplied by carabinieri, because they were suspected of not being active enough in the pursuit of the marauders (*malandrini*). "The marauders of the "present day may not be, according to current ideas, "so gentlemanly in deportment or so dexterous as in "the days of the famous Sicilian bandits who flourished "16 years ago, but their modes of operation, and the "results of these, are precisely the same. They capture big proprietors and rich townspeople, and hold "them in captivity in caves in the mountains until "the sum of ransom which they demand is paid. "Depredations in the way of robbery, and cattle and "horse stealing are frequent in the case of the smaller "owners and farmers, and these misdeeds are supplemented by a system of persecution and premeditated "murder, sometimes accompanied with torture, among "the lesser proprietors, small farmers, and peasants "who are suspected of having given, or even of being "willing to give, information to the authorities respecting the perpetrators of these outrages." The *Giornale di Sicilia* had in the issue of June 26th, 1892, a leading article on the condition of the province of Palermo, in which it was stated that "Bands of men

(iii.) Brigandage.

) Mafia.

(1) *Lettere Meridionali*, Pasquale Villari, 2nd ed., 1885. "La Mafia," "Il Brigantaggio." *La Sicilia* nel 1876, Leopoldo Franchetti, 1877. Condizioni Politiche e Amministrative. Pall Mall Gazette, Nov. 3, 1892.  
(2) *Lettere Meridionali*, P. Villari, 2nd ed., 1885. "Il Brigantaggio." *La Sicilia* nel 1876, Leopoldo Franchetti, 1877. Condizioni Politiche e Amministrative.

"hiding from justice ravage the various districts, robbing at large the country proprietors, assassinating those whom they meet, or who are suspected of being spies upon them," and that "if it continues thus a little longer, the worst periods of *malandriggio* (marauding) will return."<sup>(1)</sup>

That this state of things is only partial, however, is shown by Mr. Consul Dupuis' Report on the Trade of Sicily for 1892, in which it is stated, with reference to the vice-consular district of Messina, that "despite the dangerous habit of wearing arms among the lower orders, life and property are generally respected, and even the occasional and desultory acts of highway robbery, which have been reported elsewhere, have never occurred in this territory." Moreover, though crimes of violence are not infrequent, they are, in the opinion of the Vice-Consul of Messina (Mr. Pignatorre), to be traced to the laxity or inefficiency of the law, which permits in general the bearing of arms, and since they occur at least as often within the city walls as in the open country, they appear to be "totally unconnected with any organised system of brigandage, which is, indeed, a thing of the past."

The clue to these conflicting opinions on the subject of brigandage is probably to be found in the tendency to generalise from a distance, which Mr. Vice-Consul Pignatorre further deprecates. "Under the appellation of Southern Italy," he says, "while we include the Abruzzi, the two Calabrias on the mainland, and the extensive and populous island of Sicily with its 3,000,000 inhabitants, we neglect to note that each of these divisions contains a population akin, indeed, to that of the others, but differing in many minor particulars, and especially in their relative love of order and peacefulness of disposition; and thus they are all considered as forming one homogeneous whole when viewed through the objective glass of distant prejudice or insufficient knowledge."<sup>(2)</sup> Since the

publication of Mr. Stigand's report, moreover, the increase in brigandage, and the generally disturbed state of Sicily has led the Italian Government to place the whole island under martial law.

#### D.—BENEFIT SOCIETIES AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

The Italian Benefit Societies, (*Società di Mutuo Soccorso*), though they are akin to the ancient guilds and charitable institutions, are in their present form a growth of the second half of this century. They have developed rapidly during the last three decades, increasing in number from 443 in 1862 to 4,896 in 1889, the last date at which statistics on the subject were taken. Of these 4,896 societies, 2,506 were established in Northern Italy, including Emilia, 905 in Central Italy, 1,014 in Southern Italy, and 471 in Sicily and Sardinia. According to the report of the Italian Labourers' Party to the Zurich Congress of 1893, Italy then "swarmed with benefit societies," but, as Sir Dominic Colnaghi has pointed out, "no general statistics are available to enable their history to be continued up to the present date." "The number of societies that have obtained legal recognition under the law of April 15th, 1886 (No. 3818, Series 3), was 472 on September 4th, 1888; 563 on September 30th, 1889; and 664 on September 30th, 1890. The societies that have applied for legal recognition are comparatively few in number, owing, apparently, in great measure, to the disinclination of managers to assume the legal responsibilities which recognition would entail upon them."<sup>(3)</sup> Many of the societies owe their origin to the individual initiative of members of the upper classes, but of late years the workmen themselves have often combined to form associations for mutual assistance.<sup>(4)</sup>

The following table shows the principal trades and professions exercised by the members of the Italian benefit societies according to the statistics collected in 1885:—

TABLE E. 1.

— Trades and Professions. No. of Societies. No. of Members.				— Trades and Professions. No. of Societies. No. of Members.			
1	Ex-soldiers, volunteers, and veterans.	225	36,276	21	Orchestral and theatrical performers.	17	2,240
2	Agriculturists and labourers.	706	89,335	22	Hands in tobacco factories	4	2,164
3	Tradesmen, clerks, &c.	66	10,137	23	Tailors	28	1,992
4	Professors and teachers	21	8,373	24	Porters	20	1,967
5	Bakers, vermicelli makers, and millers.	56	6,818	25	Goldsmiths, jewellers, &c.	19	1,795
6	Workmen in textile industries.	29	6,059	26	Butchers	18	1,793
7	Boatmen, sailors, fishermen, &c.	39	5,463	27	Coffee-house keepers, confectioners, &c.	14	1,726
8	Mechanics, smiths, &c.	37	5,161	28	Priests ( <i>sacerdoti</i> )	4	1,608
9	Boot and shoe makers	64	4,996	29	Physicians, &c.	13	1,594
10	Carpenters, caulkers, &c.	50	4,891	30	Painters, varnishers, &c.	16	1,210
11	Printers, lithographers, &c.	36	4,838	31	Upholsterers, decorators, &c.	14	1,205
12	Employés in general	18	4,764	32	Potters	4	716
13	Cooks and servants	34	4,558	33	Glassworkers	7	697
14	Masons, &c.	43	4,536	34	Saddlers, &c.	4	604
15	Engine-drivers, firemen, and railway hands.	7	4,192	35	Dyers	5	486
16	Marble workers, &c.	20	3,088	36	Advocates, attorneys, engineers, and architects.	4	431
17	Carriers, carters, &c.	15	2,721	37	Various trades	126	14,543
18	Tanners, glovers, &c.	21	2,706	38	Operatives	2,178	385,105
19	Barbers and hair-dressers	36	2,585	39	Members of mutual assistance societies.	762	104,451
20	Hatters	37	2,461		Total	4,817	740,280

To complete the number of 4,896 societies, 73 must be added concerning which no returns have been made, and also 6 unions among railway hands, which included 54,049 members at the end of 1885. Of the total number of societies mentioned above, only 3,768 answered, with more or less completeness, the questions issued, in 1885, by the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The remaining 1,130, chiefly established in the provinces of Genoa, Bologna, Naples, and Palermo, sent in no replies. The following details, therefore, refer only to the societies from which returns have been received, and are necessarily incomplete. The larger number of societies have been started since 1870. The date of foundation of 3,749 associations had been ascertained when the statistics for 1885 were published, and of these only 206 had been established before 1860, while 663 were founded between 1860 and 1870, 1,234 between 1870 and 1880, and

1,646 between 1880 and 1885. The total number of members was estimated at 806,629, but only 3,728 societies, with 573,178 members, sent in returns under this head. Out of these 3,728 societies 1,768 had not more than 100 members, 1,194 had from 101 to 200, 693 had from 201 to 500, 941 had from 501 to 1,000, and only 29 included more than 1,000 members. Out of 3,762 societies, 2,861 admitted only men, 109 only women, and 792 both men and women. The division of the members with regard to sex could, however, only be made for 3,705 societies, with 566,900 effective members, of whom 531,047 were males and 35,853 were females. These same societies contained also 52,763 honorary members or benefactors, who contri-

(1) P.O. Reports, Annual Series, 1883, No. 1,243, pp. 14-15. Report for the year 1892 on the Trade of Sicily.

(2) P.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 36. *Statistica delle Società di Mutuo Soccorso, 1885*, pp. v., ix. *Annali del Credito e della Previdenza (sessione del 1889 e sessione del 1890)*. *Parti des Travaux de la Società Italiana Rapporti au Congrès International de Zurich (1893)*, p. 15.

(3) Die Unterstatuungsgesellschaft der Arbeiter in Italien. Dr. L. Sbrojavacca (Archiv. für Sozial Gesetzgebung und Statistik), 1890, p. 76.

(4) P.O. Reports, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 3. Annual Series, 1892, No. 1,117, pp. 8-12. Report for 1891 on the Trade of Sicily.

(i.) Benefit societies, (ii.) Num and distr bution.

(ii.) Mem bers, objec and consti tution.

Member

buted to the funds without receiving assistance in return. Among the various objects for which the societies were founded, aid in sickness held the first place, followed by pensions to disabled, aged, and infirm members, and to widows and orphans, and by subsidies in aid of the families of deceased members for funeral and other expenses. With these objects were united the promotion of co-operative associations of credit, consumption, and production, and the education of members and their children by means of circulating libraries, elementary schools, and technical,

fête-day, and night schools. Registries have, apparently, also been established by 107 societies, for the purpose of placing members seeking work in direct communication with employers.

The expenditure is covered by the income derived from the net capital (*patrimonio*) from entrance fees, annual subscriptions, donations, legacies, and the profits from collections and lotteries. The income and expenditure for 1885 of those societies from which returns have been received is given below, with the amount of their net capital at the end of the year:—

TABLE E. 2.

Income (3,566 Societies).		Expenditure (3,602 Societies).		Capital (3,520 Societies).	
	Lire.		Lire.		Lire.
Interest from capital, &c. -	1,440,622	Expenses of management	1,899,553	Net capital - -	32,200,840
Donations, legacies, &c. -	851,832	Various expenses -	440,028		
Entrance fees, subscriptions, and fines paid by effective members.	5,026,867	Medical assistance and medicines.	308,255		
Entrance fees and subscriptions of honorary members.	247,307	Subsidies in sickness paid in cash.	2,165,645		
		Subsidies of other kinds -	381,396		
		Pensions to infirm and aged members.	699,624		
		Pensions to widows and orphans.	62,704		
<b>Total - -</b>	<b>5,404,205</b>	<b>Total - -</b>	<b>5,404,205</b>	<b>Total - -</b>	<b>32,200,840</b>

The subsidies to sick members form the largest item of expenditure. In 2,906 societies, with 463,088 effective members entitled to relief, 104,386, or 22.55 per cent., had appeared on the sick list. The days of sickness for which relief was granted amounted to 2,102,881, or 4.54 days for each effective member, and 20.14 days for every sick member. Sick pay usually begins on the third, fourth, or fifth day of illness, or even, in Southern Italy, on the eighth or tenth day, and does not last more than two or three months. Members are not entitled to sick relief until they have belonged to the society for a certain period; in some cases the limit is three or four months, in others it is extended to five years from the date of admission. As most of the societies are of recent formation, the members are generally young, and this accounts for the fact that pensions only represent a seventh part of the total expenditure of the societies. On December 31st, 1885, out of 2,128 societies which had promised pensions, only 500 really paid them. At the beginning of the year the pensioners numbered 6,562. Of these, 636 lapsed during its course, and 1,239 fresh ones were granted, thus increasing the total number of pensioners at the end of 1885 to 7,165.

According to Sir Dominic Coinaghi, "the regulations of the Italian benefit societies with regard to pensioners are described as very defective. Some few societies have established real pension funds, based on properly calculated tables, but in the greater number of cases, the rates of payment and of the pensions are fixed from time to time; that is to say, pensions are promised dependent upon the condition of the funds for the time being. Some societies divide the income derived from a permanent pension fund. These allowances are, in fact, continuous subsidies to aged and infirm members. Pensions, in the strict sense of the word, are met with only in a few societies composed of persons belonging to a higher social grade than that of the artisans." A bill (*Proposta di Legge*), based upon abortive schemes of Signor Berti and Signor Grimaldi, was laid before the Chamber of Deputies by Signor Vaccarelli and Signor Ferraris in December 1887, and after it had been brought in a second time two years later (December 1889) a committee was appointed to consider it, and a report upon it was presented to the Chamber in July 1890. This Bill, which does not appear to have become law, proposes to establish a special fund in connexion with the banks of issue and deposit, the interest on which shall be devoted to providing pensions for labourers, men of 60 years old and upwards, in the form of bonuses or yearly contributions. The payments of working men subscribers to the fund were to be made annually and not to exceed 500 lire. The fund from which the pensions are paid is derived partly from the subscriptions of members, and partly

from certain consignments of shares in the savings banks and other public sources.

Each of the four great lines into which the Italian railway system was formerly divided (*Upper Italy, Southern Italy, Roman, Calabrian Sicilian*) had a special pension fund and a special benefit society to itself. The law of April 1885 by which the Italian railways were re-divided into three lines (*Mediterranean, Adriatic, Sicilian*) managed by companies under Government supervision, declared that the old pension funds and benefit societies should also be re-arranged to suit the new conditions, but up to 1885 nothing in this direction had been accomplished. These railway benefit societies are, however, worthy of special mention, as they have certain characteristics peculiar to themselves, such as: 1. The obligation imposed on certain fixed classes of railway agents to subscribe to the societies, for which purpose deductions are made from their wages; 2. The undertaking assumed by the railway administrations to contribute largely towards the maintenance of the funds. The pension funds of the railway companies are founded for the benefit of the officials and employes, while the benefit societies are intended specially to help the lower grades of railway hands.

(iii.) Benefit societies among railway hands.

As has been already mentioned above (p. 8), benefit societies of late years have tended to assume a political and aggressive aspect. Many are connected with local labour chambers, and in some cases their influence has been felt in the promotion of strikes. On the whole, then, the charge which Signor Ferri brought against the Italian benefit societies in the Bologna Congress, of being "dead leaves on the great economic tree," was hardly justified by the facts of the case. It is true, indeed, as Dr. Sbrojavacca has pointed out, that they are not always sure of having sufficient capital to meet the calls upon them, but this is less the fault of the societies themselves than the result of the low wages and the heavy taxes which make it difficult for the working classes to contribute regularly to the general expenses of administration.

The Foreign Office Report for 1891, under the heading "Legislation," gives an account of the law of April 15th, 1886, for the registration of Italian benefit societies. By this law working men's benefit societies established for the purpose of granting subsidies to sick, aged, and infirm members, and of assisting the families of deceased members, are able to secure co-operative rights. While subsidies in old age are allowed, pensions are forbidden, since the granting of them would oblige the societies to assume legal responsibilities which would be too heavy for them. In addition to their charitable duties, the societies are permitted to use a portion of their funds in promoting the education of the members and their

(iv.) Registration of benefit societies.

families, in making grants for the purchase of tools and implements of labour, and in carrying out other objects properly belonging to provident societies. The expenditure under these heads and the means of meeting it must be set out in the annual balance sheet. With the exception of charges for management, the societies' funds may not be devoted to other purposes than those specified above.

Benefit societies enjoy the exemption from stamp and registration duties conferred on co-operative societies by Article 228 of the Commercial Code; they are also exempted from duties on insurance, as well as from the income tax under Article 8 of the Unified Law on the Income Tax (*Ricchezza Mobile*) of August 27th, 1877 (No. 4021). They are placed on an equal footing with charitable institutions for obtaining gratuitous legal assistance before the law courts (*patrocinio gratuito*), and also as regards exemption from stamp and registration duties, and from paying duties on succession or on transfers by deed or gift. The subsidies due by the society to the members are free from sequestration or legal seizure. The societies are required to transmit to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, through the authorities of the communes in which they are established, a copy of their statutes, and their yearly report and balance sheet. They must also transmit to the Ministry all statistics that may be demanded.<sup>(1)</sup>

Charitable institutions in Italy have been regulated since the foundation of the new kingdom by the law of August 3, 1862. On July 17, 1890, a fresh law was passed, which is not as yet (1891) in complete operation.

Charitable institutions (*opere pie*) and other public bodies (*enti morali*), are considered as institutions of charity (*istituzioni di beneficenza*), when they propose as their object the assistance of the poor in sickness or in health; the improvement of their moral and economic condition by means of education, instruction, or apprenticeship in some profession, art, or trade.

In 1880 the incorporated institutions recognised under the provisions of the law of 1862 numbered about 22,000, enjoying a net capital (*patrimonio*), movable and immovable, of 2,000,000,000 lire. This is exclusive of the *Monti di Pietà* (578), the corn banks (*Monti Frumentarii*) (1,965), and the agricultural loan banks (*Casse di prestanze agrarie*) (122), which were, in part, regulated by the same law.

The annual income of the 22,000 *Opere Pie* amounted to 90,000,000 lire. Deducting 15,000,000 lire for taxes, 8,000,000 lire for charges on property, and 16,000,000 lire for cost of administration, a balance of about 50,500,000 lire remained for charitable purposes.

The institutions, however, possessed other sources of income, such as subsidies from communes and provinces, about 31,000,000 lire, the product of the labour of the inmates of the asylums, and donations from private individuals, in all 45,000,000 lire, which with the 50,500,000 lire of annual income from capital brought their total available income in 1880 to about 96,000,000 lire. Of this sum 88,000,000 lire were devoted to purposes of charity, and 6,000,000 lire to the celebration of religious functions.

The charitable institutions may be divided into two groups: the one formed of eleemosynary and similar institutions providing outdoor relief, the other formed of hospitals and asylums. Of the total income, 17,000,000 lire were applied to the first, and 71,000,000 lire to the second group.

Since 1880 the capital of the charitable institutions has continued to increase. Between new foundations and legacies left to existing institutions, a sum of 209,500,000 lire has been added during the 12 years between 1881 and 1892.

The advantages of the institutions are distributed in very unequal ratios between the various regions and provinces, and between the urban and rural populations. In Piedmont, for instance, the expenditure of the *Opere Pie* in the chief urban communes of the provinces amounted to 1,527 lire per 100 inhabitants, in the other communes to 158 lire. In Lombardy the difference was from 1,590 lire to 113 lire. In Apulia, with 171 lire for the principal communes, and 93 lire for others; in Campania, with 633 lire against 104 lire; and in Umbria, with 676 lire against 132 lire, the inequality is less striking. It is greatest of all in Sardinia, where,

in the chief urban communes, the expenditure amounts to 300 lire per 100 inhabitants, and is limited to 5 lire for the other communes.

It is generally admitted, according to Sir Dominic Colnaghi that the administration of the charitable institutions in Italy, especially that of the hospitals, is susceptible of great improvement, which it is to be hoped will be effected, under the provisions of the new law.

The expenditure for charitable and sanitary assistance to the poor, supported by the communes and the provinces, amounted in 1882 to nearly 63,000,000 lire; communes, 42,683,917 lire; provinces, 20,278,500 lire. Of this sum more than half has already been included in the income of the *Opere Pie*. The expenditure consists principally in giving stipends to doctors, surgeons, and sick nurses, and in the maintenance of foundlings and of the destitute poor.

Up to 1890 public charitable institutions in Italy were regulated by the law of August 3, 1862. The provisions of this law respected the original purpose, whether of charity or of religion, for which the institutions were founded, and rendered their transformation to purposes often more suited to the exigencies of modern life a matter of difficulty. This power of transformation is among the objects it is proposed to effect by means of the law of July 17, 1890, which is of considerable importance to the working classes.

By the provisions of the law of 1890 public charitable institutions are placed under the superintendence of a board (*giunta*) established in every province, and composed of Government officials and of elected members. A charity committee (*congregazione di carità*) is instituted in every commune, on which devolves the management of the property devoted to the poor under Article 832 of the Civil Code. These committees are also entrusted with the protection of the interests of the poor of their respective communes, and are empowered to act as their legal representatives. The committees are composed of a president and four members in communes with a population under 5,000 inhabitants; of eight members in communes having a population of from 5,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; and of 12 members in communes of over 50,000 inhabitants.

The more important charities, such as hospitals and the like, formed into corporations and legally recognised, are still to be administered under their own statutes, but the law provides that all eleemosynary institutions with the exception of some of the more important foundations, shall be placed under the management of the charity committees, the object being to concentrate or group together, under a single administration, the minor charities existing in each commune for a common object. In addition to the eleemosynary foundations, public beneficent institutions with an annual income not exceeding 5,000 lire, the foundations of whatever kind established for the benefit of one or more communes with less than 10,000 inhabitants, and lastly, all the foundations which have lost or are unable to provide for their own management, are to be concentrated in the hands of the charity committees.

When the consolidation of these institutions is accomplished, a revision of their statutes and regulations must be made for the purposes of regulating the distribution of their income for charitable purposes, preferably to one or other of the following objects which are most in harmony with the character of the institution and with the intention of its founder:—

- (a.) Aid towards the maintenance, in poor houses or similar establishments, of infirm persons who are without means of subsistence, and have no relatives bound by law to contribute to their support;
- (b.) Aid and protection to infant waifs for the purpose of promoting their instruction and education, and having them taught an art or trade;
- (c.) Subsidies towards wet nursing;
- (d.) Subsidies in favour of infants and of young persons generally for the encouragement of moral and intellectual education, to promote physical improvement, and prevent physical deterioration;
- (e.) Aid and assistance to the sick poor in their own homes;
- (f.) Temporary aid and assistance to operatives and others able to work, when the necessity arises from extraordinary and transient conditions;
- (g.) Aid towards the foundation of provident or protective institutions in favour of operatives.

(v.) Charitable institutions (*Opere Pie*).

Legal charity.

Law on Charitable Institutions.

(1) Società di Mutuo Soccorso, 1885. F. O. Report, Misc. Series, 7597, No. 211, pp. 36-41. 68. Die Unterstützungsgesetze der Arbeiter in Italien, Dr. L. Sbrojavacca (Archiv. für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik) 1890. Camera dei Deputati, No. 91A. Prop. sta di Legge (Cassa Pensioni). Relazione sulla Proposta di Legge (Cassa Pensioni).

Charitable institutions for the benefit of persons of any religious profession may be established, but in urgent cases, aid without the restraint of sectarian differences, must be granted to all.

Provisions of a temporary character have been introduced for the reform of certain institutions, partly of a religious and partly of a charitable character, which are not considered to conform to modern wants or views.

The law of 1890 regulates also the right of domicile (*domicilio di soccorso*). In cases where the charitable institutions make the claim to help depend on the candidate's residing in or belonging to a certain commune, the right of domicile (*domicilio di soccorso*) may be acquired by the fact of having resided for five years in the commune, of having been born in the commune, or of having a legal domicile in the commune.

The question of granting marriage portions to girls, a form of charity very common in Italy, was thoroughly discussed in connexion with the provisions of the new law. It was finally determined that a general reform should not be carried out, but that each endowment should be judged on its own merits.

The new law admits women as members of the charity committees, and of other charitable administrations, and this has already had a practical effect.

The Minister of the Interior, the prefects and sub-prefects, are entrusted with the execution of the law. The Minister of the Interior has also to present an annual report to Parliament on the provisions made for concentrating, re-arranging, altering or revising the statutes of the charitable institutions. When a charity is found to be defective in its management or object, it is dealt with by a Royal Decree, the Council of State having been first heard, and full opportunity given for legal opposition by all parties interested.

Every citizen may apply to the tribunals to have the law on charitable institutions enforced. From the vastness of the undertaking some three or four years must elapse, however, before the machinery of this law can be in full working order.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### APPENDIX A.

##### STATISTICS RELATING TO THE GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ITALY.

The advance of elementary education in Italy is slow but steady, as the following table shows:—

##### PER-CENTAGE OF ILLITERATES IN ITALY.

1861	-	71·45 (exclusive of Venetia and Rome).
1871	-	63·53.
1881	-	54·30.

The Northern provinces are in this respect far in advance of the Southern. The province which has the smallest proportion of illiterates is that of Turin, while Calabria is at the bottom of the scale as regards education. The "Regimental Schools" (*scuole reggimentali*) have done much to promote popular instruction. In 1891 the proportion of illiterate brides and bridegrooms had fallen to less than 6 per cent., at Milan it was 8 per cent., at Florence 15 per cent., and in Rome 18 per cent., while it rose at Naples to 36 per cent., at Palermo to 37 per cent. In 1882 57·43 per cent. of the brides and bridegrooms who came to be married could not sign the register. By 1890 the proportion had fallen to 50·75 per cent. Similarly, 47·11 per cent. of the Italian conscripts were illiterate in 1882, as against 41·10 per cent. in 1890. A considerable number of agricultural, industrial, technical, and commercial schools have been established, and are working successfully, and night-schools, fête-day and popular schools have been founded for the poorer classes, in addition to the elementary schools.

Among criminal offences in Italy, the proportion of crimes against the person is high.

In Latium (containing the capital), the Southern provinces, and the islands, homicides and assaults frequently occur. As regards offences against property, the highest proportions are noted in Latium and Sardinia. They are also relatively numerous in

Venetia, where, however, small rural thefts chiefly prevail. The number of thefts, larcenies, and burglaries varies but little from year to year. Homicide and robberies with violence decreased considerably between 1879 and 1892. Forgery and perjury are most frequent in Sardinia, Latium, Liguria, and Emilia.

The habit of saving appears to be increasing in Italy. On December 31st, 1889, there were 393 ordinary savings banks in the kingdom, 4,394 post offices, 121 ordinary banks, exclusive of co-operative banks, and 25 *Monti di Pietà*, agricultural loan banks, and other charitable institutions. By 1892 these numbers had increased in the following proportions:—<sup>(2)</sup>

<sup>a.</sup> Savings Banks and other credit institutions.

##### SAVINGS BANKS and other CREDIT INSTITUTIONS in ITALY in 1892, exclusive of Co-operative Banks.

Ordinary banks	-	-	-	159
Agricultural banks ( <i>Istituti di credito agrario</i> )	-	-	-	11
Savings banks	-	-	-	—
„ ordinary	-	-	-	393
„ post office	-	-	-	4,594

#### APPENDIX B.

##### ITALIAN COMMERCIAL CODE. PROVISIONS RELATING TO CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

Article 219. Co-operative societies are subject to the provisions relating to those societies to the class of which they belong, and which are specified in Article 76, saving the following special provisions:—

Co-operative societies.

Article 220. The co-operative societies must be founded by a public Act. The Act of their foundation, in addition to the specifications laid down in Articles 88 and 89, according to the different class of society, must declare:—

1. The conditions of admission of new members, and the manner in, and the dates at which, they must contribute their subscriptions.
2. The conditions under which members may withdraw or be expelled from the society.
3. The regulations for the convocation of general meetings, and the public prints designated for the publication of the society's acts.

Article 221. Co-operative societies are in every case subject to the provisions relating to *società anonime* (limited companies), as regards the publication of the memorandum of association, and of its ulterior modifications, and as regards the duties and responsibility of the managers. The publications are made without charge, *i.e.*, in the *Official Gazette*.

The administrators must be elected from among the members, and may, under the memorandum of association, be exonerated from the necessity of giving security.

The provisions relating to general meetings, balance sheets, auditors, the liquidation of limited companies, are also applicable to co-operative societies, when not otherwise provided for in the following articles, or in the memorandum of association.

The class of co-operation must be distinctly specified, as well as the nature of the society in all the acts mentioned in Article 104.

Article 222. The provisions of the introduction and of the first clause (*capoverso*) of Article 131 and Article 146 are not applicable to co-operative societies.

The memoranda of association of these societies are not bound to follow the provisions of Article 144 and number 3 of Article 165.

Article 223. The managers of co-operative societies must keep a register of members, according to the provisions of Article 140, and they must also specify therein:—

1. The date of admission, of withdrawal, or of expulsion, of the several members.
2. The amount of the sums paid in or withdrawn by each member.

They must file at the end of every quarter in the registry office of the civil court, within the jurisdiction of which their residence is established, a list of those members whose responsibility is unlimited, admitted to, withdrawn from, and remaining in the society during the quarter, entering their names, surnames, and domicile.

Article 224. No single member of a co-operative society can hold a quota exceeding 5,000 lire, nor a

<sup>a.</sup> Elementary Instruction.

<sup>b.</sup> Crime.

(1) P. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, pp. 11-13, 66-70, *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1892, p. 257 *et seq.*

(2) *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1892, P. O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, *La delinquenza in Italia*, Augusto Boeco, 1891.

number of shares exceeding that amount at their nominal value. The nominal value of each share cannot exceed 100 lire.

The shares are always personal, and cannot be transferred until they are fully paid up, and unless the transfer is authorised in general meeting, or by the administrative council, as may be determined by the provisions of the memorandum of association.

Article 223. The members cannot be represented in the general meetings, except in cases of legitimate impossibility of attendance provided against in the memorandum of association, or by the statutes.

Each member possesses one vote, whatever may be the number of shares he holds.

No proxy can represent in the same meeting more than one member, besides his own interests, if he be a member of the society.

Article 226. The admission of new members is effected by their signing the roll of members, either personally or by special attorney. The signatures must be attested by two members of the society who are not managers.

If the memorandum of association authorises members to withdraw from the society, the declaration of resignation must be endorsed by the retiring member in the register of members, or notified to the society by legal act (*atto di usciere*). It is not operative until the completion of the current administrative year, if it is notified before the last quarter of the year; if notified at a latter date, the member is not free from liability for the following year.

The expulsion of members cannot take place except for motives determined by law, or by the memorandum of association. It must be deliberated on and decided in general meeting, or by the administrative council, according to the provisions of the above-mentioned memorandum of association.

Article 227. For the business operations completed by the society, up to the day on which the withdrawal or expulsion of a member becomes effective, or on which the act of transfer is inscribed on the register of members, the outgoing member is liable towards third parties for two years from that date, within the limits of liability determined by the memorandum of association.

Article 228. The memorandum of association of co-operative societies, and the acts of withdrawal or of admission of members are exempt from registration and stamp duties.

The following are the several articles of the Commercial Code referred to in the articles relating to co-operative societies:—

Article 76 (ref. Art. 219). Commercial associations have for their object one or more acts of trade, and are distinguished as follows:—

1. Collective partnerships, the liabilities of which are guaranteed by the unlimited and joint responsibility of all the partners.
2. Companies in *accomandita* the collective liabilities of which are guaranteed by the unlimited and joint responsibility of one or more managing members, *accomandatarii*, and by the responsibility of one or more copartners, *accomandanti*, whose liability is limited to a fixed amount, which may also be represented by shares.
3. *Società Anonime* (limited companies), the collective liabilities of which are guaranteed within the limits of a fixed capital only, each member being responsible for his subscription or share.

Article 88 (ref. Art. 220). The memorandum of association of collective partnerships, or of simple companies in *accomandita*, must specify, in addition to the date:—

1. The name and surname, or the firm and the legal domicile of the members.
2. The trade, name, and residence of the company.
3. The member empowered to sign for the company.
4. The object of the company, the subscription which each member pays up in cash, in credits, or in other property, the value attributed thereto, and the method of valuation.
5. The share of each member in the profits and the losses.

5. The date at which the company is to commence business, and that at which it is to be wound up.

Article 89 (ref. Art. 220). The memorandum of association, or the statutes of *società anonime* (limited companies), or of companies in *accomandita*, the capital of which is raised by shares (*per azioni*) must specify:—

1. The name and place of business of the company, of its establishment, and of its representatives.
2. The quality and kind of the business that is the object of the society.
3. The amount of the subscribed and of the paid-up capital.
4. The description of the members, and their legal domicile, or the number and nominal value of the shares, stating whether these are personal or to bearer, whether the personal shares can be converted into shares to bearer or vice versa, and what may be the date of payment, and the amount of the calls to be made on the members.
5. The value of the credits or of other property brought in.
6. The regulations under which the balance sheets are to be prepared and the profits calculated and divided.
7. The advantage, or special rights conceded to the promoters.
8. The number of the administrators and their rights and duties, stating who among them is empowered to sign for the company, and in the companies in *accomandita* having a capital formed by shares, the name, surname, and legal domicile of the *accomandatarii* (responsible partners).
9. The number of the auditors.
10. The powers of the general meeting and the conditions for the validity of the deliberations, and for the exercise of the right of voting if on this point it is desired not to be bound by the provisions of Articles 156, 157, 158 (which regulate the proceedings of general meetings).
11. The date from which the company is to commence business and that at which it is to be wound up.

The documents containing the signatures of the members and the proof of the deposit of the first call, in the manner prescribed by Article 133, must be annexed to the memorandum of association.

(By Article 133 the amount of the first call is to be deposited at the *Cassa di Depositi e Prestiti*, or in a legally-constituted bank of issue.)

Article 104 (ref. Art. 221). In every written contract stipulated in the interest of the company, and in every formal document, letter, publication, or advertisement which refers to it the description and place of business of the company must be clearly specified.

The capital of companies in *accomandita* with shares and of *società anonime*, must be specified in the above-mentioned documents in accordance with the amount effectively paid up, and the existence of which is shown by the last approved balance sheet.

Article 131 (ref. Art. 222), part of.

In order to proceed to the formation of the company, it is necessary that the capital shall be entirely subscribed, and that three-tenths of that portion consisting of cash, which is represented by the subscription or the shares subscribed for by each member, shall have been paid up, always in case that in the prospectus of the promoters a larger call is not prescribed.

New shares cannot be issued until the original shares are fully paid up.

Article 146 (ref. Art. 222), part of.

When the managers are aware that the capital of the company is diminished by one-third, they must call a meeting of the members to interrogate them as to whether they wish to restore the capital, or to limit it to the portion remaining, or to wind up.

When the deficit amounts to two-thirds of the capital the company must be wound up, unless the shareholders called in general meeting decide to replace the capital or to limit it to the amount remaining.

Article 144 (ref. Art. 222). The managers may not purchase the company's shares on account of the company unless the purpose is authorised in general meeting, and in case that it is made with sums derived from the regularly ascertained profits and that the



shares purchased are fully paid up. In no case can any advance be granted on the shares themselves.

Article 165 (ref. Art. 222), part of.

The share certificate, whether personal or to bearer, must contain:

3. The amount of the capital of the company and the total number of the shares.

Article 140 (ref. Art. 223), part of.

1. The register of members must specify their names and surnames, or the firm and the legal domicile of the members and shareholders, and the calls made on the subscriptions or shares, both as regards the original capital as well as for any successive increase, and it must contain the declarations of transfer of the subscriptions or personal shares, according to the provisions of Article 169 (which specifies the ordinary commercial rules for transfer of stock).<sup>(1)</sup>

#### APPENDIX C.

##### PROVISIONS RELATING TO OFFENCES AGAINST LIBERTY OF LABOUR IN THE ITALIAN PENAL CODE.

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our.

The articles of the Italian Penal Code, which came into force on January 1, 1890, relating to this subject, are noted below:—

Article 165. Whoever, by means of violence or menaces, restrains or impedes in any way the liberty of industry or of commerce is punished by imprisonment (*detenzione*) not exceeding 20 months, and by a fine of from 100 lire to 3,000 lire.

Article 166. Whoever, by violence or menace, occasions or causes to continue a cessation or suspension of labour, in order to impose either on the workmen or on the masters or contractors a diminution or increase of wages, or conditions differing from those previously agreed upon, is punished by imprisonment not exceeding 20 months.

Article 167. Ringleaders in the offences referred to in the preceding articles are liable to terms of imprisonment varying from three months to three years, and to a fine of from 500 lire to 5,000.

Article 293. Whoever by the diffusion of false notices or by other fraudulent means causes an increase or diminution of wages, goods, merchandise, or commercial titles (*titoli negoziabili o commerciabili*) in the public market or in trade exchanges, is punished by imprisonment for from three to 30 months, or by a fine of from 50 to 3,000 lire.

The Code of 1859, previously in force, declared by Articles 385, 386, and 387, a strike a punishable offence, an absolute inequality was established at the same time between masters and operatives. In the case of the masters, no offence existed except when they combined for the purpose of lowering wages or of imposing fixed conditions on the operatives unjustly and oppressively while in the case of the workmen, neither abuse nor injustice of means or object were required, it sufficed, for determining the offence, that the combination should be without reasonable cause. The penalty, moreover, established for the workmen differed from that applied to the masters. But apart from this inequality, the Code of 1859 absolutely denied the liberty of strikes or lockouts, since it required for impunity, when the act of the masters, that it should not be abusive or reasonable, leaving the application of the law to the arbitrary determination of motives difficult to establish.

The Code of 1859 did not extend to the Tuscan provinces, which remained under the Tuscan Penal Code of 1853, one of the first in Europe to recognise the principle of liberty of coalition and of strikes. It declared those acts punishable only in which the operatives should use violence to obtain their ends.<sup>(2)</sup>

#### APPENDIX D.

##### LITERATURE CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN ITALY.

###### I.—Laws.

1. Senato del Regno (Senate of the Kingdom).

a. No. 33. Progetto di Legge. Chimirri. Provvedimenti per gli infortuni sul lavoro. April 1891. (Accidents.)

b. No. 75. Progetto di Legge. Lacava. Lavori delle miniere cave e torbiere. Feb. 1893. (Labour in mines and quarries.)

c. No. 78. Progetto di Legge. Lacava e Bonacci. Probi Viri. Feb. 1893. (Boards of Arbitration.)

2. Camera dei Deputati (Chamber of Deputies).

a. No. 117. Proposta di Legge. Maffi. Probi Viri. April 1891. (Boards of Arbitration.)

b. No. 136. Disegno di Legge. Chimirri e Ferraris. Probi Viri. May 1891. (Boards of Arbitration.)

c. No. 19. Relazione sull'applicazione della Legge. Feb. 11, 1886 sul lavoro dei fanciulli. Feb. 1890. (Report on the working of the law of 1886 on Child Labour.)

d. No. 116. Disegno di Legge. Miceli. Provvedimenti per gli infortuni sul lavoro. Feb. 1890. (Accidents.)

e. No. 116a. Relazione sul Disegno di Legge. Miceli. Provvedimenti per gli infortuni sul lavoro. June 1890. (Provision against accidents, Report on, Bill.)

f. No. 83. Disegno di Legge. Lacava. Infortuni sul lavoro. Dec. 1892. (Accidents.)

g. No. 84. Disegno di Legge. Lacava e Bonacci. Probi Viri. Dec. 1892. (Boards of Arbitration.)

h. No. 84a. Relazione sul disegno di Legge Lacava e Bonacci. Probi Viri. Feb. 1893. (Report on Boards of Arbitration.)

i. No. 85. Disegno di Legge. Lacava. Polizia delle miniere cave e torbiere. Dec. 1892. (Inspection of mines and quarries.)

j. No. 85a. Relazione delle Commissioni. (Report on above Bill 1893.)

k. No. 91. Proposta della Commissione. Vacchelli e Ferraris. Casse Pensioni. Dec. 1887—Dec. 1889. (Pension funds.)

l. No. 91a. Relazione sulla Proposta di Legge Vacchelli e Ferraris. Casse Pensioni June 1890. (Report on Pension Funds Bill.)

m. No. 242. Disegno di Legge. Sul lavoro delle donne e dei fanciulli. Nov. 1893. (Labour of Women and Children.)

n. No. 247. Disegno di Legge. Lacava ed Armo'. Sul pagamento e sulla inasequestrabilità dei salari. Nov. 1893. (Wages.)

o. No. 248. Disegno di Legge. Lacava ed Armo'. Istituzione di Collegi di Probi Viri in Agricoltura. Nov. 1893. (Agricultural Boards of Arbitration.)

###### II. Official Publications.

3. a. Annuario Statistico Italiano. (Statistical Year Book.) 1889-90.

b. Do. 1892.

4. a. Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana. (Emigration Statistics.) 1884-5.

b. Do. 1886.

c. Do. 1887.

d. Do. 1888.

e. Do. 1890.

f. Do. 1891.

g. Aggiunte e Correzioni. (Appendices and Corrections.) 1891-2.

5. Statistica Amministrativa degli Ospedali. (Administrative Statistics, Hospitals.) 1892.)

6. Do. Elettorale, Politica e Amministrativa. (Electoral, Political, and Administrative Statistics.) 1889-90.

7. Do. Cause di Morte. (Statistics of Mortality.) 1890 and 1891.

8. Sulle Associazioni Co-operative in Italia. (Report on Co-operative Associations in Italy.) 1890.

9. Statistica delle Banche Popolari. (Statistics of People's Banks.) 1887.

10. Annali di Statistica delle Malattie. (Annual Statistical Returns, Diseases.) 1892.

11. Do. Delle Mercedi. (Statistics of Wages.) 1888.

12. Do. Provincia di Ascoli-Piceno. (Statistics of Ascoli-Piceno.) 1892.

13. Do. Statistica Provincia di Macerata. (Statistics of Macerata.) 1892.

14. Annali di Statistica. Provincia di Brescia. (Statistics of Brescia.) 1892.

15. Do. Milan. (Statistics of Milan.) 1893.

16. Do. Genova. (Statistics of Genoa.)

17. Do. Industria della Seta. (Statistics of silk industry.) 1891.

(1) P.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 71, of seq.

(2) P.O. Report, Misc. Series, 1891, No. 211, p. 71.

18. Do. Atti della Commissione per la Statistica Giudiziarla Civile e Penale. (Civil and Penal Statistics.) 1892.
  19. Statistica Industriale. Piemonte. (Industrial Statistics. Piedmont.) 1892.
  20. Statistica Giudiziarla Civile e Communitale. (Statistics of Civil and Commercial Law.) 1890.
  21. Do. Penale. (Statistics of Penal Law.) 1890.
  22. Annali di Agricoltura. Rivista del Servizio Minerario. Agricoltura! Year Book. Mines. 1888, 1889.
  23. Do. La Pellagra in Italia. (The Pellagra.) 1879-85. (4 vols.) 1886.
  24. Statistica delle Confraternite. Vol. I. (Statistics of Beneficent Institutions.) 1892.
  25. Do. Società di Mutuo Soccorso. (Statistics of Benefit Societies.) 1885.
  26. Annali dell' Industria e del Commercio. Legislazione sul Lavoro dei fanciulli. (Year Book of Industry and Commerce. Legislation on Child Labour.) 1886.
  27. Cassa Nazionale d'Assicurazione per l'Infortuni degli operai. (Report on National Insurance against Accidents.) 1885.
  28. Regolamento. Caldaie a Vapore. (Regulations for the use of Steam Engines.) 1890.
  29. Bollettini di Notizie sul Credito e la Previdenza. (Circulars of Credit and Loan Associations.) 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890.
  30. Annali del Credito e della Previdenza. (Yearly Returns of Credit and Loan Associations.) 1889, 1890, 1892.
  31. Archiv für Soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik Band III. Heft 1. (Die Unterstützungsvereine der Arbeiter in Italien.) (Sbrojavacca Articles on Italian Benefit Societies in Statistical Year Book. 1890.
  32. Appunti di Statistica Comparata dell' Emigrazione dall' Europa 1888. (Comparative Statistics of European Emigration.) 1890-1, 1892. Aggiunte. (Appendices.) 1891.
  33. Dell' Emigrazione Italiana. (Italian Emigration.) 1887.
  34. Bodio. Sull' Emigrazione degli Italiani all' Estero. 1887. (On the Emigration of Italians to the West.)
  35. Atti della Giunta per la Inchiesta Agraria. (Proceedings of the Agricultural Commission.)
    - a. Vol. I. Fasc. 4.
    - b. Vol. VIII. Tomo 1.
    - c. Vol. XI. Tomo 2.
    - d. Vol. XI. Tomo 3.
    - e. Vol. XII. Fasc. 1.
    - f. Vol. XIV. Fasc. 2.
    - g. Vol. XV. Fasc. 1. Relazione finale. (Final Report.)
    - h. Vol. XV. Tomo 2.
  36. Relazione della Commissione d'Inchiesta sugli Scioperi. (Report of the Commission on Strikes.) 1885.
  37. Statistica degli Scioperi. (Statistics of Strikes.) 1892.
  38. Atti della Commissione Reale per l'Inchiesta sulle Opere Pie. (Proceedings of the Royal Commission on Beneficent Institutions.) 1892.
- III. General Literature.
39. Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique. (Publications of the International Statistical Institute.) Vol. V., Vol. VI. (two parts).
  40. Cossa. Introduzione allo Studio dell' Economia Politica. (Introduction to the study of Political Economy.) 1892.
  41. F. S. Nitti. Il Socialismo Cattolico. (Catholic Socialism.) 1891.
  42. Bodio. Sul Movimento dell' Emigrazione dall' Italia. (The Emigration Movement out of Italy.)
  43. Bodio. Sulla Condizione dell' Emigrazione Italiana. (The Conditions of Italian Emigration.) 1888.
  44. a. Wollemborg. Les Caisses Rurales Italiennes. (Rural Banks in Italy.) 1889.  
b. Do. La Cassa Rurale Italiana. (Italian Rural Banks.) 1892.  
c. Do. Statutomodello per le Casse rurali italiane. (Model Statutes for Italian Rural Banks.) 1892.
  45. Rosmini. Il nuovo Progetto di Legge sulla Emigrazione. (The proposed New Emigration Law.) 1888.
  46. Loria. Analisi della Proprietà Capitalista. (An Analysis of Capital.) 2 vols. 1889.
  47. Rossi. Del Patronato degli Emigranti. (The Protection of Emigrants.) 1893.
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  49. C. M. Mazzini. La Toscana Agricola. (Agricultural Tuscany.) 1884.
  50. Sonnino and Franchetti. La Sicilia nel 1876. (Sicily in 1876.) (2 parts.) 1877.
  51. Mortara. I Doveri della Proprietà Fondiaria. (The Duties of Landed Property.)
  52. Raa. Il Socialismo Contemporaneo con un Cenno sul Socialismo in Italia di Angelo Bertolini. 1889. (Contemporary Socialism. With a preface on Italian Socialism, by Angelo Bertolini.)
  53. Rabbeno. La Cooperazione in Italia. (Cooperation in Italy.) 1887.
  54. Do. Il Movimento Socialista in Italia. (The Socialist Movement in Italy.) 1892.
  55. Do. Le Società di Produzione. (Productive Societies.) 1889.
  56. Die Arbeitsversicherung in Italien. (Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung.) (Insurance.)
  57. Luzzatti. Previdenza Libera e Previdenza Legale. (Voluntary and Compulsory Insurance.) 1892.
  58. Rava. Le Associazioni di Mutuo Soccorso e Cooperative dell' Emilia. (Mutual Aid and Co-operative Associations in Emilia.) 1898.
  59. Pisa. Relation sur la Prévoyance pour les accidents du travail en Italia. (Report on Accident Insurance.) 1889.
  60. Gobbi. Il Lavoro e la Sua Retribuzione. 1881. (Labour and its Remuneration.)
  61. Pessina. La previdenza, il mutuo soccorso e la Cooperazione delle ferrovie tramvie, etc. italiane. (Railway Benefit Societies.) 1889.
  62. La Camera del Lavoro di Milano. Relazione. (Report of the Milan Labour Chamber.) 1892.
  63. Gnocchi-Viani ed A. C. Delle Camere del Lavoro in Italia. (Italian Labour Chambers.) 1893.
  64. Sull' Impianto di una Borsa del Lavoro in Bologna. (Establishment of a Labour Exchange in Bologna.) 1890.
  65. Statuto della Camera del Lavoro della Città e Provincia di Bologna. (Statutes of Bologna Labour Chamber.) 1893.
  66. Resoconto del Primo Congresso delle Camere del Lavoro d'Italia. (Report of First Congress of Italian Labour Chambers.)
  67. Paolucci di Calboli. I Girovaghi Italiani in Inghilterra. 1893. (Itinerant Italians in England.)
  68. Manfredi. La Società Cooperativa. (Anonymous Co-operative Societies.) 1885.
  69. a. Il Secondo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Milano. 1887.  
b. Il Terzo Congresso dei Cooperatori Italiani. Bologna. 1888.  
c. Il Quarto Congresso dei Co-operatori Italiani. Torino. 1890. (Second, Third, and Fourth Co-operative Congresses at Milan, Bologna, and Turin.)
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  71. Bodio. Di Alcuni Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia. (Statistics of Economic Progress of Italy.) 1891.
  72. Villari. Le Lettere Meridionali ed altri. ("Letters from the South," on the Social Question in Italy.) 2nd ed. 1885.
  73. Ebeberg. Agrarische Zustände in Italien. (Agricultural Condition of Italy.) 1886.
  74. Godio. L'America ne' suoi primi fattori in Colonizzazione e l'Emigrazione. (American Colonisation and Emigration.) 1893.
  75. Von Philippovich. Die italienische Auswanderung. (Italian Emigration.)
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 84. No. 44. Industries of the District of Biella.  
 85. *Do*. No. 45. Brazil. General state of the Province of Rio Janeiro.  
 86. *Do*. No. 54. Italy. First National Congress of Italian Savings Banks.  
 87. 1888. No. 87, Italy (Agriculture of Florence).  
 88. 1889. No. 123, Argentine Republic (Emigration).  
 89. 1889. No. 125, Italy (Fruit Candying Industry of Leghorn).  
 90. 1889. No. 137, Italy (Agrarian Disturbances in the Upper Milanese).  
 91. 1889. No. 141, Italy (Industries of the Province of Florence).  
 92. 1890. No. 158, Chili (European Emigration).  
 93. 1890. No. 180, Italy (Industries of Florence).  
 94. 1891. No. 195, Italy (Economic Progress of the Kingdom of Italy for the past Twenty-five Years).  
 95. 1891. No. 211, Italy (Conditions of Labour in Italy).  
 96. 1892. No. 216, Argentine Republic (Emigration).  
 97. 1892. No. 261, Italy (Yield of Cocoons).  
 98. 1893. No. 276, Italy (Condition of Labour).  
 99. 1893. No. 297, Italy (Sulphur Industry of Sicily).

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100. 1886. No. 32, Brazil (Trade of Rio Grande Do Sul).  
 101. 1887. No. 79, Brazil (Trade of Marnam).  
 102. 1888. No. 315, South America (Trade of Santos).  
 103. 1889. No. 498, Brazil (Trade of Santos).  
 104. 1889. No. 504, Brazil (Finances, Commerce, and Agriculture).  
 105. 1889. No. 606, Brazil (Trade of Pernambuco).  
 106. 1890. Peru (Agricultural Condition).  
 107. 1892. No. 1,006, Paraguay (Finances and general state of the Republic).  
 108. 1892. No. 1,018, Brazil (Trade of Santos and Immigration).  
 109. 1892. No. 1,028, Argentine Republic (Trade of Rosario).  
 110. 1892. No. 1,079, Brazil (Trade of Rio Grande Do Sul).  
 111. 1892. No. 1,117, Italy (Trade of Sicily).  
 112. 1892. No. 1,112, Italy (Trade and Navigation of Naples).  
 113. 1892. No. 1,131, Italy (Condition of Rome).  
 114. 1893. No. 1,151, Italy (Trade of Venice and Ancona).  
 115. 1893. No. 1,160, Brazil (Trade of Santos).  
 116. 1893. No. 1,161, Argentine Republic (Trade, Agriculture, and Immigration of the Province of Santa Fé).  
 117. 1893. No. 1,178, Argentine Republic (Trade of the Republic).  
 118. 1893. No. 1,214, Italy (Trade of the Province of Cagliari).  
 119. 1893. No. 1,223, Italy (Finances of Italy).  
 120. 1893. No. 1,243, Italy (Trade of Sicily).  
 121. 1893. No. 1,244, Italy (Trade of Consular District of Naples).

122. 1893. No. 1,248, Italy (Trade of the Consular District of Brindisi).  
 123. 1893. No. 1,250, Italy (Trade of the Consular District of Leghorn).

## APPENDIX E.

## REPORT OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF ITALIAN LABOUR CHAMBERS.

On June 29th, 1893, the first Congress of Italian Labour Chambers met at Parma. The Chambers of Bologna, Brescia, Cremona, Florence, Milan, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Padua, Rome, Turin, and Venice were represented, and also the municipality of the city of Parma, and several local workmen's associations. The chair was taken by Signor Aristo Schianchi and Signor Angiolo Cabrini acted as secretary. On the first day the following order of the day regulating the administration of the federation of the Labour Chambers was unanimously approved:—

1. The Italian Labour Chambers are to be formed into a federation with the following objects:—

- (a.) The general union of all the Chambers in carrying out their common programme.
  - (b.) The extension of the action of the Labour Chambers in the various industrial and agricultural centres.
  - (c.) The appointment of delegates to the National Labour Secretary.
  - (d.) The collection of statistical information to be imparted to the various Chambers and the general establishment of free registries for labourers of both sexes.
  - (e.) The publication of an official balance sheet (*bollettino*) for all the Labour Chambers.
2. The nomination of delegates to the National Labour Secretary is to take place in the annual Congress of Labour Chambers at a date and in a town decided on by the previous Congress.
3. Only candidates presented by the Labour Chambers or by associations indicated by them, may be nominated as delegates.
4. In case of a vacancy occurring amongst the delegates fresh candidates are to be nominated by a second scrutiny.
5. In order to carry out the decisions of the federation, each Chamber is to nominate a member of the federal committee which will probably have its office in the same city as the National Labour Secretary.
6. The Chamber of the city in which the federation sits shall nominate five members, including a secretary and a treasurer, to act as the committee of the federation.
7. The whole federal committee is to meet in cases of necessity.
8. The administrative expenses of the federal committee shall be borne by the federated Chambers.
9. The statutes of the federation can only be altered in Congress after the proposed alterations have been communicated to all the Labour Chambers by the federal committee.
10. The official deliberations of the federal council shall be inserted in the balance sheet (*bollettino*) of the Chambers.
11. The presence of one more than half the representatives of the Labour Chambers in the federal committee shall form a quorum.
12. The federal committee shall draw up a code of regulations for its own guidance.
- Resolutions were also passed in favour of the separate action of each trade section with regard to allowances to travelling members, the exclusion of journalists (*pubblicisti*) from the benefits of the Chambers, the independent organisation of the working classes by means of the Chambers for the purpose of studying and protecting their own interests, the close connexion of the Chambers with the local workmen's associations, and the temporary admission even of those joint associations in which both employers and employed are represented. It was decided that the Labour Chambers should combine with the other labour associations and organisations in Italy to appoint a National Labour Secretary, who should correct and publish information relating to the labour movement in Italy, and should keep in touch with the National Labour Secretaries of other countries. The federated Chambers further resolved to support the co-operative movement among working men, and to encourage organisation among sailors and fishermen. They also determined to do their utmost to protect the interests of

rural labourers, by the formation of provincial sections, the promotion of the federation of benefit societies and societies of resistance, the foundation of leagues of resistance for the revision of agricultural contracts and the abolition of allowances (*appendici*), and by the establishment of co-operative societies which should take over the communal lands and lands belonging to charitable institutions (*opere pie*), and should provide agricultural implements for the cultivation of waste lands, and a suggestion was made that the Labour Chambers should become the legally recognised representatives of the working classes. The federation decided, moreover, that it would help to establish Boards of Arbitration, both industrial and agricultural, that it would endeavour to do away with private registry offices, and that, while all travelling members of the Chambers were to be entitled to help and kindness at the various centres through which they passed, application should be made to the railway companies to reduce the fares of those journeying in search of work. After some discussion, Milan was chosen for the headquarters of the federal committee, and the centre where the official balance sheet should be published. In the following elaborate programme which was approved on the second day of the Congress, the aims of the federation of Labour Chambers were still more clearly defined.

Programme  
of the federated  
Labour  
Chambers.

Labour Chambers aim at acting as intermediaries between the supply and the demand of labour, and protecting the interests of labourers in all the contingencies of their lives. For this purpose, they employ the following means:

- (a.) Bringing all wage-paid labourers into permanent relations with one another in order to educate them practically in brotherhood, community of feeling, and mutual support.
- (b.) Arranging for every art or craft section, an organisation for obtaining information on the conditions of the labour market, and the movement of demand and supply in the chief industrial and agricultural centres, and indicating the countries in which labour is most in request and most highly paid. If necessary, they may refer for this information to the Communes, the Chambers of Commerce, and the Labour Chambers, both national and foreign.
- (c.) Determining the conditions of labour for apprentices; promoting the passing of effectual laws on the labour of women and children and enforcing the observation of these laws, protecting women's labour, and maintaining the principle that where their work was equal to that of men, they should receive equal wages.
- (d.) Facilitating for labourers of both sexes the search for work and the drawing up of labour contracts.
- (e.) Effecting the re-admission into factories of released prisoners, and watching over their subsequent behaviour.
- (f.) Supporting the institution of trade committees (*comitati sindacali*) for all arts and crafts in order that they may help the Labour Chambers in calculating and applying rates of wages (*tariffe di mano d'opera*).
- (g.) Bringing the needs and interests of the working classes before the communal and central authorities.
- (h.) Helping to apply the principle of arbitration to disputes between employers and employed as to questions of work, hours, and wages, and superintending the enforcement of the law on Boards of Arbitration (*Probi Viri*) both in the case of industrial operatives and in that of agricultural labourers.
- (i.) Promoting the development of the co-operative system in its various branches, and encouraging workmen's co-operative societies to undertake public works.
- (l.) Organising technical instruction in all arts and crafts.
- (m.) Studying all means by which the intellectual and moral character and the technical skill of the working classes may be raised, such as founding libraries and issuing official balance sheets.

The Congress was closed, after a three days session, on July 1893.

(1) Resoconto del Primo Congresso delle Camere del Lavoro di Italia, 1893.

## APPENDIX F.

### CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN ITALY.

We are no longer in the period when Villari<sup>(1)</sup> complained that "human beings were subjected to work which, each time that it is described, seems more cruel and, indeed, almost impossible," and when many of the boys employed in the mines died, and a large number were stunted, deformed, or made "invalids for life by their work."

a. Sicilian  
and Sardinian  
miners  
(Cf. vol. 1,  
p. 37.)

The law of 1886 on the labour of children, and the more recent law of March 30th, 1893, on the regulation and inspection of mines, quarries, and turf-pits (*polizia dei lavori delle miniere, cave e torbiera*) prove to some extent the anxiety of the Government to provide against these unhappy conditions of the workers in mines.

Signor Alongi<sup>(2)</sup> complains indeed that "the physical development of the sulphur-miners is checked, as is shown by the large number of exemptions (*riformati*) granted by the militia authorities (*Consiglio di leva*)," and Signor Panizza<sup>(3)</sup> observes with reference to this subject that "Cagliari, where in 1887, 9,886 of the inhabitants were employed in the mines, occupies the second place in the list of exemptions from the militia (27.33 per cent.), while Caltanissetta with 11,388 miners has a per-centage of 25.59, and Girgenti, with 7,953 miners, has a per-centage of 21."

Two writers who have recently occupied themselves with the conditions of the Sicilian sulphur-workers have arrived at the same conclusion. These are Alfonso Giordano (*Conditions of the workers in sulphur*) and A. M. Vaccaro, in an article in the *Giornale degli Economisti* for 1890 called "The sulphur workers in Sicily." From the reports of the engineers of the mining districts<sup>(4)</sup> it appears that with regard to the labour of women and children "in the whole district of Sicily, women are only employed in the four communes of Cianciana, Lercara, Caltanissetta, and Zavaera for working sulphur, and in the two communes of Cattolica Eraclea, and Petralio for working rock-salt." The number of women, already sufficiently insignificant in comparison with the total number of workmen employed, diminished remarkably between 1891 and 1892. The duration of the working day is from seven to eight hours below ground and from 10 to 12 hours above ground; in the latter case, however, the labour is not continuous but is broken by frequent intervals, more particularly in the steam melting establishments.

The wages of women vary from 0.40 lire to 0.60 lire per diem at Cianciana, where they are all girls, and from 0.60 lire to 1.10 lire according to age at Lercara. These wages represent on an average about three-quarters of the wages received by men of the same age and for the same kinds of work. With regard to the family relations of these working-women, it may be noted that at Cianciana they are generally employed in portorage with their respective fathers or brothers, and that they comparatively seldom work with strangers below ground; above ground, on the contrary, they are employed as piece-workers, in filling and cleaning out the furnaces. Hence it may be gathered that with the exception of the sulphur mines of Cianciana, the work given to women in the Sicilian mines cannot be called very onerous.

In Iglesias (Sardinia) women are employed in rather more than one-third of the mines which are in working order in the district. In the factories (*officine*) annexed to the mines in this district the mean annual number of women employed in the five years from 1886 to 1890 was very nearly 8.90 per cent. of the total number of workers. In the past year, 1892, the said number amounted to 941 women in 11,820 workers, namely, a little less than 8 per cent., divided into 693 adults and 248 girls under 15 years of age. In 1892 the wages of women employed in factories connected with mines (*officine minorarie*), according to the average taken for all the mines, were 1.15 lire for adults and 0.81 lire for girls under 15 years of age, and varied for the former from a maximum of 1.58 lire to a minimum of 0.62 lire, and for the latter from a maximum of 1.15 lire to a minimum of 0.55 lire. The daily work of adult women in the mines lasts on an average for 10 hours; it is eight or nine hours in winter, and about 11 hours in summer. The said work is generally broken by one or two periods of rest.

(1) Lettere meridionali. Florence, 1878, p. 21.

(2) La Maffa, 1897, p. 34.

(3) Risultati dell'inchiesta istituita da A. Bertani sulle condizioni sanitarie dei lavoratori della terra in Italia. Roma, 1890, p. 44.

(4) Cf. Discorso di legge sul lavoro delle donne e dei fanciulli, presentato alla Camera dei Deputati il 23 Novembre 1893. Documenti No. 243, Allegato B.

A recent official publication gives the following information concerning this complaint:—

“More than 100,000 rural labourers were stricken with *pellagra* in Lombardy, in Venetia, in Emilia, and in other parts of Italy, when the Agricultural Department (*Amministrazione dell'Agricoltura*) regarded it as their duty to study various provisions against the death which was cutting short so many useful lives among the agricultural population.

On the 18th of January 1887 the Minister of Agriculture presented to the Chamber of Deputies two separate Bills (*disegni di legge*): 1. Provisions intended to diminish the causes of *pellagra*. 2. Dispositions concerning the cottages (*case coloniche*), the roadways and the drinking water in the country districts (*campagne*). These Bills had no further result; but it may be noted that part of the dispositions which they wished to effect afterwards found an appropriate position in the law of December 22nd, 1888, on the regulation of hygiene and the public health. The provisions, however, which the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, acting with the Council of Agriculture, adopted from 1881 onwards, in order to combat the causes of *pellagra*, appear more particularly in a circular dated January 4th, 1881 and refer to the food, the dwellings, the drinking-water, and the hygienic arrangements of the rural labourers and their cottages.

Amongst the most important of these provisions which were adopted may be specially noted that of giving prizes by competition (*concorsi a premi*) for the improvement of the food and dwellings of the peasantry in the districts infected by *pellagra*. Independently of these competitive prizes, the department (*Amministrazione*) subsidised various institutions intended for the direct improvement of the food of the peasantry, more especially economic bakehouses (*forni economici*) on the co-operative system, economic kitchens, and drying-houses (*essicatori*) for maize. The Ministry has also for several years subsidised the Alpine Sanitary Institution (*stazione sanitaria Alpina*) of Brescia in Collio, which is established for the sake of sending children of both sexes who are affected with *pellagra* or malarial fevers, or who are in a weak state from poverty of blood, to spend a month in an Alpine district, in order to recover their health. Nor does the Ministry refuse, when an application is made to it, to support any of the sanitary lodging-houses (*locande sanitarie*) which in 1891 were in working order in about 40 communes of the province of Bergamo.<sup>(1)</sup>

With regard to the domestic life of the metayers (*mazzadri*) in Tuscany, Signor Sidney-Sonnino says that “almost all the girls when they are married bring with them to their bridegroom a *trousseau* (*corredo*) of “clothes and a small dowry in cash.”<sup>(2)</sup> The rural dwellings in Tuscany are also in a comparatively good condition.

“Tuscany, where the metayer system (*mazzadria*) exists at the present time on the largest scale, is the only region where the cottages (*case coloniche*) fulfil the most elementary hygienic conditions. This fact compensates to some extent for the evils of an extremely subdivided system of cultivation. . . . Besides being provided with stables and manure, placed so as not to injure by their effluvia the health of those who spend the greater part of their existence in the house, the cottages are tolerably roomy, consisting of a kitchen and several bedrooms, according to the requirements of the family; thus it does not happen that, as is the case in the Po Valley, one dark and dilapidated room serves all purposes, and the inhabitants sleep huddled together in the same place where shortly before they had eaten their un-nourishing *polenta*, or are suffocated by the smell which is emitted from the tables on which the silkworm cocoons are reared.”<sup>(3)</sup>

The well-being of the Tuscan peasantry tends to be further increased by the fact that “they, especially the women, labour at the loom or at straw-plaiting in their free hours, without making large profits doubtless, but still earning enough to help out their most pressing expenses by laying by a little.”<sup>(4)</sup>

The same is true of the Upper Milanese. There, many peasants “combine weaving with their other occupations as far as is possible, and anyone visiting Como, Seregna, or Monza, particularly on market days, might see a number of both men and women laden with skeins of prepared cotton which they carry to their cottages, where with their primitive

“looms they proceed to weave those webs (*paze*) which “when handed over to the manufacturer (*proprietario*) “will bring a small price perhaps, but one which, insignificant as it may seem, will add to the profits of their four cultivated fields a little hoard of savings “against unforeseen expenses.”<sup>(5)</sup>

In Sicily “the rural dwelling-houses are far apart, and “in some places lacking altogether, so that one may walk “for hours without seeing a single cottage. In the “wide monotonous uniform stretches of upland country “(*campagne*) which extend for miles and miles, one only “sees from time to time some large neglected mansion “(*casolare*) threatening to fall into ruins, used rather as “a temporary storehouse for the crops than as a shelter “for the peasants during their hours of repose . . . “These stretches of country (*campagne*) are thinly populated, because when the system of the ancient large “estates (*latifondi*) and of vast baronial properties prevailed no care was taken to provide rural dwellings since “all the labourers held together in a kind of defensive “and offensive nucleus within the walls of the convent “or castle . . . This fact of the lack of rural “dwellings causes the exclusion of the female population in some districts from agricultural labour, which “seriously reduces the financial resources of the peasant “families, and of agriculturists generally, who could “otherwise employ women in light work.”<sup>(6)</sup>

The Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce also provides for the diffusion of agrarian knowledge by secondary, practical, special, and elementary, agricultural schools, by short courses of popular practical conferences (*conferenze*), and by the institution of agricultural circulating libraries. By trying experiments in cultivation, by offering prizes for competition, by the gratuitous distribution of seeds or plants, and by the introduction of agricultural machinery, it has given an impulse to the improvement of agrarian culture. It encourages the breeding and improvement of cattle by means of “zootechnical” institutions (*stazioni zootechniche*) and breeding institutions (*stazioni di monta*), and also by exhibitions and prize competitions. It favours, moreover, the institution of co-operative dairies (*latterie sociali*) by offering prizes for competition, and opens special competitions for agricultural improvements (*bonifiche*) and methods of irrigation and embankment.<sup>(7)</sup> With regard to social provisions for the agricultural classes, the Government has recently brought forward a scheme (*progetto di legge*) for the formation of agricultural boards of arbitration (*Collegi di probiviri nell'agricoltura*)<sup>(8)</sup> similar to those already provided for other industrial disputes by the institution of industrial Boards of Arbitration (*Probiviri per l'industria*). At the present time, moreover, the Government is taking into consideration the subject of modifying the laws relating to agrarian contracts.

Recently (November 23rd, 1893) a new scheme (*progetto di legge*) was presented to the Chamber of Deputies with regard to the labour of women and children.<sup>(9)</sup>

The chief provisions of this Bill (*disegno*) consist in prohibiting the employment of women of any age in subterranean work in galleries, quarries, and mines, and also the employment in the same kinds of work of boys under 12 years of age (which was formerly allowed for boys above 10 years of age). The Bill also forbids all women who are still minors, and all boys under 15 years of age, to work in industries which had been declared to be unhealthy or dangerous. Night-work is forbidden for women who have not completed the 21st year of their age, and women are not to be allowed to perform any kind of labour in factories (*opifici*), quarries, or mines till a month after their confinement. The length of the day's work is fixed at six hours for children of both sexes, up to 12 years of age; between 12 and 15 years of age it is to be ten hours, and for women between the ages of 15 and 21, the working day may not exceed 12 hours. Work must be broken by rest, and women who have not attained their majority and boys up to the age of 15 must also be allowed a complete day of rest each week, except under certain circumstances. Other articles arrange for children to combine their daily labour with the fulfilment of the compulsory obligations of elementary instruction.

d. Rural population in Sicily. (Cf. ante, p. 46.)

e. Action of Government as a remedy for agricultural depression. (Cf. ante, p. 47.)

f. Employment of women and children. Bill of November 23rd, 1893. (Cf. ante p. 60.)

Metayers in Tuscany. Cf. ante, p. 44.)

(1) Relazione al Consiglio d'agricoltura sull'opera spiegata dall'amministrazione dell'agricoltura negli ultimi anni. Roma, 1882, pp. 139-164.

(2) La Messeria in Toscana. Firenze, 1875.

(3) Vittorio Scotti. La questione agraria. Milano, 1885.

(4) Vittorio Scotti. La questione agraria. Milano, 1885, p. 80.

(5) Vittorio Scotti. La questione operaia. Milano, 1885.

(6) Vittorio Scotti. La questione agraria, pp. 65-67. Sidney-Sonnino. I Contadini in Sicilia. Firenze, 1877.

(7) Relazione al Consiglio di agricoltura sull'opera spiegata dall'amministrazione dell'agricoltura negli ultimi anni. Roma, 1882.

(8) Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XVIII. I Sessione. Documenti No. 348.

(9) Camera dei Deputati. Legislatura XVIII I Sessione. Documenti No. 248.

e. Effects of the Act of 1886 regulating the labour of children. (Cf. ante, p. 80.)

After the Report of February 8th, 1890, on the working of the law on the labour of children a second report of the same kind was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on February 6th, 1893.<sup>(1)</sup> This report embraces the period between June 30th, 1889, and December 31st, 1892. From its contents it may be inferred that it "cannot yet be definitely asserted that the preparatory stage in the working of the law (of 1886) has been passed. There are still many places where, for various reasons, it has not yet come into full force. It is melancholy to notice that, while only a few of the infractions of the law of February 11th 1886 which have been discovered were due to the negligence or the ill-will of the manufacturers, a considerable number were ascribed to the inadequate and inefficient action of the authorities and of the offices which were charged with the obligation of promoting and diffusing a knowledge of the legal regulations and of sharing in the work of putting them into execution . . . . It does not follow that the said authorities are always and in every case blameable. Italy alone, or almost alone, among the chief civilised nations, is wanting in a body of special functionaries given up exclusively to supervising the execution of the laws for the protection of labour; on the other hand, those local authorities who ought to some extent to act as substitutes for such a body, have too many other calls upon their time to be able to devote themselves to this task with the necessary diligence and alacrity . . . ."

"The fundamental regulations (*norme*) as to the minimum age, as to the system of periodical inspection with regard to physical fitness, and as to compulsory preferment of complaints against the employers (*enerozio*) and the demand of labour certificates (*libretti*) may be retained as generally observed. The limitation of the duration of day and night work, on the contrary, and the provisions which are left to the discretion of the manufacturers, all the provisions in fact which tend to modify the action of the employers (*l'andamento dell'azienda*) are less well maintained, or, if they appear to be maintained, are really kept rather in the letter than in the spirit."<sup>(2)</sup>

#### APPENDIX G.

##### NOTES ON CO-OPERATION IN ITALY.

a. Co-operative viticulture. (Cf. ante, p. 60.)

The following extract from *La Cooperazione italiana* gives an interesting account of an attempt which has been made to co-operate in viticulture.

"The vine-growers (*viticultori*) bring their grapes into a suitable place, provided with the necessary implements, where, under the direction of a skilful expert (*enotecnico*), they are turned into wine, which is afterwards sold for the benefit of the members of the association. This is the fundamental idea of the "co-operative wine vaults" (*cantine sociali*)."

"Co-operative wine vaults have not yet made great progress; still, they have been started at Bertinoro, Piacenza, Bagno di Ripolia, Lucera, S. Severino, Noto, Ferrara, Ottati, Mirano, and Ripatransone (*Ascoli*), and others are in course of formation. The Ministry of Agriculture encourages the institution of them by offering prizes for competition."<sup>(3)</sup>

The following extract forms a good illustration of the constitution of a Masons' Co-operative Society:—

b. Constitution of Masons' Societies. (Cf. ante, p. 63.)

(1) Camera dei Deputati. Legislatura XVIII. I Sessione 1892-3. Documenti No. IX.

(2) Relazione sull' applicazione della legge 1886, sul lavoro dei fanciulli. Camera dei Deputati. Legislatura XVIII., 1892-3, No. IX. Documenti, pp. 6 e 57.

(3) La Cooperazione italiana, organo della federazione delle cooperative. Milano (Anno I No. 3, Settembre 1887), p. 62.

"The society was constituted as a limited company (*in forma anonima*) on September 21st, 1887, by the exertions of 22 operatives."

"The Co-operative Society has a technical department (*Ufficio tecnico*) connected with it, for drawing up plans (*progetti*)."

"The shares are of 50 lire. In order to become a member of the society, the working mason, in addition to the entrance fee, must purchase at least one share, which he is allowed to pay up in weekly instalments of not less than 50 centimes."

"Similar regulations complete the provisions of the rules and statutes (*Statuto regolamento*) with regard to the assistant workmen, the work of the gangs (*squadre*), and the discipline maintained while work is being carried on."

"The Society has also founded among its members a Sick and Infirm Fund (*Cassa malattia e inabilita al lavoro*)." "It has, moreover, already executed, and still has in hand, works which will cost large sums of money."<sup>(4)</sup>

With regard to the legislative measures affecting distributive societies it may be noted that "in order to bring to an end the uncertainty, the opposition, and the difficulties caused by the application of the fifth clause of the law of August 11th, 1870, by which co-operative societies for the distribution of goods to members with a charitable intention (*a scopo di beneficenza*) are declared free from the tax on consumption (*dazio di consumo*)," a Bill (*proposta di legge*) has been recently presented to the Chamber by the Deputies Villa, Palberti, Roux, and Cocito. This Bill aims at excluding from the exemption from the tax on consumption those societies which are founded with a mercenary or speculative intention, and also endeavours to render the exemption more certain for true Workmen's Co-operative or Benefit Societies.<sup>(5)</sup>

c. Legislation on distributive societies.

"On certain days of the week the *colono* delivers up the maize (*melgono*), receiving, (this has been in force since January 1st, 1882) metal counters (*marche*) which represent the quantity of bread to which he has a right according to the prevailing tariff; with these counters, which are the money of the Association, he afterwards obtains from the bakehouse the quantity of bread which he needs each day."

d. Rural bakehouse (Cf. ante, p. 70.)

Since November 12th, 1881, the consumers have brought 12,547.06 quintals of maize (*melgono*), to the Co-operative Association, and by December 31st, 1886, they had presented counters equivalent to 12,149.12 quintals of maize (*melgono*) which gave them a right to receive 14,230.56 quintals of bread at the average rate of exchange of 114.31 kilos, while, if they had made the bread for themselves according to the old system, in order to obtain the same 14,230.56 quintals of bread, they would have had to consume 16,741.83 quintals of maize (*melgono*). The bakehouse at Varedo, by distributing to 163 families (1,391 persons) on an average 114 kilos of bread for every quintal of maize (*melgono*) was able, without having asked gratuitous help, to cancel all the expenses of establishment and to refund to Signor Volpi and Signor Bagalti 2,000 lire which they had supplied for the first establishment of the bakehouse, and could close its balance sheet in 1886 with an independent capital of 2,603.83 lire, which is now increasing.<sup>(6)</sup>

(4) L. Rodino. Le associazioni cooperative di produzione e di lavoro, pp. 260, 269. Novara, 1891.

(5) Disposizioni relative alle Società Cooperative costituite a scopo di beneficenza. Proposta di legge d'iniziativa dei Deputati Villa, Palberti, Roux, e Cocito, svolta e presa in considerazione il 17 febbraio 1883. Camera dei Deputati. Legislatura XVII. I Sessione, 1880-91-92. Documenti No. 141.

(6) La Cooperazione italiana, organo della federazione delle Cooperative. Milano, No. 9. Settembre, 1887, pp. 70-71.

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