APPENDIX E.

CRIME IN VICTORIA SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF SECULAR EDUCATION.

(By The Editor.)

1. It has frequently been asserted by prominent churchmen and others in this colony, in England, and elsewhere, that the present system of secular, compulsory, and free education which has been in force since 1872, has conduced to a considerable increase of crime amongst the native-born population. In this paper, therefore, it is proposed to inquire how far this or the contrary is borne out by the Criminal Statistics of the Colony. The statistics refer of course, only to known crimes, i.e., crimes in respect of which arrests have been made or summonses issued; there are other forms of crime and vice, which either never come under public notice, or respecting which no statistical information is available, and which cannot therefore be taken into account in this inquiry.

2. The comparison cannot be restricted to Victorians only, as the element of age is an important consideration which must be taken into account, and no particulars are available as to the ages of the criminals and population of Victorian birth, as distinguished from those of other nationalities; but the same

object will practically be attained in another manner.

3. The present secular system of education came into force in January, 1873, and consequently nearly all Victorians under 5 in 1871, under fifteen in 1881, under 25 in 1891, and under 32 in 1898; and a large proportion of those aged from 5 to 15 in 1871, 15 to 25 in 1881, 25 to 35 in 1891, and 32 to 42 in 1898, were educated entirely under that system. Moreover, by Table 1 in this Appendix it is shown that 45 per cent. of the total population in 1871, 58 per cent. in 1881, 68 per cent. in 1891, and 74 per cent. in 1898 were natives of Victoria; but considering that nearly all the native-born in 1871 were under 20 years of age (i.e. born since 1850, before which year the population of the colony was inconsiderable), it follows that Victorians formed nearly 91 per cent. of the total population under 20 years of age in 1871; and, following on by decades, about 87 per cent. of those under 30 in 1881, and 79 per cent. of those under 40 in 1891. It will thus be seen that by limiting the comparison to those ages a fair and adequate idea can be formed of the increase or decrease of crime amongst the native-born population educated under the secular system in any period since 1872, as compared with those of all nationalities educated under other educational systems at earlier periods.

4. The statistics to be presented in this inquiry are the number of summons cases for criminal offences, the number of charges against persons arrested, and the number of committals for trial. The summons cases can only be treated as a whole, no details being available as to sex or age; but such details will be given

as regards arrests and committals for trial.

5. The periods selected in this inquiry will commence with the year 1871, which is doubly suitable as being not only a census year (when the population is accurately known), but also the last year but one before the inauguration of the present national system of "compulsory, secular, and free education."

6. It is not proposed to enunciate any deductions from the figures given, but only facts clearly proved thereby, as it is perhaps a matter for argument whether any increase or decrease is caused by the secular system of education, or

by other circumstances.

7. Table 2 shows, by placing the gross figures for the years selected in juxtaposition to those of the adjacent years, to what extent the periods selected are representative ones. It will be noticed that the variations did not exceed 3 per cent. above or below the average, with the exception of the arrests in 1898, which were 14 per cent. above the average; the committals in 1891 and 1898, which were respectively 6 per cent. below and 4 per cent. above the average; and the summons cases in 1898, which were 9 per cent. below the average. Indicating

the average adjacent years at each period by 100, the relative positions of the various years selected will be more clearly seen by the following index numbers:—

INDEX OF CRIME IN YEARS SELECTED AS COMPARED WITH AVERAGES OF ADJACENT YEARS*=100.

Years.	Arrests (Charges).	Committals (Charges).	Summons Cases.
1871	97	99	101
1881	100	94	100
1891	98	103	97
1898	114	104	91

ARRESTS.

8. Table 3 shows the number of charges for which persons of either sex were arrested in proportion to the population at different age periods, For the purpose of easier comparison the arrest rates have been reduced to a basis of index numbers, the rate in 1871 (no matter what it might be) being represented by 100, and that for subsequent years by its proper number on the same scale, and these are shown in the following table. The ratios above the dotted lines relate to persons almost wholly educated since the adoption of the present secular system; those above the unbroken lines refer to persons partly educated under that system; all other figures relate to persons educated before the adoption of the present system:—

INDEX NUMBERS OF ARREST RATES AT DIFFERENT AGES.

(Arrest Rates in 1871 = 100.)

Age Groups.		Males (Number of Charges).				Females (Number of Charges).			
		1871.	1881.	1891.	1898†.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1898†.
10 to 15 years	•••	100	107	92	65	100	70	41	51
15 " 20 "	•••	100	99	90	80	100	113	63	58
20 " 25 "	•••	100	93	89	90	100	126	99	97
25 " 30 "		100	99	93	93	100	94	74	70
30 " 40 "	•••	100	112	113	71	100	96	62	47
40 " 50 "	•••	100	99	145	114	100	118	88	62
10 " 50 "	•••	100	97	108	67	100	96	77	51

9. In nearly all cases a marked decrease will be observed from period to period amongst those who have been wholly or partly educated under the present system, as compared with those brought up under other systems. In several groups the amount of crime has fallen off by between 30 and 50 per cent. The only cases, indeed, where an increase occurred, as compared with 1871, are in 1881 at the age-group 10 to 15 in the case of males, and at the age-groups 15 to 25 in the case of females; but these were more than compensated by considerable

^{*} For years on which averages are based, see Table 2.

[†] Estimated from the number of arrests; see footnote (*) to Table 3 post.

reductions at the two later periods; and the only age where no marked improvement is noticeable between the first and last periods is the age-group 20 to 25, but in the case of females only. Taking the means of the age-groups affected by the new system of education, the regular improvement from period to period will be more readily perceived. Thus, in the case of males there was a fall from 100 to 99 at all age periods under 25 in 1881, to 91 at those under 30 in 1891, to 80 at those under 40 in 1898; and in the case of females, first a rise to 103, then a fall to 69, and finally to 65. As before mentioned, the arrests in 1898 were exceptionally heavy as compared with the adjacent years, being 14 per cent. above the average; hence, if the average were taken instead, the result for 1898 would be still more favorable.

10. Summarizing the results for the age periods 10 to 30, after making due allowance for age fluctuations in the population (as explained in the footnote to Table 5), the relative crime rates have been computed for the population between the ages of 10 and 30 at different periods, as shown in Table 5. Reducing these to the basis of 1871 as a starting point, it will be found that, as compared with every 100 arrests in proportion to a normal male population between 10 and 30 in 1871, there were 97 in 1881, 91 in 1891, and 88 in 1898; and compared with every 100 arrests in a normal female population of the same ages, there were 105 in 1881, 82 in 1891, and 74 in 1898. The arrests in 1898 being 14 per cent. above the average of that and the two preceding years, the proportions would show an even greater decrease in regard to males, and a considerable decrease in regard to females if the average of the three years had been selected instead of a single year as a basis.

CAUSES OF ARREST.

11. Turning next to the chief causes of arrest (Table 6) which, not being available by age-groups, must be considered as a whole for all ages, it will first be noticed what a large proportion are due to drunkenness, and to other offences against good order; thus, in 1898, 50 per cent. of the charges against males, and 38 per cent. of those against females, were for the former, and 23 and 38 per cent. respectively for the latter. Deducting these there remains a comparatively small margin for all other causes of arrest, most of which are of a more criminal character. Hence it will be realized how materially the arrests, as a whole, are affected by the number of cases of drunkenness, vagrancy, &c., and other minor offences, which, as a rule, are no evidence of a strong criminal instinct, although grave enough when it is considered how they undermine the happiness of thousands And it is in respect of such offences that least progress has been made in Victoria. Omitting the exceptional year 1891, there has been in the case of males but a small decline throughout the years selected in the vice of drunkenness, and a decided increase in other offences against good order, which embrace such crimes as insulting behaviour, vagrancy of all kinds, riotous conduct, &c. It should be borne in mind, however, that the year 1898 was an exceptionally high one, particularly in regard to drunkenness, the rate per 10,000 of the population being 198 as compared with 162 in the five years ended with 1898; but, if the latter proportion be considered a fairer test, then a decrease of fully 22 per cent. has taken place as compared with 1871. Under all the more serious offences, however, there has usually been a marked improvement, especially in 1898, as compared with 1871. Under the head of larceny, false pretences, wilful damage, and miscellaneous, there has been a marked and continuous improvement from period to period. Under the head of assaults the proportion in 1881 and 1891 was higher, but in 1898 was much lower than in 1871. What has been observed in the case of males applies almost equally in the case of females, viz., that the only barriers to a rapid general improvement are the crimes of drunkenness, and other offences against good order, both of which showed little or no reduction between 1871 and 1891, although in 1898 they were, in proportion to population, much fewer than at any earlier period shown. Indeed, if a deduction be made for the new offence of "soliciting prostitution," which did not exist in 1891 and previous years, the rate for other offences against good order in 1898 would be found to have been lower by at least two-fifths than at any of the earlier periods; although it is possible similar offenders may have been arrested in previous years on other charges, such as vagrancy, &c.

COMMITTALS FOR TRIAL.

- 12. In regard to offences which were serious enough to warrant a committal for trial (see Table 4) it will be found, omitting the age-period ten to fifteen (which is of little or no significance, the numbers being so small), that amongst males there has been a marked general improvement in each of the three last periods as compared with 1871. Since 1881, however, there appears to have been a general increase of serious crime, to only a slight extent at the age period fifteen to twenty but in a marked degree in the age groups between 20 and 30; which increase, however, is somewhat modified if allowance be made for the year 1881 being 6 per . cent. below and the year 1898 being 4 per cent. above the average of the triennial period. Some extenuating circumstances can be adduced for the high rates of committals in 1891, for that year was preceded by a period of intense speculation and extravagant expenditure, which a few years later culminated in the financial collapse of 1893. The rapid fortunes apparently made by many during the period of inflation not only attracted a large number of criminals from other countries, but engendered such a widespread feeling of greed and avarice that a large amount of crime followed as a natural consequence. Possibly the high rate of crime in 1898 - which in some cases was not much lower than in 1891—may have been partly induced by the greater struggle for existence, following after the inflated period, having aroused the most criminal instincts of the thriftless section of the population. Amongst females there has been a decided general improvement, whilst the only exception to a steady decline in serious crime was at the age period 25 to 30 in 1891, when the rate was higher than in any of the other years.
- 13. In the latter half of Table 5 the committals are dealt with on a model population basis, as explained in the note to the table, from which it appears that the proportion was highest in 1871 as regards both sexes, and was least in 1881 as regards males, and in 1898 as regards females. Making allowance for the slight deviations from the average in 1891 and 1898, as pointed out in the preceding paragraph, and reducing the proportions to index numbers, the relative amount of serious crime amongst males at the four periods was as follows:—100 in 1871; 74 in 1881; 91 in 1891 and 82 in 1898.

CAUSES OF COMMITMENT.

14. Regarding the principal charges against males committed for trial as set forth in Table 7 it will be observed that there has been a gradual reduction throughout in the relative proportion of murders, sexual offences, assaults, and offences for cattle stealing; and also, if 1891 be excepted, in the proportion of charges for false pretences and forgery; but several serious crimes against property such as robbery and burglary, larceny, and "others," together with perjury, were more frequent in 1898 than in 1881, although all of these except "others" against property, were much less common both in 1881 and 1898 than in 1871, whilst the crime of embezzlement shows no sign of falling off as com-The year 1891 was for reasons already explained an pared with 1881. exceptional one for such offences against property as robbery and burglary, embezzlement, false pretences, and "others" against property. Only for this the proportion of committals for nearly all crimes would have been much higher in 1871 than in any subsequent year. To be more exact, the only excep-"other" offences against tions other than those given for 1891 are property, the proportion of which was higher in 1898 than in 1871; and murder in 1881; and perjury and miscellaneous in 1891, when the proportions were the same as in 1871. In the case of females there has been a general reduction, more especially when compared with 1871.

SUMMONS CASES.

15. The last table (Table 8) deals with Criminal Summons Cases before Magistrates, and which are of a less serious nature than arrests; and it will be seen that there has, in proportion to population, been a large falling off at each period, which would be somewhat reduced for 1898, if allowance were made for the number of cases in that year being 9 per cent. below the average.

SUMMARY.

- 16. Reviewing the facts and figures set forth in the preceding paragraphs and the following tables, the general result arrived at may be briefly summarized as follows:—
 - (1) That there has been in Victoria, at the age groups between 10 and 30, at which the Victorian-born are most numerous, a reduction of crime in general, in proportion to population, of nearly one-fourth since the adoption of the secular, compulsory, and free system of education.
 - (2) That there has been a large decrease in nearly all classes of offences, although the improvement is not nearly so marked in regard to drunkenness and other offences against good order as in respect of all other offences.
 - (3) That there has also been, at the age groups referred to, a diminution of nearly one-fifth in the case of males and two-thirds in the case of females, in proportion to population, in the more serious crimes, or those for which persons are committed for trial, since the period when the present education system was introduced; although in the case of males there has been a somewhat retrogressive movement since 1881, an increase of serious crime having taken place since that period of about 10 per cent. In the case of females, however, a general improvement is noticeable at each successive period.
 - (4) That the serious offences which appear to have become more rife amongst males since 1881, are robbery, burglary, &c., larceny, and other offences against property and perjury. All offences except miscellaneous offences against property, however, were relatively fewer in 1898 than in 1871.
- 17. It is not proposed, as already stated, to draw any further deductions from the facts and figures presented, or to express an opinion as to whether any improvement is due to the greater diffusion of general education amongst the people as a whole, to the efforts of the various churches or religious bodies, to the more settled condition of this young colony, or to other circumstances; but it must at least be conceded that there has, *since* the adoption of the "free, compulsory, and secular" system of education, been a considerable decrease of crime in general amongst the Victorian-born population.

TABLES REFERRED TO IN FOREGOING ARTICLE.

1.—Proportion of Victorian-born in Total Population at Four Periods.

· Year.		Percentage	of Victorian-born in	Population.
		Males.	Females.	Total.
1871	•••	41.6	49:9	45.4
1881	•••	$55 \cdot 2$	61.7	58.3
1891	•••	59 ·8	66.7	63.0
1898		73.0	75.0	74.0

2.—Summons Cases, Arrests, and Committals for Trial, 1870 to 1898.

Year.		Summons Cases.	Arrests (Charges.)	Committals fo Trial.	
1870		17,457	23,790	908	
1871		19,150	22,800	781	
1872		20,023	23,705	688	
1880	• • •	17,795	23,983	680	
1881		19,384	25,346	591	
1882	•••	20,811	26,423	616	
1889		26,678	37,321	1,023	
1890		26,190	38,594	1,129	
1891		24,525	35,429	1,142	
1892	•	23,361	33,283	1,142	
1896		19,917	24,792	849	
1897		24,524	21,812	610	
1898		19,327	28,649	778	

3.—Arrests by the Police. Proportion of Charges against Males and Females arrested per 10,000 of the same Sexes living in Victoria in 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1898.

		•	1871.	1881.	1891.	189) 8.*			
Age	s.		Charges.	Charges.	Charges.	Arrests.	Charges.			
			Males.							
10 to 15 years	•••	•••	104	111	96	63	68			
15 to 20 years	•••	•••	338	335	305	251	272			
20 to 25 years	•••	•••	773	720	688	639	692			
25 to 30 years	• • •	• • •	834	823	777	717	776			
30 to 40 years	• • •	•••	771	865	869	506	548			
10 to 50 years		•••	726	721	1,053	764	827			
0 to 50 years	•••	•••	758	733	816	469	508			
	•			·	Females.					
l0 to 15 years	100	•••	37	26	15	18	19			
5 to 20 years	•••	• • •	80	90	50	44	46			
20 to 25 years	•••	400	141	178	139	129	136			
25 to 30 years	•••	•••	232	219	171	156	164			
30 to 40 years	•••	•••	303	290	189	135	142			
10 to 50 years	•••	•••	272	322	238	160	168			
10 to 50 years	•••	••	221	213	171	107	112			

Note.—In each section of this table all figures above the dotted lines refer to persons almost entirely educated since the adoption of the present system of secular education. Figures above the unbroken lines refer to persons some of whom were educated before, and some after such adoption. All other figures refer to persons educated before such adoption.

^{*}Estimated from the number of arrests, which were increased at each age by $\xi \frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for males, and 5 per cent. for females, which were the proportions by which the charges exceeded the arrests at all ages.

4.—COMMITTALS FOR TRIAL AT VARIOUS AGE PERIODS BETWEEN 10 AND 30, 1871, 1881, 1891, AND 1898.

:				Males.			Females.				
Age Periods.	1871* 1881† 1891. 1898† 18		1871* 1881†		1891. 1898†		98†				
		Charges.	Charges.	Charges.	Ar- rests.	Charges.‡	Char- ges.	Char- ges.	Charges.	Ar- rests.	Charges.
					Ŋ	Tumber.		<u>,</u>		3	
10 to 15 years 15 to 20 years 20 to 25 years 25 to 30 years	•••	50 111 110	9 78 110 77	$9 \\ 97 \\ 214 \\ 252$	$7 \\ 75 \\ 121 \\ 123$	8 87 141 143	12 12 12 10	 8 18 5	 9 20 29	 8 8 5	 9 9 6
		P	roportio	n per 10	,000 of P	opulatio	n of e it	her Se	x at eac	ch Age	•
10 to 15 years 15 to 20 years 20 to 25 years 25 to 30 years	0 * 1 0 * 6 0 Ac	19·0 46·2 38·1	$\begin{vmatrix} 1.7 \\ 15.8 \\ 26.1 \\ 28.0 \end{vmatrix}$	1.5 16.9 32.7 39.9	1·1 14·5 31·3 28·8	1·3 16·9 36·5 33·6	4·2 4·7 3·8	1.6 4.2 1.9	 1·6 3·2 5·3	1.5 1.7 0.9	1.6 1.9 1.0

5.—Proportion of Crime in Victoria by Persons aged 10 to 30 AT VARIOUS PERIODS FROM 1871 TO 1898.

(Corrected for age fluctuations in the population.)

			Charges per 10	0,000 of the Popul Sex aged	ation against Pe 10 to 30.	rsons of eithe
	Year.		Arrested by	the Police.	Committe	d for trial.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1871	•••		478	114	24·0¶	3.0¶
1881	•••	• • •	462	120	$16\cdot 8$ \parallel	1.8
1891	•••	• • •	485	94	21.8	2.8
1898		• • •	$420\S$	84§	$20\cdot5\ $	1.0

Note.—The above are the results obtained by applying the ratios shown in the two foregoing tables to the numbers at each age in a standard population, in which the proportions at different ages are similar to those prevailing in older countries, For this purpose it has been assumed that in a total population of 10,000 persons the following would be the numbers living between 10 and 30:—1,111 between the ages of 10 and 15, 1,017 between 15 and 20, 913 between 20 and 25, and 811 between 25 and 30-giving a total between 10 and 30 of 3,352.

* Estimated from the convictions after committal for which alone the ages were returned in 1871. † In 1881 the committals were 6 per cent. below, and in 1898 more than 4 per cent. above the average of adjacent years. If reduced to the average the rates for males in 1881 for the three age periods between 15 and 30 would be respectively, 16.8, 27.7 and 29.7; and the rates in 1898 (charges) would similarly be 16.2, 34.9 and 32.1.

‡ Estimated from the number of arrests which resulted in committals which were increased at each age by 17 per cent for males, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for females, which were the proportions by which the number of separate charges exceeded such arrests.

§ Estimated from the "Arrests," as explained in footnote (*) to Table 3.

| If the averages of triennial periods were taken as explained in note (†) to preceding table, these proportions would be 17.8 in 1881 and 19.6 in 1898.

| Estimated from the convictions after committal, for which alone the ages were returned in 1871.

6.—ARRESTS FOR VARIOUS OFFENCES.

Charges per 10,000 of the Population of either Sex, 1871 to 1898.

	1871.	1881.	1891.	18	98.
Nature of Offences.					
	Charges.	Charges.	Charges.	Charges.	Arrests
		<u>' </u>	Males.		
Against the person—		<u> </u>	1	[
Assaults	32.9	35.9	35.5	23.6	14.2
Others*	6.1	5.3	4.7	4.2	4.1
Against property —					
Larceny	. 47.5	39.0	37.9	33.4	28.8
False pretences	1	4.4	4.1	1.2	•9
Wilful damage	107	$\hat{9}\cdot\hat{1}$	$7 \cdot \overline{1}$	5.0	$3\cdot 2$
Others†	10.0	12.6	16.8	11.1	9.7
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			_
Against good order—	200.0	700.0	25- 2	7050	70-0
Drunkenness	. 208.9	198.6	257.6	197.8a	197.80
Others‡	. 79.8	91.8	99.3	89.9	78.1
Miscellaneous §	. 59.1	42.2	32.0	27.2	26.3
Total	. 463.2	438.9	495.0	393.7	363·1
			Females.		
Against the person—	0.4	~ .0	T . 1-7	1.0	1.0
Assaults	. 3.4	5.8	1.7	1.6	1.2
Others *	1.5	1:5	1.0	1.2	1.0
Against property—		,			!
Larceny	11.7	9.7	5.9	5.5	4.6
Tolog metamon	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
777+1f-1 James as	2.8	3.2	1.5	0.9	0.7
Others†	1.2	1.3	1.1	0.5	0.4
Others T	•				
Against good order—	40.0	50.9	48.7	34.7b	34·7 <i>b</i>
Drunkenness	48.2	Ē.	38.3	$34 \cdot 1c$	31.90
Others‡	. 39.9	49.2	000	0± 10	91.90
Miscellaneous §	. 18.9	12:3	8.8	13:3	13·1
Total	. 127.8	134·1	107·1	91.9	87.7

* Including murder, manslaughter, &c., sexual offences, attempted suicide, &c.

with miscellaneous. § Principally such offences as being a neglected child, lunacy, contempt of court, debt, maintenance, and breaches of various Statutes.

[†] Including robbery and burglary, illegal use of cattle, and cattle stealing; being in a public place with intent to steal, receiving stolen property, arson, &c.

‡ Including vagrancy, insulting behaviour, &c., and excluding lunacy, which is here included

a. In the five years 1894-8 the average was only 161 5.

b. In the five years 1894-8 the average was only 30.5. c. In one-third of these cases the charge was "soliciting prostitution," an offence which was made statutory since 1891.

7.—COMMITTALS FOR TRIAL FOR VARIOUS OFFENCES.

Charges per 10,000 of the Population of either Sex, 1871 to 1898.

	1871.	1881.	1891.	189	98.
Nature of Offences.	Charges.	Charges.	Charges:	Charges.	Arrests.
			MALES.		
Against the Person:—		1			
Murder, manslaughter, wound	- 1.3	1:3	1.2	.9	•9
ing, &c.					
Sexual offences		•9	6	1.3 *	1.2 *
Assaults and other offences	. 8	•5	•5	•3	•3
Against Property:—					
Robbery, burglary, &c	. 3.8	2.3	3.8	2.7	2.7
Cattle stealing	. 16	1.3	1.1	.9	·8 ·2 ·3
Embezzlement	. 5	•3	.7	•3	•2
False pretences	. 1.1	.7	2.7	•4	•3
Larceny	. 4.4	2.8	3.5	3.1	2.4
Others†	.0	•8	1.3	1.1	.9
Forgery and coining	1.17	.8	1.4	•4	•3
Perjury	• 5	•2	-5	•4	·3 ·4
Miscellaneous	•1	$-\bar{2}$	•4	•3	$-\bar{3}$
Total	. 18.1	12.1	17.7	12:1	10.7
		-	FEMALES.		
Against the Person:—					
Murder, manslaughter, &c	. 3	•2	·2	1	1
Others	. 2	•1	·1	•2	•2
Against Property:				_	_
Robbery, burglary, &c	. 2	•3	2	1	1
Larceny and false pretences	$\begin{array}{c c} & 2 \\ 1.2 \\ 2 \end{array}$	•4	.7	·3 ·2	.3
Others†	. 2	1	1	•2	1
Forgery and coining		•1	•1	•••	
Perjury	. 2	•1	2	1	1
Total	2.3	1.3	1.6	1.0	.9

8.—Proportion of Criminal Summons Cases in Victoria, 1871 to 1898. All Ages.

Ye	ear.		Sumn	nons Cases 1	per 10,000 of t	he Popula	tion.
187 1 1881	***	•••			262		1
1891	•••	• • •			225 215		
1898					165‡		

Note. – The above are in addition to arrests by the police. No distinction can be made as to age or sex; but, on the whole, these cases may be regarded as of a much less serious character than those for which persons are arrested.

^{*} Nearly half of these were owing to the age of consent being raised since 1891.
† Principally being in a public place with intent to steal, receiving stolen property, arson,

and wilful damage to property.

† The proportion would be 181 if the average for the years adjacent were taken.