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which they have not adopted, peace must depart and charity will be trodden under men's feet. And while the brethren bite and devour one another, the world looks coldly on, and men will say, "When Christians have settled their quarrels, and not before, we will proceed to a consideration of the claims of Christ." Let us all pray, and strive, and unite, so that every Christian man, ordained or unordained, may have more things in common—sympathy with the Saviour whose servants they all are—sympathy with souls, for which they can all care—sympathy with the Gospel, into which they are all bound to look—and sympathy in work, which is the honour, the privilege, the happiness of being employed, under grace, in leading other beings to God and glory everlasting. This vast South London of ours contains every element to keep us busy—size of population, sorrows, sins, enemies to all that is holy and true and good; and we, with our limited powers and shortening lifetime, must not turn our hands against the brethren, but lifting them up to our Father, and stretching them out to our poor perishing fellow-creatures all around, let us bear in mind that we never more truly represent our Master and His Gospel, than when we are working for peace, labouring out of love, turning the soft look and tone and temper to win one another's confidences, and calling out their sympathy by showing how much we feel.

JOHN RICHARDSON.

ART. III.—EMIGRATION AND THE POORER CLASSES.

1. *The Expansion of England.* Professor SEELEY. Macmillan and Co.
2. *Colonists' Handbooks.* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
3. *State Emigration; a reply to Lord Derby.* Mr. ALFRED SIMMONS, 84, Palace Chambers, S.W.
4. *Why Sit we here till we Die?* The Report of East End Emigration Fund.
5. London Colonization Aid Society.
6. *Justice:* the Organ of the Social Democracy.

"HISTORY," says Professor Seeley, in his interesting and fascinating lectures—"history should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his views of the present, and his forecast of the future. The interest of English history ought therefore to deepen steadily to the close, and, since the future grows out of the past, the history of the past of England ought to give rise to a prophecy concerning her future . . . The English State, then, in what direction, and towards what goal,

has that been advancing? The words which jump to our lips in answer are—Liberty, Democracy! They are words which want a great deal of defining . . . If we stand aloof a little, and follow with our eyes the progress of the English State, we shall be much more struck by another change, which is not only far greater, but even more conspicuous, though it has always been less discussed, partly because it has proceeded more gradually, partly because it excited less opposition. I mean the simple, obvious fact of the extension of the English name into other countries of the globe, the foundation of Greater Britain.

"There is something very characteristic" continues the Professor, "in the indifference which we show towards this mighty phenomenon of the diffusion of our race, and the expansion of our State. We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. While we were doing it—that is, in the eighteenth century—we did not allow it to affect our imaginations, or in any degree to change our ways of thinking; nor have we even now ceased to think of ourselves as simply a race inhabiting an island off the northern coast of the Continent of Europe. We constantly betray by our mode of speech that we do not reckon the colonies as really belonging to us; thus, if we are asked what the English population is, it does not occur to us to reckon in the population of Canada and Australia."

These words are undeniably true. Even yet we scarcely understand the marvellous growth of our Colonial Empire. We have not yet ceased to regard our colonies as possessions which indeed we hold for the present, but may at any time lose; instead of looking upon them as integral portions of England, and as destined to occupy a very important place in the future history of our country.

There are two facts which have, perhaps, tended to make the public mind slow to recognise the value of our colonies. First, because the prodigious increase of our home population is comparatively modern, and we have hardly yet begun to realize its importance; nor has the question how far this increase may continue ever before pressed for an answer so urgently as it does to-day. Second, because it is only in recent times that the means of communication have been developed so as to bring the most remote parts of the empire within easy reach, and so as to open up enormous tracts of territory which had formerly been practically inaccessible even to the colonist. Home necessities had not been so urgent, and the boundless possibilities of our distant territories had not become familiar; and so the public interest had not been aroused, nor the public mind awakened.

We may hope, indeed, that this condition of ignorance and apathy is to a certain extent passing away; but if even amongst educated persons there has been hitherto no clear recognition of these facts, or of their importance, we can hardly be surprised at the absolute indifference which seems to pervade the working-classes upon the subject. And yet what facts could be more startling or more suggestive than these which Professor Seeley records—that there are nearly ten millions of English subjects of English blood, in British colonies and outside of England, and that this population, large as it is, is distributed over such an enormous area that in Canada, for instance, the density is not much more than one to the square mile, whereas in England it is two hundred and ninety-one to the square mile?

If anyone is inclined to ask what is the good of our colonies? surely facts like these supply the answer. To quote Professor Seeley once more: "They are lands for the landless, prosperity and wealth for those in straitened circumstances. This is a very simple view, and yet it is much overlooked, as if somehow it were too simple to be understood. History affords many examples of nations cramped for want of room; but we may be sure that never was any nation half so cramped in olden times as our nation is now. We continually speak of our country as crowded, and, since the rate of increase of population is tolerably constant, we sometimes ask with alarm, what will be its condition half a century hence? The territory is a fixed quantity, we have but 120,000 square miles; it is crowded already, and yet the population doubles in some seventy years. What will become of us? Now here is a curious example of our habit of leaving our colonial possessions out of account. What! our country is small? A poor 120,000 square miles? I find the fact to be very different. The territory governed by the Queen is of almost boundless extent. It may be that the mother-country of this great empire is crowded, but in order to relieve the pressure, it is not necessary to incur great risks, or undergo great hardships; it is only necessary to take possession of boundless territories in Canada, South Africa, or Australia, where already our language is spoken, our religion professed, and our laws established. If there is pauperism in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, this is but complementary to unowned wealth in Australia; on the one side there are men without property, on the other there is property waiting for men. And yet we do not allow these two facts to come together in our minds, but brood anxiously, and almost despairingly, over the problem of pauperism; and when colonies are mentioned we ask, What is the good of colonies?"

It may be interesting to our readers if we try to answer this

question from the results of our own experience, and show how precious an inheritance to the poor of this country are the boundless fields and goodly lands belonging to England beyond the seas. Our practical acquaintance with this subject dates from that period of severe East-End distress which followed upon the visitation of cholera, and the financial crisis due to the failure of Messrs. Overend and Gurney, by which thousands of men were thrown out of employment. No one who had to pass through that experience is likely ever to forget it. Numbers of able-bodied men, labourers and mechanics, nominally at work in the stoneyard of the parish, which was not large enough to hold a tenth part of them, patrolled the principal streets day after day, with famine and despair written in every feature; for men out of work means starving families at home. The Board of Guardians were paralyzed, and no one seemed to know what ought to be done or could be done. Meetings of men were held to urge their need of help. Relief funds were established at the Mansion House and elsewhere; and thousands of pounds were expended by the benevolent public, in simply keeping away starvation from the unemployed.

It was at this period, in the spring of 1867, that the Emigration question came to the front. The writer well remembers how, at that time, a friend arrived in Poplar, with the proposal to send twenty single men to New South Wales, free, if they could be ready in a week. He went about from place to place where the unemployed were most likely to be found; but hardly expecting that he would be able to find any men willing to expatriate themselves at so short a notice. To his surprise, the men were found, the guardians saw them properly clothed, and they were despatched to seek their fortunes under happier circumstances. But from that moment our life became an intolerable burden. From early morning until late at night our house was besieged with would-be emigrants—to all of whom the answer must needs be given, that the means of emigration were exhausted. It was quite certain that a desire had been awakened, and it had been shown that there was no unwillingness on the part of the poor to be transported to the colonies. But this was by no means the only difficulty to be met. First, it must be ascertained whether the colonies would be willing to receive such emigrants. Boundless as the resources of the colonies appear to be, it must be remembered that any sudden strain or pressure might easily overtax the power of the machinery for the absorption and distribution of labour. Moreover, though most of the colonies have been ready to receive the emigrants who came at their own expense, it was quite another thing when emigrants were to be sent out

at the expense of the guardians or of charitable funds. What guarantee could the Colonial Government have that proper pains would be taken in the selection, and that they would not be flooded with the helpless refuse of London pauperism?

Then, again, suppose this difficulty overcome, would the emigrants whom East London could provide be of such a character as to do well in the colony? It was at least conceivable that a man who had been long accustomed to London work and town trades, could not be easily adapted to altered conditions of life in our colonies. And, as a matter of fact, there has been no objection more frequently urged against emigration than this. But at the period of which we are writing the objection was much more serious than it is now. Because, in the present day, we are able to show that hundreds and thousands of such persons have, as a matter of fact, been sent to the colonies, and in spite of the traditional helplessness of the London labourer—which, after all, is very little else than tradition and prejudice—have done well. But in those days the difficulty was a very serious one; there was very little in the way of experience to fall back upon, and it required a strong belief in one's fellow-men to enable one to disregard the very plausible objection, that for men like these it was impossible to succeed.

Lastly, there was the inevitable money difficulty. Even to Canada, the most available outlet, men could not be sent for nothing. An ordinary family, at the rate of £6 a head, would cost from £25 to £30; and how was this money to be procured? Obviously not from the candidates for emigration themselves. As a working-man wrote a few weeks ago, "If a man is in work, and has the few pounds necessary to go, he is inclined to let well alone. If he is out of work, he lingers too long, expecting that something will turn up. It is only when worn out and heart-sad with hunting about after bread and butter, he turns to the fields afar which he cannot reach." In truth, the advantages of emigration are so little appreciated by our working people, that, instead of pressing forward eagerly in times of prosperity, it is not until no other resource is left—not until every shilling has been spent, that he thinks of going away: and then of course he is helpless, and cannot move. As the Report of the East-End Emigration Fund rightly says, "A man does not seek the relief of emigration until every means has been tried—until the patience and hope of himself and his friends have been utterly exhausted—until funds and furniture and clothes, and everything that can be turned into food has been absorbed, and nothing is left but the hope of emigration or utter and absolute despair. This constitutes the real difficulty of the position; for men come to our funds as a last resort, when nothing else is left, and we are called

upon to meet the wants of the helpless and the destitute, to whom it is as hard to raise 30s. as to raise £30, both being equally impossible. At our last meeting, a bright and intelligent young man being told that we would provide half the fare for his family if he could raise £5 to pay the rest, said very simply, 'Ah, that is quite impossible. I have been out of work many weeks, and neither my family nor myself have had anything to eat all day!'"

But would not the colonies themselves assist? Yes, certainly; and in many of the colonies most liberal aid is given. But even with this aid the cost per head would seldom fall below the amount required for a passage to Canada, mentioned above. And where the colonies help, they very naturally exercise the privilege of selecting those whom they assist. It was hardly to be expected that, with all England before them, they should be driven to choose the helpless and hopeless London poor—that very class of emigrant which every colony affects to despise. The Boards of Guardians indeed were empowered to give liberal assistance towards pauper emigrants; and the Poor Law Board at that time was quite prepared to grant additional facilities for dealing with the question. But Boards of Guardians are not, as a rule, eager to spend money to such an extent as to affect the rates; and if they did, human nature is strong even in the Guardians of the Poor; and they would be pretty sure to select as their assisted emigrants, not the men who would be most likely to succeed in the colony, but the men of whom they were most anxious to be free, and would be glad never to see again. Now this is just the kind of emigrant which would be most unacceptable to the colony; and indeed any body of emigrants tainted with Poor Law assistance would be looked upon with so much suspicion that there would be every prospect of their failure. For no emigrant could hope to be really successful unless he were cordially welcomed and the arms of the colony thrown open to receive him.

Well then, if all these sources of assistance were closed, could our own Government do nothing? State-aided emigration is no new demand of to-day. Years ago there was an appeal made to the Government, and, curiously enough, it was to Mr. Gladstone that the deputation went, and upon Mr. Gladstone fell the duty of discouraging any hopes that might have been entertained that the State would interfere.

Driven back from all these possible sources of help, we had to rely upon the old-fashioned but simple method of a Committee and an appeal for charitable funds. The benevolent public liberally responded, and a very large sum in all was collected. From that time forward the work went on, and

most absorbing and engrossing work it was, until, after some four years, between 5,000 and 6,000 people in all had been assisted to the colonies, mainly to Canada; and it was proved to demonstration, beyond all possibility of dispute, that an East-End working-man was not the helpless creature that he had been painted. Rescued from his wretched surroundings, inspired with new hope, delivered from all fear of pauperism and distress, he became a new man—he rose to the possibilities of the situation before him, and lived to thrive and to be thankful for the change.

It would be a long tale if we were to attempt to tell half the interesting incidents of that eventful time. What Committees!—what discussions!—what objections!—what advice!—what pathetic stories of want and suffering!—what tearful partings!—what happy stories from the other side of the Atlantic!—what excitement and business! Our mind grows dizzy as we endeavour to recall all the experiences of one of the most active periods of a busy life.

The first work, of course, was to select the emigrants. How hard it was to make the choice! How difficult to resist the earnest entreaties of those who were thought ineligible! What a work to conduct the inquiries into character, and to supplement the deficiencies of wardrobe and to rigidly exclude the regular London idler, the drunkard, and the vagabond, who would not only do himself no good, but would do the cause of emigration great harm by the discredit which he would bring upon it! How hard to have to preach, again and again, the same old sermon: that emigration was of no use except to the sober and industrious, that England was the very best country in the world for the idle and the drunkard! There were two fundamental rules which helped us over many difficulties. First, that we would only send out families; not single men or single women, except with their parents—and not married men who wanted to go out beforehand and prepare the home for their families. More than once it happened that a young man who applied to be sent out, was found to possess a sweetheart whom he was unwilling to leave. As a single man he could not be assisted; but he had only to turn his sweetheart into a wife, and the two became a family eligible for aid. We believe that many a young couple obtained in this way a fair start in life which they would have had to wait many years to secure in England. The other invariable rule was that the representatives of the Canadian Government in England should see and approve every emigrant. This was a needful precaution, in order to save the Committee from any charge brought against us in Canada of carelessness in the selection, or of sweeping

off the refuse of the East-End. But even so, we did not altogether escape the effects of the extreme jealousy and suspicion of the Canadian officials. At one time a batch of emigrants, prepared to start, was suddenly stopped by the threat addressed to the ship-owners, that unless each was found with sufficient money on landing to proceed to his destination, the ship would not be allowed to land them. Happily, the Finance-Minister of Canada arrived in England just at this crisis, and, on his own personal responsibility, allowed the emigrants to proceed by a later ship.

Sometimes our perplexities were increased by the benevolent enthusiasm of the friends of emigration. On one occasion, on visiting the ship to despatch a party of emigrants, Mrs. Kitto was struck by the quiet and contented way in which the children of some cabin-passengers were playing with their toys. This was a striking contrast to the scene amongst the emigrants whose children, not being thus provided, and affected by the general excitement and turmoil at leaving and settling down, were fractious and crying and getting in everyone's way. Thereupon Mrs. Kitto wrote a short letter to the *Times*, relating the circumstance, and appealing for toys for the poor children of the emigrants. For days and weeks after, toys poured down upon us in a torrent. Everything that a child could want, and many things that no child could possibly need—old toys, broken and battered with long use; new toys, fresh from the warehouse; toys by post, toys by carrier, toys by railway—until at last the stream became so great that the Post-office had to send a special bag by special messenger to the Parsonage, and the Parcels-delivery a special van. The next ship despatched was well supplied with toys, and the effect was not a little curious. The children were contented enough. Every kind of unmusical instrument that a perverted ingenuity ever invented for the torture of mankind seemed to have been sent; and if the children were satisfied with the performance, the adults were driven to distraction with a noise, in comparison with which even bag-pipes would be melodious. How thankful we were that we had not to make the passage to Quebec in that ship!

All the while letters were coming back to the relatives of those first sent out, enough to make a working-man's mouth water:—"This is a good place for a man to live," wrote one; "there is no talk of hunger or want here. If you could by any means send John, I know that I could get him work. I am rather lonesome without anyone belonging to me; but I have no thoughts of London, and I would like to have all my friends out of it. I am quite a different man to what I was when I left England." Another writes: "Sam is working in a tan-

yard, earning 6 dollars a week. We had a bad winter here, but we were not cold or hungry; we had plenty to eat and drink, and a good fire. There is a great prospect of work here, and I would want you and your three boys out here if you can come yourself: or if you can't, I hope I will soon be able to send for you." Another writes: "I started to work the Monday after I arrived, and have been to work ever since, earning 2½ dollars a day. It costs us from 7 to 8 dollars a week to live; and one of the little ones said, the other day, 'Why, mother, we have Sunday dinners every day here!'" Again:

> Some part of the winter I have been chopping wood, but, thank God, we have not wanted for any one thing. I have now in the house three or four bushels of potatoes, and a sack of flour, and 38 lb. of pork, so you see we do not want. I only wish you were here to help us eat it.
>
> I had only been in Toronto four hours before I got a job at 5s. a day. I thought that pretty good for a start; now I get 6s. a day. There is plenty of work for carpenters; bricklayers are getting 10s. a day; stonemasons, blacksmiths, all are wanted. The greatest demand is for farm-labourers; but anyone can get work, and I have not seen a beggar since I have been here.

These few extracts will suffice to show that one important object of the emigration was successfully accomplished, and that men were removed from a state of forlorn and hopeless misery in the East-End of London, to a condition of content and prosperity in Canada.

We do not pretend to say that this emigration was carried out on a scale sufficiently large to produce any material influence upon the labour-market of this country, or to solve the problem presented by the enormous increase of our town population: but it was enough to show (1) that there was abundant room in Canada for all whom we might be able to send; (2) that the ordinary East London working-man was not hopelessly unfitted for colonial life; and (3) that emigration is an effectual means of relief for the unemployed poor of our own country. And this experience of former years has an important bearing upon the difficulties of the present day. At that time the distress was purely local, and due in great measure to local circumstances. Universal testimony goes to show that at the present time there is a widespread distress due to the long-continued depression throughout the country, in agriculture and in trade. Now, it is notorious that in the agricultural districts the tendency of population is to diminish rather than to increase, and the result is that the whole of the enormous growth of our home-population is concentrated in the towns. This, perhaps, would be no great matter for regret if the trade of this country increased in proportion; but as Lord Derby correctly says: "The volume of our capital and our business does not increase correspondingly with the popu-

lation."[1] The consequence is, that the wave of depression which is affecting so largely the interests of our country has fallen like a blight upon many amongst the working-classes; and again the question of emigration becomes a prominent one as of old.

In many respects, however, the prospect at the present time is even more promising than it was fifteen or eighteen years ago. At that time the great North-West Manitoba—the Land of Promise, as it has been called—had not been opened to colonial enterprise. Now, the railway across the continent is making rapid progress, and is every day stretching out to districts which were before practically inaccessible. For all men who have been engaged in agriculture, and who are prepared to endure the inevitable roughnesses of a new country and the length of a Canadian winter, the prospect seems most inviting; but we have never recommended men from our East London emigrants who have families to venture so far, but have rather sought to supply the labour-market of the nearer Canadian provinces, which have themselves been greatly depleted by the rush to the North-West.

Then, again, in the present day, information about the colonies is much more easily obtained and much more widely diffused. In addition to the information supplied by the various colonial agents and by the land companies, much of which may perhaps be regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, as coming from those who are interested parties, the Christian Knowledge Society has done a good work in publishing a series of small handbooks, giving an immense amount of most valuable and reliable information at the smallest possible cost. No one ought to go to any of the colonies without being supplied with this easy guide. In addition to other useful information, the clergy will find lists of their brethren in the various colonies to whom emigrants may be commended for pastoral oversight and guidance.

And once more, the facilities for reaching the colonies are greatly increased. The Canadian Government at this day is fully alive to the importance of the question, and is giving not only counsel and advice, but pecuniary assistance, so that the actual cost of transit from London to Quebec is not more than £3 or £3 10s. to selected applicants. It is marvellous that it should be possible to accomplish so much at so small a cost. We believe, also, that there is even a warmer welcome accorded to emigrants now, and that the machinery of the Government in Canada works much more smoothly. The agents at the ports of arrival are always ready to give advice and counsel

[1] "State Emigration," p. 6.

and assistance to the new arrivals. The East-End Emigration Fund is in most cordial relations with the Canadian authorities both in England and in the colony. This fund is to some extent a revival of the work of fifteen years ago, although, alas! on a much smaller scale. During last year about 500 persons in all were sent away by its aid, and it has already despatched a considerable number during the present spring. It is very wonderful how history repeats itself. The letters now received are almost a counterpart of those sent years ago. Take the following from the Report, as an example:

> Canada is bright, and there is plenty of work if you want it, at good wages. I myself got work at my own trade the same morning I landed, and I could have got two other jobs if I had a mind to take them. If you know anyone that thinks of coming out, tell them not to fear, for there is plenty of work; and what will there be in the summer, and at good money too! I am having 18 cents an hour, and that's in the winter, and the work is not harder here than it is in the old country, for I have not worked so hard yet.

Every Thursday evening a meeting of would-be emigrants is held at Mr. Charrington's Hall, in the Mile-End Road, which he has kindly placed at the disposal of the committee, and information is given to all comers by gentlemen who are skilled in the work. Very interesting meetings these are, and most important as tending to remove many of the prejudices which lie in the path.

When some relative brings a letter from a settled emigrant, and such experiences as those recounted above are read out to the assembly, what an eager, hungry look of longing passes over the faces of the hearers, so many of whom are having hard times enough here at home!

"But surely it is a very foolish thing to make efforts like these, in order to send out the strength and wealth of the country?" we can fancy someone ask. "Surely it is a very short-sighted policy to send away our best workmen, who before long will be wanted here, as soon as trade revives!" The friends of emigration are impaled upon the horns of a dilemma. Either they are sending out the poorest and the most helpless and incapable, and, if so, the emigrants will be of no use in the colony, or they are helping the sober and the honest and the industrious, and in that case they are robbing the mother-country of the sinews of its strength.

The answer, of course, is obvious. We do not desire to advise the emigration of the helpless and incapable, unless there is some evidence to show that this condition arises only from the pressure of outward circumstances, and not from the deficiencies of a deteriorated and worthless moral character. And as to sending out the best workmen, it is only in very

rare instances that the best workmen will wish to go. Whatever be the condition of the labour-market at home, the best men are almost certain to secure employment; and that being so, the pressure of need does not stimulate the desire for emigration. And if they do go, they do not obtain or require assistance from charitable funds. But, if a man is unemployed he is a hindrance instead of a help to the community in which he lives. No idle man, whether his idleness is voluntary or enforced, can be a useful member of society. Under the paralyzing influence of idleness a man degenerates in character and becomes a learner in the school which leads to pauperism and crime. Remove the man to the colony in which his energies can be employed, and he becomes a producer as well as a consumer; and under the healthy and wholesome influence of work, his whole material position and moral character improve. Can this process be fairly called in question as enriching the colony at the expense of the mother-country? If England sends out to the most distant parts of the world those of her sons whom she cannot profitably employ at home, is not England the richer for the change? And, after all, are we to regard the colonies as though they were aliens in race and opposed in interest? Are they not an integral part of the same great empire to which we all belong? Surely it is the most mischievous policy to urge that we ought to keep men idling, starving, degenerating here, in the hope that at some future time there may be a chance of temporary employment! It is impossible to deny the force of the appeal which Mr. A. Simmons makes.[1] "Here," he says, "are thousands of idle hands. There, are millions of acres of fertile but idle lands. The two pant to be brought into association; but an ocean divides them. We have the money; we have the ships: we have all the machinery and power necessary; but we decline to use or apply them. The unemployed and the helpless declare that they want to go. Our retort is, that we may want them here. So here they remain, in their squalor and rags and misery—in case 'we may want them.' We have great and glorious possessions abroad; but instead of peopling them and creating fresh markets for ourselves, we coop up our surplus population in idleness, and set off to build better houses for poor souls who cannot go to live in them, because their pockets are empty. We can all sympathize with and help in the cry for the better housing of the poor; but at the best that is a partial remedy. Emigration provides a permanent and complete escape from poverty for those who accept it. It is a boon to those who go, a benefit to those who stay at

[1] "State Aid Emigration," p. 16.

home, and an advantage to the colonies where they are received. Conducted on a State-directed, joint home and colonial footing, it will assist in welding together more firmly the interests and affections of the people in the different sections of the empire. All this is admitted, but the help necessary to secure so much positive good is withheld. As one who is intimately acquainted with the feelings and sentiments of the poorest classes, both in London and in the provinces, I emphatically assert that help cannot be withheld much longer without creating a serious danger to the community."

We have only space very briefly to refer to the determined opposition shown to the cause of emigration by the "Democratic Federation for the Nationalization of Land." Agents from this society have thought it worth while to attend emigration meetings in order to disturb them, and to air their peculiar opinions.

"Why should the working-classes be driven to emigration?" cried one so-called working-man. "Why don't you send out the useless and idle classes above the working-men? Why don't you send out the bishops?" with a very pointed look at the chairman, who happened to be a clergyman. The answer was easy, and was promptly given: "Our aim is only to try to assist those who want to emigrate, and who cannot move from want of funds. As for the bishops, when they apply for assistance we shall be prepared to consider the application; but so far as we know, no one amongst them has applied." *Justice*, the organ of this federation, has an extraordinary article intended to show that the energy shown in the work of emigration is part of a subtle scheme on the part of land speculators to increase the value of land in Canada at the expense of this country, and speaks of the attitude of the clergy in the following terms:[1]

> The position taken up by the clergy on this question, more particularly those of the Established Church, is one open to the severest censure. As a body, they have made common cause with the confiscating classes against the national rights of their oppressed fellow-citizens. Before the tyrants they are dumb, whilst what influence they possess is used to benumb the senses of the unfortunate victims of our social and political slavery.

Perhaps when the Democratic Federation has succeeded in abolishing the landlords and the capitalists, and the bishops and the clergy, and has accomplished its object in the nationalization of land, it may also be successful in making this island bigger, or its population smaller. In the meantime, there is no reason to suppose that there will be any lack of

[1] *Justice*, April 5, 1884.

willing applicants who are ready to take the chance of success in the colonies rather than wait here while the Democratic Federation is putting the world straight generally, and carrying out schemes of which, after all, it must be allowed, that no one can tell how they will answer until they have been tried.

Let the generous British public be assured that no greater boon can be conferred upon the community, or upon the individual, than to enable him to change despair into hope, and poverty for the promise of plenty; and however large may be the extent of British benevolence, we will undertake to say that it will not be large enough to meet the urgent necessities of the case, or to fulfil the desires of every would-be emigrant.

JOHN F. KITTO.

ART. IV.—THE EXTENDED DIACONATE.

THE Reverend Canon Garratt has written to us as follows:

Those who have desired to see the Diaconate, the first of the three Orders which arose in the Church, made once again a reality, cannot feel too thankful for the resolution proposed by the Bishop of Winchester, and carried unanimously in the Upper House of the Southern Convocation, and agreed to by the Convocation of the Northern Province, which affirms the whole principle contended for. What remains now is the carrying out that principle into practice.

It is well to consider some of those difficulties which naturally present themselves to thoughtful minds. That in every plan affecting the Ministry there will be difficulties is inevitable; and all that can reasonably be expected is the proof that the difficulties created by a change will not be greater than those which actually exist, or will be compensated by the advantages to be gained.

The first difficulty which presents itself is this: A considerable number of Deacons will, in all probability, find themselves, after being ordained, unsuited to the work, and, not being dependent on it for subsistence, will relinquish it. But "the history and habit and fixed ideas of the Church," as it is well expressed by Canon Bernard, in the last number of THE CHURCHMAN, preclude the laying aside the office. Now, I do not think it necessary to enter on the question of the indelibility of Holy Orders, in order to solve the difficulty. I will assume that the Deacon "has received the character for life." Surely it does not follow from that that it is either right or wise to compel him, by making it his only means of subsistence, to the actual exercise of an office for which he finds himself unfit. So far from the facility with which a self-supporting Deacon can cease from the exercise of his office being an objection to the scheme, it seems to me one of its greatest advantages. Deeply as we may regret that one who has put his hand to the plough should look back, and whatever may be the personal injury to his own spiritual interests of such a step, surely, since he is "not fit for the kingdom of God"—that is, for carrying on God's work in the office he has undertaken—it is reason for thankfulness that his worldly interests do not make his exercise of it a