

IX.—THE GREAT BOHUSLÄN HERRING-FISHERIES.

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Among the causes which have exercised a powerful influence on the material and moral well-being of the population of Bohuslän, the *large periodical herring-fisheries* doubtless occupy a very prominent place. They are called periodical, because, as far as known, they have only lasted from twenty to eighty years, with intervals of sixty to one hundred, or of an average of seventy years, when the North Sea herrings did not enter the Kattegat and visit our coasts. We will, for the present, not inquire into the causes of this phenomenon, but observe what influence these fisheries have had on the well-being of our country, and endeavor to draw certain lessons for the future. We intend to show that these fisheries have exercised an influence not so much through the enormous income derived from them as by the corruption and immorality which they brought in their train, and by the sudden and radical changes which they occasioned in the quiet and even development of the resources of the province.

In considering each one of the fishing-periods separately we arrive at the remarkable and unexpected result that in course of time these troubles rather increase than decrease. To prove this we shall give a brief account of the older fisheries in chronological order, and give a fuller account of the more recent fisheries.

The oldest date we have regarding the Bohuslän herring-fisheries is from the reign of *Olof "the Saint"* (A. D. 1000–1028). The war between him and *Olof "Lap-king,"* which prevented the Visigoths from drawing their usual supply of herrings and salt from Bohuslän,¹ caused the bold utterances of *Thorgny* at the general assembly at Upsala in 1020. The old northern sagas relate that there were considerable herring-fisheries in Southern Norway, which undoubtedly means the coast of Bohuslän during the reign of King *Sverre*, that is, during the second half of the eleventh century. The data regarding the herring-fisheries which we have from those remote times are, however, so incomplete and so vague

**Några ord om de stora bohus-lännska Sillfiskena.* Af Axel Vilhelm Ljungman. Göteborg, 1877. Translated by Herman Jacobson.

The province of Bohuslän has an area of 1,952 square miles and a population (December, 1876) of 248,024. The chief city is Gottenburg, with 70,000 inhabitants, the second city of Sweden.—*Translator's note.*

¹It must be remembered that in 871 the Norwegian king, *Harold "Haarfagre"* (Fine hair), had united Bohuslän with Norway, in whose possession it remained till 1658, when it was ceded to Sweden.

that all we can gather from them is the fact that even then the herring-fisheries were carried on only at long intervals, for if they had been going on uninterruptedly they would certainly have assumed such proportions as to attract the attention of the authors of the sagas. The conditions under which such fisheries can be carried on in Bohuslän are so favorable, compared with the northern and western coasts of Norway—and Norway was at that time powerful enough to protect the fisheries during the short fishing-season—that it would be unreasonable to suppose that such had not been the case, or that the herrings should have visited this coast steadily without any considerable fisheries being carried on. But as in all probability the herrings did not come regularly every year, the Bohuslän herring-fisheries must have been less important in those times. This will appear still more probable if we take into consideration the smaller population, the constant disturbances occasioned by civil and foreign wars, and the limited knowledge of proper fishing-inplements and of the proper way of preparing fish for the trade.

The first Bohuslän herring-fishery of any importance has, therefore, probably been the one which attracted so much attention during the first part of the thirteenth century, and which is supposed to have begun towards the end of King *Håkon Håkonsson's* reign, that is, in the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century. King *Håkon "the Old"* died in 1262, and in 1257 it seems the fisheries had not yet commenced.² It was only under the reign of this king that the outer coast of Bohuslän was occupied and cultivated by man, which certainly was the most essential condition of the development of the sea-fisheries as a trade independent of agriculture.

Bohuslän, like the rest of Norway, had, during the twelfth century, reached a degree of civilization, wealth, and population which scarcely found its equal in the other portions of Scandinavia. The city of Marstrand dates its existence from that period (although its excellent harbor had before that time become a favorite meeting-place of merchant-vessels); and the establishment of wealthy convents³ near Dragsmark seems likewise to point to the importance and development of this coast. With the convent founded by King *Håkon* there was combined a sort of high school, one of the first of its kind, if not in the whole of Scandinavia, at least in that portion. This school, during the following two centuries, became of considerable importance for the whole country.⁴ The constant intercourse kept up by a flourishing commerce between Norway and foreign countries, the great interest taken in litera-

² Concerning these fisheries see *A. Boeck's* article: "*Det bohuslänska sillfiskeriet's historia*," in "*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Fiskeri*," I, Copenhagen, 1873, pp. 1-3; and *A. E. Holmberg's* "*Bohusläns historia och beskrifning*." Uddevalla, 1842-45. I, p. 80; II, p. 84; III, p. 194, 406. Second edition, Oerebro, 1867, I, p. 96, 279; II, p. 314; III, p. 191. The opinion advanced by the first-mentioned author that these fisheries had commenced long before the end of the twelfth century seems, however, somewhat doubtful.

³ Even long before this time there was a similar convent at Konungabella.

⁴ *Holmberg's Bohusläns historia och beskrifning*, III, p. 102-103; 2d ed., II, p. 227.

ture and art, evinced by translations of the master-works of the literatures of Western Europe, and by beautiful buildings, of course contributed their share towards the mental development of the people. And as Bohuslän, on account of its favorable location, its wealth, and population, had formed an important portion of the monarchy ever since the beginning of the tenth century, where the kings often resided and where the nobility gathered, it cannot, as under changed circumstances was the case at a later period, have been neglected over other portions of Scandinavia. This period was, in many respects, the golden age of Bohuslän, and it reached a degree of wealth and political power which even the party-warfare of centuries could not destroy entirely. These civil wars resulted in the strengthening of the royal power and the establishment of a well-ordered government, which Sweden, for instance, did not obtain till the reign of *Gustaf Vasa* (1523-1560). All this caused the rich herring-fisheries, which are supposed to have begun about 1260, to be carried on with energy, in order to utilize the vast masses of herrings which came to the coast. These herring-fisheries continued without any considerable disturbance by war till far into the thirteenth century, and it is not impossible that there was good fishing off and on till the year 1341. If our suppositions regarding the beginning and end of these fisheries are correct, which, however, cannot be said with absolute certainty, this fishing-period must have extended over eighty years or more, and would, therefore, have been the longest fishing-period on record. From this fishing-period we have the first account of foreigners being allowed to participate in the herring-fisheries, a measure by which first the herring-trade and then all the other trade of the country gradually got into the hands of foreigners, by which Bohuslän lost much of its importance, which, to a great extent, depended on its shipping and commerce. The foreigners who visited these fishing-grounds had certainly to pay a tax for the herrings which they took away, but it is not known that any such tax was demanded from the citizens of the country, either for exporting herrings or for the privilege of participating in the fisheries.

Under the reign of *Magnus Häkonsson*, the son of the above-mentioned king, *Häkon Häkonsson*, in the year 1274, the old provincial laws of Norway were revised and collected in a common law, which is the oldest law that was ever in force in Bohuslän. Its regulations regarding the fisheries are, in the main points, in force in Norway to this very day. As regards the herring-fisheries, the regulations are evidently taken from the older laws of Northern and Western Norway,⁵ and only relate to the so-called spring-herring fisheries, which are carried on during the winter, but not to those fisheries which are carried on during the milder season of the year, and consequently not to the Bohuslän fisheries.

At the end of the above-mentioned fishing-period there followed a longer interval during which those kinds of herring which chiefly form

⁵ *Häkon Häkonsson's Law* XV, 5. Compare L. M. B. Aubert: "*De norske Retskilder og deres Anvendelse.*" Christiania, 1877, p. 36.

the object of the great fisheries do not seem to have visited our coast. About the middle of the fourteenth century we find very flourishing herring-fisheries, and on the 15th of July, 1453, Pope *Nicholas V* urged the archbishop of Lund, the bishop of Skara, and the abbot of the convent of Hovedö to protect the right of the priests in the diocese of Oslo to receive a tithe of all the herrings that were caught against any interference of the secular powers.⁶ But we possess a much more distinct and important proof that rich herring-fisheries occurred during this period, in a deposition⁷ made at the district court of Askim, on Tuesday after St. Botolph's day, that is, the 22d of June, 1496, which says, "that Hvinge and other coasts have from olden times belonged to the Swedish empire and to the district of Elffnesborg, no one can question; and those who caught herrings there paid a tax at Elffnesborg, as is well known." We thus must conclude that herring-fisheries had been going on there which were still remembered, and that the authorities taxed the people for the privilege of participating in these fisheries. This change of our periodical herring-fishery to a kind of government fishery⁸ is something entirely new and unknown in former legislation. In all probability it may be traced to the foreign tendency and the constant impecuniosity of the union kings, who came from German stock. In Denmark, where the union kings mostly resided, the rule had been established that everything which did not belong to an individual or to a community belonged to the king. A circumstance which caused the introduction of such a herring-tax, or at any rate facilitated it, may have been the popular notion that the herring-fisheries were a special gift of Providence, for which gratitude should be expressed to the king as to the representative of divine power. This last-mentioned idea is doubtless derived from the pagan idea that the highest priestly power belongs to the king. In accordance with this idea the Norwegian law granted to the king a certain portion of the whales which from time to time were driven against the coast of Norway. Although we have no positive proof that the tax on herring-fisheries was also introduced in Bohuslän, it is highly probable that this was the case sooner in Bohuslän than in Vestergotland, unless the crown claimed this tax at one and the same time in both provinces, which is the most probable supposition. The royal power was at that time much more developed in Norway than in Sweden, and it is scarcely probable that the union kings should have introduced such a tax in Vestergotland and not also in Bohuslän. The herring-fisheries of Western and Northern Norway were not treated in the same manner, because they were of a different character, there being no periods when these fisheries stopped entirely, like those of Bohuslän; although something similar takes place in the winter fisheries, the summer and autumn fisheries have generally continued without interruption.

⁶ Boeck in "*Nordisk Tidskrift for Fiskeri*," I, p. 3-4.

⁷ J. Oedman: "*Bohusläns beskrifning*," Stockholm, 1746, p. 378-380.

⁸ C. G. Styffe, "*Framställning af de s. k. Grundregalernas uppkomst och tillämpning i Sverige*," p. 266.

We have no data regarding the time when this Bohuslän herring-fishery of the fourteenth century began or when it ended. We know that King *Erik*, "*the Pommeranian*" (1389-1439), asked the English king, *Henry V*, in the year 1415, to prohibit the inhabitants of several English seaports from fishing for herrings on the coast of Norway, which privilege had been granted to them in the year 1294; but it is uncertain whether this prohibition referred to actual fishing or to general trade—more especially to the exportation of lumber—which was going on under the pretext of herring-fishing.⁹ Nor is it absolutely certain that this prohibition referred to Bohuslän, although this is quite probable. The herring-fisheries at that time formed a pretext for Englishmen, and still more for Dutchmen from the province of Zealand, as well as for Germans, to get a great portion of the trade of Scandinavia, "and especially Denmark," into their hands; and the lumber trade was at that time, and even till Bohuslän was united with Sweden, one of the principal sources of income of this province. Since King *Erik* at the same time prohibited the Germans from fishing in Skåne, whilst he granted still greater privileges to the Dutch, it almost seems as if he had intended that the Dutch should monopolize the Scandinavian herring-fisheries. They were doubtless less dangerous than the Germans, who occasionally attempted to acquire these rights by force.

During this fishing-period the city of Marstrand obtained similar privileges from King *Christopher*, "*the Bavarian*," in July, 1442, and its church, in the year 1460, was granted a title of the herring-fisheries.¹⁰ We mention these facts merely to prove that this city must at that time have been in a flourishing condition, which could not have been brought about by anything but the herring-fisheries. Uddevalla had probably at this time likewise gained importance and become a city. Its oldest privileges, however, date from the end of the fourteenth century.

To this herring-fishery of the fourteenth century the old historian *Peter Claussön* doubtless refers in his well-known work "*Norriges ocomliggende Oers sandfaerdige Bescriffuelse*" (True Description of Norway and the surrounding Islands), when he says: "It is said that in former times there have been very extensive herring-fisheries in Viksidan,¹¹ which have disappeared by magic, bad men having sunk a copper horse in the sea and thereby driven the herrings away from the coast; but this is only a fable; for it was the wickedness of men, their abuse of God's good gifts and their godless life, which caused the fisheries to cease. This was also the case during the last herring-fishery which the merciful God gave to Viksidan in the year 1556." *Peter Claussön* lived during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Concerning this last-mentioned herring-fishery, which commenced about

⁹ See *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," II, p. 14; 2d edition, I, p. 211.

¹⁰ *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," III, p. 406-408, 429; 2d edition, III, p. 192-193, 212.

¹¹ At that time Bohuslän was called "*Viksidan*," to distinguish it from the southeastern coast of Norway, which was called "*Agdesidan*."

the middle of the sixteenth century,¹² and which continued without interruption till 1590, we possess much more information. The change of these fisheries from public to crown fisheries in Vestergotland, which is actually proved, whilst the same is *supposed* to have taken place in Bohuslän, has now been fully proved also with regard to this last-mentioned province. It was carried out in a manner which exercised a great influence on the fishing-trade and on the physical and moral welfare of our coast. On the 19th of April, 1561, King *Frederick II* sent a letter to the Bohuslän authorities in which he says: "Since we have learned that the fisheries are very much increasing in Marstrand, we ask you to see to it that the royal tax on fishing is regularly collected."¹³

Further information concerning this right of the crown we find in the "Rules and Regulations for the Bohuslän herring-fisheries," published on the 12th of July, 1561, which are said to be the oldest regulations of this kind, and which at that time were generally known by the name of the "Marstrand law-books." We must here give the introduction to these "Rules and Regulations" as showing the claims of the king and the great influence of this fishery on the material welfare of our province. It reads as follows: "We, *Frederick II*, make known to all men, that since we have learned how the Almighty God has extended his favor and blessing to our kingdom of Norway by letting the herrings come to its coast, we decree for the benefit of all those who are engaged in the fisheries, *first*, that all foreign merchants attending the fisheries must stay in Marstrand and nowhere else,¹⁴ and there pay to us a tax of 320 herrings per season and one-half dollar for every 12 tons of herring exported from the kingdom.¹⁵ *Second*, that no foreign merchants visiting these fishing-stations shall bring with them any butter, skins, tallow, or any other goods, except what they absolutely need

¹² As already in the year 1557 the citizens of Oslo, Tónsberg, and Sarpsborg, had obtained the privilege of trading with Marstrand, Kungelf, and Udevalla, in exchange for certain rights granted to the inhabitants of these towns, it seems that even at that time the fisheries had become so extensive as to attract attention; and the herrings must certainly have come to this coast several years previous to 1557. For it often takes a long time till good herring-fisheries become known, which has been fully proved by our fisheries during the seventeenth century.

¹³ The extracts from the royal letters and regulations concerning the herring-fisheries of the fifteenth century are taken from *Axel Boeck's* above-mentioned treatise on the history of the Bohuslän herring-fisheries in "*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Fiskeri*," I, p. 5-27, to which we refer those who desire further information regarding this fishing-period.

¹⁴ This regulation was occasionally dispensed with, for instance in 1566 for the Lubeck merchants; but in 1573 and 1580 it was decreed that foreign merchants could only trade in other places by special permit from the Marstrand tax-gatherers.

¹⁵ This tax was finally raised to one dollar for every 12 tons; the consequence was that many foreign merchants made false entries, giving the names of Swedish merchants in other towns as the owners of the herrings; or bought the herrings from the fishermen on the outer coast, and thus paid no tax at all. By a Royal Decree of 1580 it was strictly forbidden to export any fresh herrings.

during the time they stay here.¹⁶ Any one transgressing this rule forfeits his goods. Our own subjects shall be allowed to fish wherever herrings are found, and pay their annual tax in Marstrand.¹⁷ They need not pay any tax on those herrings which they salt for their own use, but on herrings salted for exportation to foreign parts they shall pay the same tax as foreigners.¹⁸ Both citizens and foreigners are commanded to faithfully observe all these regulations." These so-called "Law-books" must not be considered, however, as having introduced any new or permanent law, or as having changed any of the general laws of the country, with the exception of regulations which were occasionally made just for one season.¹⁹ Transgressions of these laws and regulations did not come before the common courts, but before the royal tax-gatherers, who in fact superintended the entire fisheries. It appears from the introduction to the oldest of these so-called "Law-books," that the inhabitants of Bohuslän, like all others who participated in these fisheries, had to pay a certain tax, and that the same right of fishing was given to the king's subjects in Denmark and Germany as well as to those in Norway. It is evident that such a law as that which the kings had made with regard to the Marstrand coast, and later also with regard to the more northern portions of the coast, allowing foreigners to participate in the fisheries on very much the same conditions as their own subjects, drew a large number of people to our coasts during the fishing-season, and *Peter Claussön* also reports that every year several thousand vessels and boats came from Denmark and Holstein as well as from other countries. As the king of course desired the greatest possible revenue from his fisheries, and as this revenue was paid partly in an annual quantity of herrings, and partly in a certain sum of money on those herrings that were exported, it was of course desirable to draw a large number of fishers to the coast and export as many herrings as possible. It appears,

¹⁶ As there were constant complaints that the foreign merchants injured the home-trade, a decree was published in 1569, that they should only be allowed to trade from Michaelmas (September 29) till the first Sunday in Lent. And by further decrees of 1573 and 1580, the privileges of foreign merchants were limited still more.

¹⁷ The tax in herrings must always be paid in the largest and best herrings, and was measured in a separate vessel holding about one-third of a ton. Every fisherman must sell to the government a boat-load of the first herrings at the "usual" price. The government moreover had the first right to buy the best herrings—until all the royal salting-houses were supplied—any one who made a higher bid than the tax-gatherers being heavily fined. The tax-gatherers, however, must pay the highest price which could reasonably be demanded.

¹⁸ In 1580 the tax was raised to one dollar for 12 tons, also for citizens if they exported their fish in foreign vessels.

¹⁹ The assertion made by some people, that several regulations contained in these "Law-books" have been handed down to our own times by popular tradition and are still observed by the coast population of Bohuslän, shows only complete ignorance of the present state of affairs. The most complete of these "Law-books" is mentioned in *Th. Boeck's Oversigt over Literatur, Love, Forordninger, Rescripter m. m. vedrørende de norske Fiskerier* [Review of the literature, laws, regulations, decrees, &c., of the Norwegian Fisheries], Christiania. 1866, p. 3-8.

however, that the inhabitants of Bohuslän did not look favorably upon fishermen coming from abroad, and *Peter Claussön* relates that the Bohuslän people hated all those who came there to fish, and frequently cursed them and beat them, so that it was not safe for any fisherman to go among them, unless they were well armed and a number of them went together. Gradually, however, the number of foreign fishermen grew so large that they became all-powerful, and the principal part of the herring-trade passed into their hands. In order to become a source of national welfare, the herring-fishery must, as was the case with the Dutch, be not so much an object in itself as a means of increasing commerce and navigation. From the time (1612 and 1620) when the Dutch resolved to carry on the herring-fisheries according to strict rules for their own sake and as an object in itself, they began to go down, and gradually lost their importance, so that this so-called "gold mine" of the Netherlands dwindled down to nothing, and had finally to be supported by considerable government subsidies.

The method of fishing likewise led to trouble, for in order to catch the greatest possible number of fish, nets were used exclusively, requiring a large number of people, who were thus taken away from other occupations, and being crowded together, occasioned disturbances and immoral practices. The cause why fishing was carried on with nets must doubtless be sought in traditions and in the regulations of the above-mentioned "Law-books," as well as in the manner in which the royal tax was collected.²⁰ Even the preparing of the herrings for the trade, which consisted chiefly in drying, required by far too many men.

That these fisheries were very considerable may be inferred from statistics given in a pamphlet published at the time, according to which Marstrand annually salted, dried, and exported 600,000 tons of herrings.²¹ We must here give *Peter Claussön's* brief description of these fisheries, as throwing a good deal of light on this whole question. He says: "Several thousand people from the neighboring countries, Norway, Denmark, and Holstein, had come here with their wives and children, and had built themselves houses on the coast. Noblemen, as well as merchants and peasants, had erected large and beautiful houses, some of them two or three stories high; some of these were so large that 168 tons of herrings could conveniently be hung up and dried at one and the same time. Extending for 50 to 60 miles along the outer coast, there were many thousand houses and huts, and numberless people lived on every bay and fiord and island. Thousands of vessels arrived annually from Denmark, Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, and France for the purpose of buying herrings and shipping them to distant countries." Marstrand, which was the centre of the fishery and the trade connected

²⁰ See "Law-book" of October 26, 1575, §§ 8-11, 13; *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," II, p. 88; 2d edition, I, p. 283.

²¹ *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," II, p. 84-85; III, p. 408; 2d edition, I, p. 280; III, p. 193.

with it, rose to considerable importance; it had two mayors, a chief of police, a syndic, ten aldermen, &c., which certainly is an evidence of prosperity.²² Another evidence is found in the amount of war-taxes which Marstrand had to pay during the war with Sweden, and which was as high as that of the large city of Bergen. The inhabitants of Marstrand complained about this, and succeeded in having the taxes lowered; but this fact shows indisputably that at that time Marstrand was the second city of Norway, and ranked higher than Trondhjem, Oslo, and Tönsberg. Uddevalla seems also to have derived considerable benefit from these fisheries.²³

We will now see what influence these rich fisheries exercised on the moral condition and true well-being of Bohuslän. The king, in order to increase the revenues of the crown, desired to draw as many fishermen as possible to the coast of Bohuslän, and succeeded in seeing his desire fulfilled. The consequence was, that all sorts of people came to Bohuslän from Norway, Denmark, and the German provinces of the Danish crown, many of them by no means persons of high moral character. *Peter Claussön*, in the above-mentioned pamphlet, gives us some idea of the character of the coast population, when there we read of the "godless life which the people led, drinking, gambling, whoring, murder and quarrels being every-day occurrences" in the cities of Marstrand and Udevalla.²⁴

As the number of bloody frays increased, it became necessary to appoint special surgeons. It is highly characteristic of those times that, whenever the surgeons had to dress fresh wounds, they had to announce the fact to the tax-gatherer, so the king might not lose the fine which was imposed on frays of this kind. The "Law-books" imposed very heavy fines on the transgression of any of their regulations; still disorder and vice were not much diminished.²⁵ The tax-gatherers, in whose hands great power was laid, were frequently guilty of violent extortions. The revenues which the crown derived from these fisheries proved of little benefit to the country, for they were chiefly employed for carrying on a useless war against Sweden.

Towards the year 1590 the fisheries began to decrease, as was generally supposed, on account of the godless life led by the fishermen, and the abuse of God's gifts; and the last "Law-book," which was issued in 1589, therefore recommends an earnest reform, saying: "As all good gifts come from Almighty God and His Divine Majesty, thus our kingdom of Norway has richly experienced His favors, its inhabitants as

²² *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," III, 408-409; 2d ed., III, p. 193-194.

²³ *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," III, p. 113; 2d edition, II, p. 239.

²⁴ *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," II, p. 93, note; III, p. 113, 409; 2d edition, I, p. 287-288, note; II, p. 239; III, p. 194.

²⁵ *Holmberg*, "*Bohuslän's historia och beskrifning*," II, p. 93, note; 2d edition, I, p. 287-288, note.

well as others having been blessed with successful herring-fisheries. But since there is danger that God may withdraw His blessings on account of the great sins and vices of the inhabitants of the coast, our tax-gatherers, each one in his district, shall see to it that people in the fishing-stations lead good and Christian lives; that there is preaching every Sunday, and people are exhorted to lead a godly life, so that God may be moved by the prayers of good Christians to extend His blessings to us also in the future." A short time after this "Law-book" had been issued, the herrings entirely disappeared from the coast of Bohuslän; and *Peter Claussön* relates that "many hundred merchants and fishermen went to great expense, but all in vain."

It would naturally be supposed that after the close of the fisheries the coast population were suffering from great poverty and want; but as nothing of the kind is handed down by tradition or by writings from those times,²⁶ it must be supposed that the evil consequences were in some measure diminished or warded off in such a way as not seriously to influence the whole province.²⁷ It is possible that many of the inhabitants of the coast moved to other parts, or found some other employment. The land-owners of Bohuslän were at that time well-to-do and independent, having other sources of income; whilst in the cities, among the rest in Marstrand, the considerable commerce had produced a state of well-being. Although the herring-fisheries exercised a great influence on the population of Bohuslän through their demoralizing tendencies, and through the poverty consequent upon their sudden cessation, Bohuslän suffered less than it did two hundred years later when the same occurrence took place. One reason was certainly the shorter duration of the fisheries in the sixteenth century as well as the very limited freedom of trade.

About seventy years later, when Bohuslän, after having for eight centuries formed a province of Norway, was incorporated with Sweden, the herrings again visited our coast; and there would certainly again have been large fisheries if the sanguinary war between Denmark and Sweden, which lasted from 1675 to 1679, had not prevented all fishing. Moreover, the conditions for drawing together on this coast a large number of experienced fishermen were not so favorable as when Bohuslän still belonged to Denmark-Norway.

In order to give to the herring-fisheries some legal sanction, a royal decree was published, October 13, 1666, concerning a regulation which was to be observed during the herring-fisheries. In this regulation certain ports are mentioned, viz, Gottenburg, Kalfsund, Marstrand, Mollösund, Gullholmen, and Lysekil, in which alone herrings might be taken ashore and be prepared for the trade, and where inspectors, endowed with the necessary authority, should supervise the fisheries and see to

²⁶ *Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. o. besk.*," II, p. 100, 101, note.

²⁷ It is quite probable, however, that these demoralizing herring-fisheries have left traces on the central coast of Bohuslän, especially near Tjörn, which may be felt even in our days; for otherwise it would be difficult to explain the low moral state of the population on that coast, of which *Holmberg* and other authors speak.

it that only good herrings got into the market. People had learned wisdom by experience, and henceforth only Swedish subjects were allowed to engage in the herring-fisheries, whilst foreigners had to acquire this privilege by special compact. But no such compact or treaty with foreigners is ever mentioned. Foreigners were also forbidden to buy herrings in the ports. There was no tax on herring-fishing, and it is supposed that the Swedish Government by granting this freedom intended to make the population of the newly-acquired province more favorably inclined towards itself. The tax on herring exported to foreign countries was lowered considerably. To maintain good order among the fishermen a so-called "port-law" was published the 10th of May, 1669.

As the inhabitants of Bohuslän henceforth carried on the fisheries almost exclusively under a comparatively mild government, they derived considerable benefit from the fisheries. *Holmberg* mentions as a proof of this that most of the church ornaments in Bohuslän date from this period.²⁸

We have no data regarding the exact time when this fishing-period came to a close. But about the year 1670 the herrings seem to have ceased to come to the southern coast of Bohuslän, and according to the most reliable authorities fishing seemed to have closed in 1679 or 1680 also on the central and northern coast. According to an old tradition there is said to have been occasional fishing till the commencement of the great Northern war, under *Charles XII*, in the year 1700.²⁹

In the foregoing it has been said that the law of *Magnus Häkonsson* is the oldest law of Bohuslän. This law had been examined, however, and its language changed a little under the reign of King *Christian IV* when it was printed in the year 1604. As regards the fisheries, however, the regulations of the old law remained almost unchanged. This law of 1604 remained in force in Bohuslän till the winter of 1682, when the Swedish law was introduced.³⁰ The regulations of the Swedish law regarding fishing were fewer in number and shorter, as the fisheries were not so important for Sweden as they had been for Norway; but they changed nothing regarding the privilege of fishing on the sea-coast, for coast-fishing was at that time, in Sweden as well as in Norway, with few exceptions, open to all inhabitants of the country.³¹

About sixty or seventy years after the great herring-fisheries of the sixteenth century came to a close, the last great Bohuslän fishing-period commenced, concerning which all the inhabitants of this province

²⁸ *Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. o. besk.*," I, p. 135; II, p. 85; III, p. 115, 346, 411; 2d edition, I, p. 148, 280; II, p. 241; III, p. 136, 196.

²⁹ *Lundbeck*, "*Anteckningar rörande Bohuslänska fiskerierna, i synnerhet sillfisket*" [The Bohuslän fisheries, especially the herring-fisheries]. Gottenburg, 1832, p. 35-36.

³⁰ *Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. o. besk.*," I, p. 135; 2d ed., I, p. 148.—*Aubert*, "*De Norske Rettskilder*" [Sources of Norwegian Law], p. 397-406.—"*Nytt juridiskt Arkiv*" [New Law Archives], 1876, II, No. 12, p. 1-9.

³¹ Among these exceptions the more important are the so-called "crown fisheries," near the royal domains, parks, or islands, where fishing can only be carried on by special permit of the government authorities. ■

have heard, and which, according to unanimous testimony,³² began in the year 1747. Fishing seems to have commenced in the neighborhood of Tjörn and the Marstrand Islands, but soon after seems to have extended along the whole southern coast to the boundary of Holland. Later the herrings chiefly came to the coast between Marstrand and Lysekil, and after the year 1773 also to the northern coast. In 1778 occasional herrings are said to have been seen near the Hval Islands, in that part of Southeastern Norway which bounds Bohuslän. On the northern coast the herrings advanced a little farther north every year, whilst their quality had already begun to deteriorate. In speaking of the northern coast in those times, the coast north of Sotenaes is not counted in, but this term only applies to the coast between Marstrand and Lysekil. Towards the end of this fishing-period, however, large quantities of herring again came to the southern coast; but this was considered an exceptional case. The Norwegian naturalist *Axel Boeck* has shown that a similar change has taken place, both in the Norwegian spring-herring fisheries and in the Bohuslän fisheries during the sixteenth century, and we are therefore justified in expecting that this will also take place in the future, in case the herrings should again come to our coast. This fishing-period came to an end in 1808, after having lasted sixty-two years, and this event was foreshadowed by the moving of the fish in a northerly direction, by the later and later appearance of the fish, "finally only about Christmas time," and by its being mixed with small herring during the last year of this fishing-period. The value of these indications for the future is increased, since the above-mentioned Norwegian naturalist has shown that the same took place at the close of the Bohuslän fisheries in 1590 and of the Norwegian fisheries in 1787 and 1870.³³

The fisheries, however, grew in importance only very gradually, for Sweden could not, as Norway had done formerly, send a sufficient number of experienced fishermen to the coast, but these had to be educated by degrees. From the Dutch the Swedes learned the proper way of preparing the herrings, and soon movable nets were adopted instead of stationary ones. As a great many more herrings were caught than could conveniently be salted and smoked, people in the year 1760 began to make oil of those that were left over. All this was easier, for both the new method of fishing and the manufacture of oil required only a comparatively small number of men, which as early as during the fisheries of the sixteenth century had been considered a great advantage. Foreigners were excluded from the fisheries and from the trade in fresh herrings, although the last-mentioned regulation was not strictly enforced

³² The year 1752, which in some works is mentioned as the time when these fisheries commenced, is probably the year when the herrings commenced to approach the Gottenburg coast in any considerable number.

³³ *A. Boeck*, "*Om Silden og Sildefiskerierne*," &c. [On the herring and the herring-fisheries, &c.]. I. Christiania, 1871, p. 102-118; *Göteborg's och Bohusläns Hushållning-Sällskaps Quartalskrift* [Quarterly Review of the Gottenburg and Bohuslän Economical Society], October, 1870, p. 36-39 and 44-54.

in the case of the Danes and Norwegians. Foreigners who intended to become Swedish citizens were for three years freed from all personal taxes and enjoyed the same privileges as the natives. The government asked no tax for the privilege of participating in the fisheries, but even paid a subsidy for furnishing large seines, and also in other ways encouraged the fishing-trade. The government also endeavored to draw people to the coast to engage in fishing by giving them free building-lots, lumber from the royal forests, freedom from military service, &c. From 1756 till 1787 the government even permitted Swedish subjects who had fled from Sweden on account of minor offences to return without being punished if they would settle on the coast and engage in fishing. In 1765 a decree was published permitting people who lived in the most distant provinces on the Gulf of Bothnia to go to Bohuslän by sea free of expense if they would engage in the herring-fisheries. The number of those who came to the coast of Bohuslän every year during the fishing-season in order to be employed in fishing or in the preparation of fish for the trade was, during the most flourishing period, estimated at 50,000, not counting in the stationary population of the coast.³⁴

Besides holding out inducements for people to engage in fishing, endeavors were also made to further the fishing-interests by improved and more complete laws, for which purpose during the period 1767–1772 a special parliamentary "fishing-commission" was appointed to which all questions concerning fishery-legislation were referred. During the period 1774–1778 special reports on the subject were ordered by the government. The result of the work of the above-mentioned commission was a general fishery-law, which, for the time when it originated, must be considered as possessing considerable merit, and a special law for the North Sea fisheries, which afterwards also included our herring-fisheries. In the former law, which in all essential points is the same as our present fishery-law of the 29th of June, 1852, the privilege of fishing on the inner coast was limited to the proprietors of the coast,³⁵ which rule in

³⁴ See S. Nilsson, "*Handlingar rörande Sillfisket i Bohuslänska Skärgården*" [The herring-fisheries on the coast of Bohuslän]. Stockholm, 1843, p. 11.

³⁵ In those places where persons having the privilege of fishing had been in the habit of catching fish on "each others' coast," everything should remain in *statu quo*, and such fisheries should be in common to all proprietors of a certain extent of coast, a regulation which rightly understood might prove very useful. (See "*Nya handlingar rörande Sillfisket i Bohuslänska Skärgården*," I. Gottenburg, 1874. Appendix, p. 15–16, § 12.) The granting of the exclusive privilege of fishing to the owners of the coast was likewise done with the view of promoting the fishing-interests, as it was thought that they would be in the hands of those who for their own advantage would carry on fishing in the most approved manner. It was moreover only the logical development of those principles of law which gradually had obtained in Sweden as well as in other Germanic countries. It is an error to suppose that the general fishing-law of 1766, as well as its explanation published in 1771 regarding the western coast of Sweden between the Sound and the Norwegian frontier, had been entirely abrogated by the law of 1774 "for the North Sea fisheries and the salting-houses in the districts of Gottenburg and Bohuslän"; for this was certainly not the intention. Such a change would have required a resolution of Parliament sanctioned by the king. (See §§ 2, 40, 42 of the constitution of 1772.)

former times held good only in exceptional cases, rather because it had been in force from time immemorial than because of any royal decree. An exception, however, was made with regard to our great periodical herring-fisheries, or as the law terms them "the great North Sea herring-fisheries," from which no Swedish citizen could be excluded, on whatever coast it might be, even on those coasts where, prior to 1766, the proprietors had had the exclusive privilege of fishing.³⁶ By thus distinguishing from a legal point of view the periodical herring-fisheries from the other fisheries, the three hundred year old claim of the crown to the former was formally established. To further the herring-fisheries, the privilege was granted to catch herrings in nets even on those parts of the coast which were held by private owners. From the decrees which were published from time to time (from the year 1748), and from the "Complete Regulations for the North Sea fisheries," published in 1774, it appears that it was the intention of the government that henceforth the fisheries should no longer be hindered by granting royal privileges or monopolies to individuals, as formerly had been done several times (for example, in the year 1745.)³⁷ To preserve order in the ports and at the different fishing-stations a new and improved set of "Regulations for ports" was published in 1771, by which a number of special officers were appointed, who were to superintend the fisheries and maintain order; thus 1772-1774 a "chief superintendent," 1783-1791 a "superintendent," which office was to be filled by the chief pilot of each district, and finally, 1791-1821, a "superintendent of herring-fisheries."³⁸

In accordance with the economical views of those times the government, especially during the first half of this fishing-period, endeavored to encourage the fishing-trade by a high premium on exported herrings, by which the owners of large establishments were certainly benefited, but which otherwise proved no advantage.³⁹ Such a rich and natural trade as the Bohuslän herring-fisheries of that period ought certainly to have supported itself without any premiums. If the large sums which now only benefited a few capitalists had been used for maintaining good order and morals in the fishing-stations, the whole fishing-trade and

³⁶In the law of 1852 the expression "the great North Sea herring-fisheries" is changed to "such salt-water fish as approach the coast in large schools," which change, however, was of no practical consequence. Any positive change in the fishery-laws would have to be made in accordance with certain rules laid down in § 87 of the constitution of 1809.

³⁷As late as 1778 we find in a "report on the herring-fisheries," a suggestion that no new exclusive personal privileges might henceforth be granted, and no old ones renewed.

³⁸Regarding the Bohuslän fishery-legislation, see *Sjöberg, A.*, "Om den Svenska Fiskerilagstiftning" [On the Swedish fishery-legislation]. Lund, 1866; and the same author's articles in the "*Göteborgsposten*," 1875, Nos. 47, 52, 59, 61, 78, and 1877, No. 102.

³⁹It is highly characteristic of those times that it was a frequent occurrence that those sums of money which had been appropriated for premiums, to a considerable extent found their way back to the authorities who had granted them, in the shape of bribes.

especially the fishermen themselves would have been benefited and the future of the herring-fisheries would have been very different from what it is now.

The great importance of these herring-fisheries will best be seen from the fact that during the decade 1770-1780, the average annual quantity of herrings amounted to about a million barrels—1,100,000 barrels in 1787—and later this quantity was doubled, and, according to some authorities, even trebled, upwards of three million barrels having been realized in one year.⁴⁰ It is probable, however, that this last-mentioned figure is somewhat exaggerated, or at any rate is an exceptional case.⁴¹ The number of herrings which came to the coast was so large that the quantity caught only represented a very small portion of the whole number; and the fisheries had generally come to a close, not because there were no more herrings, but because every one being supplied with herrings they fetched no price at all. It will be self-evident that such extensive fisheries put large sums of money into circulation. And if we take into consideration the number of people employed in preparing and transporting herrings as well as in those trades which are dependent on the fisheries, we will be able to get an idea of the great direct and indirect economical value of these fisheries. The coast of Bohuslän, and especially the district of Elfsyssel, was at that time densely populated, and possessed numerous salting-houses and oil-refineries. The following statistics are gathered from official documents: in 1787 there were in Bohuslän 338 salting-houses and 429 oil-refineries, with a total of 1,812 boilers, using 40,986 barrels of herrings per day. The number of large seihs was 358 and of boats 2,100.⁴² These figures even increased considerably

⁴⁰ *Holmberg*, "Bohusl. hist. o. besk." II, p. 85-86; 2nd ed., I, p. 220-281.

⁴¹ *P. A. Granberg*, "Staden Göteborgs historia och beskrifning" [History and description of the city of Gottenburg], Stockholm, 1814-1815, II, p. 158, 159, 216-217. *P. Dubb*, "Anteckningar om sillfisket i Bohuslän" [Remarks on the Bohuslän herring-fisheries] in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, 1817, p. 33. According to the first-mentioned authority the highest annual export of herrings from Gottenburg was 190,000 barrels prepared herrings and 50,000 aumes herring-oil, whilst according to *Dubb* the export from the whole coast was upwards of 350,000 barrels herrings and 120,000 aumes herring-oil. Twenty barrels of herrings of medium quality were required to produce one aume of herring-oil.

⁴² "Handlingar och Protocoller rörande Kgl. Majts. i nåder förordnade Beredning öfver Sillfiskeri-Handteringenens närmare reglerande" [Official Reports on the herring-fisheries], Gottenburg, 1789, p. 29-30, 37, 43, 54, 89-90, 109, 146, 177, 178, 180, 186. In order to give an idea of this flourishing period and explain the fact that even to this day people are sighing for a return of those halcyon days, we will quote the following from *O. Lundbeck*, *Anteckningar rörande bohuslänska-fiskerierna* [The Bohuslän fisheries], Gottenburg, 1832, p. 42-43: "He who knew the coast of Bohuslän 25 years ago, and now sees it again, will scarcely be able to refrain from tears. Then it presented an imposing appearance. From the sea itself rose massive walls and pillars supporting immense salting-houses and oil-refineries. Farther inland rich warehouses and busy workshops might be seen, as well as palatial residences of the merchants and neat cottages of the fishermen and workingmen. The coast was crowded with a busy throng and the sea studded with sails. Every night it looked as if there were a grand illumination,

during the following years. The cities, of course, derived the greatest benefit from the fisheries, and it may well be said that the cities and those capitalists who owned the large establishments, were really the only ones who had any positive profit from the fisheries. Gottenburg, especially, must here be mentioned, which, according to "*Granberg's historia*," owed its flourishing condition chiefly to the East India trade and the herring-fisheries. *Granberg* says that the exportation of herrings and more especially of herring-oil gave a new impetus to commerce in general and exercised a decided influence on all trade.⁴³ The cities of Bohuslän likewise flourished considerably during this period. Marstrand almost quadrupled its population, and Uddevalla rose to importance as well as the city of Kungälv.⁴⁴ The great ease with which in those days money was made in Bohuslän and the many chances offered, especially to persons of the working-classes, to lead a joyous and careless life, of course attracted large numbers from all parts of the kingdom, and, as might be supposed, generally persons of low morals. The above-mentioned decree allowing persons who had been convicted of minor offences to return to Sweden if they would engage in the fisheries, actually made Marstrand from 1775-1794 a kind of free port or harbor of refuge for criminals, and did not serve to raise its general standard of morality. If, furthermore, we take into consideration the fact that the owners of salting-houses and oil-refineries were licensed to keep groceries and retail liquor-stores, the consequences may easily be imagined. The greater portion of the male population of the coast were scarcely ever sober, as enough money was earned during the fishing-season to keep them going all the rest of the year. The grog-shops were, therefore, crowded all the year round with the exception of Christmas Day and Good Friday. Fishermen and workingmen, coming from other parts, generally arrived a month before fishing commenced, and this season of idleness was almost exclusively devoted to drinking and carousing. As a natural consequence of such a life the majority of the coast population had no thoughts for the future and no moral strength to bear reverses. Sanguinary quarrels were not so frequent as during the sixteenth century, but all other vices prevailed.⁴⁵ The authorities never thought of stemming the tide of corruption, their whole attention being occupied with the prevention of smuggling, for which purpose a number of small men-of-war were in

many thousand lights shining from the windows and from the numerous lamps along the quays, and being reflected in the waves. Everything was life and bustle, and tons of gold changed hands. Now nothing is seen but ruins, only here and there a dilapidated fisherman's cottage, awakening melancholy thoughts in the heart of the visitor. Would that soon these glorious times for which thousands are sighing might return." This was written in the year 1831.

⁴³ *Granberg, Göteborg. hist. och beskr.*, I, p. 65; II, p. 153, 176. The enormous sums which this exportation yielded were used as capital in starting or supporting important home-industries, and their want was painfully felt when in 1808 this source of wealth ceased.

⁴⁴ *Holmberg, Bohusl. hist. o. beskr.*, III, p. 120-121, 349-350, 415-421, 425; 2nd edition, II, p. 246; III, p. 138-139, 200-204, 207.

⁴⁵ *Holmberg, "Bohusl. hist. och beskr."*, II, p. 82, 92-93; 2d edition, I, p. 277, 287.

1774 stationed on this coast. For settling difficulties among the fishermen an enlarged and improved code of "port regulations" had been published, according to which certain judicial and police powers were entrusted to some of the fishermen, but all this did not improve the moral character of the population. The coast of Bohuslän gradually became a sort of vast poor-house, all sorts of homeless and shiftless people congregating there in addition to those who through their debaucheries had lost all they had earned during the fishing-season. Since all the better class left Bohuslän every year at the close of the fishing-season, and finally for good, when the fisheries came to a close, and took all their earnings with them, Bohuslän reaped all the evil consequences of the fisheries without enjoying any of their benefits. The poverty and misery on our coast when the fisheries totally ceased in 1808 actually beggars description. But it was not only the coast which suffered; the agricultural interests of the province had been totally neglected from want of men willing to work on farms and from the general degeneracy of the times. Strange to say, the enormous fortunes which had been made and remained in the hands of a few, disappeared quickly or passed into other and worthier hands. It is not to be wondered at that under these circumstances large herring-fisheries, such as those of the eighteenth century, began gradually to be considered as a curse rather than as a blessing, which opinion was, among others, expressed by the historian of Bohuslän, *Axel Emanuel Holmberg*,⁴⁶ and by its zealous and highly-honored governor, Count *C. G. Lövenhjelm*.⁴⁷ It must be granted, however, that all the evil consequences of great herring-fisheries might be avoided, or at least greatly diminished, by proper precautions, and that such fisheries, if properly managed, might greatly further the material development of Bohuslän.⁴⁸ Regarding the last great fisheries it must be said that their evil consequences are chiefly to be ascribed to wrong management on the part of the authorities, who sacrificed the interests of the fishermen, the workingmen, the coast, and the whole province to those of a few large exporters. This mistake was caused, to a great extent, by the wrong economical principles prevailing in those times and by the want of education and enlightenment among our coast population. No petitions were, therefore, ever made to the government authorities or to the Parliament to remedy existing evils, and no improvement could, therefore, ever be looked for.

The great changes for the better which, during the last thirty or forty years, have raised both the rural and the coast population of Bohuslän to a very respectable height of intelligence and well-being, may serve to indicate the way which should be followed if great herring-fisheries

⁴⁶ *Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. och beskr.*," II, p. 91-94; 2d edition, I, p. 286-288.

⁴⁷ *Göteborg's och Bohusläns Kgl. Hushållnings-Sällskaps Handlingar* [Reports of the Economical Society of Gottenburg and Bohuslän], for 1847, Gottenburg, 1848, p. 27-28.

⁴⁸ Concerning the hopes of a return of the great herring-fisheries see the author's article in the "*Göteborgsposten*," 1876, No. 216, and in the *Bohusläns Tidning*, 1876, No. 77.

should again occur.⁴⁹ As regards the coast, the great cholera epidemic of 1834 must be mentioned, which carried off the greater portion of the worthless population. A general improvement then took place by the more perfect means of communication, the increased commerce, and the constantly-increasing prosperity consequent upon this, as also by the change in the fish-trade, fewer fish being salted and a great many more being sold fresh;⁵⁰ the extension of the bank-fisheries by the introduction of more suitable vessels, which enabled the fishermen to undertake voyages to more distant and richer fishing-banks (during the first half of the fourth decade of this century as far as the Jæder, and in the beginning of the sixth decade as far as Storeggen); by subsidies from the government, the Economical Society, and private individuals, and last but not least by the truly benevolent *liquor-law* of 1855, which marks an epoch in the history of Bohuslän. This last-mentioned law shows conclusively how much good may be accomplished by wise legislation, and how necessary it is that the government should take a firm stand in suppressing all those evils and disorders which are caused by a low standard of morality or by too many opportunities for satisfying the sensual appetites. With regard to the aid which the state may extend to the different trades and industries, it is now generally acknowledged that nothing is more hurtful to the best interests of the country than the creating of a state within the state by establishing and encouraging monopolies. It is to be hoped, therefore, that our coast will, in the future, be spared that kind of encouragement by the government which was given to it during the eighteenth-century. May our people, on the contrary, learn more and more to rely upon their own exertions, and may all material progress serve to further good order, sobriety, and morality, and thus advance the true welfare of our province. The future historian will then be able to give our population a better character than that which *Axel Emanuel Holmberg*⁵¹ was obliged to give them thirty or more years ago, even if he could not record as large and flourishing herring-fisheries as *Holmberg*. And then let all "exceptional" or "monopoly" legislation be done away with, always introduced under the false pretence of benefiting the "poor fishermen." The population of Bohuslän need no longer be the charity-child of the government.

To further the true welfare of our coast we need not only a wise and enlightened government, but above everything else energy and enlightenment among our own people. It is not enough that they obey the laws and are skilled and diligent in their various occupations, but in order to make real progress they must take a warm and active interest in all public affairs. If a community is to develop to the highest point of material and moral prosperity there must be a good deal of public

⁴⁹Great weight must be attached to the circumstance that the coast of Bohuslän does no longer, as was the case during the last great fishing-period, form the rendezvous for all the loafers and good-for-nothing people from every part of the kingdom.

⁵⁰*Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. och beskr.*," II, p. 88, 99-101; III, p. 191, 192.

⁵¹*Holmberg*, "*Bohusl. hist. och beskr.*," II, p. 39-40; III, p. 192; 2nd edition, I, p. 233.

spirit; and probably our province is lacking a little in this respect. May, therefore, the indifference which is still too prevalent give place to a burning zeal for the public welfare, and mere egotistical interests be more and more placed in the background; and truly our province may boldly meet all the storms of time.

Our great Bohuslän herring-fisheries, and more particularly the last great fishing-period, give us many a useful hint for the future. They ought to furnish convincing proof that it is not always a large income, or, as it is erroneously termed, "an excessive share of God's gifts," which contributes most largely to the well-being of individuals or nations. They show that what is easily gained is also easily lost, especially if nothing is done to put the gain to a proper use; they show that in order to further trade and industry something more is needed than money subsidies, and that man, even in his material endeavors, must have some higher object than the mere making of money, and that *good order and enlightenment* are essential conditions for attaining to true and permanent welfare, and finally that it is a great and grievous mistake to think that such welfare can ever be reached by nothing but money.

