

**LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT UN-
MYSTIFIED. A VINDICATION OF COMMON
SENSE, HUMAN NATURE, AND PRACTICAL
IMPROVEMENT, AGAINST THE MANIFESTO
OF CENTRALISM PUT FORTH AT THE SOCIAL
SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, 1857**

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Local Self-Government Un-Mystified. A Vindication of Common Sense, Human Nature, and Practical Improvement, Against the Manifesto of Centralism Put Forth at the Social Science Association, 1857 by Toulmin Smith

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TOULMIN SMITH

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PUT FORTH AT THE

Social Science Association, 1857.

BY

TOULMIN SMITH,

AUTHOR OF 'THE PARISH,' 'LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CENTRALIZATION,' ETC.

"TRUTH SMITETH HARDEST."

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

EDWARD STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.

1857.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE Manifesto of Centralism here noticed, was first published to the world in the columns of '*The Times*,' on the 17th October, 1857. The first edition of the present work was published on the 7th November following. A large edition having already become exhausted, a few chiefly verbal revisions have been made in this edition; and two Extracts, on the important point of *certainty* in the Law, have been added.

That Manifesto of Centralism itself, did not contain a single fresh point, either of argument, suggestion, or illustration. Every point in it had been already abundantly considered in my previously published works. But the particular parade, and specially official character, of the promulgation of that Manifesto, plainly showed how highly desirable it was, to bring within a simple form, and a shape and price accessible to every one, a general view of the real Principles and practical questions that are at stake; and, at the same time, to expose the true character of the means that are alone able to be taken, and of the most plausible pretences that are able to be used, even by interested Officialism itself, in order to mystify and mislead the Public mind upon these subjects.

The object of the present publication is, then, not temporary, but permanent. The Manifesto in question proves, indeed, that every Local Interest in England, whether of Self-

Government in the ordinary sense, or of undertakings of associated Private Enterprise, is, just now, particularly threatened with fresh attack from a narrow and selfish Officialism, which, paid by the public for functions felt to be unsound, employs the opportunities it has thus got, in seeking to maintain and strengthen itself and its own personal interests, at the expense of all the highest interests of the State. But such attack, and the danger of it, can only, at any time, be rightly and even safely met, by taking stand upon grounds and Principles which are not isolated, nor of today nor tomorrow, but which are as broad and as old and as lasting as Truth and Human Nature. This is what will be found proved in the following pages.

T. S.

*Highgate, near London ;
November 19th, 1887.*

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LIST OF WORKS BY MR. TOULMIN SMITH

On the subjects embraced within the present Publication.

1. The Laws of England relating to Public Health; including an Epitome of the Law of Nuisances, Police, Highways, Waters, Watercourses, Coroners, Burial, etc., relating thereto; with an Historical Review of the Law of Sewers; etc. 1848.
2. Centralization or Representation? A Letter to the Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioners: containing an examination of allegations put forth in support of the proposition for superseding, under the name of Sanitary Improvement, all Local Representative Self-Government by a System of Centralized Patronage. 1848.
3. Parallels between the Constitution and Constitutional History of England and Hungary. 1849.
4. Government by Commissions illegal and pernicious: the Nature and Effects of all Commissions of Inquiry, and other Crown-Appointed Commissions: the Constitutional Principles of Taxation: and the Rights, Duties, and Importance of Local Self-Government. 1849.
5. What is the Corporation of London; and who are the Freemen? 1850.
6. Speech on Local Self-Government and Centralization; delivered at a great Public Meeting in the Broadmead Rooms, Bristol, on the 5th August, 1850.
7. Speech on Local Self-Government and Centralization; delivered at a Common Hall of the City of Worcester, on Thursday, September 5th, 1850.
[Both of these Speeches,—which were delivered in consequence of special and formal requisition made to Mr. Toulmin Smith,—were published in a separate form.]
8. Address to the Ratepayers of Birmingham, on the Public Health Act. 1850.
9. Local Self-Government and Centralization: the Characteristics of each; and its Practical Tendencies, as affecting Social, Moral, and Political Welfare and Progress. Including comprehensive outlines of the English Constitution. 1851.
10. Administration of the Sewerage and Drainage of the Metropolitan Districts. Statement of objections to the existing system, and of essentials for a sound one. Prepared at the request of the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. 1851.
11. The Metropolis and its Municipal Administration: showing the essentials of a sound system of Municipal Self-Government, as applicable to all town populations; and the subject matters that come properly within the range of Municipal Administration. 1852.

12. On the Constitution and Functions of the Coroner and Coroner's Inquest, and their relation to Municipal Self-Government. A letter to Edward Herford, Esq., Coroner of Manchester. 1852.
13. Considerations in respect to the Public Health Act, 1848; with suggestions for an improved measure. Being a Minute prepared at the request of the Right Honourable Sir W. Molesworth, Bart., M.P., Chief Commissioner of Public Works, etc. etc. 1853.
14. The People and the Parish: the Common-Law and its Breakers. 1853.
15. The Parish: its Obligations and Powers: its Officers and their Duties. 1854 (1st edition).
16. Practical Directions for the Formation of Sewerage Districts, and for the Conduct of Sewerage Boards, in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis; with the necessary Forms, and an Abstract of the Metropolitan Sewers Acts. 1854.
17. A Letter to Lord Palmerston, on Home Policy, and the Legislation relating thereto. 1865.
18. Public Health Bill and Nuisances' Removal Bill, 1855. Evidence given upon these Bills before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. 1855.
19. Public Health Bill, 1855. Further Evidence; namely, on the Death-Rate Clause.
[Both these last were published in the Parliamentary Blue Book; but both were also separately reprinted.]
20. Administrative Reform--Real and Delusive. 1855.
21. The Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855. With an Introduction, copious Practical Notes, and a full Double Index. 1855.
22. Practical Proceedings for the Removal of Nuisances and execution of Drainage Works, in every Parish, Town, and Place in England and Wales, under the Nuisances' Removal Act, 1855, and by other Courses of Law. With numerous Forms, and complete Instructions for the Conduct of Parish Committees. 1st edition, 1855; 2nd edition, 1856.
23. The Parish: its Powers and Obligations at Law, as regards the Welfare of every Neighbourhood, and in relation to the State: its Officers and Committees: and the Responsibility of every Parishioner. With illustrations of the Practical Working of this Institution in all Secular Affairs; and of some modern attempts at Ecclesiastical Encroachment. 2nd edition, *greatly enlarged*, 1857.

[N.B. In addition to the above, at least two hundred "fugitive pieces" on the same subjects, have been published by me between the above dates; the titles of which it is out of my power, and would be merely tedious, to enumerate.]